Common Neo-Hakka: A Comparative Reconstruction

by

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Summary

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

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

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

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

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

An important milestone in the development of comparative Hakka studies was the publication of a fully reconstructed Proto-Hakka phonological system by Kevin O’Connor in 1976. This was the first systematic comparative reconstruction based on Hakka dialect data, and to date it has been the only such system to appear in print. The Hakka materials used by
O’Connor were of necessity all derived from Méixiàn-type dialects, which were the only Hakka speech forms for which full systematic descriptions were available at the time he was working. Today, as indicated above, far more field data have been published; and this suggests that the time is ripe to undertake a new comparative reconstruction. This task is the primary object of the present work; and, given that the dialects to be compared are now called Neo-Hakka, we identify our new reconstructed system as “Common Neo-Hakka”.

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

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

All matters raised in the preceding paragraphs will to one degree or another inform our efforts in the present work. The specific order of procedure will be as follows. In Chapter I we introduce the general problems we wish to study, the materials to be used, and the theoretical and methodological framework within which we shall work. In particular, it will be noted that the reconstructed protosystem will be multilayered or multi-stratal, in that it is viewed as comprising more than one chronological stratum of lexical material. The second, third, and fourth chapters discuss respectively our reconstructions for the syllable initials, finals, and tones of Common Neo-Hakka. Chapter V is an experimental exercise in lexical reconstruction, where we work not simply with syllables but rather with entire spoken words, both monosyllabic and
polysyllabic, as represented by their reflexes in the modern dialects. The sixth chapter deals with various residual matters. It begins with a discussion of the demographic and migration history underlying the linguistic evolution we hypothesize for Neo-Hakka and for the higher order stages of Chinese from which we believe it derives. We then turn to the problem of lexical layering in the Common Neo-Hakka protosystem, with particular attention to the identification of the oldest, i.e., Primitive Neo-Hakka, stages of that system. A full appendix of data and a brief index conclude the volume.

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

To all of these individuals, and to many further friends, colleagues, and students not mentioned by name here, I remain deeply indebted. All remaining errors and deficiencies in the present work, which are unfortunately rife, are of course entirely my own responsibility.
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Map III: The Hakka Heartland (orange), enclosing the Ancestral Shē Settlement Area (olive), ca. 1500

Map IV: Possible Ancestral Paleo-Hakka Migration Routes
List of Abbreviations and Signs

~  Sine wave (separating alternate modern data forms)
/  Right slanting slash (separating competing variant reconstructed forms)
// Double right slanting slash (separating reconstructed forms for different etyma represented by the same sinograph in dialect data sources)

AY  Ānyuǎn 安遠
b  bái 白 “vernacular register”
BJYJ  Kè-Gàn fāngyán bǐjiào yánjiū 客贛方言比較研究 (Liú 1999)
BMH  Basil Mission Hakka archival material
CDC  Common Dialectal Chinese (Norman 2006; Ms. 1)
CN  Cāngnán-1 蒼南
CNH  Common Neo-Hakka
CS  Common Shē
CT  Chángtīng 長汀
CZ  Cháozhōu 潮州
DB  Diànbái 電白
DCBG  Kè-Gàn fāngyán diàochá bàogào 客贛方言調查報告 (Lǐ & Zhāng 1992)
EC  Early Chinese (Norman 1994; 2014; Ms. 1)
FA  Fú‘ān 福安
FD  Fúdǐng 福鼎
FJFYZ  Fújiàn shěngzhī: Fāngyànzhi 福建省誌：方言誌
FS  Fēngshùn 豐順
FYCH  Hán yǔ fāngyáncíhuì 漢語方言詞彙
FYZH  Hán yǔ fāngyīnzhìhuì 漢語方音字彙
GX  Guìxī 貴溪
HA  Huá’ān 華安
HL  Hǎilù 海陸
HY  Héyuán 河源
JN1  Jingning-1 景寧
L  Reconstructed form of purely literary register
LC1  Liánchéng-1  连城 (Lán 1999)
LC2  Liánchéng-2  连城 (Luó & Dèng 1995)
LF  Lùfēng 陸豐
LngY  Lóngyóu 龍游
LY  Luóyuán 羅源
LS  Lishuǐ 麗水
LZ  Lízhīzhāng 荔枝莊
MSC  Modern Standard Chinese
MX  Méixiàn 梅縣
ND1  Níngdū-1 寧都梅江鎮 (Liú 1999; 2001)
ND2  Níngdū-2 寧都梅江鎮 (Xiè 2003)
ND3  Níngdū-3 寧都 (Li & Zhāng 1992)
NK  Nánkāng 南康
OPH  O’Connor Proto-Hakka (O’Connor 1976)
QN  Quánzhōng Chéngxiāngzhèn 全南城廂鎮
QYS  Qiéyùn System
s  Sú 俗 “highly vernacular or informal register”
SC  Shùnchāng 順昌
SH  Shàngháng 上杭
SHT  Song Him Tong (Chóngqiäntâng) 崇謙堂
SM  Sānmíng 三明
SX  Sìxiàn 四縣
Chapter I: Introduction

1.1 Preliminaries

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

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

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

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

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

¹ See O’Connor (1975: i).
account satisfactorily for all currently available Hakka data, we shall let it stand, with a few minimal orthographic emendations. But where the need arises, we shall suggest emendations, some minor and some more substantive. Additionally, however, we shall adopt a new stance regarding the problem of lexical layering in the common system, a question that was as yet barely recognized in O’Connor’s time, and with which he was consequently not methodologically equipped to deal.

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

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

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

Much more recently, Nakanishi (2010) has demonstrated that the Shē dialects share common innovations with Hakka. This would support Norman’s view and has in fact led
Nakanishi to combine Shē into the Hakka dialect family. But in addition, he has also found that the Shē dialects possess among themselves unique common innovations that are not shared with the rest of Hakka. This suggests that they do differ *en bloc* from the “traditional” Hakka group in significant ways. Finally, it is noteworthy that if one compares reconstructed Common or Proto-Shē (Dèng 2013; Coblin Ms.1), with O’Connor’s Proto-Hakka, it is clear that the latter cannot have been directly ancestral to the former. The reason for this is that Common Shē possesses phonological distinctions which are neither present in the Hakka dialects today nor predictable from reconstructed Proto-Hakka. This indicates that what are currently called Shē and Hakka should be viewed as highly similar daughters of some earlier common ancestor. Nakanishi would view this common entity as his newly proposed general Hakka. Our view is that Shē and Hakka as currently constituted derive from an ancestral Common Hakka-Shē proto-language. It is important to note here that our difference with Nakanishi’s position is mainly one of terminological nomenclature rather than substance. What we would call Common Hakka-She, Nakanishi would perhaps call Common Hakka or Proto-Hakka, which for him must then have split into two discrete and cohesive sub-branches, whose names would be Shē and, for the nonce perhaps, “Non-Shē”. This “Non-Shē” would correspond directly to what O’Connor and other authorities have heretofore called “Hakka”. But in the last analysis, the way the entire reconstructive problem must be approached is the same in both cases. To wit, the Shē dialects, which share the unique innovations identified by Nakanishi, should first be compared with one another to arrive at a Common Shē or Proto-Shē system. And the Hakka (or “Non-Shē”) dialects must in like manner be subjected to mutual comparison. Only when these steps have been completed should the two reconstructed branch systems be compared with each other to arrive at the common ancestor of both branches. What name we assign to that ancestor is ultimately of secondary importance from the standpoint of the comparative exercise itself.

This, then, is our view of the Shē problem; and, if it is correct, then the upshot is that one may validly compare the currently constituted Hakka dialects without concern for Shē.

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

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2 This will be systematically discussed and demonstrated in §6.3 of Chapter VI below.
to be aberrant in various ways. Most of these deviant languages have come to light in the last three decades or so. They tend either to be called tūhuà 土話 “local patois”, or simply are denoted by the names of the locations where they are spoken. Those linguists who have studied them feel that they are “Hakka-like” in character but also note that they lack to one degree or another the usually cited diagnostic features of Hakka. Often, their problematic features seem to point in one way or another to archaic linguistic stages that predate Hakka proper. For this reason, the term currently used for them among Chinese dialectologists is Lǎo Kèjiāhuà 老客家話, for which we suggest the English translation “Paleo-Hakka”.3 There is in print today a growing literature on Paleo-Hakka. We shall eschew full references to it here and instead cite two representative works, i.e., Zhuāng (2008), which explains the concept and provides a tabular breakdown of currently known varieties and sub-varieties, plus references to a number of relevant sources and Zhuāng (2004), which serves as a convenient handbook and reference source for the individual Paleo-Hakka dialects of Guǎngdōng.4 In contradistinction to this, the “traditional” group of Hakka dialects is now called in Chinese Xīn Kèjiāhuà 新客家話, which we shall accordingly translate as “Neo-Hakka”. Most Paleo-Hakka dialects are found in northern and northeastern Guangdong; but recent studies have begun to report them elsewhere as well, e.g., in southern Jiāngxī (Zhāng 2014a).5 In our view, the Paleo-Hakka dialects should be viewed as having diverged from the general “Ur-Hakka” phylum at an earlier period, before

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

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

5 Zhāng (2014a), which deals specifically with Jiāngxī Hakka dialects, complements Zhuāng (2004) and provides convenient cross references to it.
the Common Hakka-Shē stage and well before the time when Hakka and Shē diverged and then evolved into their numerous constituent lects.⁶

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

1.3 Identification of Hakka Dialects — Selection Criteria

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

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

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⁶ We shall deal with this question in more detail in §6.4.3 of Chapter VI.
⁷ Norman specifically notes that his approach was inspired by ideas expressed earlier by Hashimoto (1973: 440). In this connection, see also Ting (1982: esp. §2, Table) and Huáng (1988; 1989).
It is very important to understand clearly what Norman means here by the term “incidence” and the modifier “lexically determined”. “Incidence” basically means “occurrence”, i.e., whether or not the required tonal configurations occur. “Lexical determination” means that the property under consideration, in this instance one or the other of the two tones in question, belongs to syllables innately and arbitrarily. That is, they cannot be determined by any external criterion, such as membership in a particular initial, final, or tonal class in the Qièyùn System, etc. In effect, they are unpredictable and innate parts of the individual words in which they occur. No other generalization can account for them. Now, in order to apply such a principle as a selection criterion, one must naturally have in hand a list of Qièyùn System lower register shǎngshēng syllables belonging to the two modern dialect classes in question, i.e., yīnpíng and yīnshǎng. One cannot derive such a list oneself by ratiocination. And Norman consequently offers his readers such a diagnostic list (1989: 340–341). It is also important here to note that he limits his diagnostic criterion to *sonorant* initial syllables and *ipso facto* excludes *obstruent* initial syllables.8 And, finally, it must be noted that a particular dialect need not contain all the diagnostic syllables in Norman’s list in order to be considered Hakka. The reason for this is that the inventory of such syllables in a given dialect may have been eroded through replacement by borrowings from other dialects or koines. What one looks for, then, is agreement with the test inventory in a substantial number of cases in the assayed dialect.

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

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8 This fact has not always been fully understood by those evaluating his criterion.
purposes of our comparative undertaking. Thus, Norman’s diagnostic procedure remains useful for us.

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

1. The copula should be a form of xì 系.

2. The popular register first person pronoun should have the segmental shape ŋai, or some form which is manifestly derivable from an earlier *ŋai in the dialect in question.

3. The verb “to eat” should be a form of shí 食.

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

1.4 Dialects to be Compared — Sources and Citation Formats

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


The two Liánchéng varieties included here are very similar, though not identical. Data from a Liánchéng type which is virtually identical to our Liánchéng-2 are found in Chapter 6 of the Fújiàn Shēngzhì: Fāngyánzhì (FJFYZ, Fújiānshěng difāngzhì biānzuǎn wěiyuánhuì...
1998). They have been included here in a few cases, since our Liánchéng data are rather scant. A full syllabary for another, rather different, type of Liánchéng is represented in an article by Xiàng Mèngbīng (2002). The author remarks that the Hakka affiliation of this dialect has been questioned by Akitani (1996), though he himself does not share these doubts (Xiàng 2002: 203). In view of these difficulties, we have decided not to include material from this dialect here.\footnote{Our own tentative view is that the form of Liánchéng involved in this discussion may in fact be a Paleo-Hakka dialect which has undergone significant convergence with some form or forms of Min. The matter deserves further study.}


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

Wēngyuán 翁源 (northern Guangdong) and Xiùzhuàn 秀篆 (Southeast Fujian) - Lǐ & Zhāng (1992).
Qīngliú 清流 (western Fújiàn) - Lán (1999) and Qīngliúxiàn difāngzhì biānzú wěiyuánhuì (1994)

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

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

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

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

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

It is important to note that the divisions represented in these lines are geographical rather than taxonomic. They are not intended as a substitute for formal subgrouping based on shared innovations. For example, the Jiāngxī line includes dialects of two different historical types, i.e.,
those which are indigenous and have no migration tradition (běndìhuà 本地话 or simply mǒu
difānghuà 某地方話 “the speech of such-and-such a place”) and those which are known from
written sources and oral tradition to have been carried into Jiāngxī from the nuclear Hakka area
in relatively later times (usually called Kèjìhuà 客籍話 or Guǎngdōnghuà 廣東話 by locals).

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

1.5 Phonological Synopsis of the Compared Dialects

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

yīnpíng 陰平 (1)  yīnshǎng 陰上 (3)  yīnqu 陰去 (5)  yīnru 陰入 (7)
yángpíng 陽平 (2)  yángshǎng 陽上 (4)  yángqù 陽去 (6)  yángru 陽入 (8)

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

1.5.1.1 Syllable initials (in the orthography of MacIver 1926)

p   ph  m  f   v

t   th  n  l

ts  tsh  s

ch  chh  sh  ny

k   kh  ng  h

1.5.1.2 Syllable finals

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

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

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

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

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

m   ng

Zero
1.5.1.3 Tones

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

yǐnpíng (1) a (unmarked)   shǎngshēng (3) á   qùshēng (5) à   yǐnrù (7) aC
yángpíng (2) â            yángrù (8) áC

1.5.2 The Méixiàn 梅縣 (MX) sound system

1.5.2.1 Syllable initials

p   p’   m   f   v

 t   t’   n   l

 ts  ts’  s

 n   k   k’   ŋ   h

Ø

1.5.2.2 Syllable finals

l

i   ui   iui   im   in   ip   it

u   eu   iu   un   iun   ŋ   iuŋ   iut   ut   iuk   uk

a   ia   ua   ai   iai   uai   au   iau   am   iam   an   ian   an   ian

uaŋ   ap   iap   at   iat   uat   ak   iak   uak
1.5.2.3 Tones

yīnpíng (1) 44         shǎngshēng (3) 31         qùshēng (5) 52         yīnrù (7) 1
yángpíng (2) 11         yángrù (8) 5

1.5.3 The Hǎilù 海陸 (HL) sound system

1.5.3.1 Syllable initials

p   p’   m   f   v

     t   t’   n   l
   ts  ts’   s
   tf  tf’  ŋ   ʃ   ʒ

 k   k’   ŋ   h
 Ø

1.5.3.2 Syllable finals

ï   ïp   ït
Common Neo-Hakka:  
A Comparative Reconstruction

1.5.3.3 Tones

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

1.5.4 The Sìxiàn 四縣 (SX) sound system

1.5.4.1 Syllable initials

p  p’  m  f  v
1.5.4.2 Syllable finals

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{i} & \quad \text{i}p & \quad \text{i}t \\
i & \quad \text{i}p & \quad \text{im} & \quad \text{it} & \quad \text{in} \\
u & \quad \text{ut} & \quad \text{un} & \quad \text{uk} & \quad \text{uŋ} & \quad \text{ui} \\
iu & \quad \text{iut} & \quad \text{iun} & \quad \text{iuk} & \quad \text{iuŋ} \\
a & \quad \text{ap} & \quad \text{am} & \quad \text{at} & \quad \text{an} & \quad \text{ak} & \quad \text{aŋ} & \quad \text{ai} & \quad \text{au} \\
ia & \quad \text{iap} & \quad \text{iam} & \quad \text{ian} & \quad \text{iak} & \quad \text{iaŋ} & \quad \text{iai} & \quad \text{iau} \\
u a & \quad \text{uat} & \quad \text{uan} & \quad \text{uan} & \quad \text{uai} \\
e & \quad \text{ep} & \quad \text{em} & \quad \text{et} & \quad \text{en} & \quad \text{eu} \\
ie & \quad \text{iat} & \quad \text{ieu} \\
 & \quad \text{uet} \\
o & \quad \text{ot} & \quad \text{on} & \quad \text{ok} & \quad \text{oŋ} & \quad \text{oi} \\
io & \quad \text{ion} & \quad \text{iok} & \quad \text{iŋ} \\
 & \quad \text{ŋ} & \quad \text{m}
\end{align*}
\]
1.5.4.3 Tones

yīnpíng (1) 24  shàngshēng (3) 31  yīnqù (5) 55  yīnrù (7) 22

yángping (2) 11  yángrù (8) 55

1.5.5 The Lùfēng 陸豐 (LF) sound system

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

1.5.5.1 Syllable initials

p  p’  m  f  v

 t  t’  n  l

ts  ts’  s

 tʃ  tʃ’  n  ʃ  j

k  k’  ɭ  h

Ø

1.5.5.2 Syllable finals

i  ip  im  it  in

u  ut  un  uk  uŋ  ui

iu  iut  iun  iuk  iuŋ

a  ap  am  at  an  ak  aŋ  ai  au
Tones classes are indicated in the source, using a numerical system that differs somewhat from that current today. We have modified this to the current system, to be read as follows:

yīnpíng (1)  shǎngshēng (3)  yīnqù (5)  yīnrù (7)
yángpíng (2)  yángqù (6)  yángrù (8)

1.5.6 The Lìzhīzhuāng 荔枝莊 (LZ) sound system

1.5.6.1 Syllable initials

p  ph  mb  f  v

t  th  l

tʃ  tʃh  ʃ  z

k  kh  ʊ̃  ʰ  h

Ø
1.5.6.2 Syllable finals

i   ui    im    in    ip    it  
 u  ūu  iu  un  uŋ  iuŋ  ut  iuk  uk  
 a  ia  ai  au  iau  am  iam  an  aŋ  ian  ap  iap  at  ak  iak
 ε  em  en  ep  et
 ɔ  iɔ  iɔi  iɔe  iɔŋ  ɔŋ  ɔt  ɔk  iɔk
η   m

1.5.6.3 Tones

yīnpíng (1) 34  shǎngshēng (3) 31  qūshēng (5) 53  yīnrù (7) 2
yángping (2) 21  yángrù (8) 5

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

1.5.7.1 Syllable initials

p  p’  m  f  v  
 t  t’  n  l
 ts  ts’  s
 k  k’  ŋ  h
(Ø)
1.5.7.2 Syllable finals

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{a} & \quad \text{ai} & \quad \text{au} & \quad \text{am} & \quad \text{ap} & \quad \text{an} & \quad \text{at} & \quad \text{aŋ} & \quad \text{ak} & \quad \text{ia} & \quad \text{iau} & \quad \text{iam} & \quad \text{iap} & \quad \text{iŋ} & \quad \text{iak} \\
\varepsilon & \quad \varepsilon m & \quad \varepsilon p & \quad \varepsilon n & \quad \varepsilon t \\
\text{i} & \quad \text{im} & \quad \text{ip} & \quad \text{in} & \quad \text{it} \\
\text{ɔ} & \quad \text{ɔ i} & \quad \text{ɔ c} & \quad \text{ɔ u} & \quad \text{ɔ t} & \quad \text{ɔ n} & \quad \text{ɔ t} & \quad \text{ɔ ŋ} & \quad \text{ɔ k} & \quad \text{i ɔ} & \quad \text{i ɔ ŋ} & \quad \text{i ɔ k} \\
\text{u} & \quad \text{ui} & \quad \text{iu} & \quad \text{un} & \quad \text{ut} & \quad \text{iun} & \quad \text{iut} & \quad \text{uŋ} & \quad \text{uk} & \quad \text{iŋ} & \quad \text{iuk} \\
\eta & \quad \eta \m̩̩
\end{align*} \]

1.5.7.3 Tones

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

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{yīnpíng (1) 23} & \quad \text{shǎngshēng (3) 32} & \quad \text{qūshēng (5) 53} & \quad \text{yīnrù (7) 3} \\
\text{yángpíng (2) 11} & \quad \text{yángrù (8) 5}
\end{align*} \]

1.5.8 The Héyuán 河源 (HY) sound system

1.5.8.1 Syllable initials

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{p} & \quad \text{p’} & \quad \text{m} & \quad \text{f} & \quad \text{v} \\
\text{t} & \quad \text{t’} & \quad \text{n} & \quad \text{l} \\
\text{ts} & \quad \text{ts’} & \quad \text{s} \\
\text{k} & \quad \text{k’} & \quad \eta & \quad \text{h} \\
\text{j} & \quad \Ø
\end{align*} \]
1.5.8.2 Syllable finals

ɿ
i   im   in   ip   it
u   iu   un   ut   ui
y   yn   yi
a   ia   uai   yai   au   iau   am   iam   an   ian   uan   yan   an   aŋ   iaŋ
ap   iap   at   iat   uat   ak   iak
ɒŋ   yɒŋ   ɒk   yok
ɔ   uɔ
iɛ   ye
ɔm   əp   yat
oŋ   yɔŋ   ok   yok
m

1.5.8.3 Tones

yīnpíng 阴平 (1) 33  shǎngshēng 阴上 (3) 24  yīnqù 阴去 (5) 12  yīnrù 阴入 (7) 5
yángpíng 阳平 (2) 31  yángqù 阳去 (6) 55  yángrù 陽入 (8) 2

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

1.5.9.1 Syllable initials

p   p’   m   f   v
1.5.9.2 Syllable finals

- e, øe
- y, yn
- i, ui, yi, im, in, ip, it
- u, iu, un, ut
- a, ia, iau, uai, au, iau, am, iam, an, ian, uan, yan, ao, iao, ap, iap, at, iat, uat, ak, iak
- o, øo, iø, øk, iok
- ei, iei, ua, um, en, eŋ, up, et, uŋ
- oŋ, iŋ
- ou, iou
- n, m

1.5.9.3 Tones

- yīnpíng (1) 45
- shǎngshēng (3) 31
- qūshēng (5) 51
- yīnrù (7) 2
- yángpíng (2) 24
- yángrù (8) 5
1.5.10 The Diànbái 電白 (DB) sound system

1.5.10.1 Syllable initials

\[ \begin{align*}
p & \quad p' & \quad m & \quad f & \quad v \\
t & \quad t' & \quad n & \quad l & \quad l \\
ts & \quad ts' & \quad s & \quad z \\
k & \quad k' & \quad \eta & \quad h \\
n & \quad n & \quad \emptyset \\
\end{align*} \]

1.5.10.2 Syllable finals

\[ \begin{align*}
i & \quad in & \quad im & \quad it & \quad ip \\
\underline{u} & \quad un & \quad u\eta & \quad u\iota & \quad uk & \quad iuk \\
a & \quad ia & \quad iai & \quad uai & \quad au & \quad iau & \quad an & \quad uan & \quad am & \quad ia\eta & \quad ia\iota & \quad at & \quad uat \\
ap & \quad iap & \quad ak & \quad iak & \quad uak \\
o & \quad io & \quad oi & \quad ou & \quad on & \quad uon & \quad o\eta & \quad o\iota & \quad ot & \quad ok & \quad iok & \quad uok \\
e & \quad ei & \quad iei & \quad en & \quad ien & \quad em & \quad et & \quad iet \\
ei & \quad uei \\
\underline{\eta} & \quad \eta & \quad m \\
\end{align*} \]
1.5.10.3 Tones

yīnpíng (1) 34  shàngshēng (3) 31  qūshēng (5) 54  yīnrù (7) 2
yángping (2) 213  yángrù (8) 5

1.5.11 The Yílōng 儀隆 (YL) sound system

1.5.11.1 Syllable initials

p  p’  m  f

 t  t’  n  l

 ts  ts’  s

 tʂ  tʂ’  ş  ʐ

tɕ  tɕ’  ŋ

k  k’  ŋ  h

Ø

1.5.11.2 Syllable finals

ɿ  ř  y

i  in

u  un  iuŋ  uŋ

a  ia  ua  ai  uai  au  iau  an  aŋ  ian  uan  aŋ  aŋ  ia?  ia?  ua?

ɛ  iɛ  ue  ye  ien  en  eʔ  iɛʔ  ueʔ
Common Neo-Hakka: A Comparative Reconstruction

oi uoi
ei uei ei? uei?
əu iəu əu? iəu?
ən uən ən ən ən? ən? ən?
ŋ̩̩ n m̩

1.5.11.3 Tones
yīnpíng (1) 33 shàngshēng (3) 53 qùshēng (5) 13 yīnrù (7) 5
yángpíng (2) 11 yángrù (8) 3

1.5.12 The Xīchāng 西昌 (XC) sound system
1.5.12.1 Syllable initials
p p’ m f v
t t’ n l
ts ts’ s
ts̩ ts̩’ s̩ z̩
tɛ te’ c
k k’ η h
Ø
1.5.12.2 Syllable finals

\(| \)  \(| \)  \(| \)
\i  i
\i\i
\u  \u  \u  \u  \u
a  ia  ua  ai  uai  au  an  uan  an  a\n  ia\n  uan\n  ia\n  uan
o  io  oi  o\n  io\n\e  ie  ien  ye\n  ie\n  ue
\e  \e\n\o  \o  \o  \o  \o
\m

1.5.12.3 Tones

yīnpíng (1) 45  shǎngshēng (3) 31  qùshēng (5) 53  yīnrù (7) 3
yángpíng (2) 13  yángrù (8) 5

1.5.13 The Chángtīng 長汀 (CT) sound system

1.5.13.1 Syllable initials

p  p’  m  f  v
\ t  \t’  n  l
\ts  \ts’  s
1.5.13.2 Syllable finals

i

a ai ia an ia an ua uan

e eu ieu ue en ie ien uen

o io oŋ ion

ɔ io oŋ ion

i iŋ

u uŋ

ŋ

1.5.13.3 Tones

yīnpíng 阴平 (1) 33 shǎngshēng 阴上 (3) 43 yīnqù 阴去 (5) 55

yángpíng 阳平 (2) 24 yángqù 阳去 (6) 21
1.5.14 The Wūping (Pingchuān) 武平平川 (WP) sound system

1.5.14.1 Syllable initials

p ph m f v

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>t</th>
<th>th</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>l</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
<td>tsh</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>k’</td>
<td>η</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.5.14.2 Syllable finals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>l</th>
<th>i u iŋ iʔ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>i u ŋ uŋ uʔ iu?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e u eŋ iŋ uŋ eʔ ieʔ ueʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>aŋ iaŋ uŋ aʔ ia? ua?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aŋ</td>
<td>aŋ iaŋ uŋ aʔ ia?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>i c iŋ i coh ciʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| m~x | ~m~ụ n ~ụn ~ụ
1.5.14.3 Tones

yīnpíng (1) 24  shǎngshēng (3) 42  qūshēng (5) 452  yīnrù (7) 32

yángpíng (2) 22  yángrù (8) 4

1.5.15 The Yǒngdìng 永定 (YD) sound system

1.5.15.1 Syllable initials

p  p’  m  f  v

 t  t’  n  l

ts  ts’  s  z

k  k’  ŋ  h

Ø

1.5.15.2 Syllable finals

i

a  ia  ua  ai  iai  uai  aiu  an  aŋ  iaŋ  uaŋ  at  uat
a?  ia?  ua?

i  iŋ  iʔ

ei  iei  uei  eu  ieu

iu  uŋ  iuŋ  ut  uʔ  iuʔ

en  ien  eʔ  ieʔ  ueʔ

oi  ou  iou
1.5.15.3 Tones

yīnpíng (1) 55  shǎngshēng (3) 53  qùshēng (5) 33  yīnrù (7) 2
yángpíng (2) 11  yángrù (8) 5

1.5.16 The Shàngháng 上杭 (SH) sound system

1.5.16.1 Syllable initials

p  ph  m  f  v

th n l

ts  ts’  s

tʃ teh n  e

k  kh  ŋ  h
Ø

1.5.16.2 Syllable finals

l

i  iŋ  iʔ

u  iu  iuʔ
1.5.16.3 Tones

yīnpíng (1) 35  shǎngshēng (3) 31  qùshēng (5) 53  yīnrù (7) 1
yángpíng (2) 22  yángrù (8) 4

1.5.17 The Liánchéng-1 連城 (LC1) sound system

1.5.17.1 Syllable initials

p  p’  m  f  v

 t  t’  n  l

ts  ts’  s

tʃ  tʃ’  ʃ

k  k’  ȵ  h
Ø
1.5.17.2 Syllable finals

\[\text{ī} \]

\[\text{o  io  oi  oŋ  ioŋ}\]

\[\text{a  ia  ua  ai  aŋ  iaŋ  āi  uāi}\]

\[\text{ua}\]

\[\text{c  cì  cī  cì  cū  cī}\]

\[\text{u  ui}\]

\[\text{eu  ieu}\]

\[\text{e  ie  ue  iε  iε  iε}\]

\[\text{ŋ̩̩}\]

1.5.17.3 Tones

yīnpíng 阴平 (1) 31  shǎngshēng 阴上 (3) 213  yīnqù 阴去 (5) 42

yángpíng 阳平 (2) 22  yángqù 阳去 (6) 24

1.5.18 The Liánchéng-2 連城 (LC2) sound system

1.5.18.1 Syllable initials

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

\[\text{p  p’  m  f  v}\]

\[\text{t  t’  n  l}\]
1.5.18.2 Syllable finals

1

ią

i u i vi

a u a i a ą ią a ą

o i o ço i o i

o o u o o u o ou

e i e ye ye i e ę e ę ię ę ę

aę ią aę ią aę ią aę

ə e ię ę e

a u a u a

1.5.18.3 Tones

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

yángping 陽平 (2) 22 yángqù 陽去 (6) 35
1.5.19 The Nánkāng 南康 (NK) sound system

1.5.19.1 Syllable initials

p  p’  m  f  v

 t  t’  n  l

ts  ts’  s

tɕ  tɕ’ ɕ
k  k’ ŋ  h
Ø

1.5.19.2 Syllable finals

ɿ  ẽ
i  iŋ
u  iu
y  yŋ
o  io
ɔ  iɔ  ɔ̃  ɔ̃
ɔ̃  oŋ  oŋ
e  ue  ɛ  iɛ  uɛ  ɣɛ
æ  uæ
a  ia  ua  ya  â  iâ  uâ
ŋ
1.5.19.3 Tones

yīnpíng (1) 44  shǎngshēng (3) 21  qūshēng (5) 53  yīnrù (7) 24

yángpíng (2) 11  yángrù (8) 55

1.5.20 The Ānyuǎn 安遠 (AY) sound system

1.5.20.1 Syllable initials

p  p’  m  f  v

t  t’  n  l

ṭs  ṭs’  s

ṭe  ṭe’  e  j

k  k’  ɲ  h

Ø

1.5.20.2 Syllable finals

ɿ  ɚ  u

i  iŋ

æ  uæ

u  uŋ

e  ie  ue  oe  ioe

a  ia  ua  ā  ǐā
1.5.20.3 Tones

yīnpíng 陰平 (1) 35  
shǎngshēng 陰上 (3) 31  
yīnqù 陰去 (5) 53  
yángpíng 陽平 (2) 24  
yángqù 陽去 (6) 55

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

1.5.21.1 Syllable initials

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p</th>
<th>p’</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>v</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>t’</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
<td>ts’</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te</td>
<td>te’</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>k’</td>
<td>η</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.5.21.2 Syllable finals

ɪ
i ɪŋ
u iu
y yŋ
e ie ue ye ě iě uě yě
o io uo
a ia ua ā iā uā
æ uæ
c io ɔ iɔ uɔ
əŋ
ŋ ~ n

1.5.21.3 Tones

yīnpíng (1) 24  shǎngshēng (3) 42  qǔshēng (5) 55
yángpíng (2) 11

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

1.5.22.1 Syllable initials

p  p’  m  f  v
t  t’  n  l
ts  ts’  s
1.5.22.2 Syllable finals

1 ə u
i ui in it uit
u iu un uk iuk
a ia ua ai uai au an uan aŋ iaŋ uaŋ ait uait ak
iak
o ən əŋ iəŋ ət
e e e u en ien uen iet ek uek
ue
o io ok iok
ɔ iɔ iɔn iŋ ɔŋ iɔt
ɔŋ

1.5.22.3 Tones

yīnpíng (1) 24       shǎngshēng (3) 21       qūshēng (5) 53       yīnrù (7) 2
yángpíng (2) 13       yángrù (8) 5
1.5.23 The Quánnán Chéngxiāngzhèn 全南城廂鎮 (QN) sound system

1.5.23.1 Syllable initials

\[
p \quad p' \quad m \quad f \quad v \\
t \quad t' \quad n \quad l \\
ts \quad ts' \quad s \\
te \quad te' \quad e \\
k \quad k' \quad ŋ \quad h \\
Ø
\]

1.5.23.2 Syllable finals

\[
1 \quad ə \\
i \quad ui \quad iui \quad in \quad iʔ \quad uiʔ \quad iuiʔ \\
u \quad iu \quad un \quad iun \\
ei \quad uei \quad eu \quad en \quad ien \quad ien \quad e? \quad ie? \\
o \quad io \quad o? \quad io? \\
aw \quad iaw \quad ai \quad an \quad ian \quad ian \quad a? \quad ia? \\
æ \quad iæ \quad iən \quad iən \quad a? \quad ia? \\
æʔ \quad iæʔ \\
ŋ̩̩
\]
1.5.23.3 Tones

yīnpíng (1) 24  shàngshēng (3) 42  yīnqù (5) 44  yīnrù (7) 3
yángping (2) 11  yángqù (6) 22  yángrù (8) 5

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

1.5.24.1 Syllable initials

p  p’  m  f  v

p t  t’  n  l

ts  ts’  s

tɕ  tɕ’  ɕ

k  k’  ŋ  h

Ø

1.5.24.2 Syllable finals

ə  iəu  êm  ŋn  êp  êt  ekt
i  ui  im  in  ip  ait  it  uit

u  iu  un  ŋn  iuŋ  uk  iuk

ei  iɛ  oe  eu  oem  oen  iœn  iœn  oep  iet  oet
o  ok  iok

a  ia  au  iau  am  iam  an  ap  iap  ak  iak
1.5.24.3 Tones

yīnpíng (1) 42  shǎngshēng (3) 214  yīnqù (5) 31  yīnrù (7) 3

yángpíng (2) 13  yángqù (6) 44  yángrù (8) 5

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

1.5.25.1 Syllable initials

p  p’  m  f  v
	t  t’  n  l

ts  ts’  s

tɕ  tɕ’  ç

k  k’  ŋ  h
Ø

1.5.25.2 Syllable finals

i  ui  im  ip  in  it  iŋ  ik
u  iu  un  ut  uŋ  iuŋ  uk  iuŋ
Introduction

1.5.25.3 Tones

yīnpíng (1) 42       shǎngshēng (3) 213       yīnqù (5) 22       yīnrù (7) 2
yángpíng (2) 24       yángqù (6) 55       yángrù (8) 5

1.5.26 The Níngdū-3 宁都 (ND2) sound system

1.5.26.1 Syllable initials

p   p’   m   f   v


t   t’   n   l


ts   ts’   s

k   k’   ŋ   h

Ø
1.5.26.2 Syllable finals

1
i ui im in iŋ ip it ik
u un uŋ iuŋ ut uk iuk
a ia ai iai uai au iau am iam uam an ian uan anŋ ianŋ
ap iap uap at iat uat ak iak
ə oə eə iə iəŋ ñə aiŋ ok iok
ie
ei
ŋŋ ŋŋ m

1.5.26.3 Tones
yīnpíng (1) 43 shǎngshēng (3) 213 yīnqù (5) 31 yīnrù (7) 2
yángping (2) 24 yángqù (6) 55 yángrù (8) 5

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

1.5.27.1 Syllable initials
p p’ m f v
t t’ n l

44
1.5.27.2 Syllable finals

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{i} & \\
i & \text{ui in im it ip} \\
\text{u} & \text{iu un iun ung ut iut uk iuk} \\
\text{e} & \text{eu en em et uet} \\
\text{et \varepsilon p} \\
o & \text{io uo ou oi on ion uon ong uong ot ok iok} \\
a & \text{ia uai uai au iau an ian uan ang iang am iam} \\
& \text{at iat uat yat ak iak ap iap} \\
\text{ng m} \\
\end{align*}
\]

1.5.27.3 Tones

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yīnpíng (1)} & \quad \text{shāngshēng (3)} & \quad \text{yīnqù (5)} & \quad \text{yīnrù (7)} \\
\text{yángpíng (2)} & \quad \text{yángqù (6)} & \quad \text{yángrù (8)} \\
\end{align*}
\]
Map I shows the locations of the dialects listed above, exclusive of those found in Sichuān, Tāiwān, and Borneo. The original Guǎngdōng locus of Lǚfēng (LF; Borneo) is noted in parentheses.
The geographical setting of these widely dispersed dialects is varied and diffuse and does not lend itself to succinct description. However, some general observations are possible. As noted earlier, the “Hakka heartland” as denoted by Leong (1997) is a mountain area which lies astride the Jiānxī/Guǎngdōng/Fújiàn border. The topography here is dominated by highlands, drained by streams whose upper reaches are generally navigable, if at all, only by rafts or small watercraft. Migratory Hakkas who have left this area as part of the great Hakka Diaspora of Míng and Qīng times have tended to settle in widely dispersed but discrete population islands, in upland areas across broad swaths of south and, later, southwest China, as well as beyond the political borders of the country. Their generally upland settlement patterns reflect, in the first instance, the fact that the best arable flatlands in their new homes were already occupied when they arrived. But an important secondary factor has been that, as a result of their long early sojourn in the South Central Highlands, they early on became highly adapted to high country life. They were, for example, especially skilled at upland land clearance and had specialized familiarity with the relative cultivability of highland soils, with montane climatic and growing conditions, and with the particular cropping characteristics of upland staple cultivars such as maize and tubers, and of cash crops such as tea and indigo. And, additionally, they were specialized in other, non-agricultural upland pursuits, such as logging, mining, stone quarrying, and the harvesting of medicinal herbs. All of these factors, discussed in great detail by Leong (1997: Chapter 1), have contributed to the typical Hakka settlement patterns and lifeways associated with the group throughout recent history.

1.6 Methodology and Conventions

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

To begin, we assume that the Neo-Hakka dialects constitute a valid genetic or taxonomic unit, since without this assumption a comparative reconstruction is methodologically meaningless. In this we are of course merely adopting O’Connor’s (and Norman’s) original stance regarding Hakka. However, the object of our reconstructive exercise differs from
O’Connor’s in two salient respects. First of all, it encompasses all dialects currently classed as Neo-Hakka by dialectologists, while O’Connor’s work was devoted specifically to dialects of the Méixian or Méixiàn-related variety. Thus our reconstructed system will be called Common Neo-Hakka. The term Proto-Hakka will then be used exclusively in reference to O’Connor’s reconstructed system of 1976, and the dialect type with which he dealt in his work will be called “Mainstream Hakka”.

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

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

11 A typical exemplar of the degree to which this sub-discipline of dialectology is now flourishing is the recent large compendium of articles edited by Ting Pang-Hsin (2007a). Ting’s own contribution to this collection (2007b) provides a useful and insightful historical retrospective on the development of the field.
To begin, we shall assume that the reconstructive exercise, as a methodology, requires us to compare and reconstruct proto-forms for all comparanda which show regular sound correspondences, regardless of their real or suspected age or origin. Where doublets or other such variants in cогenate sets are present in individual dialects, and comparable variational sets are found in multiple dialects, we hold that such variation must, as a methodological step, be projected back to the common system. This will then result in a restored entity comprised of multiple lexical layers, whose ultimate chronological stages remain to be determined. That this is so is because of the complex and pervasive nature of lexical stratification in Hakka, as in most other known Chinese dialect families. Once this exercise has been completed we will be in a position to seriate and chronologize the various strata. In the end, then, Common Neo-Hakka as we conceive of it will be a multi-stratal entity, rather than a mono-stratal one. And in this respect, Common Neo-Hakka is fundamentally different from Proto-Hakka as reconstructed by O’Connor, for, in the latter, where lexical variation occasionally comes to light, it is explicitly and intentionally left unexplained.

It will now be useful to adopt precise terminology for two major constituent strata of Common Neo-Hakka. One is of course the very oldest layer, which corresponds *mutatis mutandis* to the popular lexical stratum studied by O’Connor. This we shall call “Primitive Neo-Hakka”. It is of course of salient interest for the comparison of Hakka with other dialect families. However, the fact is that in quite a few segments of the Hakka lexicon the component that is numerically “thickest” and most prominent in the dialects is not comprised of the historically oldest lexical forms. It is, in other words, not coterminous with Primitive Neo-Hakka. This is because at various later periods lexical material from later layers has ousted and replaced on a massive scale the oldest popular forms. This “thickest” layer, regardless of its age or antiquity in any particular case, we shall call “Core Hakka”. And it is Core Hakka that native speakers regularly view as the “real Hakka” component of their language, by virtue of the fact that its exemplars are numerically the greatest. In the end, we shall, as already indicated, need to identify different layers in the common system and seriate them. However, our position is that this task should be postponed until the basic work of reconstructing *all layers* has been completed.
In the body of the present work, the sound systems of our representative set of Hakka dialects will be analyzed using the comparative method, in order to reconstruct a common system from which the individual modern systems can be regularly and systematically derived. The reconstructed system will be called “Common Neo-Hakka” (CNH). For each cognate set cited in the discussion, a Modern Standard Chinese (MSC) form will be given in pīnyīn Romanization, followed by a Chinese character. After this we supply a Qièyùn System (QYS) form in the orthography of Bernhard Karlgren (1954), as emended by Fang-Kuei Li (1971). The numbers “3” and “4” are redundantly added to Division III and Division IV Chóngniǔ 重纽 finals respectively, as reminder notations. These QYS forms are given for ease of reference to the traditional philological framework, and no assumption is made regarding their historical validity or phonological correctness for any actual earlier form of Chinese. They are not starred. In addition to the QYS forms, we give for each cognate set Common Dialectal Chinese (CDC) forms in Jerry Norman’s CDC system (Norman 2006; 2014; Ms. 1). This system was developed by comparing representative dialects from the major modern dialect families, exclusive of Mǐn 闽, and is much simpler than the QYS. In our view, it may to a certain extent represent, typologically at least, something similar to the ancestral type of common Chinese from which the modern non-Mǐn dialects have evolved. It can be profitably compared here with the Qièyùn System and Common Neo-Hakka. Following Norman’s practice, the CDC forms are starred. Relatively few modern Chinese dialects preserve the difference between CDC *-ie (= QYS -jwo) and *-iu (= QYS -ju). As a reminder notation, we shall signal this fact by adding CDC *-iu forms in round brackets after those having CDC *-ie. Norman himself noted (2006: 253) that his CDC system does not take account of Hakka evidence suggesting the existence at the CDC stage of separate voiced and voiceless sonorants. Since this issue is of special interest to us in the present work, we shall indicate the distinction in question by adding a superscript letter “h” before CDC sonorants in cases where Norman suspected early voicelessness to have been present. We follow here Norman’s own listing of such forms, which he published in Norman (1989: 330–335), with some further additions based on his assignment criteria.

In addition to CDC reconstructions, we also give Norman’s “Early Chinese” (EC) forms, as initially introduced by him in Norman (1994) and further elaborated in Norman (2014) and (Ms. 1). These reconstructions represent general Chinese of a chronologically indeterminate
stage earlier than CDC. They are specifically designed for use in the historical and comparative study of Chinese dialects and will be of use to us at certain points in our work, especially when dealing with Primitive Neo-Hakka.

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

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

12 This problem in the Sichuān data is specifically noted and discussed by Cuī (2011: 32).
by an upper case “L”. Where variants occur at only one dialect point, we do not ordinarily posit such multiple competing proto-forms, because the comparative method is not methodologically applicable in such instances. In some cases, multiple etyma appear in a single cognate set. This is because in the sources different etyma are occasionally written with the same Chinese graph; and the lexical material we have used is normally tied to sinographs in the sources. In such cases multiple phonological reconstructions for the different etyma are separated by a double right slanting slash, “//”, and the meanings of the separate etyma are briefly glossed in an appended note.

Arguments on which the initials, finals, and tones of the reconstructed forms are based will be found in the pertinent chapters of the study, as follows: syllable initials: Chapter II, syllable finals: Chapter III, and tones: Chapter IV. A full set of all 1360 cognate sets used in the basic analysis will be found in the Appendix.

The citation of data given in the cognate sets requires some further explanation. For each example syllable a tone class, as indicated in the pertinent source, is supplied. In order to save space while remaining faithful to the source citations, these classes are identified by their tone numbers in the eight number identification system current among Chinese dialectologists. The following conversion chart, already mentioned in §1.5 above, can be used to identify the tone classes of the traditional nomenclature:

- yīnpíng 陰平 (1)
- yīnshǎng 陰上 (3)
- yīnqù 陰去 (5)
- yīnrù 陰入 (7)
- yángrù 陽入 (8)
- yángpíng 陽平 (2)
- yángshǎng 陽上 (4)
- yángqù 陽去 (6)

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

In addition to sociolinguistic or stylistic register, data forms are occasionally identified in the sources as sú 俗 “vulgo”. This designation is somewhat ambiguous, for what it means in the individual sources is not always made clear. The probable sense is “highly vernacular or informal”. But in some cases it can also mean that the Chinese graph customarily used to write
the syllable is either considered false, purely semantic, or in some sense etymologizing rather than licit. Forms identified as sú will be marked with the letter “s” in our data sets.

Finally, as regards to the representation of aspiration in the data, the transcriptional conventions found in the original sources have been retained unchanged. Thus, aspiration is indicated by the apostrophe for most data points, but by a plain letter “h” or a raised “h” i.e., [ʰ] in others. Raised letter “h” will be written as plain “h” for typographical simplicity.
Chapter II: Reconstruction of the Syllable Initials of Common Neo-Hakka

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

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
p & p' & m & f & v \\
t & t' & n & l \\
ts & ts' & s \\
tš & tš' & ŋ & ş \\
k & k' & ŋ & h \\
Ø
\end{array}
\]

Twenty-one initials are reconstructed, including initial zero.

2.1 The Labials and Dentilabials

2.1.1 CNH *p-

This initial survives unchanged in the dialects. Examples are:

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

bǐng 餅 QYS pjäng CDC *piang3/EC *pengx
BMH [piāŋg]; MX [piāŋ3]; HL [piāŋ3]; SX [piāŋ3]; LF [piāŋ3]; LZ [piāŋ3]; SHT [piāŋ3]
Reconstruction of the Syllable Initials of Common Neo-Hakka

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

[OPH *piang3]   CNH *piaŋ3

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

feī 飛 QYS pjwei CDC *fui1/EC *puy
BMH [fui ~ pui]; MX [fui1w ~ pui1b]; HL [fui1w ~ pui1b]; SX [fui1w ~ pui1b]; LF [fui1 ~ pui1];
   LZ [pui1w ~ fui1b]; SHT [fui1]
HY [fī1]; XY [fui1 ~ pei1]; DB [fei1]; YL [fei1]; XC [fei1]
CT [fī1]; WP [fī1w ~ pi1b]; YD [fei1 ~ pi1]; SH [fī1 ~ pei1]; LC1 [po1]; LC2 [—]
NK [fī1]; AY [fe1]; SY [fī1]; XS [fī1]; QN [fui1]; ND1 [fī1]; ND2 [fī1]; ND3 [fī1]

[OPH *pui1]   CNH *pui1/L *fui1
†Wén and bái identifications here appear to be reversed in this pair. Elsewhere in our data, if wén/bái forms are specifically identified in examples of this sort, it is the bilabial forms that are said to be of bái register.

fēn 分 QYS pjuän CDC *fun1/EC *pun
BMH [fun ~ pun]; MX [fun1w ~ pun1b]; HL [pun1 ~ fun1]; SX [pun1 ~ fun1]; LF [fun1 ~
   pun1]; LZ [pin1b ~ fun1w]; SHT [fun1]
HY [pun1 ~ hun1]; XY [fun1]; DB [fən1 ~ pən1]; YL [fən1w ~ pən1b]; XC [fən1]
CT [pən1]; WP [fən1w ~ pən1b]; YD [pun1 ~ fun1]; SH [feiŋ1 ~ peiŋ1]; LC1 [pən1]; LC2
   [pən1]
NK [fəl1]; AY [fəŋ1]; SY [fəl1]; XS [fən1 ~ pən1]; QN [fun1]; ND1 [fən1]; ND2 [fən1]; ND3
   [fən1]

[OPH *pun1]   CNH *pun1/L *fun1
The first reconstructed form is normally used specifically in the sense “to give” in the vernaculars that reflect it.
It was examples of this sort which perplexed O’Connor and led to his lengthy discussion of how they should be handled comparatively (1976: 21–22). In the end, he was unable to resolve the question to his own satisfaction. For us today, on the other hand, the matter is no longer problematic. In cognate sets of this sort we simply reconstruct competing forms in *p- and *f-. And, since the type of variation we find here is widespread in other sets, it is clear that what we are dealing with here is lexical layering, i.e., a bài layer in *p- and a wén layer in *f-. As we shall see in §6.2.1.1 of Chapter VI, it is probable that the former represents the Primitive Neo-Hakka stage, while the latter belongs to a subsequent stratum added to the Common Neo-Hakka lexicon through borrowing. This hypothesis derives support from comparison with the parallel Common Shē sets:13

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

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

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

13 Common Shē (CS) as reconstructed in Coblin (Ms.1). Dialect points are: Fǔjìān - Fú’ān 福安 (FA), Fúdǐng 福鼎 (FD), Luóyuán 羅源 (LY), Sānmíng 三明 (SM), Shùnchāng 順昌 (SC), Huá’ān 華安 (HA); Jiāngxī - Guìxī 貴溪 (GX), Táiyuán 太源 (TY); Zhèjiāng - Cāngnán 蒼南 (CN), Jīngnìng 景寧 (JN), Lǐshuì 麗水 (LS), Lóngyóu 龍游 (LngY); Guǎngdōng - Cháozhōu 潮州 (CZ), Fēngshùn 豐順 (FS). Data are primarily from Yóu (2002). Táiyuán data are from Hú (2009). Some reconstructions are based on new Shē data from Dèng (2013), and this is duly noted in such cases.
above the words for “to fly” and “to give” have only bilabial initials strongly suggests that this reading is the older one in Neo-Hakka. CNH *f-, to be discussed further in §2.1.4 below, belongs to a later stratum of the multi-stratal common system. But, as O’Connor himself correctly concluded, *f- cannot simply be excluded from that system, for there are Core Hakka etyma for which only this initial is reconstructable when systematically applying the comparative method. The reason for this is clearly that the broader common system was multi-stratal rather than mono-stratal.

2.1.2 CNH *p’-

Examples for this initial are:

pǐn 品  QYS  phjəm:  CDC *phim3/EC *phimx
BMH [phìn]; MX [p’ìn3]; HL [p’ìn3]; LF [p’ìn3]; LZ [phìn3]; SHT [p’ìn3]
HY [p’ìn3]; XY [p’ìn3]; DB [p’ən3]; YL [p’ìn3]; XC [p’ìn3]
CT [p’eŋ3]; WP [phïŋ3]; YD [p’ïŋ3]; SH [phïŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [p’ïŋ3]; AY [p’ïŋ3]; SY [p’ïŋ3]; XS [p’ïŋ3]; QN [p’ïŋ3]; ND1 [p’ïŋ3]; ND2 [p’ïŋ3]; ND3 [p’ïŋ3]
OPH *p’ïŋ3  CNH *p’ïŋ3

bí 鼻  QYS  bi-4  CDC *bï6 ~ *bit8/bith
BMH [phi]; MX [p’i5]; HL [p’i6]; SX [p’i5]; LF [p’i6]; LZ [phi5]; SHT [p’i5]
HY [p’i6]; XY [p’i3]; DB [p’i3]; YL [p’i3]; XC [p’i5]
CT [p’i6]; WP [phi3]; YD [p’i5]; SH [phi3]; LC1 [p’i6]; LC2 [p’i5 ~ p’i6]
NK [p’i5]; AY [p’i6]; SY [p’i5]; XS [p’i5]; QN [p’i6]; ND1 [p’i6]; ND2 [p’i6]; ND3 [p’i6]
OPH *p’i6  CNH *p’i6

bái 白  QYS  bɒk  CDC *bak8/EC *brak
BMH [phâk]; MX [p’ak8]; HL [p’ak8]; SX [p’ak8]; LF [p’ak8]; LZ [phâk8]; SHT [p’ak8]
HY [p’ak8]; XY [p’ak8]; DB [p’ak8]; YL [p’aʔ8]; XC [p’aʔ8]
CT [p’a6]; WP [phaʔ8]; YD [p’aʔ8]; SH [phaʔ8 ~ phəʔ8]; LC1 [p’o5]; LC2 [—]†
NK [p’a1]; AY [p’a6]; SY [p’ak8]; QN [p’aʔ8]; ND1 [p’ak8]; ND2 [p’ak8]; ND3 [p’ak8]
OPH *p’ak8   CNH *p’ak8
†FJFYZ: p’o5.

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

2.1.3 CNH *m-

Examples for this initial are:
máo 毛 QYS mâu CDC *mou2/EC *maw
BMH [mau]; MX [mau1]; HL [mo1]; SX [mo1]; LF [mo1]; LZ [mou1]; SHT [mau1]
HY [mau2]; XY [mo1]; DB [mo1]; YL [mou1]; XC [mau2]
CT [ma1]; WP [ma1]; YD [mou1]; SH [ma1 ~ mo1]; LC1 [mo1]; LC2 [mo1]
NK [mo1]; AY [mo1]; SY [mo1]; XS [mau1]; QN [mau1]; ND1 [mau1]; ND2 [mau1]; ND3 [mau1]
OPH *mou1   CNH *mou1/mou2

miàn 面 QYS mjiän-4 CDC *mian6/EC *menh
BMH [miën]; MX [mien5]; HL [mian5]; SX [mian5]; LF [mian5]; LZ [men5]; SHT [mën5]
HY [mian6]; XY [mian5]; DB [mien5]; YL [mien5]; XC [mien5]
In parallel with the bilabial obstruents, CNH *m- occurs in mixed sets showing forms in dentilabial *v-:

\begin{itemize}
  \item wang 維 QYS mjwang- CDC *mvong6/EC *mangh
  \item BMH [mòŋ]; MX [vɔŋ5w ~ mɔŋ5b]; HL [mɔŋ6]; SX [mɔŋ5]; LF [mɔŋ6]; LZ [ⁿbɔŋ5]; SHT [mɔŋ5]
  \item HY [mɔŋ6]; XY [mɔŋ3]; DB [mɔŋ3]; YL [mɔŋ3]; XC [vɔŋ5w ~ mɔŋ5b]
  \item CT [mɔŋ6]; WP [mɔŋ3]; YD [mɔŋ3]; SH [mɔŋ3 ~ vɔŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
  \item NK [vɔŋ5 ~ mɔŋ5]; AY [mɔŋ6]; SY [vɔŋ5 ~ mɔŋ5]; XS [mɔŋ5 ~ vɔŋ5]; QN [mɔŋ6 ~ vɔŋ6]; ND1 [vɔŋ6]; ND2 [mɔŋ6]; ND3 [mɔŋ6]
  \item [OPH *mong6] CNH *mɔŋ6/L vɔŋ6
\end{itemize}

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

Compare now the following:

\begin{itemize}
  \item wà 襪 QYS mjwθt CDC *mvat8/EC *mot
  \item BMH [mat]; MX [mat7]; HL [mat7]; SX [mat7]; LF [mat7]; LZ [ⁿbat7]; SHT [—]
\end{itemize}
The Ningdu data point to an earlier *mot7, which in Ningdu-1 is in competition with more general Hakka *mat7.

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

**2.1.4 CNH *f-**

The following examples illustrate this initial:

fa 法 QYS pjwɔp CDC *fap7/EC *pop
BMH [fap]; MX [fap7]; HL [fap7]; SX [fap7]; LF [fap7]; LZ [fat7]; SHT [fap7 ~ fat7]
HY [fat7]; XY [fat8]; DB [fat8]; YL [fat7]; XC [faʔ7]
CT [fa2]; WP [faʔ7]; YD [faʔ7]; SH [faʔ7]; LC1 [fo6]; LC2 [fo6]
NK [fa7]; AY [fa3]; SY [fa5]; XS [faʔ7]; QN [faʔ7]; ND1 [faip7]; ND2 [fap7]; ND3 [fat7]
OPH *fap7  CNH *fap7/*fat7
Reconstruction of the Syllable Initials of Common Neo-Hakka

fēng 風 QYS pjung CDC *fung1/EC *pum
BMH [fung]; MX [fuŋ1]; SX [fuŋ1]; LF [fuŋ1]; LZ [fuŋ1]; SHT [fuŋ1]
HY [hoŋ1]; XY [foŋ1]; DB [fuŋ1]; YL [fuŋ1]; XC [fuŋ1]
CT [foŋ1]; WP [xuŋ1]; YD [fuŋ1]; SH [faŋ1]; LC1 [foŋ1]; LC2 [faŋ1]
NK [faŋ1]; AY [faŋ1]; SY [faŋ1]; XS [faŋ1]; QN [fuŋ1]; ND1 [fuŋ1]; ND2 [fuŋ1]; ND3 [fuŋ1]
OPH *fung1   CNH *fuŋ1

hú 鬍 QYS yuo CDC *hu2/EC *'ga
BMH [fû]; MX [fu2]; HL [fu2]; SX [fu2]; LF [fu2]; LZ [fu2]; SHT [—]
HY [hu2]; XY [fu2]; DB [fu2]; YL [hu2]; XC [fu2]
CT [fu2]; WP [fu2]; YD [fi2]; SH [fa2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [fu2]; AY [fu2]; SY [fu2]; XS [fu2]; QN [fu2]; ND1 [fu2]; ND2 [fu2]; ND3 [fu2]
[OPH *fu2]   CNH *fu2

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

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

It is important to note here that *f- is an integral part of both reconstructed systems. O’Connor clearly recognized this for his Proto-Hakka, and we have confirmed it at the general Neo-Hakka level. Within Proto-Hakka and Common Neo-Hakka, there is nothing “secondary” or “subsidiary” about this initial from the standpoint of endogenous linguistic structure or the application of the comparative method. And just as this is true for “pure f- sets” such as those for “law” and “wind”, so must it also be for sets where f- is found in mixed sets involving p- and p’-. If *f- is integral in the system in some places, then it must be so in all; and our reconstructions must account for this wherever systematic correspondences support it. This, then, is the rationale for reconstructing competing forms and multiple layers in the common
system; and this is the solution to O’Connor’s original conundrum of 1976. It also confirms beyond doubt that the Common Neo-Hakka system must be reconstructed multi-stratally. Mixed sets of this type have already been cited in §2.1.1 and §2.1.2 above and need not be repeated here.

2.1.5 CNH *v-

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wǎng 王} & \quad \text{QYS} \ jwang \quad \text{CDC} *\text{wong2/EC} *\text{wang} \\
\text{BMH [vông]; MX [vɔŋ2]; HL [vɔŋ2]; SX [vɔŋ2]; LF [vɔŋ2]; LZ [vɔŋ2]; SHT [vɔŋ2]} \\
\text{HY [vɔŋ2]; XY [vɔŋ2]; DB [vɔŋ2]; YL [vɔŋ2]; XC [vɔŋ2]} \\
\text{CT [vɔŋ2]; WP [vɔŋ2]; YD [vɔŋ2]; SH [vɔŋ2]; LC1 [vɔŋ2]; LC2 [—]} \\
\text{NK [vɔŋ2]; AY [vɔŋ2]; SY [vɔŋ2]; XS [vɔŋ2]; QN [vɔŋ2]; ND1 [vɔŋ2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [vɔŋ2]} \\
\text{[OPH *vong2] CNH *vɔŋ2} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wān 弯} & \quad \text{QYS} \ ?wan \quad \text{CDC} *\text{uan1/EC} *\text{wron} \\
\text{BMH [van]; MX [van1]; HL [van1]; SX [van1]; LF [van1]; LZ [van1]; SHT [—]} \\
\text{HY [van1]; XY [van1]; DB [van1]; YL [uan1]; XC [van1]} \\
\text{CT [van1]; WP [van1]; YD [van1]; SH [vâ1]; LC1 [va1]; LC2 [—]} \\
\text{NK [vâ1]; AY [vâ1]; SY [vâ1]; XS [van1]; QN [van1]; ND1 [van1]; ND2 [van1]; ND3 [van1]} \\
\text{[OPH *van1] CNH *van1} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

When the high back vowel *u occurs as main vowel or syllabic peak, preceding *v- is usually lost in Heuyuan and frequently also in Xinyi. However, in both dialects there are occasional exceptions to this; and in Heuyuan there are cases of competing forms with and without initial v-. This suggests that sub-dialect mixture of some sort has perturbed the expected
developmental patterns in Héyuan, and the same may also have been the case in Xinyí. The following cases illustrate these points:

wēn 溫 QYS ʔuən CDC *un1/EC *un
BMH [vun]; MX [vun1]; HL [vun1]; SX [vun1]; LF [vun1]; LZ [vun1]; SHT [—]
HY [un1]; XY [vun1]; DB [vən1]; YL [un1]; XC [vən1]
CT [veŋ1]; WP [veŋ1]; YD [vun1]; SH [veiŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [vən1]; AY [vən1]; SY [vən1]; XS [vən1]; QN [vun1]; ND1 [vən1]; ND2 [vən1]; ND3 [vən1]
[OPH *vun1]   CNH *vun1

wū 屋 QYS ʔuk CDC *uk7/EC *'ok
BMH [vuk]; MX [vuk7]; HL [vuk7]; SX [vuk7]; LF [vuk7]; LZ [vuk7]; SHT [vuk7]
HY [ok7]; XY [ouʔ7]; DB [uk7]; YL [uʔ7]; XC [vuʔ7]
CT [vu2]; WP [vuʔ7 ~ uʔ7]; YD [vuʔ7]; SH [vuʔ7]; LC1 [vuiue6]; LC2 [vye6]
NK [vu8]; AY [vu6]; SY [vu5]; XS [vuk7]; QN [vuʔ7]; ND1 [vuk7]; ND2 [vuk7]; ND3 [vuk7]
[OPH *vuk7]   CNH *vuk7

wū 鴉 QYS ʔuo CDC *u1/EC *'a
BMH [vu]; MX [vu1]; HL [vu1]; SX [vu1]; LF [vu1]; LZ [vu1]; SHT [vu1]
HY [u1 ~ vu1]; XY [u1]; DB [vu1]; YL [u1]; XC [vu1]
CT [vu1]; WP [vu1]; YD [vi1]; SH [vu1]; LC1 [vuiue1]; LC2 [vye1]
NK [vu1]; AY [vu1]; SY [vu1]; XS [vu1]; QN [vu1]; ND1 [vu1]; ND2 [vu1]; ND3 [vu1]
[OPH *vu1]   CNH *vu1

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

wèi 位 QYS jwi- CDC *wi6/EC *wuth
BMH [vui]; MX [vi5]; HL [vui6]; SX [vui5]; LF [vui6]; LZ [vui5]; SHT [—]
HY [vui6]; XY [vi5]; DB [vei3]; YL [uei3]; XC [vei5]
CT [vi6]; WP [vi3]; YD [vi5 ~ vei5]; SH [vi3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [vi5]; AY [vei6]; SY [ve5]; XS [vi5]; QN [vui6]; ND1 [vi6]; ND2 [i6]; ND3 [vei6]
The behavior of *v- before CNH *i is intricate. Before final *-iun, it is generally retained in popular words in Héyúán and Xínì and in all the Fújiàn dialects (i.e., those of line three in the sets) but is lost elsewhere. Examples are:

**yun 雲** QYS jwàm CDC *yun2/EC *wun
BMH [yûn]; MX [iun2]; HL [ʒun2]; SX [iun2]; LF [jun2]; LZ [ʒun2]; SHT [jin2]
HY [vun2]; XY [vun2]; DB [zon2]; YL [yn2]; XC [in2]
CT [вен2]; WP [виə]; YD [виə]; SH [виə]; LC1 [вен2]; LC2 [вен2]
NK [iŋ2 ~ ʒŋ2]; AY [iŋ2]; SY [iŋə]; XS [in2]; QN [iun2]; ND1 [iŋ2]; ND2 [iŋ2]; ND3 [iŋ2]
OPH *iun2 CNH *viun2

**yun 运** QYS jwàm CDC *yun6/EC *wunh
BMH [yún]; MX [iun5]; HL [ʒun6]; SX [iun5]; LF [jun6]; LZ [ʒun5]; SHT [—]
HY [vun6]; XY [vun3 ~ ʒn3]; DB [zon5]; YL [yn3]; XC [in5]
CT [вен6]; WP [ви3]; YD [ви3]; SH [ви3]; LC1 [вен6]; LC2 [—]
NK [iŋ5]; AY [iŋ5]; SY [iŋ5]; XS [—]; QN [iun6]; ND1 [iŋ6]; ND2 [iŋ6]; ND3 [iŋ6]
OPH *iun6 CNH *viun6

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

**yong 永** QYS jwong: CDC *wing4 ~ *wiung4/EC *wangx
BMH [yùn]; MX [iun3]; HL [ʒun3]; SX [iun3]; LF [jun3]; LZ [ʒun3]; SHT [—]
HY [vin5]; XY [vin2]; DB [zon3]; YL [yn3]; XC [iŋ1]
CT [иө3]; WP [ви3]; YD [ви3]; SH [ви3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iŋ3]; AY [iŋ3]; SY [iŋə]; XS [iŋ3]; QN [iun3]; ND1 [iŋ3]; ND2 [iŋ3]; ND3 [iŋ1]
[OPH *iun3] CNH *viuiŋ3/*viuiŋ1

Before CNH *-ion, initial *v- in common or popular words is generally preserved in the Fújiàn dialects and lost elsewhere. Examples are:
Reconstruction of the Syllable Initials of Common Neo-Hakka

yuán 圆 QYS jwän CDC *yon2/EC *won
BMH [yên]; MX [ian2]; HL [jian2]; SX [jan2]; LF [jan2]; LZ [jian2]; SHT [jian2]
HY [yan2]; XY [ian2]; DB [zan2]; YL [yen2]; XC [ian2]
CT [vîn2]; WP [vien2]; YD [viê2]; SH [viē2]; LC1 [ve2]; LC2 [ve2]
NK [iê2]; AY [jiô2]; SY [jiyê2]; XS [ien2]; QN [iuon2]; ND1 [ien2]; ND2 [ian2]; ND3 [ien2 ~ vian2]
[OPH *ian2] CNH *vion2

yuăn 遠 QYS jwôn: CDC *yon4/EC *wonx
BMH [yên]; MX [ian3]; HL [jian3]; SX [ian3]; LF [ian3]; LZ [jian3]; SHT [jian3]
HY [yan3]; XY [ian3]; DB [zan3]; YL [yen3]; XC [ian3]
CT [vîn3]; WP [vien3]; YD [viê3]; SH [viē3]; LC1 [ve3]; LC2 [—]
NK [iê3]; AY [jiô3]; SY [jiyê3]; XS [ien3]; QN [iuon3]; ND1 [ien3]; ND2 [ian3]; ND3 [ien3]
OPH *ian3 CNH *vion3

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

yuán 緣 QYS jiwän CDC *yon2/EC *—
BMH [yên]; MX [ian2]; HL [jian2]; SX [ian2]; LF [jan2]; LZ [jian2]; SHT [—]
HY [yan2]; XY [ian2]; DB [zan2]; YL [yen2]; XC [ian2]
CT [în2]; WP [vien2]; YD [—]; SH [viê2]; LC1 [ve2]; LC2 [—]
NK [iê2]; AY [jiô2]; SY [jiyê2]; XS [ien2]; QN [iuon2]; ND1 [ien2]; ND2 [ian2]; ND3 [ien2 ~ vian2]
[OPH *ian2] CNH *vion2

yuán 援 QYS jwôn CDC *yon2/EC *won
BMH [yen]; MX [ian1]; HL [jian1]; SX [ian1]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [yen2]; XC [ien2]
CT [în2]; WP [vien2]; YD [—]; SH [viê2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iê1]; AY [jiô2]; SY [jiyê1]; XS [ien2]; QN [ian2]; ND1 [ien2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ian1] CNH *vion2
In cases of this type, it is likely that Chángtīng has borrowed its zero initial forms from some other dialect, such as the prestigious one of Méixiàn.

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

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

In closing this section it seems worthwhile to reiterate certain of the general points made above regarding the methodology of multi-stratal or layered reconstruction. In order confidently to identify separate layers, it is necessary to have at hand multiple doublet forms, both within individual cognate sets and from set to set. It is the parallelism between multiple doublet pairs that enables us to identify layers. And additionally, it is this same parallelism that shows us to which layer a form belongs when only a singleton form is present at a particular dialect point. Where unique doublets are found in which only one of the forms in the pair is assignable to a layer, we are quite literally at sea regarding the developmental history of the other form. Finally, in unique doublet sets of this type, no proto-form is posited for the “isolated” form for which no parallels are present in the set. This is because it is impossible to apply the comparative
method to a single entity. At least two forms must be present to carry out the comparative exercise. For further discussion of these points, cf. §1.6 of Chapter I.

2.2 The Dentals

2.2.1 CNH *t-

Examples for this initial are:

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

diàn 店 QYS tiem-  CDC*tiam5/EC —
BMH [tiam]; MX [tiam5]; HL [tiam5]; SX [tiam5]; LF [tiam5]; LZ [tiam5]; SHT [—]
HY [tiam5]; XY [tiam5]; DB [tiam5]; YL [tian5]; XC [tien5]
CT [tiŋ5]; WP [tian5]; YD [tian3]; SH [tiæ5]; LC1 [te5]; LC2 [—]
NK [tiɛ5]; AY [tiæ5]; SY [tiɛ2]; XS [tien5]; QN [tiam5]; ND1 [tiam5]; ND2 [tiam5]; ND3 [tiam5]
OPH *tiam5  CNH *tiam5

2.2.2 CNH *t’-

Examples for this initial are:

tiān 天 QYS thien  CDC *thian1/EC *’thin
BMH [thien]; MX [t’ien1]; HL [t’ian1]; SX [t’ian1]; LF [t’ian1]; LZ [then1]; SHT [t’ɛn1]
HY [t’ian1]; XY [t’ian1]; DB [t’ien1]; YL [t’ien1]; XC [t’ien1]
2.2.3 CNH *n-

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

\textbf{nán 難 QYS nân CDC *nan2/EC *'nan}

BMH [nân]; MX [nan2]; HL [nan2]; SX [nan2]; LF [nan2]; LZ [lan2]; SHT [nan2]
HY [nan2]; XY [nan2]; DB [nan2]; YL [nan2]; XC [nan2]
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CT [naŋ2]; WP [naŋ2]; YD [lan2]; SH [nâ2]; LC1 [na2]; LC2 [na2]
NK [nâ2]; AY [nâ2]; SY [nâ2]; XS [nan2]; QN [nan2]; ND1 [nan2]; ND2 [nan2]; ND3 [nan2]

OPH *nan2  CNH *nan2

ni 泥 QYS niei  CDC *niai2/EC *’niy
BMH [nì ~ ni ~ nài]; MX [ni2w ~ nai2b]; HL [ni2w ~ nai2b]; SX [ni2w ~ nai2b]; LF [nai2];
  LZ [lai2]; SHT [lai2]
HY [nie2]; XY [nei2]; DB [nɛ2]; YL [nei2]; XC [nai2]
CT [ne2]; WP [ni2 ~ ne2]; YD [lei2]; SH [nei2]; LC1 [ne2]; LC2 [ne2]
NK [ni2]; AY [ne2]; SY [ni2]; XS [ne2]; QN [nei2]; ND1 [nai2]; ND2 [nai2]; ND3 [nai2]
[OPH *nai2]  CNH *niai2/L *ni2

2.2.4 CNH *l-

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

lòu 漏 QYS lau-  CDC *leu6/EC *’loh
BMH [lèu]; MX [leu5]; HL [leu6]; SX [leu5]; LF [leu6]; LZ [leu5]; SHT [—]
HY [luai6]; XY [leu3 ~ leu5]; DB [lei3 ~ lei5]; YL [nai3]; XC [lœu5]
CT [leu6]; WP [le3]; YD [leu5]; SH [la3]; LC1 [leu6]; LC2 [—]
NK [le5]; AY [lu6]; SY [lιo5]; XS [lœu5]; QN [leu6]; ND1 [leu6]; ND2 [lιu6]; ND3 [lιu6]
OPH *leu6  CNH *leu6
After the Common Neo-Hakka vowel *i the Fújiàn dialects of line three, and the Jiāngxī dialects of line four exclusive of Níngdū, may have modern t- rather than modern l- as reflex of CNH *l-. The following are examples of this phenomenon. Note in particular the first example, where sporadic examples of this peculiarity are also attested in Méixiàn and Héyuán.
Reconstruction of the Syllable Initials of Common Neo-Hakka

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

OPH *li8   CNH *lik8

li 笠 QYS ljəp   CDC *li8/EC *lip
BMH [lip]; MX [lep7]; HL [lip8]; SX [lip8]; LF [lip7]; LZ [lip8]; SHT [liʔ7]
HY [lip7]; XY [lap7]; DB [lap8]; YL [liʔ8]; XC [liɛʔ7]
CT [ti2]; WP [tiʔ7]; YD [liʔ7]; SH [tiʔ7]; LC1 [ti6]; LC2 [ti5]

NK [tie7]; AY [ti33]; SY [tie5]; XS [li77]; QN [ti77]; ND1 [lip7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [li77]

[OPH *lip7]   CNH *lip7/*lip8/*lep7

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

liǎng 兩 QYS ljəŋ: “two”   CDC *liɔng4/EC *langx
BMH [liɔŋ]; MX [liɔŋ3]; HL [liɔŋ3]; SX [liɔŋ3]; LF [liɔŋ3]; LZ [liɔŋ3]; SHT [liɔŋ3]
HY [liɔŋ3]; XY [liɔŋ3]; DB [liɔŋ3]; YL [liɔŋ3]; XC [liɔŋ3]
CT [liɔŋ3w ~ tiɔŋ3b]; WP [tiɔŋ3]; YD [liɔŋ3]; SH [liɔŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tiɔŋ3]†

NK [liɔŋ3 ~ tiɔŋ3]; AY [tiɔŋ3]; SY [ti53]; XS [—]; QN [liɔŋ3]; ND1 [liɔŋ3]; ND2 [liɔŋ1];†† ND3 [liɔŋ3]

[OPH *liɔŋ3]   CNH *liɔŋ3

†FJSHFYZ: [tiɔŋ3b ~ liɔŋ3w].
††In Ningdū-2 the words for “two” and “ounce” are homophonous, both being read in Tone 1. In most dialects, only “ounce” is read in Tone 1.

lín 林 QYS ljəm   CDC *lim2/EC *lim
BMH [lim]; MX [lim2]; HL [lim2]; SX [lim2]; LF [lim2]; LZ [lim2]; SHT [lim2]
HY [lim2]; XY [lim2]; DB [ləm2]; YL [lin2]; XC [lin2]
CT [lən2w ~ nən2b]; WP [tiŋ2]; YD [liŋ2]; SH [tiŋ2 ~ liŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†

NK [liŋ2]; AY [liŋ2]; SY [liŋ2 ~ tiŋ2]; XS [lin2]; QN [lin2]; ND1 [lin2]; ND2 [lin2]; ND3 [lin2]

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

The following form is particularly interesting in this regard:

lóng 龍 QYS ljwong CDC *liung2/EC *long
BMH [liûng]; MX [liuŋ2]; HL [luŋ1 ~ liuŋ2]; SX [liuŋ2]; LF [liuŋ2]; LZ [luŋ2]; SHT [luŋ2] HY [—]; XY [loŋ2]; DB [luŋ2]; YL [luŋ2]; XC [luŋ2]
CT [loŋ2]; WP [tuŋ2]; YD [liuŋ2]; SH [ləŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ləŋ2]; AY [ləŋ2]; SY [ləŋ2]; XS [liəŋ2]; QN [luŋ2]; ND1 [luŋ1]; ND2 [liuŋ2]; ND3 [luŋ2]
OPH *liung2 CNH *liuŋ2/*luŋ2/*luŋ1

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

Finally we should note examples of the following type:
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The second Basil Mission form and the Níngdū forms appear to reflect an early Guānhuà loan such as *ɻə2, where native l- has been used to render the borrowed liquid initial [ɻ].

2.3 The Dental Sibilants

2.3.1 CNH *ts-

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

zǎo 走 QYS tsâu: CDC *tsou3/EC *tsux
BMH [tsâu]; MX [tsau3]; HL [tso3]; SX [tso3]; LF [tso3]; LZ [ţau3]; SHT [tsau3]
HY [tsau3]; XY [tso3]; DB [tso3]; YL [ţau3]; XC [tsau3]
CT [tsə3]; WP [tsə3]; YD [—]; SH [ţu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsə3]; AY [tsə3]; SY [tso3]; XS [tsau3]; QN [tsau3]; ND1 [tso3]; ND2 [tsau3]; ND3 [tsau3]
[OPH *tsou3] CNH *nǐu2/*i/*ə2

zǒu 走 QYS tsâu: CDC *tsëu3/EC *tsox
BMH [tséu]; MX [tsëu3]; HL [tseu3]; SX [tseu3]; LF [tseu3]; LZ [tʃeə3]; SHT [tsiu3]
HY [tsai3]; XY [tseə3]; DB [tsei3]; YL [tsai3]; XC [tsəu3]
CT [tsə3]; WP [tseə3]; YD [tseu3]; SH [tsə3]; LC1 [tseu3]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsə3]; AY [tsu3]; SY [təio3]; XS [tsau3]; QN [tseu3]; ND1 [tseu3]; ND2 [tseu3]; ND3 [tsəu3]
[OPH *tseu3] CNH *tseu3
Here we note that only Lizhīzhuāng fails to preserve the original form of this initial. Instead, in this dialect *ts- merges completely with the reflex of CNH *tš- (§2.4.1 below) as LZ tʃ-.

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

zhé 摘 QYS ʨk CDC *cak7/EC *trek
BMH [tsak]; MX [tsak7]; HL [tsak7]; SX [tsak7]; LF [tsak7]; LZ [tʃak7]; SHT [tsak7]
HY [tsak7]; XY [tsak7]; DB [tsak7]; YL [tʃaʔ7]; XC [tʃaʔ7]
CT [tsa2]; WP [tʃaʔ7]; YD [—]; SH [tʃaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsa8]; AY [tʃa6]; SY [tʃa5]; XS [tsak7]; QN [tʃaʔ7]; ND1 [tsak7]; ND2 [tsak7]; ND3 [tʃak7]
OPH *tsak7 CNH *tsak7

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

15 We shall, in fact, see many cases of such supporting evidence in §2.4 below.
In the next two sets, only Xīchāng shows retroflexion:

zhā 齒 QYS (tsat) CDC —/EC —
BMH [tsap]; MX [tsap7]; HL [tsap]; SX [tsap7]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [tsat]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tsaʔ]; XC [tșaʔ]
CT [tsa2]; WP [tsaʔ]; YD [tsaʔ ~ tsat7]; SH [tsaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tsa6]
NK [tsa2]; AY [tsa3]; SY [tsa5]; XS [tsaʔ7]; QN [tsaʔ7]; ND1 [tsaʔ7]; ND2 [tsat7]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tsap7] CNH *tsap7 ~ *tsat

zhēng 為 QYS tșeng CDC *cang1/EC *tsreng
BMH [tsang ~ tsen]; MX [tsen1w ~ tsan1b]; HL [tsen1w ~ tsan1b]; SX [tsen1w ~ tsan1b]; LF [tsen1 ~ tsan1]; LZ [tʃan1]; SHT [tsan1]
HY [tsan1]; XY [tsan1]; DB [tsan1 ~ tsen1]; YL [tsan1w ~ tsan1b]; XC [tșan1]
CT [tsen1]; WP [tsan1 ~ tsan1]; YD [tsan1]; SH [tsan1]; LC1 [tsan1]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsən1 ~ tsən1]; AY [tsan1 ~ tsən1]; SY [tsən1 ~ tsən1]; XS [tsen1 ~ tsan1]; QN [tsen1 ~ tsan1];
ND1 [tsan1 ~ tsan1]; ND2 [tsan1]; ND3 [tsan1 ~ tsan1]
[OPH *tsang1] CNH *tsan1/L *tʃen1

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

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

zhāi 齋 QYS(tsai1) CDC *cai1/EC *tsriy
BMH [tsai]; MX [tsai1]; HL [tsai1]; SX [tsai1]; LF [tsai1]; LZ [tʃai1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tsai1]
CT [tsai1]; WP [—]; YD [tsai1]; SH [tsai1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsəi1]; AY [tsai1]; SY [tsai1]; XS [tsai1]; QN [tsai1]; ND1 [tsai1]; ND2 [tsai1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tsai1] CNH *tsai1/L *tʃei

And, finally, we note a set where neither Sìchuān variety shows Mandarin-like retroflexion:
Examples of *ts- before the high front vowel *i, are as follows:

jiān 尖 QYS tsjam CDC *tsiam/EC —
BMH [tsiám]; MX [tsiam1]; HL [tsiam1]; SX [tsiam1]; LF [tsiam1]; LZ [tʃiām1]; SHT [tsiam1]
HY [tsiam1]; XY [tsiam1]; DB [tsiam1]; YL [tœi1]; XC [tœi1]
CT [tœi1]; WP [tsiœ1]; YD [tsiœ1]; SH [tœi̯1]; LC1 [tœi]; LC2 [—]
NK [tœi̯1]; AY [tsiœ1]; SY [tœi]; XS [tœi]; QN [—]; ND1 [tsiœ1]; ND2 [tsiœ1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tsa5] CNH *tsa5

jiǔ 酒 QYS tsjùː CDC *tsieu3/EC *tsux
BMH [tiœ3]; MX [tsiœ3]; HL [tsiœ3]; SX [tsiœ3]; LF [tsiœ3]; LZ [tʃiœ3]; SHT [tsiœ3]
HY [tsiœ3]; XY [tsiœ3]; DB [tsiœ3]; YL [tœiœ3]; XC [tœiœ3]
CT [tsiœ3]; WP [tsiœ3]; YD [tsiœ3]; SH [tœiœ3]; LC1 [tœiœ3]; LC2 [tsœu3]
NK [tœiœ3]; AY [tsiœ3]; SY [tœiœ3]; XS [tsiœ3]; QN [tœiœ3]; ND1 [tœiœ3]; ND2 [tœiœ3]; ND3 [tsiœ3]
[OPH *tsiœ3] CNH *tsieu3

jīng 精 QYS tsjang CDC *tsiang1/EC *tseng
BMH [tsín]; MX [tsin1w ~ tsian1b]; HL [tsin1]; SX [tsin1]; LF [tsin1]; LZ [tʃiə₁ ~ tʃiə₁w];
SHT [—]
HY [tsin1]; XY [tsin1]; DB [tsœ₁]; YL [tœi₁]; XC [tœi₁]
CT [tœi₁ ~ tsian1]; WP [tsiœ1 ~ tsian1]; YD [tsiœ1]; SH [tœi₁ ~ tœi₁]; LC1 [tsiœ1]; LC2 [tsiœ1 ~ tœi₁]
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NK [tɕiŋ1 ~ tɕiã1]; AY [tsiŋ1 ~ tɕiŋ1]; SY [tɕiŋ1 ~ tɕiŋ1]; XS [tsin1 ~ tsian1]; QN [tɕian1]; ND1 [tɕiŋ1 ~ tɕiŋ1]; ND2 [tɕiŋ1 ~ tɕiŋ1]; ND3 [tɕiŋ1 ~ tɕiŋ1]

2.3.2 CNH *ts’-

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

cǎo 草 QYS tshâu: CDC *tshou3/EC *’tshux
BMH [tshâu]; MX [ts’au3]; HL [ts’o3]; SX [ts’o3]; LF [ts’o3]; LZ [tʃhau3]; SHT [ts’au3] HY [ts’au3]; XY [ts’ɔ3]; DB [ts’o3]; YL [ts’au3]; XC [ts’au3]
CT [ts’ɔ3]; WP [tʃɔ3]; YD [ts’ou3]; SH [tʃʊ3]; LC1 [ts’ɔ3]; LC2 [ts’ɔ3]
NK [ts’ɔ3]; AY [ts’ɔ3]; SY [ts’ɔ3]; XS [ts’au3]; QN [ts’au3]; ND1 [ts’au3]; ND2 [ts’au3]; ND3 [ts’au3]

OPH *ts’ou3 CNH *ts’ou3

zéi 賊 QYS dzək CDC *dzek8/EC *’dzik
BMH [tʃɛt]; MX [ts’e8]; HL [ts’e8]; SX [ts’e8]; LF [ts’e8]; LZ [tʃɛt8]; SHT [—] HY [ts’at8]; XY [ts’et8]; DB [ts’et8]; YL [ts’eʔ8]; XC [ts’eʔ8]
CT [ts’e6]; WP [ts’eʔ8]; YD [ts’eʔ8]; SH [ts’eʔ8]; LC1 [ts’u5]; LC2 [ts’u5]
NK [ts’ə1]; AY [ts’e6]; SY [ts’e5]; XS [ts’et8]; QN [ts’eʔ8]; ND1 [ts’eʔk8]; ND2 [ts’eʔk8]; ND3 [ts’ək8]

OPH *ts’et8 CNH *ts’ek8

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

chāo 抄 QYS tʃhau CDC *chau1/EC *tʃraw
BMH [tʃhau]; MX [ts’au1]; HL [ts’au1]; SX [ts’au1]; LF [ts’au1]; LZ [tʃhau1]; SHT [—] HY [ts’au1]; XY [ts’au1]; DB [ts’au1]; YL [tʃ’au1]; XC [tʃ’au1]
CT [tsʻɔ1]; WP [tshɔ1]; YD [tsʻau1]; SH [tsho1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsʻɔ1]; AY [tsʻɔ1]; SY [tsʻɔ1]; XS [tsʻau1]; QN [tsʻau1]; ND1 [tsʻau1]; ND2 [tsʻau1]; ND3 [tsʻau1]
[OPH *tsʻau1]   CNH *tsʻau1

cháo 巢 QYS dżau   CDC *jau2/EC *dzraw
BMH [tshâu]; MX [sau2]; HL [sau2]; SX [sau2]; LF [—]; LZ [tʃhau2]; SHT [tsʻau2]
HY [tsʻau2]; XY [tsʻau2]; DB [lau2]; YL [tʃʼau2]; XC [tsʻau2]
CT [—]; WP [sɔ2]; YD [sau2]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [tsʻɔ2]; SY [tsʻɔ2]; XS [tsʻau2]; QN [tsʻau2]; ND1 [tsʻau2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [tsʻau2 ~ sau2]
[OPH *sau2]   CNH *sau2/*tsʻau2

chǎo 炒 QYS tʃhau:   CDC *chau3/EC —
BMH [tʃhau]; MX [tsʻau3]; HL [tsʻau3]; SX [tsʻau3]; LF [tsʻau3]; LZ [tʃhau3]; SHT [tsʻau3]
HY [tsʻau3]; XY [tsʻɔ3]; DB [tsʻau3]; YL [tsʻau3]; XC [tʃʼau3]
CT [tsʻɔ3]; WP [tʃhɔ3]; YD [tsʻau3]; SH [tʃhɔ3]; LC1 [tsʻɔ3]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsʻɔ3]; AY [tsʻɔ3]; SY [tsʻɔ3]; XS [tsʻau3]; QN [—]; ND1 [tsʻau3]; ND2 [tsʻau3]; ND3 [tsʻau3]
[OPH *tsʻau3]   CNH *tsʻau3

chū 初 QYS tʃhjwo   CDC *chu1/EC *tʃhra
BMH [tʃhʊ]; MX [tsʻ1]; HL [tsʻu1]; SX [tsʻu1]; LF [tsʻɔ1]; LZ [tʃha1]; SHT [tsʻɔ1]
HY [tsʻu1]; XY [tsʻɔ1]; DB [tsʻo1]; YL [tsʻu1]; XC [tʃʼo1]
CT [tsʻu1]; WP [tʃh₁]; YD [tsʻi1]; SH [tʃh₁ ~ tʃhu₁ w]; LC1 [tsʻi1]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsʻu1]; AY [tsʻu1]; SY [tsʻu1]; XS [tsʻ1]; QN [tsʻu1]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [tsʻu1]; ND3 [tsʻu1]
[OPH *tsʻu1]   CNH *tsʻuo1

chú 鉄 QYS dżjwo   CDC *je2 (~ *ju2)/EC *dzra
BMH [tʃhʊ]; MX [tsʻ2]; HL [tsʻu6]; SX [tsʻu5]; LF [tsʻɔ2]; LZ [tʃhɔ2]; SHT [tsʻɔ2]
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HY [ts’u2]; XY [ts’u2]; DB [ts’o2]; YL [ts’u2]; XC [ts’o2]
CT [ts’u2]; WP [ts’h2]; YD [ts’i2]; SH [ts’u2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’u2]; AY [ts’u2]; SY [ts’u2]; XS [ts’i2]; QN [ts’u2]; ND1 [ts’u2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ts’u2]
[OPH *ts’u2]   CNH *ts’uo2

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

qī 七  QYS  tshjiet  CDC *tshit5/EC *tshit
BMH [tshit]; MX [ts’i7]; HL [ts’i7]; SX [ts’i7]; LF [ts’i7]; LZ [tʃhit7]; SHT [ts’it7]
HY [ts’it7]; XY [ts’it7]; DB [ts’at7]; YL [te’iʔ7]; XC [te’ieʔ7]
CT [ts’i2]; WP [tshiʔ7]; YD [ts’iʔ7]; SH [tʃeiʔ7]; LC1 [ts’e6]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’ie1]; AY [ts’i3]; SY [te’ie5]; XS [ts’iʔ7]; QN [te’iʔ7]; ND1 [te’it7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ts’iʔ7]
[OPH *ts’iʔ7]   CNH *ts’it7

qǔ 取  QYS  tshju:  CDC *tshiu3/EC *tshox
BMH [tshí]; MX [ts’i3]; HL [ts’i3]; SX [ts’i3]; LF [ts’i3]; LZ [tʃhi3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [te’y3]; XC [—]
CT [ts’i3]; WP [tshí3]; YD [ts’i3]; SH [tehí3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’y3]; AY [ts’i3]; SY [te’i3]; XS [ts’i3]; QN [te’i3]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [te’iu3]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ts’i3]   CNH *ts’iu3
2.3.3 CNH *s-

Developmental patterns of this initial parallel those of the two preceding ones in this series, with one interesting exception, i.e., its usual reflex in Diànbái is the voiceless lateral ɬ.

Examples for non-high front vowels are:

sòng 送 QYS sung- CDC *sung5/EC *songh
BMH [sùŋ]; MX [sun5]; HL [sun5]; SX [sun5]; LF [sun5]; LZ [jun5]; SHT [—]
HY [sun5]; XY [sun5]; DB [lun5]; YL [sun5]; XC [sun5]
CT [sun5]; WP [sun5]; YD [sun3]; SH [soŋ5]; LC1 [soŋ5]; LC2 [—]
NK [soŋ5]; AY [səŋ5]; SY [səŋ2]; XS [səŋ5]; QN [sun5]; ND1 [sun5]; ND2 [sun5]; ND3 [sun5]
OPH *sun5  CNH *sun5

suǒ 索 QYS sâk CDC *sok7/EC *sak
BMH [sok]; MX [sok7]; HL [suk7]; SX [suk7]; LF [sok7]; LZ [ʃok7]; SHT [sək7]
HY [—]; XY [sok7]; DB [lək7]; YL [sək7]; XC [soʔ7]
CT [so2]; WP [soʔ7]; YD [soʔ7]; SH [soʔ7]; LC1 [su6]; LC2 [—]
NK [so8]; AY [so6]; SY [so5]; XS [sək7]; QN [soʔ7]; ND1 [sok7]; ND2 [sək7]; ND3 [—]
OPH *sok7  CNH *sok7

Cases showing Mandarinized retroflexes in the Sìchuān are:

sēn 森 QYS ʃjem CDC *shem1/EC *srim
BMH [sem]; MX [sem1]; HL [sem1]; SX [sem1]; LF [sem1]; LZ [ʃem1]; SHT [sim1]
HY [sam1]; XY [sem1]; DB [ləm1]; YL [ʃən1 ~ san1]; XC [ʃən1]
CT [seŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [ʃə2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sə1]; AY [—]; SY [sə1]; XS [sən1]; QN [sen1]; ND1 [səm1]; ND2 [səm1]; ND3 [səm1]
OPH *sem1  CNH *sem1

shān 山 QYS ʃan CDC *shan1/EC *sran
BMH [san]; MX [san1]; HL [san1]; SX [san1]; LF [san1]; LZ [ʃan1]; SHT [sən1]
HY [san1]; XY [san1]; DB [lən1]; YL [san1]; XC [ʃan1]
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CT [saŋ1]; WP [saŋ1]; YD [san1]; SH [sã1]; LC1 [sa1]; LC2 [sa1]
NK [sã1]; AY [sã1]; SY [sã1]; XS [san1]; QN [san1]; ND1 [san1]; ND2 [san1]; ND3 [san1]
OPH *san1   CNH *san1

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

shòu 瘦 QYS ʂjəu-  CDC *sheu5/EC *sriwh
BMH [sɛu]; MX [sɛu5]; HL [sɛu5]; SX [sɛu5]; LF [sɛu5]; LZ [ʃɛu5]; SHT [sìu5]
HY [suai5]; XY [sɛu5]; DB [lei5]; YL [sai5]; XC [səu5]
CT [sɛu5]; WP [sɛ5]; YD [sɛu5]; SH [sə5]; LC1 [sɛu5]; LC2 [—]
NK [sɔ5]; AY [sə5]; SY [cio2]; XS [səu5]; QN [sɛu5]; ND1 [sɛu5]; ND2 [səu3]; ND3 [səu5]
OPH *sεu5   CNH *sεu5

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

shuāi 衰 QYS ʂwi  CDC *shuei5/EC *sruth
BMH [soi]; MX [soi1]; HL [soi1]; SX [soi1]; LF [soi1]; LZ [—]; SHT [soi1]
HY [suai1]; XY [sui1]; DB [səi1]; YL [—]; XC [suai1]
CT [—]; WP [sue1]; YD [sεi1]; SH [sεi1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sœ1]; AY [sε1]; SY [sε1]; XS [sœ1]; QN [sœ1]; ND1 [sœ1]; ND2 [sœ1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *sœi1]   CNH *suoi1/*sui1

The second reconstruction is supported by the Xinyí, Yǒngdīng and Shànghááng forms.

shuài 帥 QYS ʂwi-  CDC *shuei5/EC *sruth
BMH [sòi]; MX [sai5]; HL [sai5]; SX [sai5]; LF [sai5]; LZ [ʃai5]; SHT [—]
HY [suai5]; XY [sai5]; DB [səi5]; YL [ʂuai5]; XC [ʂuai5 ~ ʂuaʔ7]

16 It should be borne in mind that, unlike Modern Standard Chinese, many Mandarin dialects, including the older Běijīng vernacular, have retroflex initials in this syllable, i.e., sēn vs. sên. The former is sometimes still found among some Mainland speakers of MSC. Taiwan Mandarin uses only the latter.
The tone of the Ningdū-1 form is irregularly of low register.

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

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

xīn 新 QYS sjen CDC *sin1/EC *sinh
BMH [sin]; MX [sin1]; HL [sin1]; SX [sin1]; LF [sin1]; LZ [ʃin1]; SHT [sin1]
HY [sin1]; XY [sin1]; DB [ʃıŋ1]; YL [ɕin1]; XC [ɕin1]
CT [ɕeŋ1]; WP [ɕiŋ1]; YD [ɕin1]; SH [ɕiŋ1]; LC1 [ɕeŋ1]; LC2 [ɕeŋ1]
NK [ɕiŋ1]; AY [ɕiŋ1]; SY [ɕiŋ1]; XS [ɕin1]; QN [ɕiŋ1]; ND1 [ɕiŋ1]; ND2 [ɕiŋ1]; ND3 [ɕin1]
OPH *ɕiŋ1 CNH *ɕiŋ1

xū 鬚 QYS sju CDC *siu1/EC *so
BMH [si]; MX [si1]; HL [ɕi1]; SX [ɕi1]; LF [si1]; LZ [ʃi1]; SHT [—]
HY [ɕu1]; XY [ɕu1]; DB [liŋ1]; YL [ɕy1]; XC [ɕi1]
CT [ɕi1]; WP [—]; YD [ɕi1]; SH [ɕi1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɕi1]; AY [ɕi1]; SY [ɕi1]; XS [ɕi1]; QN [ɕi1]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ɕi1]; ND3 [ɕi1]
OPH *ɕi1 CNH *ɕi1

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

xiàng 像 QYS zjang: CDC *ziong4/EC *zangx
BMH [siöŋ]; MX [ɕiöŋ5 ~ ts’iöŋ5b]; HL [ɕiöŋ5 ~ ts’iöŋ5]; SX [ɕiöŋ5 ~ ts’iöŋ5]; LF [ɕiöŋ5]; LZ [ʃiöŋ5 ~ jɪəŋ5]; SHT [ts’iöŋ5]
HY [—]; XY [ts’iöŋ5]; DB [liöŋ5]; YL [ɕiöŋ5]; XC [te’iöŋ5]
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CT [ts’iəŋ6]; WP [siəŋ5 ~ tshiəŋ3]; YD [siəŋ3]; SH [ɕiəŋ5 ~ tɕhioŋ5]; LC1 [ts’iəŋ6]; LC2 [—]
NK [ei55 ~ te’i55];AY [ts’iəŋ6]; SY [ei32 ~ te’i55]; XS [ts’iəŋ5]; QN [te’iəŋ6]; ND1 [te’iəŋ6];
ND2 [te’iəŋ6]; ND3 [ts’iəŋ6]

[OPH *ts’iong5]   CNH *ts’iong6/L *siong5

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

xú 徐 QYS jwo CDC *zie2 (~ *ziu2)/EC *za

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

2.4 The Postalveolars

That the consonants discussed in this section must have been a distinct series was
demonstrated by O’Connor for Proto-Hakka (1976) and has never been questioned. Although
the exact phonetic nature of these sounds is not an essential question from a comparative
standpoint, some discussion of the problem seems warranted. In the dialects for which data were available to O’Connor, and indeed in the majority of Neo-Hakka dialects today, the series, where distinct, is realized as alveopalatal. O’Connor accordingly reconstructed it with this value and transcribed it as Proto-Hakka *tš-, *tš’-, and *š-. The corresponding nasal sound was represented as *n-, for which he posited two subtypes. However, there are in various locations Hakka dialects for which the obstruents corresponding to O’Connor’s PH *tš-, *tš’-, and *š- are transcribed in dialect surveys as retroflexes. Wàn and Zhuāng (2014) have recently called into question the phonetic detail of those putative retroflexes reported for certain eastern Guǎngdōng Hakka varieties, their conclusion being that the sounds in question are actually laminal postalveolars rather than true retroflexes.17 Also noteworthy in this connection is a recent dissertation by Zhāng Qiàn 張倩 (2014a: 64–70), where the distribution in Neo-Hakka and Paleo-Hakka dialects of true retroflexes vs. other postalveolar consonant types is described in detail. Finally, two new studies of the problem advance the discussion further and explore its complexities in even greater phonetic detail (Mài 2015; 2016).

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

17 If the obstruents described by Wàn and Zhuāng are ultimately accepted by Chinese dialectologists, then they should be assigned their own IPA transcriptional forms. Our suggestion would be that they be transcribed with the symbols ʃ and ç, which are not in use in current versions of the IPA. A series of transcriptional forms adapted for Sinitic languages would be ʃʲ, ʃʰ, ʃ, dʒ, ç. In the event that a rhotic approximant of this type were discovered in a Chinese dialect, one might render it with the letter ɿ (“long leg r”), which was formally withdrawn from the IPA in 1989.
use O’Connor’s transcriptions for the obstruent members of our series but modify his *ŋ- to *ɲ- for the sake of consistency. And we shall refer to the entire series using the cover term “postalveolars”, while remaining agnostic regarding any more precise phonetic definition.

2.4.1 CNH *tš-

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

zhēn 真  QYS tśjen  CDC *cin1/EC *tin
BMH [chin]; MX [tsən1]; HL [tʃen1]; SX [tʃen1]; LF [tʃin1]; LZ [tʃin1]; SHT [tsin1]
HY [tsin1]; XY [tsin1]; DB [tsən1]; YL [tʃən1]; XC [tʃən1]
CT [tʃen1]; WP [tʃən1]; YD [tʃiən1]; SH [tʃiən1]; LC1 [tʃiən1]; LC2 [tʃiən1]
NK [tʃiən1]; AY [tsən1]; SY [tʃiən1]; XS [tʃən1]; QN [tʃiən1]; ND1 [tsən1]; ND2 [tsən1]; ND3 [tʃən1]
OPH *tʃin1  CNH *tʃin1

zhǐ 指  QYS tśi:  CDC *ci3/EC *ciy (kiyix)
BMH [chi]; MX [tsi3]; HL [tʃi3]; SX [tʃi3]; LF [tʃi3]; LZ [tʃi3]; SHT [tsi3]
HY [tsi3 ~ tsiə3]; XY [tsi3]; DB [tsi3]; YL [tʃi3]; XC [tʃi3]
CT [tʃi3]; WP [tsi5 ~ tsə3]; YD [tsi3]; SH [tsi3]; LC1 [tʃi3]; LC2 [tʃi3]
NK [tsi3]; AY [tsi3]; SY [tsi3]; XS [tʃi3]; QN [tsi3]; ND1 [tʃi3]; ND2 [tʃi3]; ND3 [tʃi3 ~ tsi3]
OPH *tʃi3  CNH *tʃi3

zhòu 晝  QYS tʃau-  CDC *ciu5/EC *truh
BMH [chiù]; MX [tsu5]; HL [tʃu5]; SX [tʃu5]; LF [tʃu5]; LZ [tʃu5]; SHT [tsu5]
HY [tsu5]; XY [tsu5]; DB [tsu5]; YL [tʃəu5]; XC [tʃəu5]

18 Such a step was in fact already anticipated by O’Connor himself (1976: 61), though he did not actually implement it in his paper.
CT [tʃeu1]; WP [tse5]; YD [tsiu3]; SH [teiu5]; LC1 [tʃeu5]; LC2 [tʃu5]
NK [teiu5]; AY [teu5]; SY [teiu2]; XS [tʃu5]; QN [teiu5]; ND1 [tʃeu5]; ND2 [tsəu5]; ND3 [tsəu5]
OPH *tʃiu5   CNH *tʃieu5

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

zhū 珠 QYS tʃju CDC *ciu1/EC *to
BMH [chu]; MX [tsu1]; HL [tʃu1]; SX [tʃu1]; LF [tʃu1]; LZ [tʃu1]; SHT [—]
HY [tsy1]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʃu1]; XC [tʃu1]
CT [tʃu1]; WP [tu1]; YD [tsi1]; SH [tsu1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tʃye1 ~ tʃve1]†
NK [tsu1]; AY [tsv1]; SY [tʃe1]; XS [tʃu1]; QN [tsu1]; ND1 [tsu1]; ND2 [tsu1]; ND3 [—]
OPH *tʃu1   CNH *tʃiu1
†Cf. FJFYZ: [tʃye1].

zhǔ 煮 QYS tʃjwo: CDC *cie3 (~ *ciu3)/EC *tax
BMH [chu]; MX [ts3]; HL [tʃu3]; SX [tʃu3]; LF [tʃu3]; LZ [tʃu3]; SHT [tsu3]
HY [tsy3]; XY [tsy3]; DB [tsi3]; YL [tʃu3]; XC [tʃu3]
CT [tʃu3]; WP [tu3]; YD [tsi3]; SH [tsu3]; LC1 [tʃue3]; LC2 [tʃye3]
NK [ts3]; AY [ts3]; SY [tʃe3]; XS [tʃu3]; QN [tsu3]; ND1 [tei3]; ND2 [tei3]; ND3 [tsi3]
[OPH *tʃu3]   CNH *tʃiu3/*tʃie3

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

zhuān 磚 QYS tʃjwän CDC *cion1/EC *ton
BMH [chon]; MX [tsən1]; HL [tʃon1]; SX [tʃon1]; LF [tʃon1]; LZ [tʃon1]; SHT [tsən1]
HY [tsuan1]; XY [tsuan1]; DB [tsən1]; YL [tʃon1]; XC [tsuan1]
CT [tʃon1]; WP [tsən1 ~ tsəŋ1]; YD [tsən1]; SH [tsən1]; LC1 [kue1]; LC2 [kue1]
NK [tsən1]; AY [tsən1]; SY [tsuən1]; XS [tʃon1]; QN [tsən1]; ND1 [tsən1]; ND2 [tsuən1]; ND3 [tsuən1]
[OPH *tʃon1]   CNH *tʃuon1
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zhǔn 准 QYS tśjwen: CDC *ciun3/EC *tunx
BMH [chún]; MX [tsun3]; HL [tʃun3]; SX [tʃun3]; LF [tʃun3]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [tsun3]; XY [tsun3]; DB [tsɔn3]; YL [tʃun3]; XC [tʃuən3]
CT [tʃen3]; WP [tʃeŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [tʃeŋ3]; LC1 [kueŋ3]; LC2 [kueŋ3]
NK [tseŋ3]; AY [tsəŋ3]; SY [tseŋ3]; XS [tʃən3]; QN [tsun3]; ND1 [tsun3]; ND2 [tsun3]; ND3 [tsun3]

[OPH *tʃun3] CNH *tʃiun3

Cf. Wēngyuán [tsiun3].

zuǐ 嘴 QYS tsjwe: CDC *tsui3/EC —
BMH [tsuí ~ chóii]; MX [tsuíw ~ tsɔi5b]; HL [tʃoi3 ~ tsui3]; SX [tʃoi3 ~ tsui3]; LF [tʃoi5 ~ tsui3]; LZ [ʃui3]; SHT [tsɔi3]
HY [tsuai5]; XY [tsuai5]; DB [tsɔi5]; YL [tsɔi5 ~ tseĩ3]; XC [tsɔi5]
CT [tʃue5]; WP [tʃe3 ~ tsi5]; YD [tʃeĩ3]; SH [tʃue5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kvi5]
NK [tsue5]; AY [tsue5]; SY [tʃeĩ2]; XS [tʃɔi5]; QN [tʃɔi5 ~ tsui3]; ND1 [tʃɔe5]; ND2 [tʃeĩ5]; ND3 [tsuai5]

[OPH *tʃoi3] CNH *tʃɔi5 ~ *tʃɔi3 // L *tʃuii3

Two entirely different etyma for “mouth” are represented in this set. The first, which has variants in Tones 5 and 3, is the popular, autochthonous word. Only the other, which is literary in register, can validly be associated with the graph 嘴. The Liánchéng-2 form derives from earlier *tʃui5, which appears to be a blend formed on *tʃɔi5 and *tʃuii3.

2.4.2 CNH *tʃ’-

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

chē 車 QYS tʃhja CDC *chia1/EC *cha (khya)
BMH [chha]; MX [ts’a1]; HL [tʃ’a1]; SX [tʃ’a1]; LF [tʃ’a1]; LZ [tʃha1]; SHT [ts’a1]
HY [ts’a1]; XY [ts’a1]; DB [ts’a1]; YL [tʃ’a1]; XC [tʃ’a1]
CT [tʃ’a1]; WP [tʃha1]; YD [ts’a1]; SH [tʃhə1]; LC1 [tʃ’o1]; LC2 [tʃ’o1]
NK [ts’a1]; AY [ts’a1]; SY [ts’a1]; XS [ts’a1]; QN [ts’a1]; ND1 [ts’a1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ts’a1]

OPH *tš’a1   CNH *tš’ia1

Cf. Qīngliú: [tʃ’io1].

chū 出 QYS strtolower CDC *chiut7/EC *thut

BMH [chhut]; MX [ts’ut7]; HL [tʃ’ut7]; SX [tʃ’ut7]; LF [tʃ’ut7]; LZ [tʃhut7]; SHT [ts’ut7]
HY [ts’ut7]; XY [ts’ut7]; DB [ts’at7]; YL [tʂ’ueiʔ7]; XC [tʂ’uʔ7]
CT [tʃ’e2]; WP [tʃeʔ7]; YD [ts’ut7]; SH [tʃheiʔ7]; LC1 [tʃ’eu6]; LC2 [tʃ’uʔ6 ~ tʃ’uʔ5]

NK [ts’œʔ7]; AY [ts’33]; SY [ts’uo5]; XS [tʂ’uit7]; QN [ts’uiʔ7]; ND1 [ts’uit7]; ND2 [ts’ut7]; ND3 [ts’ut7]

OPH *tš’ut7   CNH *tš’iut7


chóng 蟲 QYS djung CDC *jiung2/EC *drung

BMH [chhûng]; MX [ts’un2]; HL [tʃ’un2]; SX [tʃ’un2]; LF [tʃ’un2]; LZ [tʃhuu2]; SHT [ts’un2]
HY [ts’on2]†; XY [ts’on2]; DB [ts’un2]; YL [tʂ’un2]; XC [tʂ’un2]
CT [tʃ’on2]; WP [tsʰun2]; YD [ts’un2]; SH [tsʰer2]; LC1 [tʃ’on2]; LC2 [tʃ’ən2]
NK [ts’ən2]; AY [ts’ən2]; SY [ts’ən2]; XS [tʂ’ən2]; QN [ts’un2]; ND1 [ts’un2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ts’un2]

OPH *tš’ung2   CNH *tš’iun2

†The source writes initial tʃ’-, which must be a typographical error, since no such initial exists in this dialect.


zhí 直 QYS djak CDC *jik8/EC *drik

BMH [chhit]; MX [ts’at8]; HL [tʃ’it8]; SX [tʃ’it8]; LF [tʃ’it8]; LZ [tʃhit8]; SHT [ts’it8]
HY [—]; XY [ts’it8]; DB [ts’it8]; YL [tʂ’eʔ8]; XC [tʂ’eʔ8]
CT [tʃ’i6]; WP [tʃiʔ8 ~ tʃeʔ8]; YD [ts’iʔ8]; SH [tʃheiʔ8]; LC1 [tʃ’i5]; LC2 [tʃh5]
NK [ts’a1]; AY [ts’e6]; SY [ts’e5]; XS [tʂ’t8]; QN [ts’ʔ8]; ND1 [ts’ak8]; ND2 [ts’aak8]; ND3 [ts’ək8]

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OPH *tšʼit8   CNH *tšʼik8

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

chú 廚  QYS  dju       CDC *jiu2/EC *dro
BMH [chhû]; MX [tsʼu2]; HL [tʃʼu2]; SX [tʃʼu2]; LF [tʃʼu2]; LZ [tʃhu2]; SHT [tsʼu2]
HY [tsʼy2]; XY [tsʼy2]; DB [tsʼi2]; YL [tšʼu2]; XC [tšʼu2]
CT [tʃʼu2]; WP [thu2]; YD [tsʼi2]; SH [tshu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tʃue2]
NK [tsʼu2]; AY [tsʼy2]; SY [teʼy2]; XS [tšʼu2]; QN [tsʼu2]; ND1 [tsʼu2]; ND2 [tsʼu2]; ND3 [tsʼu2]

[OPH *tšʼu2]   CNH *tšʼiu2

Examples of velarization in Liánchéng are:

chuān 穿  QYS  tśhjuän  CDC *chion1/EC *thon
BMH [chhon]; MX [tsʼən1]; HL [tʃʼon5]; SX [tʃʼon5]; LF [tʃʼon5]; LZ [tʃhən1]; SHT [tsʼən1]
HY [tsʼuan1]; XY [tsʼuan1]; DB [tsʼən1]; YL [tšʼən1]; XC [tšʼuan1]
CT [tʃʼuŋ1]; WP [tʃhəŋ5]; YD [tsʼən1]; SH [tʃhu1]; LC1 [kʼue1]; LC2 [kʼue1]
NK [tsʼoŋ1]; AY [tsʼəŋ1]; SY [tsʼuŋ1]; XS [tšʼən1]; QN [tsʼən1]; ND1 [tsʼən1]; ND2 [tsʼuŋ1]; ND3 [tsʼuŋ1]

[OPH *tšʼon1~ tšʼon5]   CNH *tšʼuon1/*tšʼuon5

chūn 春  QYS  tʃhjuen  CDC *chiun1/EC *thun
BMH [chhun]; MX [tsʼun1]; HL [tʃʼun1]; SX [tʃʼun1]; LF [tʃʼun1]; LZ [tʃhun1]; SHT [tsʼun1]
HY [tsʼun1]; XY [tsʼun1]; DB [tsʼən1]; YL [tšʼun1]; XC [tšʼuən1]
CT [tʃʼuŋ1]; WP [tʃhəŋ1 ~ tʃhin1]; YD [tsʼun1]; SH [tʃhəŋ1]; LC1 [kʼuəŋ1]; LC2 [kʼuəŋ1]
NK [teʼyəŋ1]; AY [tsʼəŋ1]; SY [teʼyəŋ1]; XS [tšʼən1]; QN [tsʼun1]; ND1 [tsʼun1]; ND2 [tsʼun1]; ND3 [tsʼun1]

[OPH *tšʼun1  CNH *tšʼiun1

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chuī 吹  QYS tšhjwe  CDC *chui1/EC *thoy
BMH [chhoi ~ chhui]; MX [ts’oi1]; HL [tʃ’oi1w ~ tʃ’ui1b]; SX [tʃ’oi1]; LF [tʃ’oi1]; LZ [tʃhui1]; SHT [ts’ui2]
HY [ts’ui1]; XY [ts’ue1]; DB [ts’ei1]; YL [tʃ’uei1]; XC [tʃ’uei1]
CT [tʃ’ue1]; WP [tshe1]; YD [ts’ei1]; SH [tshei1]; LC1 [k’ui1]; LC2 [k’vi1]
NK [te’y1]; AY [ts’e1]; SY [te’y1]; XS [tʃ’i1]; QN [ts’ui1]; ND1 [ts’ui1]; ND2 [ts’ui1]; ND3 [ts’ui1]
[OPH *tš’oi1]  CNH *tš’iui1/L *tš’oi1
Cf. Wēngyuán [ts’iui1].

2.4.3 CNH *ñ-

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

A. CNH *ñ- Initial Sets

yí 疑  QYS ngjï  CDC *ngi2/EC *ngi
BMH [nyi]; MX [ni2]; HL [ni2]; SX [ni2]; LF [ni2]; LZ [ŋi2]; SHT [—]
HY [ni2]; XY [ni2]; DB [ni2]; YL [ni2]; XC [ni2]
CT [ni2]; WP [—]; YD [hŋ2b ~ ŋi2w]; SH [i2w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ni2]; AY [ni2]; SY [ni2]; XS [ni2]; QN [ni2]; ND1 [ni2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ni2]
[OPH *ŋi2]  CNH *ŋi2
†FJFYZZ: [ŋi2].
In Yǒngdìng the second form cited here is identified as being of literary register, while the corresponding bái form is the syllabic nasal. In Shàngháng we find another wén form, probably derivable from earlier *i2. Comparing the set for yí 義 below, we can then discern in the present case three lexical layers, for which the reconstructed forms for this etymon would be *ŋi2/*ñi2/*i2, with the first probably being the oldest and the third the latest.
The variant forms in ə3 and ɜ3, etc. are almost certainly very late borrowings of a northern ə3.

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

B. CNH *n- Initial Sets

The variant forms in ə3 and ə3, etc. are almost certainly very late borrowings of a northern ə3.
The finals of the Yîlǒng forms are anomalous. It is possible that they are analogical back formations from nǐ 泥.

Our other sources tend to confl ate various second person pronominal forms under the Chinese graph 你. The two Wûping words are free variant derivatives of the Tone 2 alternate pronunciation of the first reconstruction. The second Yǒngdìng form descends from the same Tone 2 alternate, and the third Yǒngdìng form appears to be a deformed variant of the second. The three Ningdū forms may derive from an earlier *nie2 (~ *nie3), which is Gân-like in...
appearance and may have been borrowed from that family. Only the third reconstruction, which
is literary in register, can be directly related to the written form nǐ 你. For discussion of the
Hakka second person pronouns, cf. also Chapter V, §5.2.73.

nǐ 膩  QYS ņi-   CDC *ni6/EC *nriyh
BMH [ni6 ~ nyè]; MX [ni6]; HL [ni6]; SX [ni5]; LF [—]; LZ [li5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [ni3]; YL [ni5]; XC [ni5]
CT [ni5]; WP [ni3]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ni5]; AY [ni6]; SY [—]; XS [ni5]; QN [—]; ND1 [ni6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ni6]   CNH *ni6/*ņi6

The tone of the Méixiàn form and the final of the Diànbái form are irregular. It is not possible
to determine whether O’Connor would have reconstructed OPH *ņ1 or *ņ2 for this word, since
the form is not included in Henne (1964).

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

19 This syllable is a transcriptional character found in loan compounds such as nígū 尼姑 “Buddhist
nun”, from the final syllable of the Indic word for “nun” (Pali: bhikkhuṇī, Sanskrit: bhikṣuṇī) plus gū
gū 姑 “maiden, girl”.
We have noted above that O’Connor reconstructs two palatal nasals, *ȵ₁ and *ȵ₂ for Proto-Hakka. We must now consider these reconstructions in detail. To begin, let us examine a few cases of both.

A. O’Connor Proto-Hakka *ȵ₁ (> Sathewkok ŋ)\(^{20}\)

### rè 熱 QYS ńźjät CDC *nhiat8/EC *nat

- BMH [nyėt]; MX [niet8]; SX [niet8]; LF [niet8]; LZ [ŋeit8]; SHT [—]
- HY [niat8]; XY [niat8]; DB [niat8]; YL [nieʔ8]; XC [nieʔ8]
- CT [ne6]; WP [nieʔ8]; YD [nieʔ8]; SH [nieʔ8]; LC1 [ni5]; LC2 [ni5]
- NK [nie5]; AY [ni51]; SY [nie5]; XS [niet8]; QN [nieʔ8]; ND1 [nait8]; ND2 [nat8]; ND3 [nat8]
- OPH *n₃iat8; CNH *ńiat8

### rèn 人 QYS ńźjen CDC *nhin2/EC *nin

- BMH [nyin]; MX [nin2]; HL [nin2]; SX [nin2]; LF [nin2]; LZ [ŋin2]; SHT [nin2]
- HY [nin2]; XY [nin2]; DB [nən2]; YL [nin2]; XC [nin2]
- CT [neŋ2]; WP [nieŋ2]; YD [nieŋ2]; SH [nieŋ2]; LC1 [nieŋ2]; LC2 [nieŋ2 ~ ien2]
- NK [niŋ2]; AY [nieniaŋ2]; SY [nieŋ2 ~ jën2]; XS [nin2]; QN [nin2]; ND1 [nən2]; ND2 [nən2 ~ in2w]; ND3 [nən2 ~ in2]
- OPH *n₃in2; CNH *ńin2/L in2

### rèn 忍 QYS ńźjen: CDC *nhin4/EC *nunx

- BMH [nyun ~ nyūn†]; MX [niun1]; HL [niun1]; SX [niun1]; LF [niun1]; LZ [ŋiun3]; SHT [—]
- HY [niun5]; XY [ny1]; DB [nən1]; YL [nin3]; XC [n3]
- CT [neŋ1]; WP [niŋ1]; YD [niŋ1††]; SH [niŋ1]; LC1 [nieŋ1]; LC2 [—]
- NK [niŋ5]; AY [nieniaŋ3]; SY [niŋ3]; XS [niŋ3]; QN [niŋ1]; ND1 [nən3]; ND2 [nən3]; ND3 [nən3]
- OPH *n₄iun1; CNH *ńiun1/*ńiun3/L *ńin1/*ńin3

\(^{20}\) Sathewkok (沙頭角) is the name used by Henne (1964) to designate the Hakka dialect reported in his article.
†Said by the source to be the “proper” (i.e., literary or character) reading.
††Form after Lán (1999).

| Character | QYS  | BMH | MX  | HL  | SX  | LF  | LZ  | SHT | HY  | XY  | DB  | YL  | XC  | CT  | WP  | YD  | SH  | LC1 | LC2 | LC3 | NK  | AY  | SY  | XS  | QN  | ND1 | ND2 | ND3 |
|-----------|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| ròu  肉  | QYS nǐjuò | CDC *niwiki8/EC *nuk | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|          |      | BMH [nyuk]; MX [niuk7]; HL [niuk7]; SX [niuk7]; LF [niuk7]; LZ [ŋiuk7]; SHT [ŋiuk7] | HY [ŋyok7 ~ nyok8]† | XY [niuk7]; DB [niuk7]; YL [nǐu7]; XC [niuk7] | CT [nieu2 ~ nia2]; WP [niuʔ7]; YD [niuʔ7]; SH [njaʔ7]; LC1 [njiu6]; LC2 [nja6 ~ niu6] | NK [niu8]; AY [niu6w ~ nja6]; SY [niu5]; XS [niuk7]; QN [niuʔ7]; ND1 [nu7]; ND2 [nu7]; ND3 [nju7 ~ niu7] | OPH *njuik7 | CNH *niuk7/*niuk8 |
|          |      | HY [ŋyok7 ~ nyok8]† | XY [niuk7]; DB [niuk7]; YL [nǐu7]; XC [niuk7] | CT [nieu2 ~ nia2]; WP [niuʔ7]; YD [niuʔ7]; SH [njaʔ7]; LC1 [njiu6]; LC2 [nja6 ~ niu6] | NK [niu8]; AY [niu6w ~ nja6]; SY [niu5]; XS [niuk7]; QN [niuʔ7]; ND1 [nu7]; ND2 [nu7]; ND3 [nju7 ~ niu7] | OPH *njuik7 | CNH *niuk7/*niuk8 |

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

B. O’Connor Proto-Hakka *n2 (> Shathewkoc n-)

| Character | QYS  | BMH | MX  | HL  | SX  | LF  | LZ  | SHT | HY  | XY  | DB  | YL  | XC  | CT  | WP  | YD  | SH  | LC1 | LC2 | LC3 | NK  | AY  | SY  | XS  | QN  | ND1 | ND2 | ND3 |
|-----------|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| niàn 粘  | QYS nījàn | CDC *niam/EC *nrem | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|          |      | BMH [nyâm]; MX [niam2]; HL [niam2]; SX [niam2]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [niam1] | HY [niam1]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [niam1] | CT [—]; WP [niam2]; YD [—]; SH [niam1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—] | NK [niã2]; AY [niã2]; SY [—]; XS [niam2]; QN [—]; ND1 [niam2]; ND2 [niam2]; ND3 [niam2] | OPH *niam2 | CNH *niam2/*niam1 |
|          |      | BMH [nyâm]; MX [niam5]; HL [niam6]; SX [niam5]; LF [niam6]; LZ [ŋiam5]; SHT [ŋen2] | HY [niam6]; XY [niam3]; DB [niam3]; YL [niam5]; XC [nian5] | CT [niam6]; WP [niam6]; YD [niam5]; SH [niam3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—] | NK [niam5]; AY [niam6]; SY [niam5]; XS [niam5]; QN [niam3 ~ niam5]; ND1 [niam6]; ND2 [niam6]; ND3 [niam6] | OPH *niam6 | CNH *niam6 |
From these examples we see that the distinction between the two palatal nasals in O’Connor’s system is based directly and exclusively on a correspondence pattern found in his Shathewkok data (Henne 1964). He did not find evidence for it at the other points he surveyed. His comparative methodology was sound and his conclusions reasonable, based on the material available to him at the time he was working. But today, with the benefit of hindsight and much more data than O’Connor had, we can bring the problem into better focus. In short, there does not appear to be any new evidence which supports the distinction between Proto-Hakka *ȵ1 and *ȵ2. Newer data from various areas do not show it in a systematic way, even those from the New Territories dialects (Sagart 1982; Zhāng & Zhuāng 2003), to which Henne’s Shathewkok belongs. And it does not correspond to any distinction found in other Chinese dialect families or in traditional textual materials such as rime books, etc. In other words, if it is valid, it is an anomaly, both in Hakka and in general Chinese. Our suspicion here is that what Henne recorded was probably dialect mixture of some sort, where his informants read some words with initial
n- (rather less common in his data as a whole) and most others with ŋ-. For this reason, we shall posit a single Common Neo-Hakka initial, *ň-, in place of O’Connor’s *ȵ1 and *ȵ2.

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

2.4.4 CNH *š-

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>shāo 燒</th>
<th>QYS śjäu</th>
<th>CDC *shiau1/EC *θew</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BMH [shau]; MX [sau1]; HL [jau1]; SX [ʃeu1]; LF [ʃau1]; LZ [ʃau1]; SHT [ʃau1]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HY [ʃau1]; XY [ʃau1]; DB [sau1]; YL [ʃau1]; XC [ʃau1]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT [ʃə1]; WP [ʃə1]; YD [ʃeu1]; SH [sə1]; LC1 [ʃə1]; LC2 [ʃə1 ~ ʃeu1]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NK [sə1]; AY [sə1]; SY [sə1]; XS [ʃau1]; QN [ʃau1]; ND1 [ʃau1]; ND2 [ʃau1]; ND3 [ʃau1]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPH *ʃau1 CNH *ʃiau1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>shǒu 手</th>
<th>QYS śjəu:</th>
<th>CDC *shieu3/EC *θux</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BMH [ʃiú]; MX [su3]; HL [ʃu3]; SX [ʃu3]; LF [ʃu3]; LZ [ʃu3]; SHT [ʃu3]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HY [ʃu3]; XY [ʃu3]; DB [ʃu3]; YL [ʃu3]; XC [ʃu3]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT [ʃu3]; WP [ʃə3]; YD [ʃi3]; SH [ʃi3]; LC1 [ʃu3]; LC2 [ʃu3]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NK [ʃi3]; AY [ʃu3]; SY [ʃi3]; XS [ʃu3]; QN [ʃu3]; ND1 [ʃu3]; ND2 [ʃu3]; ND3 [ʃu3]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPH *ʃu3 CNH *ʃieu3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

21 This configuration in Hakka was in fact pointed long ago by Hashimoto (1973). Cf. also Norman (1988a: 224).
Common Neo-Hakka:
A Comparative Reconstruction

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shí 石 QYS ʒják  CDC *zhiak8/EC *dak
BMH [shák]; MX [sak8]; HL [ʃək8]; SX [ʃək8]; LF [ʃək8]; LZ [ʃək8]; SHT [sak8]
HY [sa8]; XY [ʃək8]; DB [sək8]; YL [səʔ8]; XC [ʃəʔ8]
CT [ʃa6]; WP [saʔ8]; YD [saʔ8]; SH [səʔ8]; LC1 [ʃə]; LC2 [ʃə]
NK [sa1]; AY [sa6]; SY [ʃə5]; XS [ʃə8]; QN [saʔ8]; ND1 [sak8]; ND2 [sak8]; ND3 [sak8]
OPH *ʃak8  CNH *ʃiak8
Cf. Xiùzhuàn: [ʃa6]

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

shū 書 QYS ʒjwo  CDC *shie1 (~ *shiu1)/EC *θə
BMH [sə]; MX [ʃu1w ~ ʃəu1b]; HL [ʃu1]; SX [ʃu1]; LF [ʃu1]; LZ [ʃu1]; SHT [ʃu1]
HY [ʃu1]; XY [ʃu1]; DB [ʃu1]; YL [ʃu1]; XC [ʃu1]
CT [ʃu1]; WP [ʃu1]; YD [ʃu1]; SH [ʃu1]; LC1 [ʃəu1]; LC2 [ʃəu1]†
NK [ʃu1]; AY [ʃə1]; SY [ʃə1]; XS [ʃu1]; QN [ʃu1]; ND1 [ʃiə1]; ND2 [ʃiə1]; ND3 [ʃiə1]
[OPH *ʃu1]  CNH *ʃu1
†Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [ʃəu1].
The Ningdū forms reflect an earlier *ʃie1 which may have arisen through contact with Gàn dialects.

shù 樹 QYS ʒj̃- “tree”  CDC *zhiu6/EC *doh
BMH [ʃu]; MX [ʃu]; HL [ʃu]; SX [ʃu]; LF [ʃu]; LZ [ʃu]; SHT [ʃu]
HY [ʃu]; XY [ʃu]; DB [ʃu]; YL [ʃu]; XC [ʃu]
CT [ʃu]; WP [ʃu]; YD [ʃu]; SH [ʃu]; LC1 [ʃu]; LC2 [ʃəu6]†
NK [ʃu ~ ʃu5]; AY [ʃə5]; SY [ʃə5]; XS [ʃu5]; QN [ʃu6]; ND1 [ʃu6]; ND2 [ʃu6]; ND3 [ʃu6]
[OPH *ʃu6]  CNH *ʃiu6/*tʃi6
†Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [ʃə6].

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

**chuán** 船 QYS dźjwán CDC *jion2/EC *δon

BMH [shôn]; MX [sən2]; HL [jɔn2]; SX [jɔn2]; LF [jɔn2]; LZ [jɔn2]; SHT [sɔn2]
HY [suan2]; XY [suan2]; DB [sən2]; YL [tʃˈɔn2]; XC [tʃˈuən2]
CT [jun2]; WP [sueŋ2 ~ sæŋ2]; YD [sən2]; SH [səu2]; LC1 [fe2]; LC2 [—]
NK [soe2]; AY [sə2]; SY [suə2]; XS [sən2]; QN [sən2]; ND1 [sən2]; ND2 [suan2]; ND3 [suan2]

[OPH *šon2] CNH *šuon2

Yílǒng and Xīchāng show an affricate initial form which does not occur at other points. It is perhaps a Mandarin loan.

**chún** 唇、脣 QYS dźjuen CDC *zhiun2 ~ *jiun2/EC *δun

BMH [shûn]; MX [sun2]; HL [ʃun2]; SX [ʃun2]; LF [ʃun2]; LZ [ʃun2]; SHT [sun2]
HY [sun2]; XY [sun2]; DB [ʃən2]; YL [ʃən2]†; XC [—]
CT [ʃen2]; WP [—]; YD [ʃiŋ2]††; SH [ʃeŋ2]; LC1 [ʃeŋ2]; LC2 [ʃen2]
NK [ʃen2]; AY [ʃə2]; SY [ʃiŋ2]; XS [ʃən2]; QN [ʃən2]; ND1 [ʃən2]; ND2 [ʃən2]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *ʃun2] CNH *ʃiun2

†Form occurs only in the glossary, whose informant is reported by the source as having had no retroflexes in his language.
††Used in the special sense “edge or bank (of a body of water)”. Cf. Wēngyuán: siun2.

**shú, shóu** 熟 QYS źjuk CDC *zhiuk8/EC *duk

BMH [shûk]; MX [suk8]; HL [ʃuk8]; SX [ʃuk8]; LF [ʃuk8]; LZ [ʃuk8]; SHT [suk8]
HY [sok8]; XY [souʔ8]; DB [suk8]; YL [ʃəuʔ8 ~ səuʔ8 ~ suʔ8]; XC [ʃuʔ8]
CT [ʃu6]; WP [suʔ8]; YD [suʔ8]; SH [səʔ8]; LC1 [ʃeu5]; LC2 [—]
NK [su1]; AY [ʃɿ6]; SY [su5]; XS [ʃuk8]; QN [suʔ8]; ND1 [suk8]; ND2 [suk8]; ND3 [suk8]

[OPH *ʃuk8] CNH *ʃiuk8

Cf. Wēngyuán [siuk8].
Our material bearing on this phenomenon is rather scant, making it difficult to give a comprehensive characterization of the process. For example, in some sets Yongding agrees with Liánchéng, while in others it does not. And, interestingly in the word shuí 睡 “sleep” Yongding shows competing variants, one of which shows dentilabialization while the other does not. Compare also the following set:

shuí 水 QYS šwí: CDC *šuí3/EC *θuyx
BMH [šuí]; MX [sui3]; HL [ʃui3]; SX [ʃui3]; LF [ʃui3]; LZ [ʃui3]; SHT [sui3]
HY [—]; XY [suaい3]; DB [sui3]; YL [ʃuei3]; XC [ʃuei3]
CT [ʃue3]; WP [ʃi3]; YD [ʃi3]; SH [ʃi3]; LC1 [ʃi3]; LC2 [ʃi3]
NK [sue3]; AY [sue3]; SY [sue2]; XS [sui3]; QN [sui3]; ND1 [sui]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
OPH *ʃui3 CNH *ʃui3/*šui6

Cf. Wēngyuán [siui3].

Here we might have expected the Liánchéng initials to dentilabialize, but in fact it is Wūpíng, Yongding, and Shàngháng that evince this process. How are we to account for these vagaries? For the nonce our hypothesis is that there was at some point a broader dentilabializing area which was subsequently eroded through borrowing from non-dentilabializing dialects. The result is the odd mixture of forms we find in our data today. Additionally, with regard to the two Liánchéng varieties we shall hazard a further speculation. To wit, perhaps Liánchéng really did originally undergo velarization in cases seen here, in which earlier *š- became a later *h-. Then, this guttural fricative underwent regular dentilabialization in the presence of following *u, which was subsequently itself lost (cf. §2.5.4 below). It is a possibility that can be considered in future studies.
Finally, we should note that CNH *š- occurs together with *tš’- in numerous doublet pairs. The following are examples:22

 cháng 常 QYS źjang CDC *jiong2 ~ zhiong2/EC *dang
BMH [ʃɔŋ2]; MX [ʃɔŋ2]; HL [ʃɔŋ2]; SX [ʃɔŋ2]; LF [ʃɔŋ2]; LZ [ʃɔŋ2]; SHT [—]
HY [ʃɔŋ2]; XY [ʃɔŋ2 ~ ts’ɔŋ2]; DB [ʃɔŋ2]; YL [ʃɔŋ2]; XC [tʃ’ɔŋ2w ~ ʃɔŋ2b]
CT [ʃɔŋ2]; WP [tʃɔŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [tʃɔŋ2 ~ soŋ2]; LC1 [ʃɔŋ2]; LC2 [—]
NK [sɔŋ2]; AY [ʃɔŋ2]; SY [sɔŋ2]; XS [ʃɔŋ2]; QN [ʃɔŋ2]; ND1 [ʃɔŋ2]; ND2 [ʃɔŋ2]; ND3 [ʃɔŋ2]
[OPH *šioŋ2] CNH *šioŋ2/L *tš’ioŋ2
Cf. Qīngliú: [ʃiɔŋ2].
The medial of the second reconstruction is restored analogically.

shǔ 鼠 QYS ŋjwo: CDC *shie3 (~ *shiu3)/EC *θax
BMH [chhr]; MX [ts’u3]; HL [ʃt’u3]; SX [ʃt’u3]; LF [ʃt’u3]; LZ [ʃt’hu3]; SHT [ts’u3]
HY [sy3]; XY [ts’y3]; DB [si3]; YL [tʃ’u3]; XC [tʃ’u2]
CT [ʃu3]; WP [fu5]; YD [ts’i3]; SH [tʃhu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ʃye3 ~ tʃye3]
NK [cy3]; AY [ce3]; SY [cy3]; XS [tʃ’u3]; QN [su3 ~ sui3]; ND1 [sa3]; ND2 [sa3]; ND3 [sa3]
[OPH *tš’u3] CNH *tš’iu3/*šiu3
The final of the Ningdū forms is irregular and enigmatic. The Ānyuǎn final is also unique in the set. The form almost certainly derives from an earlier *šie3

shòu 獸 QYS ʂjəu- CDC *shieu4/EC *θuh
BMH [chhiù]; MX [ts’u5 ~ su5]; HL [ʃt’u5]; SX [ʃt’u5]; LF [ʃt’iu5]; LZ [ʃt’hiu5]; SHT [—]
HY [siu5]; XY [ts’iu5]; DB [ts’iu5]; YL [—]; XC [ʃəu5]
CT [ʃeu5]; WP [tshe5]; YD [ts’iu3]; SH [tʃhiu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’iu5]; AY [te’u5]; SY [te’iu2]; XS [ʂu5]; QN [—]; ND1 [ts’eu5]; ND2 [ʂəu3]; ND3 [ʂəu5]
[OPH *tš’iu5] CNH *tš’ieu5/*šieu5

22 The set for shù 樹 “tree” cited above also exemplifies this phenomenon.
The large number of such parallel pairs indicates the presence of two lexical layers in the system, which must ultimately be seriated and chronologized.

2.5 The Gutturals

2.5.1 CNH *k-

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

gāo 高 QYS kâu CDC *kou1/EC *ˈkaw
BMH [kau]; MX [kau1]; HL [ko1]; SX [ko1]; LF [ko1]; LZ [kau1]; SHT [kau1]
HY [kau1]; XY [ko1]; DB [ko1]; YL [kəu1]; XC [kau1]
CT [ko1]; WP [kə1]; YD [kou1]; SH [ku1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ko1]
NK [kə1]; AY [ko1]; SY [kə1]; XS [kau1]; QN [kau1]; ND1 [kau1]; ND2 [kau1]; ND3 [kau1]
OPH *kou1 CNH *kou1

gé 格 QYS kʊk CDC *kak7/EC *ˈkak
BMH [ket ~ kiet ~ kak]; MX [kɛʔ7w ~ kak7b]; HL [ket7]; SX [ket7]; LF [kak7]; LZ [kak2];
SHT [kak7]
HY [kak7]; XY [kak7]; DB [kak7]; YL [kuʔ7]; XC [kaʔ7]
CT [koʔ7]; WP [kɛʔ5w ~ kaʔ7]; YD [kaʔ7]; SH [kaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [kaʔ7]; AY [ka6]; SY [kaʔ5 ~ ke5]; XS [kak7]; QN [kaʔ7 ~ keʔ7]; ND1 [kak7]; ND2 [kak7b ~ kak7w];
ND3 [kak7 ~ kak7]
[OPH *kak7] CNH *kak7/L *kek7

gōng 公 QYS kʊŋ CDC *kʊŋ1/EC *ˈkong
BMH [kuŋ1]; MX [kuŋ1]; HL [kuŋ1]; SX [kuŋ1]; LF [kuŋ1]; LZ [kuŋ1]; SHT [kuŋ1]
HY [koŋ1]; XY [koŋ1]; DB [kuŋ1]; YL [kuŋ1]; XC [kuŋ1]
CT [koŋ1]; WP [kuŋ1]; YD [kuŋ1]; SH [kəŋ1]; LC1 [koŋ1]; LC2 [kəŋ1]
NK [kəŋ1]; AY [kəŋ1]; SY [kəŋ1]; XS [kəŋ1]; QN [kuŋ1]; ND1 [kuŋ1]; ND2 [kuŋ1]; ND3 [kuŋ1]
Reconstruction of the Syllable Initials of Common Neo-Hakka

[OPH *kung1]   CNH *kuŋ1

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

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

ji 寄 QYS  kje -3    CDC *ki5/EC *kayh
BMH [kì]; MX [ki5]; HL [ki5]; SX [ki5]; LF [ki5]; LZ [ki5]; SHT [—]
HY [ki5]; XY [ki5]; DB [ki5]; YL [tei5]; XC [tei5]
CT [tʃi5]; WP [—]; YD [ki3 ~ kiʔ7]; SH [tei5]; LC1 [ki5]; LC2 [—]
NK [tei5]; AY [tei5]; SY [tei2]; XS [tei5]; QN [tei5]; ND1 [tei5]; ND2 [tei5]; ND3 [tsi5]
[OPH *ki5]   CNH *ki5

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

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

jiàn 見 QYS  kien-    CDC *kian5/EC *'kienh
BMH [kèn ~ kièn]; MX [kian5]; HL [kian5]; SX [kian5]; LF [kian5]; LZ [kèn5]; SHT [—]
HY [kian5]; XY [kian5]; DB [kian5]; YL [teièn5]; XC [teièn5]
CT [tʃiŋ5]; WP [tsiɛŋ5]; YD [kiɛn5]; SH [teiɛ5]; LC1 [ke5]; LC2 [—]
NK [teiɛ5]; AY [tei5]; SY [teiɛ2]; XS [teiɛ5]; QN [teiɛ5]; ND1 [tsan5]; ND2 [tsan5]; ND3 [tsan5]
[OPH *kian5]   CNH *kian5
This type differs from the first one above only in that Ningdü-1 and Ningdü-2 develop modern ts- rather than tc-. Of particular interest is the fact that in these two Ningdü sub-varieties this change is accompanied by loss of *i. The reason for this is probably that initial ts- is precluded from occurring before the vowel [i] in these dialects. CNH *tsi- regularly yields modern tɕi- in Ningdü-1 and 2, while remaining unchanged in Ningdü-3, and we must consequently suppose that dental sibilant palatalization had already run its course at the time the *k- > ts- shift began in Ningdü-1 and 2. The result of this change would have been an impossible combination in these dialects. They resolved this syllabic incongruency not by secondary palatalization of the initial but rather by concurrently deleting the following *i when preceded another vowel, or by concurrently changing *i to a non-high front vowel otherwise.

There are occasional exceptions in the data, where *ki- yields tɕi- in Ningdü-1 and 2. The following is an example involving a common etymon:
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jiào 叫 QYS kieu- CDC *kiau5/EC *kiwh
BMH [kiàu]; MX [kiau5]; HL [kiau5]; SX [kiau5]; LF [kiau5]; LZ [kiau5]; SHT [kiau5]
HY [kiau5]; XY [kiau5]; DB [kiau5]; YL [teiau5]; XC [teiau5]
CT [tʃiɔ5]; WP [tʃiɔ5]; YD [kəi3]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [teiɔ5]; AY [teiɔ5]; SY [teiɔ2]; XS [teiau5]; QN [teiau5]; ND1 [teiau5]; ND2 [tsau5 ~ teiau1]; ND3 [tsau5]
OPH *kiau5   CNH *kiau5

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

Finally, sets of the following type are of interest here:
gǒu 狗 QYS kəu: CDC *keu3/EC *'kox
BMH [kəu]; MX [ku3]; HL [keu3]; SX [keu3]; LF [keu3]; LZ [ku3]; SHT [ku3]
HY [kuai3]; XY [ku3]; DB [kiɛi3]; YL [ke3]; XC [ku3]
CT [keu3]; WP [kɛ3]; YD [ku3]; SH [ka3]; LC1 [keu3]; LC2 [—]
NK [kə3]; AY [ku3]; SY [kio3]; XS [κωu3]; QN [kεu3]; ND1 [ku3]; ND2 [kəu3]; ND3 [kəu3]
OPH *keu3   CNH *keu3

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

2.5.2 CNH *k’-

Examples of this initial before non-high front vowels are:
kè 刻 QYS khak CDC *khek7/EC *'khik
BMH [khet ~ khiet]; MX [k’et7]; HL [k’et7]; SX [k’et7]; LF [k’et7]; LZ [khet7]; SHT [—]
HY [k’at7]; XY [k’et7]; DB [kiet7]; YL [k’eʔ7]; XC [k’eʔ7]
CT [k’e2]; WP [khɛʔ7]; YD [k’eʔ7]; SH [khɛʔ7 ~ kheʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [k’a8]; AY [k’e6]; SY [k’e5]; XS [k’et7]; QN [—]; ND1 [k’ak7]; ND2 [k’ak7]; ND3 [k’ak7]
[OPH *k’et7]   CNH *k’ek7

kuān 宽  QYS  khuân  CDC *khuon1/EC *—
BMH [khwon ~ kwhan]; MX [k’ɔn1]; HL [k’on1]; SX [k’on1]; LF [k’on1]; LZ [khɔn1]; SHT [—]
HY [k’uan1]; XY [k’an1]; DB [k’uon1]; YL [k’uan1]; XC [k’uan1]
CT [k’uŋ1]; WP [khuɛŋ1]; YD [k’uon1]; SH [khuã1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [k’oẽ1]; AY [k’o̞1]; SY [k’uš1]; XS [k’o̞n1]; QN [k’o̞n1]; ND1 [k’o̞n1]; ND2 [k’uon1];
ND3 [k’uon1]
[OPH *k’on1]   CNH *k’uon1

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

ji 立  QYS  — “to stand”  CDC *gi4/EC *gay4
BMH [khi]; MX [k’i1]; HL [k’i1]; SX [k’i1]; LF [k’i1]; LZ [khi1]; SHT [—]
HY [k’i5]; XY [k’i1]; DB [k’i1]; YL [te’i5]; XC [te’i2]
CT [tʃ’i5?]; WP [tʃi1]; YD [k’i1]; SH [tehi1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [k’i1]
NK [te’i1]; AY [te’i3]; SY [te’i1]; XS [te’i1]; QN [te’i1]; ND1 [te’i1]; ND2 [te’i1]; ND3 [ts’i1]
OPH *k’i1   CNH *k’i1

qi 騎  QYS  gje3  CDC *gi2/EC *gay
BMH [khi]; MX [k’i2]; HL [k’i2]; SX [k’i2]; LF [k’i2]; LZ [khi2]; SHT [k’iа2]
HY [k’i2]; XY [k’e2]; DB [k’i2]; YL [te’i2]; XC [te’i2]
CT [tʃ’i2]; WP [tʃi2]; YD [k’i2]; SH [tehi2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [k’i2]
NK [te’i2]; AY [te’i2]; SY [te’i2]; XS [te’i2]; QN [—]; ND1 [te’i2]; ND2 [te’i2]; ND3 [ts’i2]
[OPH *k’i2]   CNH *k’i2
Consider now the following set:

kòu 扣 QYS khₐʊ:, khₐʊ- CDC *kheu5/EC *'khoh
BMH [khèu]; MX [k’e5]; HL [k’e5]; SX [k’e5]; LF [k’e5]; LZ [khèu5]; SHT [—]
HY [kuai5]; XY [k’ɐi5]; DB [k’eɪ5]; YL [k’e5]; XC [k’ɐi5]
CT [k’eʊ5]; WP [khɛ5]; YD [k’e5]; SH [k’ɐu5]

qíáo 橋 QYS gjäu CDC *giau2/EC *gaw
BMH [khiâu]; MX [k’iau2]; HL [k’iau2]; SX [k’eu2]; LF [k’iau2]; LZ [khiau2]; SHT [—]
HY [k’iau2]; XY [k’iau2]; DB [k’iau2]; YL [k’iau2]; XC [k’iau2]
CT [k’iə2]; WP [tshiə2]; YD [k’iau2]; SH [təhia2]; LC1 [k’iə2]; LC2 [—]
NK [k’iə2]; AY [k’iə2]; SY [k’iə2]; XS [k’iau2]; QN [k’iau2]; ND1 [ts’au2]; ND2 [ts’au2];

Consider now the following set:

qiàn 欠 QYS khjom- CDC *khiam5/EC *khomh
BMH [khiàm]; MX [k’iam5]; HL [k’iam5]; SX [k’iam5]; LF [k’iam5]; LZ [khiam5]; SHT [k’iam5]
HY [hiàm]; XY [k’iam5]; DB [k’iam5]; YL [te’ien5]; XC [te’ien5]
CT [tʃ’iə5]; WP [tʃia5]; YD [k’ian3]; SH [tehia5]; LC1 [k’e5]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’iə5]; AY [te’iə5]; SY [te’iə5]; XS [te’iə5]; QN [te’iam5]; ND1 [ts’am5]; ND2 [ts’am5];

OPH *k’iam5 CNH *k’iam5
Here, again, we see failure of the Shàngyóu initial to palatalize before secondary -i-. However, in Ānyuǎn, final -u (< *-eu) has apparently induced palatalization of the initial. And, recalling our set for the word gǒu 狗 “dog” cited in the preceding section, we note the curious fact that no palatalization of initial k- was effected there. This is not merely a fluke or isolated example. Compare the following:

```
gǒu 溝     QYS  kəu      CDC *keu1/EC *'ko
```

BMH [keu]; MX [kəu]; HL [keu]; SX [keu]; LF [keu]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]  
HY [kua1]; XY [kəu1]; DB [kəi1]; YL [kə1]; XC [kəu1]  
CT [kəu1]; WP [kə1]; YD [kəu1]; SH [kə1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]  
NK [kə1]; AY [kəu1]; SY [kəo1]; XS [kəu1]; QN [—]; ND1 [kəu1]; ND2 [kəu1]; ND3 [kəu1]  
[OPH *kəu1]  CNH *kəu1

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

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

### 2.5.3 CNH *ŋ-

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

```
é 鵝     QYS  ngâ      CDC *ngo2/EC *’ngay
```

BMH [ngò]; MX [ŋo2]; HL [ŋo2]; SX [ŋo2]; LF [ŋo2]; LZ [ŋo2]; SHT [ŋo2]  
HY [ŋo2]; XY [ŋo2]; DB [ŋo2]; YL [ŋo2]; XC [ŋo2]  
CT [ŋo2]; WP [ŋo2]; YD [ŋou2]; SH [ŋu2]; LC1 [ŋu2]; LC2 [ŋu2]  
NK [ŋo2]; AY [ŋo2]; SY [ŋo2]; XS [ŋo2]; QN [ŋo2]; ND1 [ŋo2]; ND2 [ŋo2]; ND3 [ŋo2]  
[OPH *ngo2]  CNH *ŋo2
```
wǎ 瓦 QYS ngwa: CDC *ʰngua⁴/EC *ngwrayx
BMH [ŋá ̽ ~ ngwá]; MX [ŋa3]; HL [ŋua3]; SX [ŋa3]; LF [ŋua3]; LZ [ŋa3]; SHT [ŋa3]
HY [ŋa3]; XY [ŋa3]; DB [ŋa3]; YL [ŋa3]; XC [ŋa3]
CT [ŋua3]; WP [ŋa3]; YD [ŋa3]; SH [ŋa3]; LC1 [ŋo3]; LC2 [ŋa3];†
NK [ŋa3]; AY [ŋa3]; SY [ŋa3]; XS [ŋa3]; QN [ŋa3]; ND1 [ŋa3]; ND2 [ŋa3]; ND3 [ŋa3]
OPH *ngua3   CNH *ŋua3/*ŋa3
†FJFYZ: [ŋo3].

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

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

yǐ 蟻 QYS ngje:3 CDC *ʰngi⁴/EC *ngayx
BMH [ni1]; MX [ni5w ~ ni1b]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [ne5]; LZ [li1]; SHT [li1]
HY [nie3]; XY [ni5]; DB [ne5]; YL [nie5]; XC [i2]
CT [ŋe3]; WP [ŋe5]; YD [ŋe3]; SH [ŋe3]; LC1 [ŋi5]; LC2 [ŋi5]
NK [ni1]; AY [ni1w]; SY [ni3]; XS [ne1]; QN [ni1]; ND1 [ni1]; ND2 [ni1]; ND3 [ni3]
[OPH ?]   CNH *ŋia1/*ŋia3 ~ *ŋia5/*ni1/L *ni1/*ňi5
†After Chapell & Lamarre (2005) and Zhuāng & Huáng (2014).

yú 魚 QYS ngjwo CDC *ngie2 ( ~ *ngiu2)/EC *nga
BMH [ŋg]; MX [ŋ2]; HL [ŋ2]; SX [ŋ2]; LF [ŋ2]; LZ [ŋ2]; SHT [ŋ2]
HY [ŋy2 ~ ny2]; XY [ŋy2]; DB [ni2]; YL [ŋy2]; XC [i2 ̓ ~ m2b]
CT [ŋe2]; WP [ŋe2]; YD [ŋe2]; SH [ŋe2]; LC1 [ŋui2]; LC2 [ŋoï2]†

23 The first set, for “an”, is repeated from §2.4.3 above, q.v.
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NK [ŋe2]; AY [jiw ~ ŋ2b]; SY [ŋe2 ~ ju2]; XS [ŋ2]; QN [ŋ2 ~ ni2]; ND1 [nie2]; ND2 [nie2 ~ iu3]; ND3 [ŋie2 ~ nie2]††

OPH *ng2  CNH *ŋ2/*ŋiu2/*ŋie2/*ŋei2/L *iu2
†Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [ŋue2].
††Second form found in the glossary section of the source.

The form *ŋie2 is Gàn-like in appearance (cf. Common Gàn *ŋie2 “fish”) and perhaps reflects contact with that dialect group. The literary reading is probably a northern koine intrusion into this rather complex set. The Liánchéng forms are regular derivatives of CNH *ŋiu2.

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

é 頷 QYS ŋgok  CDC *ŋgak8/EC *ngrak

niú 牛 QYS ŋjəu  CDC *ŋieu2/EC *ŋwi

†First form found BJYJ.
yán 眼 QYS -ngán: CDC *ʰngan4/EC *ngrunx
BMH [nyên ~ ŋán]; MX [niān3]; HL [niān3w ~ ŋan3b]; SX [niān3]; LF [ŋan3]; LZ [ŋan3]; SHT [ŋan3]
HY [ŋan3]; XY [ŋan3]; YL [ŋan3]; XC [ŋan3]
CT [ŋaŋ5]; WP [ŋan3]; YD [ŋan3]; SH [ŋa3]; LC1 [ŋa3]; LC2 [ŋa3]
NK [ŋa3]; AY [ŋã3]; SY [ŋã3]; XS [ŋan3]; QN [ŋan3]; ND1 [ŋan3]; ND2 [ŋan3]; ND3 [ŋan3]
[OPH *ŋan3] CNH *ŋan3/L *ňian3

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

wài 外 QYS ngwái- CDC *ŋuoi6/EC *ŋwath
BMH [ŋòi]; MX [ŋoi5]; SX [ŋoi5]; LF [ŋoi6]; LZ [ŋoi5]; SHT [ŋoi5]
HY [ŋuai6]; XY [ŋuai3]; DB [ŋoi3]; YL [uoï3]; XC [vai5]
CT [ŋue6]; WP [ŋue3]; YD [ŋai5]; SH [ŋa3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ŋua6]
NK [ŋæ5 ~ væ5]; AY [mue6]; SY [væ5 ~ ve3 ~ ve2]; XS [ŋoi5]; QN [ŋoi6]; ND1 [ŋoɛ6]; ND2 [ŋœi5 ~ ŋœi6]; ND3 [ŋuai6]
[OPH *ŋoi6] CNH *ŋoi6/vai5

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

wán 頑 QYS ngwán CDC *ŋuan2/EC *ŋron
BMH [ŋân]; MX [ŋan2]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [ŋan2]; SHT [—]
HY [ŋan2]; XY [ŋan2]; DB [ŋan2]; YL [uan2]; XC [van2]
CT [ŋuan2]; WP [ŋuan2]; YD [—]; SH [ŋa2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [vâ2 ~ nâ2]; AY [vô2 ~ nã2]; SY [ŋâ2]; XS [ŋan2]; QN [—]; ND1 [ŋan2]; ND2 [ŋan2]; ND3 [ŋan2]
[OPH *ŋan2] CNH *ŋuan2/*van2

wù 誤 QYS nguo- CDC *ŋu6/EC *ŋah
BMH [ŋù]; MX [ŋu5]; HL [ŋu5]; SX [ŋu5]; LF [ŋu5]; LZ [ŋu5]; SHT [—]
These are of particular interest in connection with the question of layering in Common Neo-Hakka and will be dealt with in greater detail in §6.2.1.5 of Chapter VI.

2.5.4 CNH *h-

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

hǎo 好 QYS xâu: CDC *xou3/EC *'hux
BMH [háu]; MX [hau3]; SX [ho3]; LF [ho3]; LZ [hau3]; SHT [hau3]
HY [hau3]; XY [ho3]; DB [ho3]; YL [hau3]; XC [hau3]
CT [ho3]; WP [xɔ3]; YD [hou3]; SH [ho3]; LC1 [ho3]; LC2 [—]
NK [ho3]; AY [ho3]; SY [hau3]; XS [hau3]; QN [hau3]; ND1 [hau3]; ND2 [hau3]; ND3 [hau3]
OPH *hou3 CNH *hou3

hé 河 QYS ɣə CDC *ho2/EC *'gay
BMH [hə]; MX [ho2]; HL [ho2]; SX [ho2]; LF [ho2]; LZ [hə2]; SHT [hə2]
HY [hə2]; XY [ho2]; DB [ho2]; YL [həu2]; XC [ho2]
CT [ho2]; WP [xə2]; YD [hou2]; SH [həu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [həu6]
NK [ho2]; AY [ho2]; SY [həu2]; XS [həu2]; QN [həo2]; ND1 [həo2]; ND2 [həo2]; ND3 [həo2]
OPH *ho2 CNH *ho2

hēi 黒 QYS xək CDC *xeʔ7/EC *'hik
BMH [het]; MX [həʔ7]; HL [həʔ7]; SX [həʔ7]; LF [həʔ7]; LZ [həʔ7]; SHT [—]
HY [həʔ7]; XY [həʔ7]; DB [həʔ7]; YL [—]; XC [həʔ7]
CT [həʔ2]; WP [xɛʔʔ7]; YD [həʔʔ7]; SH [həʔʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ho8]; AY [hə6]; SY [hə5]; XS [həʔ7]; QN [həʔʔ7]; ND1 [hək7]; ND2 [hək7]; ND3 [hək7]

OPH *ngu5 CNH *ŋu5/vu6
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[OPH *het7] CNH *hek7

Examples before CNH *i are:

\(\text{xǐ} \quad \text{喜} \quad \text{QYS} \quad \text{xjï:} \quad \text{CDC} *\text{xi3/EC} *\text{hix} \)

BMH [hi]; MX [hi3]; HL [hi3]; SX [hi3]; LF [hi3]; LZ [hi3]; SHT [hi3]
HY [hi3]; XY [hi3]; DB [hi3]; YL [ei3]; XC [ei3]
CT [fi3]; WP [—]; YD [ei3]; SH [ei3]; LC1 [fi3]; LC2 [fi3]
NK [ei3]; AY [ei3]; SY [ei3]; XS [ei3]; QN [ei3]; ND1 [ei3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ei3]

[OPH *hi3] CNH *hi3

\(\text{xīān} \quad \text{險} \quad \text{QYS} \quad \text{xjäm:3} \quad \text{CDC} *\text{xiam3/EC} *\text{hamx} \)

BMH [hiám]; MX [hiam3]; HL [hiam3]; SX [hiam3]; LF [hiam3]; LZ [hiam3]; SHT [hiam3]
HY [hiam3]; XY [hiam3]; DB [hiam3]; YL [ei3n3]; XC [ei3n3]
CT [fi3n3]; WP [sian3]; YD [san3]; SH [ei3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ei3]; AY [ei3]; SY [ei3]; XS [ei3n3]; QN [ei3n3]; ND1 [sam3]; ND2 [sam3]; ND3 [sam3]

[OPH *hiam3] CNH *hiam3

\(\text{xīāng} \quad \text{香} \quad \text{QYS} \quad \text{jiang} \quad \text{CDC} *\text{xiong1/EC} *\text{hang} \)

BMH [hiong]; MX [hioŋ1]; HL [hioŋ1]; SX [hioŋ1]; LF [hioŋ1]; LZ [hioŋ1]; SHT [hioŋ1]
HY [hioŋ1 ~ hioŋ1]; XY [hioŋ1]; DB [hioŋ1]; YL [eiŋ1]; XC [eiŋ1]
CT [fiŋ1]; WP [sioŋ1]; YD [soŋ1]; SH [eiŋ1]; LC1 [soŋ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [eiŋ1]; AY [eiŋ1]; SY [eiŋ1]; XS [eiŋ1]; QN [eiŋ1]; ND1 [soŋ1]; ND2 [soŋ1]; ND3 [soŋ1]

[OPH *hiong1] CNH *hioŋ1

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

\(\text{hòu} \quad \text{後} \quad \text{QYS} \quad \text{ɣə} : \quad \text{CDC} *\text{heu4/EC} *\text{’gox} \)

BMH [hèu]; MX [heu5w ~ heu1b]; HL [heu5]; SX [heu5]; LF [heu6]; LZ [heu1 ~ heu5]; SHT [hiu5]
Here, true to form, Shàngyóu does not palatalize preceding *h-. Note, however, that in Ānyuǎn modern final -ʉ does induce palatalization of the initial. This parallels the palatalization of *k’- before -ʉ which we saw in the preceding section and contrasts with the failure of this process in initial *k- under the same conditions. Is this asymmetry connected in some way with the breathiness that occurs in both k’- and h- but is absent in k-? The matter deserves further investigation.

The following are examples of *h- in syllables where the following CNH vowel is medial *

[u], followed again by some further element:

huā 花 QYS xwa CDC *xua/EC —

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

huān 歡 QYS xuān CDC *xuān/EC *’hon
BMH [fon]; MX [fon1]; HL [fon1]; SX [fon1]; LF [fon1]; LZ [fon1]; SHT [—]
Reconstruction of the Syllable Initials of Common Neo-Hakka

HY [fuan1]; XY [fan1]; DB [fɔn1]; YL [huan1]; XC [fan1 ~ huan1]
CT [huŋ1]; WP [xuŋ1]; YD [fan1]; SH [fəŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [faŋ1]
NK [hoẽ1]; AY [hɔŋ1]; SY [huŋ3]; XS [fɔn1]; QN [fɔŋ1]; ND1 [fɔn1]; ND2 [fuon1]; ND3 [fuan1]

OPH *fon1   CNH *huon1

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

huī 灰 QYS xuǎi   CDC *xuoi1/EC *'hwi
BMH [foi]; MX [foi1]; HL [foi1]; SX [foi1]; LF [foi1]; LZ [foi1]; SHT [fɔi1]
HY [—]; XY [foi1]; DB [fɔi1]; YL [fɔi1]; XC [fɔi1]
CT [feŋ1]; WP [fɛŋ1]; YD [fɔŋ1]; SH [fɛŋ1]; LC1 [fɔi2]; LC2 [—]
NK [huẽ1]; AY [hɔi1]; SY [huẽ1]; XS [fɔi1]; QN [fɔi1]; ND1 [fɔi1]; ND2 [fɔi1]; ND3 [fɔi1]

[OPH *foi1]   CNH *huoi1
Since all Mainstream Hakka dialects dentilabialize *h- in such cases, O’Connor’s Proto-Hakka has *f- as its reconstructed initial here. And, in fact, dentilabialization in syllables of this type is sometimes cited in the dialectological literature as an archetypal characteristic of Hakka in general. However, our Jiāngxī data show clearly that the Common Neo-Hakka initial was *h- rather than *f-. On the other hand, it should be further noted that in the presence of absolute final *-u all dialects do dentilabialize CDC *h-. The word hú "beard", cited in §2.1.4 above, is an example. The following is another:

hù  户  QYS  yuo:  CDC *hu4/EC *’gax

BMH [fû]; MX [fu5w ~ fu1b]; HL [fu5]; SX [fu5]; LF [fu5]; LZ [fu5]; SHT [—]
HY [hu6]; XY [fu2]; DB [fu3]; YL [fu5]; XC [fu5]
CT [fu6]; WP [fu3]; YD [—]; SH [fu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [fy6]
NK [fu5]; AY [fu6]; SY [fu5]; XS [fu5]; QN [fu6]; ND1 [fu6]; ND2 [fu6]; ND3 [fu6]
[OPH *fu5]  CNH *fu6

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

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

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

huà  話  QYS  ywai-  CDC *hua6 ~ *huai6/EC *gwrath

BMH [fà ~ và ~ voi]  話; MX [fa5w ~ va5b ~ vai1]; HL [fa5; va5; voi1]; SX [fa5; voi1]; LF [fa6]; LZ [va5]; SHT [va5]
HY [va6]; XY [va3]; DB [va3]; YL [ua3]; XC [va5]
CT [va6 ~ fa6]; WP [va3 ~ fa3]; YD [va5 ~ fa3]; SH [va3 ~ fa3]; LC1 [fo6]; LC2 [vo6]
NK [va5 ~ hua5]; AY [va6 ~ hua6]; SY [va5 ~ hua5]; XS [va5]; QN [va6 ~ fa6]; ND1 [va6 ~ fa6]; ND2 [va6 ~ fa6]; ND3 [fa6 ~ va6]
[OPH *fa6 ~ *va5 ?]  CNH *va6 ~ *voi1/L *hua6

In dialects that use both forms colloquially, reflexes of *va6 tend to mean “to speak”, while those of *hua6 usually mean “speech, language”. This is, however, not an absolute rule. CNH
*voi1 is exclusively nominal in our sources. Compare, the cognate form [vɔi5] in Jiéxī 揭西 Hakka (Lī & Zhāng 1992), which takes Tone 5 rather than Tone 1.

huàn 换 QYS ṣuăn- CDC *huon6/EC *’gwânh
BMH [fõn/fân ~ võn/vàn]; MX [fõn5w ~ võn5b]; HL [von6]; SX [von5]; LF [von6]; LZ [võn5]; SHT [—]
HY [vuan6]; XY [van3]; DB [vɔn3]; YL [—]; XC [võn5]
CT [võŋ]; WP [xuẽ3]; YD [fâŋ5]; SH [fâŋ ~ vâŋ3]; LC1 [væ6]; LC2 [—]
NK [hõŋ5]; AY [hɔŋ6]; SY [hʊŋ5]; XS [võŋ5]; QN [võŋ6]; ND1 [võŋ6]; ND2 [uon6]; ND3 [vuan6]
[OPH *von6] CNH *vuon6/L *huon6

huáng 黃 QYS ɣwâng CDC *huong2/EC *’gwâng
BMH [võŋ]; MX [võŋ2]; HL [võŋ2]; SX [võŋ2]; LF [võŋ2]; LZ [võŋ2]; SHT [võŋ2]
HY [võŋ2]; XY [võŋ2]; DB [võŋ2]; YL [uœŋ2]; XC [võŋ2]
CT [võŋ2]; WP [võŋ2]; YD [võŋ2]; SH [võŋ2]; LC1 [võŋ2]; LC2 [võŋ2]
NK [hɔŋ2 ~ vɔŋ2]; AY [hɔŋ2]; SY [hɔŋ ~ vɔŋ2]; XS [fœŋ2]; QN [fœŋ2 ~ vœŋ2]; ND1 [fœŋ2 ~ vœŋ2]; ND2 [fœŋ2]; ND3 [fœŋ2 ~ vœŋ2]
OPH *vong2 CNH *vɔŋ2/*huoŋ2

hui 會 QYS ɣuāi- CDC *huoi6/EC *’gwath
BMH [fûi ~ fôi ~ voí]; MX [fûi4 ~ vɔi5]; HL [fûi6w ~ vɔi6b]; SX [fûi5w ~ vɔi5b]; LF [fûi6 ~ vûi6]; LZ [fûi5 ~ fœi5]; SHT [fûi5]
HY [fûai6 ~ vûai6]; XY [fûi3 ~ vûai5]; DB [fêi3 ~ vɔi5]; YL [fêi3]; XC [fêi5 ~ vɔi5]
CT [vûe6]; WP [fêi3w ~ fêi3 ~ uê5]; YD [vûi5 ~ fêi5]; SH [fêi3 ~ vûe3b]; LC1 [vûi6]; LC2 [fûe6 ~ vûi6]
NK [huæ5 ~ vœ5]; AY [hue6 ~ vûe6]; SY [hué5 ~ vê5]; XS [või5 ~ fûi5]; QN [fûi6]; ND1 [fêi6 ~ vûi6]; ND2 [fêi6 ~ vûi6]; ND3 [fêi6 ~ vûi6]
[OPH *voi6] CNH *vuoi6/L *huoi6 ~ *hui6

“To be able; to be imminent”/“a meeting”. In Lîzhîzhûâng the second form, derived from CNH *huoi6, is used in the sense “to be able, etc.”
Where stylistic register is indicated by the sources for such doublets, the *h- forms are invariably identified as literary.

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

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

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

It is unfortunately not possible to be certain of this, because the reconstructed Common Shē initial system had no *f-. In those rare instances where Common Dialectal Chinese *f- initial words have been
A notable feature of Common Neo-Hakka is the fact that cognate sets reconstructed with *k'- frequently have variant forms in *h-. We shall now examine three classes of such doublet sets, as characterized by following vowel types.

Examples of non-high front vowel syllables are:

kāi 開 QYS khâi CDC *khoi1/EC *'khuy
BMH [khoi ~ hoı]; MX [k’oi1]; HL [k’oi1]; SX [k’oi1]; LF [k’oi1]; LZ [hoı1]; SHT [hoı1]  
HY [hoai1]; XY [huai1]; DB [hoı1]; YL [k’oi1]; XC [k’oi1]
CT [k’ue1]; WP [xue1]; YD [k’oi1]; SH [khuı1]; LC1 [k’ui1]; LC2 [hui3]
NK [k’æ1 ~ hæ1]; AY [k’ue1 ~ hue1]; SY [hui1]; XS [k’oi1]; QN [haoı1 ~ k’oi1]; ND1 [k’eı1]; ND2 [k’ueı1]; ND3 [k’uai1 ~ k’ai1]  
[OPH *k’oi1]  CNH *hoı1/*k’oi1

kāng 糖 QYS khâng CDC *khong1/EC *’khang
BMH [khong ~ hong]; MX [họı1]; HL [họı1]; SX [họı1]; LF [k’ọı1 ~ họı1]; LZ [họı1]; SHT  
[—]  
HY [—]; XY [họı1]; DB [họı1]; YL [k’ọı1]; XC [k’ọı1]
CT [k’ọı1]; WP [xọı1]; YD [k’ọı1]; SH [khoı1]; LC1 [k’ọı1]; LC2 [—]
NK [họı1]; AY [họı1]; SY [k’ọı1 ~ họı1]; XS [k’ọı1]; QN [k’ọı1w ~ họı1b]; ND1 [k’ọı1]; ND2 [k’ọı1]; ND3 [họı1]  
[OPH *họı1]  CNH *họı1/L *k’ọı1

kê 殼 QYS khåk CDC *kh(i)ok7/EC *krok
BMH [koch ~ hok]; MX [hok7]; HL [hok7]; SX [hok7]; LF [k’ok7]; LZ [hok7]; SHT [hok7]
HY [k’ok7]; XY [k’ok7]; DB [hok7]; YL [k’ọ8]; XC [k’ọ8]
CT [k’ọ2]; WP [họʔ7]; YD [k’ọʔ7]; SH [họʔ7]; LC1 [k’u6]; LC2 [—]

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

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

[OPH *hok7]  CNH *hok7/*k’ok7

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

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

qǐ 起 QYS khjǐ:  CDC *khi3/EC *khix

BMH [hi ~ khi]; MX [hi3]; HL [hi3]; SX [hi3]; LF [hi3]; LZ [hi3]; SHT [hi3]
HY [hi3]; XY [hi3]; DB [hi3]; YL [te’i3]; XC [ei3]

CT [ti3 ~ fi3]; WP [tshi3]; YD [k’i3]; SH [tehi3]; LC1 [k’i3]; LC2 [—]

NK [te’i3]; AY [te’i3]; SY [te’i3 ~ ei3]; XS [ei3]; QN [te’i3 ~ ei3]; ND1 [te’i3]; ND2 [te’i3 ~ ei3]; ND3 [ts’i3 ~ si3]

[OPH *hi3]  CNH *hi3/*k’i3

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

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

HY [hian1]; XY [hian1]; DB [hien1]; YL [te’ien1]; XC [te’ien1]

CT [ti’iŋ1]; WP [tshiŋ1]; YD [k’ien1]; SH [tehiŋ1]; LC1 [k’e1]; LC2 [—]
Reconstruction of the Syllable Initials of Common Neo-Hakka

NK [te’iẽ1]; AY [te’i1]; SY [te’iẽ1]; XS [te’ien1]; QN [te’ien1]; ND1 [ts’an1]; ND2 [ts’an1]; ND3 [ts’an1]

[OPH *k’ian1]   CNH *k’ian1/*hian1

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

BMH [khi ~ hi]; MX [k’i5w ~ hi5b]; HL [k’i5w ~ hi5b]; SX [k’i5w ~ hi5b]; LF [k’i3 ~ hi5]; LZ [hi5]; SHT [k’i5 ~ hi5]

HY [hy5]; XY [hi5]; YL [te’i5]; XC [ei5]

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

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

kù 襲 QYS khuo: CDC *khu3/EC *khax

BMH [fu ~ kù]; MX [k’u3w ~ fu3b]; HL [k’u3w ~ fu3b]; SX [k’u3w ~ fu3b]; LF [k’u3]; LZ [khu3w ~ fu3b]; SHT [fu3]

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

CT [k’u3]; WP [fu3]; YD [k’i3]; SH [khu3]; LC1 [k’iu5]; LC2 [k’yɛ3]

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

[OPH *fu3]   CNH *fu3/L *k’u3

†Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [hue5].
Common Neo-Hakka:
A Comparative Reconstruction

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

kuò 開 QYS khuât CDC *khuot7/EC *’khot
BMH [fat ~ khwat]; MX [fat7]; HL [fat7]; SX [fat7]; LF [fat7]; LZ [fat7]; SHT [—]
HY [fuat7]; XY [k’at7]; DB [k’uat7]; YL [k’ue?7]; XC [k’ue?7]
CT [k’ue2]; WP [khuat7]; YD [k’uat7]; SH [khuat7]; LC1 [k’ua6]; LC2 [—]
NK [k’ua7]; AY [k’u3]; SY [k’ua5]; XS [k’uait7]; QN [k’æʔ7]; ND1 [k’oet7]; ND2 [k’uot5];
ND3 [k’uat7]
[OPH *fat7] CNH *k’uot5 ~ *fuat7 (or *fuot7 ?)
Initial f- forms in this set, strictly reconstrucetable as *fuat7, probably actually derive from CNH
*fuot7, though the requisite forms for this are lacking from the determinative dialects.

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

1. Non-high front vowel type

kāi 開 QYS khâi CDC *khoi1/EC *’khuy
FA [hɔi1]; FD [hɔi1]; LY [hui1]; SM [hue1]; SC [hue1]; HA [hɔi1];
GX [hue1]; CN [huei1]; JN [fɔi1]; LS [fɔi1]; LngY [foi1];
CZ [hue1]; FS [fɔi1]; TY [xuɔi1] CS *hoi1 ~ *huoi1
The JN, LS, LngY, and FX appear to derive from the second reconstruction. The TY form could
descend from either. Cf. huī 灰 above.

kāng 糠 QYS khang CDC *khong1/EC *’khang
FA [hɔŋ2]; FD [hɔŋ2]; LY [hɔŋ2]; SM [hɔŋ2]; SC [hɔŋ2]; HA [hɔŋ2];
GX [hɔŋ2]; CN [hɔŋ2]; JN [fɔŋ2]; LS [fɔŋ2]; LngY [hɔŋ2];
CZ [hɔŋ2]; FS [hɔŋ2]; TY [—] CS *hɔŋ2

kē 殼 QYS khâk CDC *kh(i)ok7/EC *khrok
FA [hɔʔ7]; FD [hɔʔ7]; LY [hɔʔ7]; SM [hɔʔ7]; SC [hɔʔ7]; HA [hɔʔ7];
2. High front vowel type

qi 起 QYS khjī:  CDC *khi3/EC *khix
FA [hi3]; FD [hi3]; LY [hi3]; SM [hi3]; SC [hi3]; HA [hi3];
GX [hi3]; CN [hi3]; JN [hi3]; LS [hi3]; LngY [hi3];
CZ [hi3]; FS [hi3]; TY [te’i3]  CS *hi3
The TY form appears to be derived from a loan, originally read *k’i3.

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

qù 去 QYS khjwo-  CDC *khie5 (~ *hieu)/EC *khah
FA [hy1]; FD [hy1]; LY [hy1]; SM [hy1]; SC [hy1]; HA [hiu1];
GX [hui1]; CN [hy1 ~ hui1]; JN [hy1]; LS [hy1]; LngY [hy1];
CZ [hui1]; FS [hui1]; TY [ciu1]  CS *hy1

3. *u vowel type

kǔ 苦 QYS khuo:  CDC *khu3/EC *khax
FA [hu3]; FD [hu3]; LY [hu3]; SM [hu3]; SC [hu3]; HA [hu3];
GX [hu3]; CN [hu3]; JN [fu3]; LS [fu3]; LngY [fu3];
CZ [hu3 ~ k’u3]; FS [fu3]; TY [fu3]  CS *hu3
The second CZ form appears to be a loan.

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

kuò  闊 QYS  khuât  CDC *huot7/EC *’khot
FA [huot7]; FD [huot7]; LY [huoʔ7]; SM [huʔ7]; SC [hut7]; HA [hɔt7];
GX [hut7]; CN [hɔt7]; JN [fuot7]; LS [fuot7]; LngY [fuɔt7];
CZ [huot7]; FS [fuot7]; TY [xɔiʔ7]  CS *huot7 ~ *hut7
The JN and LngY forms derive regularly from the first reconstruction. Those of SM, SC and
GX derive from the second. The remaining forms do not constitute a recognizable
correspondence set, appearances notwithstanding.

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

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

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

ài 愛 QYS ?ài- CDC *oi5/EC *'uyh
BMH [oi]; MX [oi5]; HL [oi5]; SX [oi5]; LF [oi5]; LZ [oi5]; SHT [oi5]
HY [uai5]; XY [ui5]; DB [oi5]; YL [ŋai5]; XC [ŋai5]
CT [ue5]; WP [ue5]; YD [oi3]; SH [ue3]; LC1 [ui5]; LC2 [oi5]
NK [æ5]; AY [ʔue5]; SY [ŋæ5]; XS [oi5]; QN [oi5]; ND1 [ŋæ5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ŋui5]
[OPH *oi5] CNH *oi5/*ai5
The second reconstruction is a late layer reading reflected in the Shàngyǒu, Yilòng, and Xīchāng forms.

ǒu 啊 QYS ?ou: CDC *eu3/EC *’ox
BMH [eu]; MX [eu3]; HL [eu3]; SX [eu3]; LF [eu3]; LZ [eu3]; SHT [iu3]
HY [uai3]; XY [uu3]; DB [ei3]; YL [ai3]; XC [αι3]
CT [eu3]; WP [ei3]; YD [eu3]; SH [αι3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [æ3]; AY [ʔuæ3]; SY [io3]; XS [αι3]; QN [—]; ND1 [ŋαι3]; ND2 [ŋαι3]; ND3 [ŋαι3]
OPH *eu3 CNH *eu3

In most dialects syllables of this type take modern initial zero. Sporadic appearance of ŋ- in the Sìchuān dialects may indicate borrowing or other influence from Sìchuān Mandarin. For Ānyuǎn, Liú (2001) writes a glottal stop initial before certain finals, while Liú (1999) does not indicate this feature. No glottal stop initial is listed in the Ānyuǎn phonological inventories of
either work. It seems probable that the feature, where present, is not phonemic in this dialect and is in fact in free variation with absolute zero. Ningdū regularly develops a prothetic initial ŋ- in syllables of this type. Compare now the following set:

ěn 恩 QYS ʔəni  CDC *en1/EC *'un1
BMH [en]; MX [en1]; HL [en1]; SX [en1]; LF [en1]; LZ [en1]; SHT [—]
HY [an1]; XY [in1]; DB [ən1]; YL [ŋən1]; XC [ŋən1]
CT [ən1]; WP [ŋən1]; YD [en1]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ən1]; AY [ən1]; SY [ən1]; XS [en1]; QN [en1]; ND1 [ŋən1]; ND2 [ŋən1]; ND3 [ən1]
OPH *en1  CNH *en1

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

The following set constitutes a special case:

è 惡 QYS ʔâk  CDC *ok7/EC *'akh
BMH [ok]; MX [ək7]; HL [ok7]; SX [ok7]; LF [ok7]; LZ [ək7]; SHT [ək7]
HY [ok7]; XY [ok7]; DB [ək7]; YL [—]; XC [oʔ7]
CT [ə2]; WP [əʔ7]; YD [əʔ7]; SH [əʔ7]; LC1 [u6]; LC2 [u22]
NK [ə8]; AY [ə6]; SY [ə5]; XS [ək7]; QN [əʔ7]; ND1 [vək7]; ND2 [vək7]; ND3 [vək7]
[OPH *ok7]  CNH *ok7

Here, Ningdū develops not ŋ- but v- before CNH *-ok.

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

yīn 因 QYS ʔjien4  CDC *in1/EC *in
BMH [yin]; MX [in1]; HL [ən1]; SX [in1]; LF [jin1]; LZ [ʒin1]; SHT [jın1]
HY [in1]; XY [in1]; DB [ən1]; YL [in1]; XC [in1]
CT [iən1]; WP [—]; YD [iın1]; SH [iın1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iın1]; AY [iın1]; SY [iın1]; XS [in1]; QN [in1]; ND1 [iın1]; ND2 [iın1]; ND3 [iın1]
OPH *in1  CNH *in1
Reconstruction of the Syllable Initials of Common Neo-Hakka

yīn 音 QYS ʔjəm3 CDC *im1/EC *um
BMH [yim]; MX [im1]; HL [ʒem1]; SX [im1]; LF [jim1]; LZ [ʒim1]; SHT [jim1]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [in1]; XC [in1]
CT [iɛn1]; WP [in1]; YD [iɛn1]; SH [iɛn1]; LC1 [iɛn1]; LC2 [iɛn1]
NK [iɛn1]; AY [iɛn1]; SY [iɛn1]; XS [in1]; QN [in1]; ND1 [im1]; ND2 [im1]; ND3 [im1]
OPH *im1 CNH *im1

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

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

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

yán 鹽 QYS jiâm CDC *yam2/EC *yam
BMH [yâm]; MX [iam2]; HL [ʒam2]; SX [iam2]; LF [jam2]; LZ [ʒam2]; SHT [jam2]
HY [jiam2]; XY [iam2]; DB [zam2]; YL [iɛn2]; XC [iɛn2]
CT [iɛn2]; WP [ian2]; YD [ian2]; SH [iɛ2]; LC1 [iɛ2]; LC2 [—]
NK [iɛ2]; AY [jiɛ2]; SY [jiɛ1]; XS [iɛ2]; QN [iɛ2]; ND1 [iɛ2]; ND2 [iɛ2]; ND3 [iɛ2]
OPH *iam2 CNH *iam2

yáo 搖 QYS jiäup CDC *yau2/EC *yaw
BMH [yâu]; MX [iau2]; HL [ʒau2]; SX [ieu2]; LF [jau2]; LZ [ʒau2]; SHT [—]
HY [jiäu2]; XY [iau2]; DB [zau2]; YL [iau2]; XC [iau2]
CT [iɔ2]; WP [iɔ2]; YD [iau2]; SH [iɔ2]; LC1 [iɔ2]; LC2 [—]
Here, intrusive ʒ- and z- fully replace initial *i-, while the semivowel j- precedes it. But in our next examples a somewhat different pattern obtains:

yǒu 有  QYS  jəu:  CDC *yeu4/EC *wix
BMH [yu]; MX [iu1]; HL [ʒi1]; SX [iu1]; LF [jìu1]; LZ [ʒi1]; SHT [jìu1]
HY [jiu5]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [iau3]; XC [iau2]
CT [ieu1]; WP [iu1]; YD [iu1]; SH [iu1]; LC1 [ieu1]; LC2 [—]
NK [iu1]; AY [jiau3]; SY [jiu3]; XS [iu3]; QN [iu1]; ND1 [iau1]; ND2 [iau1~iau3]; ND3 [iu1~iau3]
[OPH *iau2]  CNH *iau2

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

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

yú 于  QYS  ju  CDC *yu2/EC *wa
BMH [yi]; MX [i1]; HL [ʒi2]; SX [i2]; LF [jìi1~ʒi2]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [i2]
CT [i2]; WP [i2]; YD [—]; SH [i2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [i2]; AY [ji2]; SY [ji1]; XS [vi2]; QN [i2]; ND1 [iu2]; ND2 [iu2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *i2]  CNH *iu2
Reconstruction of the Syllable Initials of Common Neo-Hakka

yu 雨 QYS ju: CDC *yu4/EC *wax
BMH [yi]; MX [i3]; HL [zi3]; SX [i3]; LF [ji3]; LZ [zi3]; SHT [ji3]
HY [yi]; XY [y3]; DB [zi3]; YL [yu3]; XC [—]
CT [i3]; WP [i3]; YD [zi3 ~ vi3]; SH [i3]; LC1 [ie3]; LC2 [ye3]
NK [iu3]; AY [ji3]; SY [ji3]; XS [vi3]; QN [i3]; ND1 [iu3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [yu3 ~ iu3]
[OPH *i3] CNH *iu3

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

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

ér 而 QYS ńžï CDC *nhi2/EC *ni
BMH [yi ~ lû]; MX [i2]; HL [zi2]; SX [i2]; LF [ji2]; LZ [zi2]; SHT [—]
HY [ni2 ~ ji2]; XY [ni2]; DB [ni2]; YL [—]; XC [ar2]
CT [—]; WP [a2]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [a2]; AY [a2]; SY [e2]; XS [a2]; QN [a2]; ND1 [la2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [la2]
[OPH *i2] CNH *ńi2/*i2/*a-2
As mentioned in §2.2.4 above, the second Basil Mission form and the two Ningdū forms appear to reflect an early Guānhuà loan form such as *tə2.

ér 兒 QYS ńžje CDC *nhi2/EC *ne
BMH [yi]; MX [i2]; HL [zi2]; SX [i2]; LF [ji2]; LZ [zi2]; SHT [—]
HY [ni2]; XY [ni2]; DB [zi2]; YL [—]; XC [ar2]
CT [—]; WP [a2]; YD [—]; SH [a2 ~ ni1]†; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [a2]; AY [a-2]; SY [e2]; XS [a2]; QN [a2]; ND1 [la2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [la2]
[OPH *i2] CNH *ńi2/*i2/*a-2
† Second form as in hŋ ńi1 [女兒], as found in a children’s ditty (Qiu 2012: 327).
Common Neo-Hakka:
A Comparative Reconstruction

 Erdoğan QYS ńžī: CDC *ⁿhi4/EC *nix
BMH [nyi]; MX [ni3]; HL [ni3]; SX [ni3]; LF [ŋi3]; LZ [ŋ̍i3]; SHT [ŋi3]
HY [ŋi3]; XY [ŋi3]; DB [ni3]; YL [ni3]; XC [ni3]
CT [ni3]; WP [n̩3 ~ m3]; YD [ŋ̍n̩3b ~ ŋ̍i3w]; SH [m3]; LC1 [ŋi3]; LC2 [—]
NK [ŋ̍3 ~ ni3]; AY [ŋi3]; SY [ŋ̍3 ~ ni3]; XS [ni3]; QN [ŋ̍3 ~ ni3]; ND1 [ni1]; ND2 [ni3]; ND3 [ŋ̍i1 ~ ŋ̍3]
OPH *n̩1i3 CNH *ŋ̍3/L *ni3

In sets of this type, readings in [ŋ̍], [ŋ̍3], [ŋ̍], etc. are clearly late borrowings of a northern rhotic [ŋ̍] or ŋ̍-like syllable. In some sets they suffice to support comparative reconstructions, but the resulting common system forms are at best tangential to Core Hakka.
Chapter III: Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Neo-Hakka

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

\[
\begin{align*}
a & \quad ia \quad ua \quad ai \quad uai \quad au \quad iau \quad an \quad ian \quad ay \quad iay \quad uay \quad uian \quad am \\
i & \quad iam \quad at \quad iat \quad uat \quad ak \quad iak \quad ap \quad iap \\
o & \quad io \quad uo \quad ou \quad oj \quad uoj \quad on \quad ion \quad onj \quad om \quad oj \quad uoj \quad om \quad ot \quad uot \\
iu & \quad ui \quad un \quad iun \quad uj \quad iuj \quad ut \quad iut \quad uk \quad iuk \\
e & \quad ie \quad ei \quad eu \quad en \quad ej \quad uen \quad em \quad et \quad ek \quad uek \quad ep \\
iu & \quad ui \quad uj \quad iui \quad iuj \quad im \quad it \quad ik \quad ip \\
i & \quad (ə) \quad (ə) \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

3.1.1 CNH *-a

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

chá 茶 QYS  ça  CDC *ja2/EC *dra (dray?)
BMH [tshâ]; MX [ts’a2]; HL [ts’a2]; SX [ts’a2]; LF [ts’a2]; LZ [tʃha2]; SHT [ts’a2]
HY [ts’a2]; XY [ts’a2]; DB [ts’a2]; YL [ts’a2]; XC [tʃ’a2]
CT [ts’a2]; WP [tsha2]; YD [ts’oa2]; SH [tshha2]; LC1 [ts’o2]; LC2 [ts’o2]
NK [ts’a2]; AY [ts’a2]; SY [ts’a2]; XS [ts’a2]; QN [ts’a2]; ND1 [ts’a2]; ND2 [ts’a2]; ND3 [ts’a2]
OPH *ts’a2  CNH *ts’a2

mǎ 馬 QYS  ma:  CDC *ma4/EC *mrax
BMH [ma]; MX [ma1]; HL [ma1]; SX [ma1]; LF [ma1]; LZ [m=ba3]; SHT [ma1]
HY [ma1 ~ ma5]; XY [ma1]; DB [ma1]; YL [ma3]; XC [ma3]
CT [ma1]; WP [ma1]; YD [ma1]; SH [ma1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [mo1]
NK [ma1]; AY [ma3]; SY [ma3]; XS [ma1]; QN [ma3]; ND1 [ma1]; ND2 [ma1]; ND3 [ma1]
OPH *ma1  CNH *ma1/*ma3

3.1.2 CNH *-ia

Basic examples for this final are:

xiè 謝 QYS  zja-  CDC *zia6/EC *zakh
BMH [tshià]; MX [ts’ia5]; HL [ts’ia6]; SX [ts’ia5]; LF [ts’ia5]; LZ [tʃia5]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’ia6]; XY [ts’e3]; DB [ts’ia3]; YL [cia3]; XC [eie5w ~ te’ia5b]
CT [sia6]; WP [sia3 ~ tshia3]; YD [ts’ia5 ~ ts’ia3]; SH [tʃia3 ~ cia3]; LC1 [ts’io6]; LC2 [—]
NK [cia5]; AY [sia6]; SY [cia5]; XS [sia5 ~ ts’ia5]; QN [cia6 ~ te’ia6]; ND1 [cia6 ~ te’ia6];
ND2 [te’ia6]; ND3 [sia6 ~ ts’ia6]
[OPH *ts’ia6] CNH *ts’ia6//L *sia6

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

yè 夜 QYS jia- CDC *ya6/yakh
BMH [yà]; MX [ia5]; HL [jia5]; SX [ia5]; LF [ja6]; LZ [jia5]; SHT [ja5]
HY [ia6]; XY [ia3]; DB [ia3]; YL [ia3]; XC [ia5]
CT [ia6]; WP [ia3]; YD [ia5]; SH [ia3]; LC1 [io6]; LC2 [io6]
NK [ia5]; AY [jia6]; SY [jia5]; XS [ia5]; QN [ia6]; ND1 [ia6]; ND2 [ia6]; ND3 [ia6]
OPH *ia6 CNH *ia6
†Tone after Chappell & Lamarre (2005) and Zhuāng & Huáng (2014).

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

chē 車 QYS tśhja CDC *chia1/EC *cha (khya)
BMH [chha]; MX [ts’a1]; HL [tʃ’a1]; SX [tʃ’a1]; LF [tʃ’a1]; LZ [tʃha1]; SHT [ts’a1]
HY [ts’a1]; XY [ts’a1]; DB [ts’a1]; YL [tʃ’a1]; XC [tʃ’a1]
CT [tʃ’a1]; WP [tʃha1]; YD [ts’a1]; SH [tʃha1]; LC1 [tʃ’a1]; LC2 [tʃ’a1]
NK [ts’a1]; AY [ts’a1]; SY [ts’a1]; XS [tʃ’a1]; QN [ts’a1]; ND1 [ts’a1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ts’a1]
OPH *ts’a1 CNH *tʃ’ia1
Cf. Qīngliú: [tʃ’io1].

shē 蛇 QYS dźja CDC *zhia2/EC *ḏay
BMH [shá]; MX [sa2]; HL [ja2]; SX [ja2]; LF [ja2]; LZ [ja2]; SHT [sa2]
HY [sa2]; XY [sa2]; DB [sa2]; YL [sa2]; XC [sa2]
CT [ja2]; WP [sa2]; YD [sa2]; SH [sa2]; LC1 [jo2]; LC2 [jo2]
NK [sa2]; AY [sa2]; SY [sa2]; XS [sa2]; QN [sa2]; ND1 [sa2]; ND2 [sa2]; ND3 [sa2]
OPH *sa2 CNH *šia2
Cf. Qīngliú: [jo2].
Medial *-i- in such cases is generally lost in such syllables in the modern dialects, making it necessary to go beyond our database, to the Qingliú dialect, to find evidence for it. And since it does not occur in the Mainstream dialects, O’Connor’s Proto-Hakka does not show it. However, once it has been found in a significant number of examples for which full sets are available, it becomes possible to establish a correspondence profile for this syllable type, which can then be extended to sets for which no Qingliú evidence happens to be available. For example, in the present case, the relevant profile is characterized by the occurrence of the modern initials tʃ’- and ʃ- (and by analogy also tʃ-) before final -a in Basil Mission Hakka, Hāilù, Sīxiàn, Lūfēng, and Chângtīng, of ʂ-, etc. in this position in Xiūshuī, and of j-, etc. before -o in Liánchêng. Having identified this profile, it can be used to reconstruct *-ia in sets of the following type:

shě 捨 QYS šja: CDC *šia3/EC *0ax
BMH [shá]; MX [sa3]; HL [ja3]; SX [ja3]; LF [ja3]; LZ [ja3]; SHT [—]
HY [sa3]; XY [sa3]; DB [sa3]; YL [ša3]; XC [ša3]
CT [ja3]; WP [sa3]; YD [sa3]; SH [ša3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sa3]; AY [sa3]; SY [sa3]; XS [ša3]; QN [sa3]; ND1 [sa3]; ND2 [sa3]; ND3 [sa3]
[OPH *ša3] CNH *šia3

zhè 糖 QYS tʃja- CDC *cia5/—
BMH [chá]; MX [tsa5]; HL [tʃa5]; SX [tʃa5]; LF [tʃa5]; LZ [tʃa5]; SHT [tsa5]
HY [tsa5]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʃa5]; XC [tʃa5]
CT [tʃa5]; WP [tsa5]; YD [tsa3]; SH [tsa5]; LC1 [tʃo5]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsa5]; AY [tsa5]; SY [tsa2]; XS [tʃa5]; QN [tsa5]; ND1 [tsa5]; ND2 [tsa5]; ND3 [tsa5]
[OPH *tʃa5] CNH *tʃia5

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

Examples for this final are:

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

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

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

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

Examples for this final are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Yen</th>
<th>CR</th>
<th>Inter</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dāi</td>
<td>帶</td>
<td>QYS</td>
<td>tài-</td>
<td>CDC *tai5/EC *tath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BMH [tài]; MX [tai5]; HL [tai5]; SX [tai5]; LF [tai5]; LZ [tai5]; SHT [tai5]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HY [tai5]; XY [tai5]; DB [tai5]; YL [tai5]; XC [tai5]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT [tai5]; WP [tai5]; YD [tai3 ~ tai5]; SH [tai5]; LC1 [tai5]; LC2 [tai5]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NK [tæ5]; AY [tæ5]; SY [tæ2]; XS [tai5]; QN [tai5]; ND1 [tai5]; ND2 [tai5]; ND3 [tai5]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPH *tai5</td>
<td>CNH *tai5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| xiè | 蟹 | QYS | yai: | CDC *hai4/EC *grex |
| BMH [hái]; MX [hai3]; HL [hai3]; SX [hai3]; LF [hai3]; LZ [hai3]; SHT [hai3] |
| HY [hai3 ~ hai5]; XY [hai2]; DB [hai3]; YL [hai3]; XC [—] |
| CT [hai6]; WP [xia3]; YD [hai3]; SH [hai3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—] |
| NK [hae3]; AY [hae3]; SY [k’æ3]; XS [hai3]; QN [k’ai3]; ND1 [k’ai3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [k’ai2] |
| OPH *hai3 | CNH *hai3/k’ai3 |

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

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

3.1.5 CNH *-iai

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Yen</th>
<th>CR</th>
<th>Inter</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dī</td>
<td>低</td>
<td>QYS</td>
<td>tiei</td>
<td>CDC *tiai1/EC *te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BMH [tai]; MX [tai1]; HL [tai1]; SX [tai1]; LF [tai1]; LZ [tai1]; SHT [tai1]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HY [tie1]; XY [tei1]; DB [te1]; YL [tei1]; XC [—]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT [te1]; WP [—]; YD [tei1]; SH [tei1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [te1]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NK [ti1]; AY [te1]; SY [ti1]; XS [te1]; QN [ti1 ~ tei1]; ND1 [tie1]; ND2 [tie1]; ND3 [tiai1]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[OPH *tai1]</td>
<td>CNH *tiai1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Neo-Hakka

dì 底 QYS tiei: CDC *tiai3/EC *tiyx
BMH [tâi]; MX [tai3]; HL [tai3]; SX [tai3]; LF [tai3]; LZ [tai3]; SHT [—]
HY [tie3]; XY [tai3]; DB [t'e3]; YL [tei3]; XC [t'i3w ~ t'ai3b]
CT [te3]; WP [t'i3]; YD [tei3]; SH [tei3]; LC1 [te3]; LC2 [—]
NK [ti3]; AY [te3 ~ ti3]; SY [ti3]; XS [te3]; QN [ti3 ~ tei3]; ND1 [ti3]; ND2 [tiei3]; ND3 [—]
OPH *tai3  CNH *tiai3/L *ti3

li 犁 QYS liei  CDC *liai2/EC *'liy
BMH [lài ~ lê]; MX [li2w ~ lai2b]; HL [lai2]; SX [lai2]; LF [lai2]; LZ [lai2]; SHT [lai2]
HY [lie2]; XY [lei2]; DB [le2]; YL [le2]; XC [li2w ~ nai2b]
CT [le2]; WP [li2]; YD [lei2]; SH [lei2]; LC1 [le2]; LC2 [—]†
NK [ti2 ~ li2]; AY [ti2]; SY [ti2]; XS [le2]; QN [li2 ~ lei2]; ND1 [li2]; ND2 [lei2]; ND3 [liai2]
[OPH *lai2]  CNH *liai2/L *li2
†FJFYZ: [le2].

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

After sibilants there is a somewhat different correspondence pattern:

qi 齊 QYS dziei  CDC *dziai2/EC *’dziy
BMH [tshì ~ tshê]; MX [ts’i2w ~ ts’e2b]; HL [ts’e2]; SX [ts’e2]; LF [ts’e2 ~ ts’i2]; LZ [tʃhe2];
   SHT [ts’e2]
HY [ts’ie2]; XY [ts’ei2]; DB [ts’e2]; YL [ts’ei2]; XC [te’i1]
CT [ts’e2]; WP [tshi2]; YD [—]; SH [tehi2 ~ tshei2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ts’i2 ~ ts’e2]
In these environments CNH *-iai is preserved intact in Ningdū-3 and minimally changed in Ningdū-2. At other points it undergoes various degrees of modification. It is also noteworthy that *-iai frequently occurs in doublets where its literary correlate has final *-i. Note O’Connor’s Proto-Hakka forms here. Since they are based on Mainstream dialect data, they do not reflect the commonality we have found in our two different coronal environments.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NK</th>
<th>AY</th>
<th>SY</th>
<th>XS</th>
<th>QN</th>
<th>ND1</th>
<th>ND2</th>
<th>ND3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[tɕ’i2]</td>
<td>[ts’i2]</td>
<td>[tɕ’i2]</td>
<td>[ts’i2]</td>
<td>[tɕ’i2]</td>
<td>[te’i2]</td>
<td>[te’i2]</td>
<td>[ts’i2]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**OPH** * ts’e2  **CNH** * ts’iai2/L * ts’i2

**xì** 細 QYS siei- CDC * siai5/EC *’siyh

BMH [sè]; MX [sè5 ~ sè2]; HL [se5]; SX [se5]; LF [se5]; LZ [ʃe5]; SHT [sè5]
HY [sie5]; XY [sei5]; DB [ke5]; YL [sei5]; XC [sei5]
CT [se5]; WP [sì5 ~ se5]; YD [sè3]; SH [sei5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [sì5]
NK [ei5]; AY [se5]; SY [ei2]; XS [se5]; QN [sei5]; ND1 [ei5]; ND2 [ei5]; ND3 [siai5 ~ sè5]
**OPH** *se5  **CNH** * siai5/*sì5

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

The following examples illustrate an entirely different type of guttural initial correspondence set:
Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Neo-Hakka

jiē 街 QYS  kāi CDC *kai1/EC *kre
BMH [kai ~ kiai ~ ke]; MX [ke1]; HL [kia1w ~ kai1b]; SX [kiai1]; LF [kai1]; LZ [kai1]; SHT [—]
HY [kai1]; XY [kai1]; DB [kai1]; YL [kai1]; XC [kai1]
CT [tʃe1]; WP [ke1]; YD [ke1]; SH [kei1]; LC1 [ki1]; LC2 [ki1]
NK [kæ1]; AY [kæ1]; SY [kæ1]; XS [kai1]; QN [kai1]; ND1 [kai1]; ND2 [kai1]; ND3 [kai1]
OPH *kiai1  CNH *kai1/L *kiai1

jiě 解 QYS  kāi: CDC *kai3/EC *krex
BMH [kài ~ kiái]; MX [kiai3w ~ ke3b]; HL [kiai3w ~ kai3b]; SX [kiai3]; LF [kai3]; LZ [kai3]; SHT [kai3]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [kei3]; XC [kai3]
CT [ʃe3]; WP [ke3 ~ tsia3]; YD [kai3]; SH [kei3]; LC1 [ka1 ~ ke3]; LC2 [ka3]
NK [kæ3]; AY [kæ3]; SY [kæ3]; XS [kai3]; QN [kai3]; ND1 [kai3]; ND2 [kai3]; ND3 [—]
OPH *kiai3  CNH *kai3/L *kiai3

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

The second reconstruction is supported by the Yōngding and Liānchéng forms.

In examples of this type, CNH *-iai is a literary variant reading, occurring opposite the popular final *-ai, rather than as a popular variant of *-i. This state of affairs proved particularly perplexing to O’Connor (1976: 34–35), who wished to combine *-iai with *-ai into a single Proto-Hakka final. He recognized that some sort of mixing of literary and popular forms was present in his data, but he was unable to disentangle the various Mainstream dialect final types. Today, with the benefit of fuller data and a reconstructive methodology designed to deal with the layering problems of multi-stratal reconstruction, we are better able to clarify the matter. In
brief, we are dealing here with multiple layers in the common system. Forms in *-iai appear in
two different layers, one very early and popular (as in the cases of dī 低 “low”, xi 细 “small,
fine”, and jī 鸡 “chicken”, and the other considerably later, as in the case of jiē 街 “street”
and xié 鞋 “shoe”. Any attempt to conflate the two, along with their respective alternate
literary and/or popular forms, in a mono-stratal system such as Proto-Hakka, is doomed to
failure. However, it is to O’Connor’s credit that he recognized and acknowledged forty years
ago the probable futility of his own effort to do so.

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

shi 世 QYS ʃjai- CDC *shiai5/EC *0ath
BMH [ʃe̝ ~ ʃi]; MX [ʃi5w ~ se5b]; HL [ʃi5 ~ ʃe5b]; SX [ʃi5 ~ ʃe5b]; LF [ʃe5]; LZ [ʃe5b ~
ʃi5w]; SHT [ʃe5]
HY [ʃe5]; XY [ʃ̂i5]; DB [ʃe5]; YL [ʃi3]; XC [ʃi5]
CT [ʃi5]; WP [ʃi5]; YD [ʃi5]; SH [ʃi5]; LC1 [ʃi5]; LC2 [ʃi5]
NK [ʃi5]; AY [ʃi5]; SY [ʃi2]; XS [—]; QN [ʃi5]; ND1 [ei5]; ND2 [ai5]; ND3 [e5 ~ ai5]
OPH *ʃe5 ~ *ʃi5  CNH *ʃiai5/L *ʃi5

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

3.1.6 CNH *-uai

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

kuài 块 QYS khuài- CDC *khuoi5/EC *’khuih
BMH [khwai]; MX [k’uai5]; HL [k’uai5]; SX [k’uai5]; LF [k’uai5]; LZ [khai5]; SHT [—]
HY [k’ai5 ~ fai5†]; XY [k’ai5]; DB [k’uai5]; YL [k’uai5]; XC [k’uai5]
CT [k’ue5]; WP [khu5]; YD [k’uei3 ~ k’uai3]; SH [khu5]; LC1 [k’ua5]; LC2 [k’ua5]
Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Neo-Hakka

NK [k’uæ5]; AY [k’ue5]; SY [k’uæ3]; XS [k’uai5]; QN [k’ai5]; ND1 [k’uai5]; ND2 [k’ui5]; ND3 [k’ui5]
OPH *k’uai5   CNH *k’uai5/*fai5 (< *huai5 ?)
†Measure for land.
The second Héyuán form reflects the second reconstruction. It is supported by similar forms in western Guǎngdōng Hakka dialects that are not included in our database. See Lǐ Rúlóng (1999: 36).

huái 准  QYS ɣwáí  CDC *huai2/EC *gruy
BMH [fāi]; MX [fai2]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [fai2]; LZ [fai2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [huai2]; XC [huai2]
CT [fai2]; WP [—]; YD [fai2]; SH [fa2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [huæ2]; AY [hue2]; SY [huæ2]; XS [fai2]; QN [fæ2]; ND1 [fai2]; ND2 [fai2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *fai2]   CNH *huai2

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

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

shuài 帥  QYS ʂwi-  CDC *shuei5/EC *sruth
BMH [sòi]; MX [sai5]; HL [sai5]; SX [sai5]; LF [sai5]; LZ [ʃoi5]; SHT [—]
HY [suai5]; XY [suai5]; DB [soi5]; YL [ʂuai5]; XC [ʂuai5 ~ ʂuaʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [sai3]; SH [sa5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sæ5]; AY [sæ5]; SY [sæ2]; XS [sai5]; QN [sai5]; ND1 [sai6]; ND2 [sai5]; ND3 [sai5]
[OPH *soi5]   CNH *suoï5/*suaï5
The tone of the Ningdū-1 form is irregularly of lower register.

The reconstruction of this form remains uncertain.

3.1.7 CNH *-au

Examples for this final are:
bǎo 饱 QYS pau: CDC *pau3/EC *prux  
BMH [pau]; MX [pau3]; HL [pau3]; SX [pau3]; LF [pau3]; LZ [pau3]; SHT [pau3]; HY [pau3]; XY [pau3]; DB [pau3]; YL [pau3]; XC [pau3]; CT [pɔ3]; WP [pɔ3]; YD [pau3]; SH [pɔ3]; LC1 [---]; LC2 [---]  
NK [pɔ3]; AY [pɔ3]; SY [pɔ3]; XS [pau3]; QN [pau3]; ND1 [pau3]; ND2 [pau3]; ND3 [pau3]  
OPH *pau3  CNH *pau3

zhǎo 爪 QYS tʂau: CDC *cau3/EC *tsrawx  
BMH [tsəu]; MX [tsau3]; HL [tsau3]; SX [tsau3]; LF [tsau3]; LZ [tsau3]; SHT [tsau3]; HY [tsau3]; XY [tsau3]; DB [tsau3]; YL [tsau3]; XC [tʂau3]; CT [tsɔ3]; WP [tsɔ3]; YD [tsau3]; SH [tsɔ3]; LC1 [tsɔ3]; LC2 [---]  
NK [tsɔ3]; AY [tsɔ3]; SY [tsɔ3]; XS [tsau3]; QN [tsau3]; ND1 [tsau3]; ND2 [tsau3]; ND3 [tsau3]; OPH *tsau3  CNH *tsau3  
The initial of the Lìzhīzhuāng form is irregularly a fricative rather than an affricate.

jiào 教 QYS kau- CDC *kau5/EC *krewh  
BMH [kau]; MX [kau5]; HL [kau5]; SX [kau5]; LF [kau5]; LZ [kau5]; SHT [kau5]; HY [kau5]; XY [kau5]; DB [kau5]; YL [ʨiau]; XC [ʨiau5]; CT [kɔ5]; WP [kɔ5]; YD [kau3]; SH [kɔ5]; LC1 [kɔ1]; LC2 [---]  
NK [kɔ5]; AY [kɔ5]; SY [kɔ2]; XS [kau5]; QN [kau5]; ND1 [kau5]; ND2 [kau5]; ND3 [kau5]; OPH *kau5]  CNH *kau5  
The Yīlǒng and Xīchāng forms may be Mandarinized loans.

### 3.1.8 CNH *-iau

Examples for this final are:

miào 廟 QYS mjäu- CDC *miau6/EC *mawh  
BMH [miâu]; MX [miau5]; HL [miau6]; SX [meu5]; LF [miau6]; LZ [mtimeua5]; SHT [---]
HY [miau6]; XY [miau3]; DB [miau3]; YL [miau3]; XC [miau5]
CT [miɔ6]; WP [miɔ3]; YD [mieu3]; SH [miɔ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [miɔ5]; AY [miɔ6]; SY [miɔ5]; XS [miau5]; QN [miau6]; ND1 [miau6]; ND2 [miau6];
ND3 [miau6]
OPH *miau6     CNH *miau6

qiáo 橋 QYS gjäu   CDC *giau2/EC *gaw
BMH [khiâu]; MX [k’iau2]; HL [k’iau2]; SX [tɕ’iau2]; LF [k’iau2]; LZ [khiâu2]; SHT [—]
HY [k’iau2]; XY [k’iau2]; DB [k’iau2]; YL [te’iau2]; XC [te’iau2]
CT [tʃ’iɔ2]; WP [tʃhiâu2]; YD [k’iau2]; SH [təhiau2]; LC1 [k’iɔ2]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’iɔ2]; AY [te’iɔ2]; SY [te’iɔ2]; XS [te’iau2]; QN [te’iau2]; ND1 [ts’au2]; ND2 [ts’au2];
ND3 [ts’au2]
OPH *k’iau2     CNH *k’iau2

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

shāo 燒 QYS śjäu    CDC *shiau1/EC *əew
BMH [shau]; MX [sau1]; HL [ʃau1]; SX [ʃəu1]; LF [ʃau1]; LZ [ʃau1]; SHT [sau1]
HY [siau1]; XY [sau1]; DB [sau1]; YL [ʃau1]; XC [ʃau1]
CT [ʃɔ1]; WP [ʃə1]; YD [ʃeu1]; SH [ʃə1]; LC1 [ʃə]; LC2 [ʃə ~ ʃeu1]
NK [ʃə1]; AY [ʃə1]; SY [ʃə1]; XS [ʃə1]; QN [ʃə1]; ND1 [ʃə1]; ND2 [ʃə1]; ND3 [ʃə1]
OPH *ʃə1     CNH *ʃiau1

zhào 照 QYS tʃjäu-    CDC *ciau5/EC *təew
BMH [chèu ~ chàu]; MX [tsau5]; HL [tʃəu5]; SX [tʃəu5]; LF [tʃəu5]; LZ [tʃəu5]; SHT [tsau5]
HY [tsiau5]; XY [tsau5]; DB [tsau5]; YL [tʃəu5]; XC [tʃəu5]
CT [tʃɔ5]; WP [tʃə5]; YD [tsəu3]; SH [tsə5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsɔ5]; AY [tsɔ5]; SY [tsɔ2]; XS [tʃɔ5]; QN [tsau5]; ND1 [tsau5]; ND2 [tsau5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tʃəu5]     CNH *tʃiau5

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cháo 朝  QYS  djāu  CDC *jiau2/EC *draw
BMH [chhâu]; MX [ts’au2]; HL [tʃ’au2]; SX [tʃ’eu2]; LF [tʃ’au2]; LZ [tʃhau2]; SHT [ts’au2]
HY [—]; XY [ts’au2]; DB [ts’au2]; YL [tʃ’au2]; XC [tʃ’au2]
CT [tʃ’ɔ 2]; WP [tʃhɔ2w]; YD [ts’eu2]; SH [tʃhɔ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’ɔ2]; AY [ts’ɔ2]; SY [ts’ɔ2]; XS [tʃ’au2]; QN [ts’au2]; ND1 [ts’au2]; ND2 [ts’au2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tʃ’au2]  CNH *tʃ’iau2

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

3.1.9 CNH *-an

Examples for this final are:

bǎn 板  QYS  pwan:  CDC *pan3/EC *pronx
BMH [pán]; MX [pan3]; HL [pan3]; SX [pan3]; LF [pan3]; LZ [—]; SHT [pan3]
HY [pan3]; XY [pan3]; DB [pan3]; YL [pan3]; XC [pan3]
CT [pan3]; WP [pan3]; YD [pan3 ~ pan3]; SH [pã3 ~ piɛ̃3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [pã3]
NK [pã3]; AY [pã3]; SY [pã3]; XS [pan3]; QN [pan3]; ND1 [pan3]; ND2 [pan3]; ND3 [pan3]
[OPH *pan3]  CNH *pan3

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

fǎn 反  QYS  pjwɒn:  CDC *fän3/EC *ponx
BMH [fãn]; MX [fan3]; HL [fan3]; SX [fan3]; LF [fan3]; LZ [fan3]; SHT [—]
HY [fan3]; XY [fan3]; DB [fan3]; YL [fan3]; XC [fan3]
CT [fan3]; WP [fan3]; YD [fan3]; SH [fâ3]; LC1 [fa3]; LC2 [—]
NK [fâ3]; AY [fâ3]; SY [fâ3]; XS [fan3]; QN [fan3]; ND1 [fan3]; ND2 [fan3]; ND3 [fan3]
[OPH *fan3]   CNH *fan3

3.1.10 CNH *-ian

Examples for this final are:

biān 邊 QYS pien CDC *pian1/EC ’pen
BMH [pien]; MX [pîn1]; HL [pian1]; SX [pian1]; LF [pian1]; LZ [pîn1]; SHT [pîn1]
HY [pian1]; XY [pian1]; DB [pian1]; YL [pian1]; XC [pîn1]
CT [pîŋ1]; WP [piɛŋ1]; YD [piɛn1]; SH [piɛ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [pe1]
NK [piɛ1]; AY [pî1]; SY [piɛ1]; XS [piɛn1]; QN [piɛn1]; ND1 [piɛn1]; ND2 [pian1]; ND3 [piɛn1]
OPH *pian1   CNH *pian1

tiān 天 QYS thien CDC *thian1/EC *’thin
BMH [thien]; MX [t’ie1]; HL [t’ian1]; SX [t’ian1]; LF [t’ian1]; LZ [then1]; SHT [t’en1]
HY [t’ian1]; XY [t’ian1]; DB [t’ie1]; YL [t’ie1]; XC [t’ie1]
CT [t’iŋ1]; WP [thiɛŋ1]; YD [t’ien1]; SH [thiɛ1]; LC1 [t’e1]; LC2 [t’e1]
NK [t’iɛ1]; AY [t’i1]; SY [t’iɛ1]; XS [t’ie1]; QN [t’ie1]; ND1 [t’ie1]; ND2 [t’ian1]; ND3 [t’iɛ1]
OPH *t’ian1   CNH *t’ian1

jiān 肩 QYS kien CDC *kian1/EC *’ken
BMH [ken ~ kien]; MX [kian1w ~ kin1b]; HL [kian1]; SX [kian1]; LF [kian1]; LZ [kɛn1]; SHT [—]
HY [kan1]; XY [kian1]; DB [kien1]; YL [teiɛn1]; XC [teiɛn1]
CT [tʃiŋ1]; WP [kɛŋ1]; YD [kɛn1]; SH [teiɛ1]; LC1 [kɛ1]; LC2 [—]
Examples after postalveolars are:

\begin{itemize}
  \item shàn 善 QYS źjäⁿ- CDC *zhian6/EC *danx
  \item zhàn 戰 QYS tśjän- CDC *cian5/EC *tranh
\end{itemize}

The tone of the Hǎilù form is irregular.

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

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

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26 In fact there do not happen to be any such problematic cases in the data sets used in the present work.
Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Neo-Hakka

jiān 間 QYS kăn CDC *kan1/EC *kren
BMH [kan ~kien]; MX [kian1]; HL [kian1]; SX [kian1]; LF [kian1]; LZ [kan1]; SHT [kan1]
HY [kan1]; XY [kan1]; DB [kan1]; YL [kan1]; XC [tiei1w ~ kan1b]
CT [kan1 ~ tʃin1]; WP [tsie1n ~ kan1]; YD [kien1]; SH [tiei1 ~ kâ1]; LC1 [ka1]; LC2 [ke1]
NK [kâ1]; AY [kâ1]; SY [kâ1]; XS [kan1]; QN [kan1]; ND1 [kan1]; ND2 [kan1]; ND3 [kan1]
[OPH *kan1] CNH *kan1/L *kian1

yǎn 眼 QYS ngăn: CDC *ŋan4/EC *nrunx
BMH [nyén ~ ngan]; MX [niän3]; HL [niän3w ~ ñan3b]; SX [niän3]; LF [ŋan3]; LZ [ŋan3];
SHT [ŋan3]
HY [ŋan5]; XY [ŋan3]; DB [ŋan3]; YL [ŋan3]; XC [ŋan3]
CT [ŋaŋ3]; WP [ŋaŋ3]; YD [ŋan3]; SH [ŋaŋ3]; LC1 [ŋaŋ3]; LC2 [ŋaŋ3]
NK [ŋaŋ3]; AY [ŋaŋ3]; SY [ŋaŋ3]; XS [ŋaŋ3]; QN [ŋaŋ3]; ND1 [ŋaŋ3]; ND2 [ŋaŋ3]; ND3 [ŋaŋ3]
[OPH *ŋan3] CNH *ŋan3/L *ñian3

This correspondence pattern is clearly indicative of lexical layering.

3.1.11 CNH *-uan

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

guān 關 QYS kwan CDC *kuan1/EC *kron
BMH [kwan]; MX [kuan1]; HL [kuan1]; SX [kuan1]; LF [kon]; LZ [kan1]; SHT [—]
HY [kan1]; XY [kan1]; DB [kuan1]; YL [kuan1]; XC [kuan1]
CT [kuaŋ1]; WP [kuaŋ1]; YD [kuan1]; SH [kuâ1]; LC1 [kuâ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [kuâ1]; AY [kuâ1 ~ k’â1]; SY [kuâ1 ~ k’uâ1]; XS [kuan1]; QN [kan1]; ND1 [kan1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [kuan1]
OPH *kuan1 CNH *kuan1
huán 還 QYS ɣwan CDC *huan2/EH *gwren
BMH [fon ~ fan]; MX [fan2w ~ fən2b]; HL [fan2w ~ van2b ~ han2b]; SX [van2b ~ han2b]; LF [fan2]; LZ [van2]; SHT [hən2 ~ van2]
HY [van2]; XY [van2]; DB [van2]; YL [uan2]; XC [van2]
CT [van2]; WP [van2]; YD [van2]; SH [və2]; LC1 [va2]; LC2 [va2]
NK [huə2 ~ və2]; AY [və2]; SY [huə2 ~ və2]; XS [fan2 ~ van2]; QN [van2]; ND1 [fan2 ~ van2]; ND2 [van2]; ND3 [van2]
[OPH *van2] CNH *van2/L *huan2
Basil Mission and Méixiàn have variant forms that appear to descend from earlier *huon2, though no such form can be reconstructed comparatively.

3.1.12 CNH *-ŋ

Examples for this final are:

kēng 坑 QYS ɣong CDC *khang1/EC *khrang
BMH [hang ~ khang]; MX [haŋ1]; HL [haŋ1b]; SX [haŋ1b]; LF [haŋ1]; LZ [haŋ1]; SHT [haŋ1]
HY [haŋ1]; XY [haŋ1]; DB [haŋ1]; YL [k’aŋ1]; XC [k’əŋ1]
CT [haŋ1]; WP [khaŋ1 ~ xaŋ1]; YD [k’aŋ1]; SH [khan1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [k’aŋ1]
NK [hə1]; AY [hə1]; SY [hə1]; XS [haŋ1]; QN [haŋ1]; ND1 [k’aŋ1]; ND2 [k’aŋ1]; ND3 [haŋ1]
[OPH *haŋ1] CNH *haŋ1/L *k’aŋ1

ying 硬 QYS ɣŋeng- CDC *ngang6/EC *ngrangh
BMH [ŋəŋ]; MX [ŋəŋ]; HL [ŋəŋ]; SX [ŋəŋ]; LF [ŋəŋ]; LZ [ŋəŋ]; SHT [ŋəŋ]
HY [ŋəŋ]; XY [ŋəŋ]; DB [ŋəŋ]; YL [ŋəŋ]; XC [ŋəŋ]
CT [ŋəŋ]; WP [ŋəŋ]; YD [ŋəŋ]; SH [ŋəŋ]; LC1 [ŋəŋ]; LC2 [—]†
NK [ŋəŋ]; AY [ŋəŋ]; SY [ŋəŋ]; XS [ŋəŋ]; QN [ŋəŋ]; ND1 [ŋəŋ]; ND2 [ŋəŋ]; ND3 [ŋəŋ]
[OPH *ŋang6] CNH *ŋəŋ
†FJFYZ: [ŋəŋ].
The Yílǒng and Xīchāng forms appear to be Mandarin loans and are not reflected in the reconstructions.

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

zhěng 整 QYS ㄗiĕŋ:  CDC *ciang3/EC *teng
BMH [chın ~ shâng]; MX [tsən3w ~ tsən3b]; HL [tfən3w ~ tfən3b]; SX [tfən3w ~ tfən3b]; LF [tfən3]; LZ [tfən3]; SHT [—]
HY [tsən3 ~ tsən3]; XY [tsən3]; DB [tsən3 ~ tsən3]; YL [tʂən3]; XC [tʂən3]
CT [tfən3]; WP [tsən3]; YD [tsən3]; SH [tsən3 ~ tsən3]; LC1 [tfən3]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕiən3]; AY [tɕiən3 ~ tɕiən3]; SY [tɕiən3 ~ tɕiən3]; XS [tʂən3 ~ tʂən3]; QN [tɕiən3 ~ tɕiən3]; ND1 [tɕiən3]; ND2 [tɕiən3]; ND3 [tʂən3]
[OPH *tsən3 ?]  CNH *tɕəŋ3/L *tɕi̯ən3
The initial of the second Héyuán form is irregularly aspirated.
Cf. Qīngliú: [tʃiən3].
In parallel cases having initial *š-, only *-ian is found, for examples of which see the following section.

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

### 3.1.13 CNH *-ian

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Pronunciation (QYS, CDC, EC, BMH, MX, HL, SX, LF, LZ, SHT, HY, XY, DB, YL, XC, CT, WP, YD, SH, LC1, LC2, NK, AY, SY, XS, QN, ND1, ND2, ND3, OPH, CNH)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bǐng</td>
<td>pjäng: CDC *piang3/EC *pengx BMH [piáng]; MX [piān3]; HL [piān3]; SX [piān3]; LF [piān3]; LZ [piān3]; SHT [piān3] HY [piān3]; XY [piān3]; DB [piān3]; YL [piān3]; XC [piān3] CT [piān3]; WP [piān3]; YD [piān3]; SH [piān3]; LC1 [piān3]; LC2 [—] NK [piān3]; AY [piān3]; SY [piān3]; XS [piān3]; QN [piān3]; ND1 [piān3]; ND2 [piān3]; ND3 [piān3] [OPH *piang3] CNH *piān3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Pronunciation (QYS, CDC, EC, BMH, MX, HL, SX, LF, LZ, SHT, HY, XY, DB, YL, XC, CT, WP, YD, SH, LC1, LC2, NK, AY, SY, XS, QN, ND1, ND2, ND3, OPH, CNH)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chéng</td>
<td>žjäng: CDC *zial2 ~ *jial2/EC *deng BMH [shâng]; MX [sān2]; HL [šaŋ2]; SX [šaŋ2]; LF [šaŋ2]; LZ [šaŋ2]; SHT [sⁿ2] HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [š³n2]; XC [š³n2w ~ šⁿ2b] CT [šaŋ2]; WP [sⁿ2]; YD [sⁿ2]; SH [šⁿ2]; LC1 [šaŋ2]; LC2 [šaŋ2] NK [te’iŋ2]; AY [sā2]; SY [te’iŋ2 ~ sā2]; XS [š³n2 ~ šⁿ2]; QN [te’in2 ~ šⁿ2]; ND1 [š³n2 ~ šⁿ2]; ND2 [šⁿ2]; ND3 [—] [OPH *šang2] CNH *šian2/*tš’iŋ2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cf. Qīngliú: [ʃiá₂].

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Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Neo-Hakka

shēng 聲 QYS ㄕㄤ 東 *shiang1/EC *0eng

BMH [shang]; MX [saŋ1]; HL [ʃaŋ1]; SX [ʃaŋ1]; LF [ʃaŋ1]; LZ [ʃaŋ1]; SHT [—] HY [saŋ1]; XY [saŋ1]; DB [saŋ1]; YL [ʃaŋ1]; XC [saŋ1]

CT [ʃeŋ1]; WP [saŋ1]; YD [saŋ1]; SH [saŋ1]; LC1 [ʃaŋ1]; LC2 [ʃaŋ1]

NK [ɕiaŋ1]; AY [sâ1]; SY [ɕiaŋ1 ~ sâ1]; XS [ɕaŋ1 ~ şaŋ1]; QN [saŋ1]; ND1 [saŋ1 ~ saŋ1]; ND2 [saŋ1]; ND3 [saŋ1 ~ saŋ1]

OPH *şang1 CNH *şiaŋ1/L *şiŋ1

Cf. Qīngliú: [ʃiaŋ1].

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

**Hakka**

zhèng/zhēng 正 QYS ㄕｉㄤ 東 *ciang5/EC *teng

BMH [chin]; MX [ʦən5w ~ tsən5b]; HL [tʃən5w ~ tʃan1]; SX [tʃən5w ~ tʃən5b]; LF [tʃin5 ~ tʃan1]; LZ [tʃan1/tʃən5w ~ tʃən5]; SHT [tsin5]

HY [tsin5 ~ tsən5]; XY [tsin5]; DB [ʦən5]; YL [ʦən5]; XC [ʦən5]

CT [ʦeŋ5]; WP [ʦən5 ~ tsən1]; YD [ʦən3 ~ tsən1]; SH [ʦən5 ~ tsən5 ~ tsən1]; LC1 [tʃan1]; LC2 [—]

NK [tɕiaŋ1]; AY [tɕiaŋ1]; SY [tɕiaŋ1 ~ tsən5]; XS [tɕiaŋ1 ~ tsən5]; QN [tɕiaŋ1 ~ tsən1]; ND1 [tsən5 ~ tsən5 ~ tsən1]; ND2 [tsən1 ~ tsən5 ~ tsən5 ~ tsən1]; ND3 [tsən5 ~ tsən1 ~ tsən5]

[OPH *tʃang1 ~ *tʃang1] CNH *tʃaŋ1/L *tʃiŋ1 */*tʃaŋ5/L *tʃiŋ5

Tone 1 forms refer specifically to the name of the first Lunar month. Tone 5 forms take the more general senses of “correct, upright, etc.”

Cf. Qīngliú: [tʃaŋ5].

**Shē**

zhēng 正 QYS ㄕｉㄤ “first Lunar month” CDC *ciang5/EC *teng

FA [tɕiaŋ1]; FD [tɕiaŋ1]; LY [tɕiaŋ1]; SM [tɕiaŋ1]; SC [tɕiaŋ1]; HA [tɕiaŋ1];
GX [tsaŋ1]; CN [tɕiaŋ1]; JN [tɕiaŋ1]; LS [tɕiaŋ1]; LngY [tɕiaŋ1];
CZ [tsaŋ1]; FS [tʃaŋ1]; TY [tʃan1]  CS *tʃiaŋ1

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

3.1.14 CNH *-uŋ

This final occurs in a single cognate set:

héng 橫 QYS ᵂʷᵒⁿᵍ “horizontal” CDC *huang2/EC *gwreng
BMH [vâng]; MX [van2]; HL [van2]; SX [van2]; LF [vang2]; LZ [van2]; SHT [—]
HY [van2]; XY [van2]; DB [vuaŋ2]; YL [uaŋ2]; XC [van2]
CT [van2]; WP [vəŋ2]; YD [van2]; SH [van2]; LC1 [van2]; LC2 [van2]
NK [və2]; AY [və2]; SY [və2]; XS [van2]; QN [van2]; ND1 [van2]; ND2 [van2]; ND3 [van2]
OPH *vang2   CNH *vuaŋ2

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

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

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

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

### 3.1.16 CNH *-am

Examples for this final are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Sample Words</th>
<th>Phonetic Transcription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fán 衆</td>
<td>fán QYS</td>
<td>bɪw Consent CNH *van2/EC *bom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nán 男</td>
<td>nán QYS</td>
<td>ŋ Consent CNH *nam2/EC *num</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xián 鹹</td>
<td>yám QYS</td>
<td>Consent CNH *ham2/EC *grum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following example is curious, in that it is the only case in our data where CNH *-am stands after a postalveolar initial.
Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Neo-Hakka

zhàn 站 QYS țăm- “to stand” CDC *cam5/EC *tremh
BMH [châm]; MX [tsam5]; HL [țjam5]; SX [țjam5]; LF [tsan5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [țșan5]; XC [țșan5]
CT [țșan5]; WP [țșan3]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsã3]; AY [tsã5]; SY [tsã2]; XS [tsan5]; QN [tsan5]; ND1 [tsam5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tșam5] CNH *tșam5

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

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

3.1.17 CNH *-iam

Examples for this final are:
diàn 店 QYS tiem- CDC*tiam5/EC —
BMH [tiàm]; MX [tiam5]; HL [tiam5]; SX [tiam5]; LF [tiam5]; LZ [tiam5]; SHT [—]
HY [tiam5]; XY [tiam5]; DB [tiam5]; YL [tien5]; XC [tien5]
CT [tiŋ5]; WP [tiaŋ5]; YD [tian3]; SH [tiã5]; LC1 [te5]; LC2 [—]
NK [tiẽ5]; AY [tiã5]; SY [tiẽ2]; XS [tien5]; QN [tian5]; ND1 [tian5]; ND2 [tian5]; ND3 [tian5]
[OPH *tiam5] CNH *tiam5

yán 鹽 QYS jiâm CDC *yam2/EC *yam
BMH [yâm]; MX [iam2]; HL [ʒam2]; SX [iam2]; LF [jam2]; LZ [ʒam2]; SHT [jam2]
HY [jiâm2]; XY [iam2]; DB [am2]; YL [iẽn2]; XC [iẽn2]
CT [iŋ2]; WP [iaŋ2]; YD [iaŋ2]; SH [iã2]; LC1 [ie2]; LC2 [—]
NK [iẽ2]; AY [jiẽ2]; SY [jiẽ1]; XS [iẽ2]; QN [iam2]; ND1 [iam2]; ND2 [iam2]; ND3 [iam2]
[OPH *iam2] CNH *iam2
yán 嚴 QYS ngjom CDC *ngiam/EC *ngom
BMH [ny âm]; MX [ni âm2]; HL [ni âm2]; SX [ni âm2]; LF [ni âm2]; LZ [ŋiam7]; SHT [—]
HY [ŋiam2]; XY [ŋiam2]; DB [ŋiam2]; YL [ni ên2]; XC [ni ên2]
CT [ni ŋ2]; WP [ni ŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [ni â2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ŋiaŋ2]
NK [ni ê2]; AY [ni â2]; SY [ni ê2]; XS [ni ên2]; QN [ni âm2]; ND1 [ni âm2]; ND2 [nam3]; ND3 [nam2]
OPH *n2iam2 CNH *ňiam2
The tone of the Ningdû-2 form is irregular.

CNH *-iam loses its medial *-i- after postalveolars except in Héyuán, e.g.,
zhàn 占、佔 QYS tśjäm- “to occupy” CDC *ciam5/EC *temh
BMH [châm]; MX [tsam5]; HL [tʃam5]; SX [tʃam5]; LF [tʃam5]; LZ [tʃam5]; SHT [—]
HY [tsiam5]; XY [tsam5]; DB [tsam5]; YL [tʃan5]; XC [tʃan5]
CT [—]; WP [tsaŋ5]; YD [—]; SH [tsâ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsâ3]; AY [tsâ5]; SY [tsê2]; XS [tʃen5]; QN [tsan5]; ND1 [tsam5]; ND2 [tsam5]; ND3 [tsam5]
[OPH *tšam5] CNH *tšiam5

In the following set, medial *-i- is sporadically retained in Lìzhīzhuāng and Sung Him Tong, for uncertain reasons.
shǎn 閃 QYS śjäm:,- CDC *shiam3/EC *θamx
BMH [shâm]; MX [sam3 ~ sap7s]; HL [ʃam3]; SX [ʃam3]; LF [ʃam3]; LZ [ʃam3]; SHT [si âm3]
HY [siam3]; XY [sam3]; DB [sam3]; YL [ʃan3]; XC [ʃan3]
CT [ʃiŋ3]; WP [saŋ3]; YD [saŋ3]; SH [ʃa 33]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ʃe 33]; AY [ʃa 33]; SY [ʃe 33]; XS [ʃe 33]; QN [—]; ND1 [sam3]; ND2 [sam3]; ND3 [sam1]
[OPH *ʃam3] CNH *ʃiam3
The tone of the Ningdû-3 form is irregular.

Where Héyuán or other evidence is unavailable, *-i- can be restored on the basis of the correspondence profile, if enough of it is retained in the set, e.g.,
zhān 占  QYS  tśjäm “to divine”  CDC *ciam1/EC *tem
BMH [cham]; MX [tsam1]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [tʃam1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tʃan1]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsà1]; AY [—]; SY [tsê1]; XS [tʃen1]; QN [—]; ND1 [tsam1]; ND2 [tsam1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tʃam1]   CNH *tʃiam1

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

3.1.18 CNH *-at

Examples for this final are:

bā 八  QYS  pwăt    CDC *pat7/EC *pret
BMH [pát]; MX [pat7]; HL [pat7]; SX [pat7]; LF [pat7]; LZ [pat7]; SHT [pat7]
HY [pat7]; XY [pat7]; DB [pat7]; YL [paʔ7]; XC [paʔ7]
CT [pe2]†; WP [pieʔ7]††; YD [pieʔ7]; SH [paʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [pe6]
NK [pa7]; AY [pæ6]; SY [pa5]; XS [pat7]; QN [pæʔ7]; ND1 [pat7]; ND2 [pat7]; ND3 [pat7]
OPH *pat7   CNH *pat7
†DCBG: var. pa2.
††DCBG: paʔ7.
The mid-vowel final readings in the Fújiàn line appear to be intrusive and are of possible Mǐn origin. They do not show a regular correspondence pattern.

chá 察  QYS  tʃhăt  CDC *chat7/EC *tshrat
BMH [tʃhat]; MX [ts’at7]; HL [ts’at7]; SX [ts’at7]; LF [ts’at7]; LZ [tʃhat7]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’at7]; XY [ts’at7]; DB [ts’at7]; YL [ts’aʔ7]; XC [tʃ’aʔ7]
CT [ts’a2]; WP [tshaʔ7]; YD [ts’aʔ7]; SH [tshaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ts’a6]
NK [ts’a7]; AY [ts’æ3]; SY [ts’a5]; XS [ts’ait7]; QN [ts’æʔ7]; ND1 [ts’aït7]; ND2 [ts’at7]; ND3 [ts’at7]
OPH *ts’at7   CNH *ts’at7
Common Neo-Hakka:
A Comparative Reconstruction

3.1.19 CNH *-iat

Examples for this final are:

biē 鼎 QYS pjiät4 CDC *piat/EC *pet
BMH [piet]; MX [piet7]; HL [piet7]; SX [piet7]; LF [piet7]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [pieʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [pi1]; YD [pieʔ7]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [pieʔ7]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
OPH *piat7 CNH *piat7

dīē 跌 QYS tiet CDC *tiat/EC *tet
BMH [tiet]; MX [tiet7]; HL [tiet7]; SX [tiet7]; LF [tiat7]; LZ [tet7]; SHT [—]
HY [tiet7 ~ tiet7]; XY [tiet7]; DB [tiet7]; YL [tieʔ7]; XC [tieʔ7]
CT [te2]; WP [tieʔ7]; YD [tieʔ7]; SH [tieʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [te6]
NK [tieʔ7]; AY [tie3]; SY [tie5]; XS [tiet7]; QN [tieʔ7]; ND1 [tieʔ7]; ND2 [tiat7]; ND3 [tiat7]
OPH *tiat7 CNH *tiat7

rè 熱 QYS ńźjät CD *nhiat8/EC *nat
BMH [nyét]; MX [niat8]; HL [niet8]; SX [niet8]; LF [niat8]; LZ [ŋget8]; SHT [—]
HY [niat8]; XY [niat8]; DB [niat8]; YL [nieʔ8]; XC [nieʔ8]
CT [ne6]; WP [nieʔ8]; YD [nieʔ8]; SH [nieʔ8]; LC1 [ni5]; LC2 [ni5]
NK [nie5]; AY [ni1]; SY [nie5]; XS [niet8]; QN [nieʔ8]; ND1 [nait8]; ND2 [nat8]; ND3 [nat8]
OPH *niat8 CNH *ńiat8
Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Neo-Hakka

xiē 歇 QYS xjöt CDC *xiat7/EC *hot
BMH [hiet]; MX [hiat7]; HL [hiet7]; SX [hiet7]; LF [hiat7]; LZ [het7]; SHT [—]
HY [hiat7]; XY [k’iat7]; DB [k’iet7]; YL [cieʔ7]; XC [cieʔ7]
CT [je2]; WP [cieʔ7]; YD [seʔ7]; SH [cieʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ji2]
NK [cie7 ~ cie8]; AY [ci3]; SY [cie5]; XS [cieʔ7]; QN [cieʔ7 ~ saiʔ7]; ND1 [sait7 ~ ts’ait7];
ND2 [—]; ND3 [sat7]
OPH *hiat7 CNH *hiat7

In Liánchéng the reflex of CNH *-iat is -e after dentals and -i elsewhere. After
postalveolars medial *-i- is lost except in Héyuán, e.g.,

shé 舌 QYS dźjät CDC *zhiat8/EC *șat
BMH [shért]; MX [sat8]; HL [fat8]; SX [fat8]; LF [fat8]; LZ [jet8]; SHT [set8]
HY [siat8]; XY [sat8]; DB [sat8]; YL [șeʔ8 ~ şaʔ8]; XC [șeʔ8]
CT [je6]; WP [saʔ8 ~ seʔ8]; YD [seʔ8]; SH [seʔ8]; LC1 [ji5]; LC2 [ji5]
NK [se5]; AY [s31]; SY [se5]; XS [șet8]; QN [șeʔ8]; ND1 [sait8]; ND2 [sat8]; ND3 [sat7]
OPH *șat8 CNH *șiat8

3.1.20 CNH *-uat

This final is reconstructable in one, or possibly two, sets in variant readings:

kuò 括 QYS kuât CDC *kuot7/EC *kot
BMH [kwat]; MX [kuat7]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [kat7]; SHT [—]
HY [kat7]; XY [k’at7]; DB [kuat7]; YL [k’ueʔ7]; XC [k’uaʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [kuat7]; YD [—]; SH [kuat7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [kuat7]; AY [ku33]; SY [kuat5]; XS [kuait7]; QN [kɔiʔ7]; ND1 [koet7]; ND2 [kuot7]; ND3 [k’uat7]
OPH *kuat7 CNH *kuot7/*k’uat7
shuā 刷 QYS sjwät CDC *shuat7 ~ *shot7/EC *srot
BMH [sot]; MX [sot7]; HL [sot7b]; SX [sot7]; LF [sot7]; LZ [sot7]; SHT [—]
HY [sat7]; XY [ts’at7]; DB [lat7]; YL [—]; XC [suaʔ7]
CT [sue2]; WP [sueʔ7]; YD [sot7]; SH [sueʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [soæʔ7]; AY [—]; SY [suo5]; XS [sot7]; QN [—]; ND1 [sot7]; ND2 [sot7]; ND3 [sot7]
[OPH *sot7] CNH *(u)ot7/*suat7?
The second reconstruction is possibly reflected by the dialects of the second row of the set. The initial of the Xinyi form is totally aberrant.

CNH -*uat in these sets is almost certainly merely a variant of -*uot (see §3.2.17 below) and is probably due to borrowing or some other type of dialect mixture. It is clearly peripheral in the Common Neo-Hakka system. Compare also the following set:

kuò 闊 QYS khuât CDC *khuot7/EC *’khot
BMH [fat ~ khwat]; MX [fat7]; HL [fat7]; SX [fat7]; LF [fat7]; LZ [fat7]; SHT [—]
HY [fuat7]; XY [k’at7]; DB [k’uat7]; YL [k’ueʔ7]; XC [k’ueʔ7]
CT [k’ue2]; WP [khuat7]; YD [k’uat7]; SH [khuat7]; LC1 [k’ua6]; LC2 [—]
NK [k’uaʔ7]; AY [k’ua5]; SY [k’ua5]; XS [k’ua7]; QN [k’æʔ7]; ND1 [k’oct7]; ND2 [k’uot5];
   ND3 [k’uaut7]
[OPH *fat7] CNH *k’uot5 ~ *fuat7 (or *fuot7 ?)
Initial f- forms in this set, strictly reconstructable as *fuat7, probably actually derive from CNH *fuot7, though the requisite forms for this are lacking from the determinative dialects. Cf. huó活 in §3.2.17 below.

3.1.21 CNH *-ak

Examples for this final are:
bái 白 QYS bɔk CDC *bak8/EC *brak
BMH [phak]; MX [p’ak8]; HL [p’ak8]; SX [p’ak8]; LF [p’ak8]; LZ [phak8]; SHT [p’ak8]
HY [p’ak8]; XY [p’ak8]; DB [p’ak8]; YL [p’aʔ8]; XC [p’aʔ8]
CT [p’a6]; WP [phaʔ8]; YD [p’aʔ8]; SH [phaʔ8 ~ phεʔ8]; LC1 [p’o5]; LC2 [—]
Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Neo-Hakka

NK [p’a1]; AY [p’a6]; SY [p’a5]; XS [p’ak8]; QN [p’aʔ8]; ND1 [p’ak8]; ND2 [p’ak8]; ND3 [p’ak8]

OPH *p’ak8  CNH *p’ak8

chāi 拆  QYS  thok  CDC *chiak7/EC *thak
BMH [tshak]; MX [ts’ak7]; HL [ts’ak8]; SX [ts’ak8]; LF [ts’ak7]; LZ [tʃak7]; SHT [ts’ak7]
HY [ts’ak7]; XY [ts’ak7]; DB [ts’ak7]; YL [tʃ’aʔ7]; XC [tʃ’aʔ7]
CT [ts’a2]; WP [tʃhaʔ7]; YD [ts’aʔ7]; SH [tʃhaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ts’a8]; AY [ts’ia6]; SY [ts’a5]; XS [ts’ak7]; QN [ts’aʔ7]; ND1 [ts’ak7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ts’ak7]

[OPH *ts’ak7]  CNH *ts’ak7

Here, both Yìlǒng and Xīchāng show “Mandarinized” retroflexion.

xià 吓  QYS  xōk  CDC *xak7/EC *hrak
BMH [hak]; MX [hak7]; HL [hak7]; SX [hak7]; LF [—]; LZ [hak7]; SHT [həʔ7]
HY [hak7]; XY [hak7]; DB [hak7]; YL [həʔ7]; XC [həʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [xəʔ7]; YD [həʔ7]; SH [həʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ha8]; AY [ha6]; SY [ha5]; XS [hak7]; QN [həʔ7]; ND1 [hak7]; ND2 [hak7]; ND3 [hak7]

[OPH *hak7]  CNH *hak7

3.1.22 CNH *-iak

Examples of this final after postalveolars are:

chǐ 尺  QYS  tʃhjäk  CDC *chiak7/EC *thak
BMH [chhak]; MX [ts’ak7]; HL [tʃ’ak7]; SX [tʃ’ak7]; LF [tʃ’ak7]; LZ [tʃhak7]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’ak7]; XY [ts’ak7]; DB [ts’ak7]; YL [tʃ’aʔ7]; XC [tʃ’aʔ7]
CT [tʃ’ə2]; WP [tʃhaʔ7 ~ tʃshaʔ7]; YD [ts’aʔ7]; SH [tʃhaʔ7]; LC1 [tʃ’o6]; LC2 [—]

NK [ts’a8]; AY [ts’a6]; SY [ts’a5]; XS [tʃ’ak7]; QN [ts’aʔ7]; ND1 [ts’ak7]; ND2 [ts’ak7]; ND3 [ts’ak7]
[OPH *tš'ak7]  CNH *tš'iak7
Cf. Xiùzhuàn: [tʃ'ia7].

Medial *-i- in such cases is preserved in dialects other than those represented in our database. Its retention differentiates Common Neo-Hakka from Proto-Hakka.

Virtually all cases of non-postalveolar initial *-iak final words in our data have alternate readings in CNH *-ik, and where indications are present in the sources these *-ik final forms are said to be of literary register. Examples are:

dí 笛 QYS diek  CDC *diak8/EC *diwk
BMH [thák]; MX [t’ak8]; HL [tit7w ~ t’ak8b]; SX [tit7]; LF [t’ak8]; LZ [thak8]; SHT [—]
HY [t’ia8]; XY [t’iat8]; DB [t’et8]; YL [ti2]; XC [tiʔ8]
CT [—]; WP [theʔ8]; YD [t’iʔ8]; SH [theʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [t’ie8 ~ t’ia1]; AY [t’ia6]; SY [t’ie5]; XS [t’it8]; QN [t’iʔ8]; ND1 [t’ia8]; ND2 [t’ia8]; ND3 [t’ia8]
[OPH *t’tak8]  CNH *t’iak8/L *t’iak8

The Mandarinized Yílǒng and Xīchāng forms lack initial aspiration.

li 曆 QYS like  CDC *liak8/EC *’lek
BMH [lák ~ lít ~ lèt]; MX [lak8]; HL [lak8]; SX [lak8]; LF [lak8]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [liʔ8]; XC [liʔ8]
CT [li6]; WP [liʔ8]; YD [liʔ8]; SH [liʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [lie8]; AY [lia6]; SY [lie5]; XS [liit8]; QN [liʔ8]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [lia8]; ND3 [lik8]
[OPH *lak8]  CNH *liak8/*lik8
3.1.23 CNH *-ap

Examples for this final are:

chā 插 QYS ʂhāp CDC *chap7/EC *tshrap
BMH [tshap]; MX [ts’ap7]; HL [ts’ap7]; SX [ts’ap7]; LF [ts’ap7]; LZ [tʃap7]; SHT [ts’ap7]
HY [ts’ap7]; XY [ts’ap7]; DB [ts’ap7]; YL [ts’aʔ7]; XC [tʃ’aʔ7]
CT [ts’a2]; WP [tshaʔ7]; YD [ts’iaʔ7]; SH [tshaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ts’o6]
NK [ts’aʔ7]; AY [ts’a3]; SY [ts’a5]; XS [ts’aʔ7]; QN [ts’æʔ7]; ND1 [ts’aip7]; ND2 [ts’ap7];
ND3 [ts’ap7]
OPH *ts’ap7 CNH *ts’ap7
The presence of medial -i- in the Yongding form is unexplained.

fǎ 法 QYS pjwɔp CDC *fap7/EC *pop
BMH [fap]; MX [fap7]; HL [fap7]; SX [fap7]; LF [fap7]; LZ [fat7]; SHT [fap7 ~ fat7]
HY [fat7]; XY [fat8]; DB [fat8]; YL [fat7]; XC [faʔ7]
CT [fa2]; WP [fɑʔ7]; YD [fɑʔ7]; SH [fɑʔ7]; LC1 [fo6]; LC2 [fo6]
NK [fɑʔ7]; AY [f3]; SY [f5]; XS [faʔ7]; QN [fæʔ7]; ND1 [faip7]; ND2 [fap7]; ND3 [fat7]
OPH *fap7 CNH *fap7/*fat7

jiǎ 甲 QYS kap CDC *kap7/*krap
BMH [kap]; MX [kap7]; HL [kap7]; SX [kap7]; LF [kap7]; LZ [kap7]; SHT [kap7]
HY [kap7]; XY [kap7]; DB [kap7]; YL [kaʔ7]; XC [kaʔ7]
CT [ka2]; WP [kaʔ7]; YD [kaʔ7]; SH [kaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ko6]
NK [kaʔ7]; AY [k3]; SY [ka1]; XS [kait7]; QN [kæʔ7]; ND1 [kaip7]; ND2 [kap7]; ND3 [kap7]
OPH *kap7 CNH *kap7

3.1.24 CNH *-iap

Examples for this final are:
Common Neo-Hakka:
A Comparative Reconstruction

dié 碟  QYS  diep  CDC *diap8/EC *’dep
BMH [thiáp]; MX [t’iap8]; HL [t’iap8]; SX [t’iap8]; LF [t’iap8]; LZ [thiap8]; SHT [t’iap8]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tieʔ7]
CT [t’e6]; WP [thieʔ8]; YD [t’iaʔ8]; SH [thiaʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [t’ie8]; AY [t’is1]; SY [—]; XS [t’iet8]; QN [—]; ND1 [t’iap8]; ND2 [t’iap8]; ND3 [—]
OPH *t’iap8  CNH *t’iap8

yè 葉  QYS  jiäp  CDC *yap8/EC *yap
BMH [yáp]; MX [iap8]; HL [iap8]; SX [iap8]; LF [iap8]; LZ [iap8]; SHT [iap8]
HY [jiap8]; XY [iap8]; DB [zap8]; YL [ieʔ8]; XC [ieʔ8]
CT [ie6]; WP [iaʔ8]; YD [iaʔ8]; SH [iaʔ8]; LC1 [i5]; LC2 [—]
NK [ia5 ~ ie5]; AY [ji31]; SY [jie5]; XS [iet8]; QN [—]; ND1 [iap8]; ND2 [iap]; ND3 [iap8]
OPH *iap8  CNH *iap8

yè 業  QYS  ngjıp  CDC *ngiap8/EC *ngop
BMH [nyáp]; MX [niap8]; HL [niap8]; SX [niap8]; LF [niap8]; LZ [niap8]; SHT [—]
HY [niap8]; XY [niap8]; DB [niap8]; YL [nieʔ8]; XC [nieʔ7]
CT [ne6]; WP [niaʔ8]; YD [niaʔ8]; SH [niaʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
NK [nie5]; AY [ni31]; SY [nie5]; XS [niet8]; QN [nieʔ7]; ND1 [niapia8]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [niapia8]
OPH *n2iap8  CNH *niap8
†FJFYZ: [nie5].

The following is an example of a postalveolar initial syllable:
zhé 擊  QYS  tsjäp  CDC *ciap/EC *tap
BMH [chap ~ tsap]; MX [—]; HL [tfiap7]; SX [tfiap7]; LF [tfiap7]; LZ [tʃiap7]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tʃeʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [tsaʔ7]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tʃe8]; AY [—]; SY [tʃe5]; XS [tʃet7]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [tʃap7]; ND3 [tʃap7]
OPH *tʃap7  CNH *tʃiap7
The correspondence profile in this set shows that the proto-final patterns with *-iap rather than *-ap, even though we have in the somewhat scant data and no actual form with medial *-i-.

3.2 Neo-Hakka Finals having the Main Vowel *o

3.2.1 CNH *-o

Examples of this final are:

duō 多 QYS tā CDC *to1/EC *tay
BMH [to]; MX [tɔ1]; HL [tɔ1]; SX [tɔ1]; LF [tɔ1]; LZ [tɔ1]; SHT [tɔ1]
HY [tuɔ1]; XY [tɔ1]; DB [tɔ1]; YL [tɔu1]; XC [tɔ1]
CT [tɔ1]; WP [tɔ1]; YD [tou1]; SH [tʊ1]; LC1 [tʊ1]; LC2 [tʊu1]
NK [tɔ1]; AY [tɔ1]; SY [tɔ1]; XS [tɔ1]; QN [tɔ1]; ND1 [tɔ1]; ND2 [tɔ1]; ND3 [tɔ1]
OPH *tɔ1 CNH *tɔ1

pó 婆 QYS buâ- CDC *bo2/EC *bay
BMH [phɔ̌]; MX [p’ɔ2]; HL [p’ɔ2]; SX [p’ɔ2]; LF [p’ɔ2]; LZ [phɔ̌2]; SHT [p’ɔ2]
HY [p’uɔ2]; XY [p’ɔ2]; DB [p’ɔ2]; YL [p’ɔu2]; XC [p’ɔ2]
CT [p’ɔ2]; WP [pho2]; YD [p’ou2]; SH [phu2]; LC1 [p’u2]; LC2 [p’u2]
NK [p’ɔ2]; AY [p’ɔ2]; SY [p’ɔ2]; XS [p’ɔ2]; QN [p’ɔ2]; ND1 [p’ɔ2]; ND2 [p’ɔ2]; ND [p’ɔ2]
OPH *p’ɔ2 CNH *p’ɔ2

hé 河 QYS ɣ̆a CDC *ho2/EC *ˈgay
BMH [hɔ̌]; MX [ho2]; HL [ho2]; SX [ho2]; LF [ho2]; LZ [ho2]; SHT [ho2]
HY [hɔː]; XY [ho2]; DB [ho2]; YL [hɔu2]; XC [ho2]
CT [ho2]; WP [xo2]; YD [hou2]; SH [hu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [hu6]
NK [ho2]; AY [ho2]; SY [ho2]; XS [ho2]; QN [ho2]; ND1 [ho2]; ND2 [ho2]; ND3 [ho2]
OPH *ho2 CNH *ho2
3.2.2 CNH *-io

This final is reconstructed in three cognate sets, as follows:

qié 茄 QYS gia CDC *gio2/EC —
BMH [khiô]; MX [k’io2]; HL [k’io2]; SX [k’io2]; LF [—]; LZ [khiô]; SHT [k’io2]
HY [k’yê2]; XY [k’e2]; DB [k’e2]; YL [te’io2]; XC [te’ie2w ~ te’io2b]
CT [t’iô2]; WP [—]; YD [k’iou2]; SH [tehio2]; LC1 [k’ieu2]; LC2 [k’io2]
NK [te’io2]; AY [te’io2]; SY [te’io2]; XS [te’io2]; QN [te’io2]; ND1 [ts’o2]; ND2 [ts’o2]; ND3 [ts’o2]
OPH *k’io2 CNH *k’io2

qué 瘸 QYS guâ CDC *giuo2/EC *—
BMH [khiô]; MX [—]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [k’io2]; LZ [khiô2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [t’iô2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’io2]; AY [te’io2]; SY [te’io2]; XS [te’io2]; QN [te’io2]; ND1 [ts’o2]; ND2 [ts’o2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *k’io2] CNH *k’io2

xuē 靴 QYS xuâ CDC *xiuo1/EC *—
BMH [hio]; MX [hio1]; HL [hio1]; SX [hio1]; LF [hio1]; LZ [hio1]; SHT [hio1]
HY [hye1]; XY [hœ1]; DB [hio1]; YL [eye1]; XC [—]
CT [t’iô1]; WP [—]; YD [so1]; SH [cio1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [cia7]; AY [cia7]; SY [cio1]; XS [cio1]; QN [cio1]; ND1 [so1]; ND2 [so1]; ND3 [so1]
OPH *hio1 CNH *hio1

3.2.3 CNH *-uo

Velar stop initial occurrences of this final are exemplified in the following:
Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Neo-Hakka

guǒ 果 QYS kuâ: CDC *kuo3/EC *'koyx
BMH [kwó]; MX [ku3]; HL [ko3]; SX [ko3]; LF [ko3]; LZ [ko3]; SHT [ko3]
HY [ku3]; XY [ko3]; DB [ko3]; YL [ku3]; XC [ko3]
CT [ko3]; WP [ko3]; YD [kuo3]; SH [ku3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kuo3]
NK [ko3]; AY [ko3]; SY [ko3]; XS [ka3]; QN [ko3]; ND1 [ko3]; ND2 [ko3]; ND3 [ko3]
OPH *kuo3  CNH *kuo3

guò 過 QYS kuâ- CDC *kuo5/EC *koyh
BMH [kwò]; MX [kuo5]; HL [ko5]; SX [ko5]; LF [ko5]; LZ [ko5]; SHT [ko5]
HY [kuo5]; XY [ko5]; DB [ko5]; YL [kuo5]; XC [ko5]
CT [ko5]; WP [ko5]; YD [kuo3]; SH [ku5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kuo5]
NK [ko5]; AY [ko5]; SY [ko2]; XS [ka5]; QN [ko5]; ND1 [ko5 ∼ ka5]; ND2 [ko5]; ND3 [ko5]
OPH *kuo5  CNH *kuo5

The following are examples of guttural spirant initial forms:

huǒ 火 QYS xuâ: CDC *xuo3/EC *’xoyx
BMH [fō]; MX [fɔ3]; HL [fo3]; SX [fo3]; LF [fo3]; LZ [fo3]; SHT [fo3]
HY [fɔ3]; XY [fo3]; DB [fo3]; YL [fɔu3]; XC [fo3]
CT [fo3]; WP [fo3]; YD [fou3]; SH [fu3]; LC1 [fu3]; LC2 [hɯ3]
NK [ho3]; AY [ho3]; SY [ho3]; XS [fo3]; QN [fo3]; ND1 [fo3]; ND2 [fo3]; ND3 [fo3]
OPH *fo3  CNH *huo3

huò 禍 QYS yuâ: CDC *huo4/EC *’goyx
BMH [ho5]; MX [fɔ5]; HL [fo5]; SX [fo5]; LF [fo5]; LZ [va5]; SHT [—]
HY [fu6]; XY [va2]; DB [vo3]; YL [hau5]; XC [fo5]
CT [fo6]; WP [ho5]; YD [fou5]; SH [fu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ho5]; AY [ho6]; SY [ho5]; XS [fo5]; QN [ho6]; ND1 [fo6]; ND2 [fo6]; ND3 [fo6]
[OPH *fo5]  CNH *huo6/*vo6?
The tone of the second reconstruction is conjectural, since the determinative forms for Tone 6 are missing. Instead, we find such forms only for the first reconstruction.
The full diphthongal form of *-uo is well preserved in Héyuán. In the following set no Héyuán form is available. However, the correspondence profile of the set enables us to restore the final with confidence:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Héyuán</th>
<th>QYS</th>
<th>CDC/EC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hé 和</td>
<td>QYS</td>
<td>CDC *huo2, ho2/EC *’goy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BMH [fɔ ~ vɔ]; MX [fɔ2w ~ vɔ2b]; HL [fɔ2 ~ vɔ2]; SX [fɔ2 ~ vɔ2]; LF [fɔ2 ~ wo2]; LZ [fɔ2]; SHT [vɔ2]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [hau2]; XC [ho2]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT [—]; WP [fɔ2 ~ o2]; YD [fou2 ~ vou2]; SH [hu2 ~ vu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [vuo2]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NK [ho2 ~ vo2]; AY [ho2 ~ vo2]; SY [ho2 ~ vo2]; XS [fɔ2]; QN [fo2]; ND1 [fo2]; ND2 [fo2]; ND3 [—]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[OPH *vɔ2] CNH *vuo2/L *huo2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

†This is the probable identification for the third syllable in this dialect’s colloquial compound kɔŋ1 thɛ 2 o2 (prob. =*kuɔŋ1 t’eu2 vuo2 光頭和), lit. “bald-pate monk”, whence, “baldy, bald fellow”.

In this set, the first reconstruction is supported by forms in initial v-, w-, initial zero, etc., which are ordinarily limited to forms of the word héshàng 和尚 “Buddhist monk” in these dialects.

After dental sibilants we have examples of the following type:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>初</th>
<th>QYS</th>
<th>CDC/EC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chū 鈍</td>
<td>QYS</td>
<td>CDC *chu1/EC *tsha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BMH [tʃu]; MX [ts’1]; HL [ts’u1]; SX [ts’u1]; LF [ts’o1]; LZ [tʃo1]; SHT [ts’o1]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HY [ts’u1]; XY [ts’o1]; DB [ts’o1]; YL [ts’u1]; XC [ts’o1]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT [ts’u1]; WP [tʃh1]; YD [ts’i1]; SH [tʃh1 ~ tʃhu1]; LC1 [ts’i1]; LC2 [—]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NK [ts’u1]; AY [ts’u1]; SY [ts’u1]; XS [ts’1]; QN [ts’u1]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ts’u1]; ND3 [ts’u1]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[OPH *ts’u1] CNH *ts’u01</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>芝</th>
<th>QYS</th>
<th>CDC/EC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chū 鋤</td>
<td>QYS</td>
<td>CDC *je2 (~ *ju2)/EC *dzra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BMH [tʃu]; MX [ts’2]; HL [ts’u6]; SX [ts’u5]; LF [ts’o2]; LZ [tʃo2]; SHT [ts’o2]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HY [ts’u2]; XY [ts’u2]; DB [ts’o2]; YL [ts’u2]; XC [ts’o2]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Neo-Hakka

CT [ts’u2]; WP [tshɿ2]; YD [ts’i2]; SH [tshu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’u2]; AY [ts’u2]; SY [ts’u2]; XS [ts’ɹ2]; QN [ts’u2]; ND1 [ts’u2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ts’u2]

[OPH *ts’u2] CNH *ts’uo2

And in the following example, where again no Héyuán form is available, we still have resort to the correspondence profile established above, which supports reconstruction:

chǔ 楚 QYS tʃhwo: CDC *che3 (~ *chu3)/EC *tʃrax
BMH [tshɿ]; MX [ts’ɹ3]; HL [ts’u3]; SX [ts’ɹ3]; LF [ts’e3]; LZ [tʃhɔ3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts’u3]; XC [tʃ’u3]
CT [ts’u3]; WP [tʃɿ3]; YD [ts’ɹ3]; SH [tʃɿ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’u3]; AY [ts’u3]; SY [ts’u3]; XS [ts’ɹ3]; QN [ts’u3]; ND1 [ts’u3]; ND2 [ts’u3]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ts’u3] CNH *ts’uo3

Finally, we shall posit CNH *muo2 as the proto-form for the Common Neo-Hakka word which serves as the general Hakka verbal negative and as one of the two existential negatives found in the dialect family. For discussion of these words and their reconstructions, see Chapter V, §5.2.77 and §5.2.78.

3.2.4 CNH *-ou

Examples of this final are:

bǎo 寶 QYS pâu: CDC *pou3/EC *’pux
BMH [pâu]; MX [pɒ3]; HL [p̚o3]; SX [p̚o3]; LF [pɔ3]; LZ [pau3]; SHT [—]
HY [pau3]; XY [pɔ3]; DB [pɔ3]; YL [p̚au3]; XC [pau3]
CT [pɔ3]; WP [pɔ3]; YD [pau3]; SH [pɔ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [pɔ3]; AY [pɔ3]; SY [pɔ3]; XS [pau3]; QN [pɔ3]; ND1 [pau3]; ND2 [pau3]; ND3 [pau3]
[OPH *pou3] CNH *pou3

zǎo 早 QYS tsâu: CDC *tsou3/EC *’tsux
BMH [tsâu]; MX [tsau3]; HL [tsɔ3]; SX [tsɔ3]; LF [tsɔ3]; LZ [tʃau3]; SHT [tsau3]
Common Neo-Hakka:  
A Comparative Reconstruction

HY [tsau3]; XY [tsɔ3]; DB [tsɔ3]; YL [tsɔ3]; XC [tsau3]  
CT [tsɔ3]; WP [tsɔ3]; YD [—]; SH [tsu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]  
NK [tsɔ3]; AY [tsɔ3]; SY [tsɔ3]; XS [tsau3]; QN [tsau3]; ND1 [tsau3]; ND2 [tsau3]; ND3 [tsau3]  
OPH *tsou3   CNH *tsou3

lǎo 老    QYS  lǎu:       CDC *ʰlou⁴/EC *'lux  
BMH [lau]; MX [lau3 ~ lau5]; HL [lo3]; SX [la3]; LF [lo3]; LZ [lau3]; SHT [lau3]  
HY [lau3]; XY [lɔ3]; DB [lo3]; YL [lau3]; XC [la3]  
CT [lo3]; WP [lo3]; YD [lou3]; SH [lu3]; LC1 [lo3]; LC2 [lɔ3]  
NK [lo3]; AY [lɔ3]; SY [lo3]; XS [lau3]; QN [lau3]; ND1 [lau3]; ND2 [lau3]; ND3 [lau3]  
OPH *lou3   CNH *lou3

3.2.5 CNH *-oi

Examples for this final are:

bèi 背    QYS  puài-       CDC *puoi⁵/EC *'pikh  
BMH [pɔi]; MX [pɔi5]; HL [pɔi5]; SX [pɔi5]; LF [pɔi5]; LZ [pɔi5]; SHT [pɔi5]  
HY [pui5]; XY [pua5]; DB [pɔi5]; YL [pɔi5]; XC [pɔi5]  
CT [pue5]; WP [pąi5 ~ pue5]; YD [pɔi3 ~ p’oi3]; SH [pąi5 ~ p’ei1 ~ pue5]; LC1 [pui5]; LC2 [pɔi5 ~ p’oi6]  
NK [pε5 ~ p’e5]; AY [pᵊ5 ~ p’ue6]; SY [pɛ2]; XS [pɔi5]; QN [pui5 ~ pəi5]; ND1 [pəei5]; ND2 [p’ɛi6 ~ puei5]; ND3 [pua5]  
OPH *pɔi5   CNH *pɔi5/*pui5/*pəi5/*p’i6/*p’i6  
“Back”/*“to recite”. Three variant forms for the word “back” occur in the data, reflecting three different protoforms. Some points in the set also include a different etymon, meaning “to recite”.

dài 袋    QYS  dɐi-       CDC *doi⁶/EC *’di  
BMH [tʰòi]; MX [t’ɔi5]; HL [t’oi6]; SX [t’oi5]; LF [t’oi6]; LZ [tʰoi5]; SHT [—]

Sets where forms with CNH final *-oi have variant readings in -ai are quite common in the data. The following are examples:

- ãi 碌 QYS งกิ- CDC *ngoi6/EC *'ngih
  BMH [ŋgoi]; MX [ŋoi5]; HL [ŋoi6]; SX [ŋoi5]; LF [ŋoi6]; LZ [ŋoi5]; SHT [—]
  HY [ŋuai6]; XY [ŋuai3]; DB [ŋoi3]; YL [ŋoi6]; XC [ŋai5]
  CT [ŋue6]; WP [ŋue3]; YD [ŋoi5]; SH [ŋue3]; LC1 [ŋoi5]; LC2 [—]
  NK [ŋè5]; AY [ŋue6]; SY [ŋue5]; XS [ŋoi5]; QN [ŋoi6]; ND1 [ŋoe6]; ND2 [ŋuei6]; ND3 [ŋai6]
  OPH *ngoi6   CNH *ŋoi6/*ŋai6

The second reconstructed form is supported by the Xichāng and Ningdū-3 forms.
The Xīchāng form appears to be a direct loan from some form of Mandarin.

Where the sources gloss stylistic register, final *-ai forms are invariably identified as literary. It is therefore clear that doublets of this type reflect layering.

In a second type of doublet, CNH *-oi is paired with *-ui or *-iui. Examples of this type will be dealt with in §3.5.2 and §3.5.3 below.

Finally, we reconstruct *-oi in a single *m- initial syllable, a popular register Hakka word for “mother”. This form, which does not occur in the QYS lexica and for which no generally accepted sinographic representation exists, is found in various kinship terms and compounds in the dialects, as illustrated below:

---

27 Different written forms that are sometimes encountered in the dialectological literature are 娼, 娬, 媬, and 嬼. And other sources simply mark the form as unidentified, representing it as “□”.

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Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Neo-Hakka

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mother (伯母)</th>
<th>Paternal Uncle’s Wife (舅母)</th>
<th>Maternal Uncle’s wife (舅母)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>BMH</strong></td>
<td>mi ~ me/a mi ~ me</td>
<td>pak me</td>
<td>k’iu1 me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>** Méixiàn**</td>
<td>a1 me1</td>
<td>pak1 me1</td>
<td>k’iu1 me1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>** Hǎilù**</td>
<td>a1 me1</td>
<td>pak7 me1</td>
<td>k’iu1 me1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sixiàn</strong></td>
<td>a1 me1</td>
<td>pak7 me1</td>
<td>k’iu1 me1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lǜfēng</strong></td>
<td>a3 me1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lizhīzhuāng</strong></td>
<td>a1 mi1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Song Him Tong</strong></td>
<td>mi1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yīlóng</strong></td>
<td>—</td>
<td>paʔ7 mei5</td>
<td>te’iou5 mei5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Xīchāng</strong></td>
<td>a1 me1</td>
<td>paʔ7 me1</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chángfēng</strong></td>
<td>m̩1 me1</td>
<td>pa2 me1</td>
<td>tʃ’ieu1 me1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wǔpíng</strong></td>
<td>mi1 mi1</td>
<td>paʔ7 mi1</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yǒngdìng</strong></td>
<td>a1 mei1</td>
<td>paʔ7 mei1</td>
<td>k’iu1 mei1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Shàngháng</strong></td>
<td>meiŋ1 mei1</td>
<td>paʔ7 mei1</td>
<td>te’iui1 mei1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Liánchéng-2</strong></td>
<td>moi1</td>
<td>po6 moi1</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cf. also Zào xī:28</strong></td>
<td>pak7 moi1</td>
<td>te’iui1 moi1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Níngdū-3</strong></td>
<td>m̩2 me1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Our hypothesis is that the nasal initial forms above, in [mei], [me1], [mi1] and [moi1], etc., all derive from a CNH *moi1. This etymon is sporadically also found in the Shē dialects,

---

as in Lóngyóu [mɛ1] “mother”, and in Tàiyuán [ai6 mɛ1] “mother”, [t’ai6 mɛ1] “paternal uncle’s wife”. Evidence that it was already current at the Early Southern Highlands Chinese stage will be presented in a future study (Ms. 2). The syllable type contrasts with CNH *muoi, concerning which see §3.2.7 below.

3.2.6 CNH *-ioi

This final is tentatively posited as a variant reading for the following complex set:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ài 艾} & \quad \text{QYS ngài-} \quad \text{CDC *ngoio6/EC *ngath} \\
\text{BMH [ngài]; MX [ŋai5w ~ nɛ5b]; HL [oi5]; SX [oi5]; LF [ne5]; LZ [ŋiɔi5]; SHT [—]} \\
\text{HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ŋai5]; XC [ŋai5]} \\
\text{CT [ŋe5]; WP [ŋe5 ~ nŋi5]; YD [ŋei3]; SH [ŋei5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]} \\
\text{NK [ŋe5]; AY [ŋa5]; SY [ŋæ5]; XS [ŋai5]; QN [ŋai5]; ND1 [ŋai5]; ND2 [ŋai5]; ND3 [—]} \\
\text{[OPH ?] CNH *oi5 ~ *ŋioi5 (?)/L *ŋai5} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The second reconstructed form is conjectural and is based on the Méixiàn, Lìzhīzhāng, and Fūjiàn line forms. Cf. Norman Proto-Mīn *nhiɑi-c “Artemisia” (p.c. and Ms. 2).

Also of related interest here is the following example:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sui 歲} & \quad \text{QYS sjwäi-} \quad \text{CDC *sioi5/EC *soth} \\
\text{BMH [sɔi ~ sùi ~ sè]; MX [si5w ~ sɛ5b]; HL [soi5]; SX [soi5]; LF [sɔi5]; LZ [ʃi5]; SHT [sɔi5]} \\
\text{HY [suai5]; XY [sui5]; DB [lɔi5]; YL [suei5]; XC [sɔi5]} \\
\text{CT [sɛ5]; WP [sɪ5]; YD [sɛi3]; SH [sɛi5]; LC1 [sɪ5]; LC2 [—]} \\
\text{NK [sɛi5]; AY [sue5]; SY [sue2]; XS [sɪ5]; QN [sɔi5]; ND1 [ɛi5]; ND2 [ɛi5]; ND3 [siai5]} \\
\text{[OPH *sɔi5 ?] CNH *sɔi5 ~ *sioi5 (?)/L *sui5} \\
\end{align*}
\]

CNH *sioi5 may be reflected by the Méixiàn bái form and the three Níngdū forms.

Cf. Wēngyuán: [sui5].

This set, like that for ái 艾 above, is fundamentally mixed, as indicated by the competing forms in Basil Mission Hakka.
3.2.7 CNH *-uoi

Many sets reconstructed with this final have variant readings, most frequently in *-ui. The following are examples:

- **huī** 灰 QYS xuāi CDC *xuoi1/EC *'hwi
  BMH [foi]; MX [fɔi1]; HL [fɔi1]; SX [fɔi1]; LF [fɔi1]; LZ [fɔi1]; SHT [fɔi1]
  HY [fuai1 ~ fɔi1]; XY [fuai1]; DB [fɔi1]; YL [fɔi1]; XC [—]
  CT [fuei1]; WP [xuei1]; YD [fɔi1]; SH [huɔi1]; LC1 [fui1]; LC2 [fɔi1 ~ fue1]
  NK [huæ1]; AY [hue1]; SY [hue1]; XS [fɔi1]; QN [fɔi1]; ND1 [fɔi1]; ND2 [fɔei1]; ND3 [fuai1]
  OPH *fui1 CNH *huoi1

  The Liánchéng-1 form probably derives from a fairly late form in *hui1 or *fui1.

- **hui** 會 QYS ɣuâi- CDC *huoi6/EC *'gwath
  BMH [fui ~ fɔi ~ voi]; MX [fi4 ~ voi5]; HL [fui6w ~ voi6b]; SX [fui5w ~ voi5b]; LF [fui6 ~ voi6]; LZ [fui5 ~ fɔi5]; SHT [fui5]
  HY [fuai6 ~ vuai6]; XY [fui3 ~ vuai5]; DB [fei3 ~ voi5]; YL [fei3]; XC [fei5 ~ voi5]
  CT [vue6]; WP [fi3w ~ fe3 ~ ue5]; YD [voi5 ~ fei5]; SH [fei3 ~ vue3b]; LC1 [vui6]; LC2 [fuei6 ~ voi6]
  NK [huæ5 ~ vei5]; AY [hue6 ~ vue6]; SY [hue5 ~ vei5]; XS [voi5 ~ fui5]; QN [fui6]; ND1 [fei6 ~ vei6]; ND2 [fei6 ~ vi6]; ND3 [fei6 ~ vei6]
  [OPH *voi6] CNH *vui6/L *huoi6 ~ *hui6

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

- **zuì** 罪 QYS dzuâi: CDC *dzuoi4/EC *’dzuyx
  BMH [tshùi]; MX [ts’ui5w ~ ts’oi1b]; HL [ts’ui6]; SX [ts’ui5]; LF [ts’ui6]; LZ [tfhuï5]; SHT [—]
  HY [ts’uai6]; XY [ts’ui3]; DB [ts’ei3]; YL [ts’uei3]; XC [ts’uei5]
  CT [ts’ue6]; WP [tshe3]; YD [—]; SH [tshei3]; LC1 [ts’ui6]; LC2 [—]
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NK [ts’e5]; AY [ts’e6]; SY [tsue2]; XS [ts’i5]; QN [ts’ui6]; ND1 [ts’ui6]; ND2 [ts’ui6]; ND3 [ts’ui6]  

OPH *ts’ui6    CNH *ts’ui6/L *ts’ui6  

Cf. Wēngyuán: [ts’ui6].  
The Wēngyuán form is a probable back formation from a borrowed *ts’ui5.

méi 媒 QYS muài CDC *muoi2/EC *’mi  

BMH [môi]; MX [moi2]; HL [moi2]; SX [moi2]; LF [moi2]; LZ [mɔi2]; SHT [—]  
HY [—]; XY [mauai2]; DB [moi2]; YL [moi2]; XC [moi2]  
CT [mue2]; WP [mue2]; YD [mei2]; SH [mœ2]; LC1 [mui2]; LC2 [—]  

NK [me2]; AY [mue2]; SY [me2]; XS [moi2]; QN [mui2]; ND1 [moœ2]; ND2 [mœi2]; ND3  
[muai2]  

[OPH *mui2]    CNH *muoi2/*mui2

méi 媳 QYS muiʔ- CDC *hmuoi6/EC *—  

BMH [mõi]; MX [moi5]; HL [moi5]; SX [moi5]; LF [moi5]; LZ [mõoi5]; SHT [moi5]  
HY [maui6]; XY [mauai5]; DB [moi5]; YL [moi5]; XC [moi5]  
CT [mue5]; WP [mœ3]; YD [moi3]; SH [mœ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [moi5]  

NK [mae5]; AY [mue5]; SY [me2]; XS [moi5]; QN [moi5 ~ mui5]; ND1 [moœ5]; ND2 [mœi5];  
ND3 [mui5]  

OPH *moi5    CNH *muoi5  
The Héyuán tone is etymologically expected but not in agreement with the remaining forms in  
the set.  

In cases of this type, the *-ui forms are frequently identified as of literary register. We  
may therefore conclude that at least two lexical layers are represented in these sets.

3.2.8 CNH *-on  
Examples for this final are:

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ān 安 QYS ʔān CDC *on1/EC *’an
BMH [on]; MX [on1]; HL [on1]; SX [on1]; LF [on1]; LZ [on1]; SHT [on1]
HY [uan1]; XY [uan1]; DB [on1]; YL [on1]; XC [on1]
CT [ʊŋ1]; WP [uəŋ1]; YD [on1]; SH [uə]; LC1 [ुə1]; LC2 [uə1]
NK [ā1]; AY [ō1]; SY [uə1]; XS [ən1]; QN [ən1]; ND1 [ŋən1]; ND2 [uən1]; ND3 [ŋuan1]
OPH *on1 CNH *on1
The Nánkāng form probably reflects an earlier *an1, which cannot be reconstructed comparatively for this set because it is not reflected elsewhere.

bān 搬 QYS ʔuǎn CDC *pon1/EC *’pan
BMH [pan]; MX [pan1]; HL [pan1]; SX [pan1]; LF [pan1]; LZ [pan1]; SHT [—]
HY [puan1]; XY [pan1]; DB [pan1]; YL [pan1]; XC [pan1]
CT [paŋ1]; WP [paŋ1]; YD [—]; SH [pə1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [poẽ1]; AY [pə1]; SY [pɔ1]; XS [pən1]; QN [pan1]; ND1 [ŋən1]; ND2 [pəon1]; ND3 [puan1]
[OPH *pan1] CNH *pon1

ɡān 肝 QYS ʔkan CDC *kon1/EC *’kan
BMH [kon]; MX [kɔn1]; HL [kɔn1]; SX [kɔn1]; LF [kɔn1]; LZ [kɔn1]; SHT [kɔn1]
HY [kuan1]; XY [kuan1]; DB [kɔn1]; YL [kɔn1]; XC [kɔn1]
CT [kuŋ1]; WP [kuŋ1]; YD [kɔn1]; SH [kuə1]; LC1 [kʊə1]; LC2 [—]
NK [koẽ1]; AY [kə1]; SY [kuə1]; XS [kɔn1]; QN [kɔn1]; ND1 [kʊən1]; ND2 [kuon1]; ND3 [kuan1]
OPH *kon1 CNH *kon1

Doublet pairings in final *-an are of the following type:

àn 岸 QYS ʔŋan- CDC *ŋon6/EC *’ŋanh
BMH [ŋan]; MX [ŋan5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [ŋan5]; LZ [ŋan5]; SHT [—]
HY [ŋuan6]; XY [ŋuan3]; DB [ŋən5]; YL [ŋan5]; XC [ŋən5]
CT [—]; WP [ŋəŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ŋə5]
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NK [ŋa5]; AY [ŋa6]; SY [ŋa5]; XS [ŋωn5]; QN [ŋa6]; ND1 [ŋa6]; ND2 [ŋa6]; ND3 [ŋua6] [OPH *ŋa5]   CNH *ŋa6/*ŋua6

fàn 飯 QYS bjw-, bjwɔn:   CDC *van6/EC *bonh
BMH [fãn ~ phãn ~ fɔn]†; MX [fan5]; HL [fan6]; SX [fan5]; LF [fon6]; LZ [fan5]; SHT [fan5] HY [fan6]; XY [fan3]; DB [fan3]; YL [fan3]; XC [fan5] CT [fan6w ~ p’uŋ6b ~ p’uŋ6b]; WP [phuŋ3]; YD [p’ɔn5]; SH [phuɛ3]; LC1 [p’a6]; LC2 [p’a6] NK [fã5]; AY [fã6]; SY [fã5]; XS [fan5]; QN [fan6]; ND1 [fan6]; ND2 [p’an6]; ND3 [p’an6] [OPH *fan6 ?]   CNH *p’on6/L *fan6
The vowel of the Lùfēng form is unexpected and irregular. The Ningdū-2 and 3 forms may reflect an earlier *p’an6 which is not reconstructable comparatively.

wǎn 晚 QYS mjwɔn:   CDC *mvan4/EC *monx
BMH [man ~ van ~ vǎn]; MX [van3w ~ man1b]; HL [van1]; SX [van3]; LF [van1]; LZ [vɔn3]; SHT [—] HY [—]; XY [man3]; DB [man5]; YL [uan3]; XC [vɔn3] CT [van3]; WP [—]; YD [van3]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—] NK [vã3]; AY [vɔ3]; SY [vǎ3]; XS [van3]; QN [van3]; ND1 [van3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—] [OPH *man1 ?]   CNH *man1/*man3/*von3/L *van3

In sets of this type forms in *-an are frequently identified as being of literary register.

3.2.9 CNH *-ion

This final shows various correspondence patterns after different initial types. The following selection of sets exemplifies this:
quàn 勸 QYS kjwɔn- CDC *khion5/khon
BMH [kʰɛn ~ kʰiɛn]; MX [k’iɛn]; HL [k’iɛn]; SX [k’iɛn]; LF [k’iɛn]; LZ [hɛn]; SHT [kʰɛn]
HY [hyɛn5 ~ hian5]; XY [k’iɛn]; DB [k’iɛn]; YL [te’yɛn5]; XC [te’iɛn2]
CT [tʃ’iɛn2]; WP [tʃiɛn2]; YD [tʃiɛn2]; SH [tɬiɛn2]; LC1 [tʃ’uɛn2]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’yɛn2]; NY [te’iɛn2]; SY [te’yɛn2]; XS [te’iɛn2]; QN [te’iuɔn5]; ND1 [ts’æn5]; ND2 [ts’næn5]; ND3 [ts’næn5]
[OPH *k’iɛn] CNH *k’iɛn

quán 全 QYS dzjwân CDC *dzion2/EC *dзон
BMH [tʃiɛn]; MX [ts’iɛn2]; HL [ts’iɛn2]; SX [ts’iɛn2]; LF [ts’iɛn2]; LZ [tʃ’en2]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’yan2]; XY [ts’uæn2]; DB [ts’iɛn2]; YL [te’yɛn2]; XC [te’iɛn2]
CT [ts’iɛn2]; WP [tʃiɛn2]; YD [ts’iɛn2]; SH [tɬiɛn2]; LC1 [ts’e2]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’yɛn2]; NY [te’iɔn2]; SY [te’iɛn2]; XS [ts’iɛn2]; QN [te’iuɔn2]; ND1 [te’iɛn2]; ND2 [te’iɛn2]; ND3 [ts’iæn2]
[OPH *ts’iɛn] CNH *ts’iɛn

ruǎn 軟 QYS ńźjwán: CDC *nhion4/EC *nonx
BMH [ȵion]; MX [ȵiɔn1]; HL [ȵiɔn1]; SX [ȵiɔn1]; LF [ȵiɔn1]; LZ [ŋiɔn1]; SHT [ȵiɔn1]
HY [nyɛn5]; XY [ȵiæn1]; DB [ȵiɔn2]; YL [—]; XC [nyɛn2]
CT [nʃi1]; WP [ȵiɛn1]; YD [ȵiæn1]; SH [ȵiɛn1]; LC1 [ȵue1]; LC2 [ȵue1]
NK [niɛ1]; NY [niɔ̃3]; SY [niɛ1]; XS [niuɔn1]; QN [niuɔn1]; ND1 [nu εn1]; ND2 [nuɔn3]; ND3 [nuan1]
OPH *ȵiɔn1 CNH *ȵiɔn1/*ȵiɔn3/*ȵiɔn2
The Chángtîng form is irregular. The tone of the Héyuán form is not explained by any of the reconstructions.

yuǎn 遠 QYS jwɔn: CDC *yon4/EC *wonx
BMH [yɛn]; MX [iæn3]; HL [ʒæn3]; SX [iæn3]; LF [iæn3]; LZ [ʒɛn3]; SHT [ʃen3]
HY [yan3]; XY [iæn3]; DB [zan3]; YL [yɛn3]; XC [iɛn3]

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CT [viŋ3]; WP [viɛŋ3]; YD [viɛ́n3]; SH [viɛ́n3]; LC1 [ve3]; LC2 [—]
NK [iẽ3]; AY [jiɷ̃3]; SY [jiyɛ̃3]; XS [iɛn3]; QN [iuɔn3]; ND1 [iɛn3]; ND2 [ian3]; ND3 [iɛn3]
OPH *ian3   CNH *vion3

3.2.10 CNH *-uon

The following example illustrates the correspondence pattern for this final after gutturals:

guān 官 QYS kuân   CDC *kuon1/EC *’kwan
BMH [kwon]; MX [kuon1]; HL [kon1]; SX [kon1]; LF [kon1]; LZ [kɔn1]; SHT [kɔn1]
HY [kuon1]; XY [kuon1]; DB [kuon1]; YL [kɔn1]; XC [kuon1]

CT [kuŋ1]; WP [kuɛŋ1]; YD [kuɔn1]; SH [kuã1]; LC1 [kuɔ1]; LC2 [kuɛ1]
NK [koẽ1]; AY [koȱ1]; SY [kuɔ1]; XS [kɔn1]; QN [kɔn1]; ND1 [koɛn1]; ND2 [kuon1]; ND3 [kuon1]
OPH *kuon1   CNH *kuon1

The next example shows the dental sibilant initial pattern:

suān 酸 QYS suân   CDC *son1/EC *’son
BMH [son]; MX [sɔn1]; HL [sɔn1]; SX [sɔn1]; LF [sɔn1]; LZ [ʃɔn1]; SHT [ʃɔn1]
HY [suan1]; XY [suan1]; DB [ʃɔn1]; YL [sɔn1]; XC [suan1]

CT [suŋ1]; WP [suɛŋ1]; YD [sɔn1]; SH [ʃuɔ1]; LC1 [sɔn1]; LC2 [—]
NK [soẽ1]; AY [sō1]; SY [sɔ1]; XS [sɔn1]; QN [sɔn1]; ND1 [sɔn1]; ND2 [sɔn1]; ND3 [suan1]
[OPH *son1]   CNH *suon1

Sets of this type are particularly useful, since they aid us in establishing the difference between CNH *-uon and *-on in this environment. Compare the following:

cān 餐 QYS tshân   CDC *tshan1/EC *’tshan
BMH [tshon]; MX [ts’ɔn1]; HL [ts’ɔn1]; SX [ts’ɔn1]; LF [ts’ɔn1]; LZ [ʃhɔn1]; SHT [ts’ɔn1]
HY [ts’an1]; XY [ts’an1]; DB [ts’an1]; YL [ts’an1]; XC [—]
CT [ts’aŋ1]; WP [tshuɛŋ1]; YD [ts’an1]; SH [tshuɛ̃1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ts’uɑ1]
NK [ts’a1]; AY [ts’a1]; SY [ts’a1]; XS [ts’an1]; QN [ts’an1]; ND1 [ts’an1]; ND2 [ts’an1]; ND3 [ts’an1]

[OPH *ts’on1]  CNH *ts’on1

Once the correspondence profile for *-uon has been identified in this way, it can be extended by analogy to other syllable types where contrasting examples for the two final types are not available. Note that Proto-Hakka does not have final *-uon in sets of this type and therefore differs from Common Neo-Hakka in this respect. 29

We close this section with examples of *-uon in dental and postalveolar initial syllables:

duǎn 短 QYS tuân: CDC *ton3/EC *tonx

BMH [tôn]; MX [tôn3]; HL [tôn3]; SX [tôn3]; LF [tôn3]; LZ [tôn3]; SHT [tôn3]
HY [tuan3]; XY [tuan3]; DB [tôn3]; YL [tôn3]; XC [tuan3]

CT [tuŋ]; WP [tueŋ3]; YD [tôn3]; SH [tuê3]; LC1 [tuɑ3]; LC2 [tuə3]
NK [toẽ3]; AY [tôɔ3]; SY [tuɔ3]; XS [tôn3]; QN [tôn3]; ND1 [toɛn3]; ND2 [tuon3]; ND3 [tuan3]

[OPH *ton3]  CNH *tuon3

zhuān 磚 QYS tśjwän CDC *cion1/EC *ton

BMH [chon]; MX [tson1]; HL [tʃon1]; SX [tʃon1]; LF [tʃon1]; LZ [tʃən1]; SHT [tson1]
HY [tsuan1]; XY [tsuan1]; DB [tson1]; YL [tʃən1]; XC [tʃuan1]

CT [tʃuŋ1]; WP [tseŋ1 ~ tʃeŋ1]; YD [tʃən1]; SH [tʃuə1]; LC1 [kue1]; LC2 [kue1]

NK [tsoẽ1]; AY [tsoõ1]; SY [tʃu31]; XS [tʃən1]; QN [tʃən1]; ND1 [tʃoɛn1]; ND2 [tʃuo1]; ND3 [tʃuan1]

[OPH *tʃon1]  CNH *tʃuon1

29 That is to say, where Common Neo-Hakka has both *-on and *-uon, Proto-Hakka will have only *-on across the board.
3.2.11 CNH *-ŋ

Examples for this final are:

**bāng** 帮 QYS pâng CDC *pong1/EC *’pang
BMH [pong]; MX [pəŋ1]; HL [pəŋ1]; LF [pəŋ1]; LZ [pəŋ1]; SHT [pəŋ1]
HY [pəŋ1]; XY [pəŋ1]; DB [pəŋ1]; YL [pəŋ1]; XC [pəŋ1]
CT [pəŋ1]; WP [pəŋ1]; YD [pəŋ1]; SH [pəŋ1]; LC1 [pəŋ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [pɔŋ1]; AY [pəŋ1]; SY [pɔŋ1]; XS [pəŋ1]; QN [pəŋ1]; ND1 [pəŋ1]; ND2 [pəŋ1]; ND3 [pəŋ1]
[OPH *pong1] CNH *pəŋ1

**fáng** 房 QYS bjwang CDC *vong2/EC *bang
BMH [fông]; MX [fɔŋ2w ~ p’iɔŋ2b]; HL [fɔŋ2]; SX [fɔŋ2]; LF [fɔŋ2]; LZ [fɔŋ2]; SHT [fɔŋ2]
HY [fɔŋ3]; XY [fɔŋ3]; DB [fɔŋ2]; YL [fɔŋ2]; XC [fɔŋ2]
CT [fɔŋ2]; WP [fɔŋ2]; YD [fɔŋ2]; SH [fɔŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [fɔŋ2]; AY [fɔŋ2]; SY [fɔŋ2]; XS [fɔŋ2]; QN [fɔŋ2]; ND1 [fɔŋ2]; ND2 [fɔŋ2]; ND3 [fɔŋ2]
[OPH *fong2] CNH *fɔŋ2

The Méixiàn bái form appears to derive from an earlier *p’iɔŋ2 for which we lack comparative evidence.

**shuāng** 霜 QYS sjang CDC *shong1/EC *srang
BMH [song]; MX [səŋ1]; HL [səŋ1]; SX [səŋ1]; LF [səŋ1]; LZ [səŋ1]; SHT [səŋ1]
HY [səŋ1]; XY [səŋ1]; DB [ləŋ1]; YL [səŋ1]; XC [səŋ1]
CT [səŋ1]; WP [səŋ1]; YD [səŋ1]; SH [səŋ1]; LC1 [səŋ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [sɔŋ1]; AY [səŋ1]; SY [sɔŋ1]; XS [səŋ1]; QN [səŋ1]; ND1 [səŋ1]; ND2 [səŋ1]; ND3 [səŋ1]
[OPH *song1] CNH *səŋ1

**tāng** 湯 QYS thâng CDC *thong/EC *’thang
BMH [thong]; MX [t’əŋ1]; HL [t’əŋ1]; SX [t’əŋ1]; LF [t’əŋ1]; LZ [θəŋ1]; SHT [—]
HY [t’əŋ1]; XY [t’əŋ1]; DB [t’əŋ1]; YL [t’əŋ1]; XC [t’əŋ1]
CT [t’əŋ1]; WP [θəŋ1]; YD [t’əŋ1]; SH [θəŋ1]; LC1 [t’əŋ1]; LC2 [t’əŋ1]
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NK [tˈɔŋ]; AY [tˈɔŋ]; SY [tˈɔŋ]; XS [tˈɔŋ]; QN [tˈɔŋ]; ND1 [tˈɔŋ]; ND2 [tˈɔŋ]; ND3 [tˈɔŋ]

[OPH *tˈɔŋ]  CNH *tˈɔŋ

3.2.12 CNH *-iɔŋ

Examples for this final are:

jiāng 將  QYS  tsjang  CDC *tsiong1/EC *tsang  
BMH [tsiong]; MX [tsion1]; SX [tsion1]; LF [tsion1]; LZ [tsiɔŋ]; SHT [tsiɔŋ]  
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [teiɔŋ]; XC [teiɔŋ]  
CT [—]; WP [tsiɔŋ]; YD [tsiɔŋ]; SH [teiɔŋ]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]  
NK [teiɔŋ]; AY [teiɔŋ]; SY [teiɔŋ]; XS [teiɔŋ]; QN [teiɔŋ]; ND1 [teiɔŋ]; ND2 [teiɔŋ];  
ND3 [—]  
OPH *tsiong  CNH *tsiong

qiáng 強  QYS  gjiang  CDC *giong2/EC *gang  
BMH [khiɔŋ]; MX [kˈiɔŋ2]; HL [kˈiɔŋ2]; SX [kˈiɔŋ2]; LF [kˈiɔŋ2]; LZ [khiɔŋ2]; SHT [kˈiɔŋ2]  
HY [kˈiɔŋ]; XY [kˈiɔŋ2]; DB [kˈiɔŋ2]; YL [teˈiɔŋ2]; XC [teˈiɔŋ2]  
CT [tˈiɔŋ2]; WP [tsiɔŋ2]; YD [kˈiɔŋ2]; SH [teiɔŋ2]; LC1 [kˈiɔŋ2]; LC2 [—]  
NK [teˈiɔŋ2]; AY [teˈiɔŋ2]; SY [teˈiɔŋ2]; XS [teˈiɔŋ2]; QN [teˈiɔŋ2]; ND1 [teˈiɔŋ2]; ND2 [tsˈiɔŋ2];  
ND3 [tsˈiɔŋ2]  
OPH *kˈiɔŋ2  CNH *kˈiɔŋ2

fāng 放  QYS  pjwang-  CDC *fong5/EC *pangh  
BMH [fɔŋ]; MX [fɔŋ5 ~ pion5b]; HL [fɔŋ5 ~ pion5b]; SX [fɔŋ5 ~ pion5b]; LF [fɔŋ5 ~  
pion5]; LZ [fɔŋ5]; SHT [fɔŋ5]  
HY [fɔŋ5]; XY [fɔŋ5]; DB [fɔŋ5]; YL [fɔŋ5]; XC [fɔŋ5]  
CT [fɔŋ5 ~ pion5]; WP [pion5]; YD [pion3 ~ pion3]; SH [pion5]; LC1 [pion5]; LC2 [pion5]  
NK [fɔŋ5]; AY [fɔŋ5 ~ ʰɔŋ5]; SY [fɔŋ5]; XS [fɔŋ5]; QN [fɔŋ5]; ND1 [fɔŋ5]; ND2 [—]; ND3  
[fɔŋ5]
[OPH *piong5]  CNH *pioŋ5/L *foŋ5

The following exemplify postalveolar initial syllables:

cháng  長  QYS  djang  CDC *jiong2/EC *drang
BMH [chhông]; MX [ts’ɔŋ2]; HL [tʃɔŋ2]; SX [tʃɔŋ2]; LF [tʃɔŋ2]; LZ [tʃɔŋ2]; SHT [ts’ɔŋ2]
HY [ts’ɔŋ2]; XY [ts’ɔŋ2]; DB [ts’ɔŋ2]; YL [tʃ’ɔŋ2]; XC [tʃ’ɔŋ2]
CT [tʃ’ɔŋ2]; WP [tʃɔŋ2]; YD [ts’ɔŋ2]; SH [tʃɔŋ2]; LC1 [tʃ’ɔŋ2]; LC2 [—]†
NK [ts’ɔ2]; AY [ts’ɔŋ2]; SY [ts’ɔ2]; XS [tʃ’ɔŋ2]; QN [ts’ɔŋ2]; ND1 [ts’ɔŋ2]; ND2 [ts’ɔŋ2]; ND3 [ts’ɔŋ2]

[OPH *tš’ong2]  CNH *tš’ioŋ2
Cf. Qīngliú: [tʃ’iɔ̃2].
†FJFYZ: tʃ’iɔŋ2.

shāng  商  QYS  şjang  CDC *shiong1/EC *θang
BMH [shong]; MX [sɔŋ1]; HL [ʃoŋ1]; SX [ʃoŋ1]; LF [ʃoŋ1]; LZ [ʃɔŋ1]; SHT [ʃɔŋ1]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ʃɔŋ1]; XC [ʃɔŋ1]
CT [ʃɔŋ1]; WP [sɔŋ1]; YD [sɔŋ1]; SH [sɔŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sɻ1]; AY [sɔŋ1]; SY [ʃɻ1]; XS [ʃɔŋ1]; QN [ʃɔŋ1]; ND1 [ʃɔŋ1]; ND2 [ʃɔŋ1]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *šoŋ1]  CNH *šioŋ1
No Qīngliú form is available for this word. The final of the Song Him Tong form inexplicably retains medial *-i- here.

zhāng  掌  QYS  tśjang:  CDC *ciong3/EC *tangx
BMH [chhông]; MX [tsɔŋ3]; HL [tʃɔŋ3]; SX [tʃɔŋ3]; LF [tʃɔŋ3]; LZ [tʃɔŋ3]; SHT [—]
HY [tsɔŋ3]; XY [tsɔŋ3]; DB [tsɔŋ3]; YL [tʃɔŋ3]; XC [tʃɔŋ3]
CT [tʃɔŋ3]; WP [tsɔŋ3]; YD [tsɔŋ3]; SH [tsɔŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsɔ3]; AY [tsɔŋ3]; SY [tsɔ3]; XS [ʃɔŋ1]; QN [tsɔŋ3]; ND1 [tsɔŋ3]; ND2 [tsɔŋ3]; ND3 [tsɔŋ3]

[OPH *tšong3]  CNH *tšiong3
Cf. Qīngliú: [tʃı̂3].
The presence of medial *-i- in these forms differentiates the Common Neo-Hakka system from that of Proto-Hakka.

3.2.13 CNH *-uoŋ

This final most frequently occurs after gutturals. Examples are:

guāng 光 QYS kuâng CDC *kuong1/EC *’kwang
BMH [kwong]; MX [kuɔŋ1]; HL [kɔŋ1]; SX [kɔŋ1]; LF [kɔŋ1]; LZ [kɔŋ1]; SHT [kɔŋ1]
HY [kɔŋ1]; XY [kɔŋ1]; DB [kɔŋ1]; YL [kɔŋ1]; XC [kɔŋ1]
CT [kɔŋ1]; WP [kɔŋ1]; YD [kɔŋ1]; SH [kɔŋ1]; LC1 [kɔŋ1]; LC2 [kɔŋ1]
NK [kɔŋ1]; AY [kɔŋ1]; SY [kɔŋ1]; XS [kɔŋ1]; QN [kɔŋ1]; ND1 [kɔŋ1]; ND2 [kɔŋ1]; ND3 [kɔŋ1]
OPH *kuong1 CNH *kuoŋ1

huáng 黃 QYS ᵉ wâng CDC *huong2/EC *’gwang
BMH [vông]; MX [vɔŋ2]; HL [vɔŋ2]; SX [vɔŋ2]; LF [vɔŋ2]; LZ [vɔŋ2]; SHT [vɔŋ2]
HY [vɔŋ2]; XY [vɔŋ2]; DB [vɔŋ2]; YL [vɔŋ2]; XC [vɔŋ2]
CT [vɔŋ2]; WP [vɔŋ2]; YD [vɔŋ2]; SH [vɔŋ2]; LC1 [vɔŋ2]; LC2 [vɔŋ2]
NK [vɔŋ2]; AY [vɔŋ2]; SY [vɔŋ2]; XS [vɔŋ2]; QN [vɔŋ2]; ND1 [vɔŋ2]; ND2 [fɔŋ2]; ND3 [fɔŋ2]
OPH *vong2 CNH *vŋ2/*huoŋ2

There are two dental sibilant initial examples in our data:

chuāng 窗 QYS tşång CDC *chong1/EC *tshrong
BMH [tshung]; MX [tsʼuŋ1]; HL [tsʼuŋ1]; SX [tsʼuŋ1]; LF [tsʼuŋ1]; LZ [tʃuŋ1]; SHT [tsʼuŋ1]
HY [tsʼuŋ1 ~ tsʼuŋ1]; XY [tsʼuŋ1]; DB [tsʼuŋ1]; YL [tsʼuŋ1]; XC [tsʼuŋ1]
CT [tsʼuŋ1]; WP [tshuŋ1]; YD [tsʼuŋ1]; SH [tʃuŋ1]; LC1 [tsʼuŋ1]; LC2 [tsʼuŋ1]
NK [tsʼuŋ1]; AY [tsʼuŋ1]; SY [tsʼuŋ1]; XS [tsʼuŋ1]; QN [tsʼuŋ1]; ND1 [tsʼuŋ1]; ND2 [–]; ND3 [tsʼuŋ1 ~ tsʼuŋ1]
[OPH *tsʼung1] CNH *tsʼuŋ1
shuāng 雙 QYS ʂāŋ CDC *shong1/EC *srong
BMH [sʊŋ]; MX [sʊŋ]; HL [sʊŋ]; SX [sʊŋ]; LF [sʊŋ]; LZ [ʃʊŋ]; SHT [sun1]
HY [sʊŋ]; XY [sʊŋ]; DB [lʊŋ]; YL [sʊŋ]; XC [sʊŋ]
CT [sʊŋ]; WP [sʊŋ]; YD [sʊŋ]; SH [sʊŋ]; LC1 [sʊŋ]; LC2 [sʊŋ]
NK [sʊŋ]; AY [sʊŋ]; SY [sʊŋ]; XS [sʊŋ]; QN [sʊŋ]; ND1 [sʊŋ]; ND2 [sʊŋ ~ sʊŋ]; ND3 [sʊŋ ~ sʊŋ]
[OPH *sʊŋ]   CNH *suoŋ1

3.2.14 CNH *-om

Examples for this final are:
àn 闇 QYS ʔàm- CDC *om5/EC *umh
BMH [àm]; MX [am5]; HL [am5]; SX [am5]; LF [am5]; LZ [am5]; SHT [am5]
HY [am5]; XY [am5]; DB [am5]; YL [an]; XC [an]
CT [əŋ5]; WP [əŋ5]; YD [an]; SH [əŋ5]; LC1 [əŋ5]; LC2 [əŋ5]
NK [oŋ5]; AY [əŋ5]; SY [uəŋ2]; XS [an5]; QN [am5]; ND1 [ŋəm5]; ND2 [ŋuom5]; ND3 [ŋuam5]
OPH *am5   CNH *om5/*am5

gǎn 敢 QYS kâm: CDC *kom3/EC *'kamx
BMH [kâm]; MX [kam3]; HL [kam3]; SX [kam3]; LF [kam3]; LZ [kam3]; SHT [—]
HY [kam3]; XY [kam3]; DB [kam3]; YL [kan]; XC [kan]
CT [kəŋ3]; WP [kəŋ3]; YD [kəŋ3]; SH [kəŋ3]; LC1 [kəŋ]; LC2 [—]
NK [koŋ3]; AY [kəŋ3]; SY [kəŋ3 ~ kuŋ3]; XS [kan3]; QN [kan3]; ND1 [koŋ3]; ND2 [kuom3]; ND3 [kuam3]
[OPH *kam3]   CNH *kom3

Traces of final *-om also survive in sets where evidence is too scant to support comparative reconstruction of it, e.g.,
Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Neo-Hakka

kăn 砍 QYS khâm: CDC *kôm3/EC *—
BMH [khâm]; MX [k’am3]; HL [k’am3]; SX [—]; LF [k’am3]; LZ [—]; SHT [k’am3]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [k’an3]; XC [k’an3]
CT [k’an3]; WP [—]; YD [k’an3]; SH [khâ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [k’à3]; AY [k’à3]; SY [k’à3]; XS [k’an3]; QN [k’am3]; ND1 [k’œm3]; ND2 [k’an3]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *k’am3] CNH *k’am3

The Níngdū-1 form must derive from earlier *k’om3, a form that has been replaced by *k’am3 at other points.

The following exemplifies an occurrence after a dental sibilant initial:

zhuăn 赚 QYS ḅâm- CDC *dzan6 ~ *duan6/EC *dremh
BMH [ts’hân]; MX [ts’on5]; HL [ts’on6]; SX [ts’on5]; LF [ts’on6]; LZ [ts’hán5]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’an6]; XY [ts’an3]; DB [ts’an3]; YL [son1]; XC [ts’uan5]
CT [—]; WP [ts’hân3]; YD [ts’an5]; SH [ts’hâ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’a5]; AY [ts’a6]; SY [ts’a5]; XS [ts’an5]; QN [ts’an5]; ND1 [ts’an6]; ND2 [ts’an6]; ND3 [ts’am6]
[OPH *ts’on5] CNH *ts’om6

3.2.15 CNH *-ot

This final contrasts with CNH *-uot (see §3.2.17 below) after guttural initials. An example of it in this position is the following:

gē 割 QYS kât CDC *kot7/EC *kāt
BMH [kot]; MX [kot7]; HL [kot7]; SX [kot7]; LF [kot7]; LZ [kot7]; SHT [kot7]
HY [kuat7]; XY [kuat7]; DB [kot7]; YL [kɔʔ7]; XC [kɔʔ7]
CT [kue2]; WP [kueʔ7]; YD [kot7]; SH [kueʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kue6]
NK [kɔʔ7]; AY [ku1]; SY [kuo5]; XS [kot7]; QN [kɔʔ7]; ND1 [kot7]; ND2 [kuo7]; ND3 [kuat7]
OPH *kot7 CNH *kot7
After coronal initials, it is impossible to determine whether we should reconstruct *-ot or *-uot, since cases showing a possible contrast are not present in the data.\[^{30}\] For this reason, we shall reconstruct the relevant finals as *-(u)ot in this position and leave the matter undecided. Examples are:

**cuō 撮** QYS tshuât CDC *tshot7/EC *tshot
BMH [tshot]; MX [ts’ot7 ~ tsot7]; HL [ts’ot7]; SX [ts’ot7]; LF [ts’ot7]; LZ [—]; SHT [—] HY [ts’uat7]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts’ɔʔ7]; XC [tsoʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [tshueʔ7]; YD [ts’ɔʔ7]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—] NK [tsɔeʔ7]; AY [—]; SY [tsuo1 ~ ts’ɔ5]; XS [tsɔit7]; QN [tsɔiʔ7]; ND1 [ts’oɛt7]; ND2 [tsuot7]; ND3 [—] OPH *ts’ot7 CNH *ts’(u)ot7 ~ *ts(u)ot7

**shuō 說** QYS śjwät CDC *shiot7/EC *θot
BMH [shot]; MX [sɔt7]; HL [ʃot7]; SX [ʃot7]; LF [ʃot7]; LZ [ʃot7]; SHT [sɔt7]
HY [suat7]; XY [suat7]; DB [sɔt7]; YL [—]; XC [—] CT [ʃue2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [sueʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—] NK [soæʔ7]; AY [sɔ3]; SY [suo5]; XS [ʃɔit7]; QN [ʃɔiʔ7]; ND1 [ʃoɛt7]; ND2 [suot7]; ND3 [ʃuat1]
OPH *ʃot7 CNH *ʃ(u)ot7

**tuō 脫** QYS thuât CDC *thot7/EC *’thot
BMH [thot]; MX [t’ɔt7]; HL [t’ɔt7]; SX [t’ɔt7]; LF [t’ɔt7]; LZ [thot7]; SHT [t’ɔt7]
HY [t’uat7]; XY [t’uat7]; DB [t’ɔt7]; YL [t’ɔʔ8 ~ t’ɔt7]; XC [t’oʔ7]
CT [t’ue2]; WP [thueʔ7]; YD [t’ɔʔ7 ~ t’ɔt7]; SH [thueʔ7]; LC1 [t’ue6]; LC2 [—] NK [t’oæʔ7]; AY [t’ɔ3]; SY [t’uɔ1]; XS [t’ɔiʔ7]; QN [t’ɔiʔ7]; ND1 [t’oɛt7]; ND2 [t’uot7]; ND3 [t’uat7]
OPH *t’ot7 CNH *t’(u)ot7

\[^{30}\] It should be recalled that in the case of the parallel nasal-coda finals *-on and *-uon, it is in fact possible to establish such a contrast in post-coronal position. See §3.2.10 above.
Nearly all cases of CNH *-ot after labials have alternate readings in *-at. The following illustrate this:

bō 鉢 QYS puāt CDC *pot7/EC *pot
BMH [pat]; MX [—]; HL [pat7]; SX [pat7]; LF [pat7]; LZ [pat7]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [pəʔ7]; XC [pəʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [paʔ7]; YD [pat7]; SH [paʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [pa6]
NK [pəɛ1 ~ po8]; AY [pə6]; SY [pə5]; XS [pait7]; QN [—]; ND1 [poet7]; ND2 [puot7]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *pat7] CNH *pot7/*pat7

fā 發 QYS pjwɒt CDC *fat7/EC *pot
BMH [fat ~ pot]; MX [fat7w ~ pot7b]; HL [pot7 ~ fat7]; SX [pot7 ~ fat7]; LF [pot7 ~ fat7]; LZ [pot7b ~ fat7w]; SHT [fat7]
HY [fat7 ~ p’at7]; XY [fat7]; DB [fat7]; YL [fat7]; XC [faʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [pueʔ7 ~ faʔ7]; YD [pəʔ7 ~ faʔ7]; SH [pueʔ7 ~ faʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [fa6 ~ poi6]
NK [fa7]; AY [fə3]; SY [fa5]; XS [faɪʔ7]; QN [fəʔ7]; ND1 [faɪʔ7]; ND2 [fat7]; ND3 [fat7]
OPH *pot7 CNH *pot7/L *fat7

3.2.16 CNH *-iot

This final is the checked coda analogue of CNH *-ion. The following are examples of it after various initial types:

jué 絕 QYS dzjwät CDC *dziot8/EC *dzot
BMH [tʃiɛt]; MX [ts’iɛt8]; HL [ts’iɛt8]; SX [ts’iɛt8]; LF [ts’iat8]; LZ [tfhɛt8]; SHT [ts’ɛt8]
HY [ts’yat8]; XY [ts’iat8]; DB [ts’iɛt8]; YL [teyeʔ7]; XC [teiɛʔ8]
CT [ts’e8]; WP [tʃieʔ8]; YD [ts’ieʔ8]; SH [tʃieʔ8]; LC1 [ts’i5]; LC2 [ts’io6]
NK [te’iæ5]; AY [ts’iɛ1]; SY [te’iɛ5]; XS [ts’iɛt8]; QN [te’iut8]; ND1 [te’iɛt7]; ND2 [te’iat7]; ND3 [ts’iɛt8]
[OPH *ts’iat8 ?] CNH *ts’iot8
O’Connor reconstructs PH *-yat rather than *-iat in certain cases for syllables of the type cited here, based on his data from the Huáyáng 华陽 dialect of Sichuān. However he expresses doubt regarding this reconstruction and suggests that the relevant Huáyáng forms may reflect Mandarinization of some sort. Where his reconstructions are not available we have written PH *-iat plus a question mark as a default representation in the Proto-Hakka reconstructions given for such sets here.
3.2.17 CNH *-uot

The following are examples of this final after gutturals:

guā 刮 QYS kwat CDC *kuat7/EC *krot
BMH [kwat]; MX [kuat7]; HL [kuat7]; SX [kuat7]; LF [kuat7]; LZ [kat7]; SHT [—]
HY [kat7]; XY [kat7]; DB [kuat7]; YL [kuat7]; XC [kuat7]
CT [kue2]; WP [kuat7]; YD [kuat7]; SH [kuat7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kuat6]
NK [kuat7]; AY [kuat3]; SY [kua1]; XS [kuait7]; QN [kæʔ7]; ND1 [kæʔ7]; ND2 [kuot7]; ND3 [kuat7]
OPH *kuat7 CNH *kuot7

huó 活 QYS yuat CDC *huot8/EC *’hwet
BMH [fät]; MX [fat8]; HL [fat8]; SX [fat8]; LF [fat8]; LZ [fat8]; SHT [fat8]
HY [vat8]; XY [vat8]; DB [vat3]; YL [hæʔ8]; XC [hoʔ8]
CT [hue2]; WP [faʔ8]; YD [fat8]; SH [faʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [huæ5]; AY [hus2]; SY [huo5]; XS [voʔ8]; QN [faʔ8]; ND1 [foʔ8]; ND2 [fuot8]; ND3 [fuat8 ~ vat8]
[OPH *fat8] CNH *vot8/*huot8

It is impossible to determine whether or not CNH *-ot and *-uot were distinguished after coronals. Relevant forms are reconstructed as *-(u)ot in the present work. For examples and discussion, see §3.2.15 above.

3.2.18 CNH *-uiot

This final is reconstructed for a single etymon:

xuě 血 QYS xiwet CDC *xiot7/EC *’hwet
BMH [hiet]; MX [hiat7]; HL [hiet7]; SX [hiet7]; LF [hiat7]; LZ [het7]; SHT [het7]
HY [hyat7]; XY [sat7]; DB [hiet7]; YL [eieʔ7]; XC [eieʔ7]
CT [fe2]; WP [fieʔ7]; YD [fieʔ7]; SH [fieʔ7]; LC1 [fi6]; LC2 [—]
NK [eieʔ7]; AY [eis3]; SY [eys5]; XS [eiet7]; QN [eieʔ7]; ND1 [fiet7]; ND2 [fiat7]; ND3 [fiat7]
OPH *hiat7 CNH *huoit7
In this example, initial f- at various points implies an origin in CNH *hu-. The Héyuán, Nánkāng, and Shàngyǒu forms are consistent with the correspondence profile for CNH *-iot (see §3.2.16 above). We would expect Quánnán rounded final -iuʔ to occur as reflex in such a case. However, compare the nearby and closely related dialect, Lǒngnán 隴南, for which BJYJ gives competing variants, [ɕiɛʔ] and [ɕiuiʔʔ]. We suppose that the latter best reflects the Common Neo-Hakka form. Quánnán perhaps originally also had such a rounded final reading, which it has replaced with a loan from some other Hakka variety where rounding has been lost.

### 3.2.19 CNH *-ok

The following are examples for this final:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>QYS</th>
<th>CDC/EC</th>
<th>BMH</th>
<th>MX</th>
<th>HL</th>
<th>SX</th>
<th>LF</th>
<th>LZ</th>
<th>SHT</th>
<th>HY</th>
<th>XY</th>
<th>DB</th>
<th>YL</th>
<th>XC</th>
<th>CT</th>
<th>WP</th>
<th>YD</th>
<th>SH</th>
<th>LC</th>
<th>NK</th>
<th>AY</th>
<th>SY</th>
<th>XS</th>
<th>QN</th>
<th>ND</th>
<th>OPN</th>
<th>CNH</th>
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<td>*bak</td>
<td>phók</td>
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<td>*gawk</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Neo-Hakka

HY [hoot8]; XY [hoot8]; YL [hoot8]; XC [hoot8]
CT [ho6]; WP [xoot8]; YD [hoot8]; SH [hoot8]; LC1 [hu5]; LC2 [hu5]
NK [ho1]; AY [ho6]; SY [ho5]; XS [hoot8]; QN [hoot8 ~ iuoi8]; ND1 [hoot8]; ND2 [hoot8]; ND3 [hoot8]

The second Quánnán form appears to reflect a variant in *hiok8 which is not reconstructable comparatively.

3.2.20 CNH *-iok

Examples for this final are:

jiǎo 脚  QYS kjak  CDC *kiok7/EC *kak
BMH [kiok]; MX [kiok7]; HL [kiok7]; SX [kiok7]; LF [kiok7]; LZ [kiok7]; SHT [kiok7]
HY [kyo07]; XY [kiok7]; DB [kiok7]; YL [teio7]; XC [teio7]
CT [fio2]; WP [tsio7]; YD [kiok7]; SH [teio7]; LC1 [kieu6]; LC2 [kiu63]
NK [teio8]; AY [teio6]; SY [teio5]; XS [teio7]; QN [teio7]; ND1 [tsok7]; ND2 [tsok7]; ND3 [tsok7]

OPH *kiok7  CNH *kiok7
†Also transcribed [tsok7] in the source.

ruò 弱  QYS nįžjak  CDC *nhiok8/EC *
BMH [nyok]; MX [niok8]; HL [niok8]; SX [niok8]; LF [niok8]; LZ [niok8]; SHT [niok8]
HY [nyɔk8]; XY [niɔk8]; YD [niɔʔ8]; SH [niɔʔ8]; XC [niοʔ8]
CT [nio6]; WP [niοʔ8]; YL [niοʔ8]; LC1 [niεu5]; LC2 [—]
NK [nio1]; AY [nio6]; SY [nio5]; XS [niɔk8]; QN [nioʔ8]; ND1 [nok8]; ND2 [nɔk8]; ND3 [nɔk8]

[OPH *n,iok8] CNH *niok8

yào 藥 QYS jiak CDC *yok8/EC *yawk
BMH [yök]; MX [iɔk8]; HL [iɔk8]; SX [iɔk8]; LF [jɔk8]; LZ [iɔk8]; SHT [jɔk8]
HY [—]; XY [iɔk8]; DB [iok8]; YL [iɔʔ8]; XC [iοʔ8]

3.2.21 CNH *-uok

This rare final is tentatively posited for a single set:
kuò 廓 QYS khwâk CDC *kuok5/EC *’khwak
BMH [khwok]; MX [kʊok7]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [kɔʔ7]

CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [khoʔ7w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

3.2.22 CNH *-op

This final occurs exclusively after gutturals. Examples:
gē 鴿 QYS kâp CDC *kop7/EC *’kup
BMH [kap]; MX [kap7]; HL [kap7]; SX [kap7]; LF [kap7]; LZ [kap7]; SHT [kap7]
Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Neo-Hakka

HY [kap7]; XY [kap7]; DB [kap7]; YL [koʔ7]; XC [koʔ7]
CT [ko2]; WP [kaʔ7]; YD [kaʔ7]; SH [kaʔ7]; LC1 [ku6]; LC2 [—]
NK [kœʔ7]; AY [kṣ3]; SY [kuo5]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [kœp7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [kuap7]

[OPH *kap7]   CNH *kop7

 hé 盒 QYS ɣậ CDC *hop8/EC *—
BMH [háp]; MX [hap8]; HL [hap8]; SX [hap8]; LF [hap8]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [hoʔ8]; XC [hoʔ8]
CT [ho6]; WP [—]; YD [haʔ8]; SH [haʔ8]; LC1 [hu5]; LC2 [—]
NK [hoæ5]; AY [hṣ1]; SY [huo5]; XS [hait8]; QN [—]; ND1 [hoep8]; ND2 [huop8]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *hap8]   CNH *hop8

3.3 Neo-Hakka Finals having the Main Vowel *u

3.3.1 CNH *-u

The general correspondence patterns for this final after various initial types are illustrated in the following sets:

bù 步 QYS buo- CDC *bu6/EC *'bakh
BMH [phù]; MX [p’u5]; HL [p’u6]; SX [p’u5]; LF [p’u5]; LZ [phu5]; SHT [—]
HY [pu6]; XY [p’u3]; DB [p’u3]; YL [p’u3]; XC [p’u5]
CT [p’u6]; WP [p’u3]; YD [p’i5]; SH [phu3]; LC1 [p’iue6]; LC2 [p’ye5]
NK [p’u5]; AY [p’u6]; SY [p’u5]; XS [pu5]; QN [p’u6]; ND1 [p’u6]; ND2 [p’u6]; ND3 [p’u6]
[OPH *p’u5]   CNH *p’u6

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

OPH *fu2   CNH *fu2/*vu2

dǔ 肚 QYS tuo:    CDC *tu4/EC *’tax
BMH [tú]; MX [tu3]; HL [tu3]; SX [tu3]; LF [tu3]; LZ [tu3]; SHT [tu3]
HY [tu3]; XY [tu3]; DB [tu3]; YL [tu3]; XC [tu3]
CT [tu3]; WP [tu3]; YD [ti3]; SH [tu3]; LC1 [tie3]; LC2 [—]
NK [tu3]; AY [tu3]; SY [tu3]; XS [tu3]; QN [tu3]; ND1 [tu3]; ND2 [tu3]; ND3 [tu3]
[OPH *tu3]   CNH *tu3

gū 姑 QYS kuo    CDC *ku/EC *’ka
BMH [ku]; MX [ku1]; HL [ku1]; SX [ku1]; LF [ku1]; LZ [ku1]; SHT [ku1]
HY [ku1]; XY [ku1]; DB [ku1]; YL [ku1]; XC [ku1]
CT [ku1]; WP [ku1]; YD [ki1]; SH [ku1]; LC1 [kiu1]; LC2 [ky1]
NK [ku1]; AY [ku1]; SY [ku1]; XS [ku1]; QN [ku1]; ND1 [ku1]; ND2 [ku1]; ND3 [ku1]
[OPH *ku1]   CNH *ku1

The pattern after dental sibilant initials is somewhat different:
cū 粗 QYS tshuo;    CDC *tshu1/EC *’sha
BMH [tshʊ ~ tsho]; MX [ts’1]; HL [ts’u1]; SX [ts’u1]; LF [ts’e1]; LZ [tʃhʊ1]; SHT [ts’u1]
HY [ts’u1]; XY [ts’u1]; DB [ts’u1]; YL [ts’u1]; XC [ts’u1]
CT [ts’u1]; WP [tʃh1]; YD [ts’i1]; SH [tʃh1b ~ tʃh1w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’u1]; AY [ts’u1]; SY [ts’u1]; XS [ts’1]; QN [ts’u1]; ND1 [ts’u1]; ND2 [ts’u1]; ND3 [ts’u1]
[OPH *ts’u1]   CNH *ts’u1

zū 祖 QYS tsuo    CDC *tsu1/EC *’sa
BMH [tsʊ]; MX [ts1]; HL [tsu1]; SX [tsu1]; LF [ts’e1]; LZ [tʃu1]; SHT [tsu1]
HY [tsu1]; XY [tsu1]; DB [tsu1]; YL [tsu1]; XC [tsu1]
CT [tsu1]; WP [—]; YD [tsi1]; SH [tsɨ1]; LC1 [tsɨ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsu1]; AY [tsu1]; SY [tsu1]; XS [tsu1]; QN [tsu1]; ND1 [tsu1]; ND2 [tsu1]; ND3 [tsu1]
[OPH *tsu1]   CNH *tsu1

3.3.2 CNH *-iu

This final develops in various ways after different initial types. We begin with syllables having CNH zero and *l-:

yǔ 雨 QYS ju:    CDC *yu4/EC *wax
BMH [yi]; MX [i3]; HL [ʒi3]; SX [i3]; LF [ji3]; LZ [ʒi3]; SHT [ji3]
HY [yy5]; XY [y3]; DB [zi3]; YL [yu3]; XC [—]
CT [i3]; WP [i3]; YD [zi3 ~ vi3]; SH [i3]; LC1 [iu3]; LC2 [ye3]
NK [iu3]; AY [ji3]; SY [ji3]; XS [vi3]; QN [i3]; ND1 [iu3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [yu3 ~ iu3]
[OPH *i3]   CNH *iu3

lǚ 呂 QYS ljwo:    CDC *lie4 (~ *liu4)/EC *lax
BMH [li]; MX [li1]; HL [li1]; SX [li1]; LF [li1]; LZ [li1]; SHT [—]
HY [ly5]; XY [ly1]; DB [li1]; YL [ly3]; XC [li2 ~ luei2]
CT [li3]; WP [li1]; YD [li1]; SH [li1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [li3]; AY [li3]; SY [li1]; XS [li3]; QN [li1]; ND1 [liu3]; ND2 [liəu1]; ND3 [liu3]
[OPH *li1]   CNH *iu3

In these environments the full form of original *-iu is best preserved in Níngdū. In zero initial words it sometimes also survives in Nánkāng, and in somewhat modified form in Héyuán and Liánchéng. At some points it yields modern [y], while in most cases it is reduced to [i]. In Xiūshuǐ, in zero initial words, it undergoes metathesis to *ui, whereupon initial *u is fricated to modern [v].

After velars *-iu undergoes changes of a sort illustrated in the following examples:
Common Neo-Hakka:
A Comparative Reconstruction

jù 具 QYS gju- CDC *giu6/EC *goh
BMH [khi]; MX [k’i5]; HL [k’i1]; SX [—]; LF [ki5]; LZ [khi5]; SHT [—]
HY [k’y6]; XY [k’y3]; DB [k’i3]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [tʃ’i6]; WP [tshi3]; YD [k’i5]; SH [tehi3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’y5]; AY [te’i5]; SY [te’y3]; XS [k’ui5]; QN [te’i6]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ts’u6]; ND3 [ts’u6]
[OPH k’i5 ?] CNH *k’iu6
The tone of the Basil Mission form is irregular.

jù 句 QYS kju- CDC *kiu5/EC *koh
BMH [ki]; MX [ki5]; HL [ki5]; SX [ki5]; LF [ki5]; LZ [ki5]; SHT [—]
HY [ky5]; XY [ky5]; DB [ki5]; YL [tey5]; XC [tei5]
CT [tʃi5]; WP [tsi5]; YD [ki3]; SH [tei5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kvi5]
NK [tey5]; AY [tei5]; SY [tey2]; XS [kui5]; QN [tei5]; ND1 [tsu5]; ND2 [tsu5]; ND3 [tsu5]
[OPH *ki5] CNH *kiu5

Note that in cases of this type the full methathesized form -ui is preserved in Xiūshuǐ. The
following are examples after CNH *h-:

xū 虚 QYS xjwo CDC *xie1 (~ *xiu1)/EC *ha
BMH [hi]; MX [hi1]; HL [hi1]; SX [hi1]; LF [hi1]; LZ [hi1]; SHT [—]
HY [hy1]; XY [hy1]; DB [hi1]; YL [ey1]; XC [ei1]
CT [ʃi1]; WP [si1]; YD [si1]; SH [ei1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [hoi1†]
NK [ey1]; AY [ei1]; SY [ey1]; XS [ei1]; QN [ei1]; ND1 [su1]; ND2 [su1]; ND3 [su1]
[OPH *hi1] CNH *hiu1
†FJFYZ: [ʃye1].

xū 許 QYS xjwo: CDC *xie3 (~ *xiu3)/EC *hax
BMH [hi]; MX [hi3]; HL [hi3]; SX [hi3]; LF [hi3]; LZ [hi3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [hy3]; DB [hi3]; YL [ey3]; XC [ei2]
CT [ʃi3]; WP [si3w ~ tshi3b]; YD [—]; SH [ei3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
NK [ey3]; AY [ei3]; SY [ey3]; XS [—]; QN [ei3]; ND1 [su3]; ND2 [su3]; ND3 [su3]
Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Neo-Hakka

[OPH * hi3]   CNH *hiu3
†Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [ʃye3].

After postalveolars a different pattern obtains:

chú 厨 QYS djwu:   CDC *jiu2/EC *dro
BMH [chhû]; MX [ts’u2]; HL [tʃ’u2]; SX [tʃ’u2]; LF [tʃ’u2]; LZ [tʃhu2]; SHT [ts’u2]
HY [ts’y2]; XY [ts’y2]; DB [ts’i2]; YL [tʂ’u2]; XC [tʂ’u2]
CT [tʃ’u2]; WP [thu2]; YD [ts’i2]; SH [tʃhu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tʃ’ue2]
NK [ts’u2]; AY [ts’ɔ]; SY [ts’y2]; XS [tʂ’u2]; QN [ts’u2]; ND1 [ts’u2]; ND2 [ts’u2]; ND3 [ts’u2]
[OPH *ts’u2]   CNH *tš’iəu2

shù 樹 QYS ʒju: “tree”   CDC *zhiu6/EC *doh
BMH [shù]; MX [su5]; HL [ʃu6]; SX [ʃu6]; LF [ʃu6]; LZ [ʃu5]; SHT [su5]
HY [ʃy6]; XY [ʃy3]; DB [si3]; YL [ʂu3]; XC [ʂu5]
CT [ʃu6]; WP [ʃu5]; YD [si5]; SH [ʂu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ʃye6]†
NK [su5 ~ ts’iəy5]; AY [ʃʃ]; SY [ʃʃy4]; XS [ʂu5]; QN [ʂu6]; ND1 [ʂu6]; ND2 [ʂu6]; ND3 [ʂu6]
[OPH *ʃu6]   CNH *šiu6/*tš’iəu6
† Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [ʃye5 ~ ʃye5].

zhù 柱 QYS djwu:   CDC *jiu4/EC *drox
BMH [chhu]; MX [ts’u1]; HL [ʃʃ’u1]; SX [ʃʃ’u1]; LF [ʃʃ’u1]; LZ [ʃʃhu1]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’y5]; XY [ts’y1]; DB [ts’i1]; YL [tʃ’u3]; XC [tʃ’u2]
CT [tʃ’u6]; WP [thu1]; YD [ts’i1]; SH [tʃhu1w ~ ts’i1]; LC1 [ʃʃ’iue1]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’u1]; AY [ts’ɔ]; SY [ts’y5]; XS [tʂ’u1]; QN [ts’u1]; ND1 [ts’u1]; ND2 [ts’u1]; ND3 [ts’u1]
[OPH *ts’u1]   CNH *tš’iəu1/*tš’iəu6

And for the nasal member of this initial series we have:
Common Neo-Hakka:
A Comparative Reconstruction

yǔ 語 QYS ngjwo: CDC *gie4 (~ *ngiu4)/EC *ngax
BMH [nyi]; MX [ni1]; HL [ni1]; SX [ni1]; LF [ni1]; LZ [ŋi1]; SHT [ji1]
HY [ny3]; XY [ny3]; DB [ni3]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [ni3]; WP [—]; YD [ŋi1 ~ ŋi3w ~ ŋ3b]; SH [i3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
NK [ni3]; AY [ni3]; SY [ni3]; XS [ni3]; QN [ni3]; ND1 [nu1]; ND2 [nu1]; ND3 [nu3]
OPH *n4i1 CNH *ňiu1/*ňiu3/iu3
†Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [nye3].
Yǒngdìng shows three different forms here. One must derive from an unreconstructable *ŋ3,
which is purely colloquial. The reflex of CNH *ňiu3 is clearly designated as literary in register.
Intermediate between these is the Tone 1 form *ňiu1, which is not literary in this dialect but is
probably older than the literary form.

yù 遇 QYS ngju- CD *ngiu6/EC *ngoh
BMH [nyi]; MX [ni5]; HL [ni6]; SX [ni5]; LF [ni6]; LZ [ŋi5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [i5]
CT [i6]; WP [—]; YD [ŋi5b ~ ŋi5w]; SH [i3w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ni5]; AY [ni6]; SY [ni5]; XS [ni5]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ni6i6] CNH *ňiu6/*iu6
Yǒngdìng has a bái form apparently derived from earlier *ŋ6, while the first reconstruction
above is a wén form there. The second reconstruction is identified in Shàngháng as a wén form
and is clearly of external and probably late northern origin.

A number of CNH * -iu sets have doublet readings in final * -ie. The following are
examples:

jù 鋸 QYS kjwo- CD *kie5 (~ *kiu5)/EC *kah
BMH [ki]; MX [ki5]; HL [ki5]; SX [ki5]; LF [ki5]; LZ [ki5]; SHT [—]
HY [ky5]; XY [ky5]; DB [ki5]; YL [tey5]; XC [tei5]
CT [ti5]; WP [tsi5]; YD [ki3]; SH [tei3]; LC1 [kui5]; LC2 [koi5]
NK [ke5]; AY [tei5w ~ ke5]; SY [tey2]; XS [ke5]; QN [tei5]; ND1 [kie5]; ND2 [kie5]; ND3
[kie5 ~ kei5]
[OPH *ki5] CNH *kiu5/*kie5
Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Neo-Hakka

 nuis QYS njwo: CDC *nie4 (~ *niu3)/EC *nra

BMH [ŋ ~ nyi]; MX [ŋ3]; HL [ŋ3]; SX [ŋ3]; LF [ŋ3]; LZ [ŋ3b ~ ŋi3w]; SHT [ŋ3 ~ n̩3]

HY [ŋy3 ~ ny3]; XY [ŋy3]; DB [ni3]; YL [ŋy3]; XC [ni3w ~ n̩3b]

CT [ni3]; WP [ŋ3]; YD [ŋ̩3b ~ ŋi3w ~ zì2]; SH [ŋ3 ~ m2]; LC1 [ŋ̩iue3]; LC2 [i3]†

NK [ni3 ~ nie3]; AY [ni3 ~ nie3]; SY [ni3 ~ nie3]; XS [ŋ̩3 ~ ni3]; QN [ni3]; ND1 [nie3]; ND2 [nu3w ~ nie3b]; ND3 [nu3 ~ nie3]

[OPH *ŋ̩3] CNH *ŋ̩3/*nie3/L *niu3

The second reconstructed form is Gàn-like in appearance and has perhaps been borrowed from that family. The Liánchéng-2 and third Yǒngding forms, which do not agree with each other in tone, appear to reflect a zero initial reading, which is of obscure origin.

†Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [nye3].

zhù QYS djwo: CDC *jie4 (~ *jiu4)/EC *drax

BMH [chhu ~ chhu]; MX [—]; HL [tʃ’u1]; SX [tʃ’u1]; LF [—]; LZ [tʃhu1]; SHT [—]

HY [tʃy1]; XY [tʃ’y1]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tʃ’u2]

CT [tʃ’u1]; WP [thu1]; YD [—]; SH [tʃu1w ~ tʃh1]; LC1 [tʃ’iue1]; LC2 [tʃ’yel]

NK [tʃ’u1 ~ tʃ’e1]; AY [tʃ’e3 ~ tʃ’e1]; SY [tʃ’e1]; XS [tʃ’u1]; QN [tʃ’u1]; ND1 [tʃ’e1]; ND2 [tʃ’e1]; ND3 [tʃ’e1]

[OPH *tʃ’u1] CNH *tʃ’iu1/*tʃ’ie1

The Héyuán form irregularly lacks aspiration. This is perhaps a typographical error in the source.

From these examples several points are immediately apparent, i.e., (1) all sets of this type belong to QYS final -jwo, though not all -jwo final sets have such variants, (2) the forms reflecting reconstructed *-ie occur in the Fújiàn line (fewer cases) and Jiāngxī line (more numerous cases) dialects, but from set to set such dialects may or may not have a *-ie form for a particular etymon, and (3) in many instances the final *-ie forms occur as doublet readings in competition with final *-iu forms in individual dialects. These observations taken together strongly suggest that we are dealing here with layering, due to some external influence which has primarily affected the Jiāngxī Hakka dialects, and to a lesser extent the Fújiàn ones contiguous to Jiāngxī. The Mainstream dialects and their congeners, which are located farthest
from Jiāngxī, have not been affected. We shall deal with this matter in greater detail in §3.4.2 below.

Finally, we should note that O’Connor does not reconstruct final *-iu here for Proto-Hakka, because the Mainstream dialects do not preserve it as a discrete final. Instead, where they show modern final -i or -u, the relevant etyma are assigned directly to his PH *-i and *-u respectively. This is an important difference between Proto-Hakka and Common Neo-Hakka.31

### 3.3.3 CNH *-un

Examples for this final after various initial types are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial Type</th>
<th>Yiyi (QYS)</th>
<th>CDC</th>
<th>EC</th>
<th>OPH</th>
<th>CNH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cūn 村</td>
<td>tshuān</td>
<td>*tshun1</td>
<td>*tshun</td>
<td>*ts’un1</td>
<td>CNH *ts’un1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fèn 粪</td>
<td>pjun-</td>
<td>*pun5</td>
<td>*punh</td>
<td>*pun5</td>
<td>CNH *pun5/L *fun5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The vowel of the Yilong form is anomalous.

31 Note that O’Connor’s Proto-Hakka does contain a final *-iu, which corresponds to our CNH *-ieu. See §3.4.5 below.
3.3.4 CNH *-iun

The following are examples of this final in syllables having guttural, sibilant, and dentilabial (i.e., *v-) initials:

jun 君 QYS kjuən CDC *kiun1/EC *kun
BMH [kiun]; MX [kiun1]; HL [kiun1]; SX [kiun1]; LF [kiun1]; LZ [kiun1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕyn1]; XC [tɕin1]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [kun1]; SH [tɕiŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕyn1]; AY [tɕiŋ1]; SY [tɕyn1]; XS [tɕin1]; QN [tɕiun1]; ND1 [tsən1]; ND2 [tsən1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *kiun1] CNH *kiun1

qun 裙 QYS gjuən CDC *giun2/EC *gun
BMH [khiun]; MX [k’iun2]; HL [k’iun2]; SX [k’iun2]; LF [k’iun2]; LZ [khiun2]; SHT [k’iun2]
HY [k’un2]; XY [k’un2]; DB [k’un2]; YL [tɕyn2]; XC [tɕin2]
CT [tʃeŋ2]; WP [tʃiŋ2]; YD [k’un2]; SH [tɕiŋ2]; LC1 [k’uŋ2]; LC2 [—]
NK [tʃiŋ2]; AY [tʃiəŋ2]; SY [tʃiŋ2]; XS [tʃiŋ2]; QN [tʃiun2]; ND1 [ts’ən2]; ND2 [ts’ən2];
ND3 [ts’ən2]
OPH *k’iun2 CNH *k’iun2
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>QYS</th>
<th>CDC</th>
<th>OPH</th>
<th>CNH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xūn 熏</td>
<td>QYS</td>
<td>xjuan</td>
<td>CDC *xiun1/EC *hun</td>
<td>OPH *hiun1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xún 旬</td>
<td>QYS</td>
<td>zjuen</td>
<td>CDC *ziun2/EC *zun</td>
<td>OPH *sun2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yún 雲</td>
<td>QYS</td>
<td>juan</td>
<td>CDC *yun2/EC *wun</td>
<td>OPH *iun2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The tone of the Shàngyóu form is irregular.
In addition to examples of this sort, which are fairly straightforward, there is another type which is more complex. The following exemplify this type:

\[
\text{jin 近} \quad \text{QYS gjån}; \quad \text{gjån-} \quad \text{CDC *gin4/EC *gunx}
\]

BMH [khiun ~ khiùn]; MX [k’iun5w ~ k’iun1b]; HL [k’iun6 ~ k’iun1]; SX [k’iun5 ~ k’iun1]; LF [k’iun5 ~ k’iun1]; LZ [k’iun1b ~ k’iun5w]; SHT [k’iun1]

HY [k’in5]; XY [k’en1]; DB [k’an1]; YL [tøy1n]; XC [tein5w ~ te’in5b]

CT [k’ëŋ1]; WP [kheŋ1]; YD [k’un5 ~ k’un1]; SH [khē1 ~ tɕhin3]; LC1 [k’iæŋ1 ~ k’iæŋ1]; LC2 [—]

NK [t’e’n1]; AY [t’e’ioŋ3]; SY [te’iŋ1]; XS [te’in1]; QN [te’iun1]; ND1 [ts’an1]; ND2 [ts’an1]; ND3 [ts’an6]

[OPH *k’iun1] \quad \text{CNH *k’iun1/L *k’iun6/*k’in1}

\[
\text{rěn 忍} \quad \text{QYS ńźjen}; \quad \text{CDC *nhin4/EC *nunx}
\]

BMH [nyun ~ nyün†]; MX [niun1]; HL [niun1]; SX [niun1]; LF [niun1]; LZ [ńgiun3]; SHT [—]

HY [ńin5]; XY [ńyn1]; DB [ńən1]; YL [ńn3]; XC [ńn3]

CT [neŋ1]; WP [ńin1]; YD [ńin1]††; SH [ńiæŋ1]; LC1 [ńiæŋ1]; LC2 [—]

NK [ńin5]; AY [ńiæŋ3]; SY [ńiæŋ3]; XS [ńiæŋ3]; QN [ńin1]; ND1 [ńən3]; ND2 [ńən3]; ND3 [ńən3]

[OPH *ńiun1] \quad \text{CNH *ńiun1/*ńiun3/L *ńiun1/*ńiin3}

†Said by the source to be the “proper” (i.e., literary or character) reading.
††Form after Lán (1999).

Sets of this type usually have unrounded finals in mainstream Chinese dialects, as exemplified by the QYS and CDC forms above. But they have rounded finals in Mǐn, leading Norman (2014) to posit final *-un for them in his Early Chinese forms. In our Neo-Hakka correspondence sets, these words invariably show doublets in CNH *-iun and *-in. We shall deal with cases of this sort in more detail in §3.5.4 below.

The following are examples of syllables having Common Neo-Hakka postalveolar initials:
chūn 春  QYS  tśhjuen  CDC *chiun1/EC *thun
BMH [chhun]; MX [ts’un1]; HL [tʃ’un1]; SX [tʃ’un1]; LF [tʃ’un1]; LZ [tʃ’un1]; SHT [ts’un1]
HY [ts’un1]; XY [ts’un1]; DB [ts’an1]; YL [tʃ’un1]; XC [tʃ’uən1]
CT [tʃ’en1]; WP [tʃeŋ1 ~ tʃiŋ1]; YD [ts’un1]; SH [tʃeiŋ1]; LC1 [k’ueŋ1]; LC2 [k’ueŋ1]
NK [te’yən1]; AY [ts’əŋ1]; SY [te’yən1]; XS [tʃ’ən1]; QN [ts’un1]; ND1 [ts’un1]; ND2 [ts’un1];
ND3 [ts’un1]
OPH *tš’un1  CNH *tš’iun1

zhǔn 准  QYS  tśjwen:  CDC *ciun3/EC *tunx
BMH [chún]; MX [tsun3]; HL [tʃun3]; SX [tʃun3]; LF [tʃun3]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [tsun3]; XY [tsun3]; DB [tsən3]; YL [tʃun3]; XC [tʃuən3]
CT [tʃen3]; WP [tʃeŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [tʃeiŋ3]; LC1 [kuen3]; LC2 [kuen3]
NK [teyn3]; AY [tsən3]; SY [teyn3]; XS [tʃən3]; QN [tsun3]; ND1 [tsun3]; ND2 [tsun3]; ND3
[tʃun3]
[OPH *tʃun3]  CNH *tʃiun3
Cf. Wēngyuán [tsiun3].

Note that after the fricative *ʃ-, final *-iun often yields modern *-ŋ in Nánkāng and Shàngyóu. The reason for this remains obscure.
In the Mainstream Hakka dialects CNH *-iun has merged with *-un after postalveolars, in consequence of which the Proto-Hakka forms in the above sets are all reconstructed by O’Connor with *-un. This is a significant difference between Proto-Hakka and Common Neo-Hakka.

### 3.3.5 CNH *-uŋ

Examples for this final are:

**dōng 東 QYS tung CDC *tunğ1/EC *tong**
- BMH [tung]; MX [tuŋ1]; HL [tuŋ1]; SX [tuŋ1]; LF [tuŋ1]; LZ [tuŋ1]; SHT [tuŋ1]
- HY [tuŋ1]; XY [tuŋ1]; DB [tuŋ1]; YL [tuŋ1]; XC [tuŋ1]
- CT [toŋ1]; WP [tuŋ1]; YD [tuŋ1]; SH [tœŋ1]; LC1 [toŋ1]; LC2 [tœŋ1]
- NK [tœŋ1]; AY [tœŋ1]; SY [tœŋ1]; XS [tœŋ1]; QN [tuŋ1]; ND1 [tuŋ1]; ND2 [tuŋ1]; ND3 [tuŋ1]
- OPH *tuŋ1 CNH *tuŋ1

**fēng 風 QYS pjung CDC *fung1/EC *pum**
- BMH [fung]; MX [fuŋ1]; HL [fuŋ1]; SX [fuŋ1]; LF [fuŋ1]; LZ [fuŋ1]; SHT [fuŋ1]
- HY [hoŋ1]; XY [foŋ1]; DB [fuŋ1]; YL [fuŋ1]; XC [fuŋ1]
- CT [foŋ1]; WP [xuŋ1]; YD [fuŋ1]; SH [fœŋ1]; LC1 [foŋ1]; LC2 [fœŋ1]
- NK [fœŋ1]; AY [fœŋ1]; SY [fœŋ1]; XS [fœŋ1]; QN [fuŋ1]; ND1 [fuŋ1]; ND2 [fuŋ1]; ND3 [fuŋ1]
- OPH *fung1 CNH *fuŋ1

**gōng 工 QYS kung CDC *kunğ1/EC *kong**
- BMH [kung]; MX [kuŋ1]; HL [kuŋ1]; SX [kuŋ1]; LF [kuŋ1]; LZ [kuŋ1]; SHT [kuŋ1]
- HY [koŋ1]; XY [koŋ1]; DB [kuŋ1]; YL [kuŋ1]; XC [kuŋ1]
- CT [koŋ1]; WP [kuŋ1]; YD [kuŋ1]; SH [kœŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
- NK [kœŋ1]; AY [kœŋ1]; SY [kœŋ1]; XS [kœŋ1]; QN [kuŋ1]; ND1 [kuŋ1]; ND2 [kuŋ1]; ND3 [kuŋ1]
- OPH *kung1 CNH *kuŋ1
3.3.6 CNH *-iuŋ

Examples for this final are:

qiōng 窮 QYS giung CDC *giung2/EC *gung
BMH [khiûŋ]; MX [k’iuŋ2]; HL [k’iuŋ2]; SX [k’iuŋ2]; LF [k’iuŋ2]; LZ [khiuŋ2]; SHT [k’iuŋ2]
HY [k’uŋ2]; XY [k’uŋ2]; DB [k’uŋ2]; YL [te’iŋ2]; XC [te’iŋ2]
CT [tʃ’ioŋ2]; WP [tshiûng]; YD [k’iuŋ2]; SH [tehiaŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’iŋ2]; AY [te’iəŋ2]; SY [te’iŋ2]; XS [te’iəŋ2]; QN [te’iŋ2]; ND1 [ts’uŋ2]; ND2 [ts’uŋ2];
ND3 [ts’uŋ2]
OPH *k’iung2 CNH k’iŋ2

sōng 松 QYS zjwong CDC *ziung/EC *zong
BMH [tshiüng]; MX [ts’iuŋ2]; HL [ts’iuŋ2]; SX [ts’iuŋ2]; LF [ts’iuŋ2]; LZ [tʃiûŋ2]; SHT
[ts’uŋ2]
HY [ts’oŋ2]; XY [ts’oŋ2]; DB [ts’uŋ2]; YL [suŋ1]; XC [suŋ1]
CT [ts’ioŋ2]; WP [ts’iuŋ2]; YD [ts’iuŋ2]; SH [tehiaŋ2]; LC1 [ts’ioŋ2]; LC2 [ts’ioŋ2]
NK [ts’əŋ2]; AY [ts’əŋ2]; SY [ts’əŋ2]; XS [ts’iøŋ2]; QN [tehiaŋ2]; ND1 [ts’uŋ2]; ND2
[tehiaŋ2]; ND3 [ts’iŋ2]
OPH *ts’iung2 CNH *ts’iʊŋ2
The Yílǒng and Xīchāng forms are probable Mandarin loans.

yòng 用 QYS jiwong- CDC *yung6/EC *yongh
BMH [yùŋ]; MX [iʊŋ5 ~ niʊŋ5]; HL [ʒuŋ5]; SX [iʊŋ5]; LF [juŋ6]; LZ [ʒuŋ5]; SHT [jʊŋ5]
HY [jʊŋ6]; XY [iŋ3]; DB [zn3]; YL [iʊŋ3]; XC [iʊŋ5]
CT [iəŋ6]; WP [iʊŋ3]; YD [iʊŋ5]; SH [iəŋ3]; LC1 [iʊŋ6]; LC2 [—]
NK [iŋ5]; AY [jǐŋ5]; SY [jǐŋ5]; XS [iəŋ5]; QN [iʊŋ6]; ND1 [iʊŋ6]; ND2 [iʊŋ6]; ND3 [iʊŋ6]
OPH *iʊŋ6 CNH *iʊŋ6
Postalveolar initial examples are:
Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Neo-Hakka

zhòng 种 QYS tśjwong- CDC *ciung5/EC *tongh
BMH [chùng]; MX [tʂuŋ5]; HL [tʃuŋ5]; SX [tʃuŋ5]; LF [tʃuŋ5]; LZ [tʃuŋ5]; SHT [tsuŋ5]
HY [tʂoŋ5]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tsuŋ5]†; XC [tʂuŋ5]
CT [tʃoŋ5]; WP [tsuŋ5]; YD [tsuŋ3]; SH [tʂaŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tʂaŋ5]; AY [tʂaŋ5]; SY [—]; XS [tʃaŋ5]; QN [tsuŋ5]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
OPH *tšung5 CNH *tšiuŋ5
†This form is from the glossary of the source and consequently lacks retroflection.
Cf. Wěngyuán: tsiuŋ5.

chóng 蟲 QYS ḍjung CDC *jiung2/EC *drung
BMH [chhûng]; MX [ts’uŋ2]; HL [tʃ’uŋ2]; SX [tʃ’uŋ2]; LF [tʃ’uŋ2]; LZ [tʃhuŋ2]; SHT [ts’uŋ2]
HY [ts’oŋ2]†; XY [ts’oŋ2]; DB [ts’uŋ2]; YL [tʂ’uŋ2]; XC [tʃ’uŋ2]
CT [tʃ’oŋ2]; WP [tʃhuŋ2]; YD [ts’uŋ2]; SH [tʃaŋ2]; LC1 [tʃ’oŋ2]; LC2 [tʃ’aŋ2]††
NK [tʂ’aŋ2]; AY [tʂ’aŋ2]; SY [tʂ’aŋ2]; XS [tʃ’aŋ2]; QN [ts’uŋ2]; ND1 [ts’uŋ2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ts’uŋ2]
OPH *tʃ’uŋ2 CNH *tʃ’iuŋ2
†The source writes initial tʃ’-, which must be a typographical error, since no such initial exists in this dialect.
††FJFY2: [tʃ’iaŋ2].

Here, as we have regularly seen above, Common Neo-Hakka preserves an old medial *-i- that is no longer present in the Mainstream dialects used to reconstruct Proto-Hakka.

Finally, it should be noted that there are frequent doublets in the data involving forms in CNH *-iuŋ and *-uŋ. Some examples are:
gòng 共 QYS gjwongh CDC *giung6/EC *gongh
BMH [khiùng]; MX [k’iuŋ5]; HL [k’iuŋ6]; SX [k’iuŋ5]; LF [k’iuŋ6]; LZ [khiuŋ5]; SHT [—]
HY [k’oŋ6]; XY [k’oŋ3]; DB [k’uŋ3]; YL [kʊŋ5w ~ k’ʊŋ3b]; XC [kʊŋ5]
CT [tʃioŋ6]; WP [ts’iuŋ3]; YD [k’iuŋ5]; SH [tʃiəŋ3]; LC1 [k’ioŋ6]; LC2 [—]
3.3.7 CNH *-iuiŋ

It seems clear that layering of some sort is involved in sets of this type.

3.3.7 CNH *-iuiŋ

This rather rare final is reconstructed for two etyma:

qǐng 傾 QYS khjwäng, khjäng CDC *khing1 ~ khiung1 (?)/EC *khweng
BMH [kʰin ~ khen]; MX [kʰen1]; HL [k’en3]; SX [k’en3]; LF [—]; LZ [khi1]; SHT [—]
HY [k’iŋ1]; XY [k’iŋ1]; DB [k’iŋ1]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [tʃiŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tʃiŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Neo-Hakka

NK [tɛ‘iŋ1]; AY [tɛ‘iŋ1]; SY [tɛ‘yŋ3]; XS [tɛ‘in1]; QN [tɛ‘iun1]; ND1 [ts‘əŋ1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ts‘əŋ1 ~ ts‘iŋ1]

[OPH *k‘en3]   CNH *k‘iuiŋ1

yǒng 永 QYS jwəŋ:  CDC *wing4 ~ *wiung4/EC *wang
BMH [yũn]; MX [iun3]; HL [ʒun3]; SX [iun3]; LF [jun3]; LZ [ʒun3]; SHT [—]
HY [vin5]; XY [vin2]; DB [zən3]; YL [yn3]; XC [iun1]
CT [ieŋ3]; WP [viŋ3]; YD [viŋ3]; SH [viŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iŋ3]; AY [jiŋ3]; SY [jyŋ3]; XS [in3]; QN [iun3]; ND1 [in3]; ND2 [iŋ3]; ND3 [iŋ1]

[OPH *iun3]   CNH *viuiŋ3/*viuiŋ1

3.3.8 CNH *-ut

Examples of this final after various initial types are as follows:

gǔ 骨 QYS kuət  CDC *kut7/EC *’kut
BMH [kwut]; MX [kut7]; HL [kut7]; SX [kut7]; LF [kut7]; LZ [kut7]; SHT [kut7]
HY [kut7]; XY [kut7]; DB [kut7 ~ kut7]; YL [kueiʔ7]; XC [kuʔ7]
CT [kue2]; WP [kueʔ7]; YD [kut7]; SH [kueiʔ7]; LC1 [kuə6]; LC2 [kue6]
NK [kaeʔ7]; AY [kue3]; SY [kut7]; XS [kuit7]; QN [kuiʔ77]; ND1 [kuit7]; ND2 [kut7]; ND3 [kut7]

[OPH *kut7]   CNH *kut7

hū 忽 QYS xuət  CDC *xut7/EC *’hut
BMH [fut]; MX [fut7]; HL [fut7]; SX [fut7]; LF [fut7]; LZ [fut7]; SHT [—]
HY [fut7]; XY [fut7]; DB [fat7]; YL [—]; XC [fuʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [fut8]; SH [feiʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [hoae5]; AY [huə3]; SY [ho5]; XS [fat8]; QN [feʔ8]; ND1 [fat7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [fat7]

[OPH *fat7]   CNH *fat7
Common Neo-Hakka: A Comparative Reconstruction

mò 没 QYS mʊə CDC *mut8/EC *’mut
BMH [mʊt]; MX [mut8]; HL [mut8]; SX [mut8]; LF [mut8]; LZ [mut8]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [mut8]; SH [meiʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [me5]; AY [mə1]; SY [me5]; XS [mʊət8]; QN [muiʔ8]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *mut8] CNH *mut8

fó 佛 QYS bjuə CDC *vut8/EC *but
BMH [fut]; MX [fut8]; HL [fut8]; SX [fut8]; LF [fut8]; LZ [fut8]; SHT [—]
HY [fut8]; XY [fut8]; DB [fat8]; YL [fu2]; XC [fu8]
CT [fue6]; WP [feʔ8]; YD [fut8]; SH [feiʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [fu8]; AY [fə1]; SY [fo5]; XS [fat8]; QN [fuiʔ8]; ND1 [foet8]; ND2 [fat8]; ND3 [fuet8]
[OPH *fut8] CNH *fut8
†Tone confirmed in Chappell & Lamarre (2005).
The upper register tone of the Basil Mission form is irregular.

zú 卒 QYS tswə CDC *tsut7/EC *’tsut
BMH [tsut]; MX [tsut7]; HL [tsut7]; SX [tsut7]; LF [tsut7]; LZ [tsut7]; SHT [tsut7]
HY [tsut7]; XY [tsut7]; DB [tsat7]; YL [—]; XC [teiʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [tsut7]; SH [tseiʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsə7]; AY [tsə3]; SY [tsuo5]; XS [tsat7]; QN [tsuiʔ7]; ND1 [tsuit7]; ND2 [tsut7]; ND3 [tsut7]
[OPH *tsut7] CNH *tsut7

3.3.9 CNH *-iut

Examples of this final after gutturals are:

jué 掘 QYS gjuə CDC *giut8/EC *gut
BMH [khiut]; MX [k’iut7]; HL [k’ut8]; SX [k’ut8]; LF [—]; LZ [khut5]; SHT [—]
Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Neo-Hakka

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [—]; WP [khu?]; YD [k’ut8]; SH [khuei8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’yæ5]; AY [te’iæ3]; SY [te’ye5]; XS [te’iæt8]; QN [—]; ND1 [ts’uiiæt8]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH ?] CNH *k’iut7

The Xiūshuǐ final is irregular. We would expect final -it rather than -iet here.

qū 屈 QYS khjuat CDC *khiut7/EC *khit

BHM [khiut]; MX [k’iut7]; HL [k’iut8]; SX [k’iut8]; LF [k’iut8]; LZ [khit7]; SHT [—]
HY [k’ut7]; XY [k’ut7]; DB [k’iæt7]; YL [—]; XC [te’iu7]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [k’ut7]; SH [khuei8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’io8]; AY [te’iæ3]; SY [te’ye5]; XS [te’iæt7]; QN [te’iuæi?]; ND1 [ts’uiiæt7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ts’iæt7]

OPH *k’iut7 ~ 8 (?) CNH *k’iut7/*k’iut8

The following set constitutes a unique syllable type in the data. It is perhaps reconstructable with CNH *-iut:

lǜ 律 QYS ljwet CDC *liut8/EC *—

BHM [lut]; MX [lit8]; HL [lit8]; SX [lit8]; LF [lut8]; LZ [lut8]; SHT [lut8]
HY [lut8]; XY [lut8]; DB [lat8]; YL [—]; XC [lu7]
CT [li6]; WP [li?8]; YD [lut8]; SH [li?8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [lio1]; AY [liæ1]; SY [lio5]; XS [lit8]; QN [liiæt8]; ND1 [liæt8]; ND2 [liat8]; ND3 [liat8]

[OPH ?] CNH *liut8 ?

The following is a common etymon having a postalveolar initial:

chū 出 QYS tśhjwet CDC *chiut7/EC *thut

BHM [chhut]; MX [ts’ut7]; HL [tʃ’ut7]; SX [tʃ’ut7]; LF [tʃ’ut7]; LZ [tʃhut7]; SHT [ts’ut7]
HY [ts’ut7]; XY [ts’ut7]; DB [ts’at7]; YL [tʃ’uei7]; XC [tʃ’uæi7]
CT [tʃ’e2]; WP [tshe7?]; YD [ts’ut7]; SH [tšhei7?]; LC1 [tʃ’eu6]; LC2 [tʃ’uæu6 ~ tʃ’uæu5]
NK [ts’oæ7]; AY [ts’zą3]; SY [ts’uə5]; XS [tʂ’uiʔ7]; QN [ts’uiʔ7]; ND1 [ts’uiʔ7]; ND2 [ts’uiʔ7]; ND3 [ts’uiʔ7]

OPH *ts’uiʔ7    CNH *ts’iu7


Note that the Proto-Hakka form characteristically lacks medial *-i- in this environment.

### 3.3.10 CNH *-uk

The following are examples for this final:

**dú 毒**

QYS  duok    CDC *duk8/EC *’duk

BMH [thuk]; MX [t’uk8w ~ t’əu5b]; HL [t’uk8]; SX [t’uk8]; LF [t’uk8]; LZ [thuk8]; SHT [t’uk8]

HY [t’ok8]; XY [t’ouʔ8]; DB [t’uk8]; YL [t’əuʔ8]; XC [t’uʔ8]

CT [t’u6]; WP [thuʔ8]; YD [t’uʔ8]; SH [thaʔ8]; LC1 [t’iue5]; LC2 [—]

NK [t’u1]; AY [t’u6]; SY [t’u5]; XS [t’uk8]; QN [t’uʔ8]; ND1 [t’uk8]; ND2 [t’uk8]; ND3 [t’uk8]

OPH *t’uk8    CNH *t’uk8

**zú 族**

QYS  dzuk    CDC *dzuk8/EC *’dzok

BMH [tshuk]; MX [ts’uk8]; HL [ts’uk8]; SX [ts’uk8]; LF [ts’uk8]; LZ [tʃhuk8]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [t’uʔ8]; XC [te’iuʔ7]

CT [t’u6]; WP [tshuʔ8]; YD [t’uʔ8]; SH [tshaʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [—]; AY [ts’u6]; SY [ts’o5]; XS [ts’uk8]; QN [—]; ND1 [ts’uk8]; ND2 [ts’uk8]; ND3 [—]

OPH *ts’uk8    CNH *ts’uk8

The final of the Xīchāng form is irregular.

**gū 穀**

QYS  kuk    CDC *kuk7/EC *’kok

BMH [kwuk]; MX [kuk7]; HL [kuk7]; SX [kuk7]; LF [kuk7]; LZ [kuk7]; SHT [kuk7]

HY [kok7]; XY [kouʔ7]; DB [kuk7]; YL [kouʔ7 ~ kuiʔ7]; XC [kuʔ7]

CT [ku2]; WP [kuʔ7]; YD [kuʔ7]; SH [kuʔ7]; LC1 [keu6]; LC2 [kye6]
Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Neo-Hakka

NK [ku8]; AY [ku6]; SY [ku5]; XS [kuk7]; QN [kuʔ7]; ND1 [kuk7]; ND2 [kuk7]; ND3 [kuk7]
OPH *kuk7  CNH *kuk7

mù 木  QYS muk    CDC *muk8/EC *mok
BMH [muk]; MX [muk7]; HL [muk7]; SX [muk7]; LF [muk7]; LZ [buk7]; SHT [muk7]
HY [mok7]; XY [mouʔ7]; DB [muk7]; YL [mouʔʔ7]; XC [muʔ7]
CT [mu2]; WP [muʔ7]; YD [muʔ7]; SH [maʔʔ7]; LC1 [miue6]; LC2 [mye5]
NK [mu8 ~ mo8]; AY [mu6]; SY [mo5]; XS [muk7]; QN [muʔ7]; ND1 [muk7]; ND2 [muk7];
ND3 [muk7]
OPH *muk7  CNH *muk7

fú 福  QYS pjuk    CDC *fuk7/EC *pik
BMH [fuk]; MX [fuk7]; HL [fuk7]; SX [fuk7]; LF [fuk7]; LZ [fuk7]; SHT [fuk7]
HY [hok7]; XY [fouʔ7]; DB [fuk7]; YL [fouʔʔ7]; XC [fuʔʔ7]
CT [fu2]; WP [fuʔ7]; YD [fuʔ7]; SH [fuʔʔ7]; LC1 [fiue6]; LC2 [—]†
NK [fu8]; AY [fu6]; SY [fu5]; XS [fuk7]; QN [fuʔʔ7]; ND1 [fuk7]; ND2 [fuk7]; ND3 [fuk7]
[OPH *fuk7]  CNH *fuk7
†FJFYZ: [fye6].

3.3.11 CNH *-iuk

The following are representative examples of this final after various different initial types:

jú 菊  QYS kjuk    CDC *kiuk7/EC *kuk
BMH [khiuk]; MX [k’iuk7]; HL [k’iukʔ7]; SX [k’iukʔ7]; LF [k’iukʔ7]; LZ [khiukʔ7]; SHT [—]
HY [kokʔ7]; XY [kouʔ7]; DB [k’ukʔ7]; YL [toyʔʔ7]; XC [teiuʔʔ7]
CT [tʃ’ieu2]; WP [—]; YD [k’iuʔʔ7]; SH [tehiaʔʔ7]; LC1 [k’ieu6]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɛ’iu8 ~ tɛ’io8]; AY [tɛ’io5]; SY [tɛ’io5]; XS [—]; QN [teiuiʔʔ7]; ND1 [ts’ukʔ7]; ND2
[ts’ukʔ7]; ND3 [ts’ukʔ7]
[OPH *k’iukʔ7]  CNH *k’iukʔ7/*kiukʔ7

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The Yílǒng and Shàngyóu forms reflect borrowing of a form from a modern or early modern northern koine. The Xīchāng form is also a loan, perhaps from the Ming-Qīng southern Guānhuà koine.
Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Neo-Hakka

NK [io1]; AY [—]; SY [jio5]; XS [—]; QN [iuʔ8]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [iuʔ8]

OPH *iuʔ8     CNH *iuʔ8

The following exemplify syllables having postalveolar initials:

zhōu 粥
QYS tśjuk
CDC *ciuk7/EC *tuk

BMH [chuk]; MX [tsuk7]; HL [tʃuk7]; SX [tʃuk7]; LF [tʃuk7]; LZ [tʃuk7]; SHT [—]

HY [tsok7 ~ tsb̥k7]; XY [tsouʔ7]; DB [tsuk1]; YL [tʃuʔ7]; XC [tʃuʔ7]

CT [tʃu2]; WP [tsuʔ7]; YD [tsuʔ7]; SH [tʃaʔ7]; LC1 [tʃeu6]; LC2 [—]

NK [tsu8]; AY [tsɿ1]; SY [tsu5]; XS [tʃuʔ7]; QN [tsuʔ7]; ND1 [tsuk7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [tsuk7]

[OPH *tʃuʔ7]      CNH *tʃiuk7

Cf. Wēngyuán: tsiuk7; Qīngliú: tʃy3.

zhú 竹
QYS tʃwok
CDC *ciuk7/EC *tuk

BMH [chuk]; MX [tsuk7]; HL [tʃuk7]; SX [tʃuk7]; LF [tʃuk7]; LZ [tʃuk7]; SHT [tsuk1]

HY [tsok7]; XY [tsouʔ7]; DB [tsuk7]; YL [tʃauʔ7]; XC [tʃuʔ7]

CT [tʃu2]; WP [tsuʔ7]; YD [tsuʔ7]; SH [tʃaʔ7]; LC1 [tʃeu6]; LC2 [—]

NK [tsu8]; AY [tsɿ5]; SY [tsu5]; XS [tʃuʔ7]; QN [tsuʔ7]; ND1 [tsuk7]; ND2 [tsuk7]; ND3 [tsuk7]

[OPH *tʃuʔ7]      CNH *tʃiuk7

Cf. Wēngyuán: tsiuk7; Qīngliú: tʃy3.

zhú 燭
QYS tʃwok
CDC *ciuk7/EC *tuk

BMH [chuk]; MX [tsuk7]; HL [tʃuk7]; SX [tʃuk7]; LF [tʃuk7]; LZ [tʃuk7]; SHT [—]

HY [tsok7]; XY [tsouʔ7]; DB [tsuk7]; YL [—]; XC [tʃuʔ7]

CT [tʃu2]; WP [tsuʔ7]; YD [tsuʔ7]; SH [tʃaʔ7]; LC1 [tʃeu6]; LC2 [—]

NK [tsu8]; AY [tsɿ5]; SY [tsu5]; XS [tʃuʔ7]; QN [tsuʔ7]; ND1 [tsuk7]; ND2 [tsuk7]; ND3 [tsuk7]

[OPH *tʃuʔ7]      CNH *tʃiuk7

Cf. Wēngyuán: tsiuk7; Qīngliú: tʃy3.
Here we see the usual contrast between Proto-Hakka and Common Neo-Hakka, where the latter shows a medial *-i- which is absent in the former. Consider now the following case:

zhù 祝  QYS  ṭʃjuk  CDC *ciuk7/EC *tuk

It is clear that the initial of this form should be CNH *tš-. However, the correspondence profile for the finals is unrecognizable. Comparing the sets cited immediately above and those in §3.3.10, we see that the profile is similar to that for final *-uk. However, this final does not normally occur afterpostalveolars in Common Neo-Hakka. A possible explanation here is that the word in question, which is of a high literary register, is a late borrowing of an intrusive form in *tšuk7. Thus, although it can be reconstructed for O’Connor’s Proto-Hakka without difficulty, in Common Neo-Hakka it constitutes a syllabic anomaly. A somewhat similar case is the following, which is also a literary word:

zhú 逐  QYS  ṭʃjuk  CDC *jiuk8/EC *druk
In this case, even if we posit a late loan form, *tš’uk8, this will not account for the Wǔpíng and Shàngháng forms, which do not show a recognizable correspondence pattern. Thus, while the Proto-Hakka reconstruction is unproblematic, we cannot reconstruct back to the Common Neo-Hakka stage. The implication of these facts is that no ancestral forms for zhù祝 and zhú逐 existed at the Common Neo-Hakka. It is possible, however, that such forms were present in the more recent or secondary proto-language that was ancestral to the Mainstream Hakka dialects; and, if this is so, then it is also likely that the forms in question were borrowed from some external source.

3.4 Neo-Hakka Finals having the Main Vowel *e

3.4.1 CNH *-e

This final occurs in variant forms in two sets:

ge 節、個 QYS kâ- CDC *ko5/EC *'kayh
BMH [kê ~ kâi]; MX [ke5]; HL [kai5]; SX [kai5]; LF [kai5]; LZ [kai5b ~ ko5w]; SHT [kai5]
HY [kei]†; XY [ke]††; DB [kai5]; YL [kai5 ~ ke1]; XC [ki5]
CT [ko5 ~ ke5]; WP [ke5]; YD [kai3]; SH [e5 ~ ne5]; LC1 [kuo6]; LC2 [—]
NK [kæ5 ~ ke5]; AY [kæ5 ~ ke5]; SY [kæ5 ~ ko1 ~ ke2]; XS [kai5 ~ ke5]; QN [kai5 ~ ko5 ~ ki5]; ND1 [kai5 ~ kei5]; ND2 [kai5 ~ kai]‡; ND3 [ke5]
OPH *kiai5 CNH kai5/L *ko5/*kai5 ~ *ke5
Classifier/subordinative particle. Two entirely different lexical items are combined within this set because the sources write them with the same character. For discussion of the subordinative particle, see specifically Chapter V, §5.2.80.
†Subordinative particle only. Tone neutral.
††Non-canonical mid-level tone, structurally perhaps actually neutral.
‡Second form is the subordinative particle.
O’Connor most often reconstructs his PH *-e in sets of the following type:

The Liánchéng forms represent a variant reading in *si3. The Nánkāng final is, on the contrary, the regular modern reflex of CNH *-iai.

However, the full correspondence profiles in sets of this type point clearly to other final types at the Common Neo-Hakka level. Thus, we do not posit CNH *-e here.
3.4.2 CNH *-ie

This final occurs exclusively in variant forms, and mainly those involving CNH *-iu. Some typical examples are:

jù 鋸 QYS kjwo- CDC *kie5 (~ *kiu5)/EC *kah
BMH [ki]; MX [ki5]; HL [ki5]; SX [ki5]; LF [ki5]; LZ [ki5]; SHT [—]
HY [ky5]; XY [ky5]; DB [ki5]; YL [tey5]; XC [tei5]
CT [tʃi5]; WP [tsi5]; YD [ki3]; SH [tei3]; LC1 [kui5]; LC2 [koi5]
NK [ke5]; AY [tei5w ~ ke5]; SY [tey2]; XS [ke5]; QN [tei5]; ND1 [kie5]; ND2 [kie5]; ND3 [kie5 ~ kei5]
[OPH *ki5] CNH *kiu5/*kie5

zhǔ 煮 QYS tjwo: CDC *cie3 (~ *ciu3)/EC *tax
BMH [chú]; MX [tsu3]; HL [tʃu3]; SX [tʃu3]; LF [tʃu3]; LZ [tʃu3]; SHT [tsu3]
HY [tsy3]; XY [tsy3]; DB [tsi3]; YL [tʃu3]; XC [tʃu3]
CT [tʃu3]; WP [tu3]; YD [tsi3]; SH [tsu3]; LC1 [tʃue3]; LC2 [tʃye3]
NK [tse3]; AY [tse3]; SY [tse3]; XS [tʃu3]; QN [tsu3]; ND1 [tʃe3]; ND2 [tʃe3]; ND3 [tʃe3]
[OPH *tʃu3] CNH *tʃiu3/*tʃie3

zhù 苧 QYS djwo: CDC *jie4 (~ *jiu4)/EC *drax
BMH [chhu ~ chhù]; MX [—]; HL [ʧu1]; SX [ʧu1]; LF [—]; LZ [ʧhu1]; SHT [—]
HY [tsy1]; XY [ts’y1]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tʃ’u2]
CT [ʧu1]; WP [thu1]; YD [—]; SH [tʃhw ~ tʃh1]; LC1 [ʧue1]; LC2 [ʧye1]
NK [ʦ’u1 ~ ʦ’e1]; AY [ʦ’e3 ~ ʦ’e1]; SY [ʦ’e1]; XS [ʦ’u1]; QN [ʦ’u1]; ND1 [ʦ’ie1]; ND2 [ʦ’ie1]; ND3 [ʦ’ie1]
[OPH *ʦ’u1] CNH *ʦ’iu1/*ʦ’ie1

The Héyuán form irregularly lacks aspiration. This is perhaps a typographical error.

shǔ 鼠 QYS sjwo: CDC *shie3 (~ *shi3)/EC *θax
BMH [chhù]; MX [ʦ’u3]; HL [ʧu3]; SX [ʧu3]; LF [ʧu3]; LZ [ʧhu3]; SHT [ʦ’u3]
The final of the Ningdu forms is irregular and enigmatic from a comparative standpoint. The Anyuan final is also unique in the set. The form almost certainly derives from an earlier *šie3, which cannot be reconstructed comparatively due to lack of parallel forms elsewhere.

Nasal initial sets showing CNH *-ie regularly also have variant readings in syllabic nasal syllables. The following are examples:

nǚ 女 QYS  njwo: CDC *nie4 (~ *niu3)/EC *nrx
BMH [ŋ̂g ~ nyi]; MX [ŋ3]; SX [ŋ3]; LF [ŋ3]; LZ [ŋ3b ~ ŋi3w]; SHT [ŋ3 ~ ɲi3]
HY [ŋy3 ~ ny3]; XY [ny3]; DB [ni3]; YL [ny3]; XC [ni3w ~ m3b]
CT [ni3]; WP [ŋ3]; YD [hn3b ~ ɲi3w ~ zi2]; SH [ŋ3 ~ m2]; LC1 [niue3]; LC2 [i3]†
NK [ni3]; AY [ni3 ~ nie3]; SY [ni3 ~ nie3]; XS [ŋ3 ~ ni3]; QN [ni3]; ND1 [nie3]; ND2 [nu3w ~ nie3b]; ND3 [nu3 ~ nie3]
[OPH *ŋ̂3]   CNH *ŋ̂3/*nie3/L *ńiu3

The Liánchéng-2 and third Yǒngdìng forms, which do not agree in tone, appear to reflect a zero initial reading, which is of obscure origin.

†Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [nye3].

yú 魚 QYS  ngjwo   CDC *ngie2 (~ *ngiu2)/EC *nga
BMH [ŋg]; MX [ŋ2]; SL [ŋ2]; SX [ŋ2]; LF [ŋ2]; LZ [ŋ2]; SHT [ŋ2]
HY [ŋy2 ~ ny2]; XY [ny2]; DB [ni2]; YL [ny2]; XC [i2 ~ m2b]
CT [ŋe2]; WP [ŋe2]; YD [ŋei2]; SH [ŋei2]; LC1 [ŋui2]; LC2 [ŋoi2]†
NK [ŋe2]; AY [ji2w ~ ń2b]; SY [ŋe2 ~ ju2]; XS [ŋ2]; QN [ŋ2 ~ ni2]; ND1 [nie2]; ND2 [nie2 ~ iu3]; ND3 [ŋie2 ~ nie2]††
[OPH *ńg2]   CNH *ńg2/*ńiu2/*ńie2/L *ńe2/L *ńeu2
†Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [ńue2].
††Second form found in the glossary section of the source.
The form *ŋie2 is Gàn-like in appearance (cf. Common Gàn *ŋie2 “fish”) and perhaps reflects contact with that dialect group. The literary reading is probably a northern koine intrusion into this rather complex set. The Liánchéng forms are regular derivatives of CNH *ńiu2. We shall deal with the syllabic nasal forms in sets of this type in §3.7 below.

Examples showing CNH *-ie occur almost exclusively in the Jiāngxī dialects or in Fújiàn dialects that are contiguous to Jiāngxī. An extensive collection of examples has been assembled in Xiè (2003: 56). These materials have in turn been reviewed and discussed by Mei (2013: 305–310), who concludes that *-ie readings in Hakka belong to a lexical layer that arose through contact with the Gàn dialects. We concur with this view. Cf. the following Common Gàn (CG) reconstructed forms, cited from Coblin (2015):

- jù 銼 CG *ke5 ~ *kie5/L *ky5
- zhǔ 煮 CG *ʂie3/L *şy3
- shǔ 鼠 CG *ʂie3/L *şy3 (~ *şyi3 ?)
- nǚ 女 CG *nie3/L *ny3
- yú 魚 CG *ŋie2/L *ny3

The historical reasons why Hakka shares such a common lexical layer with Gàn will be further dealt with in §6.1 and §6.2.2.8 of Chapter VI below.

3.4.3 CNH *-ei

This final is restored for the following common etyma:

- mǎi 買 QYS maï: CDC *mai4/EC *mrex
  BMH [mai]; MX [mai1]; HL [mai1]; SX [mai1]; LF [mai1]; LZ [mbai1]; SHT [mai1]
  HY [mai5]; XY [mai1]; DB [mai1]; YL [mai1]; XC [mai2]
  CT [me1]; WP [mi1]; YD [mei1]; SH [mei1]; LC1 [me3]; LC2 [—]
NK [mæ1]; AY [mæ3]; SY [mæ3]; XS [mai1]; QN [mai3]; ND1 [mai3]; ND2 [mai1]; ND3
[mai1]
OPH *mai\textsubscript{1}  CNH *mei\textsubscript{1}/*mei\textsubscript{3}

\texttt{mài 賣 QYS maï- CDC *mai6/EC *mreh}
BMH [mài]; MX [mai5]; HL [mai6]; SX [mai5]; LF [mai6]; LZ \texttt{=bai5}; SHT \texttt{—}
HY [mai6]; XY [mai3]; DB [mai3]; YL [mai3]; XC [mai5]
CT [me6]; WP [mi3]; YD [mei3]; SH [mei3]; LC1 [me6]; LC2 \texttt{—}
NK [mæ5]; AY [mæ6]; SY [mæ3]; XS [mai3]; QN [mai3]; ND1 [mai6]; ND2 [mai6]; ND3
[mai6]
OPH *mai\textsubscript{6}  CNH *mei\textsubscript{6}/*mei\textsubscript{3}

Final *-ei also occurs a variant of *-ai in several sets, e.g.,

\texttt{bài 拜 QYS pwăi- CDC *pai5/EC *prath}
BMH [pài]; MX [pai5]; HL [pai5]; SX [pai5]; LF [pai5]; LZ [pai5]; SHT [pai5]
HY [pai5]; XY [pai5]; DB [pai5]; YL [pai3]; XC [pai5]
CT [pe5]; WP [pi5]; YD [pai3]; SH [pa5]; LC1 [pa5]; LC2 \texttt{—}
NK [pæ5]; AY [pæ5]; SY [pæ2]; XS [pai5]; QN [pai5]; ND1 [pai5]; ND2 [pai5]; ND3 [pai5]
[OPH *pai5]  CNH *pai5/*pei5

The Chângtīng and Wúpíng forms derives from earlier *-ei rather than *-ai.

\texttt{pái 牌 QYS bwăi- CDC *bai2/EC *bre}
BMH [phâi]; MX [p’ai2]; HL [p’ai2]; SX [p’ai2]; LF [p’ai2]; LZ [phai2]; SHT [p’ai2]
HY [p’ai2]; XY [p’ai2]; DB [p’ai2]; YL [p’ai2]; XC [p’ai2]
CT [p’e2]; WP [phi2]; YD [p’ai2]; SH [pha2]; LC1 [p’e2]; LC2 \texttt{—}
NK [p’æ2]; AY [p’æ2]; SY [p’æ2]; XS [p’ai2]; QN [p’ai2]; ND1 [p’ai2]; ND2 [p’ai2]; ND3
[p’ai2]
[OPH *p’ai2]  CNH *p’ai2/*p’ei2

The Chângtīng, Wúpíng, and Liáńchéng forms derives from earlier *-ei rather than *-ai.
Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Neo-Hakka

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

In this set, final *-ei is reflected in the Xìnyí, Diànbái, and Yílǒng forms, and in Yǒngdìng, Shàngháng, and Liánhéng of the Fújìān line.

lái 來  QYS l  QYS  l
BMH [lôi]; MX [lɔi2]; HL [lɔi2]; SX [lɔi2]; LF [lɔi2]; LZ [lɔi2]; SHT [lɔi2]
HY [luai2]; XY [luai2]; DB [lɔi2]; YL [lɔi2]; XC [lɔi2]
CT [lai2]; WP [lɔi2]; YD [lɔi2]; SH [lue2 ~ la2]; LC1 [lui2]; LC2 [lai2]
NK [læ2]; AY [lue2]; SY [læ2]; XS [lɔi2]; QN [lɔi2]; ND1 [lai2]; ND2 [læi2]; ND3 [luai2 ~ lei2]
[OPH *loi2]   CNH *loi2/*lai2

The Níngdū-2 form and the second Níngdū-3 form probably derive from an earlier *lei2, which is not attested at other points. It is perhaps a loan from Southern Gàn, where this form of the word “to come” is common (See Coblin 2015, Appendix, sub lái 來).

3.4.4 CNH *-eu

Basic examples for this final are:

dòu  ɗou  QYS ɗou-  CDC *deu6/EC *’doh
BMH [thəu]; MX [t’eu5]; HL [t’eu6]; SX [t’eu5]; LF [t’eu6]; LZ [thəu5]; SHT [t’iu5]
HY [t’ua6]; XY [t’ua6]; DB [t’ei3]; YL [t’ai3]; XC [t’au5]
CT [t’eu6]; WP [t’ei3]; YD [t’eu5]; SH [tha3]; LC1 [t’eu6]; LC2 [t’uəu6]
NK [t’ia5]; AY [t’uə5]; SY [t’io5]; XS [t’uo5]; QN [t’eu6]; ND1 [t’eu6]; ND2 [t’iu6]; ND3[t’iu6]
[OPH *t’eu6]  CNH *t’eu6

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The tone of the Lìzhīzhuāng form is irregular. After sibilants a somewhat different pattern obtains, as exemplified in the following:

shòu 瘦 QYS sjəu- CDC *sheu5/EC *sriwh
BMH [sèu]; MX [seu5]; HL [seu5]; SX [seu5]; LF [seu5]; LZ [ʃeəu5]; SHT [ʃiu5]
HY [suai5]; XY [seu5]; DB [lei5]; YL [saι5]; XC [səu5]
CT [seu5]; WP [se5]; YD [seu5]; SH [sa5]; LC1 [seu5]; LC2 [—]
NK [sə5]; AY [su5]; SY [səio2]; XS [səu5]; QN [səu5]; ND1 [səu5]; ND2 [səu3]; ND3 [səu5]
OPH *seu5 CNH *seu5
zǒu 走 QYS tsəu: CDC *tseu3/EC *tsɔx
BMH [tsɛu]; MX [tseu3]; HL [tseu3]; SX [tseu3]; LF [tseu3]; LZ [tʃeu3]; SHT [tsiu3]
HY [tsuai3]; XY [tseu3]; DB [tsei3]; YL [tsai3]; XC [tsəu3]
CT [tseu3]; WP [tse3]; YD [tseu3]; SH [tsə3]; LC1 [tseu3]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts3]; AY [tsu3]; SY [tɕio3]; XS [tsəu3]; QN [tseu3]; ND1 [tseu3]; ND2 [tsəu3]; ND3 [tsəu3]
OPH *tseu3 CNH *tseu3

3.4.5 CNH *-ieu

Examples for this final are:
chóu 綢 QYS ɖjəu: CDC *jieu2/EC *diw
BMH [chhiû]; MX [ts’u2]; HL [tʃ’u2]; SX [tʃ’u2]; LF [tʃ’iu2]; LZ [tʃhiu2]; SHT [ts’iu2]
HY [ts’iu2]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts’ɔu2]; XC [tʃ’ɔu2]
CT [tʃ’eu2]; WP [tʃe2]; YD [ts’iu2]; SH [tʃiəu2]; LC1 [tʃeu2]; LC2 [—]
NK [tʃ’iu2]; AY [tʃ’u2]; SY [tʃ’iu2]; XS [tʃ’u2]; QN [tʃ’iu2]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ts’ɔu2]; ND3 [ts’ɔu2]
OPH *tʃ’iu2 CNH *tʃ’ieu2

jiǔ 久 QYS kjəu: CDC *kieu3/EC *kwix
BMH [kiú]; MX [kiu3]; HL [kiu3]; SX [kiu3]; LF [kiu3]; LZ [kiu3]; SHT [kiu3]
HY [kiu3]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕiəu3]; XC [tɕiəu3]
CT [tʃiəu3]; WP [tɕiu3]; YD [—]; SH [tɕiu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kiu3]
NK [tɕiu3]; AY [tɕu3]; SY [tɕiu3]; XS [tɕiu3]; QN [tɕiu3]; ND1 [tɕu3]; ND2 [tsəu3]; ND3 [tsəu3]
OPH *kiu3 CNH *kieu3

jiǔ 酒 QYS tsjəu: CDC *tsieu3/EC *tsux
BMH [tsiû]; MX [tsiu3]; HL [tsiu3]; SX [tsiu3]; LF [tsiu3]; LZ [tʃiu3]; SHT [tsiu3]
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HY [tsiu3]; XY [tsiu3]; YL [teiɔu3]; XC [teiɔu3]
CT [tsieu3]; WP [tsiu3]; YD [tsiu3]; SH [teiɔu3]; LC1 [tseu3]; LC2 [tseu3]
NK [tei3]; AY [tsu3]; SY [tei3]; XS [tsiu3]; QN [tei3]; ND1 [teiɔu3]; ND2 [teiɔu3]; ND3 [tsiu3]

OPH *tsiu3  CNH *tsieu3

niú 牛  QYS ŋjɔu  CDC *ngieu2/EC *ngwi
BMH [nyû]; MX [niu2]; SX [niu2]; LF [niu2]; LZ [ŋiu2]; SHT [ŋiu2]
HY [ŋyai2]; XY [ŋeu2]; YL [ŋiɛi2]; XC [ŋiɛi2]; YD [ŋiɛi2]; SH [ŋa2]; LC1 [ŋeu2]; LC2 [ŋeu2]
NK [niu2]; AY [nu2]; SY [niu2]; XS [niu2]; QN [niu2]; ND1 [ŋəu2 ~ ŋɛu2]+; ND2 [ŋaŋ2];
ND3 [ŋaŋ2]

OPH *n1iu2  CNH *ŋieu2/*ŋe2
†First form found in BJYJ.

It should be noted here that where we posit CNH *-ieu, Proto-Hakka in all cases has *-iu. Our CNH *-iu, on the other hand, represents a final which does not exist in the Mainstream dialects and is consequently not reconstructed by O’Connor for Proto-Hakka. Cf. §3.3.2 above.

3.4.6 CNH *-en

The following are examples for this rather rare final:
ēn 恩  QYS ʔən  CDC *en1/EC *ən1
BMH [en]; MX [en1]; HL [en1]; SX [en1]; LF [en1]; LZ [en1]; SHT [—]
HY [ən1]; XY [en1]; DB [ən1]; YL [ŋən1]; XC [ŋən1]
CT [ŋen1]; WP [ŋen1]; YD [en1]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ę1]; AY [əŋ1]; SY [ę1]; XS [ęn1]; QN [en1]; ND1 [ŋən1]; ND2 [ŋən1]; ND3 [əŋ1]

OPH *en1  CNH *en1
gēn 根 QYS kən CDC *ken1/EC *’kun
BMH [ken ~ kin]; MX [ken1 ~ kin1s]; HL [kin1]; SX [kin1]; LF [kin1]; LZ [kin1]; SHT [kin1]
HY [kan1]; XY [ken1]; DB [kieten1]; YL [kan1]; XC [kən1]
CT [ken1]; WP [ken1]; YD [ken1]; SH [kë1]; LC1 [ken1]; LC2 [—]
NK [kë1]; AY [kən1 ~ təëŋ1]; SY [kë1]; XS [ken1]; QN [ken1]; ND1 [kən1]; ND2 [kan1];
ND3 [kən1]
[OPH *kin1] CNH *ken1/Vulgo *kin1

hèn 恨 QYS γən- CDC *xen6/EC *’gunh
BMH [hèn]; MX [ken3]; HL [hen5]; SX [hen5]; LF [hen6]; LZ [hen5]; SHT [—]
HY [han6]; XY [hen3]; DB [han3]; YL [—]; XC [hən5]
CT [hen6]; WP [xen3]; YD [hen3]; SH [hê3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [hê5]; AY [hê6]; SY [hê5]; XS [hen5]; QN [hen6]; ND1 [hən6]; ND2 [hən6]; ND3 [hən6]
[OPH *hen6] CNH *hen6

3.4.7 CNH *-eŋ

This final is distinguished from *-en in Liáncéng and Ningdū, whose several varieties
are therefore determinative for it. When evidence from both these dialect types is lacking, the
distinction cannot be definitively determined. Examples for *-eŋ are:
céng 層 QYS dzəŋ CDC *dzəŋ2/EC *dzing

BH [tsʰən]; MX [ts’en2]; HL [ts’en2]; SX [ts’en2]; LF [ts’en2]; LZ [tsʰən2]; SHT [ts’en2]

HY [ts’an2]; XY [ts’en2]; DB [ts’en2]; YL [ts’an2 ~ ts’en2]; XC [ts’an2]

CT [ts’en2]; WP [tsʰən2]; YD [ts’en2]; SH [tsʰən2]; LC1 [ts’ai2]; LC2 [——]

NK [ts’ən2]; AY [ts’əŋ2]; SY [ts’ən2]; XS [ts’en2]; QN [ts’en2]; ND1 [ts’əŋ2]; ND2 [ts’əŋ2];

ND3 [ts’əŋ2]

OPH *ts’en2  CNH *ts’əŋ2

kèn 歲 QYS khɑ̌ng: CDC *khəŋ3/EC *’kʰingx

BH [kʰən ~ hən]; MX [kʰən3w ~ hən3b]; HL [kʰən3w ~ hən3b]; SX [kʰən3w ~ hən3b]; LF [kʰən3 ~ hən3]; LZ [hən3]; SHT [——]

HY [hən3]; XY [hən3]; DB [hən3]; YL [k’ən3]; XC [k’ən3w ~ hən3b]

CT [kʰəŋ3]; WP [xəŋ3]; YD [k’əŋ3]; SH [hən3 ~ hən3]; LC1 [hài3]; LC2 [——]

NK [k’ən3 ~ hən3]; AY [k’əŋ3w ~ ciaŋ3b]; SY [k’ən3 ~ hən3]; XS [k’ən3]; QN [hen3]; ND1 [k’əŋ3];

ND2 [k’əŋ3]; ND3 [k’əŋ3]

OPH *hen3  CNH *hen3 ?/L *k’əŋ3

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

néng 能 QYS nəŋ CDC *nəŋ2/EC *’ning

BH [nən]; MX [nən2]; HL [nən2]; SX [nən2]; LF [nən2]; LZ [lən2]; SHT [——]

HY [nən2]; XY [nən2]; DB [nən2]; YL [nən2]; XC [nən2]

CT [nəŋ2]; WP [nəŋ2]; YD [——]; SH [nən2]; LC1 [——]; LC2 [——]

NK [nən2]; AY [nəŋ2]; SY [nən2]; XS [nən2]; QN [nən2]; ND1 [nəŋ2]; ND2 [nəŋ2]; ND3 [nəŋ2]

[OPH *nən2]  CNH *nəŋ2

pèng 朋 QYS bəŋ CDC *bəŋ2/EC *’bing

BH [pʰən]; MX [p’ən2]; HL [p’ən2]; SX [p’ən2]; LF [p’ən2]; LZ [pʰən2]; SHT [p’ən2]

HY [——]; XY [——]; DB [——]; YL [p’əŋ2]; XC [p’əŋ2]

CT [p’əŋ2]; WP [pʰən2]; YD [p’ən2]; SH [pən2]; LC1 [p’əi2]; LC2 [——]
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NK [p’əŋ2]; AY [p’əŋ2]; SY [p’əŋ2]; XS [—]; QN [p’uŋ2]; ND1 [p’əŋ2]; ND2 [p’əŋ2]; ND3 [—]

OPH *p’en2   CNH *p’əŋ2

CNH *-əŋ often appears in the literary correlates of syllables having the popular final *-əŋ. The following are examples:

gēng 耕 QYS kɛŋ  CDC *kang1/EC *kreng
BMH [kang]; MX [kaŋ1]; HL [kaŋ1]; SX [kaŋ1]; LF [kaŋ1]; LZ [kaŋ1]; SHT [kaŋ1]
HY [kaŋ1]; XY [kaŋ1]; DB [kaŋ1]; YL [—]; XC [kəŋ1]
CT [kaŋ1]; WP [kɛŋ1]; YD [kaŋ1]; SH [kɐŋ1]; LC1 [kəŋ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [kəŋ1]; AY [kəŋ1 ~ kaŋ1]; SY [kɐŋ1]; XS [kəŋ1]; QN [kaŋ1]; ND1 [kəŋ1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *kang1]   CNH *kaŋ1/L *keŋ1

měng 猛 QYS mɒŋ:  CDC *mang4/EC *mrangx
BMH [mang]; MX [maŋ1]; HL [men3]; SX [men2]; LF [məŋ1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [maŋ1]; XY [maŋ1]; DB [maŋ3]; YL [muŋ3]; XC [muŋ3]
CT [meŋ3]; WP [meŋ3]; YD [maŋ3]; SH [maŋ3w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [maŋ3]; AY [maŋ3]; SY [maŋ3]; XS [—]; QN [men3]; ND1 [maŋ3]; ND2 [maŋ1]; ND3 [maŋ3]

[OPH ?]   CNH *maŋ1/L *meŋ3

The Yǐlǒng and Xīchāng forms are probably Mandarin loans. They are not reflected in the reconstructions.

shēng 生 QYS sɒŋ  CDC *shang1/EC *sring
BMH [sang ~ sen1]; MX [sen1w ~ san1b]; HL [sen1w ~ san1b]; SX [sen1w ~ san1b]; LF [səŋ1w ~ san1b]; LZ [ʃaŋ1b ~ ʃɛn1w]; SHT [səŋ1]
HY [saŋ1]; XY [saŋ1]; DB [laŋ1]; YL [saŋ1]; XC [saŋ1]
CT [saŋ1 ~ sen1]; WP [seŋ1 ~ soŋ1]; YD [saŋ1 ~ sen1]; SH [saŋ1 ~ səŋ1]; LC1 [saŋ1 ~ səiŋ1];
     LC2 [seŋ1 ~ saŋ1]
Consider now the following set:

gěng 哽 QYS ɹɒng: CDC *kang3/EC *krangx
BMH [káng]; MX [—]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [kan3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [kan3]; XC [kan3]
CT [ken3]; WP [kan3]; YD [—]; SH [kan3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [kẽ3]; AY [kã3]; SY [kẽ3]; XS [ken3]; QN [—]; ND1 [kan3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH?] CNH *kan3/L *ken3 ?

The coda of the second reconstructed form here is conjectural because no determinative form is present in the set. However, by comparison with examples of the type given above, we can be reasonably certain that the Common Neo-Hakka final is *-eŋ.

Comparison with the Proto-Hakka forms cited here indicates that that system had no final *-eŋ. This is because Proto-Hakka is based entirely on dialects where CNH *-en and *-eŋ had merged. This is a significant difference between the two systems.

3.4.8 CNH *-ueŋ

This is a unique final which occurs in a single word:

héng 衡 QYS ɣɒng; (ɣwɒng) CDC *hang2/EC *grang
BMH [fẽn]; MX [fẽn2]; HL [fẽn2]; SX [fẽn2]; LF [—]; LZ [hẽn2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [hen2]; XC [hẽn2]
CT [—]; WP [xeŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [hẽ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [hẽ2]; AY [həŋ2]; SY [hẽ2]; XS [hẽn2]; QN [—]; ND1 [həŋ2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *fẽn2] CNH hueŋ2
Here, though medial *-u- does not survive as such in any modern dialect, its earlier presence can be inferred from the dentilabialization of initial *h- in certain of the Mainstream dialects in the first line of the set.

3.4.9 CNH *-em

This rare final is posited for the following form:

sēn 森 QYS sjem CDC *shem1/EC *srim
BMH [sem]; MX [sem1]; HL [sem1]; SX [sem1]; LF [sem1]; LZ [jem1]; SHT [sim1]
HY [sam1]; XY [sem1]; DB [lam1]; YL [εn1 ~ san1]; XC [ən1]
CT [sen1]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [sə2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sə1]; AY [—]; SY [sə1]; XS [ən1]; QN [sen1]; ND1 [sam1]; ND2 [sam1]; ND3 [sam1]
OPH *sem1  CNH *sem1

Though supporting forms are scant, it is also possible that the following set should be reconstructed with *-em:

shèn 漬 QYS sjem- CDC *shim5/EC *srumh
BMH [—]; MX [ts’am1]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [sen5]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [sein5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sə5]; AY [—]; SY [sə2]; XS [sen5]; QN [—]; ND1 [sam5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH ?]  CNH *sem5 ?
The Méixiàn form is not comparable to the remaining forms in the set.

3.4.10 CNH *-et

This final occurs in independent (i.e., non-doublet) forms in the following set:
It should be noted from the Proto-Hakka forms in sets having our *-et that O’Connor reconstructs two different finals here, i.e., *-et and *-ɛt. He bases these reconstructions on distinctions he found in his Huáyáng data from Sìchuán. We have been unable to substantiate the difference in our more extensive Hakka material. (Cf. also §3.4.11 below, where the distinction appears again in the Proto-Hakka reconstructions.) Our view is that the distinction in Huáyáng is probably due to mixing or internal heterogeneity in that dialect. We have consequently not adopted it for our Common Neo-Hakka system.

Elsewhere CNH *-et is found exclusively in doublets with forms ending in *-iat and *-it. Examples are:

**bié 別** QYS pjät3, bjät3 CDC *biat8 ~ *piat7
BMH [phiét ~ phét]; MX [p’iet8w ~ p’et8b]; HL [p’iet8]; SX [p’iet8]; LF [p’iat8 ~ p’et8]; LZ [phet8]; SHT [—]
HY [p’iat8]; XY [p’iat8]; DB [p’iet8]; YL [p’iet7]; XC [pieʔ7 ~ p’ieʔ7]
CT [p’e6]; WP [phieu8 ~ pieʔ7]; YD [p’ieʔ8]; SH [phieu8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [p’ie5]; AY [p’i31]; SY [p’ie5]; XS [p’iet8]; QN [p’ieʔ8]; ND1 [p’iet8]; ND2 [p’iat8]; ND3 [p’iat8]
[OPH *p’iat8] CNH *p’iat8/L *p’et8

**jié 結** QYS kiet CDC *kiat5/EC *’kit
BMH [ket ~ kiet]; MX [kiat7w ~ kêt7b]; HL [kiet7w ~ kêt7b]; SX [kiet7w ~ kêt7b]; LF [kiat7]; LZ [ket7]; SHT [—]
HY [kiat7]; XY [kiet7]; DB [kiet7]; YL [teieʔ7]; XC [teieʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [kieʔ7 ~ tieʔ7]; YD [kieʔ7]; SH [tieʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kia6 ~ ki6]
Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Neo-Hakka

NK [tɕie7]; AY [tɕiʔ3]; SY [tɕiʔ5]; XS [tɕieʔ7]; QN [tɕieʔʔ7]; ND1 [tsatʔ]; ND2 [tsatʔ]; ND3 [tsatʔ]
[OPH *ketʔ] CNH *ketʔ/L *kiaʔ7

3.4.11 CNH *-ek

Examples for this final are:

běi 北 QYS pək CDC *pekʔ/EC *’pik
BMH [pet]; MX [petʔ]; HL [petʔ]; SX [petʔ]; LF [petʔ]; LZ [pətʔ]; SHT [petʔ]
HY [patʔ]; XY [petʔ]; DB [petʔ]; YL [pəʔ7]; XC [pəʔʔ7]
CT [pe2]; WP [pəʔʔ7]; YD [pəʔʔ7]; SH [pəʔʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [pə8]; AY [pe6]; SY [pe5]; XS [petʔ]; QN [pəʔʔ7]; ND1 [pəkʔ]; ND2 [pəkʔ]; ND3 [pəkʔ] [OPH *petʔ] CNH *pekʔ7
dé 得 QYS tək CDC *tek7/EC *'tik
BMH [tet]; MX [tet7]; HL [tet7]; SX [tet7]; LF [tet7]; LZ [tet7]; SHT [tet7]
HY [tet7]; XY [tet7]; DB [tet7]; YL [teʔ7]; XC [teʔ7]
CT [ta2]; WP [teʔ7]; YD [teʔ7]; SH [teʔ7]; LC1 [tu6]; LC2 [tu6]
NK [te8]; AY [te6]; SY [te5]; XS [tet7]; QN [teʔ7]; ND1 [tak7]; ND2 [tak7]; ND3 [tak7]
OPH *tet7 CNH *tek7

kè 刻 QYS khək CDC *khek7/EC *'khik
BMH [khet ~ khiet]; MX [k’et7]; HL [k’et7]; SX [k’et7]; LF [k’et7]; LZ [khet7]; SHT [—]
HY [k’at7]; XY [k’et7]; DB [kiet7]; YL [k’eʔ7]; XC [k’eʔ7]
CT [k’e2]; WP [kheʔ7]; YD [k’eʔ7]; SH [kheʔ7 ~ kheʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [k’a8]; AY [k’e6]; SY [k’e5]; XS [k’et7]; QN [—]; ND1 [k’ak7]; ND2 [k’ak7]; ND3 [k’ak7]
[OPH *k’et7] CNH *k’ek7

zéi 賊 QYS dzək CDC *dzek8/EC *’dzik
BMH [tshét]; MX [ts’et8]; HL [ts’et8]; SX [ts’et8]; LF [ts’et8]; LZ [t jet8]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’at8]; XY [ts’ut8]; DB [ts’et8]; YL [ts’eʔ8]; XC [ts’eʔ8]
CT [ts’e6]; WP [tsheʔ8]; YD [ts’eʔ8]; SH [tsheʔ8]; LC1 [ts’uə5]; LC2 [ts’uə5]
NK [ts’ə1]; AY [ts’e6]; SY [ts’e5]; XS [ts’et8]; QN [ts’eʔ8]; ND1 [ts’ak8]; ND2 [ts’ak8]; ND3 [ts’ak8]
[ts’ək8]
OPH *ts’et8 CNH *ts’ek8

CNH *-ek frequently occurs in doublets as a correlate of final *-ak. The following exemplify this:

gé 格 QYS kək CDC *kak7/EC *’kak
BMH [ket ~ kiet ~ kak]; MX [ket7w ~ kak7b]; HL [ket7]; SX [ket7]; LF [kak7]; LZ [kak2];
SHT [kak7]
HY [kak7]; XY [kak7]; DB [kak7]; YL [kaʔ7]; XC [kaʔ7]
CT [ka2]; WP [keʔ5w ~ kaʔ7]; YD [kaʔ7]; SH [kaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Neo-Hakka

NK [ka8]; AY [ka6]; SY [ka5 ~ ke5]; XS [ka7]; QN [kaʔ7 ~ keʔ7]; ND1 [ka7]; ND2 [ka7b ~ kak7w]; ND3 [kaʔ7 ~ kak7]

[OPH *kaʔ7] CNH *kaʔ7/L *keʔ7

cè 冊 QYS tʃhek CDC *chak7/EC *tʃrek
BMH [tʃak]; MX [ts’ak7]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [tʃak7]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts’aʔ7]; XC [tʃ’eʔ]
CT [ts’a2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tʃaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’a8]; AY [ts’a6]; SY [ts’a5]; XS [ts’et7]; QN [—]; ND1 [ts’ak7]; ND2 [ts’ak7]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *ts’ak7] CNH *ts’ak7/*ts’ek7

Where stylistic register is indicated in the sources, *-ek final members of such doublets are consistently identified as literary.

Most Hakka dialects have merged CNH *-ek into final *-et. However, the Níngdū dialects preserve the original *-k coda. Where Níngdū forms are absent, *-k can be conjecturally restored by analogy with parallel sets where reconstruction of the coda is firm. The following are examples:

gé 隔 QYS kek CDC *kak7/EC *kek
BMH [ket ~ kak]; MX [kak7]; HL [kak7]; SX [kak7]; LF [kak7]; LZ [kak7]; SHT [—]
HY [kak7]; XY [kak7]; DB [kak7]; YL [kaʔ7]; XC [kaʔ7]
CT [ka2 ~ ke2]; WP [kaʔ7]; YD [kaʔ7]; SH [kaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ka8]; AY [ka6]; SY [ka5]; XS [kak7]; QN [kaʔ7]; ND1 [ka7]; ND2 [ka7]; ND3 [ka7]

OPH *kaʔ7 CNH *kaʔ7/*kek7

kè 客 QYS khok CDC *hak7/EC *hrak
BMH [hak ~ khak]; MX [k’et7w ~ hak7b]; HL [k’et7 ~ hak8]; SX [k’et7 ~ hak7]; LF [hak7]; LZ [hak7]; SHT [hak7]
HY [hak7]; XY [k’aʔ7]; DB [hak7]; YL [k’aʔ7]; XC [haʔ7]
CT [k’a2]; WP [khaʔ7]; YD [k’aʔ7]; SH [khəʔ7]; LC1 [k’o6]; LC2 [k’o6]
NK [k’a8]; AY [k’a6]; SY [k’a5]; XS [k’ak7]; QN [c’aʔ7 ~ k’aʔ7]; ND1 [k’ak7]; ND2 [k’ak7]; ND3 [k’ak7]

[OPH *hak7]  CNH *hak7/L *k’ak7/*k’ek7 ?
The tone of the second Hǎilù form is irregular.

In both of these sets Níngdū has only popular readings in *-ak and does not show the literary forms at all. However, by analogy with other such doublet sets, we may speculate that the literary readings had final *-ek here.

As we have noted, opposite our *-ek O’Connor normally reconstructs PH *-et. However, his *-ɛt, mentioned in the preceding section, also occurs here. For example,

sè 色 QYS sjək  CDC *shek7/EC *srik
BMH [set]; MX [set7]; HL [set7]; SX [set7]; LF [set7]; LZ [ʃet]; SHT [—]
HY [sat7]; XY [set7]; DB [let7]; YL [ʃeʔ7]; XC [ʃeʔ7]
CT [se2]; WP [ʃeʔ7]; YD [ʃeʔ7]; SH [ʃeʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sa5]; AY [se6]; SY [se5]; XS [set7]; QN [ʃeʔ7]; ND1 [sak7]; ND2 [sak7]; ND3 [sak7]
OPH *set7  CNH *sek7

And, as indicated above, we have not adopted this distinction for Common Neo-Hakka.

3.4.12 CNH *-uek

This final is reconstructed for the following sets:

guó 國 QYS kwək  CDC *kuek7/EC *kwik
BMH [kwet]; MX [kwet7]; HL [kwet7]; SX [kwet7]; LF [kwet7]; LZ [kwet7 ~ kək7w]; SHT [kwet7]
HY [kat7]; XY [kək7]; DB [kwək7]; YL [kwəʔ7]; XC [kwəʔ7]
CT [kue2]; WP [kwəʔ7]; YD [kuʔ7]; SH [kuʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [koæ8]; AY [kuə3]; SY [kuə5]; XS [kwet7]; QN [kuʔ7]; ND1 [kək7]; ND2 [kək7]; ND3 [kək7]
OPH *kwet7  CNH *kuek7
huò or QYS ɣwək CDC *huek8/EC *'gwik

BMH [fət]; MX [fət8]; HL [fət8]; SX [fət8]; LF [fət8]; LZ [fət]; SHT [fət8]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [hue2]; XC [hueʔ]
CT [fe2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [hoe8 ~ vu2]; AY [—]; SY [huo5]; XS [fət8]; QN [fəʔ8]; ND1 [fək8]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *fət8] CNH *huek8

Interestingly, the Nánkāng reading appears to derive from an earlier *v- initial form, for which we unfortunately have no comparative evidence from other points.

For the first set O’Connor reconstructs Proto-Hakka final *-uet, the only case where he posits this final. We do not reconstruct *-uet for Common Neo-Hakka at all. The presence of final *-k in the two sets cited here differentiates our system from Proto-Hakka.

3.4.13 CNH *-ep

This final is reconstructed for three sets, as given below. In the first two, the *-ep forms are variant readings and may be loans from some external dialect type:

li粒 QYS ljəp CDC *lip8/EC *lip

BMH [lip]; MX [lip7]; HL [liap8]; SX [liap8]; LF [lip7]; LZ [lip8]; SHT [—]
HY [lip7]; XY [nap8]; DB [nap7]; YL [liʔ8]; XC [lieʔ]
CT [li6 ~ ti6]; WP [tiʔ7]; YD [liəʔ8]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tieʔ]; AY [tiə3]; SY [tie5]; XS [liʔ7]; QN [tiʔ7]; ND1 [lip7]; ND2 [lip7]; ND3 [liʔ8]
[OPH ?] CNH *lip7/*lip8/*lep7/*liap8

It seems likely that CNH *lep7 in this rather complex set is a Yuè dialect loan form. The Xìnyí and Diànbái forms are relatable to this *lep7 but irregularly have nasal initials. This peculiarity is particularly suggestive of Yuè dialect influence. Compare the following set, where this irregularity is not present. The fourth reconstruction, CNH *liap8, is probably a southern Mǐn loan form.
Common Neo-Hakka:
A Comparative Reconstruction

3.5 Neo-Hakka Finals having the Main Vowel *i

3.5.1 CNH *-i

Examples for this final are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>QYS</th>
<th>CDC</th>
<th>CNH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bi 鼻</td>
<td>QYS bi-4</td>
<td>CDC *bi6 ~ *bit8/bith</td>
<td>CNH *bi6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The initial of the Xīchāng form probably reflects regional Mandarin influence of some sort.
Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Neo-Hakka

After postalveolars a rather different pattern obtains:

The tone of the Ningdū-1 form is irregular.
shi 時 QYS zì           CDC *zhi2/EC *di
BMH [shi]; MX [ʂi2]; HL [ʃi2]; SX [ʃi2]; LF [ʃi2]; LZ [ʃi2]; SHT [si2]
HY [ʂi2]; XY [si2]; DB [si2]; YL [ʂi2]; XC [ʂi2]
CT [ʃi2]; WP [ʂi2]; YD [si2]; SH [ʂi2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ʃi2]
NK [ʂi2]; AY [ʂi2]; SY [ʂi2]; XS [ʂi2]; QN [ʂi2]; ND1 [ɕi2]; ND2 [ɕi2]; ND3 [ɕi2]
[OPH *ɕi2]           CNH *ɕi2

zhǐ 紙 QYS tśje:       CDC *ci3/EC *tex
BMH [chi]; MX [tsi3]; HL [tʃi3]; SX [tʃi3]; LF [tʃi3]; LZ [tʃi3]; SHT [tʃi3]
HY [tsi3]; XY [tsi3]; DB [tsi3]; YL [tʃi3]; XC [tʃi3]
CT [tʃi3]; WP [tsi3]; YD [tsi3]; SH [tsi3]; LC1 [tʃi3]; LC2 [tʃi3]
NK [tsi3]; AY [tsi3]; SY [tsi3]; XS [—]; QN [tsi3]; ND1 [tɕi3]; ND2 [tɕi1]; ND3 [tɕi3]
[OPH *tɕi3]           CNH *tɕi3

CNH *-i alternates with *-iai in numerous doublets, as the following will exemplify:

lì 犁 QYS liei           CDC *liai2/EC *'liy
BMH [lài ~ lé]; MX [li2w ~ lai2b]; HL [lai2]; SX [lai2]; LF [lai2]; LZ [lai2]; SHT [lai2]
HY [lie2]; XY [lai2]; DB [lai2]; YL [lai2]; XC [li2w ~ nai2b]
CT [le2]; WP [li2]; YD [lai2]; SH [lai2]; LC1 [le2]; LC2 [—]†
NK [ti2 ~ li2]; AY [ti2]; SY [ti2]; XS [le2]; QN [li2 ~ lei2]; ND1 [li2]; ND2 [lei2]; ND3 [liai2]
[OPH *lai2]           CNH *liai2/L *li2
†FJFYZ: [le2].

ni 泥 QYS niei           CDC *niai2/EC *’niy
BMH [ni ~ ni ~ nài]; MX [ni2w ~ nai2b]; HL [ni2w ~ nai2b]; SX [ni2w ~ nai2b]; LF [nai2];
LZ [lai2]; SHT [lai2]
HY [nie2]; XY [nai2]; DB [ne2]; YL [nei2]; XC [nai2]
CT [ne2]; WP [ni2 ~ ne2]; YD [lai2]; SH [nei2]; LC1 [ne2]; LC2 [ne2]
NK [ni2]; AY [ne2]; SY [ni2]; XS [ne2]; QN [nei2]; ND1 [nai2]; ND2 [nai2]; ND3 [nai2]
[OPH *nai2]           CNH *niai2/L *ni2
### 3.5.2 CNH *-ui

Examples for this final are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>QYS</th>
<th>CDC</th>
<th>EC</th>
<th>Buy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fèi 肥</td>
<td>bjwei</td>
<td>CDC</td>
<td>*vui2</td>
<td>*buy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BMH [phûi]; MX [p’ui2]; HL [p’ui2]; SX [p’ui2]; LF [p’ui2]; LZ [phui2b ~ fui2w]; SHT [p’ui2]</td>
<td>HY [fì2]; XY [fui2]; DB [p’ei2]; YL [p’ei2b]; XC [fei2w ~ p’ei2b]</td>
<td>CT [p’e2]; WP [phi2]; YD [p’ei2]; SH [phei2]; LC1 [p’o2]; LC2 [p’un2]</td>
<td>NK [fì2]; AY [fè2 ~ p’e2]; SY [fì2]; XS [fì2]; QN [fui2]; ND1 [p’ei2]; ND2 [p’ei2]; ND3 [fei2 ~ p’ei2]</td>
<td>OPH *p’ui2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Where the sources indicate register for such doublets, the final *-i forms are invariably identified as stylistically literary.
Examples of -ui after postalveolars are exceedingly rare and probably of extraneous origin. They will be discussed in §3.5.3.
Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Neo-Hakka

CNH *-ui occurs in doublets as a variant of *-oi and *-uoi. Examples are:

fèi 吠 QYS bjwɔ̞i- CDC *vui6/EC *both
BMH [phûi]; MX [—]; HL [p’oi5]; SX [p’oi5]; LF [p’oi6]; LZ [phɔi5]; SHT [p’ɔi5]
HY [p’uai6]; XY [p’uai3]; DB [p’ɔi3]; YL [—]; XC [fei5]
CT [p’e6]; WP [phue3]; YD [p’ei5]; SH [phei3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [fi5]; AY [p’ue6]; SY [fi5]; XS [—]; QN [p’oi6]; ND1 [p’oɛ6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [p’uai6]
[OPH *p’oi5] CNH p’oi6/*fui6 ?
The tone of the second reconstructed form is uncertain, because all dialects that would show Tone 6 take the first form. It could theoretically also be Tone 5.

huì 會 QYS ɣuâi- CDC *houi6/EC *gwath
BMH [fùi ~ fɔi ~ vɔi]; MX [fi4 ~ vɔi5]; HL [fui6w ~ voi5b]; SX [fui5w ~ voi5b]; LF [fui6 ~ voi6]; LZ [fui5 ~ fɔi5]; SHT [fui5]
HY [fuai6 ~ vuai6]; XY [fi3 ~ vuai5]; DB [fei3 ~ vɔi5]; YL [fei3]; XC [fei5 ~ voi5]
CT [vue6]; WP [fi3w ~ fe3 ~ uɛ5]; YD [voi5 ~ fei5]; SH [fei3 ~ vœ3b]; LC1 [vui6]; LC2 [fœ6 ~ voi6]
NK [hue5 ~ vœ5]; AY [hue6 ~ vœ6]; SY [hœ5 ~ ve5]; XS [vœ5 ~ fi5]; QN [fœi6]; ND1 [fei6 ~ vœi6]; ND2 [fei6 ~ vi6]; ND3 [fei6 ~ vei6]
[OPH *vœi6] CNH *vuoï6/L *huoi6 ~ *hui6
“To be able; to be imminent”//“a meeting”. In Lìzhīzhùāng the second form, derived from CNH *huoi6, is used in the sense “to be able, etc.”

péi 陪 QYS buâi CDC *buoi2/EC *’bi
BMH [phûi]; MX [p’i2]; HL [p’oi2]; SX [p’oi2]; LF [p’ui2]; LZ [phui2]; SHT [p’ui2]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [p’oi2]; XC [p’ei2]
CT [p’e2]; WP [phi2]; YD [p’ei2]; SH [phei2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [p’e2]; AY [p’e2]; SY [p’e2]; XS [p’i2]; QN [p’ui2]; ND1 [p’ei2]; ND2 [p’ei2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *p’oi2] CNH *p’oi2/*p’ui2
zuì 罪 QYS dzuâi: CDC *dzuoi4/EC *’dzuyx
BMH [tshûi]; MX [ts’ui5w ~ ts’oi1b]; HL [ts’ui6]; SX [ts’ui5]; LF [ts’ui6]; LZ [tʃhui5]; SHT
[—]
HY [ts’uai6]; XY [ts’ui3]; DB [ts’ei3]; YL [ts’uei3]; XC [ts’uei5]
CT [ts’ue6]; WP [tshe3]; YD [—]; SH [tshei3]; LC1 [ts’ui6]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’æ5]; AY [ts’e6]; SY [tsue2]; XS [ts’i5]; QN [ts’ui6]; ND1 [ts’ui6]; ND2 [ts’ui6]; ND3
[ts’ui6]
OPH *ts’ui6 CNH *ts’uei6/L *ts’ui6
Cf. Wêngyuân: [ts’ui6].
The Wêngyuân form is a probable back formation from a borrowed *ts’ui5.

As indicated by the final example above, in some cases variants in *-ui in these doublets
are identified in the sources as of literary register.

3.5.3 CNH *-iui

The following are examples of this final:

shuí 水 QYS ñwi: CDC *shui3/EC *0uyx
BMH [shuí]; MX [sui3]; HL [fui3]; SX [fui3]; LF [fui3]; LZ [fui3]; SHT [sui3]
HY [sui3]; XY [sui3]; DB [se3]; YL [suei3]; XC [suei3]
CT [fue3]; WP [fi3b]; YD [fï3]; SH [fi3]; LC1 [fï3]; LC2 [fye3]
NK [fey3]; AY [se3]; SY [fey3]; XS [fï3]; QN [sui3]; ND1 [sui3]; ND2 [sui3]; ND3 [sui3]
OPH *sui3 CNH *sui3
Cf. Wêngyuân [sui3].

chuí 槌・錘 QYS djwi CDC *jui2/EC *druy
BMH [cchûi]; MX [ts’ui2]; HL [ţ’ui2]; SX [ţ’ui2]; LF [ţ’ui2]; LZ [tʃhui2]; SHT [ts’ui2]
HY [ts’ui2]; XY [ts’ui2]; DB [ts’ei2]; YL [ţ’uei2]; XC [ţ’uei2]
CT [ţ’ue2]; WP [tshe2 ~ tshi2]; YD [ts’ei2]; SH [tshei2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ţ’ye2]
Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Neo-Hakka

NK [t’y2]; AY [ts’e2]; SY [t’y2]; XS [tʃ’i2]; QN [ts’ui2]; ND1 [ts’ui2]; ND2 [ts’ui2]; ND3 [ts’ui2]

OPH *tš’ui2   CNH *tš’iui2

Cf. Wēngyuán [ts’iu2].

The Liánchéng-2 form is quite irregular. We would expect [k’vi2] here for this dialect. The form may be a loan of some sort.

zuì 醉 QYS tswi-       CDC *tsui5/EC *tsuth
BMH [tsùi]; MX [tsui5]; HL [tsui5]; SX [tsui5]; LF [tsui5]; LZ [tʃui5]; SHT [tsui5]
HY [tsui5]; XY [tsui5]; DB [ts’e5]; YL [tsuei5]; XC [tsuei5]
CT [tsi5]; WP [tse3]; YD [tsei5]; SH [tsei5]; LC1 [tsi5]; LC2 [tsi5]
NK [te’y5]; AY [tse5]; SY [tai2]; XS [tai5]; QN [tsui5]; ND1 [tai5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [tsi5]

[OPH *tsui5]   CNH *tsiu5

Cf. Wēngyuán: [tsiu5].

Many examples of this final occur in doublets of one kind or another, as exemplified in the following:

chuī 吹 QYS tśhjwe       CDC *chui1/EC *thoy
BMH [chhoi ~ chhui]; MX [ts’oi1]; HL [tʃ’oilw ~ tʃ’ui1b]; SX [tʃ’oi1]; LF [tʃ’oi1]; LZ [tʃhui1];
SHT [ts’ui2]
HY [ts’ui1]; XY [ts’ei1]; DB [ts’e1]; YL [tʃ’uei1]; XC [tʃ’uei1]
CT [tʃ’ue1]; WP [tse1]; YD [ts’ei1]; SH [tse1]; LC1 [k’ui1]; LC2 [k’vi1]
NK [te’y1]; AY [ts’e1]; SY [tai’y1]; XS [tai’i1]; QN [ts’ui1]; ND1 [ts’ui1]; ND2 [ts’ui1]; ND3 [ts’ui1]

[OPH *tš’oi1]   CNH *tš’iu1/L *tš’oi1

Cf. Wēngyuán [ts’iu1].

gui 櫃 QYS giwi-3       CDC *gui6/EC *guth
BMH [khwùi]; MX [k’ui5]; HL [k’ui5]; SX [k’ui5]; LF [k’ui6]; LZ [khui5]; SHT [k’ui5]
HY [k’ui6]; XY [k’ui3]; DB [k’uei3]; YL [k’uei3]; XC [kuei5]
CT [k’ue6]; WP [khui3]; YD [k’uei5]; SH [khuei3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɛ’y5]; AY [k’ue6]; SY [tɛ’y5]; XS [k’ui5]; QN [k’ui6]; ND1 [k’ui6]; ND2 [k’ui6]; ND3 [k’ui6]
[OPH *k’ui6]   CNH *k’ui6/*k’ui6
The Nánkāng and Shàngyóu forms derive from the second reconstruction.

lèi 涕 QYS ljwi-   CDC *lui6/EC *loth
BMH [lùi]; MX [lui5]; HL [lui6]; SX [lui6]; LF [lui6]; LZ [lui5]; SHT [—]
HY [lui6]; XY [lui3]; DB [lui3]; YL [luei3]; XC [luei5]
CT [lue6]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [lue6]
NK [ti1]; AY [li6]; SY [—]; XS [li5]; QN [li6]; ND1 [lui6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [lui6]
[OPH *lui6]   CNH *lui6/*lui6
The Nankāng, Ānyuǎn, Xīshuǐ, and Quánnán forms reflect the second reconstruction.

suì 歲 QYS sjwäi-   CDC *sioi5/EC *soth
BMH [sɔi ~ sùi ~ sè]; MX [sui5w ~ se5b]; HL [sɔi5]; SX [sɔi5]; LF [sɔi5]; LZ [sɔi5]; SHT [sɔi5]
HY [sɔai5]; XY [sui5]; DB [lɔi5]; YL [suei5]; XC [sɔi5]
CT [sɛ5]; WP [sɛ5]; YD [sɛi3]; SH [sɛi5]; LC1 [sɛi5]; LC2 [—]
NK [sɛi5]; AY [sue5]; SY [sue2]; XS [sɛi5]; QN [sɔi5]; ND1 [sɛi5]; ND2 [sɛi5]; ND3 [sai5]
[OPH *sɔi5 ?]   CNH *sɔi5 ~ *sioi5 ~/L *sui5
CNH *sioi5 may be reflected by the Méixiàn bái form and the three Ningdū forms.
Cf. Wēngyuán: [sui5].

Consider now the following examples:

ruì 銳 QYS jiwäi-   CDC *yui6/EC *youth
BMH [yũi]; MX [iui5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [suei5]; XC [—]
CT [ʃue5]; WP [—]; YD [iei3]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [lue5]; AY [lue6]; SY [lue3]; XS [—]; QN [iui6]; ND1 [lui6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Neo-Hakka

[OPH ?] CNH *iui6/*šui5

The l- initial forms in this set do not show a recognizable correspondence pattern and appear to be late borrowings of a northern or northern-like [ui6].

shui 睡 QYS ʐjwe- CDC *zhui6/EC *doyh
BMH [shòi]; MX [sɔi5]; HL [ʃɔi6]; SX [ʃɔi5]; LF [ʃɔi6]; LZ [ʃɔi5]; SHT [sɔi5]
HY [—]; XY [suai5]; DB [sɔi5]; YL [ʃɔi3]; XC [ʃɔi5]
CT [ʃue6]; WP [se3]; YD [sɔi5 ~ fei3]; SH [fei3]; LC1 [ʃi6]; LC2 [ʃi6]
NK [ʃai5]; AY [ʃai5]; SY [ʃai2]; XS [ʃi3]; QN [ʃai6]; ND1 [ʃai6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
OPH *ʃoi6 CNH *ʃoi6/*ʃui6

Cases of CNH *-ui after postalveolars are very rare in the data. In the case of ruì 锐 “sharp”, our suspicion is that CNH *iui6 is the native Hakka form, while *šui5 is of extraneous origin. The same may be true for the form *šui6 for “sleep” in the second example. In fact, our suspicion is that all cases of *-ui in this environment may have been borrowed from external sources.

3.5.4 CNH *-in

Examples of this final are:

jìn 緊 QYS kjien:4 CDC *kin3/EC *kinx
BMH [kin]; MX [kin3]; HL [kin3]; SX [kin3]; LF [kin3]; LZ [kin3]; SHT [—]
HY [kin3]; XY [kin3]; DB [kən3]; YL [tei3]; XC [tei3]
CT [tʃeŋ3]; WP [tsiŋ3]; YD [kiŋ3]; SH [tei3]; LC1 [kien3]; LC2 [kəŋ3 ~ kəŋ3]
NK [teiŋ3]; AY [teiŋ3]; SY [teiŋ3]; XS [teiŋ3]; QN [tei3]; ND1 [tsəŋ3]; ND2 [tsəŋ3]; ND3 [tsəŋ3]
OPH *kin3 CNH *kin3

lìn 鱗 QYS ljen CDC *liŋ2/EC *lin
BMH [lin]; MX [lin1]; HL [lin1]; SX [lin1]; LF [lin2]; LZ [lin1b ~ lin2w]; SHT [lin1]
Common Neo-Hakka:  
A Comparative Reconstruction

HY [lin1]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [lin2]; XC [lin2]  
CT [teŋ1]; WP [tiŋ1]; YD [liŋ2]; SH [liŋ2w ~ tiŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [leŋ1]†  
NK [tiŋ2]; AY [tiŋ1]; SY [tiŋ2]; XS [lin2]; QN [lin1]; ND1 [lin2]; ND2 [lin2]; ND3 [—]  
[OPH *lin1]  CNH *lin1/L *lin2  
†FJFYZ: [leŋ1w ~ teŋ2b].

pǐn 品  QYS  phjəm:  CDC *phim3/EC *phimx  
BMH [phin]; MX [p’in3]; HL [p’in3]; SX [p’in3]; LF [p’in3]; LZ [phim3]; SHT [p’in3]  
HY [p’in3]; XY [p’in3]; DB [p’an3]; YL [p’in3]; XC [p’in3]  
CT [p’eŋ3]; WP [phiŋ3]; YD [p’iŋ3]; SH [phiŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]  
NK [p’iŋ3]; AY [p’iŋ3]; SY [p’iŋ3]; XS [p’in3]; QN [p’in3]; ND1 [p’in3]; ND2 [p’in3]; ND3 [p’in3]  
OPH *p’in3  CNH *p’in3

xīn 新  QYS  sjen  CDC *sin1/EC *sinh  
BMH [sin]; MX [sin1]; HL [sin1]; SX [sin1]; LF [sin1]; LZ [jin1]; SHT [sin1]  
HY [sin1]; XY [sin1]; DB [lən1]; YL [ein1]; XC [sin1]  
CT [seŋ1]; WP [siŋ1]; YD [siŋ1]; SH [eĩ1]; LC1 [seŋ1]; LC2 [seŋ1]  
NK [eĩ1]; AY [sin1]; SY [eĩ1]; XS [sin1]; QN [eĩ1]; ND1 [eĩ1]; ND2 [eĩ1]; ND3 [sin1]  
OPH *sin1  CNH *sin1

yīn 因  QYS ʔjien4  CDC *in1/EC *in  
BMH [yin]; MX [in1]; HL [3en1]; SX [in1]; LF [jin1]; LZ [sin1]; SHT [jin1]  
HY [in1]; XY [in1]; DB [zan1]; YL [in1]; XC [in1]  
CT [ieŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [in1]; SH [in1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]  
NK [in1]; AY [jin1]; SY [jin1]; XS [in1]; QN [in1]; ND1 [in1]; ND2 [in1]; ND3 [in1]  
OPH *in1  CNH *in1

After postalveolars a different pattern emerges:
chén 陳  QYS  ċjen  CDC *jin2/EC *drin
BMH [chhîn]; MX [ts’an2]; HL [tʃ’en2]; SX [tʃ’en2]; LF [tʃ’in2]; LZ [tʃhin2]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’in2]; XY [ts’in2]; DB [ts’an2]; YL [tʃ’an2]; XC [tʃ’an2]
CT [tʃ’en2]; WP [tsheŋ2]; YD [ts’iŋ2]; SH [tsheŋ2]; LC1 [tʃ’en2]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’iŋ2]; AY [ts’oŋ2]; SY [te’iŋ2]; XS [tʃ’an2]; QN [te’in2]; ND1 [ts’an2]; ND2 [ts’an2];
   ND3 [ts’an2]
[OPH *tʃ’in2]   CNH *tʃ’in2

shén 神  QYS  dzjen  CDC *zhin2/EC *δiŋ
BMH [shîn]; MX [sən2]; HL [ʃen2]; SX [ʃen2]; LF [ʃin2]; LZ [ʃin2]; SHT [sin2]
HY [sin2]; XY [sin2]; DB [sən2]; YL [ʃən2]; XC [sən2]
CT [ʃəŋ2]; WP [səŋ2]; YD [ʃin2]; SH [ʃəŋ2]; LC1 [ʃəŋ2]; LC2 [—]
NK [ʃəŋ2]; AY [sən2]; SY [ʃəŋ2]; XS [ʃən2]; QN [ʃin2]; ND1 [sən2]; ND2 [sən2]; ND3 [sən2]
OPH *ʃin2   CNH *ʃin2

Particularly interesting in connection with CNH *-in are cases where this final has doublet
readings in *-iun. Several examples of this were already cited in §3.3.4 above. We give those
again here for ease of reference, together with several more:

jin 近  QYS  gən;  gən-  CDC *gin4/EC *gunx
BMH [khiun ~ khiùn]; MX [k’iun5w ~ k’iun1b]; HL [k’iun6 ~ k’iun1]; SX [k’iun5 ~ k’iun1];
   LF [k’iun6 ~ k’iun1]; LZ [k’iun1b ~ k’iun5w]; SHT [k’iun1]
HY [k’iun5]; XY [k’est]; DB [k’an1]; YL [teyn1]; XC [tein5w ~ te’iŋ5b]
CT [k’eŋ1]; WP [kheŋ1]; YD [k’un5 ~ k’un1]; SH [khəl ~ tehiŋ3]; LC1 [k’ieŋ1 ~ k’iæŋ1]; LC2
   [—]
NK [te’iŋ1]; AY [te’iŋ3]; SY [te’iŋ1]; XS [te’in1]; QN [te’iun1]; ND1 [ts’an1]; ND2 [ts’an1];
   ND3 [ts’an6]
[OPH *k’iun1]   CNH *k’iun1/L *k’iun6/*k’in1

qin 芹  QYS  gən  CDC *gin2/EC *gun
BMH [khiùn]; MX [k’iun2]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [k’iun2]; LZ [k’iun2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕ‘in2]; XC [tɕ‘in2]
CT [tf‘əŋ2]; WP [tʂhiŋ2]; YD [k‘un2]; SH [təɦiŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕ‘iŋ2]; AY [tɕ‘iəŋ2]; SY [tɕ‘iŋ2]; XS [tɕ‘in2]; QN [tɕ‘iŋ1]; ND1 [tɕ‘ən2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *k’iun2] CNH *k’iun2/*k’in2

rēn 忍 QYS ńźjen: CDC *nhin4/EC *nunx
BMH [nyun ~ nyûn†]; MX [niun1]; HL [niun1]; SX [niun1]; LF [niun1]; LZ [ŋiun3]; SHT [—]
HY [ŋin5]; XY [ŋyn1]; DB [nən1]; YL [nin3]; XC [nin3]
CT [nəŋ1]; WP [niŋ1]; YD [ŋin1]††; SH [ŋiŋ1]; LC1 [nŋeŋ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [nŋiŋ5]; AY [nŋiəŋ3]; SY [nŋiŋ3]; XS [nin3]; QN [nin1]; ND1 [nən3]; ND2 [nən3]; ND3 [nən3]
OPH *ŋiun1 CNH *niun1/*niun3/L *nŋin1/*ńiun3
†Said by the source to be the “proper” (i.e., literary or character) reading.
††Form after Lán (1999).

rēn 刃 QYS ńźjen- CDC *nhin6/EC *nunh
BMH [nyûn]; MX [niun3]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [nŋiŋ5]; AY [nŋiəŋ6]; SY [nŋiŋ3]; XS [nin5]; QN [nin6]; ND1 [nən6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ŋiun3] CNH *niun6/*ńiun6

yīn 銀 QYS ngjen CDC *ngin2/(EC *ngun)
BMH [nyûn]; MX [niun2]; HL [niun2]; SX [niun2]; LF [niun2]; LZ [ŋiun2]; SHT [ŋiun2]
HY [ŋan2]; XY [ŋən2]; DB [ŋiən2]; YL [in2]; XC [in2w ~ iŋ3b]
CT [ŋəŋ2]; WP [ŋəŋ2]; YD [ŋəŋ2]; SH [ŋəŋ2]; LC1 [ŋəŋ2]; LC2 [ŋən2 ~ ŋəŋ2]
NK [ŋiŋ2]; AY [ŋiŋ2]; SY [ŋiŋ2]; XS [nin2]; QN [niun2]; ND1 [nən2]; ND2 [nən2]; ND3 [nən2]
OPH *ŋ2iun2 CNH *niun2/*ŋən2/*ńiun2

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In this rather complex set, the first reconstruction is unambiguously supported by all dialects in
the first line, by the Liánchéng-1 and Quânnán forms, and by the first Liánchéng variant. The
Chängfûng, Ānyuàn, Xiūshuí, and Ningdû points are ambiguous but could arguably derive from
the first reconstruction. The Hêyuàn, Xînyì, Wûping, Yǒngdîng, and Shânhâng forms, together
with the second Liánchéng variant, support the second reconstruction. This form is a possible
Yuè dialect borrowing. The Nánkâng and Shângyôu forms support the third reconstruction. The
Diânbái form must derive from earlier *ŋian2, which cannot be reconstructed comparatively for
this set. (Note that reflexes of CNH *-ian are attested variants of CNH *-en after gutturals in
this dialect.) The Yîlông and first Xîchâng forms derive from earlier *in2, a probable
Mandarinizing loan form. The Xîchâng bái reading is of uncertain origin.

Most authorities who study the oldest known stages of Chinese envisage unrounded finals
in syllables of all the types seen above. Hakka shows a mixture of forms, both rounded and
unrounded, and where register differences are noted, it is the unrounded forms that are identified
as literary. It therefore seems probable that the rounded forms are the autochthonous Hakka
ones, while the unrounded literary readings are borrowings from mainstream Chinese varieties.

Compare now the following two sets:

qín 芹  QYS gjàn   CDC *gin2/EC *gun
BMH [khiûn]; MX [k’iun2]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [k’iun2]; LZ [k’iun2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [te’in2]; XC [te’in2]
CT [tʃ’eŋ2]; WP [tʃiŋ2]; YD [k’un2]; SH [tehiŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’iŋ2]; AY [te’iəŋ2]; SY [te’iŋ2]; XS [te’in2]; QN [te’in1]; ND1 [ts’oŋ2]; ND2 [—]; ND3
[—]
[OPH *k’iun2]   CNH *k’iun2/*k’in2

qún 裙  QYS guȳn   CDC *giun2/EC *gun
BMH [khiûn]; MX [k’iun2]; HL [k’iun2]; SX [k’iun2]; LF [k’iun2]; LZ [khiun2]; SHT [k’iun2]
HY [k’un2]; XY [k’un2]; DB [k’un2]; YL [te’yn2]; XC [te’in2]

Jerry Norman was an exception to this, as we shall presently see.
CT [tʃ’en2]; WP [tsiŋ2]; YD [k’un2]; SH [t’eiŋ2]; LC1 [k’ueŋ2]; LC2 [—]
NK [t’e’iŋ2]; AY [t’e’iəŋ2]; SY [tɕ’yŋ2]; XS [t’e’in2]; QN [t’e’iun2]; ND1 [ts’ən2]; ND2 [ts’ən2];
ND3 [ts’ən2]

OPH *k’iun2    CNH *k’iun2

The first example, qín 芹 “Chinese celery”, is a syllable of the type with which we are concerned here. The second, qún 裙 “skirt”, is historically a “true” rounded final syllable. In native or indigenous Hakka, they are homophones, though for “celery” Hakka also as a borrowed reading in *k’in2. Interestingly, Norman’s Early Chinese also treats these two words as homophones and leaves unexplained the fact that they have different reflexes in many mainstream Chinese varieties. Norman based his Early Chinese final *-un in both these two words on Mǐn evidence. Cf. Proto Mǐn *ghyn2 “celery”; *gyn2 “skirt” (Norman 2014; Ms. 2). But it is highly likely that he was also aware of the complementary and corroborating Hakka evidence. Let us now cite the parallel examples from comparative Shē (Coblin Ms.1):

qín 芹 QYS gjan       CDC *gin2/EC *gun
FA [k’in2]; FD [k’yn2]; LY [k’yŋ2]; SM [k’yəŋ2]; SC [k’en2]; HA [k’in2];
GX [t’e’in2]; CN [k’ən2]; JN [t’ein2]; LS [t’ein2]; LngY [t’ein2];
CZ [k’en2]; FS [k’ion2]; TY [—]  CS *k’in2 ~ *k’yən2
The final of the SC form is irregular and not accounted for by either reconstruction.

qún 裙 QYS gjuən       CDC *giun2/EC *gun
FA [k’un2]; FD [k’un2]; LY [k’uŋ2]; SM [k’uŋ2]; SC [k’un2]; HA [k’un2];
GX [k’un2]; CN [k’un2]; JN [k’un2]; LS [k’un2]; LngY [k’un2];
CZ [k’un2]; FS [k’un2]; TY [t’e’ən2]  CS *k’un2
The TY word is not derived from the CS reconstructed form.

Here we note that the Common Shē forms also reflect the rounding that Norman’s Early Chinese reconstructions would predict. But in addition to this, they also show a difference in actual phonetic realizations of the finals of “celery” and “skirt”, which is not present in either Proto-Mīn or Common Neo-Hakka. What this means for us is that in future, when we
reconstruct Common Hakka-Shē, we must posit for this stage phonetically different rounded finals for “celery” and “skirt”. And whatever forms we ultimately decide upon will *a fortiori* account for all the Hakka, Shē, and Mǐn evidence. But, ultimately, this step will also necessitate some sort of modification or refinement of Norman’s Early Chinese system, which as it turns out will by the same token account for the different finals of “celery” and “skirt” found today in mainstream Chinese varieties. So it is that the historical phonology of Common Hakka-Shē will contribute to the general history of older stages of Chinese.

### 3.5.5 CNH *-ŋ

Examples for this final are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Reconstruction</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bīng 冰</td>
<td>QYS pjøŋ</td>
<td>CDC *ping1/EC *ping</td>
<td>BMH [pen]; MX [pen1]; HL [pen1]; SX [pen1]; LF [pen1]; LZ [pen1]; SHT [—]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>líng 凌</td>
<td>QYS ljøŋ</td>
<td>CDC *ling2/EC *ling</td>
<td>BMH [lin]; MX [lin2]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [lin2]; LZ [lin2]; SHT [—]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yīng 应</td>
<td>QYS ʔjøŋ “ought”</td>
<td>CDC *ing1/EC *ing</td>
<td>BMH [yin]; MX [in1]; HL [ʒen5]; SX [in5]; LF [jin5]; LZ [ʒin1]; SHT [jin5]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The coda in the second reconstructed form is uncertain, because determinative forms excluding final *-n are lacking in the set.
Both forms mean “ought” in their respective dialects.

In sets of this type, the coda *-ŋ is preserved only in Níngdū-2 and 3. Elsewhere, it merges entirely with *-n.

The following examples involve syllables with Common Neo-Hakka guttural initials:

jing 京  QYS kjung       CDC *kiang1/EC *kang
BMH [kin]; MX [kin1]; HL [kin1]; SX [kin1]; LF [kin1]; LZ [kin1]; SHT —
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕin1]; XC [tɕin1]
CT [tʃeŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [kiŋ1]; SH [tɕiŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ken1]
NK [tɕiŋ1]; AY [tɕiəŋ1]; SY [tɕiŋ1]; XS [tɕiŋ1]; QN [—]; ND1 [tɕəŋ1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *kin1]  CNH *kiŋ1

xíng 形  QYS yieng       CDC *hiang2/EC *’geng
BMH [hin]; MX [hin2]; HL [hin2]; SX [hin2]; LF [hin2]; LZ [hin2]; SHT —
HY [hin2]; XY [sin2]; DB [hən2]; YL [ein2]; XC [ein2]
CT [ʃeŋ2]; WP [sin2]; YD [sin2]; SH [ɕiŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɕiŋ2]; AY [ɕiəŋ2]; SY [ɕiŋ2]; XS [ɕiŋ2]; QN [ɕiŋ2]; ND1 [səŋ2]; ND2 [səŋ2]; ND3 [səŋ2]
[OPH *hin2]  CNH *hiŋ2

Here, Níngdū-1 joins its two congeners in preserving CNH *-ŋ. The same configuration is observable in words having Common Neo-Hakka postalveolars, e.g.,

chéng 承  QYS źjong       CDC *zhing2 ~ *jing2/EC *ding
BMH [shin]; MX [sən2]; HL [ʃen2]; SX [ʃen2]; LF [ʃin2]; LZ [ʃin2]; SHT —
HY [sin2]; XY [sin2]; DB [sən2]; YL [tʃən2]; XC [tʃən2]
CT [ʃeŋ2]; WP [ʃeŋ2]; YD [ʃiŋ2]; SH [ɕiŋ2]; LC1 [ʃeŋ2]; LC2 [—]
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NK [ɕiŋ2]; AY [tsʰəŋ2]; SY [tɕiŋ2]; XS [ʂəŋ2]; QN [tɕin2]; ND1 [səŋ2]; ND2 [tsʰəŋ2 ~ səŋ2]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *šin2] CNH *šiŋ2/*tš’iŋ2

shēng 升 QYS ʂjəŋ CDC *shing1/EC *θiŋ
BMH [ʃin]; MX [səŋ1]; HL [ʃin1]; SX [ʃin1]; LF [ʃin1]; LZ [ʃin1]; SHT [ʃin1]
HY [ʃiŋ1]; XY [ʃiŋ1]; DB [ʃəŋ1]; YL [ʂəŋ1]; XC [ʂəŋ1]
CT [ʃəŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [səŋ1]; SH [ʃəŋ1]; LC1 [ʃəŋ1]; LC2 [—]

NK [ɕiŋ1]; AY [səŋ1]; SY [ɕiŋ1]; XS [ʂəŋ1]; QN [ɕiŋ1]; ND1 [səŋ1]; ND2 [səŋ1]; ND3 [səŋ1]

[OPH *ʃin1] CNH *ɕiŋ1

zhēng 蒸 QYS ʈʂjəŋ CDC *cing1/EC *ting
BMH [chin]; MX [səŋ1]; HL [ʃəŋ1]; SX [ʃəŋ1]; LF [ʃəŋ1]; LZ [ʃəŋ1]; SHT [ʦəŋ1]
HY [ʃəŋ1]; XY [ʃəŋ1]; DB [tsəŋ1]; YL [ʦəŋ1]; XC [ʦəŋ1]
CT [ʃəŋ5]; WP [ʦəŋ1]; YD [ʃəŋ1]; SH [ʦəŋ1]; LC1 [ʃəŋ5]; LC2 [—]

NK [ʨiŋ1]; AY [ʦəŋ1]; SY [ʨiŋ1]; XS [ʦəŋ1]; QN [ʨiŋ1]; ND1 [ʦəŋ1]; ND2 [ʦəŋ1]; ND3 [ʦəŋ1]

[OPH *tʃiŋ1] CNH *tʃiŋ1

CNH *-iŋ is particularly common in doublets where it is the literary correlate of *-aŋ (after postalveolar affricates) and *-iaŋ (elsewhere, including fricative *ʂ-). The following are examples:

dìng 定 QYS ʈsiŋ- CDC *diang6/EC *dengh
BMH [ʈsin]; MX [ʦin5]; HL [ʈin6]; SX [ʨin5]; LF [tɕin6]; LZ [ʦhəŋ5 ~ thin5w]; SHT [ʈin5]
HY [tɕin6 ~ t’iaŋ5]; XY [tɕin3]; DB [tɕən3]; YL [tɕin3]; XC [tɕin5]
CT [ʈɕəŋ6]; WP [ʨiŋ3]; YD [tɕəŋ5]; SH [ʦhəŋ3]; LC1 [tɕiæ6]; LC2 [ʦəŋ6]

NK [tɕiŋ5]; AY [tɕiŋ6 ~ t’iəŋ6]; SY [tɕiŋ5]; XS [tɕin5]; QN [tɕin6]; ND1 [tɕin6 ~ t’iaŋ6]; ND2 [tɕin6 ~ t’iaŋ6]; ND3 [tɕiŋ6 ~ t’iaŋ6]

[OPH *tɕin6] CNH *t’iaŋ6/L *t’iŋ6
chéng 城 QYS žjang CDC *zial2 ~ *ijang2/EC *deng
BMH [šang]; MX [san2]; HL [jɑŋ2]; SX [jɑŋ2]; LF [jɑŋ2]; LZ [jɑŋ2]; SHT [san2]
HY —; XY —; DB —; YL [ʦ’en2]; XC [ʦ’en2w ~ šan2b]
CT [ʃɑŋ]; WP [san2]; YD [san2]; SH [san2]; LC1 [ʃɑŋ]; LC2 [ʃɑŋ]
NK [te’iŋ2]; AY [sɑ2]; SY [te’iŋ2 ~ sɑ2]; XS [ʦ’iŋ2 ~ şan2]; QN [te’in2 ~ şan2]; ND1 [ʦ’iŋ2 ~ şan2]; ND2 [san2]; ND3 —
[OPH *šang2] CNH *šian2/L *tš’iŋ2
Cf. Qīngliú: [ʃã2].

píng 瓶 QYS being CDC *biang2/EC *’beng
BMH [phiâng ~ phên]; MX [p’iŋ2w ~ p’iɑŋ2b]; HL [p’iɑŋ2]; SX [p’iɑŋ2]; LF [p’iɑŋ2]; LZ [p’iɑŋ2]; SHT —
HY [p’iɑŋ2]; XY [p’iŋ2]; DB [p’iɑŋ2]; YL [p’iɑŋ2]; XC [p’iŋ2]
CT [p’eŋ2]; WP —; YD —; SH —; LC1 —; LC2 —
NK [p’iŋ2]; AY [p’iŋ2]; SY [p’iŋ2]; XS [p’iŋ2]; QN [p’iŋ2]; ND1 [p’iŋ2]; ND2 [p’iŋ2]; ND3 [p’iŋ2]
[OPH * p’iɑŋ2] CNH *-p’iɑŋ2/L *p’iŋ2

qīng 青 QYS tshieng CDC *tshiang1/EC *tsheng
BMH [tshiang]; MX [ts’hiaŋ1]; HL [ts’hiaŋ1]; SX [ts’hiaŋ1]; LF [ts’hiaŋ1]; LZ [tʃhiaŋ1b ~ tʃhiŋ1w]; SHT [ts’hiaŋ1]
HY [ts’hiaŋ1]; XY [ts’hiaŋ1]; DB [ts’hiaŋ1 ~ ts’hiaŋ1]; YL [te’hiaŋ1]; XC [te’hiaŋ1]
CT [ts’eŋ1]; WP [tshiaŋ1]; YD [ts’hiaŋ1]; SH [tshiaŋ1]; LC1 [ts’hiaŋ1]; LC2 —
NK [te’in1 ~ te’iã1]; AY [ts’in1w ~ ts’iã1b]; SY [te’in1 ~ te’iã1]; XS [ts’in1 ~ ts’hiaŋ1]; QN [te’in1 ~ te’hiaŋ1]; ND1 [te’in1 ~ te’hiaŋ1]; ND2 [te’hiaŋ1]; ND3 [ts’iŋ1 ~ ts’hiaŋ1]
[OPH *ts’hiaŋ1] CNH *ts’hiaŋ1/L *ts’iŋ1

shēng 聲 QYS ñjang CDC *shiang1/EC *θeng
BMH [ʃang]; MX [san1]; HL [ʃɑŋ1]; SX [ʃɑŋ1]; LF [ʃɑŋ1]; LZ [ʃɑŋ1]; SHT —
HY [san1]; XY [san1]; DB [san1]; YL [ʃɑŋ1]; XC [ʃɑŋ1]
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CT [ʃeŋ1]; WP [saŋ1]; YD [saŋ1]; SH [saŋ1]; LC1 [ʃaŋ1]; LC2 [ʃaŋ1]
NK [ɕiŋ1w ~ sã1b]; AY [sã1]; SY [ɕiŋ1 ~ sã1]; XS [ɕəŋ1 ~ saŋ1]; QN [saŋ1]; ND1 [saŋ1 ~ saŋ1]; ND2 [saŋ1]; ND3 [saŋ1 ~ saŋ1]
OPH *šang1  CNH *šiaŋ1/L *šiŋ1
Cf. Qīngliú: [ʃiŋ1].

zhěng 整 QYS tsjžŋ: CDC *ciang3/EC *tengx
BMH [chin]; MX [tsăn3w ~ tsən3b]; HL [tʃən3w ~ tʃəŋ3b]; SX [tʃən3w ~ tʃəŋ3b]; LF [tʃin3]; LZ [tʃin3]; SHT [—]
HY [tsəŋ3 ~ tsin3]; XY [tsin3]; DB [tsəŋ3]; YL [tɕən3]; XC [tɕən3]
CT [ʃeŋ3]; WP [tsiŋ3]; YD [tɕiŋ3]; SH [tɕiŋ3 ~ tsəŋ3]; LC1 [ʃaŋ3]; LC2 [ʃəŋ3]
NK [tsəŋ3 ~ tsən3]; AY [tɕiŋ3 ~ tsən3]; SY [tɕiŋ3 ~ tsən3]; XS [tɕəŋ3 ~ tsəŋ3]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [tsəŋ1b ~ tsəŋ1w]; ND3 [tsəŋ3]
[OPH *tʃəŋ3 ?]  CNH *tʃəŋ3/L *tʃəŋ3
The initial of the second Héyuán form is irregularly aspirated.
Cf. Qīngliú: [ʃiŋ3].

Finally, we should note that no final *-iŋ is reconstructed by O’Connor for Proto-Hakka, since Common Neo-Hakka *-iŋ had merged with *-in in all the Mainstream dialects.

3.5.6 CNH *-im

Examples for this final are:

jīn 金 QYS kjəm CDC *kim1/EC *kum
BMH [kim]; MX [kim1]; HL [kim1w ~ kinb]; SX [kim1]; LF [kim1]; LZ [kim1]; SHT [kim1]
HY [kim1]; XY [kim1]; DB [kim1]; YL [tei1]; XC [tei1]
CT [tʃeŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [kin1]; SH [tei1]; LC1 [keŋ1]; LC2 [keŋ1]
NK [tei1]; AY [tei1]; SY [tei1]; XS [tei1]; QN [tei1]; ND1 [tsəm1]; ND [tsəm1]; ND3 [tsəm1]
[OPH *kim1]  CNH *kim1
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lín 林 QYS ljəm CDC *lim2/EC *lim
BMH [lim]; MX [lim2]; HL [lim2]; SX [lim2]; LF [lim2]; LZ [lim2]; SHT [lim2]
HY [lim2]; XY [lim2]; DB [ləm2]; YL [lin2]; XC [lin2]
CT [leŋ2w ~ teŋ2b]; WP [tiŋ2]; YD [liŋ2]; SH [tiŋ2 ~ liŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [liŋ2]; AY [liŋ2]; SY [liŋ2 ~ tiŋ2]; XS [lin2]; QN [lin2]; ND1 [lim2]; ND2 [lim2]; ND3 [lin2]
OPH *lim2 CNH *lim2
†FJFYZ: [leŋ2w ~ teŋ2b].

xún 寻 QYS zjəm CDC *zim2/EC *zim
BMH [tshîm]; MX [ts’im2]; HL [ts’im2]; SX [ts’im2]; LF [ts’im2]; LZ [ts’im2]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’im2]; XY [ts’im2]; DB [ts’am2]; YL [tɕ’in2]; XC [tɕin2]
CT [ts’eŋ2]; WP [ts’hîn2 ~ siŋ2]; YD [ts’n’iŋ]; SH [tɕhin2]; LC1 [ts’eŋ2]; LC2 [tʃeŋ2]
NK [tʃeŋ2]; AY [ts’n’iŋ]; SY [tʃ’eŋ2]; XS [tɕin2]; QN [tɕ’in2]; ND1 [tʃ’e’m2]; ND2 [tʃ’e’m2];
ND3 [ts’im2]
[OPH *ts’im2] CNH *ts’im2
†Tone confirmed apud Chappell & Lamarre (2005) and Zhuāng & Huáng (2014).
The second Wúpíng form and the Xīchāng form probably reflect an earlier *sim2, but the coda
of this syllable cannot be confirmed comparatively.

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

After postalveolars we find:

chén 沈 QYS djəm CDC *jim2/EC *drum
BMH [chhîm]; MX [ts’am2]; HL [tʃ’em2]; SX [tʃ’em2]; LF [tʃ’im2]; LZ [tʃhim2]; SHT [—]
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HY [ts’im2]; XY [ts’im2]; DB [ts’əm2]; YL [tʂ’en2]; XC [tʂ’ən2]
CT [tʃ’en2]; WP [tʃeiŋ2]; YD [tʃeiŋ2]; SH [tʃeiŋ2]; LC1 [tʃ’en2]; LC2 [—]
NK [tʃ’e’ŋ2]; AY [tʃ’ən2]; SY [tʃ’e’ŋ2]; XS [tʂ’ən2]; QN [tʃ’e’in2]; ND1 [tʃ’əm2]; ND2 [tʃ’əm2];
ND3 [tʃ’əm2]
[OPH *tš’im2]   CNH *tš’im2

[shën 深]  QYS  śjəm       CDC *shim1/EC *0um
BMH [chhim]; MX [ts’əm1]; HL [tʃ’em1]; SX [tʃ’em1]; LF [tʃ’im1]; LZ [tʃim1]; SHT [ts’im1]
HY [ts’im1]; XY [ts’im1]; DB [ts’əm1]; YL [ʂən1]; XC [ʂən1]
CT [ʃ’en1]; WP [tʃeŋ1]; YD [ts’iŋ1]; SH [səw ~ tsˈiŋ1]; LC1 [ʃ’en1]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɕiŋ1]; AY [səŋ1]; SY [ɕiŋ1]; XS [tʃ’en1]; QN [tʃ’e’in1]; ND1 [səm1]; ND2 [səm1]; ND3
[ʃən1]
[OPH *tš’im1]   CNH *tš’im1/L *šim1

The final of the Shàngháng wén form is anomalous. It is possible that it was borrowed from
another dialect which read *sen1 for the literary form in question.

[zhën 針]  QYS  tśjəm       CDC *cim1/EC *cim (kyim)
BMH [chim]; MX [tsəm1]; HL [tʃ’em1]; SX [tʃ’em1]; LF [tʃim1]; LZ [tʃim1]; SHT [—]
HY [tsim1]; XY [tsim1]; DB [tsəm1]; YL [ʂən1]; XC [ʂən1]
CT [tʃeŋ1]; WP [tsəŋ1]; YD [tsiŋ1]; SH [tseŋ1]; LC1 [tʃeŋ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [tʃeŋ1]; AY [tsəŋ1]; SY [tʃeŋ1]; XS [tʃən1]; QN [tʃe’in1]; ND1 [tsəm1]; ND2 [tsəm1]; ND3
[tsəm1]
[OPH *tšim1]   CNH *tšim1

3.5.7 CNH *-it

Examples for this final after different initial types are:

[bi 筆]  QYS  pjet3       CDC *pit7/EC *put
BMH [pit]; MX [pit7]; HL [pit7]; SX [pit7]; LF [pit7]; LZ [pit7]; SHT [pit7]
HY [pit7]; XY [pit7]; DB [pat7]; YL [piʔ7]; XC [pieʔ7]
CT [pi2]; WP [piʔ7]; YD [piʔ7]; SH [piʔ7]; LC1 [pi3]; LC2 [—]
NK [pieʔ7]; AY [pi3]; SY [pi5]; XS [piʔ7]; QN [piʔ7]; ND1 [piʔ7]; ND2 [piʔ7]; ND3 [piʔ7]

OPH *pit7   CNH *pit7

qī 七 QYS tshjet    CDC *tshit5/EC *tshit
BMH [tshit]; MX [ts’it7]; HL [ts’it7]; SX [ts’it7]; LF [ts’it7]; LZ [tʃhit7]; SHT [ts’it7]
HY [ts’it7]; XY [ts’it7]; DB [ts’at7]; YL [te’iʔ7]; XC [te’ieʔ7]
CT [ts’i2]; WP [tshiʔ7]; YD [ts’iʔ7]; SH [tehiʔ7]; LC1 [ts’i6]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’ie1]; AY [ts’is3]; SY [te’ie5]; XS [ts’it7]; QN [te’iʔ7]; ND1 [te’it7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ts’it7]

OPH *ts’it7   CNH *ts’it7

rì 日 QYS niʒjet    CDC *nḥit8/EC *nit
BMH [nyit]; MX [nit7]; HL [nit7]; SX [nit7]; LF [nit7]; LZ [ŋit7]; SHT [ŋit7]
HY [nit7]; XY [nit7]; DB [nat7]; YL [niʔ8 ~ nieʔ8b]†; XC [ŋiʔ8w ~ ŋiʔ2w ~ nieʔ7b]
CT [ni2]; WP [niʔ7]; YD [niʔ7]; SH [niʔ7]; LC1 [ŋi6]; LC2 [ni6 ~ ni6]
NK [nie5 ~ nie7]; AY [ni3]; SY [nie5]; XS [nit7]; QN [niʔ7]; ND1 [nat7]; ND2 [nat7]; ND3 [nat7]

[OPH *ni7]   CNH *niʔ7/ŋiʔ7
†Second form, sense of “day”, is found in the Glossary section of the source.
The Yílǒng bái form appears to be a substitution of rè 熱 *ŋiʔ8 “hot”, as reconstructed above.

yī 一 QYS ?ji4    CDC *it7/EC *it
BMH [yit]; MX [it7]; HL [ʒit7]; SX [it7]; LF [jit7]; LZ [jit7]; SHT [—]
HY [it7]; XY [it7]; DB [zat7]; YL [iʔ7]; XC [ieʔ7]
CT [i2]; WP [iʔ7]; YD [iʔ7]; SH [iʔ7]; LC1 [i6]; LC2 [i6]
NK [ieʔ7]; AY [ji3]; SY [jie5]; XS [it7]; QN [iʔ7]; ND1 [it7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [iat7]

[OPH *it7]   CNH *it7

The pattern after postalveolars is exemplified in the following:
The tone of the Xiūshuǐ form is irregular.

3.5.8 CNH *-ik

In most dialects this final has merged with *-it. However, in Ningdū-2 and 3 the original coda has been preserved. After postalveolar initials Ningdū-1 also retains *-k, while elsewhere it vacillates, sometimes even showing alternate readings in *-t and *-k. Correspondence patterns tend to differ somewhat after different initial types, and more radically after postalveolars. The following are examples of all these points:

dī 滴 QYS tīek CDC *tiak7/EC *’tek
BMH [tit]; MX [tit7]; HL [tit7]; SX [tit7]; LF [tit7]; LZ [tit7]; SHT [—]
HY [tit7]; XY [tiek8 ~ tit8]; DB [tat7]; YL [—]; XC [tiʔ7]
CT [ti2]; WP [tiʔ7]; YD [tiʔ8]; SH [tiʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ti6]
NK [tie8]; AY [tie3]; SY [tie5]; XS [tit7]; QN [tiʔ7]; ND1 [tit8 ~ tik7]†; ND2 [tik7]; ND3 [tik8 ~ tit7]
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[OPH * tit7] CNH *tik7
†Second form in BJYJ only.

li 力 QYS ljok CDC *lik8/EC *lik
BMH [lit]; MX [lit8]; HL [lit8]; SX [lit8]; LF [lit8]; LZ [lit8]; SHT [lit8]
HY [lit8]; XY [lit8]; DB [lat8]; YL [liʔ8]; XC [lieʔ8]
CT [li6w ~ ti6b]; WP [tiʔ8]; YD [liʔ8]; SH [tiʔ8]; LC1 [ti5]; LC2 [ti5 ~ ti6]
NK [ti1]; AY [ti1]; SY [ti5]; XS [lit8]; QN [liʔ8]; ND1 [lit8]; ND2 [lik8]; ND3 [lik8]
OPH *lit8 CNH *lik8

ji 極 QYS gjok CDC *gik8/EC *gik
BMH [khít]; MX [k’it8]; HL [k’it8]; SX [k’it8]; LF [k’it8]; LZ [khít8]; SHT [—]
HY [k’it8]; XY [k’it8]; DB [k’at8]; YL [teiʔ7]; XC [teieʔ7]
CT [tʃ’i6]; WP [tshiʔ8 ~ xeʔ8]; YD [—]; SH [tehiʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’ie5]; AY [te’i31]; SY [te’ie5]; XS [te’it8]; QN [te’iʔ8]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ts’ek8]; ND3 [ts’ak8]
[OPH *k’it8] CNH *k’ik8

xi 昔 QYS sjäk CDC *siak7/EC *sak
BMH [sit]; MX [sit7]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [sit7]; LZ [fit7]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [sit7]; DB [lat7]; YL [eiʔ7]; XC [eieʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [siʔ7]; YD [—]; SH [siʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [eie8]; AY [si3]; SY [eie5]; XS [sit7]; QN [—]; ND1 [sit7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [sik7]
[OPH *sit7] CNH *sik7

shi 適 QYS sjäk CDC *shiak7/EC *θek
BMH [shit]; MX [sat7]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [fit7]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [—]; WP [siʔ7]; YD [—]; SH [seiʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [saʔ8]; AY [se6]; SY [se5]; XS [sət8]; QN [—]; ND1 [sak7]; ND2 [sak7]; ND3 [—]
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[OPH *šit7] CNH *šik7/*šik8
The tone and final of the Xiūshuǐ form are irregular.

Compare also the following common etymon, which may in fact show a certain degree of mixing between different Hakka dialect types:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{shí 食} & \quad \text{QYS} \quad \text{dźjak} & \quad \text{CDC} *\text{zhik8/EC} *\text{dík} \\
& \quad \text{BMH} [\text{shit}]; \text{MX} [\text{sat8}]; \text{HL} [\text{jit8}]; \text{SX} [\text{jit8}]; \text{LF} [\text{jit8}]; \text{LZ} [\text{jit8}]; \text{SHT} [\text{sit8}] \\
& \quad \text{HY} [\text{sit8}]; \text{XY} [\text{sit8}]; \text{DB} [\text{sat8}]; \text{YL} [\text{seiʔ8}]; \text{XC} [\text{seʔ8}] \\
& \quad \text{CT} [\text{ji6}]; \text{WP} [\text{siʔ8}]; \text{YD} [\text{seʔ8}]; \text{SH} [\text{seʔ8}]; \text{LC1} [\text{ji5}]; \text{LC2} [\text{ji5} \sim \text{ji5}] \\
& \quad \text{NK} [\text{sa1}]; \text{AY} [\text{se6}]; \text{SY} [\text{se5}]; \text{XS} [\text{siʔ8}]; \text{QN} [\text{siʔ8} \sim \text{seʔ8}]; \text{ND1} [\text{saʔ8}]; \text{ND2} [\text{saʔ8}]; \text{ND3} [\text{saʔ8}] \\
& \quad \text{OPH} *\text{šit8} \quad \text{CNH} *\text{šik8/*šit8} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The second reconstruction is reflected in the Xiūshuǐ form, the first Quánnán reading, and the second Liánchéng-2 reading. It is perhaps a loan from some other more prestigious form of Mainstream Hakka which had this pronunciation.

CNH *-ik regularly occurs in doublets as a literary correlate of final *-iak. The following are illustrative:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dí 笛} & \quad \text{QYS} \quad \text{diek} & \quad \text{CDC} *\text{diak8/EC} *\text{diw⁴k} \\
& \quad \text{BMH} [\text{thák}]; \text{MX} [\text{t’ak8}]; \text{HL} [\text{tit7w} \sim \text{t’ak8b}]; \text{SX} [\text{tit7}]; \text{LF} [\text{t’ak8}]; \text{LZ} [\text{thak8}]; \text{SHT} [\text{—}] \\
& \quad \text{HY} [\text{t’iak8}]; \text{XY} [\text{t’iat8}]; \text{DB} [\text{t’et8}]; \text{YL} [\text{ti2}]; \text{XC} [\text{tiʔ8}] \\
& \quad \text{CT} [\text{—}]; \text{WP} [\text{theʔ8}]; \text{YD} [\text{tiʔ8}]; \text{SH} [\text{theʔ8}]; \text{LC1} [\text{—}]; \text{LC2} [\text{—}] \\
& \quad \text{NK} [\text{t’ie8} \sim \text{t’ia1}]; \text{AY} [\text{t’ia6}]; \text{SY} [\text{t’ie5}]; \text{XS} [\text{tiʔ8}]; \text{QN} [\text{t’iʔ8}]; \text{ND1} [\text{t’iak8}]; \text{ND2} [\text{t’iak8}]; \text{ND3} [\text{t’iak8}] \\
& \quad \text{[OPH} *\text{t’ak8} \quad \text{CNH} *\text{t’iak8/L} *\text{t’ik8} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The Mandarinized Yiǒng and Xīchāng forms lack initial aspiration.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{xí 錫} & \quad \text{QYS} \quad \text{siek} & \quad \text{CDC} *\text{siak7/EC} *\text{’sek} \\
& \quad \text{BMH} [\text{siak} \sim \text{sit}]; \text{MX} [\text{sit7w} \sim \text{siak7b}]; \text{HL} [\text{siak7}]; \text{SX} [\text{siak7}]; \text{LF} [\text{siak7}]; \text{LZ} [\text{jiak7}]; \text{SHT} [\text{siak7}] \\
\end{align*}
\]
As will have been noted from the above examples, O’Connor’s Proto-Hakka has no final *-ik. This is because merger of this Common Neo-Hakka final into CNH *-it has been completed in all Mainstream dialects.

3.5.9 CNH *-ip

Examples for this final after various initial types are:

ji 急 QYS kjəp CDC *kip7/EC *kip
BMH [kip]; MX [kip7]; HL [kip7]; SX [kip7]; LF [kip7]; LZ [kip7]; SHT [kip7]
HY [kip7]; XY [kip7]; DB [kip7]; YL [teiʔ7]; XC [teiʔ7]
CT [tʃi2]; WP [tsiʔ7]; YD [kiʔ7]; SH [teiʔ7]; LC1 [ki6]; LC2 [—]
NK [teiʔ7]; AY [teiʔ3]; SY [teiʔ5]; XS [teiʔ7]; QN [teiʔ7]; ND1 [tsəp7]; ND2 [tsəp7]; ND3 [tsəp7]
OPH *kip7 CNH *kip7

li 立 QYS ljəp CDC *lip8/EC *lip
BMH [lip]; MX [lip8]; HL [lip8]; SX [lip8]; LF [lip8]; LZ [lip8]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [liʔ8]; XC [liʔ8]
CT [li6]; WP [liʔ8]; YD [—]; SH [liʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
NK [tie5]; AY [tiʔ5]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [liʔ8]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [liap8]; ND3 [—]
OPH *lip8 CNH *lip8
†FJFYZ: [li5].

The Ningdū-2 form appears to derive from an earlier *liap8.
Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Neo-Hakka

3.6 The Apical and Rhotic-related Finals

3.6.1 CNH *-i

Examples for this final are:
The apical vowel in Common Neo-Hakka is identical to that reconstructed by O’Connor for Proto-Hakka, and his transcription for it is retained here. It should be noted, however, that Common Neo-Hakka has doublets in which *-ɨ is paired with *-i, while this is not the case for O’Connor’s Proto-Hakka. In sets of this type, Proto-Hakka generally has *-i if the word is popular but *-ɨ if it is of higher or more literary register. And, concomitantly in the Neo-Hakka sources, if register is indicated, the apical vowel forms are identified as literary. Examples are:

**si 死 QYS si: CDC *si3/EC *siy**

BMH [si]; MX [si3]; HL [si3]; SX [si3]; LF [si3]; LZ [ju3]; SHT [si3]
HY [sï3]; XY [si3]; DB [li3]; YL [sï3]; XC [ei3]
Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Neo-Hakka

CT [si3]; WP [sɿ3]; YD [sɿ3]; SH [sɿ3]; LC1 [si3]; LC2 [sɿ3]
NK [sɿ3]; AY [si3]; SY [sɿ3]; XS [si3]; QN [sɿ3 ~ ei3]; ND1 [ei3]; ND2 [ei3]; ND3 [si3]

OPH *si3   CNH *si3/*si3

si 四 QYS si-   CDC *si5/EC *sith
BMH [si]; MX [si5]; HL [si5]; SX [si5]; LF [si5]; LZ [ju3]; SHT [si5]
HY [sɿ5]; XY [si5]; DB [li5]; YL [sɿ5w ~ ei5b]; XC [ei5]

CT [si5]; WP [sɿ5]; YD [si3]; SH [si5]; LC1 [si5]; LC2 [---]

NK [sɿ5]; AY [si5]; SY [sɿ2]; XS [si5]; QN [ei5]; ND1 [ei5]; ND2 [ei5]; ND3 [si5]

[OPH *si5]   CNH *si5/L *si5

zǐ 姊 QYS tsi:  CDC *tsi3/EC *tsiyx
BMH [tsi]; MX [tsi3]; HL [tsi3]; SX [tsi3]; LF [tsɿ3]; LZ [---]; SHT [tsi3]
HY [tsɿ3]; XY [tsi3]; DB [tsɿ3]; YL [tsɿ3]; XC [tsɿ3]

CT [tsi3]; WP [tsi3]; YD [tsi3]; SH [tsɿ3]; LC1 [tsi3]; LC2 [tsɿ3]

NK [tsɿ3]; AY [tsi3]; SY [tsɿ3]; XS [tsɿ3]; QN [tsɿ3]; ND1 [tsɿ3]; ND2 [tsɿ3]; ND3 [tsi3]

[OPH *tsi3]   CNH *tsi3/*tsi3

Finally, in sibilant sets of this type, Héyuán sometimes has variant readings in [ie], e.g.,

shǐ 使 QYS ʂǐ:  CDC *shei3/EC *srix
BMH [ʂu]; MX [sɿ3]; HL [si3]; SX [sɿ3]; LF [sɿ3]; LZ [fu3]; SHT [su3]
HY [sɿ3]; XY [su3]; DB [le3]; YL [ʂɿ3]; XC [ʂɿ3]

CT [si3]; WP [sɿ3]; YD [si3]; SH [sɿ3]; LC1 [---]; LC2 [---]

NK [sɿ3]; AY [sɿ3]; SY [sɿ3]; XS [sɿ3]; QN [sɿ3]; ND1 [sa3]; ND2 [---]; ND3 [sa3]

OPH *si3   CNH *si3

sǐ 絲 QYS ʂɿi  CDC *si1/EC *si
BMH [sɿu]; MX [sɿ1]; HL [si1]; SX [sɿ1]; LF [sɿ1]; LZ [fi1]; SHT [su1]
HY [sɿ1 ~ sie1]; XY [si1]; DB [le1]; YL [sɿ1]; XC [sɿ1]

CT [si1]; WP [sɿ1]; YD [si1]; SH [sɿ1]; LC1 [si1]; LC2 [---]
These appear to be due to dialect mixture of some sort. The matter remains to be clarified.

3.6.2 Rhotic *ɻ and related forms ending in final -ɻ

Syllables having the CDC shape * nhi (i.e., QYS ńźi/ńźje/ńźi and Modern Standard Chinese “er”), are realized in popular words as a Common Neo-Hakka syllabic nasal (see §3.7 below), or as the syllable *ńi. However, they sometimes have variant readings which can be reconstructed comparatively as *ɻ. These forms are surely loans from some form of north Chinese, either the Late Ming/Qīng Guānhuà koine, or in some cases even a variety of Modern Standard Chinese. Additionally, Níngdū sometimes shows a modern reading in [lə] which may reflect an underlying borrowed *ɻ. This may derive from early to mid-Míng Guānhuà forms for the same syllable type, which was spelled by Korean sinologists of the relevant periods as ri [i] (early) or r̃ [r̃] (later).33 Cf. also southern-type Guānhuà of late Ming times, as reflected in the Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary of Ricci/Ruggieri, which renders this syllable type as gi [zi] (Coblin 1997; 2001). The rhotic syllable is reconstructable for the Common Neo-Hakka system, since evidence for it occurs at multiple points. Minimally adequate comparative evidence for *lə is present in only one set in our date. Examples illustrating all these points are:

ér 而 QYS ńźi CDC * nhi2/EC * ni
BMH [yî ~ lû]; MX [i2]; HL [zi2]; SX [i2]; LF [ji2]; LZ [zi2]; SHT [—]
HY [ni2 ~ ji2]; XY [ni2]; DB [ni2]; YL [—]; XC [ər2]
CT [—]; WP [ə2]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ə2]; AY [ə2]; SY [e2]; XS [ə2]; QN [ə2]; ND1 [lə2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [lə2]
[OPH *i2] CNH ᆽi2/*ɻ/*ə2/*lə2

33 For full listing and discussion of this material, see Kim (1991).
The second Basil Mission reading, like the Ningdū forms, appears to reflect an early Guānhuà loan form such as *ɻə2. This is reflected in the third reconstruction.

The Basil Mission form is simply the second person pronoun. The Lìzhīzhuāng form seems to derive from an earlier *i2 which is not reconstructable comparatively.

3.7 Syllabic Nasal

We reconstruct a single syllabic nasal for Common Neo-Hakka, which corresponds directly to syllabic nasal *ng [ŋ] in O’Connor’s Proto-Hakka. All cases of it occur as popular-form variants of etyma which also have other reconstructable readings in our data. The following is a sample of such cases:

The Basil Mission form is simply the second person pronoun. The Lìzhīzhuāng form seems to derive from an earlier *i2 which is not reconstructable comparatively.
The second reconstructed form is Gân-like in appearance and has perhaps been borrowed from that family. The Liánhchêng-2 and third Yǒngdìng forms, which do not agree in tone, appear to reflect a zero initial reading, which is of obscure origin.

†Cf. FJFY, LC: [nye3].

wǔ 五 QYS nguo: CDC *ⁿɡu⁴/EC *ŋax
BMH [ŋ]; MX [ŋ]; HL [ŋ]; SX [ŋ]; LF [ŋ]; LZ [ŋ]; SHT [ŋ]
HY [ŋ]; XY [ŋ]; DB [ŋ]; YL [ŋ]; XC [ŋ]
CT [ŋ]; WP [ŋ]; YD [ŋ]; SH [ŋ]; LC1 [ŋ]; LC2 [ŋ]
NK [ŋ ~ νu]; AY [ŋ ~ νu]; SY [ŋ ~ νu]; XS [ŋ]; QN [ŋ ~ νu]; ND1 [ŋ]; ND2 [ŋ]; ND3 [ŋ]
OPH *ŋ⁴ CNH *ŋ⁴/*νu⁴/*ŋ⁴/L *ńiu⁴

yú 魚 QYS ngjwo CDC *ŋie2 (~ *ŋiiu2)/EC *ŋa
BMH [ŋ]; MX [ŋ]; HL [ŋ]; SX [ŋ]; LF [ŋ]; LZ [ŋ]; SHT [ŋ]
HY [ŋy2 ~ ny2]; XY [ŋy2]; DB [ŋi2]; YL [ŋy2]; XC [ŋ2 ~ m2b]
CT [ŋe2]; WP [ŋe2]; YD [ŋei2]; SH [ŋei2]; LC1 [ŋei2]; LC2 [ŋoi2]†
NK [ŋe2]; AY [ŋi2w ~ ν2b]; SY [ŋe2 ~ ju2]; XS [ŋ2]; QN [ŋ2 ~ n2]; ND1 [ŋe2]; ND2 [ŋe2 ~ iu2]; ND3 [ŋe2 ~ νi2]††
OPH *ŋ⁲ CNH *ŋ⁲/*ŋiiu²/*ŋei²/*ŋei²/L *ŋiu²
†Cf. FJFY, LC: [ŋue2].
††Second form found in the glossary section of the source.

ěr 耳 QYS ńźi: CDC *ńphi⁴/EC *ńi
BMH [ni]; MX [ni]; HL [ni]; SX [ni]; LF [ni]; LZ [ŋi]; SHT [ŋi]
Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Neo-Hakka

HY [ŋi3]; XY [ni3]; YL [ni3]; XC [ni3]
CT [ni3]; WP [ŋ3 ~ m3]; YD [hŋ3b ~ ɲi3w]; SH [ɲ3]; LC1 [ŋi3]; LC2 [—]
NK [ə3 ~ ni3]; AY [ŋ3]; SY [ə3 ~ ni3]; XS [ni3]; QN [ə3 ~ ni3]; ND1 [ni1]; ND2 [ni3]; ND3 [ni1]—ə3

OPH *ŋi3 CNH *ŋ3/L *ŋi3

The variant forms in ə3 and ɜ3, etc. are almost certainly very late borrowings of a northern ɚ3.

èr 二 QYS ɲźni- CDC *nhi6/EC *niyih
BMH [ŋi1]; MX [ŋi5]; HL [ni6]; SX [ŋi5]; LF [ŋi6]; LZ [ŋi6]; SHT [ŋi5]
HY [ŋi6]; XY [ni3]; DB [ni5 ~ ni3]; YL [ni3]; XC [ŋi5]
CT [ŋi6]; WP [ŋ3]; YD [hŋ3 ~ ɲ3 ~ hŋ5]; SH [m3 ~ hŋ3]; LC1 [ŋi6]; LC2 [—]
NK [ŋi5]; AY [ŋ6]; SY [ŋi5]; XS [ŋi5]; QN [ŋ6 ~ ni6]; ND1 [ŋi6]; ND2 [ŋi6]; ND3 [ŋi6]

OPH *ŋi6 CNH *ŋ6/*ni6

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

nǐ 你 QYS ɲǐ: CDC *nhi4/EC —; rǔ 汝 CDC *nhie4/EC *nax
BMH [ŋi1]—ni1† ~ ny1† ~ ny1††; MX [ŋi3w ~ ɲ2b]; HL [ŋi2 ~ ni2]; SX [ni2]; LF [ŋi1 ~ ni2]; LZ [ŋi2b ~ li3w]; SHT [ŋi2]
HY [ŋi5]; XY [ni2]; DB [ni2w ~ ni2b]; YL [ŋ3 ~ ɲ2]; XC [ni2]
CT [ŋi1]; WP [xŋ2 ~ xm2]; YD [ni2 ~ hŋ2 (~ hŋ2)]; SH [ŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
NK [ŋi2]; AY [ni2 ~ ɲ2]; SY [ŋi1]; XS [ŋi1]; QN [ŋi2]; ND1 [ŋi1]; ND2 [ŋi1]; ND3 [ŋi1]

[OPH ?] CNH *ŋ3 /*ŋi2/*ŋi1/*ni1/L *ni3

†Character reading.
††Modern second person pronouns. All these forms are written in the source as 爾.
†‡FJFYZ: [ŋi1].

As noted above, we follow O’Connor in reconstructing this syllable as *ŋ. It takes various different forms in the dialects, and sometimes even in one and the same dialect. For example,
in Yǒngdīng there are three realizations (Huang 1984). And in Shàngháng there is free variant vacillation between ɲ and m̩. The choice of a graphic form for it is thus somewhat arbitrary.

O’Connor posits a second Proto-Hakka syllabic nasal, *m2 [m̩], specifically for the plain verbal negative particle. Our cognate set for this morpheme (often but not always written with the conventional graph 吗 in our sources) is as follows:

BMH [m ~ m̂]; MX [m2]; HL [m̩]; SX [m2]; LF [m2]; LZ [m1]; SHT [m1]
HY [m2]; XY [m2 ~ m2]; DB [m2]; YL [m2]; XC [m2]
CT [n2]; WP [m2]; YD [n1]; SH [n1]; LC1 [n2]; LC2 [n2]
NK [n2]; AY [m2]; SY [n2]; XS [m2 ~ n2 ~ m̩2]; QN [n2]; ND1 [m2]; ND2 [n2]; ND3 [m2]
OPH *m2   CNH *m2 ~ *m1

O’Connor considers the Tone 1 variant of this word to be irregular because it occurs at only one of his token dialect points. It is, however, well attested in the wider Neo-Hakka data, as illustrated here, and must therefore represent a full-fledged variant form in Common Neo-Hakka. Additionally, as indicated by our Xinyí and Diànbái data, the western Guǎngdōng dialect reflexes of the Common Neo-Hakka forms are not realized as syllabic nasals but are instead full syllables, consisting of initial *m- plus a rounded vocallic final of some sort. As will be argued in §5.2.77 and §5.2.78 of Chapter V, we posit CNH *muo2 ~ *muo1 as the proto-form for this grammatical functor; and for this reason we do not reconstruct syllabic nasals where O’Connor’s Proto-Hakka has *m2 for this etymon.
Chapter IV: Reconstruction of the Tonal Categories of Common Neo-Hakka

The reconstructed tonal system for Common Neo-Hakka has seven members, as summarized below. Traditional tone class designations are added for ease of reference.

1. (yīnpíng 陰平) 3. (shǎngshēng 上聲) 5. (yīnqù 陰去) 7. (yīnrù 陰入)
2. (yángpíng 陽平) 6. (yángqù 陽去) 8. (yángrù 陽入)

This system is typologically the same as that reconstructed by O’Connor for Proto-Hakka. As an aid to reading the present chapter, we now cite again the tonal systems of our twenty-six representative dialects. Tone names are those used in the original sources; numbers have been assigned by us, using the traditional eight-member system.

1. The Basil Mission Hakka (BMH) Tone System
   yīnpíng (1) a (unmarked)  shǎngshēng (3) á  qūshēng (5) à  yīnrù (7) aC
   yángpíng (2) â  yángrù (8) âC

2. The Méixiàn 梅縣 (MX) Tone System
   yīnpíng (1) 44  shǎngshēng (3) 31  qūshēng (5) 52  yīnrù (7) 1
   yángpíng (2) 11  yángrù (8) 5

34 The Basil Mission and Lûfêng nomenclatures, which are idiosyncratic, have been modified to conventional modern terminology.
3. The Hǎilù 海陸 (HL) Tone System

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

4. The Sìxiàn 四縣 (SX) Tone System

yīnpíng (1) 24  shǎngshēng (3) 31  yīnqù (5) 55  yīnrù (7) 22
yángpíng (2) 11  yángqù (6) 22  yángrù (8) 55

5. The Lùfēng 陸豐 (LF) Tone System

yīnpíng (1) 24  shǎngshēng (3) 31  yīnqù (5) 55  yīnrù (7) 22
yángpíng (2) 11  yángqù (6) 22  yángrù (8) 55

6. The Lìzhīzhuāng 荔枝莊 (LZ) Tone System

yīnpíng (1) 34  shǎngshēng (3) 31  qūshēng (5) 53  yīnrù (7) 2
yángpíng (2) 21  yángqù (6) 22  yángrù (8) 5

7. The Song Him Tong 崇謙堂 (SHT) Tone System

yīnpíng (1) 23  shǎngshēng (3) 32  qūshēng (5) 53  yīnrù (7) 3
yángpíng (2) 11  yángqù (6) 22  yángrù (8) 5
8. The Héyuán 河源 (HY) Tone System

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9. The Xìnyí sīhè 信宜思贺 (XY) Tone System

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10. The Diànbái 電白 (DB) Tone System

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11. The Yílǒng 儀隴 (YL) Tone System

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12. The Xīchāng 西昌 (XC) Tone System

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yangpíng 阳平</td>
<td>(2) yángpíng</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yangrù 阳入</td>
<td>(8) yángrù</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 13. The Chángtīng 長汀 (CT) Tone System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yīnpíng 陰平</td>
<td>(1) 33</td>
<td>shǎngshēng 陰上</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yángpíng 陽平</td>
<td>(2) 24</td>
<td>yīnqù 陰去</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 14. The Wǔpíng (Pingchuān) 武平平川 (WP) Tone System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yīnpíng 陰平</td>
<td>(1) 24</td>
<td>shǎngshēng 陰上</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qùshēng 陰去</td>
<td>(5) 452</td>
<td>yīnrù 陰入</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yángpíng 陽平</td>
<td>(2) 22</td>
<td>yángrù 陽入</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 15. The Yǒngdìng 永定 (YD) Tone System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yīnpíng 陰平</td>
<td>(1) 55</td>
<td>shǎngshēng 陰上</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qùshēng 陰去</td>
<td>(5) 33</td>
<td>yīnrù 陰入</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yángpíng 陽平</td>
<td>(2) 11</td>
<td>yángrù 陽入</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 16. The Shàngháng 上杭 (SH) Tone System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yīnpíng 陰平</td>
<td>(1) 35</td>
<td>shǎngshēng 陰上</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qùshēng 陰去</td>
<td>(5) 53</td>
<td>yīnrù 陰入</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yángpíng 陽平</td>
<td>(2) 22</td>
<td>yángrù 陽入</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 17. The Liánchéng-1 連城 (LC1) Tone System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yīnpíng 陰平</td>
<td>(1) 31</td>
<td>shǎngshēng 陰上</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yīnqù 陰去</td>
<td>(5) 42</td>
<td>yángpíng 陽平</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yángqù 陽去</td>
<td>(6) 24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
18. The Liánchéng-2 連城 (LC2) Tone System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone Level</th>
<th>Tone Name</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
<th>Tonal Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>阴平</td>
<td>陰平</td>
<td>yīnpíng</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>阴上</td>
<td>陰上</td>
<td>shǎngshēng</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>阴去</td>
<td>陰去</td>
<td>yīnqù</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>阳平</td>
<td>陽平</td>
<td>yángpíng</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>阳去</td>
<td>陽去</td>
<td>yángqù</td>
<td>635</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19. The Nánkāng 南康 (NK) Tone System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone Level</th>
<th>Tone Name</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
<th>Tonal Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>阴平</td>
<td>陰平</td>
<td>yīnpíng</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>阴上</td>
<td>陰上</td>
<td>shǎngshēng</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>阴去</td>
<td>陰去</td>
<td>yīnqù</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>阴入</td>
<td>陰入</td>
<td>yīnrù</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>阳平</td>
<td>陽平</td>
<td>yángpíng</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>阳上</td>
<td>陽上</td>
<td>yángrù</td>
<td>855</td>
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20. The Ānyuǎn 安遠 (AY) Tone System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone Level</th>
<th>Tone Name</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
<th>Tonal Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>阴平</td>
<td>陰平</td>
<td>yīnpíng</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>阴上</td>
<td>陰上</td>
<td>shǎngshēng</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>阴去</td>
<td>陰去</td>
<td>yīnqù</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>阳平</td>
<td>陽平</td>
<td>yángpíng</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>阳上</td>
<td>陽上</td>
<td>yángrù</td>
<td>855</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21. The Shàngyóu, Shèxīxiāng 上猶社溪鄉 (SY) Tone System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone Level</th>
<th>Tone Name</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
<th>Tonal Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>阴平</td>
<td>陰平</td>
<td>yīnpíng</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>阴上</td>
<td>陰上</td>
<td>shǎngshēng</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>阴去</td>
<td>陰去</td>
<td>yīnqù</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>阳平</td>
<td>陽平</td>
<td>yángpíng</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22. The Xiūshuǐ, Huángshāqiáo 修水黄沙橋 (XS) Tone System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone Level</th>
<th>Tone Name</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
<th>Tonal Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>阴平</td>
<td>陰平</td>
<td>yīnpíng</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>阴上</td>
<td>陰上</td>
<td>shǎngshēng</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>阴去</td>
<td>陰去</td>
<td>yīnqù</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>阴入</td>
<td>陰入</td>
<td>yīnrù</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>阳平</td>
<td>陽平</td>
<td>yángpíng</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>阳去</td>
<td>陽去</td>
<td>yángrù</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
23. The Quánnán Chéngxiāngzhèn 全南城廂鎮 (QN) Tone System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yīnpíng (1)</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shǎngshēng (3)</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yīnqù (5)</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yīnrù (7)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yángpíng (2)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yángqù (6)</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yángrù (8)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

24. The Níngdū-1 寧都梅江鎮 (ND1) Tone System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yīnpíng (1)</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shǎngshēng (3)</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yīnqù (5)</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yīnrù (7)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yángpíng (2)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yángqù (6)</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yángrù (8)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25. The Níngdū-2 寧都梅江鎮 (ND2) Tone System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yīnpíng (1)</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shǎngshēng (3)</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yīnqù (5)</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yīnrù (7)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yángpíng (2)</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yángqù (6)</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yángrù (8)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

26. The Níngdū-2 寧都 (ND2) Tone System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yīnpíng (1)</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shǎngshēng (3)</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yīnqù (5)</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yīnrù (7)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yángpíng (2)</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yángqù (6)</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yángrù (8)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These systems can be summarized in the following synoptic table. Bracketed parts of the tone names in the first row should be added or deleted as applicable.
## Tones and Tone Values of the Surveyed Neo-Hakka Dialects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yīnpíng</th>
<th>Yángpíng</th>
<th>Shǎngshēng</th>
<th>(Yīn)Qù (shēng)</th>
<th>Yángqù (Yīn)Rù (shēng)</th>
<th>Yángrù</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BMH</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MX</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HL</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SX</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LF</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LZ</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHT</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HY</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>31</td>
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<td>31</td>
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<td>55</td>
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<td>51</td>
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<td>5</td>
</tr>
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<td>DB</td>
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<td>213</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>YL</td>
<td>33</td>
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<td>53</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XC</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>WP</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>452</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>YD</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>SH</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.1 Tone 1 (Yīnpíng 陰平)

Most syllables in this large tone class are unproblematic. Examples are,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yīnpíng</th>
<th>Yángpíng</th>
<th>Shǎngshēng</th>
<th>(Yīn)Qù (shēng)</th>
<th>Yángqù</th>
<th>(Yīn)Rù (shēng)</th>
<th>Yángrù</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LC1</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LC2</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NK</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>53</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AY</td>
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<tr>
<td>SY</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND1</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND2</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND3</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

bīng 兵 QYS pjwong CDC *piang1/EC *pang
BMH [pin]; MX [pin1]; HL [pin1]; SX [pin1]; LF [pin1]; LZ [pin1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [pin1]; DB [pin1]; YL [pin1]; XC [pin1]
CT [pen1]; WP [piŋ1]; YD [piŋ1]; SH [piŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [piŋ1]; AY [piŋ1]; SY [piŋ1]; XS [pin1]; QN [pin1]; ND1 [pin1]; ND2 [piŋ1]; ND3 [piŋ1]
OPH *pin1  CNH *piŋ1
Reconstruction of the Tonal Categories of Common Neo-Hakka

xiāng 香 QYS xjang CDC *xiong1/EC *hang
BMH [hiong]; MX [hiɔŋ1]; HL [hioŋ1]; SX [hioŋ1]; LF [hioŋ1]; LZ [hiɔŋ1]; SHT [hiɔŋ1]
HY [hyɔŋ1 ~ hiŋ1]; XY [hioŋ1]; DB [hioŋ1]; YL [eiɔŋ1]; XC [eiɔŋ1]
CT [iŋ1]; WP [iŋ1]; YD [səŋ1]; SH [iŋ1]; LC1 [ŋ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [iŋ1]; AY [iŋ1]; SY [iŋ1]; XS [iŋ1]; QN [iŋ1]; ND1 [ŋ1]; ND2 [ŋ1]; ND3 [ŋ1]
OPH *hiong1 CNH *hioŋ1

However, there are significant numbers of Proto-Hakka and Common Neo-Hakka Tone 1 words which have variant readings in other tones in Common Neo-Hakka and which also derive historically from Common Dialectal Chinese tone classes other than Tone 1. We must now turn to examples of this type.

To begin, we note cases of Proto-Hakka Tone 1 words that take CDC Tone 2 (yángping 陽平). Some examples are:

lóng 聾 QYS lung CDC *ʰlung2/EC *'long
BMH [lung]; MX [luŋ1]; HL [luŋ1]; SX [luŋ1]; LF [luŋ1]; LZ [luŋ1]; SHT [luŋ2]
HY [luŋ2]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [luŋ1]; XC [luŋ1]
CT [luŋ1]; WP [luŋ1]; YD [luŋ1]; SH [ləŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ləŋ1]
NK [ləŋ1]; AY [ləŋ1]; SY [ləŋ1]; XS [ləŋ1]; QN [ləŋ1]; ND1 [ləŋ1]; ND2 [ləŋ1]; ND3 [—]
OPH *luŋ1 CNH *luŋ1/*luŋ2

máo 毛 QYS mâu CDC *ʰmou2/EC *'maw
BMH [mou]; MX [mə1]; HL [mo1]; SX [mo1]; LF [mo1]; LZ [məu1]; SHT [mu1]
HY [mou2]; XY [mə1]; DB [mo1]; YL [məu1]; XC [məu2]
CT [mə1]; WP [mə1]; YD [mou1]; SH [mu1 ~ mo1]; LC1 [mə2]; LC2 [mə1]
NK [mə1]; AY [mə1]; SY [mə1]; XS [məu1]; QN [məu1]; ND1 [məu1]; ND2 [məu1]; ND3 [məu1]
OPH *mou1 CNH *mou1/mou2
Examples of this type primarily involve common spoken etyma with sonorant initials. Where the sources indicate stylistic level, alternate readings in Tone 2 are identified as of literary register. Now, from a purely Hakka perspective this poses no historical problem. One simply reconstructs Tone 1 words with Tone 1, Tone 2 words with Tone 2, etc. However, when one then compares Proto-Hakka (or Common Neo-Hakka) with other major dialect groups, it becomes impossible to predict which CDC Tone 2 words will yield Tone 1 as opposed to Tone 2. O’Connor’s solution to this conundrum is to envisage a series of voiceless sonorant initials for what he calls a “Pre-Hakka” stage (1976: 55), i.e., a stage that would have predated Proto-Hakka. The presence or lack of voicing in the contrasting sonorant initial series would then account for the later divergent tonal developments in Proto-Hakka. Norman (1989) agrees in full with O’Connor’s hypothesis. Oddly, however, throughout his article, he refers to O’Connor’s proposed voiceless sonorant series as a feature of “Proto-Kèjiā”, rather than of the expected “Pre-Kèjiā”. Our suspicion is that this is merely a terminological slip of the pen, rather than disagreement with O’Connor, who was after all working under Norman’s direction when he wrote the thesis on which his article was based.

In his Mainstream Hakka data O’Connor did not encounter competing Tone 2 doublet forms in sets of the type that concern us here. However, by the 1980’s Norman was well aware of such cases, because by 1989 he had seen Hakka data not available to O’Connor in the 1970’s. He remarked (1989: 332, Footnote 12), “This is generally caused by the infiltration of heterogeneous lexical material from later strata or by borrowing from neighboring dialects.” This interpretation provides a cogent explanation for the doublets in question.
Another interesting sub-class of Hakka Tone 1 syllables comprises words that belong to CDC Tone 4 (yángshǎng 陽上), a traditional tone class for which no direct correlate is reconstructed in either Proto-Hakka or Common Neo-Hakka. These words may in turn be divided in several sub-groups. The first of these consists of syllables having sonorant initials, including the zero initial. The following are examples:

lǎn 懶 QYS  lân: CDC *lan4/EC *'lanx
BMH [lan]; MX [lan1]; HL [nan1]; SX [nan1]; LF [lan1]; LZ [lan1]; SHT [lan1]
HY [lan5]; XY [lan1]; DB [lan1 ~ lan3]; YL [lan3]; XC [lan3]
CT [lan1]; WP [lan1]; YD [lan1]; SH [nà1]; LC1 [la1]; LC2 [la1]
NK [lā1]; AY [lā3]; SY [lā1]; XS [lan1]; QN [lan1]; ND1 [lan1]; ND2 [lan1]; ND3 [lan1]
[OPH *lan1]   CNH *lan1/*lan3

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

wěi 尾 QYS mjwei: CDC *mvui4/EC *muyx
BMH [mui]; MX [mi1]; HL [mui1]; SX [mui1]; LF [mui1]; LZ [bu1]; SHT [mi1]
HY [mi5]; XY [mui1]; DB [me1]; YL [me1]; XC [me3]
CT [me1]; WP [mi1]; YD [me1]; SH [mi1]; LC1 [mo1]; LC2 [mi1]
NK [mi1]; AY [mi1]; SY [mi1]; XS [mi1]; QN [mi1]; ND1 [me1]; ND2 [me1]; ND3 [me1]
[OPH *mui]   CNH *mui

nuǎn 暖 QYS nuân: CDC *non4/EC *’nonx
BMH [non ~ nón]; MX [nɔn3w ~ nɔn1b]; HL [non1]; SX [non1]; LF [non1]; LZ [lɔn1]; SHT [lɔn1]
HY [nuan 5]; XY [nuan1]; DB [nɔn1]; YL [lɔn1]; XC [nuan2]
CT [nuŋ1]; WP [nueŋ1]; YD [lœn1]; SH [nuœ1]; LC1 [nuœ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [noœ1]; AY [nœ3]; SY [nuœ1]; XS [nœœ1]; QN [nœœ1]; ND1 [nœœ1]; ND2 [nuœœ3]; ND3 [nuœœ1]
OPH *non1   CNH *nuon1/*nuon3

Words of this type are reconstructed with Tone 1 in Proto-Hakka. However, in Common Neo-Hakka they nearly always have variant readings in Tone 3; and when stylistic register is indicated in the sources, it is the Tone 3 forms in such doublets that are often said to belong to the literary level, as illustrated by the following:

lěng 冷 QYS lɒng:   CDC *lang4/EC —
BMH [lanŋ ~ láŋ ~ len]; MX [laŋ3w ~ laŋ1b]; HL [laŋ1]; SX [laŋ1]; LF [laŋ1]; LZ [laŋ1];
SHT [laŋ1]
HY [laŋ5]; XY [laŋ1]; DB [laŋ1]; YL [lan1]; XC [laŋ3]
CT [leŋ1]; WP [leŋ1]; YD [lœn1]; SH [lœ1]; LC1 [lœœ1]; LC2 [lœœ2]
NK [lœœ1]; AY [lœœ3]; SY [lœœ1]; XS [laŋ1]; QN [laŋ1 ~ len1]; ND1 [liaŋ1]; ND2 [liaŋ1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *lanŋ1]   CNH *laŋ1/L *laŋ3/*leŋ1

The coda of the third reconstructed form is conjectural. The Ningdû forms appear to reflect a proto-form in *liaŋ. This is a different etymon from that reflected elsewhere in the set. The Ânyuân word may be related to this form but disagrees with it in tone.
Reconstruction of the Tonal Categories of Common Neo-Hakka

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>QYS</th>
<th>CDC</th>
<th>EC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lǐng 領</td>
<td>liăng:</td>
<td>*liang4</td>
<td>*lengx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BMH [liang]; MX [liaŋ3w ~ liaŋ1b]; HL [liaŋ1]; SX [liaŋ1]; LF [liaŋ1]; LZ [liaŋ1]; SHT [—]</td>
<td>HY [liaŋ5]; XY [liaŋ1]; DB [liaŋ1]; YL [liaŋ3]; XC [liaŋ2]</td>
<td>CT [tiaŋ1]; WP [liŋ1w ~ tiaŋ1 ~ liŋ1]; YD [liaŋ1]; SH [tiaŋ1 ~ liaŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [liaŋ1]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NK [tiaŋ3]; AY [tiaŋ3]; SY [tiaŋ1 ~ tiaŋ3 ~ liŋ3]; XS [liaŋ3]; QN [lin3 ~ liaŋ3]; ND1 [liaŋ1]; ND2 [liaŋ1]; ND3 [liaŋ1]</td>
<td>OPH *liang1</td>
<td>CNH *liaŋ1/L *liaŋ3/*liŋ1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>QYS</th>
<th>CDC</th>
<th>EC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>měng 猛</td>
<td>mɔ̃g:</td>
<td>*mang4</td>
<td>*mrangx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BMH [mang]; MX [maŋ1]; HL [men3]; SX [men2]; LF [m=baŋ1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]</td>
<td>HY [maŋ5]; XY [maŋ1]; DB [maŋ3]; YL [muŋ3]; XC [muŋ3]</td>
<td>CT [meŋ3]; WP [mɛŋ3]; YD [maŋ3]; SH [maŋ3w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NK [maŋ3]; AY [maŋ3]; SY [maŋ3]; XS [—]; QN [men3]; ND1 [maŋ3]; ND2 [maŋ1]; ND3 [maŋ3]</td>
<td>[OPH ?]</td>
<td>CNH *maŋ1/L *meŋ3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Yílóng and Xīchāng forms are probably Mandarin loans. They are not reflected in the reconstructions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>QYS</th>
<th>CDC</th>
<th>EC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mǔ 母</td>
<td>mou:</td>
<td>*mu4</td>
<td>*’mix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BMH [mu]; MX [mu1]; HL [mu1]; SX [mu1]; LF [mu1]; LZ [m=bu3]; SHT [—]</td>
<td>HY [mu5]; XY [mu1]; DB [mu1]; YL [mu3]; XC [mu2]</td>
<td>CT [mu3]; WP [mu3w]; YD [mou3]; SH [mei1 ~ mu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NK [mu3]; AY [mu3]; SY [mo1]; XS [—]; QN [mu3]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [mu1]; ND3 [mu3]</td>
<td>OPH *mu1</td>
<td>CNH *mu1/L *mu3</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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From sonorant initial syllables we now turn to those having obstruent initials. Sets of this type often occur in doublets, in which the correlate forms take Tone 6. The following are examples:

bèi 被 QYS bje:3 “blanket, coverlet” CDC *bi4/EC *bayh
BMH [phi]; MX [p’i1]; HL [p’i1]; SX [p’i1]; LF [p’i1]; LZ [phi1]; SHT [—]
HY [p’i1 ~ p’i5]; XY [p’i1]; DB [p’i1]; YL [pi5]†; XC [—]
CT [p’i1]; WP [phi1]; YD [p’i1]; SH [phi1]; LC1 [p’i1]; LC2 [p’i1]
NK [p’i1]; AY [p’i1]; SY [p’i1]; XS [p’i1]; QN [p’i1]; ND1 [p’i1]; ND2 [p’i1]; ND3 [p’i1]
[OPH *p’i1] CNH *p’i1
†Not used in ordinary speech in this dialect and of probable Mandarin origin.

dàn 淡 QYS dâm:, dâm- CDC *dam4/EC *’damx
BMH [thàm ~ tham]; MX [t’am5w ~ t’am1b]; HL [t’am6 ~ t’am1]; SX [t’am5w ~ t’am1b]; LF [t’am1]; LZ [tham1]; SHT [—]
HY [t’am1]; XY [t’am1]; DB [t’am1]; YL [t’an1]; XC [t’an2]
CT [t’aŋ1]; WP [thaŋ3 ~ thaŋ1b]; YD [t’aŋ5 ~ t’aŋ1]; SH [thà1]; LC1 [t’aŋ1]; LC2 [t’aŋ1]
NK [t’ã1]; AY [t’ã3]; SY [t’ã1]; XS [t’an1]; QN [t’am1]; ND1 [t’am1]; ND2 [t’am6]; ND3 [t’am1]
[OPH *t’am1] CNH *t’am1/L *t’am6
The tone of the Xīchāng form is irregular.

dì 弟 QYS diei: CDC *diai4/EC *’diyx
BMH [thi]; MX [t’i5w ~ t’ai1]; HL [t’i5]; SX [t’i5]; LF [t’i6]; LZ [thai1b ~ thi5w]; SHT [t’ai1 ~ t’i5]
HY [t’i6 ~ t’ie1]; XY [t’i3 ~ t’ei1]; DB [t’i3 ~ t’ei1 ~ t’i5]; YL [t’ei3]; XC [t’i5]
CT [t’e1]; WP [thi1]; YD [t’ei1]; SH [thi3]; LC1 [t’e1]; LC2 [t’e1]

35 It should be noted here that some Neo-Hakka dialects have lost CNH Tone 6, merging it with other tones. For example, in Diànbái earlier Tone 6 merges into modern Tone 3, etc. On this, see §4.5 below.
36 The first example does not involve a doublet.
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NK [t’i1]; AY [t’e1 ~ t’i6]; SY [t’i1]; XS [t’e1]; QN [t’i1 ~ t’ei1]; ND1 [t’ie1]; ND2 [t’iei1]; ND3 [t’ai1]

OPH *t’ai1    CNH *t’ai1/L *t’i6

hòu 後    QYS ɣə:  CDC *heu4/EC *’gox
BMH [hèu]; MX [hɛu5w ~ hɛu1b]; HL [heu5]; SX [heu5]; LF [heu6]; LZ [hɛu1 ~ hɛu5]; SHT [hui5]
HY [huai6]; XY [hɛu3]; DB [hɛi3]; YL [hai3]; XC [həu5]
CT [heu6]; WP [xe3]; YD [heu1 ~ heu5]; SH [hə1 ~ hə5]; LC1 [heu6]; LC2 [həu6]
NK [hə5]; AY [eu5]; SY [hio5]; XS [həu5]; QN [həu6]; ND1 [həu6]; ND2 [həu6]; ND3 [həu6 ~ həu6]
[OPH *heu6]    CNH *heu1/L *heu6

zhàng 丈    QYS ʒャng:  CDC *jiong4/EC *drangx
BMH [chhòng]; MX [ts’əŋ5w ~ ts’əŋ1b]; HL [tʃ’ɔŋ6]; SX [tʃ’ɔŋ5]; LF [tʃ’ɔŋ3]; LZ [tʃ’hɔŋ1b ~ tʃ’həŋ5w]; SHT [ts’əŋ1]
HY [ts’ɔŋ6]; XY [ts’əŋ3]; DB [ts’əŋ3]; YL [tʃ’əŋ5 ~ tʃ’əŋ3]; XC [ts’əŋ3]
CT [tʃ’ɔŋ6]; WP [tʃhɔŋ3 ~ tʃhɔŋ1]; YD [ts’əŋ1 ~ ts’əŋ3 ~ ts’əŋ5]; SH [tʃhɔŋ1 ~ tʃhɔŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tʃ’əŋ1]
NK [ts’ɔ̃5]; AY [ts’əŋ6]; SY [ts’ɔ̃5]; XS [ts’əŋ5]; QN [ts’əŋ5 ~ ts’əŋ6]; ND1 [ts’əŋ5 ~ ts’əŋ6];
ND2 [ts’əŋ1]; ND3 [ts’əŋ1 ~ ts’əŋ6]
[OPH *ts’ong6]    CNH *ts’iŋ1/L *ts’iŋ6
Cf. Qīngliú: [tʃ’i36].

Where stylistic level is identified in the sources, Tone 6 forms in such doublets are usually said to be of literary register. In a second and less common type of obstruent initial example, doublets showing Tone 5 forms are also found, for instance,

bào 抱    QYS bâu:  CDC *bou4/EC *’bux
BMH [phàu]; MX [p’au5]; HL [pau1]; SX [pau1]; LF [p’au1 ~ pau1]; LZ [phau3]; SHT [—]
HY [pau5]; XY [p’au2]; DB [p’au3]; YL [pau5]; XC [pau5]
Ningdū-2 and 3 have variant forms that must derive from earlier *p’u6.

Basil Mission and Méixiàn show for 婦 a second form, reconstructable as CNH *k’ieu1, which occurs exclusively in the bisyllabic compound [sim1 k’iu1] “daughter-in-law” (i.e., corresponding to general southern Chinese xīnfū 新婦 “the new woman”.) This compound is given in a number of our Hakka sources; and, following popular native tradition, the second syllable is sometimes written as jiù 舅 (CNH *k’ieu1/*k’ieu6) “maternal uncle”. However, it is now fairly widely thought to be some sort of nonce deformation of the syllable fù 婦, as in xīnfū 新婦.

Norman (1989: 333–334) has interpreted the facts we have noted here in the following way. He observes that CDC yángshǎng ton え words regularly join Hakka Tone 1, a development he calls a “distinctive Kèjiā trait”. The presence of Tone 6 readings in such cases is then attributed to what he calls “late reading traditions”. Here we might add that the donor dialects
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underlying these proposed reading traditions presumably distinguished upper and lower register qù tones, with the loan forms deriving from the latter tone class. Norman does not mention the smaller number of Tone 5 readings in such sets, perhaps because they were not present in the materials available to him as of 1989. But mutatis mutandis his rationale can also be applied in such instances. To wit, we may suppose that loans into Common Neo-Hakka derived from at least two source dialect types. One of these, structurally more archaic as regards tone classes, distinguished upper and lower register qù tones. The other source type had merged CDC Tones 5 and 6 into a common qūshēng class by the time of borrowing, and loans from such structurally more evolved donor dialects would have been assigned to Common Neo-Hakka Tone 5 rather than Tone 6.

In concluding this section, it is important to note that Common Neo-Hakka Tone 1 forms derived from CDC Tone 4 are, from the standpoint of Common Hakka phonology, methodologically unremarkable. They are simply Tone 1 syllables, and nothing more. And doublet readings in Tones 5 and 6 are simply representative of loan layers, whatever their precise origin may have been. From the standpoint of the reconstructive exercise, they are unproblematic. However, Norman’s comparative and historical observations regarding them allow us to account for how and why these configurations arose in Hakka as developments of even earlier stages of Chinese, and for that reason they are an important contribution to the history of Hakka phonology.

4.2 Tone 2 (Yángpíng 陽平)

Examples for this tone are as follows:

céng 層 QYS dzəŋ CDC *dzeng2/EC *dzing
BMH [tshên]; MX [ts’en2]; HL [ts’en2]; SX [ts’en2]; LF [ts’en2]; LZ [tʃhən2]; SHT [ts’an2]; HY [ts’an2]; XY [ts’en2]; DB [ts’en2]; YL [ts’an2 ~ ts’en2]; XC [ts’an2]
CT [ts’en2]; WP [tʃhən2]; YD [ts’en2]; SH [tʃhən2]; LC1 [ts’ai2]; LC2 [——]
NK [ts’e2]; AY [ts’æn2]; SY [ts’e2]; XS [ts’en2]; QN [ts’en2]; ND1 [ts’æn2]; ND2 [ts’æn2];
ND3 [ts’æn2]
OPH *ts’en2  CNH *ts’æn2
In this set and the following one, Yîlông and Xīchāng use a Mandarin-like loan form, reconstructable as earlier *ho2.

má 麻 QYS ma CDC *ma2/EC *mray

nán 男 QYS năm CDC *nom2/EC *num
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4.3 Tone 3 (Shǎngshēng 上聲)

Obstruent and zero initial syllables having this tone are exemplified in the following:
cǎo 草 QYS tshâu: CDC *tshou3/EC *tshux

BMH [tshâu]; MX [ts’au3]; HL [ts’o3]; SX [ts’o3]; LF [ts’o3]; LZ [tfhau3]; SHT [ts’au3]
HY [ts’au3]; XY [ts’o3]; DB [ts’o3]; YL [ts’au3]; XC [ts’au3]
CT [ts’o3]; WP [tshò3]; YD [ts’ou3]; SH [tshu3]; LC1 [ts’o3]; LC2 [ts’o3]
NK [ts’o3]; AY [ts’o3]; SY [ts’o3]; XS [ts’au3]; QN [ts’au3]; ND1 [ts’au3]; ND2 [ts’au3]; ND3 [ts’au3]

OPH *ts’ou3
CNH *ts’ou3

dǐ 底 QYS tiae: CDC *tiai3/EC *tiyx

BMH [tái]; MX [tai3]; HL [tai3]; SX [tai3]; LF [tai3]; LZ [tai3]; SHT [—]
HY [tie3]; XY [tai3]; DB [te3]; YL [tei3]; XC [ti3w ~ tai3b]
CT [te3]; WP [tii3]; YD [tei3]; SH [tei3]; LC1 [te3]; LC2 [—]
NK [ti3]; AY [te3 ~ ti3]; SY [ti3]; XS [te3]; QN [ti3 ~ tei3]; ND1 [ti3]; ND2 [tiei3]; ND3 [—]

OPH *tai3
CNH *tiai3/L *ti3

pǐn 品 QYS phjəm: CDC *phim3/EC *phimx

BMH [phin]; MX [p’in3]; HL [p’in3]; SX [p’in3]; LF [p’in3]; LZ [phin3]; SHT [p’in3]
HY [p’in3]; XY [p’in3]; DB [p’an3]; YL [p’in3]; XC [p’in3]
CT [p’en3]; WP [phin3]; YD [p’in3]; SH [phin3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [p’in3]; AY [p’in3]; SY [p’in3]; XS [p’in3]; QN [p’in3]; ND1 [p’in3]; ND2 [p’in3]; ND3 [p’in3]

OPH *p’in3
CNH *p’in3

xiǎo 晞 QYS xieu: CDC *xiau3/EC *hewx

BMH [hiáu]; MX [hiau3]; HL [hiau3]; SX [hiau3]; LF [hiau3]; LZ [hiau3]; SHT [hiau3]
HY [hiau3]; XY [hiau3]; DB [hiau3]; YL [eiau3]; XC [eiau3]
CT [fí3]; WP [sí3]; YD [seu1 ~ sou1]; SH [eia3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [fə6]
NK [eio3]; AY [eia3]; SY [eio3]; XS [eiau3]; QN [eiau3]; ND1 [sau3]; ND2 [sau3]; ND3 [sau3]

OPH *hiau3
CNH *hiau3
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ǎi 矮 QYS ?aǐ: CDC *ai3/ EC —
BMH [ǎi]; MX [ai3]; HL [ai3]; SX [ai3]; LF [ai3]; LZ [ai3]; SHT [ai3]
HY [ai3]; XY [ai3]; DB [ei3]; YL [ei3]; XC [ai3]
CT [ai3]; WP [a3]; YD [ei3]; SH [ei3]; LC1 [e3]; LC2 [—]
NK [æ3]; AY [æ3]; SY [æ3]; XS [ai3]; QN [ai3]; ND1 [ŋai3]; ND2 [ŋai3]; ND3 [ŋai3]
[OPH *ai3] CNH *ai3/ *ei3

yǎ 啞 QYS ?a: CDC *a3/EC *rax
BMH [á]; MX [a3]; HL [a3]; SX [a3]; LF [a1]; LZ [a3]; SHT [a3]
HY [a3]; XY [a3]; DB [a3]; YL [əa3]; XC [a3]
CT [a3]; WP [a3]; YD [a3]; SH [əa3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [a3]; AY [a3]; SY [a3]; XS [a3]; QN [a3]; ND1 [ŋa1]; ND2 [ŋa1]; ND3 [ŋa1 ~ əa3]
[OPH *a3] CNH *a3

yǔ 雨 QYS ju: CDC *yu4/EC *wax
BMH [yí]; MX [i3]; HL [ʒi3]; SX [i3]; LF [jī3]; LZ [ʒi3]; SHT [jì3]
HY [jy5]; XY [y3]; DB [zi3]; YL [yu3]; XC [—]
CT [i3]; WP [i3]; YD [zi3 ~ vi3]; SH [i3]; LC1 [iue3]; LC2 [yɛ3]
NK [iu3]; AY [jì3]; SY [jy3]; XS [vi3]; QN [i3]; ND1 [iu3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [vu3 ~ iu3]
[OPH *i30] CNH *iu3

Sonorant initial sets are of two types. The first of these is represented by the following examples:

wǎng 網 QYS mjwang: CDC *ʰmvong4/EC *mangx
BMH [miông]; MX [miɔŋ3]; HL [miɔŋ3]; SX [miɔŋ3]; LF [miɔŋ3]; LZ [mbiɔŋ3]; SHT [—]
HY [məŋ3]; XY [məŋ3]; DB [məŋ3]; YL [uəŋ3]; XC [vəŋ5]
CT [vəŋ3]; WP [miɔŋ3]; YD [miɔŋ3]; SH [miɔŋ3]; LC1 [miɔŋ3]; LC2 [—]
NK [məŋ3]; AY [məŋ3]; SY [məŋ3]; XS [məŋ3]; QN [məŋ3]; ND1 [məŋ3]; ND2 [məŋ3]; ND3 [məŋ3]
[OPH *miong3] CNH *mioŋ3/voŋ3
ér 耳 QYS ňţî: CDC *ʰni4/EC *nix
BMH [nyi]; MX [ni3]; HL [ni3]; SX [ni3]; LF [ńi3]; LZ [ŋi3]; SHT [ńi3]
HY [ńi3]; XY [ńi3]; DB [ńi3]; YL [ńi3]; XC [ńi3]
CT [ńi3]; WP [ŋ3 ~ m3]; YD [ńn3b ~ ńi3w]; SH [ńm3]; LC1 [ńi3]; LC2 [%]—
NK [ńa3 ~ ni3]; AY [ńń3]; SY [ńa3 ~ ni3]; XS [ńi3]; QN [ń3 ~ ni3]; ND1 [ń1]; ND2 [ńi3]; ND3 [ń1 ~ ńa3]
OPH *ńni3 CNH *ńń3/L *ńń3

liāng 兩 QYS ńjiang: “two” CDC *liong4/EC *liang
BMH [lióng]; MX [liń3]; HL [liń3]; SX [liń3]; LF [liń3]; LZ [liń3]; SHT [liń3]
HY [ńliń3]; XY [ńliń3]; DB [ńliń3]; YL [ńliń3]; XC [ńliń3]
CT [ńliń3w ~ ńiń3b]; WP [ńiń3]; YD [ńiń3]; SH [ńiń3]; LC1 [%]; LC2 [ńiń3]†
NK [ńiń3 ~ ńiń3]; AY [ńiń3]; SY [ńiń3]; XS [%]; QN [ńiń3]; ND1 [ńiń3]; ND2 [ńiń3]; ND3 [ńiń3]; NT3 [ńiń3]
[OPH *liiong3] CNH *lión3
†FJSHFY: [ńiń3w ~ ńiń3w].
††In Ningdu-2 the words for “two” and “ounce” are homophonous, both being read in Tone 1.
In most dialects, only “ounce” is read in Tone 1.

luǎn 卵 QYS ńluǎn: CDC *lön4/EC *lónx
BMH [lón]; MX [lön3]; HL [lön3]; SX [lön3]; LF [lön3]; LZ [lön3]; SHT [lön3]
HY [%]; XY [%]; DB [%]; YL [lön3]; XC [luán5]
CT [lön3]; WP [lön3]; YD [lön3]; SH [lön3]; LC1 [lön3]; LC2 [lön3]
NK [lön3]; AY [lön3]; SY [lön3]; XS [lön3]; QN [lön3]; ND1 [lön3]; ND2 [lön3]; ND3 [lön3]
OPH *lön3 CNH *luon3

wá 瓦 QYS ńngwa: CDC *ńgua4/EC *ngwrayx
BMH [ńgá ~ ńgwá]; MX [ńa3]; HL [ńua3]; SX [ńa3]; LF [ńua3]; LZ [ńgā3]; SHT [ńa3]
HY [ńa3]; XY [ńa3]; DB [ńa3]; YL [ńa3]; XC [ńa3]

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CT [ŋua3]; WP [ŋa3]; YD [ŋa3]; SH [ŋa3]; LC1 [ŋo3]; LC2 [—]†
NK [ŋa3]; AY [ŋa3]; SY [ŋa3]; XS [ŋa3]; QN [ŋa3]; ND1 [ŋa3]; ND2 [ŋa3]; ND3 [ŋa3]

OPH *ŋua3  CNH *ŋua3/*ŋa3

†FJFYZ: [ŋo3].

wǔ 五  QYS  nguo:  CDC *ʰngu4/EC *ngax
BMH [ńg]; MX [ŋ3]; HL [ŋ3]; SX [ŋ3]; LF [ŋ3]; LZ [ŋ3]; SHT [ŋ3]
HY [m3]; XY [ŋ3]; DB [ŋ3]; YL [ŋ3]; XC [ŋ3]

CT [ŋ3]; WP [ŋ̩ 3 ~ m3]; YD [ŋ3]; SH [ŋ3]; LC1 [ŋ3]; LC2 [—]
NK [ŋ3 ~ vu3]; AY [ŋ3 ~ vu3]; SY [ŋ3 ~ vu3]; XS [ŋ3]; QN [ŋ3 ~ vu3]; ND1 [ŋ3]; ND2 [ŋ3]; ND3 [ŋ3]

OPH *ng3  CNH *ŋ3/*vu3

CNH *vu3 is attested solely as a variant reading in the Jiāngxī line. It may be a very late loan form in these dialects.

lǎo 老  QYS  lâu:  CDC *ʰlou4/EC *’lux
BMH [láu]; MX [lau3 ~ lau5]; HL [la3]; SX [lo3]; LF [la3]; LZ [lau3]; SHT [lau3]
HY [la3]; XY [la3]; DB [la3]; YL [la3]; XC [la3]

CT [la3]; WP [la3]; YD [lau3]; SH [la3]; LC1 [la3]; LC2 [la3]
NK [la3]; AY [la3]; SY [la3]; XS [lau3]; QN [lau3]; ND1 [lau3]; ND2 [lau3]; ND3 [lau3]

OPH *lou3  CNH *lou3

nǚ 女  QYS  ṇjwo:  CDC *nie4 (~ *niu3)/EC *nrax
BMH [ńg ~ nyi]; MX [ŋ3]; HL [ŋ3]; SX [ŋ3]; LF [ŋ3]; LZ [ŋ3b ~ ŋi3w]; SHT [ŋ3 ~ ni3]
HY [ŋy3 ~ ny3]; XY [ny3]; DB [ni3]; YL [ny3]; XC [ni3w ~ m3b]

CT [ni3]; WP [ŋ3]; YD [ŋ3b ~ ni3w ~ zì2]; SH [ŋ3 ~ m2]; LC1 [ŋiue3]; LC2 [i3]†
NK [ni3 ~ nie3]; AY [ni3 ~ nie3]; SY [ni3 ~ nie3]; XS [ŋ3 ~ ni3]; QN [ni3]; ND1 [nie3]; ND2 [nu3w ~ nie3b]; ND3 [nu3 ~ nie3]

[OPH *ŋ3]  CNH *ŋ3/*nie3/L *ńiu3

†Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [nye3].
yǎn 眼 QYS ngān: CDC *ʰngan4/EC *ngrunx
BMH [nyén ~ ngán]; MX [nian3]; HL [nian3w ~ ŋan3b]; SX [nian3]; LF [ŋan3]; LZ [ŋan3]; SHT [ŋan3]
HY [ŋan5]; XY [ŋan3]; DB [ŋan3]; YL [ŋan3]; XC [ŋan3]
CT [ŋaŋ3]; WP [ŋaŋ3]; YD [ŋan3]; SH [ŋa3]; LC1 [ŋa3]; LC2 [ŋa3]
NK [ŋa3]; AY [ŋa3]; SY [ŋa3]; XS [ŋan3]; QN [ŋan3]; ND1 [ŋan3]; ND2 [ŋan3]; ND3 [ŋan3]
[OPH *ŋan3] CNH *ŋan3/L *ŋian3
The Héyuán tone is irregular.

yǎng 仰 QYS ngjiang: CDC *ngiong4/EC *ngangx
BMH [nyong ~ nyóng]; MX [ńiəŋ3]; HL [ńięŋ3]; SX [ńięŋ3]; LF [ńięŋ3]; LZ [ńięŋ3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ńięŋ3]; XC [ńięŋ1]
CT [ńięŋ3]; WP [—]; YD [ńięŋ3 ~ ńięŋ1]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ńię₃]; AY [ńię⁴]; SY [ńię3]; XS [ńięŋ3]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ńięŋ3]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ńięŋ3] CNH *ńięŋ3
The Chángtīng form reflects a probable variant reading in *ńięŋ3 which is not reconstructable comparatively.

In examples of this type, variant readings in tones other than Tone 3 do not normally occur. We have seen in §4.1 that the usual Hakka destination for Common Dialectal Chinese Tone 4 (yángshǎng) is Common Neo-Hakka Tone 1. However, in sets such as those seen here, all of which involve CDC Tone 4 syllables, the Hakka destination is Common Neo-Hakka Tone 3. O’Connor (1976: §6.2) and Norman (1989: 340–342) devoted considerable attention to cases of this type. Similarly to the case discussed in §4.1 above, they reasoned that the sonorant initials of such words must have differed from the ordinary voiced ones present in the large body of “regular” syllables now found under Hakka Tone 1. And their explanation for this was that these aberrant sonorants were in fact voiceless at an earlier historical stage.37 Norman also

37 Note that O’Connor specifically characterized this stage as “Pre-Hakka”, while Norman called it “Proto-Hakka”. As indicated above, O’Connor’s terminology is the more apt here.
noted that these proposed voiceless initial syllables tend to recur as a closed set across Hakka dialects, which is not characterizable in terms of objective phonological criteria. The later tonal behavior of such words, or, as Norman put it, the incidence of that behavior as determined by earlier initial type, is lexical rather than phonological. His conclusion was then that a Hakka dialect can be identified by the fact that it should contain a significant number of sonorant initial lexemes from this particular set, which fall under Hakka Tone 3 rather than Tone 1. As noted in §1.3 of Chapter I, we have adopted this principle as one of our selection criteria for the Neo-Hakka dialects studied in the present work.

In addition to examples of the sort cited above, we also find other sets in which sonorant initial Common Neo-Hakka Tone 3 words occur. The following examples illustrate this:

lǎn 懶 QYS lán: CDC *lan4/EC *lanx
BMH [lan]; MX [lan1]; HL [nan1]; SX [nan1]; LF [lan1]; LZ [lan1]; SHT [lan1]
HY [lan5]; XY [lan1]; DB [lan1 ~ lan3]; YL [lan3]; XC [lan3]
CT [laŋ1]; WP [laŋ1]; YD [lan1]; SH [nà1]; LC1 [la1]; LC2 [la1]
NK [lā1]; AY [lā3]; SY [lā1]; XS [lan1]; QN [lan1]; ND1 [lan1]; ND2 [lan1]; ND3 [lan1]
[OPH *lan1] CNH *lan1/*lan3

lěng 冷 QYS lṓng: CDC *lang4/EC —
BMH [laŋ ~ láng ~ len]; MX [laŋ3w ~ laŋ1b]; HL [laŋ1]; SX [laŋ1]; LF [laŋ1]; LZ [laŋ1];
SHT [laŋ1]
HY [laŋ5]; XY [laŋ1]; DB [laŋ1]; YL [lan1]; XC [lan3]
CT [leŋ1]; WP [leŋ1]; YD [lên1]; SH [lè1]; LC1 [lài1]; LC2 [lên2]
NK [lài1]; AY [lià3]; SY [lài1]; XS [laŋ1]; QN [laŋ1 ~ len1]; ND1 [laŋ1]; ND2 [laŋ1]; ND3
[—]
[OPH *lang1] CNH *laŋ1/L *laŋ3/*ləŋ1

lǐ 鯉 QYS ljǐ: CDC *li4/EC *lix
BMH [li]; MX [li1]; HL [li1]; SX [li1]; LF [li1]; LZ [li1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [li3]; XC [li3]
Common Neo-Hakka:  
A Comparative Reconstruction

CT [li3]; WP [ti1]; YD [ti1]; SH [ti1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]  
NK [ti1]; AY [ti3]; SY [ti1]; XS [li3]; QN [li1]; ND1 [li1]; ND2 [li6]; ND3 [—]  
[OPH *li1]  
CNH *li1/*li3

yǔ 語 QYS ngjwo:  
CDC *ngie4 (~ *ngiu4) /EC *ngax  
BMH [ni1]; MX [ni1]; HL [ni1]; SX [ni1]; LF [ni1]; LZ [ŋi1]; SHT [ji1]  
HY [ŋi3]; XY [ŋi3]; DB [ŋi3]; YL [—]; XC [—]  
CT [ni3]; WP [—]; YD [ŋi1 ~ ŋi3w ~ ŋi3b]; SH [ŋi1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†  
NK [ni3]; AY [ni3]; SY [ni3]; XS [ni3]; QN [ni3]; ND1 [nu1]; ND2 [nu1]; ND3 [nu3]  
[OPH *ni1]  
CNH *niu1/*niu3/iu3  
†Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [nye3].

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

měi 每 QYS muái:  
CDC *muoi4/EC *'mix  
BMH [mui ~ mi]; MX [mi1]; HL [mui1]; SX [mui1]; LF [mui1]; LZ [—]; SHT [mui1]  
HY [—]; XY [mui1]; DB [mei1]; YL [mei1]; XC [mei3]  
CT [me3]; WP [mii1]; YD [mei1]; SH [mei1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]  
NK [me3]; AY [me3]; SY [me3]; XS [mi3]; QN [mui3]; ND1 [mei3]; ND2 [mei1]; ND3 [mei3]  
[OPH *mui1]  
CNH *mui1/*mui3

nǎo 腦 QYS nâu:  
CDC *nou4/EC *'nawx  
BMH [nâu ~ nó]; MX [nau3]; HL [nau3]; SX [no3]; LF [no3]; LZ [lau3]; SHT [—]  
HY [nau3]; XY [no3]; DB [no3]; YL [nau3]; XC [nau5]  
CT [no3]; WP [no3]; YD [lau3]; SH [no1 ~ no3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [no3]
Examples of this type are characterized by the peculiarity that they always show multiple readings, at least one of which will be the expected or “regular” Hakka Tone 1 form. In cases such as these, we assume that the Tone 3 readings are in fact loans from non-Hakka dialects in which CDC Tone 4 words had become modern Tone 3 (shāngshēng) and were accordingly borrowed into Hakka Tone 3. Their modern Hakka Tone 3 readings thus have a historically different origin from those seen in inherited popular words.

4.4 Tone 5 (Yīnqù 隱去)

The following sets exemplify obstruent and zero initial syllables under this tone:

å̃n 閃 ~ 暗 QYS ?âm- CDC *om5/EC *’umh
BMH [âm]; MX [am5]; HL [am5]; SX [am5]; LF [am5]; LZ [am5]; SHT [âm5]
HY [am5]; XY [am5]; DB [am5]; YL [an3]; XC [an5]
CT [əŋ5]; WP [aŋ5]; YD [aŋ3]; SH [âŋ5]; LC1 [əŋ5]; LC2 [əŋ5]
NK [oŋ5]; AY [ã5]; SY [uɔ̃2]; XS [an5]; QN [am5]; ND1 [ŋoəm5]; ND2 [ŋuom5]; ND3 [ŋuam5]
OPH *am5 CNH *om5/*am5

bài 拜 QYS pwăi- CDC *pai5/EC *prath
BMH [pài]; MX [pai5]; HL [pai5]; SX [pai5]; LF [pai5]; LZ [pai5]; SHT [pai5]
HY [pai5]; XY [pai5]; DB [pai5]; YL [pai3]; XC [pai5]
CT [pe5]; WP [pi5]; YD [pai3]; SH [pa5]; LC1 [pa5]; LC2 [—]
NK [pæ5]; AY [pæ5]; SY [pæ2]; XS [pai5]; QN [pai5]; ND1 [pæm5]; ND2 [ŋuom5]; ND3 [ŋuam5]
OPH *pai5 CNH *pai5/*pei5

The Chánghēng and Wúpíng forms derive from earlier *-ei rather than *-ai.

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38 We have already seen a number of such sets in §4.1 above.
In Yǒngdìng the reflex of Tone 5 is usually modern Tone 3, while in Shàngyóu it is Tone 2. In Yílǒng it may be either Tone 3 or Tone 5. All remaining dialects show modern Tone 5. The ambiguity seen in Yílǒng is almost certainly due to dialect mixing of some sort in this language. A similar phenomenon is sometimes also observable in Yǒngdìng, where occasional doublets point to layering as the source of vacillation, e.g.,

bèi 貝 QYS pwâi- CDC *puoi5/EC *’path
BMH [pùi ~ pí]; MX [pi5]; HL [pui5]; SX [pi5]; LF [pui5]; LZ [pui5]; SHT [pui5]
HY [puai5]; XY [puai5 ~ pui5]; DB [pei5]; YL [pei5]; XC [pei5]
CT [pe5]; WP [pi5]; YD [pei5 ~ pei3]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [pe5]; AY [pe5]; SY [pe2]; XS [—]; QN [pui5]; ND1 [pei5]; ND2 [pei5]; ND3 [pei5]
OPH *pui5    CNH *pui5

The second Basel Mission variant may simply reflect the regular Méixiàn reflex of this etymon. The Sìxiàn reflects an earlier *pi5, for which we do not have unambiguous evidence elsewhere.
Reconstruction of the Tonal Categories of Common Neo-Hakka

dài 帶 QYS tâi- CDC *tai5/EC *tath
BMH [tài]; MX [tai5]; HL [tai5]; SX [tai5]; LF [tai5]; LZ [tai5]; SHT [tai5]
HY [tai5]; XY [tai5]; DB [tai5]; YL [tai5]; XC [tai5]
CT [tai5]; WP [ta5]; YD [tai3 ~ tai5]; SH [ta5]; LC1 [ta5]; LC2 [ta5]
NK [tæ5]; AY [tæ5]; SY [tæ2]; XS [tai5]; QN [tai5]; ND1 [tai5]; ND2 [tai5]; ND3 [tai5]
OPH *tai5 CNH *tai5

shòu 瘦 QYS ʂjəu- CDC *sheu5/EC *sriwh
BMH [sèu]; MX [seu5]; HL [seu5]; SX [seu5]; LF [seu5]; LZ [ʃe5]; SHT [ʃi5]
HY [əuai5]; XY [ʃəu5]; DB [lei5]; YL [saui5]; XC [ʃəu5]
CT [seu5]; WP [ʃə5]; YD [ʃəu5]; SH [ʃə5]; LC1 [ʃəu5]; LC2 [—]
NK [ʃə5]; AY [ʃəu5]; SY [ʃəu5]; XS [ʃəu5]; QN [ʃəu5]; ND1 [ʃəu5]; ND2 [ʃəu3]; ND3 [ʃəu5]
OPH *ʃəu5 CNH *ʃəu5

Sonorant initial Tone 5 words were of special interest to Norman (1989: 330–332),
because such syllable types in CDC would normally be expected to join lower register tones in
Hakka. Examples are:
lù 露 QYS luo- CDC *ʰlu6/EC *lakh
BMH [lù]; MX [lu5]; HL [lu5]; SX [lu5]; LF [lu5]; LZ [lu5]; SHT [—]
HY [lu6]; XY [lu5]; DB [lu5]; YL [lu5]; XC [lu5]
CT [lu5]; WP [lu5]; YD [lu3]; SH [lu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [lu5]; AY [lu5]; SY [lu2]; XS [lu5]; QN [lu5]; ND1 [lu5]; ND2 [lu5]; ND3 [lu5]
OPH *lu5 CNH *lu5

mà 罵 QYS ma- CDC *ʰma6/EC *mrah
BMH [mà]; MX [ma5]; HL [ma5]; SX [ma5]; LF [ma5]; LZ [məba5]; SHT [—]
HY [ma6]; XY [ma5]; DB [ma5]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [ma5]; WP [ma5]; YD [ma3]; SH [ma5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ma5]; AY [ma5w ~ mà5]; SY [ma1]; XS [ma5]; QN [ma5]; ND1 [ma5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ma5]
4.5 Tone 6 (Yángqù 陽去)

In discussing this tone class, it is necessary to recall that it has been lost entirely from the following dialects: Méixiàn, Sìxiàn, Song Him Tong, Diànbái, Yílǒng, Xīchāng, Wǔpíng, Yǒngdìng, Shàngháng, Nánkāng, Shàngyóu, and Xiūshuǐ. Representative examples for Tone 6 are:
Reconstruction of the Tonal Categories of Common Neo-Hakka

ài 砣  QYS  ngâi-   CDC *ngoi6/EC *’ngih
BMH [ngœi]; MX [ŋœi5]; HL [ŋœi6]; SX [ŋœi5]; LF [ŋœi6]; LZ [ŋœi5]; SHT [—]
HY [ŋuai6]; XY [ŋuai3]; DB [ŋœi3]; YL [—]; XC [ŋai5]
CT [ŋue6]; WP [ŋœ3]; YD [—]; SH [ŋœ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ŋœ5]; AY [ŋœ6]; SY [ŋœ5]; XS [ŋœi5]; QN [ŋœi6]; ND1 [ŋœ6]; ND2 [ŋœi6]; ND3 [ŋœi6]
[OPH *ngoi6]   CNH *ŋoi6/*ŋai6
The second reconstructed form is supported by the Xīchāng and Ningdū-3 forms. It is almost certainly a later loan into these dialects.

dòu 豆  QYS  dəu-   CDC *deu6/EC *’doh
BMH [thèu]; MX [t’eu5]; HL [t’eu6]; SX [t’eu5]; LF [t’eu6]; LZ [t’eu5]; SHT [t’iu5]
HY [t’uai6]; XY [t’ei3]; DB [t’ei3]; YL [t’ai3]; XC [t’au5]
CT [t’eu6]; WP [t’ei3]; YD [t’eu5]; SH [th3]; LC1 [t’eu6]; LC2 [t’uŋ6]
NK [t’i5]; AY [t’u6]; SY [t’io5]; XS [t’œu5]; QN [t’eu6]; ND1 [t’eu6]; ND2 [t’iu6]; ND3 [t’iu6]
[OPH *t’eu6]   CNH *t’eu6

fèng 凤  QYS  bjung-   CDC *vung6/EC *’umh
BMH [fʊŋ]; MX [faŋ5]; HL [fœŋ5]; SX [fœŋ5]; LF [fœŋ6]; LZ [fœŋ5]; SHT [—]
HY [hœŋ6]; XY [fœŋ3]; DB [fœŋ3]; YL [fœŋ5]; XC [fœŋ2]
CT [—]; WP [fœŋ3]; YD [fœŋ5]; SH [fœŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [fœŋ5]; AY [fœŋ6]; SY [fœŋ5]; XS [fœŋ5]; QN [fœŋ5]; ND1 [fœŋ6]; ND2 [fœŋ6]; ND3 [fœŋ6]
[OPH *fœŋ6]   CNH *fœŋ6

làng 浪  QYS  lâng-   CDC *long6/EC *’langh
BMH [lɔŋ]; MX [lœŋ5]; HL [lœŋ6]; SX [lœŋ5]; LF [lœŋ6]; LZ [lœŋ5]; SHT [—]
HY [lœŋ6]; XY [lœŋ3]; DB [lœŋ3]; YL [lœŋ5]; XC [lœŋ5]
CT [lœŋ5]; WP [lœŋ5]; YD [lœŋ5]; SH [lœŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [lœŋ5]; AY [lœŋ6]; SY [lœŋ5]; XS [lœŋ5]; QN [lœŋ6]; ND1 [lœŋ6]; ND2 [lœŋ6]; ND3 [lœŋ6]
[OPH *lœŋ6]   CNH *lœŋ6
mèng 夢 QYS mjung- CDC *mung6/EC *mingh
BMH [mùŋ]; MX [mʊŋ5 ~ mʊŋ5]; HL [mʊŋ5]; SX [mʊŋ5]; LF [mʊŋ6]; LZ [ᵐbʊŋ5]; SHT [mʊŋ5]
HY [mʊŋ6]; XY [mʊŋ3]; DB [mʊŋ3]; YL [mʊŋ3]; XC [mʊŋ5]
CT [mʊŋ6]; WP [mʊŋ3]; YD [mʊŋ5]; SH [mʊŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [mʊŋ6]
NK [mʊŋ5]; AY [mʊŋ6]; SY [mʊŋ5]; XS [mʊŋ5]; QN [mʊŋ6]; ND1 [mʊŋ6]; ND2 [mʊŋ6]; ND3 [mʊŋ6]
[OPH *mʊŋ5] CNH *mʊŋ6

yùn 運 QYS jʊən- CDC *yun6/EC *wunh
BMH [yʊŋ]; MX [iʊŋ5]; HL [ɭʊŋ6]; SX [iʊŋ5]; LF [jʊŋ6]; LZ [ʒʊŋ5]; SHT [—]
HY [vʊŋ6]; XY [vʊŋ3 ~ ɭʊŋ3]; DB [zʊŋ5]; YL [vʊŋ3]; XC [iʊŋ5]
CT [veŋ6]; WP [viŋ3]; YD [viŋ3]; SH [viŋ3]; LC1 [veŋ6]; LC2 [—]
NK [vʊŋ5]; AY [iŋjʊn]; SY [ʃəŋ5]; XS [—]; QN [iʊŋ6]; ND1 [iʊŋ6]; ND2 [iʊŋ6]; ND3 [iʊŋ6]
OPH *iʊŋ6 CNH *viʊŋ6

Tone 6 syllables often have doublets in Tone 5. The following are examples:

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

wài 外 QYS ngwài- CDC *ngoi6/EC *ngwath
BMH [ŋɔi]; MX [ŋoi5]; HL [ŋoi6]; SX [ŋoi5]; LF [ŋoi6]; LZ [ŋoi5]; SHT [ŋoi5]
HY [ŋuai6]; XY [ŋuai3]; DB [ŋoi3]; YL [uoi3]; XC [vai5]
CT [ŋue6]; WP [ŋue3]; YD [nai5]; SH [ŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ŋua6]
Reconstruction of the Tonal Categories of Common Neo-Hakka

NK [ŋæ5 ~ væ5]; AY [mue6]; SY [væ5 ~ ve3 ~ ve2]; XS [ŋɔi5]; QN [ŋɔi6]; ND1 [ŋoɛ6]; ND2 [ŋuei5 ~ ŋuei6]; ND3 [ŋuai6]

OPH *ngoi6  CNH *ngoi6/vai5

The origin of the Yílǒng form is uncertain.

xiàn 縣   QYS  yiwen-   CDC *hion6/EC *’gwenh
BMH [yèn ~ hièn]; MX [ian5]; HL [ʒan5]; SX [ian5]; LF [jan6]; LZ [ʒən5]; SHT [—]
HY [yan6]; XY [ian3]; DB [zan3]; YL [eien5w ~ ien3b]; XC [eien5]
CT [ŋi6]; WP [viem3]; YD [viem5]; SH [viɛ3]; LC1 [ve6]; LC2 [ve6]
NK [iê5]; AY [jiɷò6]; SY [ya2]; XS [eien5]; QN [iuɔn6]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ian6]; ND3 [ien6]
[OPH *ian5]   CNH *vion6/L *hian5

xiàng 像    QYS  zjang:   CDC *ziong4/EC *zangx
BMH [siòng]; MX [siŋ5w ~ ts'iŋ5b]; HL [siŋ5w ~ ts’iŋ5]; SX [siŋ5w ~ ts’iŋ5]; LF
[siŋ5]; LZ [tʃiŋ5b ~ ʃiŋ5w]; SHT [ts’iŋ5]
HY [—]; XY [ts’iŋ5]; DB [liŋ5]; YL [ciŋ5]; XC [te’iŋ5]
CT [ts’iŋ6]; WP [siŋ5 ~ tshion5]; YD [siŋ3]; SH [ciŋ5 ~ tehion5]; LC1 [ts’iŋ6]; LC2 [—]
NK [ci55 ~ te’iɔ55]; AY [ts’iŋ6]; SY [ci32 ~ te’iɔ55]; XS [ts’iŋ5]; QN [te’iŋ6]; ND1 [te’iŋ6];
ND2 [te’iŋ6]; ND3 [ts’iŋ6]
[OPH *ts’iong5]   CNH *ts’iŋ6/L *sion5

xiè 謝    QYS  zja-   CDC *zia6/EC *zakh
BMH [tshià]; MX [ts’ia5]; HL [ts’ia6]; SX [ts’ia5]; LF [ts’ia5]; LZ [tʃia5]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’ia6]; XY [ts’e3]; DB [ts’ia3]; YL [cia3]; XC [cie5w ~ te’ia5b]
CT [sia6]; WP [sia3 ~ tshia3]; YD [ts’ia5 ~ ts’ia3]; SH [təhia3 ~ cia3]; LC1 [ts’io6]; LC2 [—]
NK [cia5]; AY [sia6]; SY [cia5]; XS [sia5 ~ ts’ia5]; QN [cia6 ~ te’ia6]; ND1 [cia6 ~ te’ia6];
ND2 [te’ia6]; ND3 [sia6 ~ ts’ia6]
[OPH *ts’ia6]   CNH *ts’ia6/L *sia6
Our suggestion regarding Tone 5 variants of this sort is that they are loans from dialects in which CDC Tone 6 had merged into Tone 5. The fact that these variants are frequently identifiable as literary readings would tend to confirm this.

Finally, we should reiterate that many Hakka Tone 6 syllables fall under CDC Tone 4 (yāngshǎng). The word 像 xiàng above is in fact such a case. Quite a few more are cited in §4.1 above, where we noted with approbation Norman’s hypothesis that these Hakka Tone 6 forms represent a loan layer that postdates older “native” Hakka developments of CDC Tone 4.

4.6 Tone 7 (Yīnrù 陰入)

The following are obstruent initial examples for this tone:

bā 八 QYS pwāt CDC *pat7/EC *pret
BMH [pät]; MX [pat7]; HL [pat7]; SX [pat7]; LF [pat7]; LZ [pat7]; SHT [pat7]
HY [pat7]; XY [pat7]; DB [pat7]; YL [paʔ7]; XC [paʔ7]
CT [peʔ2]†; WP [pieʔ7]††; YD [pieʔ7]; SH [paʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [pe6]
NK [pa7]; AY [pa6]; SY [pa5]; XS [pait7]; QN [pæʔ7]; ND1 [pait7]; ND2 [pat7]; ND3 [pat7]
OPH *pat7    CNH *pat7
†DCBG: var. pa2.
††DCBG: paʔ7.
The mid-vowel final readings in the Fújiàn line appear to be intrusive and are of possible Mǐn origin.

bái 百 QYS pāk CDC *pak7/EC *prak
BMH [pak]; MX [pak7]; HL [pak7]; SX [pak7]; LF [pak7]; LZ [pak7]; SHT [pak7]
HY [pak7]; XY [pak7]; DB [pak7]; YL [paʔ7]; XC [paʔ7]
CT [pa2]; WP [paʔ7]; YD [paʔ7]; SH [paʔ7]; LC1 [po6]; LC2 [—]
NK [pa8]; AY [pa6]; SY [pa5]; XS [pak7]; QN [paʔ7]; ND1 [pak7]; ND2 [pak7 ~ pak7]; ND3 [pak7]
[OPH *pak7]    CNH *pak7
běi 北 QYS pæk CDC *pek7/EC *’pik
BMH [pet]; MX [pet7]; HL [pet7]; SX [pet7]; LF [pet7]; LZ [pet7]; SHT [pet7]
HY [pat7]; XY [pet7]; DB [pet7]; YL [peʔ7]; XC [peʔ7]
CT [pe2]; WP [peʔ7]; YD [peʔ7]; SH [peʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [pa8]; AY [pa6]; SY [pe5]; XS [pet7]; QN [peʔ7]; ND1 [pak7]; ND2 [pak7]; ND3 [pak7]
OPH *pet7 CNH *pek7

bǐ 笔 QYS pjet3 CDC *pit7/EC *put
BMH [pit]; MX [pit7]; HL [pit7]; SX [pit7]; LF [pit7]; LZ [pit7]; SHT [pit7]
HY [pit7]; XY [pit7]; DB [pat7]; YL [piʔ7]; XC [pieʔ7]
CT [pi2]; WP [piʔ7]; YD [piʔ7]; SH [piʔ7]; LC1 [pi3]; LC2 [—]
NK [pie7]; AY [pi33]; SY [pi5]; XS [pi7]; QN [piʔ7]; ND1 [pi7]; ND2 [pi7]; ND3 [pi7]
OPH *piʔ7 CNH *piʔ7

bó 伯 QYS pæk CDC *pak7/EC *prak
BMH [pak]; MX [pak7]; HL [pak7]; SX [pak7]; LF [pak7]; LZ [pak7]; SHT [pak7]
HY [pak7]; XY [pak7]; DB [pak7]; YL [pakʔ7]; XC [paʔ7]
CT [pa2]; WP [paʔ7]; YD [paʔ7]; SH [paʔ7]; LC1 [po6]; LC2 [po1 ~ po6]
NK [pa8]; AY [pa6]; SY [pa5]; XS [pak7]; QN [peʔ7]; ND1 [pak7]; ND2 [pak7]; ND3 [pak7]
[OPH *pak7] CNH *pak7
The tone of the Nánkāng form is irregular. The Quánnán form is not directly cognate here and appears to reflect an earlier *pek7, which is not reconstructable for the set as a whole.

chā 插 QYS tʃhæp CDC *chap7/EC *tʃrap
BMH [tʃhap]; MX [ts’ap7]; HL [ts’ap7]; SX [ts’ap7]; LF [ts’ap7]; LZ [tʃap7]
HY [ts’ap7]; XY [ts’ap7]; DB [ts’ap7]; YL [ts’aʔ7]; XC [tʃ’aʔ7]
CT [ts’a2]; WP [tʃaʔ7]; YD [ts’iaʔ7]; SH [tʃaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ts’o6]
NK [ts’aʔ7]; AY [ts’a3]; SY [ts’a5]; XS [ts’aʔ7]; QN [ts’aʔ7]; ND1 [ts’aip7]; ND2 [ts’ap7]; ND3 [ts’ap7]
OPH *ts’ap7 CNH *ts’ap7
The presence of medial -i- in the Yǒngdìng form is unexplained.

chá 察 QYS tʂʰat CDC *chat7/EC *tshrat
BMH [tʂhat]; MX [tʂ’at7]; HL [tʂ’at7]; SX [tʂ’at7]; LF [tʂ’at7]; LZ [tʃat7]; SHT [—]
HY [tʂ’at7]; XY [tʂ’at7]; DB [tʂ’at7]; YL [tʂ’aʔ7]; XC [tʂ’aʔ7]
CT [tʂ’a2]; WP [tshaʔ7]; YD [tʂ’aʔ7]; SH [tshaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tʂ’a6]
NK [tʂ’a7]; AY [tʂ’3]; SY [tʂ’a5]; XS [tʂ’aɪt7]; QN [tʂ’æʔ7]; ND1 [tʂ’aɪʔ7]; ND2 [tʂ’at7]; ND3 [tʂ’aʔ7]
OPH *tʂ’at7 CNH *tʂ’at7

dā 搭 QYS tʂap CDC *tap7, *təp7/EC *tup
BMH [tʂap]; MX [tʂap7]; HL [tʂap7]; SX [tʂap7]; LF [tʂap7]; LZ [tʂap7]; SHT [—]
HY [tʂap7]; XY [tʂap7]; DB [tʂap7]; YL [təʔ7]; XC [təʔ7]
CT [tə2]; WP [təʔ7]; YD [təʔ7]; SH [təʔ7]; LC1 [tʊ6]; LC2 [tə6 ~ tʊ6]
NK [tə7]; AY [tə6]; SY [tə5]; XS [təɪʔ7]; QN [tæʔ7]; ND1 [təɪp7]; ND2 [tʂap7]; ND3 [tʂap7]
OPH *tʂap7 CNH *tʂap7

fà 法 QYS pjwʊp CDC *fap7/EC *pop
BMH [fap]; MX [fap7]; HL [fap7]; SX [fap7]; LF [fap7]; LZ [fat7]; SHT [fap7 ~ fat7]
HY [fat7]; XY [fat8]; DB [fat8]; YL [fat7]; XC [fəʔ7]
CT [fa2]; WP [faʔ7]; YD [faʔ7]; SH [faʔ7]; LC1 [fo6]; LC2 [fo6]
NK [fa7]; AY [fa3]; SY [fa5]; XS [faiʔ7]; QN [faʔʔ7]; ND1 [faɪp7]; ND2 [fap7]; ND3 [fat7]
OPH *fap7 CNH *fap7/*fat7

jí 急 QYS kjəp CDC *kip7/EC *kip
BMH [kip]; MX [kip7]; HL [kip7]; SX [kip7]; LF [kip7]; LZ [kip7]; SHT [kip7]
HY [kip7]; XY [kip7]; DB [kip7]; YL [teiʔ7]; XC [teiɛʔ7]
CT [tʃi2]; WP [tsiʔ7]; YD [kiʔ7]; SH [teiʔ7]; LC1 [ki6]; LC2 [—]
NK [teiɛʔ7]; AY [teiɛ3]; SY [teiɛ5]; XS [teiʔ7]; QN [teiʔ7]; ND1 [tsəp7]; ND2 [tsəp7]; ND3 [tsəp7]
OPH *kip7    CNH *kip7

In most dialects Common Neo-Hakka Tone 7 is retained as an independent tonal category. In Chángtīng it merges with Tone 2 of that dialect, while in Shàngyóu it merges with Tone 5. In Liánchéng it most often becomes Tone 6. In Ānyuǎn, Tone 7 syllables ending in CNH *-p and *-t merge into modern Tone 3, while those ending in *-k go to modern Tone 6. In Nánkāng, syllable final *-p and *-t words remain under this dialect’s Tone 7, while final *-k syllables shift to modern Tone 8.

The following are examples of Common Neo-Hakka Tone 7 syllables having sonorant initials:

mù 木 QYS muk    CDC *ʰmuk8/EC *’mok
BMH [muk]; MX [muk7]; HL [muk7]; SX [muk7]; LF [muk7]; LZ [m=uk7]; SHT [muk7]
HY [mok7]; XY [mou7]; DB [muk7]; YL [mau7]; XC [mu7]
CT [mu2]; WP [mu7]; YD [mu7]; SH [maʔ7]; LC1 [miue6]; LC2 [mye5]
NK [mu8 ~ mo8]; AY [mu6]; SY [mo5]; XS [muk7]; QN [muʔ7]; ND1 [muk7]; ND2 [muk7]; ND3 [muk7]
OPH *muk7    CNH *muk7

niè 鑷 QYS njäp    CDC *niap8/EC *nap
BMH [nyap]; MX [niap7]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [nieʔ8]; XC [nieʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [nie5]; AY [—]; SY [nie5]; XS [nieʔ7]; QN [nieʔ7]; ND1 [naip7]; ND2 [nap7]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *niap7]    CNH *niap7

wà 襪 QYS mjwot    CDC *ʰmvat8/EC *mot
BMH [mat]; MX [mat7]; HL [mat7]; SX [mat7]; LF [mat7]; LZ [m=bat7]; SHT [—]
HY [mat8]; XY [mat7]; DB [mat7]; YL [maʔ7]; XC [maʔ7]
CT [mai2]; WP [maʔ7]; YD [mat7]; SH [maʔ8]; LC1 [ma6]; LC2 [ma5]
The Ningdū data point to an earlier *mot7, which in Ningdū-1 is in competition with more general Hakka *mat7.

There are also cases where such Tone 7 forms occur in doublets showing variants in Common Neo-Hakka Tone 8. The following illustrate this:

liù 六 QYS  ljuk CDC *ʰliuk8 ~ luk8/EC *luk
BMH [liuk]; MX [liuk7]; HL [liuk7]; SX [liuk7]; LF [liuk7]; LZ [luk7]; SHT [liuk7]
HY [lok8]; XY [louʔ]; DB [luk7]; YL [lauʔ7]; XC [liuʔ7]
CT [teu2]; WP [tuʔ7]; YD [liuʔ7]; SH [taʔ7]; LC1 [teu6]; LC2 [təu5]†
NK [tiu8]; AY [ti6]; SY [tiu5]; XS [liuk8]; QN [luʔ7]; ND1 [liuk7]; ND2 [liuk7]; ND3 [liuk7]
OPH *liuk7    CNH *liuk7/*luk7/*luk8
†FJFYZ: [ləu5].
The Xiūshuǐ tone is irregularly of lower register, though its final connects it with CNH *liuk7.

ròu 肉 QYS ńţiuk CDC *ⁿhiuk8/EC *nuk
BMH [nyuk]; MX [niuk7]; HL [niuk7]; SX [niuk7]; LF [niuk7]; LZ [ŋiuk7]; SHT [niuk7]
HY [nyok7 ~ nyok8]†; XY [niuk7]; DB [niuk7]; YL [niauʔ7]; XC [niuk7]
CT [nieu2 ~ nia2]; WP [niuʔ7]; YD [niuʔ7]; SH [niaʔ7]; LC1 [ŋieu6]; LC2 [nɪo6 ~ nɪu5]†
NK [niu8]; AY [nio6w ~ n6]; SY [niu5]; XS [niuk7]; QN [niuʔ7]; ND1 [nuk7]; ND2 [nuk7]; ND3 [nuk7 ~ niuk7]
OPH *ₙiuk7    CNH *niuʔ7/*niuk8
†Second form used specifically in the compound [nyok8 tsy1] 肉猪 “castrated hog”. It is the first form which normally means “meat” in this dialect.

O’Connor (1976: §6.2) and Norman (1989: 331–332) have devoted special discussions to cases of this type and attribute the Tone 7 forms to the presence of the now familiar voiceless sonorant initial series posited for Pre-Hakka as a whole. Norman then suggests that Tone 8...
variant forms are later literary loans from dialects where CDC sonorants regularly condition the development of modern lower register tones. We agree with this hypothesis.

4.7 Tone 8 (Yángrù 陽人)

The following are examples for this tone class:

bái 白 QYS bōk CDC *bak8/EC *brak
BMH [phák]; MX [p’ak8]; HL [p’ak8]; SX [p’ak8]; LF [p’ak8]; LZ [phak8]; SHT [p’ak8]
HY [p’ak8]; XY [p’ak8]; DB [p’ak8]; YL [p’aʔ8]; XC [p’aʔ8]
CT [p’a6]; WP [phaʔ8]; YD [p’aʔ8]; SH [phaʔ8 ~ phiʔ8]; LC1 [p’o5]; LC2 [—]†
NK [p’a1]; AY [p’a6]; SY [p’a5]; XS [p’ak8]; QN [p’aʔ8]; ND1 [p’ak8]; ND2 [p’ak8]; ND3 [p’ak8]
OPH *p’ak8   CNH *p’ak8
†FJFYZ: p’o5.

shé 舌 QYS dzjāt CDC *ziat8/EC *δat
BMH [shét]; MX [sat8]; HL [jat8]; SX [jat8]; LF [jat8]; LZ [jeta8]; SHT [sət8]
HY [siaʔ8]; XY [sət8]; DB [sət8]; YL [seʔ8 ~ səʔ8]; XC [sɛʔ8]
CT [jẽ6]; WP [saʔ8 ~ seʔ8]; YD [sɛʔ8]; SH [sɛʔ8]; LC1 [jɪ5]; LC2 [jɪ5]
NK [sɛ5]; AY [sɜ1]; SY [sɛt8]; XS [sɛt8]; QN [sɛʔ8]; ND1 [sait8]; ND2 [sət8]; ND3 [sət7]
OPH *sət8   CNH *siaʔ8

shí 十 QYS żiəp CDC *zhip8/EC *jip
BMH [ship]; MX [səp8]; HL [jip8]; SX [jip8]; LF [jip8]; LZ [jip8]; SHT [tsip8 ~ sip7]
HY [sip8]; XY [sip8]; DB [səp8]; YL [sɛʔ8]; XC [sɛʔ8]
CT [jǐ6]; WP [sɛʔ8]; YD [sĩʔ8]; SH [sɛʔ8]; LC1 [jɪ5]; LC2 [—]
NK [sɛ5]; AY [sɜ1]; SY [sɛ5]; XS [sɛt8]; QN [sɛʔ8]; ND1 [səp8]; ND2 [səp8]; ND3 [sɛp8 ~ sap8]
OPH *sɛp8   CNH *ɕip8
The Ningdū forms in [sap8] appear to be loans of some sort.

\[\text{luò 落 QYS lák CDC *lok6/EC *lak}\]
BMH [lök]; MX [lok8]; HL [lok8]; SX [lok8]; LF [lok8]; LZ [lok8]; SHT [lok8]
HY [lok8]; XY [lok8]; DB [lok8]; YL [lok8]; XC [lok8]
CT [lo6]; WP [loʔ8]; YD [loʔ8 ~ laʔ8]; SH [loʔ8]; LC1 [lu5]; LC2 [lu6 ~ luu5]
NK [lo1]; AY [lo6]; SY [lo5]; XS [lok8]; QN [loʔ8]; ND1 [lok8]; ND2 [lo2 ~ lok8]; ND3 [lok8]
OPH *lok8  CNH *lok8

\[\text{rè 熱 QYS ńžjät CDC *nhiat8/EC *nat}\]
BMH [nyét]; MX [niat8]; HL [niêt8]; SX [niêt8]; LF [niat8]; LZ [ŋget8]; SHT [—]
HY [niat8]; XY [niat8]; DB [niat8]; YL [niɛʔ8]; XC [niɛʔ8]
CT [ne6]; WP [nieʔ8]; YD [nieʔ8]; SH [nieʔ8]; LC1 [ni5]; LC2 [ni5]
NK [nie5]; AY [ni31]; SY [nie5]; XS [niêt8]; QN [nieʔ8]; ND1 [nait8]; ND2 [nat8]; ND3 [nat8]
OPH *nɪiat8  CNH *ńiát8

\[\text{là 蠟 QYS láp CDC *lap8/EC *lap}\]
BMH [láp]; MX [lap8]; HL [lap8]; SX [lap8]; LF [lap8]; LZ [lap8]; SHT [—]
HY [lap8]; XY [lap8]; DB [lap8]; YL [laʔ8]; XC [laʔ8]
CT [la6]; WP [laʔ7]; YD [laʔ8]; SH [laʔ7]; LC1 [lo6]; LC2 [lo6]
NK [la5 ~ la7]; AY [la3]; SY [la5]; XS [lai8]; QN [læʔ8]; ND1 [laip7]; ND2 [lap7]; ND3 [lap7]
OPH *lap8  CNH *lap8/*lap7

\[\text{là 臘 QYS láp CDC *lap8/EC *lap}\]
BMH [láp]; MX [lap8]; HL [lap8]; SX [lap8]; LF [lap8]; LZ [lap8]; SHT [lap8]
HY [lap8]; XY [lap8]; DB [lap8]; YL [laʔ8]; XC [laʔ8]
CT [—]; WP [laʔ8]; YD [—]; SH [laʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [la5]; AY [la1]; SY [la5]; XS [lai8]; QN [læʔ8]; ND1 [laip7]; ND2 [lap7]; ND3 [lap7]
OPH *lap8  CNH *lap8/*lap7
In most dialects, this tone is retained as such and becomes modern Tone 8. In Chángtīng it merges with Tone 6 of that dialect. In Liánchēng and Shāngyóu it merges into modern Tone 5 of these languages. In Nánkāng its development is somewhat complex. In obstruent initial words having the Common Neo-Hakka codas *-p and *-t it merges with modern Tone 5. However, in sonorant initial words with final *-p and *-t, it may become either Tone 5 or 7, the vacillation between the two, as exemplified by the set for là 蠟 “wax” above, suggesting that dialect mixture is in play here. Tone 8 syllables ending in the Common Neo-Hakka coda *-k merge into modern Tone 1. In Ānyuǎn, syllables in Common Neo-Hakka final *-p and *-t go to modern Tone 1, while those having final *-k merge into Tone 5.

Here we should note an interesting peculiarity of Nánkāng. To wit, comparing our observations in the present section and in §4.6 above, we see that Nánkāng Tone 8 is not descended from Primitive Hakka Tone 8 at all. Instead, this modern Nánkāng tone derives entirely from two other sources, i.e., 1) from Common Neo-Hakka Tone 7 when this tone is found in syllables ending in CNH *-k, and 2) from loanwords in CDC Tone 8, which have been borrowed into Hakka from other dialects where this tone class was still retained.

Finally, in closing we should recall that reconstructed Tone 8 forms regularly occur in doublets, where they function as literary correlates of Tone 7 words. These have been discussed, with examples, in §4.6.
Chapter V: Exercises in Comparative Lexical Reconstruction

5.1 Introduction

Comparative phonological reconstruction in the study of Chinese dialects focuses on necessity on the syllable, both because this unit is a fundamental one in the phonology of all known forms of Chinese and because dialectological source materials often give lexical data in the form of syllable inventories. However, spoken Chinese of all types is of course composed not simply of strings of syllables but rather of sentences composed of words, which may be either monosyllabic or polysyllabic. And, ultimately, the task of comparative and historical dialectologists who specialize in historical phonology must be to elucidate the phonological history of entire words, whatever their length. Research of this type involves comparative reconstruction of a sort which differs in certain ways from that undertaken in Chapters II–IV above, though the two approaches of course have much in common, and the sound correspondences and diachronic phonological processes they uncover will ultimately be essentially identical.

A full-fledged phonological reconstruction of the Common Neo-Hakka lexicon lies far beyond the scope of the present work. Indeed, it is questionable whether such an undertaking would be possible today on the basis of currently available data. But it is perhaps worthwhile to consider briefly how the task might be accomplished. The intent of the present chapter is to do this by attempting a comparative reconstruction of seventy-nine Hakka lexemes, illustrating how such reconstructions might be effected and how the knowledge of the sound correspondences uncovered in the preceding chapters of the present work can aid us in arriving at the earlier forms of full words in the proto-lexicon.

Unless otherwise indicated, the lexical items in this chapter are taken from the same sources used to compile the Appendix. However, two sources, those used for Liánchéng-1 and Xiūshuī in fact do not contain lexical sections as such. Necessarily, therefore, these dialect

39 Most of these were suggested to the present writer by the late Professor Jerry Norman during discussions about the feasibility of using the comparative method in the study of dialect lexicons.
points have had to be excluded from the data sets. In one or two exceptional cases, where the said sources do specifically cite spoken lexical forms, the relevant data have of course been added. As was our practice in the first three chapters, we require data from at least two different dialect points as a basis for comparative reconstruction. Subtypes of the same dialect are counted in aggregate as a single point, rather than as multiple points. The reason for this is that, for example, comparison of data from all three Ningdū points might yield a “Proto-Ningdū” form, but it could not support a Common Neo-Hakka one.

In a number of our sources Chinese characters are given for the forms cited in this chapter. In some cases, their use for the lexical items in question is well established, while in others they are more or less conventional in the wider Hakka-speaking area, though not part of the canonical written system. We have included many of these forms for the convenience and interest of readers. However, it has seemed otiose to add such characters for point after point in long series of closely related forms, which readers can easily recognize as close cognates. In these cases, only the first instance of a character is noted, and the following ones are suppressed. In some cases characters seem to have been added in the sources simply for the sake of supplying a sinographic representation, or as the result of běnzìkǎo本字考 studies by the respective authors of the sources. Where these seemed highly tenuous or speculative we have usually not included them here. But in the cases where sinographic forms are in fact cited, it cannot be overemphasized that our phonological reconstructions are based entirely on the comparative evidence that lies before us, interpreted in terms of our findings in the preceding chapters, rather than on the QYS classes of the Chinese characters given in the sources. We are not concerned in the present chapter with graphs or their readings. Our object is solely to recover wherever possible the Common Neo-Hakka origins of the modern spoken forms.

40 For example, the spoken forms of the plain verbal negatives in these dialects are given in the sources and explicitly identified. They have therefore been included in the pertinent data set.
5.2 Cognate Sets

People

5.2.1 “son”

A very widely attested Hakka etymon meaning “son” can be reconstructed as CNH *lai6. This syllable is used alone at some points but is also frequently combined with suffixes to form nominal compounds. It is to these compounds and suffixes that we must now turn.

A common nominalizing suffix is the general Chinese word 子 zǐ, and we should note that pronunciations of this suffix may be drawn from different lexical strata in the individual dialects. For example, the character reading for 子 zǐ in Héyuán is [tsə3] (< *tsə3), but the suffix of the Héyuán compound for “son” is [tsə] (< *tsə3), which is a different and almost certainly older stratum pronunciation of the etymon 子 zǐ.41 This same older layer pronunciation is found in the Lùfēng forms, one of which reads the suffix in its full canonical third tone while the other uses the neutral tone. The proto-form can perhaps be represented as *tsə3. Yet another variant of this etymon in Héyuán is [tsiə3], reflecting the curious final variation [ɿ ~ i ~ iɛ] after sibilants in this dialect, as discussed in §3.6.1 of Chapter III. This morpheme occurs, for example, in the compound [kui3 tsiə3] 鬼子 “child, youngster”, for which see §5.2.3 below.

Let us now turn to the Méixiàn form. What has occurred here is that the suffixal element has been reduced from an earlier *tse (as is in fact still found in Lùfēng) to an atonal residue consisting of the bare vowel, with the reduction probably due to the unstressed pronunciation

41 Compare here the full cognate set for zǐ 子 in the Appendix.
of the suffix. Something very similar has happened in the first Sìxiàn form, while the parallel second form uses instead the character reading for the suffix. Multi-stratal complexities of this type occur in many of the noun cognate sets in the present chapter.

The regular character reading reflex of the syllable *tsi3 子 in Diànbái is [tə3], and this is also true when this morpheme is used as a suffix. In Níngdū-2 the regular reflex is [tsə3], and this is also usually the case in the suffixal use, e.g., ND2 [lai5 tsə3] < CNH *lai6 *tsi3 “son”. However, in this particular Níngdū subtype, suffixal [tsə3] is sometimes sporadically reduced to [tə3], e.g., ND2 [kan1 tə3] < CNH *kan1 tsi3 間子 “room (in a building)”. Here again we may suspect that intonational factors furnish the conditioning factor for the reduction.

The forms for zǐ 子 in the Jiāngxī line dialects are sometimes transcribed in the sources as zǎi 孽/仔 “child, son”, but this practice is in our opinion erroneous. The Common Neo-Hakka form this etymon is *tsai3 (with Tone 2 variant also attested), whose modern finals in the dialects in question should be -ai, -æ or -ɛi, as determined by dialect and intonational factors. (Cf. Chapter III, §3.1.4). The confusion on the part of our Jiāngxī sources is perhaps occasioned by the fact that the canonical character reading for zǐ 子 in most of these languages is [tsə3]. In Níngdū the sources correctly transcribe the relevant forms as 子, probably because the modern spoken pronunciations for the most part agree with the character readings.

Another etymon meaning “son” is in fact the etymon zǐ 子 itself. Note now the Wǔpíng form [tsə3 li2]. This compound has been formed by combining [tsə3], the regular Wǔpíng derivative of CNH *tsi3, with a native Hakka nominalizing suffix beginning in the lateral initial l-. Our hypothesis is that the full form for the suffix in question should be reconstructed as CNH *lei. Tonal realizations in the dialects are Tones 1, 3, 5, and Neutral. These variations may be conditioned by intonational factors when the suffix is joined with other syllables in compounds.

The diachronic syllable final development of the morpheme *lei, though somewhat intricate, but can be disentangled and summarized as follows, beginning with the syllable finals:

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42 See again the Appendix for this.
1. *lei retains more or less its full initial and final inventory in several dialects, e.g.,

MX [k’iun1 nei1] < *CNH *k’iun lei [菌] “mushroom”
QN [lai5 lei] < CNH *lai6 lei “son”
ND1 [nət7 tsi3 sən2] < *ňit7 lei šin2 [日辰] “day”

2. The diphthongal final *εi of *lei undergoes metathesis in Héyuán, yielding modern [ie]:

HY [ŋit7 lie] < CNH *ňit7 lei [日] “day”

3. The final of *lei is reduced to *-i in Wǔpíng, Shàngháng, Nánkāng (when initial *l- has been modified to modern [t]), and Shàngyǒu, e.g.,

WP [ni7 tɕ3] < CNH *ňit7 lei “day”
SH [ŋ̩3 ni1] < CNH *ń3 lei [女] “daughter”
NK [nie6 ti2 t’ən2] < CNH *ńit7 lei ťeu2 [日頭] “day”
SY [nie5 ti3 ɕiŋ2]; < *ńit7 lei šin2 [日辰] “day”

4. In Chángtīng and Nánkāng (if initial *l- is retained unchanged) the final of *lei loses its second element, *-i, and retains only the nuclear mid-unrounded vowel, which is then realized as modern [ε] or [ə], e.g.,

CT [uε1 le5] < CNH *oi1 lei “mother”
NK [p’u2 la] < CNH *p’u lei “gourd”

5. In the variety of Hǎilù reported by Yáng (1957), *lei is reduced to a syllabic lateral, e.g., HL [lai6 2] < CNH *lai6 lei “son”. This suffix is not used in the variety of Hǎilù spoken by our own Hǎilù informant. For example, he says only [lai6 ə2] for “son”.  

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Nominalizing *lei also undergoes certain “sandhi-like” initial changes in several of the dialects. These can be summarized as follows:

1. Nasalization in the presence of a preceding nasal

MX [k’iun1 ni1] < *CNH *k’iun lei “mushroom”
SH [ŋ̩ 3 ni1]; WP [ŋ̩ 3 ni1] < CNH *ŋ̩ 3 lei “daughter”

2. Assimilation to preceding final dental stop

WP [niʔ7 ti3] < CNH *niʔ7 lei “day”
NK [nie6 ti2 t’ʔ2] < CNH *niʔ7 lei t’eu2 [日頭] “day”
SY [nie5 ti3 siŋ2] < *niʔ7 lei šin2 [日辰] “day”
ND1 [nat7 ti3 sən2] < *niʔ7 lei šin2 [日辰] “day”

In these cases, the *-t l- > -t t- assimilation must have occurred before the relevant dialects lost or modified final *-t. In Níngdō-1 final *-t was of course never lost and is still in place.

It is now worthwhile to consider the possible origin of the Hakka nominalizer *lei. Our hypothesis is that it may in fact be a permutation of the native form *lai5 “son”, which has undergone a change in its nuclear vowel and in many cases lost or modified its original tone (i.e., *lai5 > *lei), due to its intonational peculiarities as a derivational suffix. Here we may recall the words zǐ 子 “son, child” and ér 兒 “son”, which have had similar histories in the early written vernacular as well as in many modern Chinese dialects (Norman 1988a: 114).

Finally, in closing in this section we note that there appear a number of different Common Neo-Hakka words meaning “son”, all of which are supported by material from at least two or more dialect points. However, it has not been possible on the basis of the modern data to settle upon a single Hakka “Ur-form” having this meaning. This fact suggests that the plethora of forms we see today are the result of competing forms and processes in different parts of the Hakka-speaking area and that, if there ever was a single word in the proto-language, we will
probably not be able to recover it by direct comparison of the modern data. If any of its reflexes survive today, they may be concealed in such a way as to make them irretrievable.

5.2.2 “daughter”

BMH [mɔi tʃu] 妹子; MX [moi5 ɛ3] 妹□; HL [moi5 lɔ; η3] 妹□; SX [moi5 œ2; η3]; LF [moi5 tʃə; moi5 tʃə3]; LZ [moi5 tʃə]; SHT [moi5 tʃə1] HY [a1 nỹ3] 啊女; XY [nỹ3]; DB [nĩ3]; YL [—]; XC [kuei1 ni3; tɕiaŋ1 tɕu2 moi5 tʃi3] 阁女; 青頭妹子
CT [mue5 tʃi3]; WP [nĩ ni1] 女呢; YD [hnĩ; moi3 tʃi3]; SH [nĩ ni5]; LC2 [moi5 tʃi3] NK [nie3]; AY [nie3]; SY [niẽ3] 姛; QN [moi5 ləi2]; ND1 [nie3]; ND2 [nie3]; ND3 [nie3]

The historically oldest Hakka word having the sense of “daughter” is nǚ 女, which is the basic lexeme in Classical and Literary Chinese. However, three different phonological forms of this etymon are found in the Hakka dialects. One of these, which is perhaps the “native” form as well as the earliest one is reconstructable as Common Neo-Hakka *ŋ̩3. Another is derived from the literary reading *ňiu3. The final form is reconstructable as CNH *nie3 and occurs exclusively in the Jiāngxī dialects. It is clearly connected in some way to the southern Gàn dialect word for “daughter” (cf. Common Gàn *nie3), which is used in Gàn-speaking areas contiguous to the Jiāngxī Hakka ones (cf. Coblin 2015: 248). The basic etymon *nŋ̩3 is expanded as *ŋ̩3 lei in two of the Fújiàn dialects, i.e., Wǔpíng and Shàngháng. The Héyuán form is recognizably formed by adding the prefix *a1, which is common as a noun formative for kinship and other intimate terms and names in southern dialects.

An entirely different set of compounds meaning “daughter” takes as its root the etymon *muoi5 “younger sister”. This syllable is most frequently combined with the suffix zǐ 子 to form binomes, from which, following the developmental intricacies discussed in the preceding section, the various modern compounds are derived from either CNH *muoi5 *tʃə3 or *muoi5 *tʃi3. On the other hand, the first Hǎilù compound and the Quánnán form reflect instead an earlier CNH *muoi5 lei, where the nominal suffix is the native Hakka morpheme *lei.
5.2.3 “child, youngster”

BMH [sè nyîn; sè tsṳ́ nyîn; sè tsṳ́; a tsiâu, a tsiâu tsâi, a tsiâu tsṳ́] 細人; 細子人; 細子; 阿□; 阿□仔; 阿□子; MX [se5 nin2 e] 細人□; HL [se5 nin2]; SX [se5 nin2]; LF [se5 nin; se5 nin tse] 細人; 細子人; LZ [a1 tʃiau2 tʃɨ3] 阿僬子; SHT [tsiau2 tsai3] 仔 HY [kui3 tsiɛ3] 鬼子; XY [noŋ5 tsei2] 仔; DB [lei5 nuŋ5 tsət]; YL [se5 nin2]; XC [—] CT [se5 neŋ2 lə]; WP [si5 niŋ2 tsɨ3]; YD [sei3 niŋ2 tsɨ3]; SH [sei5 niŋ2 tsɨ3; sei5 kuei3 tsɨ3 niŋ2]† 細子; 細鬼子人; LC2 [si5 nieŋ2 tsɨ3]

NK [ɕi5 ŋa2 lə] 細伢兒; AY [thæ6 se5 tse3] 太細崽; SY [ɕiŋ2 ŋa2 tsɿ3]; QN [sɛi5 ŋa1 lɛi] 細伢兒; ND1 [ɕi ɛ 5 tɕi5 tsə] 細□子; ND2 [ɕiei5 nən2 tsə]; ND3 [sie5 nən2 tsə]

†A surprising number of further forms having the sense “child” are listed by the source. Only those that are of comparative interest are included here.

Words for “child” are of several types. One of these is based on the root *tsiau2, from which are derived the compounds *a1 tsiau2, a1 tsiau2 tse3/tsɨ3, *a1 tsiau2 tsi2 ~ 3, etc.

Another set of forms takes as its base the compound *siai5 ~ *si5 ŋin2 “little person”, where *siai5 and *si5 are popular and literary pronunciations respectively of xì 細, the general Hakka word for “small”. This compound is then expanded by addition of nominal suffixes to form *siai5 ~ *si5 ŋin2 tse3/tsi3 and *siai5 ~ *si5 ŋin2 lei.

In the Jiāngxī line we encounter the root *ŋa2 “boy”, which is widespread in central Chinese dialects (cf. Common Gàn *ŋa2 “boy, young unmarried male”; Common Central Xiāng *ŋɔ2 “id”). This syllable forms the lexical nucleus of the Hakka compound *siai5 ~ *si5 *ŋa2 lei. The Shàngyòu form is probably derived from *si5 *ŋa2 tsɨ3, with sandhi deformation of the final and tone of *si5, through the influence of the following syllable *ŋa2.

Particularly interesting are the Xìnyí and Diànbái forms, which are based on a root syllable reconstructable as *nuŋ5. In Gāozhōu 高州, another western Guǎngdōng dialect surveyed in Lǐ (1999), we find for “child” the form [nuŋ5 tsai]43, which parallels our Xìnyí form and

43 Second syllable with a modified high even tone, probably serving as surrogate for an unstressed or neutral tone.
supports the reconstruction of a CNH *nuŋ5 tsai2. The first part of the Diànbái form is recognizably derived from *siai5 nuŋ5, with the third syllable being of uncertain meaning and origin. The syllable *nuŋ5 is also etymologically obscure, but something further can be said about it. The combination *siai5 nuŋ5 is reminiscent of the compound *siai5 ňin2 “little person” mentioned above. Pān and Chén (1995) have cited extensive textual evidence that an old word nòng 儂, meaning “person, human being”, was current in Guǎngdōng in pre-modern times. Could this etymon be preserved as a fossilized form in our western Guǎngdōng word for “child”? The tone of this nòng 儂 does not agree with that of our *nuŋ5, and the matter must therefore remain uncertain.

5.2.4 “boy”

BMH [sè a ko] 細亞哥; MX [se5 lai5 e; se5 a1 ko1 e3] 細孻; MX [se5 lai6 a2]; SX [se5 lai5 a2];⁴⁵ LF [lai5 tse; lai5 tse3] 結子; LZ [ťe5 lau3 ko1; lau3 thai1 tʃai3] 細哥哥; 老弟仔; SHT [—] HY [nam2 tsi3] 男子; XY [ŋa5 tseii2] □仔; DB [lei5 lo3 ko1] 細佬哥; YL [lai5 ts’ai3]; XC [sei5 va-o2; nan2 va-o2] 細娃兒; 男娃兒 CT [—]; WP [tha3 li5 ts’ai3] 大細子; YD [t’ai5 sei3 tsi3; sei3 fou3 tsi3] 大細子; 細夥子; SH [tha3 sei5 tsi3; tha3 sei5 tsi3 niŋ2]; LC2 [—] NK [ci5 ńa2 la]; AY [lɔn3 kue3 tse] 卵鬼子; SY [cien2 ńa2 ts’ai3]; QN [lai5 tsi3 lei1]; ND1 [lai6 lai6 tse6]; ND2 [lai5 lai5 tso3; lai5 tso nan2]†; ND3 [sie5 lai5 tso]† The first form refers specifically to small boys.

There are many terms for “boy” in the dialects. The following can be reconstructed comparatively: *siai5 a1 ko1 (tsi3), *siai5 lou3 ko1, *siai5 lai5 tse3/bsi3, and *t’ai5 siai5 tse3/tsi3.

⁴⁴ Our suspicion is that it may actually be a fusion of *tsai3 tsi, but this is of course entirely conjectural in the absence of comparative support.

⁴⁵ Hǎilù and Sìxiàn forms elicited from Dr. and Mrs. Wen Pi-ch’ien.
The Nánkāng form is derivable from *si5 ŋa2 lei, while the Shàngyóu word may represent a structurally parallel *si5 ŋa2 tsɨ3.

It is of course possible to analyze further forms in this set by applying what we have so far learned regarding noun formatives, even though we do not have parallel evidence supporting true comparative reconstruction, e.g.,

QN [lai5 tsɨ3 lei1] < *lai5 tsai3 lei)

ND2 [lai5 lai5 tsə3 < *lai5 lai5 tsɨ3 (showing reduplication of lai5 “son” with diminutive/affectionate connotation to yield the sense “small boy”); [lai5 tə nən2] < *lai5 tsi3 ŋin2

ND3 [sie5 lai5 tə] < *siai5 lai5 tsi3

5.2.5 “girl”

BMH [mòi tsú; mòi tsái; sè moi] 妹子; 妹仔; 細妹; MX [sə5 moi5 ɛ] 細妹口; HL [se5 a1 moi5] 細阿妹†; SX [se5 a1 moi5]†; LF [moi5 tse; moi5 tse3]; LZ [moi5 tʃai3]; SHT [—]

HY [ŋy3 tse3] 女子; XY [muai5 tsə2]; DB [moi5 tsət8 p’o2] 妹口婆; YL [moi5 tʃə3]; XC [ni3 vaə-2; moi5 tʃə3] 女娃兒; 妹子

CT [se5 mue5 tʃə3] 細妹子; WP [—]; YD [sei3 moi3 tʃə3]; SH [mue5 tʃə3; mue5 tʃə3 nɨŋ2] 女子人; LC2 [moi5 tʃə3 niŋə2]

NK [mae5 tse3 le] 妹崽兒; AY [moe5 tse3] 妹子; SY [me2 tse3 tʃə3] 妹崽子; QN [moi5 tʃə3 le1]; ND1 [nie3 tə3] 女子; ND2 [nie3 nie3 tə3] 女女子; ND3 [sie5 nie3 tə]

†Both terms said to refer specifically to teenage girls.

The most common word for “girl” is derivable from CNH *muoi5 tse3/tsi3, a word that is, as we have seen, also used for “daughter” in some dialects. This compound is often expanded to *siai5 muoi5 tsi3. Also found in some Fùjiàn dialects is another expansion, *muoi5 tsi3 *ɲin2. The Taiwan dialects use *siai5 a1 muoi5.
Quánnán [mɔi5 tscɨ3 lei] is ultimately derivable from *muoi5 tsai3 lei. However, the Nánkāng form must derive from *muoi5 tse3 lei, where *tse3 is an early layer realization of the etymon zǐ 子, as is also found in Ānyuǎn. The Shàngyóu form is most interesting. It has been constructed by adding the literary or reading form *tsɨ3 to the already constituted compound *muoi5 tse3. Thus, the full compound comprises two different realizations of the etymon zǐ 子.

The Ningdū dialects use derivatives of the basic compound *nie3 tsɨ3, which may then be expanded in the usual ways. Note the reduplicative diminutive form in Ningdū-2, which parallels this dialect’s form for “little boy” discussed above. (Cf. English “my little girl” [= “my daughter”].)

### 5.2.6 “mother”

BMH [oi; mi ~ me; a mi ~ me; mô] 娘; 姦; 阿姆; 媧; MX [ɔi1 ɛ; a1 me1; a1 ma2] 媧□; 阿姆; 阿嫲; HL [oil; a1 me1]; SX [oil; a1 me1]; LF [oil tse; a3 me1]; LZ [a1 ʰbi1]; SHT [ma1; mi1].

HY [a1 ma3]; XY [lo3 mu1; lo3 uai1; a1 ma1] 老母; 老娘; 阿媽; DB [a1 sam3; a1 neŋ5; a1 lo3; a ma1] 阿嬸; 阿奶; 阿嫂; 阿媽; YL [oi2 ia2; oi2 tsɨ3] 娘爺; 娘子; XC [a1 me1].

CT [ue1 le5; m̩1 me1; m̩1 ma8] 擊哩; 媧娓; 媧娓; 媧娓; WP [ue1 li3; uu1 li3; i5 iaʔ7; i5 iaʔ7]; [m̩1 mi1]; YD [oil tsi3; a1 me1; a1 ma2]; SH [ue1 li5; meŋ1 me1; n̩1 n̩1; i1 ia5 n̩1]; LC2 [oil1; moi1].

NK [mo1]; AY [oe1]; SY [mo1]; QN [ɔi1 lau3] 娘老; ND1 [m1 ma2]; ND2 [m3 ma3]; ND3 [m2 me1].

The most common word for “mother” over most of the Hakka-speaking area is *oi1. It is sometimes expanded as *oi1 tsi3 or *oi1 lei. The Xinyí form, [lo3 uai1], probably derives from *lou3 oi1, though we cannot reconstruct this word comparatively. The Quánnán form [si1 lau3] appears to descend from a reversal of this compound, i.e., *oi1 lou3. Again, comparative reconstruction is not possible here.
As outlined in §3.2.5 of Chapter III, our view is that the syllables mi1, me1, me1, mei1 and moi1 in these forms all derive from an archaic Hakka word *moi1, meaning “mother”. Now, a common compound in the Hakka-speaking area adds the intimate/affectionate kinship prefix a1- to this root syllable, and for the resulting compound we can then envisage a Common Neo-Hakka origin in *a1 moi1 “mother”. Furthermore, this compound may, in our view, have fused to yield the word *oi1 “mother” that is widely found in Hakka dialects but is absent from Shē and Paleo-Hakka. Some dialects have both the fused form *oi1 and the unfused one, *a1 moi1. It is not unusual for a language to retain an original unfused expression alongside a fused one. Compare, for example, English “goodbye”, which is the fused form of “God be with you” and “don’t”, alongside “do not”, etc.

The Nánkāng and Shàngyóu forms reflect yet another form, reconstructable as *mo1. What may be same word was also known to the Basil Mission compilers, though they assign it Tone 2 rather than Tone 1. Whether and in what way this word may be related to others in the present set seems uncertain.
Common Neo-Hakka:
A Comparative Reconstruction

Body Parts and Related Entities

5.2.7 “face”

BMH [miēn] 面; MX [miën5]; HL [mian5]; SX [mian5]; LF [—]; LZ [mën5 pat7] 面鉢; SHT [—]

HY [mian6]; XY [mian5]; DB [mien5]; YL [miën5]; XC [mien5]

CT [—]; WP [miēn5]; YD [miē5]; SH [miē5]; LC2 [—]

NK [miē5]; AY [mi5]; SY [miē5]; QN [miën5]; ND1 [mien5]; ND2 [mian5]; ND3 [mian5]

The Common Neo-Hakka form for “face” is *mian5. The Héyuán word derives from an earlier Tone 6 form which is probably of extraneous origin.

5.2.8 “eye”

BMH [ngán; ngán chu] 眼; 眼珠; MX [muk7 tsu1; ȵian3 tsu1] 目珠; 眼珠; HL [muk7 tʃu1; ȵan3]; SX [muk7 tʃu1; ȵan3]; LF [ȵan3; muk7; muk7 tʃu1]; LZ [ȵan3]; SHT [ȵan3]

HY [ȵan5]; XY [ȵan3]; DB [ȵan3]; YL [ȵan3 tsu1]; XC [ȵan3 tsu1]

CT [mu2 tʃu1]; WP [muʔ7 tu1]; YD [muʔ7 tsi1]; SH [məʔ7 tsu1]; LC2 [myɛ6 tʃe1]

NK [nã3 tʃi1]; AY [ȵan3 ts1]; SY [ȵã3 tʃi1]; QN [ȵan3 tsu1]; ND1 [ȵan3 teiaŋ1] 眼睛;

ND2 [ȵan3 teiaŋ1]; ND3 [ȵan3 tʃiaŋ1]

†This second syllable is anomalous for this dialect. The expected form would be [tsu1]. Our suspicion is that the source (BJYJ) has miscopied it.

The monosyllabic CNH *ȵan3 is well attested in the sense “eye”. Even more common is the expanded binome *ȵan3 tʃiu1. Also well represented is the parallel binome *muk7 *tʃiu1. The monosyllabic form *muk7 occurs only in Lufēng in our data. Níngdū has a form directly comparable to MSC yǎnjīng 眼睛, which is not attested elsewhere. It is clearly extraneous.
5.2.9 “mouth”

BMH [chòi]; MX [tsɔi5] 嘴(>мат); HL [tʃoi3]; SX [tʃoi3]; LF [tʃoi5]; LZ [tʃòi3]; SHT [tsɔi3] HY [tsuai5]; XY [tsuai5]; DB [tsoi5]; YL [tsɔi5 pau1] 嘴包; XC [tsɔi5 pa1] 嘴巴

CT [tʃue5]; WP [tsuæ5 miŋ2; tʃi5 po1] 嘴☐; 嘴包; YD [tʃei3 pa1]; SH [tsue5]; LC2 [—]

NK [tsuæ5]; AY [tsue5]; SY [tɕy2 pɔ1]; QN [tsiui5]; ND1 [tsoe5]; ND2 [tsuei5]; ND3 [tsuai5]

Most points use a form derivable from CNH *tšoi5 for the sense “mouth”. Hǎilù and Sìxiàn unaccountably reflect an earlier form in Tone 3, i.e., CNH *tšoi3. Most of our sources write this word with the character zuǐ (QYS tʃwe:, CDC *tsui3), but běnzìkǎo adepts point out that this graphic assignment cannot be correct. They suggest instead the graph chuì (QYS tʃhjwai-, CDC *chioi5), whose aspirated initial is in fact also not a perfect fit for the Hakka word. In any case, reconstruction of the Common Neo-Hakka form is unproblematic from a comparative standpoint, except for the question of Tone 5 ~ 3 variation. CNH *tšoi5 also forms two variant compounds, *tšoi5 pau1 and *tšoi5 pa1 “mouth” in the Sìchuān dialects. Many points have reading pronunciations for the character 嘴 which reflect CNH *tsiui3 (for which see the Appendix, sub zuǐ 嘴), and Yǒngdìng use this form in its word for “mouth”. In fact, it creates a compound, regularly derivable from CNH *tsiui3 pa1, which may have been borrowed in its entirety from some standard koine. The second Wǔpíng form and the Shàngyóu word are curious. They appear to descend from CNH *tsiui5 pau1,46 in which the first syllable is a blend, with its syllabic form taken from *tsiui3 and its tone modified to that of CNH *tšoi5.

5.2.10 “nose”

BMH [phi ~ phi kung ~ phi khung] 鼻; 鼻公; MX [p’i5 kuŋ1]; HL [p’i6 k’un1]; SX [p’i5 k’uŋ1]; LF [p’i6 k’un3]; LZ [phi5 kuŋ1; phi5 ka] 鼻公; 鼻哥; SHT [p’i5 kuŋ1] HY [p’i6 kuŋ1]; XY [p’i3 koŋ1]; DB [p’i3 kuŋ1 t’ei2] 鼻公頭; YL [p’i3 t’ai2] 鼻頭; XC [p’i5 kuŋ1]

46 Recalling here that Common Neo-Hakka Tone 5 regularly yields Shàngyóu Tone 2.
Most words for “nose” in the Hakka dialects are directly derivable from CNH *p’i6 kuŋ1. A rare variant, *p’i6 k’uŋ1, is also reconstructable comparatively. The Diànbái form is a further expansion of the basic binome, formed by adding the nominal suffix *t’eu2. The monosyllable *p’i6 is also an attested form, supported by Basil Mission and Ningdū-3. The Yìlǒng form is an expansion of this basic monosyllable, using the nominal suffix *t’eu2. The vowel of the second syllable in the Chángtīng form is unaccountably unrounded. We would expect CT [kɔŋ1] in a set of this type.

5.2.11 “neck”

The basic monosyllable for this sense is CNH *kiaŋ3. Also very common is the corresponding binome *kiaŋ3 kin1 ~ ken1. Most interestingly, the Yǒngdìng form, whose second syllable, kun1, shows the type of *-in/ *-un doublet with kin1 which we have discussed in §3.5.4 of Chapter III above. A somewhat rare variant is reconstructable comparatively as *kiaŋ3 *kiŋ1. The first Wǔpíng binome is connected with this form but is not systematically derivable from it. The remaining forms are expansions of *kiaŋ3 for which we lack comparative evidence.
5.2.12 “elbow”

BMH [shiu tsang] 手肘; MX [su3 tsan1]; HL [ju3 tsan1]; SX [ju3 tsan1]; LF [—]; LZ [jiu3 tʃaŋ1 kɔk7; jiui3 tʃaŋ1 theu2] 手肘; 手肘头; SHT [—]
HY [siu3 tsan1]; XY [siu3 tsan1]; DB [siu3 an3 tse’ok8] 手□□; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [—]; WP [se3 tsan1 ko7 tʃe2] 手肘头; YD [siu3 tsan1]; SH [ʃiu3 tsan1]; LC2 [—]
NK [ʃiu3 tsan1]; AY [ʃu3 tsan1]; SY [ʃu3 tsan1]; QN [ʃu3 tsan1]; ND1 [ʃu3 tsan1]; ND2 [ʃu3 tsan1]; ND3 [ʃu3 tsan1]

The basic form for this word is CNH *šieu3 tšan1. The Wúping form is an expansion of this basic term, in which two further syllables have been added. It can be compared with the two Lìzhīzhuāng forms to arrive at a full reconstructed compound *šieu3 tšan1 kok7 t’eu2, which then enables us to elucidate all three modern words, the two Lìzhīzhuāng compounds being derivable from *šieu3 tšan1 kok7 and *šieu3 tšan1 t’eu2. We lack comparative evidence regarding the Diànbái form.

5.2.13 “heel”

BMH [kiok ken; kiok tsang] 腳跟; 腳背; MX [—]; HL [kiok7 tsan1]; SX [kiok7 tsan1]; LF [kiok7 kin1]; LZ [kiok7 tʃaŋ1]; SHT [—]
HY [kyok7 tsan1]; XY [kiok7 tsan1]; DB [kiok7 tsan1 t’ei2] 腳跟; 腳背; YL [—]; XC [tʃeio77 kən1; tʃeio77 hau5 kon1] 腳跟; 腳後跟
CT [tʃio2 tsan1]; WP [tʃio77 tsan1; tʃio77 tsan1 kɔt7 tʃe2] 腳跟; 腳背; 腳背头; YD [kiok7 tsan1]; SH [tʃeio77 tsan1]; LC2 [kioe3 tsan1]
NK [tʃio8 tsan1]; AY [tʃio6 tsan1]; SY [tʃio5 tsan1]; QN [tʃio77 tsan1]; ND1 [tʃok7 tsan1]; ND2 [tʃok7]; ND3 [tʃok7 tsan1]

The most common Hakka word for this body part is a binome, reconstructable as CNH *kiok7 tsan1. A much less common form is *kiok7 ken1, which appears to be an intrusion, probably from a northern source. The Lǚfēng form is interesting, since its reading of the second syllable is not regularly derivable from CNH *ken1 but must instead come from *kin. Cf., for
comparison, 根 CNH *ken1/Vulgo *kin1 in the Appendix. The second Xīchāng form is identical with MSC jiǎohòugēn 腳後跟, and is almost certainly a loan from this or some similar Mandarin source.

5.2.14 “saliva, spittle”

B MH [hēu shuí; héu lan] 口水; □□; MX [hēu3 lan1; hēu3 lan1 sui3] 口瀾; 口瀾水; HL [heu3 lan; heu3 ūi3] 口涎; 口水; SX [heu3 lan; heu3 ūi3]; LF [—]; LZ [hēu3 ūi3]; SHT [—]
HY [huai3 sui3]; XY [hēu3 sui3]; DB [hei3 sei3]; YL [k’ē3 sui3 tai3]; XC [hēu3 ūei3]
CT [heu3 laŋ1] 口瀾; WP [xe3 laŋ1]; YD [k’eu3 lan1; k’eu3 ūi3]; SH [kha3 lā1; kha3 lā1 ūi3];
LC2 [hēu3 la1]
NK [h3 lá1]; AY [eu3 lá1 sei1]; SY [hio3 lá1]; QN [hēu3 sei3]; ND1 [hēu3 lan6 sui3]; ND2 [hēu2 lan2; hēu2 lan2 sui3] 喉瀾; 喉瀾水; ND3 [hēu3 lan1 sui3]

The basic native Hakka form for this word is reconstructable as *heu3 lan1, in which the root etymon is *lan. Aberrant tones for this morpheme occur in Níngdū-1 and 2. The first Níngdū-2 syllable shows a tonal deformation, in which it has aberrant Tone 2 rather than expected Tone 3. It is possible that the syllable has been reinterpreted as the word hóu 喉 “throat”, as implied by the sinographic transcription adopted by the source. A common expansion of the basic word is *heu3 lan1 ūi3, which has probably been modeled on the intrusive borrowing of the more general Chinese word kǒushuǐ 口水. This compound is also found at various points, sometimes as a variant and sometimes as the sole word, and is reconstructable as CNH *heu3 *ūi3. Most points adopt the native Hakka word *heu3 “mouth” for the first syllable in these compounds. However, Yǒngding and Shànghǎng use the literary reading form *k’ēu3.
5.2.15 “(human) breast”

BMH [nɛn ku] 乳□; MX [nɛn5 ku1] 奶姑; HL [nɛn5 ku1] 乳菇; SX [nɛn5 ku1]; LF [nɛn5]; LZ [―]; SHT [lɛn5 ku1]
HY [ŋian1] □; XY [nɛn5]; DB [nɛn5]; YL [lan5 lan5] □□; XC [nɛn5 nɛn5]
CT [nɛn5 tʃi3]; WP [nɛn5 ku1]; YD [lɛn3 ki1]; SH [lɛ5 tʃi3]; LC2 [nɛn5 kyɛ3]
NK [næ3 po1 la] 奶波兒; AY [nɪn3 tʃɛ3] 奶崽; SY [po1] 波; QN [nɛn3] 奶; ND1 [næn1 tʃæ]

奶子; ND2 [―]; ND3 [næn1 tʃæ] □□

The basic etymon for this sense is CNH *nɛn5. The Quānnán form is tonally irregular. The most common compound form is *nɛn5 ku1, where the element *ku1 is of obscure origin. The basic syllable is reduplicated in Xīchāng, and the Yílǒng form may have the same origin, though its initial l- is irregular. Compounding with forms of the nominal suffix *tʃi3 is seen in the Chángtīng and Shàngháng forms. Shàngyóu and Nánkāng appear to share a form *po1 “breast”, which is unrelated to other forms in the set. The Ningdū-l and 3 forms have initial syllables that are obscure but may be related to CNH *nɛn5 in some way. Words such as “breast” are not infrequently subject to deformation as nursery forms, and some process of this type may have been in play here.
Places

5.2.16 “house”

BMH [vuk; vuk tsṳ; vuk shà; ] 屋; 屋子; 屋舍; MX [vuk7 ɛ3] 屋口; HL [vuk7]; SX [vuk7]; LF [vuk7; vuk7 ka7]; LZ [vuk7]; SHT [vuk7] HY [ok7]; XY [ouʔ7]; DB [uk7]; YL [uʔ7]; XC [vuʔ7; vuʔ7 tsɿ3] CT [vu2]; WP [uʔ7]; YD [vuʔ7]; SH [vaʔ7]; LC2 [vyɛ6] NK [vu8]; AY [vu6]; SY [vu5]; XS [vuk7]; QN [vuʔ7]; ND1 [vuk7]; ND2 [vuk7]; ND3 [vuk7]

The basic Hakka word for this structure is CNH *vuk7. The binome *vuk7 tse3/tsɿ3, which is theoretically reconstructable on the basis of the Basil Mission and Méixiàn forms, is very likely an intrusion from a northern source.

5.2.17 “room (in a building)”

BMH [fǒŋ kien ~ kan; kien ~ kan fǒŋ] 房間; 間房; MX [fɔŋ2 kian1; kian1 ɛ3] 房間; 間口; HL [kian1 foon2]; SX [kian1 foon2]; LF [kian1 foon2]; LZ [kan1 tu3] 間肚; SHT [fɔŋ2 kan1] HY [kan1]; XY [kan1]; DB [fɔŋ2 kan1]; YL [fɔŋ2 kan1]; XC [fɔŋ2 kan1] CT [tʃiu1]; WP [tsiɛŋ1 tsɿ3]; YD [fɔŋ2 kien1]; SH [tɕiɛ1]; LC2 [ke1] NK [kã1]; AY [kã1]; SY [kã1]; QN [kan1]; ND1 [kan1]; ND2 [kan1 tə3]; ND3 [kan1]

The basic form having the sense “room” is CNH *kan1, but the literary variant *kian1 is also common. These forms are at many points expanded as *kian1/kan1 foon2 or *fɔŋ2 kian1/kan1. The Wǔpíng form takes the suffix *tsɿ3. The second Méixiàn form and the Níngdū-2 form are in fact also derived from *kian1 tse3 and *kan1 tsɿ3 respectively.

5.2.18 “grave/tomb”

BMH [thi; mù] 地; 墓; MX [tɿi5; mu5]; HL [fun2 mu5] 墳墓; SX [fun2 mu5]; LF [tɿi6; tɿi6 fun2]; LZ [fun2 thɛu2; fun2 =bu5; thi5 fun2] 墳頭; 墳墓; 地墳; SHT [—]
The basic word for “grave” throughout the Hakka-speaking area is derivable from CNH *t’i6 ‘earth’, which may have originated as a mortuary taboo form. A reconstructable compound formed on this base is *t’i6 fun2. The monosyllable *mu5 ~ *mu6 is also attested. The Hǎilù and Sixiàn forms, which correspond directly to MSC fēnmù 墳墓, are perhaps calques on the Taiwan Mandarin word for “grave”.

5.2.19 “mountain”

Two forms compete in this sense in the dialects, i.e., CNH *san1 and *liaŋ1. The former is of course the general Chinese word for “mountain”, while the latter is a semantically reapplied form, originally meaning “range, ridgeline” in wider Chinese. One compound, CNH *liaŋ1 koŋ1, is reconstructable comparatively.
Times

5.2.20 “night”

BMH [yà pu shîn; yà pu thêu] 夜晡辰; 夜晡頭; MX [ia5 pu1 t’eu2]; HL [ia5 kian1] 夜間; SX [ia6 kian1]; LF [ja6]; LZ [ia5 ì=ban3 ŋin2; 3a5 pu1 ŋin2] 夜晚辰; 夜晡辰; SHT [ia5] HY [am5 man2] 暗曆; XY [ia3]; DB [am5 kən1 t’ei2] 暗今頭; YL [ia3 pu1 t’ai2]; XC [an5 pu1] 暗晡
CT [ɔŋ5 pu1; ɔŋ5 pu1 t’ə le5] 暗晡; 暗晡頭哩; WP [ia3 pu1] 夜晡; YD ia5 pi1]; SH [â5 pu1 tha2; [ia3 pu1 tha2; ia3 å5 pu1]; LC2 [ŋɔ5 pye2 t’eu2] NK [ia5 pu1 t’ə2]; AY [ia6 pu1]; SY [ia5 mā5 ciŋ2] 夜暝辰; QN [ia6 pu1]; ND1 [ia6 pu1sən2]; ND2 [ia1 pu1]; ND3 [ia6 pu1sən2]

The basic monosyllable *ia6 “night” occurs at several points. However, this element is more often joined with another syllable, *pu1, whose original meaning in textual sources was “late afternoon, early evening”. This compound, CNH *ia6 pu1, is then sometimes expanded to form longer compounds. Two which are reconstructable comparatively are *ia6 pu1 t’eu2 and *ia6 pu1 ŋin2. The Hǎilù and Sìxiàn forms are derived from *ia6 kian1, a probable Mandarin loan form or calque. Another family of compounds is formed on *am5 “dark”, e.g., *am5 pu1, *am5 pu1 t’eu2. The Héyuán and Shàngyóu forms are particularly interesting. In each, the second syllable is probably really a tonal deformation of the word “late”, CNH *man1/*man3 [晩]. Cf. §5.2.22 below.

5.2.21 “day, daytime”

BMH [nyit shên thêu] 日辰頭; MX [ni7 sən2 t’eu2]; HL [ni7]; SX [ni7]; LF [ni7; ni7 ŋin2 t’eu2]; LZ [ŋit7]; SHT [ŋit7]
HY [ŋit7 lie] 日□; XY [p’ak8 ni7] 白日; DB [nət7 t’ei2] 日頭; YL [nieʔ8 tsi3 t’ai2]; XC [p’aʔ8 niɛʔ7]
CT [ni2 le5] 日□; WP [niʔ7 ti3] 日裡; YD [niʔ7 li3 si t’eu] 日裡時頭; SH [niʔ7 niʔ8 tha2]; LC2 [ni6 tʃɛu5] 日晝
Exercises in Comparative Lexical Reconstruction

NK [nie7 ti2 t’s2]; AY [ni3 ti3 sɔi3]; SY [nie5 ti3 sɛŋ2]; QN [niʔ7 tsɿ3]; ND1 [nət7 ɿtɿ3 sɿn2]; 日底辰; ND2 [nət7 ta3 sən]; ND3 [nət7 tsau5 sən2]; 日晝辰

The basic morpheme for “day”, CNH *ňit7, is used in all dialects save Yīlǒng, which instead utilizes a reflex of *ňiat8 “hot” as its ordinary word for “day”, perhaps due to some sort of semantic substitution or transposition. Compounds and expansions are numerous. Some of those that can be reconstructed comparatively are as follows: *ňit7 t’eu2, *ňit7 šin2 t’eu2, and *ňit7 tsɿ3. The Níngdū-2 form expands the last of these by adding its reflex of *šin2 “unit of time”. The derivation of the second syllable [tə3] from *tsɿ3 is as described in §5.2.1.

In several of the Fūjiàn dialects another compound, derived from CNH *ňit7 lei, is used. In Yǒngdìng this compound is further expanded by adding an atonal reflex of the word *ši2 t’eu2 “time”. Other points have expanded the binomial compound with monosyllabic suffixes, e.g., Shàngyǒu and Níngdū-1: *ňit7 lei šin2. The Nánkāng form must come from *ňit7 lei t’eu2, though we lack a parallel for it elsewhere.

Finally, for Liánchéng-2 and Níngdū-3 we can reconstruct CNH *ňit7 tʃiu5, which the latter point has expended as trinomial *ňit7 tʃiu5 šin2.

5.2.22 “morning”

BMH [chau shîn thêu] 朝晨头; MX [tsau1 sən2; tsau1 sən2 t’eu2] 朝晨; 朝晨頭; HL [tʃau1 ʃeŋ2 t’əeŋ2; tʃau1 tʃəŋ2 tsɿ3] 朝晨; 朝晨早; SX [tʃau1 ʃen2 t’eu2; tʃau1 ʃen2 tʃəŋ2 tʃəu3] LF [ʃau2 tʃəu3; tʃau1 tʃəu3; tʃau2 tʃəu3 ʃin7; tʃau1 tʃəu3 ʃin; tʃau1 tʃəu3] LZ [tʃau1 ʃau3 tʃəu3] 朝晨早; SHT [tsau1 sin2 t’əeŋ2] 早晨頭
HY [tə3 tʃau1 tsau3] 打朝早; XY [tʂɔŋ5 tʂə ɛŋ2] 早上; DB [tʃau3 sən3 t’ei2] 早今頭; YL [tʃau3 səŋə3]; XÇ [ʒəŋ5 tʃau5] 上晝
CT [tʃəu3 ʃəŋ2 t’əeŋ2 le5] 早晨頭哩; WP [tʂəu1 səŋ2]; YD [tʃau1 səŋ2 si2 t’eu2] 朝晨時頭; SH [tʃau1 seŋə]; LC2 [t’e1 ʃəŋ1 t’əu2] 天光頭
NK [tʃəu1 səŋ2 ʃəu3]; AY [tsei1 tʃəu3] 清早; SY [te’iŋ1 tʃəu3]; QN [te’iŋ1 tʃəu3]; ND1 [tsau3 sən2] 早晨; ND2 [tsau1 sən2]; ND3 [tsau3 sən2]
Two etyma, i.e., CNH *tšiau1 and *tsou3, are used to form compounds meaning “morning”. From these are made the two most common reconstructable compounds in this sense, *tšiau1 šin2 and *tsou3 šin2. These in turn can be expanded as *tšiau1 šin2 t’eu2, *tšiau1 šin2 tsou3, and *tsou3 šin2 t’eu2.

Yǒngdìng further expands *tšiau1 šin2 by adding *ši2 t’eu2, here with full tones pronounced. Chángtīng adds the nominal suffix *lei to *tsou3 šin2 t’eu2.

5.2.23 “late"

BMH [àm; chhî] 暗; 迟; MX [t’s’2]; HL [am5]; SX [am5]; LF [am5 tʃiu5] 暗晝; LZ [tʃi2]; SHT ━ HY [ts’i2; an5]; XY [ts’i2]; DB [ts’i2]; YL [ts’i2]; XC ━ CT [ɔŋ5] 暗; WP ━; YD ━; SH [iə3] 夜; LC2 [me6] ☐ NK [ia5] 夜; AY [ia5]; SY [jia5]; QN [jia6]; ND1 [jia5]; ND2 [ŋan5] 晏; ND3 [ts’i]

Three monosyllables are reconstructable for this sense, i.e., *am5, *tš’i2, and *ia5 ~ *ia6. In Héyuan, which has both *am5 and *tš’i2, the former means “relatively later in time”, while the second connotes “later than expected, later than ideal”. CNH *ia5 is generally written as yè 夜 “night” in the sources. However, it is noteworthy that in Ānyuǎn and Ningdū-1 the expected tone for this word would be Tone 6 rather than Tone 5. And in both these dialects the etymon yè 夜 “night” is indeed read in Tone 6. Cf. §5.2.20 above.
Plants

5.2.24 “rice plant”

BMH [vô] 禾; MX [vo2]; HL [vo2]; SX [vo2]; LF [vo2]; LZ [vo2]; SHT [vo2]
HY [vu2]; XY [vo2]; DB [vo2]; YL [kuʔ7 tsʰ3] 米子; XC [kuʔ7 tsʰ3]
CT [vo2]; WP [o2]; YD [vou2]; SH [vu2]; LC2 [vũ2]
NK [vo2]; AY [vo2]; SY [vo2]; QN [vo2]; ND1 [vo2]; ND2 [vo2]; ND3 [vo2]

The virtually universal word for this plant is reconstructable as CNH *vuo2. Exceptional are the Sìchuān dialects, where the native Hakka word has been replaced by the general North Chinese form gǔzi 米子, which simply means “grain”.

5.2.25 “gourd”

BMH [fû lû] 葫蘆; MX [—]; HL [fu2 lu2]; SX [fu2 lu2]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [fu2 lu2]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [fu2 tsʰ3 kua1] 葫子瓜; XC [k’u2 lu2 ~ fu2 lu2]
CT [—]†; WP [phu2 tsʰ3 蒲子; YD [p’i2 tsi3 蒲子; SH [phu2 tsʰ3] 葫子; LC2 [—]
†Cf. CT [faŋ1 p’u2] 番匏 “pumpkin”.

Three compounds having this sense are reconstructable comparatively. One is CNH *fu2 lu2, which is etymologically identical with the general and standard Chinese word húlú 葫蘆. The first syllable of the first Xīchāng form perhaps reflects Hakka speakers’ reaction to Mandarin initial h- before absolute final -u, an impossible combination in Hakka. The second compound is *p’u2 tsʰ3, formed on a root *p’u2, which is unrelated to the syllable *fu2 (< CDC *hu2) of CNH *fu2 lu2. It will be noted that our sources differ considerably in their sinographic representations of this *p’u2. In any case, this etymon is limited to the Fújiàn and Jiāngxī lines in our data, where, significantly, the competing form *fu2 lu2 does not occur. Note that the Nánkāng compound takes the native Hakka nominal suffix derived from *lei, rather than the syllable *tse3/*tsʰi3 found elsewhere.
5.2.26 “thorn”

BMH [lét ~ net] 突; MX [—]; HL [ts’iuk7]; SX [ts’iuk7];48 LF [let7]; LZ [let7]; SHT [let7] HY [let7] 突; XY [let7]; DB [let7]; YL [—]; XC [—]
NK [le1]; AY [lə6]; SY [le4]; QN [leʔ7]; ND1 [lit7]; ND2 [lik7] ‡†; ND3 [lit7]
†As part of the word for “swelling, bubo”. Cf. English “prickly heat”.
†† DCBG: [lit7].
‡In names for “cucumber”, which is called “thorn melon, prickly melon” (CNH *lek7 kua1; 突 瓜) in these dialects.
‡†In this dialect used in the sense of “conifer needle” as well as “thorn”.

A single etymon for “thorn” occurs consistently across all of the dialects except those spoken in Taiwan. However, correspondence patterns point to two different early forms for it. To wit, the Níngdū words must derive from CNH *lik7, whereas the remaining forms in our data seem to point to an earlier *let7. Nevertheless, conservative dialects not included in our database have as coda final -k rather than -t, e.g., Xīhé 西河 [nek7], Lùchuān 陸川 [lek7] (both in Guāngxī, data cited after DCBG). The original form can thus be restored as CNH *lek7. The two Taiwan dialects reflect an entirely different form, reconstructable as *ts’iuk7. Yáng (1957) does list this syllable in his glossary but assigns it the sense “to pierce” and also includes it as part of the word for “toothpick”. He does not give the sense “thorn” for it. We have followed our own informants here.

48 Hǎilù and Sìxiàn forms elicited from Dr. and Mrs. Wen Pi-ch’ien.
Animals and Insects

5.2.27 “male of animals”

BMH [kù] 牠; MX [ku3] 牠; HL [ku3]; SX [ku3]; LF [ku3]; LZ [ku3]; SHT [kuŋ1]
HY [ku3]; XY [ku3]; DB [kuŋ1] 公; YL [kuŋ1; ku3]†; XC [kuŋ1; ku3; ku3 tsŋ3; nan2; ŋa2] 男
公; 牠; 牠子; 男; 牙††
CT [ku3]; WP [ku3; ku3 tsŋ3]‡; YD [ki3]; SH [ku3]; LC2 [kye3]
NK [ku3]; AY [ku3]; SY [ku3]; QN [ku3; ku3 t’eu2] ‡‡; ND1 [ku3]; ND2 [ku3]; ND3 [ku3]
†Both anteposed rather than postposed. [ku3] is used exclusively for cattle.
††[ku3] anteposed or [ku3 tsŋ3] postposed for cattle. [kuŋ1] anteposed for horses. [ku3]
postposed for sheep/goats. [ŋa2] anteposed or [ku3] postposed for dogs. [kuŋ1] postposed
‡ [ku3 tsŋ3] exclusively for castrated swine.
‡‡Both forms for swine, only [ku3] for other animals.

All forms in this set are postposed unless otherwise indicated. The general etymon is
suffixed CNH *ku3. Expansions of this form to binomes are of the usual type, suffixing *tsi3
or *t’eu2. The Song Him Tong and Diànbái forms are perhaps loans from Yuè dialects. They
can be derived from a CNH *kuŋ1. The exceedingly complex and varied usages in the Sìchuān
dialects may be due to the influence of the various Mandarin varieties spoken there, both
standard and local, with which these Hakka dialects are, and for some time have been, in
intimate contact.

5.2.28 “female of animals”

BMH [mâ] 母; MX [ma2] 媘; HL [ma2]; SX [ma2]; LF [ma2]; LZ [m=ba2]; SHT [ma2]
HY [ma2]; XY [ma2]; DB [ma2]; YL [sa1; mu3; ts’eu3; nˇy3; ma2] 沙; 母; 媼; 媘†; XC [mu3; ma2]††
CT [ma2]; WP [ma2]; YD [ma2]; SH [ma2]; LC2 [mo2]
NK [p’o2]; AY [ma2]; SY [p’o2]; QN [ma2]; ND1 [p’o2]; ND2 [p’o2]; ND3 [p’o2] 婆


The general morpheme having this sense is CNH *ma2. (Permutations of what is apparently the same etymon are also used in the sense “(human) mother”; cf. §5.2.6 above). However, in the Jiāngxī line another form, CNH *p’o2 predominates. The Sichuān dialects again show a large number of forms for individual animals, indicating mixture of some sort.

5.2.29 “male of birds”

BMH [kung; sang] 公; 生;† MX [kuŋ1; saŋ1]††; HL [kuŋ1]; SX [kuŋ1]; LF [—]; LZ [kuŋ1]; SHT [—]
HY [kəŋ1]; XY [kəŋ1]; DB [kuŋ1]; YL [kuŋ1]; XC [kuŋ1]
CT [kəŋ1]; WP [kuŋ1]; YD [kuŋ1]; SH [kuŋ1 θə2] 公頭; LC2 [kəŋ1]
NK [kəŋ1 t’ə2]; AY [kəŋ1]; SY [kəŋ1 t’io2]; QN [kuŋ1 t’əu2]; ND1 [kuŋ1]; ND2 [kuŋ1]†; ND3 [kuŋ1]
† [sang] anteposed specifically for roosters.
†† For roosters, [saŋ1 kɛ1] 生雞 and [saŋ1 kɛ1 kuŋ1] 生雞公.
‡ Longer form: [t’iɛi2 tsai1 kuŋ1] 啼雞公.

The basic etymon for this sense is postposed CNH *kuŋ1. A much rarer form which is nonetheless reconstructable is anteposed *saŋ1. A common binome, found at various points, is *kuŋ1 t’eu2.

5.2.30 “female of birds”

BMH [må; lön]†; MX [ma2; lən5 ɛ3] 媛; 媼‡; HL [ma2; lən5 ɔ3]†; SX [ma2; lən5 ɔ2]†; LF [—]; LZ [nəba2; phə2] 媛; 媼; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [ma2]; DB [ma2]; YL [ma2]; XC [ma2]
CT [ma2; luŋ5 tsɿ3] 嫢; 鴦子†; WP [ma2; luŋ5 tsɿ3]; YD [ma2; lon3]†; SH [ma2; luŋ5 tsɿ3];
LC2 [mo2; luŋ5] 嫢; 鴦†
NK [p’o2]; AY [ma2]; SY [p’o2]; QN [ma2]; ND1 [p’o2]; ND2 [p’o2; luon5 tsə]; ND3 [p’o2]
† Second forms said specifically to denote young hens that are not yet laying.

The basic etymon indicating this sense is reconstructable as CNH *ma2. Somewhat less
common is *p’o2. The suffix for a not yet laying hen or pullet is *luon5. This is in turn further
expanded as *luon5 tse3/tse3 at various points. The second Méixiàn and Sìxiàn forms are
derived from CNH *lon5 tse3, while the second form in Hǎilù is recognizable as descending
from *lon5 lei.

5.2.31 “earthworm”

BMH [hién kung] 蟲公; MX [hian3 kuŋ1]; HL [hian6 kuŋ1; fuŋ2 kuŋ1] 蛴公; 紅公; SX
[hian5 kuŋ1; fuŋ2 kuŋ1]; LF [—]; LZ [ʒɛn2] 緣; SHT [vɔŋ2 hen3] 黃蠣
HY [hyan3]; XY [foŋ2 san3] 紅蠣; DB [fuŋ2 hieŋ3] 紅蠣; YL [tɕ’y2 cyer5] 蟲蛆兒; XC
[ɕen2 kuŋ1]
CT [vɔŋ2 tʃiŋ3] 黃犬; WP [vɔŋ2 tʃieŋ3]; YD [ts’un2 p’ien3; t’i5 liuŋ2] 蟲片; 地龍; SH
[ʃuŋ2 piɛ3] 紅扁; LC2 [vɔŋ2 khue3]
NK [ɕiŋ3 kuŋ1] 蟲公; AY [ɕuð3] 蟲; SY [ɕiŋ3 kəŋ1]; QN [ɕuɔŋ3 kuŋ1 t’ɛu2] 蟲公頭; ND1
[ho2 p’ien1] 河蠣; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ho2 pian3] 河扁

The basic etymon denoting this creature is reconstructable as CNH *hion3. It also has a
tonal variant in *hion6. The Tone 2 reading of the first syllable in the Xīchāng word is actually
a sandhi permutation of basic Tone 5 in this dialect, which in turn can be assumed to be a reflex
of Common Neo-Hakka Tone 6 here. The most common binome formed on this basic
morpheme is *hion3 ~ hion6 kuŋ1. Another which is reconstructable comparatively is *fuŋ2
hion6. Popular etymology explains the first syllable as hóng 紅 (CNH *huŋ2) “red”. However,
this does not account for the Diànhái form, for in this dialect “red” is [huŋ2]. It is thus better to
reconstruct the proto-form of the syllable as *fuŋ2, whatever its ultimate etymology may be. The second syllable of the Xinyí form is anomalous. If it is related to the etymon *hion3, it has undergone irregular changes of some sort.

The second etymon for “earthworm” in the dialects is CNH *pian3. The second syllables of the first Yǒngdìng form and the Níngdū-1 form appear to be related to this word but cannot be regularly derived from it.

The third reconstructable word in this set, which is found dialects of the Fújiàn line, is a binome, i.e., CNH *voŋ2 *k’ion3. The sources write it as huángquǎn 黃犬 “yellow dog”, which may be a folk etymology. This syllable *k’ion3 may be some sort of permutation of the form *hion3 found elsewhere.

5.2.32 “bedbug”

BMH [chhiù chhûng] 臭蟲; MX [kɔn1 pi1] 干蜱; HL [tʃ’u5 p’i5 tʃ’uŋ2] 臭屁蟲; SX [tʃ’u5 p’i5 tʃ’uŋ2]; LF [—]; LZ [kɔn1 pi1] 干蜚; SHT [ts’iu5 ts’uŋ2; ts’iu5 p’i5 ts’uŋ2] 臭蟲; 臭鼻蟲
HY [kɔm1 pi1] 干蜚; XY [ku1 pi1] 枯□; DB [kɔn1 pi1] 干□; YL [ts’əu5 ts’uŋ2]; XC [ts’əu5 ts’uŋ2]
CT [kuŋ1 pi1] 干蜰; WP [kwɛŋ1 pi1] 干蜱; YD [kuan1 pi1] 官蜱; SH [kuã1 p’i1] 官蜱; LC2
[tʃ’eu5 tʃ’ən2; kɔŋ1 pi1]
NK [te’iu5 ts’əŋ2]; AY [kô1 pi1]; SY [te’iu2 ts’ən2]; QN [kɔn1 pi1]; ND1 [ts’eu5 ts’uŋ2]; ND2
[—]; ND3 [ts’əu5 ts’uŋ2]

Several compounds having this sense are readily reconstructable. One, CNH *tʃ’ieu5 *tʃ’iuŋ2, is simply the general Chinese word chòuchóng 臭蟲 “bedbug”. A closely related

49 Xinyí is unfortunately of no help to us here, for in this dialect “red” has alternate pronunciations, i.e., [hoŋ2] and [foŋ2].
compound is *tś’ieu5 p’i5 *tś’iuŋ2, where the meaning of the second syllable is less than certain. Popular etymology associates it with *p’i5 “fart”, hence, “stinking fart bug”.

The third form can be restored as CNH *kon1 pi1, and the various different graphic forms for it in the sources show that its graphic etymology in Chinese is problematic. Additionally, there are several other forms which appear to be deformations or permutations of this compound. The syllable *pi1, which also occurs in Shē and in some Gān dialects, has been compared by Pān (2005: 22–23) with a Hmong-Mien/Miáo-Yào root of the same meaning. An aspirated form of this etymon is found in the Shàngháng compound, and it is also possible that the enigmatic middle syllable in *tś’ieu5 p’i5 *tś’iuŋ2 is some type of deformation of it.

5.2.33 “louse”

BMH [set ~ sit mâ]; MX [set7 ma2] 淫蝨; HL [set7 l̩2; set7 ma2]; SX [set7 a2; set7 ma2]; LF [set7]; LZ [jt7 =ba2]; SHT [sit7; sit7 ma2] HY [siat7 ma2]; XY [set7 ma24]; DB [let7 ma2]; YL [seʔ7 ma2]; XC [cieʔ7 ma2] CT [se2 ma2]; WP [seʔ7 ma2]; YD [seʔ7 ma2]; SH [seʔ7 ma2]; LC2 [sue6 mo1] NK [səʔ p’o2] 蝨婆; AY [sĩ3 ma2]; SY [se5 p’o2]; QN [seʔ7 ma2]; ND1 [sat7 p’o2]; ND2 [səʔ7 p’o2]; ND3 [səʔ p’o2]

The basic morpheme for this sense is reconstructable as CNH *set7. A variant form, *sit7, is also attested. The most common binomial word is *set7 ~ *sit7 ma2. Another form, *set7 p’o2, is found in some of the Jiāngxī dialects and is reminiscent of an analogous form which is frequently found in Gān dialects (cf. Coblin 2015: 267). The Nínghǔ-3 form is interesting in that the coda of the first syllable [səʔ7] (< *set7) has assimilated to the initial of following *p’o2. This has not happened in the other two Nínghǔ subvarieties. As we have seen above, the suffixes of the first Hǎilù and Sixiàn forms can be identified as CNH *lei and *tse3 respectively.

5.2.34 “cockroach”

BMH [tshát; vông tshát] 蟑; MX [—]; HL [k’i2 ts’at8; vonŋ2 ts’at8] 蟑; SX [k’i2 ts’at8; vonŋ2 ts’at8]; LF [k’i2 ts’at8]; LZ [vonŋ2 tʃhat8]; SHT [—] HY [k’i2 ts’at8] 蟑; XY [vonŋ2 ts’at8]; DB [vonŋ2 ts’at8]; YL [—]; XC [—] CT [vonŋ2 ts’ɛ3]; WP [—]; YD [vonŋ2 ts’at8]; SH [vonŋ2 ts’at8]; LC2 [vonŋ2 ts’a5] NK [vɔŋ2 ts’a8]; AY [vonŋ2 ts’a1]; SY [vɔŋ2 ts’a5]; QN [vonŋ2 ts’aʔ8]; ND1 [vonŋ2 ts’ak7]; ND2 [vonŋ2 ts’at8]; ND3 [vonŋ2 ts’at8]

†Written in the source with a graph composed of 蟑+察.

The most common word for this insect is CNH *vonŋ2 ts’at8. A somewhat less common one is *k’i2 ts’at8. The basic etymon in these cases appears to be CNH *ts’at8. The Chángtīng reflex of this form has an aberrant final. In Níngdū-1 both the coda and the tone of the second syllable are incommensurate with the reconstructed form.

5.2.35 “wing”

BMH [yít kak] 翼翮; MX [it8 kap7] 翼甲; HL [ʒit8 kap7] 翼甲; SX [it8 kap7]; LF [—]; LZ [ʒit8 phak7] 翼拍; SHT [ʒit8] HY [it8 p’ɑŋ3] 翼膀; XY [it8]; DB [zat8]; YL [tsi5 pɔŋ3] 翅膀; XC [iʔ8 p’aʔ7] 翼□ CT [i6 p’a2] 翼爬; WP [iʔ8 kaʔ7]; YD [iʔ8 kaʔ7]; SH [iʔ8 kaʔ7]; LC2 [i5 huε1] 翼汗 NK [ie7 p’ò3]; AY [iɔ1 kuu1] 翼骨; SY [jie5 pɔ3]; QN [ieʔ8 p’ò3]; ND1 [iɛt8 p’ak8] 翼白; ND2 [ik8 p’ak7] 翼拍; ND3 [iat8 p’ak7] 翼拍

The most common etymon having this sense is reconstructable as CNH *ik8, with the coda confirmed by the Níngdū-2 form. Several dialects use this syllable alone in the sense “wing”. Variant binomes, *it8 kak7 ~ *it8 kap7 are also readily reconstructable. In the Jiāngxī line we find forms in Quánnán and Níngdū-1 and 3 which appear to derive from an earlier CNH *iat8. How this may be related to more general *ik8 seems indeterminate, the sinographic representations of the sources notwithstanding. A suffix reconstructable as *pɔŋ3 ~ *p’ɔŋ3 is also used with both *ik8 and *iat8 at various points to form binomial compounds. Another such
suffix, which occurs in all three varieties of Níngdū and, interestingly, in Xīchāng, can be reconstructed as CNH *p’ak7, with the lower register tone in the Níngdū-1 compound being anomalous.
Foods

5.2.36 “rice (cooked)”

BMH [fàn] 飯; MX [fan6]; SX [fan5]; LF [fon6]; LZ [fan5]; SHT [fan5]
HY [fan6]; XY [fan3]; DB [fan3]; YL [fan3]; XC [fan5]
CT [p’uɛŋ6 ~ p’uŋ6]; WP [phuɛŋ3]; YD [p’ɔn5]; SH [phuɛŋ3]; LC2 [p’a6]
NK [fã5]; AY [fã6]; SY [fã5]; QN [fan6]; ND1 [fan6]; ND2 [p’an6]; ND3 [p’an6]

The most frequently encountered form for this common etymon is CNH *fan6. However, in the Fujian dialects an archaic form, *p’on6 is found. And in Ningdū in Jiāngxī there occurs a third permutation, which is perhaps derivable from earlier *p’an6. The matter is uncertain.

5.2.37 “egg”

BMH [lón; chhun] 卵; 春; MX [lɔn3]; HL [lon3]; SX [lon3]; LF [tʃ’un1]; LZ [tʃun1]; SHT [ts’un1]
HY [ts’un1]; XY [ts’un1]; DB [t’an3; ts’ɔn1] 蛋; 春; YL [ts’un1]; XC [t’an5]
CT [t’aŋ6]; WP [t’aŋ3]; YD [lon3; ts’un1; t’an5]; SH [t’ɔ3]; LC2 [lu3]
NK [t’aɔ5]; AY [t’a6]; SY [t’aɔ5]; QN [ts’un1]; ND1 [ka3 ka2] □□; ND2 [ka1 ka1]; ND3 [ka1 ka1]

Three forms for “egg” are reconstructable. One of these is CNH *tš‘iun1, whose medial *-i- we can reconstruct on the basis of the correspondence profile of the modern forms, even though no medial survives in them. (See §3.3.4 of Chapter III.) The second and third forms are *luon3 and *t’an3, both of which are attested in the written language, the third corresponding to the MSC form dàn 蛋.
5.2.38 “mushroom”

BMH [ku; ngâ ku; shú ku] 菇; 芽菇; 蕈菇†; MX [kˈiun1 nei1] 菇兒††; HL [hioŋ1 ku1] 香菇; SX [hioŋ1 ku1]; LF [—]; LZ [tuŋ1 ku1; fa1 ku1] 冬菇; 花菇; SHT [tuŋ1 ku1; ts’au3 ku1] 冬菇; 草菇
HY [muɔ2 ku1] 蘑菇; XY [mouʔ ku] 木菇; DB [mo2 ku1] 蘑菇; YL [ku1 tsj3]; 菇子 XC [tein5 tsj3] 菇子
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [ki1; mou2 ki1; sɔŋ1 ki1] 菇; 蘑菇; 香菇; SH [ku1; tɕhiŋ1] 菇; 菇; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ku1]; ND3 [ku1] 菇
†Several more such compounds are given in the source.
†† After DCBG.

The basic morpheme for this sense is CNH *ku1. Several dialects use it alone as a monosyllable. In others it is found only in compounds. Two of these which are readily reconstructable are *hioŋ1 ku1 and *mo2 ku1, both of which have correlates in the modern standard language, i.e., xiānggū 香菇 and mógū 蘑菇. Another less common etymon for “mushroom” is *k’iun1 ~ *k’iun6. The Méixiàn form derives from CNH *k’iun1 lei, with the native Hakka nominal suffix.

5.2.39 “meat”

BMH [nyuk] 肉; MX [niuk7]; HL [niuk7]; SX [niuk7]; LF [niuk7]; LZ [ŋiuk7]; SHT [niuk7] HY [ŋyok7]; XY [niuk7]; DB [niuk7]; YL [niɔuʔ7]; XC [niuk7]
CT [niɔ2]; WP [niuʔ7]; YD [niuʔ7]; SH [niɔʔ?]; LC1 [ŋiuʔ6]; LC2 niuʔ5
NK [niu8]; AY [ŋ6]; SY [niu5]; XS [niuk7]; QN [niuʔ7]; ND1 [nukʔ7]; ND2 [nukʔ7]; ND3 [niuʔ7]

The general word for “meat” in Common Neo-Hakka is *niuk7, which is of course the same etymon found in MSC. The Ānyuǎn syllabic nasal form is interesting. Whether it is a direct reflex of CNH *niuk7 or is instead an archaic survival from an even earlier lexical stratum is a question which deserves further study.
5.2.40 “wok”

BMH [vók] 鍋; MX [vók8]; SX [vók8]; LF [vók8 t’eu2] 鍋頭; LZ [vók8 t’eu2]; SHT [—]
HY [vók8 t’uai2] 鍋頭; XY [vók8 t’eu2]; DB [vók8]; YL [ʂ̚8]; XC [vɔʔ8; vɔʔ8 t’əu2]
CT [ko1 t’ə2] 鍋頭; WP [uəʔ8; uəʔ8 t’ə2] 鍋; 鍋頭; YD [vɔʔ8 t’eu2]; SH [vɔʔ8 t’ə2]; LC2 [kui1 t’eu2]
NK [vo1 t’ə2]; AY [vo6 t’uə2]; SY [vo5 t’io2]; QN [voʔ8 t’əu2]; ND1 [vók8]; ND2 [vók8]; ND3 [vók8]

The basic etymon for this implement is CNH *vok8. This morpheme takes the suffix *t’eu2 at many points. Another, far less common, word is *kuo1 t’eu2, whose initial syllable is directly cognate to the MSC word guō 鍋 “wok”.

5.2.41 “chopsticks”

BMH [khwài tsʊ; chhù tsʊ; chhù chak] 筷子; 箋子; 筍隻; MX [k’uai5 tsak7; ts’u5 tsak5] 筍
 筍; 箋子; 箋隻; HL [t’u6; k’uai5 [2] 筍; 筍; 筍; SX [t’u6; k’uai5 ə2] 筍; 筍; LF [k’uai5]; LZ [khai5 tfu3]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’y6]; XY [k’ai5]; DB [ts’i3]; YL [k’uai5 tsɨ3]; XC [k’uai5 tsɨ3]
CT [k’ue5 tsɨ3]; WP [k’uai5 tsɨ3]; YD [k’uai5 tsɨ3]; SH [k’uai5 tsɨ3]; LC2 [—]
NK [k’uai5 ə] 筍児; AY [k’uai5 tsɨ3]; SY [k’uai2 tsɨ3]; QN [k’uai5 tsɨ3]; ND1 [k’ai5 tsɨ3]; ND2 [t’ie6]; ND3 [k’ai5 tsa3]

Two morphemes occur in this sense. The first is *k’uai5 (?), which is found only in compounds, two of which are reconstructable comparatively, i.e., *k’uai5 (?) tse3/tsi3 and *k’uai5 (?) *tśak7. Final correspondences for this syllable are irregular in some cases. For example, compare the Ānyuǎn and Quánnán readings for kuài 筍 above with those for kuài 塊 (CNH *k’uai5), i.e., AY [k’ue5] and QN [k’ai5] respectively. This suggests that the syllable kuài 筍 is probably a late layer loan or intrusion in Hakka, rather than an old form. And, in
fact, the word kuàizi 筷子 is thought to be late in Chinese, since in texts it is first attested in the Ming/Qing period.

The second word is *tš’iu6, which is textually attested much earlier, may occur as a monosyllable in some dialects, or in the binome *tš’iu6 *tšak7 in others. The Níngdū-2 form, though ultimately etymologically related to CNH *tš’iu6 must have a different origin and in fact must derive from a Gān-like earlier *tš’ie6. On this, see Chapter III, §3.3.2 and §3.4.2. The Nánkāng form derives from earlier *k’uai5 lei, which uses the native Hakka nominal suffix.

5.2.42 “saw”

BMH [ki] 鋸; MX [ki5 ε3] 鋸□; HL [ki5 ʔ2] 鋸□; SX [ki5 ʔ2] 鋸□; LF [ki5 tɕ; ki5 t’o2]; LZ [ki5 tʃai3] 鋸仔; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [kie5 tsa] 鋸子; ND3 [—]

The name for this common tool is absent from the lexical sections of most of the sources available to us. However, nearly all of them give syllables for the basic monosyllabic morpheme in question, allowing us to reconstruct CNH *kiu5/*kie5. One compound, *kiu5/*kie5 tse3/tsi3, is readily reconstructable. Note that the Méixiàn and Sìxiàn forms descend from *kiu5 tse3. The Hǎilù form, on the other hand, must derive from *kiu5 lei.

5.2.43 “bamboo mat”

BMH [chuk tshiák; chuk thiàm] 竹蓆; MX [tsuk7 ts’ia8k]; HL [tʃuk7 ts’ia8k]; SX [tʃuk7 ts’ia8k]; LF [tʃuk7 ts’ia8k]; LZ [tʃuk7 tʃia8k]; SHT [—]
HY [tsok7 ts’ia8k]; XY [tsouʔ7 ts’ia8k]; DB [tsuk7 ts’ia8k]; YL [mieʔ8 te’iaʔ8 tsʔ3] 箔席子;
XC [liənʔ2 te’iaʔ8 tsʔ3] 涼席子
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [tsuʔ7 ts’iaʔ8]; SH [tsaʔ7 te’ia te’iaʔ8ʔ8]; LC2 [—]
The most common word for this item is a binome, CNH *tšiuk7 ts’iak8, where the second syllable is the morpheme meaning “mat”. A less common compound which is also reconstructable comparatively is *miat8 ts’iak8, to which Xīchāng adds the common nominal suffix *tsi3. Quite interestingly, the second Basil Mission form contains the syllable which corresponds to the most frequently seen Gàn dialect etymon for “bamboo mat”, Common Gàn *diem6 筍. We are unable to reconstruct it for CNH comparatively on the basis of our Hakka data.
Verbs

5.2.44 “lay eggs”

BMH [sang lɔn] 生卵; MX [saŋ1 lon3]; HL [sen1 lon3]; SX [sen1 lon3]; LF [—]; LZ [jaŋ1 tʃun1] 生春; SHT [—]
HY [saŋ1 ts’un1]; XY [saŋ1 ts’un1]; DB [laŋ1 ts’an1]; YL [saŋ1 ts’un1]; XC [saŋ1 t’an5] 生蛋
CT [o1 t’aŋ6] 屎蛋; WP [saŋ1 t’aŋ3]; YD [sen1 lon3]; SH [sə1 t’ã3]; LC2 [u1 luŋ; saŋ1 luŋ3]
屙卵; 生卵
NK [sə1 t’a5]; AY [sə1 t’ã6]; SY [sə1 t’ã5]; QN [saŋ1 ts’un1]; ND1 [saŋ1 ka3 ka2]; ND2 [saŋ1 ka1 ka1]; ND3 [saŋ1 ka1 ka1];

The most common word for this function is CNH *saŋ1. The literary pronunciation of the same etymon, *seŋ1, is used at certain points in the Fújiàn line, as is also another word, CNH *o1, whose basic sense is “defecate” (Chángfēng; Liánchéng-2, first form).

5.2.45 “eat”

BMH [shit]; MX [sət8]; HL [ʃit8]; SX [ʃit8]; LF [ʃit8]; LZ [ʃit8]; SHT [ʃit8]
HY [ʃit8]; XY [ʃit8]; DB [sət8]; YL [ʃèiʔ8]; XC [ʃèʔ8]
CT [ʃi6]; WP [ʃiʔ8]; YD [siʔ8]; SH [šeʔ8]; LC1 [ʃi5]; LC2 [ʃi5]
NK [səl]; AY [še6]; SY [še5]; QN [šeʔ8]; ND1 [šək8]; ND2 [šək8]; ND3 [šək8]

The Hakka word for “eat” is universally derivable from CNH *šik8. As pointed out in §1.3 of Chapter I, the presence of this etymon in the colloquial stratum is a necessary condition for membership in the Neo-Hakka dialect group.
5.2.46 “eat breakfast”

BMH [shít chau ~ cheu] 食朝; MX [sətʰ tsəu1]; HL [ʃitʰ tʃau1]; SX [ʃitʰ tʃeʊ1]; LF [ʃitʰ tʃau1]; LZ [ʃitʰ tʃau1]; SHT [—]

HY [sɪtʰ tsəu1]; XY [sɪtʰ tsəu1]; DB [sətʰ tsəu1]; YL [seɪʔsəɪʔ tsəu1]; XC [ʃeʔsəɪʔ tsə1]; CT [ʃi6 tʃɔ1]; WP [—]; YD [siʔ tsəu1]; SH [seɪʔ tsə1]; LC2 [ʃi5 tε1 kəŋ p’a6] 食天光飯

NK [səl tsə3 ciŋ2] 食早晨; AY [se6 tsə1] 食朝; SY [se5 ~ sɿ5 tsə3 ciŋ2]; QN [seʔ tsəu1]; ND1 [səkʰ tsəu1 p’an6] 食朝飯; ND2 [səkʰ tsəu1 p’an6]; ND3 [səkʰ tsəu1 p’an6]

The most widely found phrase for this expression is CNH *šik8 *tšiau1. A much rarer but still reconstructable expansion of it is *šik8 *tšiau1 šin2.

5.2.47 “drink”

BMH [shit; yím; chhot] 食; 飲; 啜;† MX [sətʰ; ts’ot7] 食; 啜; HL [ʃitʰ; lim1]; SX [ʃitʰ; lim1]; LF [ʃitʰ; jim3]; LZ [ʃitʰ; zim3]; SHT [sitʰ]

HY [suat7] □; XY [nim3] □; DB [sətʰ]; YL [hauʔ8] 喝; XC [ʃeʔ8]

CT [ʃi6; tʃ’ue2] 食; 啜; WP [tʃuɛʔ7] 喝; YD [siʔ8]; SH [seɪʔ8; tʃuɛʔ7]; LC2 [—]

NK [sə1]; AY [se6]; SY [se5 ~ sɿ5]; QN [seʔ8]; ND1 [səkʰ]; ND2 [səkʰ]; ND3 [səkʰ]

†Second form said to be less common. Third form said to mean “suck, sip” rather than “drink” per se.

††The second form in Hǎilù and Sìxiàn is used exclusively for the drinking of alcoholic beverages. It is traditionally written 飲.

The most common form for this verb is *šik8, which also means “to eat” in Hakka. Another form, found in some dialects, is reconstructable as *tš’uot7. This word has the specialized senses “suck, sip, slurp”, but at some points has apparently also been generalized to the broader sense of “drink”. The alternate form [lim1], found in Hǎilù and Sìxiàn, may be a loan from Taiwanese Southern Min.
5.2.48 “drink boiled water”

BMH [shí tún shuí] 食滚水; MX [sɔt kʊn3 sui3]; HL [ʃɨt kʊn3 ʃui3]; SX [ʃɨt kʊn3 ʃui3]; LF [ʃɨt kʊn3 ʃui3]; LZ [—]; SHT [ʃi8 ts’a2] 食茶
HY [suat kʊn3 sui3] □滚水; XY [nim kʊn3 sui3] □滚水; DB [sɔt kʊn3 sei3]; YL [hauʔ k’oi1 sui3] 喝开水; XC [ʃiʔ8 hoi1 ʃui3] 食开水
CT [ʃi6 kuen3 fue3]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [seʔ8 kueiŋ3 fi3]; LC2 [—]
NK [səl k’æ1 cy3]; AY [se6 kuaŋ3 t’ɔŋ1] 食滚湯; SY [se5 ~ s15 t’ɔŋ1 cy3] 食滚水; QN [seʔ8 k’ɔi1 sui3]; ND1 [sək8 tɕien1 sui3] 食煎水; ND2 [sək8 tɕien1 sui3]; ND3 [sək8 k’ai1 sui3] 食開水

The generally reconstructable expression for this act is CNH *ši8 kʊn3 šiui3. A less common one is the alternate form *ši8 k’ɔi1 šiui3. Xīchāng uses the autochthonous Hakka reading derived from *hoi1 in lieu of *k’ɔi1 in this phrase. Other expressions in the set are not reconstructable comparatively.

5.2.49 “wear (clothing)”

BMH [chok] 著; MX [tsək7]; HL [tʃok7]; SX [tʃok7]; LF [tʃok7]; LZ [tʃok7]; SHT [tsək7]
HY [tsək7]; XY [tsək7]; DB [tsək8]; YL [tʃɔʔ7]; XC [tʃoʔ7]
CT [tʃo2]; WP [tsɔʔ7]; YD [tsɔʔ7]; SH [tʃoʔ7]; LC2 [tʃu6]
NK [tsə8]; AY [tsə6]; SY [tsə5]; QN [tsɔʔ7]; ND1 [tsək7]; ND2 [tsək7]; ND3 [tsək7]

The universal Hakka word for this action is derivable from CNH *tʃək7.

5.2.50 “go”

qù 去 QYS kjwo- CDC *khie5 (~ *khiu)/EC *khaŋ
BMH [hi]; MX [hɪ5b]; HL [hɪ5b]; SX [hɪ5b]; LF [hɪ5]; LZ [hɪ5]; SHT [hɪ5]
HY [hɪ5]; XY [hɪ5]; DB [hɪ5]; YL [tɛ’i5]; XC [ɕi5]
CT [tʃ’i5]; WP [ɕi5]; YD [k’i3]; SH [khi5]; LC1 [k’ui5]; LC2 [hɔi5]
All dialects use the same etymon for this action, but several variant proto-forms of it occur. Most dialects use a form directly derivable from CNH *hiu5. However, the regular reflex of CNH *hiu5 in Xīnyí should be [hiy5] rather than [hi5]. The reason for this discrepancy may be that Xīnyí borrowed a late *hi5 (< *hiu5) from some other, perhaps more prestigious, form of Hakka. Another form, *hie5, is reconstructable on the basis of a number of the Jiāngxī dialects. This form may be the result of contamination from dialects of the Gàn family, which have reflexes of Common Gàn *k’e5 ~*k’ie5 as their cognate word for “to go”. However, it cannot simply be a Gàn loan, for the Gàn dialects have a stop rather than a fricative initial in this word. Yet another lexeme, derivable from CNH *k’iu5, is a literary form in many of the dialects but is actually used as the word for “to go” in others. The Yīlǒng form reflects an earlier *k’i5. The regular reflex of an earlier syllable *k’iu5 in this dialect would be [tɛ’y5].

5.2.51 “walk”

BMH [hâŋ] 行; MX [han2]; HL [han2]; SX [han2]; LF [han2]; LZ [han2]; SHT [han2] HY [han2]; XY [han2]; DB [han2]; YL [tsai3] 走; XC [tsəu3] CT [han2]; WP [xan2]; YD [han2]; SH [han2]; LC2 [han2] NK [hâ2]; AY [hâ2]; SY [teio3]; QN [han2]; ND1 [han2]; ND2 [han2b]; ND3 [han2]

The nearly universal Hakka word for this action is derivable from CNH *haŋ2. The Sìchuān dialects and Shàngyōu use forms of the Mandarin-like zǒu 走 (CNH *tseu3).

5.2.52 “run”

BMH [tséu; hiak] 走; □; MX [ts’iak7] 越; HL [tseu3]; SX [tseu3]; LF [tseu3]; LZ [hiak7; tʃeu3] □; 走; SHT [tsiu3] HY [p’au3] 跑; XY [tseu3]; DB [tseí3]; YL [p’au3; piau1] 跑; 猋; XC [piau1] 猋 CT [tseu3; p’ɔ3] 走; 跑 WP [tse3]; YD [tseu3]; SH [tsə3]; LC2 [—]
The most common word for “to run” is CNH *tseu3. A far less common one is *p’au3, which is also the MSC word. Another form, which occurs in the two Sìchuān dialects, is *piau1. Yet another form which is reconstructable comparatively is *hiak7. It is possible that the Méixiàn form is somehow related to this word, though the initial correspondence would be irregular.

5.2.53 “stand”

The universal Hakka word for “to stand” is reconstructable as CNH *k’i1. Modern forms lacking Tone 1 appear to be aberrant in some way.

5.2.54 “search”

Nearly all points use for this sense a word reconstructable as CNH *ts’im2. Xīchāng has borrowed a form of the Mandarin word zhǎo 找.
5.2.55 “sleep”

BMH [shòi muk] 睡目; MX [soi5 muk7]; HL [joi6 muk7]; SX [soi5 muk7];51 LF [joi6; foi6 muk7] 睡; 睡目; LZ [joi5 la8 kau5 睡落覺; SHT [soi5 muk7] HY [—]; XY [suai5 ŋan3] 睡眼; DB [soi5 kau5] 睡覺; YL [soi3 ~ soi3 kau5]; XC [soi5 kau5] CT [fue6 mu5]; WP [se3 muʔ7]; YD [fei3 muʔ8]; SH [fei3 moʔ7]; LC2 [ŋan3; fi6] 睡 NK [eic7 kɔ5] 歇覺; AY [eic3 ŋa3] 歇眼; SY [eic5 kɔ2]; QN [saiʔ7 kau5] 歇覺; ND1 [ts’aɪʔ7 ŋan3]; ND2 [ts’aɪ6 ŋan3]; ND3 [—]

The most common word for “sleep” in Hakka is CNH *šoi6 muk7. A somewhat less common one is *šoi6 *ŋan3. CNH *šoi6 kau5, which corresponds to the MSC form shuìjiào 睡覺, is also reconstructable comparatively. None of these is found in the Jiāngxī dialects, for which another form, *hiat ŋan3 is reconstructable.52 The Níngdū forms may be related to this compound in some way but their first syllable does not show a regular correspondence pattern.

5.2.56 “is/are (copula)”

BMH [hè] 係; MX [he5]; HL [he6]; SX [he5]; LF [he5]; LZ [he5]; SHT [he5] HY [hai6]; XY [hei5]; DB [he5]; YL [hei5]; XC [hei5] CT [he6]; WP [xe5]; YD [hei5]; SH [hei3]; LC2 [jɪ6] NK [he5]; AY [he6]; SY [he5]; QN [hei6]; ND1 [he6]; ND2 [he6]; ND3 [he6] 52

This set, which involves a single etymon, shows a unique correspondence profile vis-à-vis the final types posited in Chapter III. Among these, it bears similarities to CNH *-iai (Chapter III, §3.1.5), and *-ei (§3.4.3), and to a lesser extent to CNH *-e (§3.4.1). O’Connor’s Proto-Hakka reconstruction for it is *he6. In our Common Neo-Hakka System, we have thus far posited no proto-forms having CNH *-ei after gutturals. Our reconstruction for the copula can therefore be a tentative CNH *hei6. As pointed out in §1.3 of Chapter I, the presence of this

51 Hǎilù and Sìxiàn forms elicited from Dr. and Mrs. Wen Pi-ch’ien.
52 For the reconstruction of the first syllable, see the Appendix, sub xiē 歇.
copular etymon is according to our assignment criteria a necessary condition for membership in the Neo-Hakka dialect group.

5.2.57 “fall”

1. “drop, fall, fall down; let drop; lose”

BMH [tiet] 跌; MX [tiet7]; HL [tiet7]; SX [tiet7]; LF [tiet7]; tiat7 lok8 跌; 跌落; LZ [tiet7; tɔi1] 跌; □; SHT [—]

HY [p’iak7] □; XY [tiet7]; DB [tiet7; tɛp8] 跌; □; YL [tieʔ7]; XC [tieʔ7]

CT [tɔu1] 丢; WP [tieʔ7]; YD [tieʔ7]; SH [tieʔ7]; LC2 [te6 p’i1] 跌□

NK [tie7]; AY [tiz3]; SY [tie5]; QN [tieʔ7]; ND1 [tiet7]; ND2 [tiet7]; ND3 [tiu1]

OPH *tiat7 CNH *tiat7

The general word which is reconstructable for this congeries of senses is CNH *tiat7. It includes, but is not limited to, the common MSC sense “to fall as a result of tripping” (i.e., MSC diē 跌).

2. “fall (sc. rain, snow, etc.)”

BMH [lɔk] 落; MX [lɔk8]; HL [lɔk8]; SX [lɔk8]; LF [lɔk8]; LZ [lɔk8]; SHT [lɔk8]

HY [lɔk8]; XY [lɔk8]; DB [lɔk8]; YL [lɔk8]; XC [lɔʔ8]

CT [lo6]; WP [lɔʔ8]; YD [lɔʔ8]; SH [loʔ8]; LC2 [luu5]

NK [lo1]; AY [lo6]; SY [lo5]; XS [lɔk8]; QN [loʔ8]; ND1 [lɔk8]; ND2 [lo2 ~ lɔk8]; ND3 [lɔk8]

This word occurs in all the dialects and is derived from CNH *lɔk8

5.2.58 “give”

fēn 分 QYS  p̥uən CDC *fun1/EC *pun

BMH [pun1 ~ pin1] 分; MX [pun1]; HL [pun1] 別; SX [pun1]; LF [pun1]; LZ [pin1]; SHT [pin1] □
The most widely used word for this sense can be reconstructed as CNH *pun1, with a rarer variant form, *pin1. The Jiāngxī dialects use an entirely different word, *na1. Whether, and how, the Níngdū forms in [nak7] might be related to this *na1 is uncertain. The Sìchuān dialects use yet another form, which is reconstructable as *ken1. This word is a Southwest Mandarin loan form which in texts is usually written gēn 跟 rather than as gěi 给, as our sources happen to do.

5.2.59 “set out rice seedlings”

Several words for this important agricultural activity are reconstructable. The most common is *ši5 *tiian2, with some tonal variation in the readings of the first syllable. An alternate form is *ši5 *vuo2. CNH *ts’ap ioŋ1 corresponds the general and MSC expression chāyāng 插秧. The Níngdū dialects all use an entirely different form, which corresponds directly to the most widely found Gàn dialect form for this sense, i.e. Common Gàn *tsoi1 uo2 栽禾. This is not reconstructable comparatively on the basis of our Common Neo-Hakka data. If it existed, the expected CNH form would be *tsoi1 vuo2.
5.2.60 “return, come back”

BMH [chón lôi] 轉來; MX [tsɔn3 loi2]; HL [tʃon3 loi2]; SX [tʃon3 loi2]; LF [tʃon3 loi2]; LZ [tʃon3 loi2]; SHT [tsɔn3 loi2]
HY [tsuan3 luai2]; XY [tsuan3 luai2]; DB [tsɔn3 loi2]; YL [kuei1 loi2] 彎來; XC [—]
CT [tʃon3 loi2]; WP [tʃon3 loi2]; YD [—]; SH [tsuɛ3 luɛ2]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [kui1 lei2]; ND3 [kui1 lei2]

The more common compound having this sense derives from CNH *tšuon3 loi2. A somewhat less common one is *kui1 loi2.

5.2.61 “return home”

BMH [kwui ka; kwui chón] 歸家; 歸轉; MX [tsɔn3 vuk7 k’ua1] 轉屋下; HL [tʃon3 vuk7 ha5]; SX [tʃon3 vuk7 k’a5]; LF [tʃon3 vuk7 ka1]; LZ [tʃon3 vuk7 kha1]; SHT [tsɔn3 tau5 loi2 vuk7 k’a1] 轉到來屋下
HY [tsuan3 ok7 k’a1]; XY [tsuan3 ouʔʔ] 轉屋; DB [tsɔn3 uk7 k’ua1]; YL [—]; XC [laʔ8 vuʔʔ; kui1 vuʔʔ; kui1] 落屋; 歸屋; 歸
CT [tʃon3 vu2 ha1] 轉屋下; WP [kui1 vuʔʔ ha1] 歸屋下; YD [—]; SH [tsuɛ3 luɛ2] 轉來; LC2 [kue3 hue5] 轉去
NK [tsuẽ3] 轉; AY [kue1 ve5] 歸□; SY [tsuũ3 vu5 ti3] 轉屋裡; QN [kui1 vuʔʔ k’a1] 歸屋下; ND1 [kui1 ei5] 歸去; ND2 [kui1 vuk7 k’a1]; ND3 [sie5 kui1] 去歸

The words *tšuon3 and *kui1, both meaning “to return”, are basic for this action. The most common compound having the sense “return home” is recontructable as *tšuon3 vuk7 (+ k’a1 ~ k’a5 ~ k’ua1), There are many variant readings for the optional third syllable of this expression, which is traditionally identified as a form of xià 下. If this etymological assignment is correct, then further elucidation of the variant pronunciations in question is warranted. A reconstructable compound taking *kui1 as its nuclear verb is *kui1 vuk7 (ha1 ~ k’a1), again with optional third syllable.
5.2.62 “smell (trans. vb.)”

BMH [vûn; phi5] 鼻; MX [p’i5]; HL [p’i6]; SX [p’i5];\textsuperscript{53} LF [—]; LZ [phi5] 鼻; SHT [mun2; p’i5] 鼻
HY [hin5] 嗅; XY [ŋoŋ5] ☐; DB [niuŋ5] ☐; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [p’i6]; WP [phi3]; YD [p’i5]; SH [—]; LC2 [p’i6]
NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [p’i6]

The generally reconstructable form for this sense is CNH *p’i6, which is homophonous with the monosyllabic etymon meaning “nose” (cf. §5.2.9 above). The Xīnyí and Diànbái forms are unique and appear to be related to each other in some way, but their ultimate origin is obscure. Cf. Common Gàn *hiuŋ5 “to smell” (Coblin 2015: 279). Basil Mission [vûn] and Song Him Tong [mun2] are literary and popular forms respectively of the same etymon as MSC wén 嗅 “to smell”.

5.2.63 “give birth (human)”

BMH [sang; kiuŋ; yong] 生; MX [kiuŋ5]; HL [ʒoŋ1; sen1 ʒɔŋ1] 養; SX [kiuŋ5]; LF [joŋ1]; LZ [ʒoŋ1] 養; SHT [saŋ1]
HY [jyɒŋ3; ha1 ts’an3] 養; 下産; XY [saŋ1]; DB [zɔŋ1] 養; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [tʃioŋ5 ~ tʃoŋ5]; WP [tsiŋ5]; YD [kiuŋ1]; SH [tɕiəŋ1]; LC2 [kien1]
NK [iŋ3]; AY [tɕiŋ5]; SY [jiŋ3]; QN [tɕiəŋ5]; ND1 [saŋ1]; ND2 [tsuŋ5]; ND3 [tsuŋ1]

The most common word for giving birth has two alternate reconstructed forms, i.e. CNH *kiuŋ5 ~ *kiuŋ1. Two other forms are *ioŋ1 ~ *ioŋ3 and *saŋ1, the latter of which corresponds to the more general Chinese form sheng 生.

\textsuperscript{53} Hǎilù and Sìxiàn forms elicited from Dr. and Mrs. Wen Pi-ch’ien respectively.
5.2.64 “give birth (animal)”

BMH [—]; MX [ha3]  下; HL [kiuŋ5]; SX [kiuŋ5];^54 LF [—]; LZ [jaŋ1; ʒəŋ1] 養; SHT [ṣaŋ1] HY [jyaŋ5] 養; XY [lɔk8]; DB [laŋ1]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [lo6] 落; WP [iəŋ1]; YD [iəŋ1]; SH [iəŋ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [iəŋ1]; AY [ha3]; SY [ha3]; QN [iəŋ3]; ND1 [lɔk8]; ND2 [lɔk8]; ND3 [lɔk8]

Four different verbs are reconstructable for this sense, i. e., *ṣaŋ1, *iəŋ1, *lɔk8, and *ha3. The latter two basically mean “to let down, let fall”. Cf. English “to drop a calf, drop a fawn, etc.” The Taiwan dialects use *kiuŋ5, which also can denote birthing by humans.

5.2.65 “weep”

BMH [kiàu]; MX [kiau5; kiau5 tsj1] 叫; Xì 叫; HL [kiau5; kiau5 t’ai2] 叫; Xì 叫; SX [kəu5; kəu5 t’ai2]; LF [kiau5]; LZ [kiau5 tsjai5] 叫喙; SHT [kiau5] HY [kiau5]; XY [kiau5]; DB [kiau5]; YL [teiau5]; XC [teiau5]
CT [tsjia5]; WP [tsio5]; YD [kieu3]; SH [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [teia5]; AY [teia5]; SY [teia2]; XS [teiau5]; QN [teiau5]; ND1 [teiau5]; ND2 [tsau5 ~ teia1]; ND3 [tsau5]

The common word for this action is CNH *kiau5, whose general Chinese meaning is “cry out, shout”. (Cf. English “to cry”.) A reconstructable compound is *kiau5 *t’ai2. For the reconstruction of the second syllable, cf. the Appendix, sub tí 嘁.

5.2.66 “speak, talk”

BMH [kóng; và] 講; 話; MX [kəŋ3; va5]; HL [kəŋ3; va5]; SX [kəŋ3]; LF [kəŋ3]; LZ [kəŋ3]; SHT [kəŋ3; va5]
HY [kəŋ3]; XY [kəŋ3]; DB [kəŋ3]; YL [kəŋ3]; XC [kəŋ3]

^54 Hǎilù and Sìxiàn forms elicited from Dr. and Mrs. Wen Pi-ch’ien.
Two different etyma are found in this sense, i.e., CNH *koŋ3 and *va6. Some dialects use both, others only one.

5.2.67 “know”

BMH [hiáu]; MX [ti1; ti1 tet7] 知; 知得; HL [ti1; ti1 tet7; hiau3 tet7 (L)] 知; 知得; 晓得; SX [ti1; ti1 tet7; hiau3 tet7 (L)]; LF [ti1]; LZ [ti1; ti1 tau5] 知; 知道; SHT [ti1; hiau3 ~ hæu3 tet7] 知; 晓得
HY [ti1 tat7] 知得; XY [ti1 tet7]; DB [tet7 ti] 知得;YL [ıcıau3 teʔ7] 晓得; XC [ti1; ıcıau3 teʔ7] 知; 晓得
CT [jio3 ta2; ti1 ta3] 晓得; 知倒;† WP [ti1 teʔ7; siɔ3 teʔ7] 知得; 晓得; YD [ti1 sou1; ti1 teʔ7] 知曉; 知得; SH [ti1 teʔ7; ıcıɔ3 teʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [fj6 tun6; ti1 tune6] 識得;知得† NK [ıcıɔ3 te8]; AY [ıcıɔ3 te6]; SY [ıcıɔ3 te5]; QN [ıcıau3 teʔ7]; ND1 [sau3 tɔk7]; ND2 [sau3 tɔk7]; ND3 [sau3 tɔk7]
†Second forms said by the sources to refer specifically to knowing as the result of having heard.

A basic and probably very old etymon having this sense is reconstructable as CNH *ti1. Its most common compound form is *ti1 tek7. The other form that is common in the dialects is *hiau3 tek7, which is also used in the modern standard language and widely in the regional vernaculars (i.e., xiǎode 晓得). In Hakka varieties that have both forms, *hiau3 tek7 is sometimes identified as being of elevated or literary register.

5.2.68 “forget”

BMH [thiam piòng ~ fòng; mông ki; m2 ki tet7; ki m2 tet7] 忘記; 唔記得; 記唔得; MX [t’iam1 mɔŋ5 ~ miɔŋ5; t’iam1 piɔŋ5] 添忘; 添放; HL [mɔŋ2 ki5] 忘記; SX [mɔŋ2 ki5];
A common word for this concept in the Hakka dialects is reconstructable as CNH *t’iam1 pioŋ5. Popular etymology associates the second syllable of this compound with *fang 放 (CNH *pioŋ5) “put aside, release”. The etymology of the first syllable is obscure. In the Méixiàn form [t’iam1 miɔŋ5], the second syllable may actually be a sandhi variant of [pi ɔŋ5], while that of the form [t’iam1 m ɔŋ5] may be a deformation of this [miɔŋ5] through association with the word wàng 忘 (CNH moŋ2) “forget”.

Another morpheme meaning “forget” is found in the Jiāngxī dialects and is reconstructable as CNH *lai2. What is probably the same form is also widely used in the southern Gân dialects (Common Gân *lai2 “forget”). CNH *lai2 is used alone in Ānyuǎn and in various compounds elsewhere, none of which are reconstructable comparatively. However, the Nánkāng form is almost certainly derived from *lai2 liau3, with the common suffix liau3 了, and the Shàngyóu form appears to have been formed by adding the word wàng 忘, here read in Tone 5 rather than with the usual Hakka Tone 2.

Another word meaning “forget” is CNH *moŋ2 ki5, which corresponds to MSC wàngjì 忘記. Many dialects simply negate the word for “to remember” to express the sense “forget”, the usual forms for this configuration being *m[ə]2 (< *muo2) tek7 and/or *ki5 *m[ə]2 tek7.55

55 For the verbal negative particle represented here as *m[ə]2 (< *muo2), see §5.2.76 below.
5.2.69 “carry (as a pole load on the shoulder of one person)”

BMH [khai]; MX [k’ai1] 搀; HL [k’ai1]; SX [k’ai1]; LF [k’ai1]; LZ [k’ai1]; SHT [k’ai1]
HY [k’ai1]; XY [tam1] 擔; DB [tam1]; YL [k’ai1]; XC [k’ai1]
CT [k’ai1 ~ k’ɛ1]; WP [k’ai1]; YD [k’ai1]; SH [kha1]; LC2 [k’a1]
NK [k’æ1]; AY [k’æ1]; SY [k’æ1]; QN [k’ai1]; ND1 [k’ai1]; ND2 [k’ai1]; ND3 [k’a1]

The general Hakka word for this verb is reconstructable as *k’ai1. The Ningdū-3 final is irregular. The Xīnyí and Diànbái forms derive from CNH *tam1, an entirely different etymon which is widely used in both modern and literary Sinitic.


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56 In fact, Norman had already held this view for a great many years, as revealed in conversations and correspondence with the present writer during the final decades of the last century. It is also discussed in his posthumous papers, now in the possession of the Fudan University library.
Descriptive words and expressions

5.2.70 “cold”

BMH [lang ~ láng; hón lang] 冷; 寒冷; MX [laŋ1] 冷; HL [laŋ1]; SX [laŋ1]; LF [laŋ1]; LZ [laŋ1]; SHT [laŋ1]

HY [laŋ5]; XY [laŋ1]; DB [laŋ1]; YL [lan1]; XC [laŋ3]

CT [hun2; leŋ1] 寒; 冷; WP [leŋ1]; YD [hun2]; SH [lę1; huə2] 冷; 寒; LC2 [hun2]

NK [lā1] 冷; AY [liā3]; SY [lā1]; QN [laŋ1]; ND1 [hoən2]; ND2 [laŋ1]; ND3 [huan2]

Three forms are reconstructable for this sense, i.e., CNH *laŋ1, *leŋ1, and *hon2. The Ningdū-2 form is written as lěng 冷 in the source but is not directly comparable to CNH *laŋ1 or *leŋ1. It probably represents a different etymon. CNH *laŋ1 and *leŋ1 are, respectively, vernacular and literary variants of the same etymon.

5.2.71 “dirty, filthy”

BMH [láp sap; là sap; lat sò; èu lèu; ep tep]†; MX [eu5 nɛu5; me5] □□; □; HL [o1 tsou1]; SX [ou1 tsou1]; LF [la6 sap7]; LZ [eũ5 lɛu5; lɔ5 jɛ5; lui5 ʃui5] 歮漏; □□; 累贅; SHT [lo5 sɔ5]

HY [nie5] □; XY [nie5] □; DB [vɔt7 ts’ɔt7] 髒黜; YL [laʔ7 t’aʔ8; tsɔŋ1 tɛʔ3 hɛn3] 鄕邋; 髒得很; XC [m2 kən1 te’iaŋ5] 唔乾凈

CT [o1 ts’o; la6 ʃe6]; WP [laʔ7 taʔ7]; YD [ou1 tsou1; leʔ8 tseʔ8; laʔ8 taʔ8]††; SH [laʔ7 taʔ7]; LC2 [la5 tʃa5]

NK [la5 seʔ]; AY [—]; SY [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [vɔl tsau1]; ND2 [vɔ1 tsau1]; ND3 [au1 tsau1]

†The final form means “untidy, disorderly”.
††The third form has the sense “disorderly, messy”.

Nearly all of these expressions are sound symbolic, and such forms are notoriously susceptible to nonce permutations. The following Common Neo-Hakka reconstructions can be

57 Hāilū and Sìxiàn forms elicited from Dr. and Mrs. Wen Pi-ch’ien.
posited comparatively: *lap8 sap7, *la6 sap7; *lo5 so5, *eu5 leu5, *(v)o1 tsou1. Another form, with the shape *laC t(‘)aC, appears at various points, but the dialects that show it happen to have either lost the Common Neo-Hakka syllable final consonants or merged them as glottal stops. Thus, no full reconstruction is possible.
Pronouns

5.2.72 “I”

BMH [ŋái]; MX [ŋai2]; HL [ŋai3]; SX [ŋai3]; LF [ŋai3]; LZ [ŋai2]; SHT [ŋai2]
HY [ŋuai5]; XY [ŋai2]; DB [ŋai2]; YL [ŋai2]; XC [ŋai2]
CT [ŋai1]; WP [ŋa2]; YD [ŋai2]; SH [ŋa2]; LC1 [ŋa1]; LC2 [ŋa1]
NK [ŋæ1]; AY [ŋæ2]; SY [ŋæ1]; XS [ŋai1]; QN [ŋai1]; ND1 [ŋai1]; ND2 [ŋai1]; ND3 [ŋai1]

The segmental form of this pronoun is readily reconstructable for all of Hakka, with the exception of the Héyuán form, whose final is anomalous because of its medial -u-. But, curiously, there are three different tonal values for the word, to wit: CNH *ŋai1, *ŋai2, *ŋai3. As noted in §1.3 of Chapter I, the presence of a pronoun read as, or derivable in some way from, a “*ŋai-like” syllable is a necessary condition for membership in the Hakka family according to our assignment criteria.

5.2.73 “you”

BMH [nyî]; MX [ŋ2]; HL [ŋi2]; SX [ŋi2]; LF [ŋi2]; LZ [ŋi2]; SHT [ŋi2]
HY [ŋi5]; XY [ŋi2]; DB [ŋi2]; YL [ŋi2]; XC [ŋi2]
CT [ŋi1]; WP [xŋ2 ~ xm2]; YD [hn2 (~ hen2)]; SH [ŋ2]; LC2 [—]
NK [ŋi2]; AY [ŋ3]; SY [ŋi1]; XS [ŋi1]; QN [ŋi2]; ND1 [nie1]; ND2 [nie1]; ND3 [nie1]

Three different etyma are reconstructable for this pronoun, the first of which has Tone 2 and 3 variant readings, i.e., CNH *ŋi2 ~ *ŋi3, *ŋi1, and *ŋi2.

Níngdū has a Gàn-like form pointing to earlier *nie1, for which comparanda are not found at other points. Cf. Common Gàn *nie (tone indeterminate) “you”. This word is probably intrusive in Hakka.
5.2.74 “he/she/it”

This pronoun takes two basic forms, one of which is common and can be reconstructed with CNH *k- and the other rare and having initial *k’-. Reconstruction of the final is, on the contrary, highly problematic. The Chángtīng, Wǔpíng, Nánkāng and Níngdū forms, taken together, point unmistakably to an earlier *kie1, i.e., showing Gàn-like final *-ie (see §3.4.2 of Chapter III). In Common Neo-Hakka this final invariably occurs in doublet readings having CNH final *-iu, and the Liánchéng-2 form must in fact derive from *kiu1 (see §3.3.2). But the remaining forms in the set do not show the expected correspondence profile for *-iu after gutturals, making the reconstruction of the forms *kiu1 and *kiu2 here somewhat questionable. They would instead suggest *ki1 and *ki2. Thus, reconstruction of this pronoun’s full Common Neo-Hakka form remains difficult. If *kiu1 and *kiu2 are in fact the correct proto-forms, then the perturbation in the expected correspondence patterns among reflexes requires further elucidation.

5.2.75 “this”

†Cf. FJFYZ: [kye1].

†Glottal stop drops in the first syllable of the second form.
Forms for the near demonstrative are quite diverse. We shall deal here with those for which comparative reconstruction is possible. Where the sources give only compounds which include classifiers, the full recorded forms are cited in the table. But our discussion will focus only on the monosyllabic pronominal roots.

A form that is found in Basil Mission, Lizhīzhuāng, and Song Him Tong can be reconstructed as CNH *ňia, with tonal variants in Tones 1, 2, and 3. The Taiwan dialects and Lūfēng have a possibly related form which is reconstructable as *lia3, though the initial discrepancy cannot be accounted for by regular sound change.

Another form for which there is good comparative evidence in the dialects is *li, with Tone 2 and 3 variants. This is paralleled by another form *ti, with the same tonal variants. The Shānghāng forms are almost certainly derived from this *ti, with irregular development of a rogue final glottal stop. How *li and *ti might be related to each other and/or to the Chāngtīng form seems uncertain. We may recall that many dialects of the Fūjiān and Jiāngxī lines have sporadic modern initial t- reflexes of CNH *l- before the vowel *i (Chapter II, §2.2.4). However, this phenomenon is not found in our Ningdū varieties; and these dialects in fact have modern [ti] as their near demonstrative. Thus, The *li > ti change cannot be invoked to conflate *li and *ti into a single etymon in Common Neo-Hakka. We have no choice but to retain both in the common system.

Finally, we find in the Jiāngxī line a form reconstructable as CNH *kai, with tonal variants in Tone 2 and 3. The Meixiān root [ke3] seems to be related to *kai3 of this set but is not derivable from it by regular sound change. However, Meixiān final -e can descend regularly from CNH *-iai and *-e after gutturals (see §3.1.5 and §3.4.1 of Chapter III). Our view is that the correct proto-final in this case is *-e, for reasons that will be discussed in the next section.
5.2.76 \textit{“that”}

BMH [kài; kà]; MX [kê5 kê5; ê5 kê5]; HL [kai2 tʃak7; na1 kai5] □隻; 那個; SX [kai5 tʃak7; na1 kai5]; LF [kai2 tʃak7; ka3 kai5]; LZ [kai5 tʃak7; ai5 tʃak7] 個隻; □隻; SHT [ai5 tsa7] □隻

HY [kuai5 tsa7]; XY [kai5 tsa7]; DB [kai5 tsa7]; YL [kai5 kai5] □個; XC [i5 tsaʔ7; ei5 tsaʔ7; ne5 tsaʔ7] □隻; 那隻

CT [kɛ3]; WP [ka3]; YD [kai5 kai3]; SH [kaʔ7 ke5; ka7 ê5]†; LC2 [ka3]

NK [ni5]; AY [pe1] □; SY [kæ5]; QN [nei3] 那; ND1 [kai3]; ND2 [kei3]; ND3 [ke5 tsa7]
†Glottal stop drops in the first syllable of the second form.

The most common form for the far demonstrative is CNH *kai5, with variants in Tones 2 and 3. Interestingly, the Héyuán form has a final which should derive from CNH *-oi or *-uoi, and this is in fact reminiscent of this dialect’s aberrant final in the first person pronoun.

The relevant Méixiàn form again shows final -ê, with which we can compare the Chántīng and Níngdū-2 and 3 forms, which have finals -ê, -êi, and -ê respectively. This correspondence profile points to CNH *-e as the origin of all three modern finals (see §3.4.1 of Chapter III). This deictic in Méixiàn appears to be directly related to the near demonstrative, from which it is distinguished by tone difference. For this reason, we may suspect that the Méixiàn near demonstrative should be derived from earlier *ke3.

A number of dialects show a form which is reconstructable as *ka5, with tonal variant in Tone 3. This form is very likely a deformed permutation of *kai5 ~ *kai3. Likewise for the form [ai5] in Lìzhīzhuāng, which appears to be a mere variant of the competing form [kai5] there.

Xīchang [ne5], Nánkāng [ni5], and Quánnán [nei2] can perhaps be derived from earlier *ne5 ~ *ne3, though we would expect Xīchang final [ei] in a set of this type (see §3.4.1 of Chapter III).

Hǎilù and Sixiàn show variant forms in [na1], which may be a borrowing from Taiwan Mandarin.
Function words

5.2.77 existential negative ("not have/not exist")

HY [mô2] 無; XY [mô2 iu1] 無有; DB [mo2 iu1] 無有; YL [mau2; mau2 teʔʔ] 有; 冇得;
XC [mau2; mau2 teʔʔ] 有; 冇得
CT [mô2] 毛; WP [mo2] 毛; YD [mou2]; SH [mu2]; LC2 [mô2]

Two etyma function as existential negatives in Hakka, both of which were known to the Basil Mission compilers. The first word is reconstructable as CNH *mau2. It is worth noting that this syllable cannot have been derived from CNH *mou2. We can determine this from the Yílǒng form. In this dialect, modern [au] after labials can only derive from earlier *-au, as exemplified in bāo 包 YL [pau1] (< CNH *pau1) “wrap”; mǎo 卯 YL [mau3] (< CNH *mau3) “fourth earthly branch”. CNH *-ou yields Yílǒng [au] in this environment, as in máo 毛 YL [mau1] (< *mou1) “(body) hair”; bǎo 保 YL [pau3] (< *pou3) “protect”. In the above set, all cases of -au or -ɑu should therefore be derived from earlier *-au. (Cf. Chapter III, §3.2.4 and §3.1.7 regarding CNH *-ou and *-au respectively. Compare also the cognate set for máo 毛 in the Appendix.)

The remaining forms (including Yǒngdìng [mou2], it should be noted) should probably descend from the second existential negative, which must have had initial *m- plus a rounded final of some sort. The two western Guǎngdōng dialects, Xìnyí and Diànbái, are of particular interest, because they combine this negator with a following [iu1], which is of course the basic existential verb yǒu 有 (=CNH *ieu1). Thus, in these dialects our target word negates the existential element, while in the remaining ones where it occurs, it is the negative existential par excellence. Let us, then, consider the full reconstruction of this Common Neo-Hakka syllable. Its final appears to have been rounded, and at first glance a likely possibility seems to have been CNH *-o. However, this solution does not account for the Héyuán form, for in this
dialect CNH *-o consistently yields HY -uo after labials. Compare for example mó 磨 HY -[muɔ2] (< CNH *mo2) “grind”, pó 婆 HY [p’uɔ2] (< CNH *p’o2) “old woman”. Indeed, the existential negative mɔ2 appears to be the only syllable in our Héyuán lexical material where modern final -ɔ occurs after a labial initial. The syllable is thus structurally and typologically unique. All this strongly suggests that the final of the ancestral form of this word must also have been in some way unique in the common system. Our suggestion is that the Common Neo-Hakka form be reconstructed as *muo2. CNH *-uo, it will be recalled, is reconstructed after both gutturals and coronals, but we have not so far posited it after labials (see Chapter III, §3.2.3). We may assume that this *muo2 became later [mo2] or [mɔ2] in most dialects, but [mu2] in Shàngháng. Its specific development in Héyuán can be represented schematically as follows, where the parallel evolution of syllable type *mo is juxtaposed for comparison:

```
Stage I  Stage II  Stage III
negative  *muo2  >  *mo2  >  mɔ2
```

```
Stage I  Stage II  Stage III
“grind”  *mo2  >  muo2  muo2
```

Thus, the words for the negative and the verb “grind” were never homophonous in Héyuán and therefore never merged there. It is sometimes taken for granted, either explicitly or tacitly, that all the Hakka existential negatives cited in the above set have a common origin in a single proto-form. But, as we have attempted to show here this view will not stand up to comparative analysis. Instead these forms must be viewed as two different syllable types having two separate origins, one of which we have reconstructed as CNH * mau2, and the other as *muo2. Whatever actual reconstructions one posits for them, they cannot have been one and the same morpheme in the proto-system.

5.2.78 verbal negative (“not”)

BMH [m ~ m̩]; MX [m2]; HL [m2]; SX [m2]; LF [m2]; LZ [m1]; SHT [m1]
HY [m2]; XY [m2 ~ mɔ2]; DB [mo2]; YL [m2]; XC [m2]
In this set we are able to add vernacular forms from Liánchéng-1 and Xiūshuǐ, since the sources happen to provide them in the case of this grammatical functor. From this material we note that most Hakka dialects use a syllabic nasal as their verbal negative. However, the western Guǎngdōng dialects are exceptional in utilizing forms in modern [mo2] and [mɔ2]. This is true of all nine dialects surveyed in the source for these languages (i.e., Lǐ 1999), and in all nine cases the negative in question is in each dialect identical with that dialect’s existential negative. Xìnyí differs from its fellow western Guǎngdōng dialects in that, in addition to verbal negative [mɔ2], it also has as a syllabic nasal [m̩2]. The syllabic nasal is used exclusively to negate the copula [hɐi5], while [mɔ2] is used for all other verbs. The relationship between the two is therefore allomorphic in the dialect.

In accounting for the forms in this set, our hypothesis is that the original verbal negative was in fact CNH *muo2 ~ *muo1, i.e., essentially same word reconstructed as the existential negative in a number of dialects, with the exception that some dialects have a Tone 1 variant for the verbal negative. This negative may have been very lightly stressed, or even unstressed, in most environments and in most dialects, often becoming something like *mə in actual speech. Subsequently, everywhere but in western Guǎngdōng it was reduced to a syllabic nasal, *m2 ~ *m1, which was then either retained as such or modified to a velar or dental syllabic nasal. In Xiūshuǐ all three syllabic nasal types occur, apparently in free variation. These points are illustrated as follows:

General Development: *muo2 > *mə2 > *m2 > Modern forms: m̩2/n̩2/ŋ̩2
Western Guǎngdōng: *muo2 > Modern forms: mo2/mɔ2

The appearance of the syllabic nasal as a copular negator in Xìnyí is interesting. It is theoretically possible that it is an endogenous development. More likely in our opinion is that it has been borrowed from some external source, either a Yuè dialect or some other form of Hakka.
5.2.79 perfective negative ("not yet")

This concept is expressed in several ways in the dialects. Two of these are easily described. To wit, the existential negatives *mau2 (Lìzhīzhuāng, Song Him Tong, Héyuán, and Níngdū) and *muo2 (Xìnyí, Diànbái, and Yǒngdìng) are simply anteposed to the main verb in the same way as the existential negative méiyǒu 沒有 is formed in MSC.

The remaining dialects use other words and constructions. Basil Mission, along with many other points, has two different forms. The first of these is a word reconstructable comparatively as CNH *maŋ2, which is at first glance etymologically obscure, as the different sinographic representations of it in the various sources indicate. In fact, however, this syllable is almost certainly a fusion of the general Hakka verbal negative plus the word céng 曾, which is used in the analogous formal written MSC and pre-modern Guānhuà expression bùcéng 不曾 “not yet”. Recalling now Jerry Norman’s suggestion that the Hakka plain verbal negative derives from the Classical Chinese negative wú 無 (1995: 33), the possible fusional derivation in his Early Chinese system can be hypothesized as follows:

EC *ma無 + *’dzìng曾 > Pre-CNH *m[a]2 (< *muo2) + *ts’ẹn2 > CNH *maŋ2

As can be seen in the data set, this word *maŋ2 functions alone as a perfective negative in a number of the dialects. However, Basil Mission also gives a second form, mãng tshiên, to which we must now turn our attention. The second element in this phrase also occurs in the Yīlǒng, Xīchāng and Quānnán forms, as well as in the second Shàngháng variant; and these are sufficient to support the reconstruction of CNH *ts’ian2. This syllable is homophonous with the word qián 前 (CNH *ts’ian2) “before”, and some of our sources actually identify it with
this word. In our view, this traditional interpretation may in fact be correct, i.e., it is possible that things which had not yet been done were to be viewed as “not yet having occurred before”. But in any case what is of primary importance here is that there is no difficulty in reconstructing the earlier form of the syllable.

Now, the interesting pair of Shānháng forms strongly suggests that the syllable [ȵiɛ̃2] in the variant phrase [mɑŋ2 ȵiɛ̃2] is simply an assimilated or sandhi form of [tɕhiɛ̃2] (< CNH *ts’ian2). And this observation suggests a key to two further forms in the set, i.e., Méixiàn [maŋ2 t’iɛn2] and Wūping [maŋ2 niɛŋ2]. In these phrases, the enigmatic second syllables [t’iɛn2] and [niɛŋ2] are almost certainly also simply assimilatory permutations of earlier *ts’ian2.

With these observations in mind, we now turn to [m̩2 tɕ’iɛn2] of the two Sichuán dialects and to Quānnán [ŋ te’iɛn2]. In these cases it seems clear that the general Hakka verbal negative m̩2/ŋ2 (< *ma2 < *muo2) has been combined with *ts’ian2 to form the perfective negative construction. And this in turn supports our analysis of the Méixiàn form [m2 t’iɛn2].

We now turn to Liáncéng-2 [ŋ̩2 ts’æŋ2], Ānyuǎn [ŋ̩ ts’əŋ2], and Shàngyóu [ŋ̩ ts’ẽ2]. Here we simply have the general Hakka verbal negative combined with the word céng (CNH *ts’əŋ2), i.e., a Hakka analogue of formal MSC and older Guānhuà búcéng 不曾. And the odd second syllable of Nánkāng [ŋ̩ nẽ2] is then surely a permutation of earlier *ts’əŋ2, as our source has in fact suggested. This then leaves us with the Chángfūng form [maŋ2 ts’eŋ2], which appears to be a combination of the two Common Neo-Hakka syllables *maŋ2 and *ts’eŋ2. It may seem odd that *maŋ2, which we believe to be a fusion of [m̩2] (< *ma2 < *muo2) and *ts’eŋ2, could then be tautologically recombined with yet another *ts’eŋ2. However, the reason for this may be that the etymological origin of *maŋ2 was no longer fully recognized in this dialect, and so, on the model of forms like *maŋ2 ts’ian2, a new form *maŋ2 *ts’eŋ2 was created to serve as perfective negative in Chángfūng.

Finally, we may note that the secondary forms read [maŋ2 tet7] in Hǎilù and Sīxiàn are reconstructable as CNH *maŋ2 tek7, where the second syllable is dé 得, as the source has in fact recognized.
5.2.80 subordinative/attributive particle

BMH [ kè ~ kài]; MX [ke5]; HL [kai5]; SX [kai5]; LF [kai5]; LZ [kai5]; SHT [kai5]; HY [kɛi]†; XY [kɛ]††; DB [kai5]; YL [kɛ1]; XC [ki5]; CT [ke(5)]‡; WP [kɛ(5)]; YD [kai3]; SH [kɛ5]; LC2 [—]
NK [ke5]; AY [ke5]; SY [ke2]; XS [kɛ5]; QN [ki5]; ND1 [kɛi5]; ND2 [kɛi]†; ND3 [ke5]
†Tone neutral in our material.
††Non-canonical mid-level tone, structurally perhaps equivalent to a neutral tone.
‡Tone normally neutral.

Two forms for the subordinative particle are reconstructable, i.e., CNH *kai5 and *ke5, both of which are reflected in the Basil Mission materials. It is theoretically possible that these two words derive from a common source, e.g., that *ke5 evolved from *kai5 due to the special unstressed intonational realization this element probably had in ordinary speech. The matter is indeterminate but should be investigated.
Chapter VI: Varia and Conclusions

6.1 The Demographic and Migration History of the Hakka-speaking People and the Shē Ethnic Minority.

6.1.1 The Early Period

Since the history of the Hakka is closely intertwined with that of the Shē minority, whose language is also closely related to Neo-Hakka, it will be necessary to discuss the two together here. As a separate study of Shē language and history will be published later (Coblin Ms.1), our remarks on the Shē will be abridged here.

It is generally agreed that the earliest large-scale Sinitic penetration of South China was the five-army, 500,000-man expedition launched by Qin Shihuang 秦始皇 (259 BC–210 BC) in 221 BC. Historical source material on the specific activities of this expeditionary force in the South Central Highlands has been conveniently collected and summarized by Lǐ (1993: 117–118). The relevant Qin 秦 subsidiary force of 100,000 moved up the basin of the Gàn 賴 River to its southernmost terminus and occupied the area of intersecting tributary watersheds where modern Gānzhōu 贛州 and Nánkāng 南康 are located. From there they seized control of the Hèngpǔ 横浦 Pass and crossed over into the area south of the ranges. In subsequent years, they posted garrisons in the interior of the Highlands. These outposts were manned not only by regular rank and file troops but also by military-agricultural colonists. A very similar garrison system was maintained during the subsequent Western and Eastern Hán 漢 periods (202–8 BC and 9–220 AD respectively; Lǐ 1993: 118). Additionally, the numbers of the garrison contingents and colonists were supplemented at a slow but steady rate by non-military immigrants. These civilians came for various reasons. First of all, though Chinese farmers in general preferred to settle in the fertile flatlands of the Gàn watershed, some hardy souls nonetheless chose to brave the unknown and move from there into the Central Highlands, where the first colonists had already put down roots. Secondly, there was in the upland areas the added incentive that it was easier there to remain off the official tax registers and also to escape the corvee levy. And, finally, the Highlands offered a safe refuge during the periods of civil anarchy and military disorder that became increasingly pressing as the Hán Dynasty declined and ended
and the Six Dynasties Period (third through sixth centuries AD) began. All in all, the absolute numbers of Sinitic immigrants in the Central Highlands was not great, but these people did come to constitute a Sinitic majority there. This point now leads us to consider who made up the non-Sinitic minority of the area.

Lǐ (1993: 118) points out that, from the beginning, the Sinitic settlers, whom we shall henceforth designate as the “Highlanders”, lived among, and in close contact with, the indigenous aboriginal inhabitants of the South Central Highlands. Who, then, were these people? Although it is difficult to identify them with certainty, we can draw certain inferences regarding them, based on statements found in traditional Chinese historical sources (Lǐ 1993: 118). To begin, it is clear that they were culturally and linguistically non-Sinitic. We know this because they were denoted in Chinese sources using terms such as Yuè 越 and Mán 蠻, which were reserved for peoples the Chinese considered to be “barbarians”, i.e., ethnically different from themselves. Secondly, it is clear from the descriptions we have of them that they were rather diverse, being comprised of what the Chinese perceived as different groups of people, rather than a single linguistic or ethnic entity. Thirdly, they are said to have comprised tribal or extended clan groupings rather than centrally governed, highly structured polities of the sort found among the Chinese. Fourthly, they were at least partially migratory rather than being sedentary on a Chinese model. And, lastly, they lived by swidden field farming and/or hunting and gathering, rather than as Chinese-style labor-intensive agriculturalists. These people, with whom the Highlanders lived in close, and to a considerable extent amicable, association, we shall call here the “(Aboriginal) Indigenes” of the South Central Highlands.

The fall of the Western Jin 晉 Dynasty in 316 AD initiated what traditional Chinese historians call Yǒngjiā zhī luàn 永嘉之亂 “the disorders of the Yǒngjiā period”. The demographic and linguistic ramifications of this upheaval continued for approximately 150 years and significantly affected the more easterly areas south of the Yangtze. However, it would seem that their influence on the Jiāngxī area was minimal, for here the northern migrations affected only the northernmost rim along the southern banks of the Yangtze; and the actual number of immigrants involved was comparatively low (Gē et al. 1993: 149–153; 1997: vol. 2, 398–399). What happened over most of the region south of there appears to have simply been
a continuation of the longstanding, steady, low-level movement into optimally cultivable flatlands, and, from there, to a lesser degree, onward into the Highlands. These trends led to settlement not only in the Gàn watershed proper, reaching downward to the Gànhōu area and beyond, but also into tributary drainages such as that of the Fū River 撫河, where modern Línchuān 臨川 and Nánchéng 南城 are located (Huáng 1996: 33), and thence into the mountains above these places. But a massive wave or “population pulse” of immigrants such as that which affected the demographic picture farther east did not occur in Jiāngxī. The general trend of gradual, “trickle down” migration continued, apparently as late as the first part of the Táng 唐 period (618–907). The migration routes followed by the migrants who ultimately contributed to the gradually growing numbers of Highlanders are shown in Map II.
Map II: Major Routes followed by Migrants who reached the Central Highlands

As we have noted above, it is widely assumed that relations between the Highlanders and the Indigenes were symbiotic and, on the whole, amicable during the periods with which we have so far dealt. This inference is derived from the subsequent linguistic and cultural characteristics of the much later Shē people, who are thought to be descended from the Indigenes (Lǐ 1993, and many similar studies collected in Shī 1987, and Association for Yan Huang Culture of Fujian 2007, vol. 1). What, first of all, was the nature of the symbiosis

58 In this connection, see also Leong 1997: Introduction by G. William Skinner, and 31–34.
envisaged here? To begin, we should recall that Sinitic migrants into the Highlands were, upon their arrival there, not real Highlanders, but instead transplanted “lowlanders”, i.e., Chinese farmers accustomed to tilling fertile and readily irrigable flatlands and planting lowland cultivars there. The Highlands were a very different place from those with which these people were acquainted. These new lands were heavily forested, and their climate was drier and cooler than the flatlands. Also, soils in the Highlands were fundamentally different from those which the migrants had previously farmed. Settling in their new homes must have seemed a daunting task to them. On the other hand, the Indigenes were on their home ground in the Highlands. They had had generations of experience in upland forest clearance and were highly knowledgeable about soil types, planting, and the varieties of cultivars that would thrive in Highland fields. Their tutelage would have been invaluable to their new neighbors. On the other hand, the Highlanders brought with them from the valleys below a higher level of culture, both material and intangible, than the Indigenes had hitherto known. Each side would, then, have had much to learn from the other. Of particular interest to us is the probability that a significant number of Indigenes shifted from their own non-Sinitic language or languages to the form of Chinese spoken by the Highlanders. This point now brings us to the question of Shē origins, on which we must briefly comment.

In discussing the origins of the Shē people, it is useful to make a distinction between the modern-day Shē, who in recent centuries have lived in a widely dispersed archipelago of relatively introverted village communities, mainly in the coastal provinces of Guǎngdōng, Fǔjīān, and Zhèjiāng 浙江, and the clearly identifiable Shē of historical times. We shall accordingly call the latter the “Ancestral Shē”, while the former will when necessary be referred to as the “Modern Shē”, or simply as the “Shē”. We may then note that there is good evidence of several kinds for linking the original home of the Ancestral Shē with the South Central Highlands, where the non-Sinitic Aboriginal Indigenes and the Sinitic Highlanders lived together symbiotically in early times. To begin, there is strong evidence in Chinese historical

59 A detailed and penetrating recent study of this entire question is Liú Tíngyū’s (2013) doctoral dissertation, from which our thinking on these matters has greatly benefitted. We are most grateful to Dr. Liú for allowing us to read this fine contribution.
sources for this link. Full argumentation, based on both dynastic and local histories, has been provided by Zhōu (1987: 281–284). In quite a different vein, oral tradition from Shē settlements in Guǎngdōng links the Shē with the Highlands. And clan registers from there tell the same story (see Zhū & Jiāng: 4–6, for both types of Guǎngdōng evidence). Finally, it is interesting that a number of toponyms in the Highlands contain the syllable shē, written either畬 or畬 (Zhou 1987: 283–284). The former could conceivably mean simply “swidden field”, but the latter is unlikely to have had that meaning. It seems possible that these place names indicate the presence of a people called “Shē” there in pre-modern times. These points, taken together, suggest that the Ancestral Shē constituted at least a part, and perhaps even a predominant part, of the Aboriginal Indigenes in the period stretching from the earliest Sinitic settlement of the Central Highlands down to the first half of the Táng period.

With these conclusions in mind, we can now turn to the matter of language. To begin, we may reasonably suspect that the Sinitic immigrants who first entered and began to settle the Central Highlands spoke some sort of early or “pre-medieval” Chinese. This “Southern Highland Chinese” must ultimately derive from one or more sub-varieties of early Sinitic language, which were at some point brought into the lowlands of the Yangtze and Gàn watersheds, whence the earliest Highlanders of course had proximally come. From the time of the first Qin-period military-agricultural colonists down through the Hân and Six Dynasties eras, successively later and phonologically more evolved language types must have been imported into the Highlands and gathered into the linguistic amalgam that was developing there. But, except where we are actually able to find clear evidence for finer distinctions and gradations, we have no choice but to treat this early form of Highland Chinese as a unitary entity.60

In his book Chinese, Norman (1988a: 210) envisaged an early type of Sinitic, which he called “Old Southern Chinese”, and which would have been ancestral to several different modern southern dialect families. This view, which has engendered some controversy (e.g., see Sagart 2002), was nonetheless maintained by Norman until the end of his life (see ap. Coblin

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60 One type of such evidence is in fact the distinction between Neo-Hakka and Paleo-Hakka, mentioned in §1.2 of Chapter I. We shall return to this matter in §6.4.3 below.
2013: 223–225). It is important to note that Norman did not necessarily think of his Old Southern Chinese as a single, homogeneous language, for as part of his 1988 proposal he spoke of *different types* of Old Southern Chinese; and he also suggested that these linguistic sub-varieties “no doubt quickly began to develop local peculiarities, influenced in many cases by the aboriginal languages found in various regions” (1988a: 210). Now, we can if we choose conceive of our “Early Central Highlands language” as such an early southern Sinitic language sub-variety, which for convenience we can view as having originally belonged to a broader “Early South Central Chinese”. If we elect this option, then how this language may have been related to other early Sinitic varieties spoken south of the Yangtze, i.e., those found outside the greater Central Highlands region, will not be of immediate concern to us in the present study. It is rather upon South Central Highlands Chinese itself, and its ultimate relationship to Neo-Hakka and modern Shē, that we must focus our attention in the present chapter, especially in §6.3 and §6.4 below.

The Modern Shē speak a form of Chinese, which is comprised of closely related dialects of the same Sinitic language (Yōu 2002). And it is clear that these dialects are in certain respects rather archaic, a point with which we shall deal in more detail in §6.2 below. It therefore seems likely that the Ancestral Shē also spoke this form of Chinese in the period predating the diaspora that carried the later Shē to their present locations. It also seems reasonable to suppose that what they spoke was a form of Early South Central Chinese, i.e., the language of the Highlanders with whom they lived in close association after Sinitic penetration of the Highlands. It is widely assumed that the Ancestral Shē were “language shifters” (Sagart 2002), who gave up their own language(s) in favor of Chinese; and this too is a reasonable supposition. Exactly how the shift began and was carried through is of course uncertain. Presumably, the Ancestral Shē, at least, must have became bilingual as part of the process. To what extent the Highlanders may also have spoken both languages is less certain. Whether or not the Ancestral Shē and the

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61 Here we must note that we are unconvinced of the official Chinese government position that the Ho-nte, a Hmong-Mien-speaking people of southeast Guǎngdōng, are ethnically Shē. For, as of this writing no real evidence for this has been published. If such evidence exists, it should be given a thorough and detailed airing. In any case, we will not deal further with the Ho-nte here.
Highlanders actually intermarried has been a contentious issue. Opponents of this view usually cite as evidence the fact that the Modern Shē who have remained in their own closed enclaves are rather strictly endogamous. But this is of course an anachronistic argument. It tells us little about what the Ancestral Shē did or did not do. On the other side of the debate, evidence from clan registers has been marshaled to support the theory of intermarriage (e.g., Dèng 2007: 177–179). In the end, this issue can perhaps only be resolved by DNA studies; and recent studies are indeed beginning to point in the direction of a shared genetic heritage between descendants of the two groups (e.g., Liu et al. 2017). In any case, intermarriage, if it occurred, would certainly have facilitated bilingualism and, ultimately, language shift.

6.1.2 The Medieval Period

As noted in the preceding section, Sinitic migration into the Gàn watershed was a process of slow percolation before Táng times, and its effects on the South Central Highlands were presumably also gradual and incremental. However, beginning in the latter half of the Táng period and extending down to the Sòng 宋 Dynasty (960–1279), two monumental events occurred in Chinese demographic history which changed forever the societal and ethnic complexion of the Central Highlands.

The first upheaval was a large-scale southern migration wave, which began with the so-called Ān-Shī zhī luàn 安史之乱 “the disorders of Ān Lùshān 安祿山 and Shǐ Sīmíng 史思明” (755–763). These disasters permanently destabilized the Táng Dynasty, resulting in massive demographic dislocation in north China and in southward migrations that continued for nearly two centuries. Gě et al. identify among these movements three major migration streams, only one of which is of direct concern to us here. This was an extensive southeastward flow of refugees which crossed the Yangtze in its lower reaches and poured into southern Jiāngsū 江蘇, northern Zhèjiāng 浙江, and southern Ānhuī 安徽. Many of the immigrants remained in these places, but many others continued westward into the Póyáng 鄱陽 Plain, where they either settled in various places there or made their way farther south up the Gàn River to the Jízhōu 吉州 (i.e., modern Jí’ān 吉安) area and beyond there to the southern
terminus of the drainage basin. Also part of this major stream was a lesser rivulet, which moved directly from the central Jiāng-Huái 江淮 region across the Yangtze into the Póyáng Plain, joining there with the migrants of the main stream as they pushed southward. These movements into Jiāngxī are thought to have been quite heavy and must have significantly affected the population makeup of the region (Gě et al. 1993: 247–248, 251–252; 1997: vol. 3, 291–300). And, most significantly for us, as the best land in the lower watershed was occupied, appreciable numbers of immigrants would have moved farther on into the South Central Highlands.

The second great southern migration wave to significantly affect Jiāngxī and contiguous regions began with the fall of the Northern Sòng 宋 Dynasty to the Jurchen invaders in 1126. This disaster initiated the Jingkāng zhī nàn 靖康之難 “the crisis of the Jingkāng period”. These events led to massive migrations out of north China, which began during the time of the initial invasions and continued throughout the subsequent Southern Sòng period. In Jiāngxī the Jurchen penetrated as far as Jí’ān, mainly in pursuit of members of the Sòng royal house, who were fleeing southward ahead of them. There was heavy northern migration into this area both during and after the Jurchen incursions (Gě et al. 1993: 297–299; 1997: vol. 4, 222–229). This was in a sense a reprise of the extensive population movements of the Ān-Shǐ period, and would again have thrown new northern migrants into the South Central Highlands.

The Ān-Shǐ and Jingkāng migration waves would have resulted in unprecedented population increases and pressures in the Highlands. What effect did these events have on social and ethnic relations there? Very valuable historical source material bearing on this question has been gathered in Xiè (2007: 120–127), on which we shall base the following observations. For the mid to late ninth century, i.e., in the latter part of the Ān-Shǐ migration period, Chinese histories begin to report an increasing number of rebellions and depredations in the Highlands by groups of people identified as “barbarians” (i.e., yíliáo 夷僚 or mánliáo 蠻僚; somewhat later also shānliáo 山僚 and dòngliáo 峒僚). These are all conventional terms of that period for non-Sinitic peoples, and Xiè cites further evidence, for example surnames of the rebel leaders, that suggests the groups in question were comprised partly, or perhaps even mostly, of Ancestral Shē. These rebels were active in virtually all parts of the Central Highlands, and they sometimes also moved farther east, descending rivers that rose in the Highlands and attacking
cities and towns in the coastal areas around modern Fùzhōu and Xiàmén. There, in the southern Min lowlands at least, they apparently sometimes joined forces with aboriginal peoples who were indigenous to those areas. Whether they were related either culturally or linguistically to these lowland indigenes is uncertain.\(^{62}\)

In addition to “barbarian” rebellions, the histories also report depredations caused by persons referred to as shānkòu 山寇 “mountain bandits”, an expression normally reserved for Sinitic, or at least highly sinicized, rebels. The military situation in the Highlands was apparently rather complex. At times, both rebel types separately attacked the established authorities and/or individuals who were regarded by the government as law-abiding (i.e., tax-paying) citizens. In other instances they either fought against each other or, conversely, joined forces to attack others outside their own groups whom they viewed as common enemies. Subsequently, beginning in the Southern Sòng period (1127–1279), the historical sources provide evidence for another spike in interethnic strife and general societal violence (see especially Xiè 2007: 123 et sq.), continuing until the beginning of the Yuán 元 Dynasty (1271–1368). This corresponds directly to the period of the Jingkāng migrations. The picture that emerges during this time replicates in many respects that we have painted for the late Táng. Interestingly, it is in connection with Sòng-time disturbances in southern Fújiàn that the term “Shē” is first used in the histories as a designation for the non-Sinitic rebels.

How are we to assess the historical information reviewed here? We should perhaps begin by considering the question of land ownership. The Ancestral Shē were semi-migratory slash-and-burn agriculturists. When they had cleared a plot of land, they farmed it for two or so years; and when the soil nutrients had been depleted, they left the plot behind and moved on. This seems to have been their practice from time immemorial. It was a lifeway which conditioned a particular attitude towards land and land use. To wit, land was utilized temporarily and then abandoned, to return to forest or jungle. Of course, while one used it, one in a sense possessed it; but there would have been inherent in this possession no concept of individual legal

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\(^{62}\) During the late Táng, the non-Sinitic population of southern Fújiàn was still quite large, and in many areas Chinese immigrants were only beginning to enter and establish themselves (Jerry Norman, p.c.).
ownership. And, significantly, it would have been next to impossible for any governmental agency to impose land taxes on slash-and-burn farmers, for land that is used temporarily and then abandoned cannot be systematically registered, and there are consequently no owners who can be assessed for its value.

The case of the Sinitic Highlanders was an altogether different one, for they came from a long-established society of sedentary farmers. We have supposed that they benefitted greatly from the tutelage of the Ancestral Shē when they cleared their land, prepared the soil for planting, and chose the particular upland crops that were best suited for their new Highland fields. But at that point they parted ways with their non-Sinitic mentors. For the Highlanders, once they had cleared a plot, would have remained on it. The inevitable diminution of fertility in their fields would not have concerned them, for they had had millennia of experience in nurturing cropland and maintaining its productivity by adding fertilizers. And they would very quickly have diversified and rotated their cultivars to obtain maximum crop yields from their fields. The ability to do these things had been bred into them for untold generations. Hence, when they had settled on a piece of land, they considered it to be theirs and no one else’s. Land ownership was as much a part of their culture as their skills in intensive tillage of the land. And, inevitably, sooner or later the officialdom would appear, register the land, and begin taxing it in the time-honored way.

Aboriginal and Sinitic concepts of land use and possession were thus diametrically opposed and intrinsically incompatible. However, the Ancestral Shē and the Highlanders were initially able to coexist peacefully because of low population density in the Highlands during the pre-Täng eras, and their symbiotic relationship consequently remained intact. The large-scale influx of immigrants resulting from the Ān-Shē and Jingkāng migration waves upset the equilibrium that had previously existed. The semi-migratory lifeway of the Ancestral Shē brought them into direct conflict with the increasing numbers of sedentary Hân Chinese, who would have viewed as trespassing any movement through, and/or temporary sojourns upon, lands that had been claimed by them as permanent farmsteads. Friction was inevitable and eventually led to violence. The Chinese officialdom took the side of the Hân Chinese, since they were taxpayers and were culturally and economically Sinitic. Hence, when the Shē rose up
against what they perceived as infringement on their traditional slash-and-burn livelihood, they were branded as “barbarian rebels” and treated accordingly. The heavy influx of lowlanders from the Central Plains also led to friction between these new arrivals and the established Highlanders. This was occasioned in the main by increased competition for available land, but it was also exacerbated by the fact that the new immigrants spoke dialects that differed substantially from those of the Early South Central Highlanders and were also culturally different from them in other ways. This led to quarrels, which eventually engendered full-fledged warfare between the two Sinitic groups. It would seem that the officialdom, which was culturally and politically more closely tied to the new arrivals, took their part in the matter and accordingly branded the resentful Highlanders as “mountain bandits”. Interestingly, in certain instances the Ancestral Shē “rebels” and the Highlander “bandits” found it expedient to set aside their differences and make common cause against the new immigrants, whom they apparently sometimes perceived as a common enemy. As interests and animosities waxed and waned, alliances shifted and evolved, resulting in the complex scenario of “rebellion” and “banditry” reported in the traditional historical sources.

6.1.3 The Highland Interregnum

Tensions and conflicts between contending groups in the South Central Highlands continued into the Ming 明 Dynasty (1368–1644). However, they did undergo important evolutionary changes, which would ultimately give rise to various pre-modern and modern cultural and linguistic configurations of South China. It is to these developments that we shall now turn.

Beginning with the Sinitic groups, Leong (1997: 34–35) notes that hostile confrontations in the Highlands continued into the fifteenth century, with the government taking active steps to suppress violence as late as 1485. But this is not the full story, for it appears that during the Yuán and early Ming, which Leong characterizes as an “incubation period”, accommodation was occurring to various degrees and at various levels of the people’s lives. To wit, it seems probable that, as hostilities subsided, rancor was replaced first by burgeoning tolerance and then,
ultimately, by amity. In the long run there was also intermarriage, and with this came active linguistic amalgamation. Thus, part of the incubation process referred to by Leong involved a melding of the Early South Central Chinese language of the long-established Sinitic Highlanders with the later northern-type speech forms of the newer Sinitic immigrants. The resulting common tongue had an archaic substratum, upon which were overlaid successive later layers that shared common features with the languages of both the Ān-Shē and Jingkāng migrants. The outcome was a stratally complex common speech form spoken by all Sinitic people of the Highlands. Along with language, there was also a blending of material and non-material cultures. From the Highlanders came some elements which had been inherent in the lives of the earliest Sinitic settlers before their advent in the Highlands, and others which developed there afterwards in response to the new, upland environment to which they had been forced to adapt. It has also been suggested in numerous studies included in Shī (1987) and Association for Yan Huang Culture of Fujian (2007: vol. 1)\(^63\) that there were certain non-Sinitic cultural elements borrowed from the Ancestral Shē during this stage. On the other hand, from the later migrants came cultural features brought from north of the Yangtze in the late Táng and Southern Sòng periods. The end result was an entirely new Central Highland Sinitic culture, whose individuality derived in great part from the unique blend of its formative components.

Turning now to the Ancestral Shē, what can we say about their experience during Leong’s “incubation” period? We are able to discern two separate and in a sense complementary reactions to the economic and societal stresses of that time. On the one hand, with the end of the old symbiotic relationship with the Highlanders, many of the Ancestral Shē began to turn inward, and cleave unto their own. To whatever extent they could, they stayed to themselves, continued to speak their own archaic form of Early South Central Chinese, little influenced by the speech of new lowland Chinese migrants, and maintained as much distance as possible from all outsiders. But, where contact was necessary or expedient, they maintained it, mastering to whatever extent necessary the evolving Sinitic speech of the Highlanders as a second language and using it when communication with their Sinitic neighbors was unavoidable. On the other

hand, where contacts were actively hostile, the Shē fought back even harder than before, and violence between them and the Chinese became even more intense (Leong 1997: 35).

In summary, the Interregnum was characterized on the Sinitic side by “incubation”, in which there came into being a unique type of Chinese culture, accompanied by an attendant new form of Sinitic language, which we shall call “New South Central Highlands Chinese”. On the Ancestral Shē side, there was reclusion, withdrawal from avoidable contact with the Chinese, and continued use of their own, relatively conservative form of Early South Central Chinese, which many generations before had replaced their original non-Sinitic language(s). It is these two very different developments in the population dynamics of the Central Highlands that occasioned the fundamental split in what had once been the common type of early Chinese spoken by the Sinitic Highlanders and the Chinese-speaking Ancestral Shē.

6.1.4 Late Migration and Diaspora

In this section we shall examine the ultimate emergence of the Hakka and Modern Shē peoples as fully separate ethno-linguistic entities. In so doing, we shall rely heavily on the book Migration and Ethnicity in Chinese History (1997) by Sow-theng Leong (Chinese: Liáng Zhàoting 梁肇庭). In this groundbreaking work, Leong applies G. William Skinner’s “regional systems” model to the interpretation of population dynamics in Southeast China during the past 800 years and arrives at an incisive, nuanced, and in our opinion eminently convincing explanation for the development of the modern Hakka and Shē ethnic and linguistic groups.64

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64 It must be observed here that Leong’s book supersedes the much older but still often cited study by Luó Xiānglín 羅香林 (Luó 1933), to which it is in our view far superior. However, it is noticeable that Leong’s book has hardly ever been mentioned by scholars working in China and does not seem to have been very widely known there. The reason for this is almost certainly that Leong chose to write his book in English rather than Chinese. It is to be hoped that the new Chinese translation of this work, published in 2013, will be widely read in China by scholars there who study Shē and Hakka history. For Leong’s critique of Luó’s work, see 1997: 29–30; cf. also Lǐ (1993: 129) for a similar assessment.
At the risk of oversimplification, we can summarize Leong’s approach by noting that Skinner’s model, as applied by Leong to the South Central Highlands, predicts that migration out of this area, which lies at the juncture of several of Skinner’s “economic macro-regions”, should occur in conjunction with economic upswings in the areas into which migration moved. Conversely, economic downswings there would induce no new migration, would retard or halt ongoing migration, and would sometimes lead to demographic backwash into or in the direction of the migrational source points. This is the model that informed Leong’s analysis and will in turn guide our discussion in the present section.

Beginning with the group we have chosen to call Sinitic Highlanders, Leong notes that his “incubation period”, which is dated to ca. 1320–1520, coincided with a stage of prolonged depression in the lowlands of all the Skinnerian economic macro-regions surrounding the South Central Highlands. Leong calls these highlands the “Hakka Heartland” (see Leong 1997: 34 et sq., and Skinner’s detailed introduction to this work, esp. 4 et sq.). Map III shows this Hakka Heartland as delineated in a map made by Skinner for Leong’s book (1997: 24, Map 1.2), with the geographical range of the Ancestral Shē superimposed.
During this time of external economic stagnation, there was no migration out of the Highlands. Instead, the Highland population remained in place, and Leong’s “incubation” led to consolidation and crystallization of Sinitic Highland culture and language. But by ca. 1530 an economic upswing had begun, which continued and persisted until a new decline cycle set in with the collapse of the Míng and the beginning of the Qīng 清 Dynasty (1644–1912). During the period of economic improvement, Highlanders began to leave their homeland and descend the drainage basins of rivers that flowed into the eastern coastal and Lingnán 嶺南 regions, where they hoped to identify and exploit newly available economic opportunities and resources. In moving down into lower country, they nonetheless tended to halt in areas that were topographically higher than the already densely populated flatlands. In these foothill
regions they put to good use their expertise in upland land clearance and farming, as well as other similarly acquired high-country skills such as mining, stone quarrying, logging, and medicinal herb harvesting. The lands they settled could, if still ownerless, simply be squatted upon, or, if already owned, cheaply rented from lowland landlords, who considered unirrigable soil where wet rice cultivation was not feasible to be of little economic value.

As we have noted, the Highlanders had a unique culture and language, which had evolved over many generations in their South Central Highland home. This was immediately noticed by the lowlanders who, in response, called them “strangers” or “outsiders”, i.e., Kèjiārén 客家人, Kèrén 客人, or Kèmín 客民. Strictly speaking, therefore, it is only beginning in this period that we can legitimately speak of “Hakka culture” or “Hakka language”. For to do so for earlier times is anachronistic, as if one were to call the Franks “Frenchmen” or Queen Boudica’s warriors “Englishmen”. Furthermore, we should note that in this period the concept of a “Hakka” people existed only among the lowlanders. There is no evidence that the migrant Highlanders thought of themselves in these terms. In other words, to use Leong’s parlance (1997: 20), they were already an identifiable cultural body but not yet a separate ethnic group.66 Finally, we must observe that the Highlanders who did not emigrate were never considered to be “Hakka” by anyone in pre-modern times. They quite naturally regarded themselves then, as they still do today, simply as běndìrén 本地人, “indigenes, people of this place”. It is on the contrary modern linguists who, as a result of comparative dialectological research, have chosen to call them and their speech “Hakka”.67

65See Li (1993: 129) for an excellent discussion of this point.
66 Leong, it will have been noted, uses the designation “Hakka” for chronological stages that precede the actual appearance of this term and the concepts it embodies in China as outlined here. Our usage is of course different from his, for we intentionally apply the term “(South Central) Highlanders” to these earlier “Pre-Hakka” stages.
67 At this point we may note that, ultimately, there were back-migrations of “true” Hakka into peripheral areas of the Central Highlands. And, significantly, the “běndìrén Highlanders” who had never emigrated viewed these back-migrants not as compatriots but rather as outlanders, whom they characterized with
When the economy of South China again declined, and finally reached its apogee around 1700 (see Leong 1997: 42, Figure 2.1), competition for dwindling resources led to friction between the Hakka and the lowlanders. The situation was further exacerbated by environmental degradation resulting from Hakka upland farming and logging activities. Extensive denudation of the foothills led to serious erosion, which in turn caused disastrous flooding and other damage in the plains below. The combination of these factors eventually sparked outright violence and conflict between the Hakkas and the lowlanders. It was at this point that there occurred among the Hakkas what Leong characterizes as “ethnic mobilization” (1997: 14). In other words, external pressures and ethnic conflict engendered first ethnic awareness and then ethnic solidarity. It was at this point, then, that a full-blown Hakka ethnic consciousness or ethnicity emerged, and it is from this point onward that we are at last fully justified in using the term “Hakka” in its modern senses and applications. The economic cycle we have described here repeated itself several times over the centuries, and the population movements which occurred at the cyclic economic upturns are accordingly characterized by Leong (1997: Chapter 2) as the “Hakka Migrations”, a term we shall adopt here.

We shall now return to the story of the Shē. As noted in the preceding section, in response to conflict with the Sinitic population of the South Central Highlands, the Ancestral Shē tended to retreat from contact with their antagonists. However, when provoked, they resisted vigorously. The level of violence resulting from these conflicts seriously alarmed the Ming government and in the 1500’s led to increasingly harsh and repressive “pacification” campaigns, which continued into the 1600’s (Leong 1997: 35). In the end, the Shē resistance was decisively crushed, and this reverse led to their large-scale exodus from the Highlands. It is this demographic scattering that we shall call the “Shē Diaspora” and which we feel marks the transition from the “Ancestral Shē” phase to the modern or “true Shē” stage. The Diaspora occurred along two rather different trajectories. Perhaps the largest number of Shē moved southeasternward to far northeastern Guǎngdōng. From there, many roamed northward into coastal Fújiàn. Some then continued onward into southern Zhèjiāng, and in some cases even farther to terms such as Guǎngdōngrén 廣東人 “people from Guǎngdōng” or Kèjí 客籍 “foreign registrants”, linguistic and cultural similarities notwithstanding.
the north and northwest.\textsuperscript{68} They intersettled among the Hàn Chinese of these areas, but always in their own villages or hamlets, where they became sedentary farmers on the Chinese model. Though they remained socially reclusive, they freely left their villages for economic purposes, to market their agricultural produce and handicrafts and to work as day laborers among their Hàn neighbors. As a consequence of this, most of them became bilingual or multi-lingual, speaking both their own received Sinitic Shē language and the local dialect(s) of their Hàn Chinese neighbors.\textsuperscript{69}

Another group of Shē followed a rather different path. To begin, we should note that the Shē Diaspora was to a considerable extent contemporaneous with the Hakka Migrations. And it would seem that some Shē, rather than moving to the coastal areas where most now live, instead travelled somewhat in tandem with, or in some cases even together with, the Hakkas who moved to the foothills of western Fūjiàn (Leong 1997: 46). The Hakkas, it will be recalled, often rented upland property from lowland landlords (dīzhǔ 地主). They in turn could sublet their lands, whereupon they became shānzhǔ 山主 “mountain landlords”. It would appear that some Shē, rather than maintaining a hostile or reserved stance towards the Hàn Chinese Hakka, developed newly friendly relations with them. The Hakkas, for their part, remembered the Shē’s expertise in upland land clearance and hired them as short-term laborers to work in that capacity.

\textsuperscript{68} It is interesting to consider the surprisingly broad geographical extend of this population dispersal. Wáng (2007: 219) believes that it was caused in good part by the Qīng government’s concerted efforts to put an end to the Shē’s semi-migratory lifeway and compel them to adopt a settled life, enter the bǎojiǎ 保甲 system, and be registered for taxation and corvee service. In the end, of course, they had no recourse but to halt their migratory movements and submit.

\textsuperscript{69} At this point it is worth mentioning that many Shē today preserve in their oral history an ancestral origin myth, which identifies their primeval place of origin as the environs of Fènghuángshān 凤凰山, a mountain slightly north of the city of Cháozhōu. This account seems to reflect a subliminal memory of the odyssey that led their ancestors first to northeast Guǎngdōng, before many of them then continued on farther northward. However, in our view this story probably refers only to a major way-station in their journey. As argued in §6.1.1 above, their distal place of origin seems to have been the South Central Highlands.
(Leong 1997: 47). The Shē who accepted such employment would then build temporary shelters or huts, called liáo 寮, on the land and live there while they cleared the new fields and prepared them for cultivation.70 Such people are sometimes referred to in written sources not as Shē but as liáomín 寮民 “shed or shack people”, and their Hakka employers are sometimes called liáozhǔ 寮主 “shed landlords”. In this way, the ancient symbiotic relationship of the South Central Highlands, between the Ancestral Shē and the Highlanders, was reinstituted and then survived into much later times among their descendants in the uplands of western and west-central Fūjiàn.

In summary, we can now make some generalizations about the Shē Diaspora. It would seem that the identifiable Modern Shē today are the descendants of people who were chary of contact with the Hàn Chinese and maintained reclusive, inward-looking social relations, rather strict endogamy, and their own form of Sinitic speech. These people are the speakers of the Shē language with which we have been concerned here. Because they became bilingual in the dialects of their new homes, their Shē dialects also show more or less extensive late-stage borrowing from the dialects of those places, i.e., Yuè, Mǐn, Southern Wú, and also, notably, Hakka. Late-stage borrowings from Hakka in particular introduce considerable complexity into the study of the Shē dialects. This is because some ostensibly “Hakka” material may actually be inherited directly from the Early South Central Chinese stage, while other items may be genuine borrowings from the much later “true Hakka” dialects of people who had undergone the genuine ethnic and linguistic transformation of Leong’s “ethnic mobilization”. In places where the Ancestral Shē were willing to associate more closely with the Hàn Chinese, and probably to intermarry with them, such as in western Fūjiàn, and possibly also in the Central Highlands, the Shē underwent full-fledged assimilation and completely disappeared as a discrete and identifiable ethnic group (cf. Segawa 1994: 195). And, significantly, these assimilated Shē lost entirely their unique Early Central Chinese-rooted language.

70 The use of the term liáo 寮 (Common Shē *lau2) must predate the advent of the Diaspora, since it is in fact the Common Shē word for “house, home” and is found in all the Modern Shē dialects.
In this section we have outlined the historical and demographic interrelationships between the Hakka and Shē-speaking peoples. What then does this tell us about the probable relationship between the Hakka and Shē languages? First, we may suppose that these two dialect types shared a common history during the period when the Ancestral Shē and Early South Central Highlanders enjoyed a symbiotic relationship. The common language spoken by the two groups at this time can be tentatively called “Common Hakka-Shē”. Later, after relations between the two groups began to sour they went their separate ways and their dialects would presumably also have begun to diverge. The language spoken by the Central Highlanders would have been significantly influenced by contact with northern forms of Chinese, brought into the Highlands during the periods of the Ānshǐ and Jingkāng migrations. This form of later South Central Highland Chinese would have been coeval with Common Neo-Hakka, the reconstructed sound system to which the present work is devoted. The language of the Ancestral Shē, by virtue of the fact that its speakers increasingly eschewed contact with all Hàn Chinese by at least late Táng times, would have been far less influenced by convergence with the late medieval forms of Chinese imported into the Highlands during the major migration events. For this reason, though it surely would have undergone internal developments of its own, it would almost certainly have preserved some features of the original form of Early South Central Highland Chinese to a greater degree than had the language of the Sinitic Highlanders. This more archaic form of language would have been equivalent to Common Shē, whose phonological system must be restored by comparing the modern Shē dialects.

It will be noted that the historical outline developed here is consonant with our views on the nature of the relationship between Hakka and Shē as outlined in §1.2 of Chapter I. This is of course hardly coincidental, since any model for the development of these languages must embrace and interrelate both the linguistic and historical aspects of the problem. It only remains to mention again our remarks in Chapter I regarding the difference between the modern Neo-Hakka and Paleo-Hakka dialects and situate them within the historical model we have developed. To wit, our view is that the ancestral Paleo-Hakka dialects were spoken by emigrant groups who left the Central Highlands separately in early periods and settled apart from one another in various areas outside the Highland heartland. Thus, their languages do not form a genetic taxon but are paraphyletic with Common Hakka-Shē. The latter was what continued to
be spoken in the Highlands after the speakers of the ancestral Paleo-Hakka dialects had departed. This hypothesis of course requires testing, which can ultimately be carried out only when we have in hand a full reconstruction for Common Hakka-Shē, with which we can then compare the various forms of Paleo-Hakka. Work of this sort lies in the future. However, we shall present a more detailed overview of this entire issue in §6.4 below.

6.2 Lexical Layering in Common Neo-Hakka

6.2.1 Syllable initials

6.2.1.1 Undentilabialized labials

It is well known that Hakka dialects have fairly numerous undentilabialized labial initials in popular words, while showing dentilabials, or forms reflecting earlier dentilabials, in corresponding character readings and in words of higher stylistic register (Norman 1988a; 1989). Examples of both will be found in §2.1 of Chapter II above. Parallel cases can often be found in Shē. However, it is quite noticeable that in Hakka non-dentilabialized sets there are nearly always competing dentilabialized examples, while the corresponding Shē sets usually have exclusively, or nearly exclusively, labial initials. Compare the following examples:  

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71 Hakka sets are cited in abbreviated form. For full citation, see the Appendix. As indicated in Chapter II above, Common Shē (CS) will be cited as reconstructed in Coblin (Ms.1). Dialect points are: Fǔjiàn- 
Fú’ān 福安 (FA), Fúdīng 福鼎 (FD), Luóyuán 羅源 (LY), Sānmíng 三明 (SM), Shùnchāng 順昌 (SC), Huá’ān 華安 (HA); Jiāngxī-Guìxī 貴溪 (GX), Tāiyuán 太源 (TY); Zhějiāng-Cāngnán 蒼南 (CN), Jingning 景寧 (JN), Līshuǐ 麗水 (LS), Lóngyóu 龍游 (LngY); Guǎngdōng-Cháozhōu 潮州 (CZ), Fēngshūn 豐順 (FS).
Hakka

feī 飛 QYS pjwei CDC *fui1/EC *puy
[OPH *pui1] CNH *pui1/*fui1

Shē

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

Hakka

fēng 蜂 QYS phjwong CDC *fung1/EC *phong
[OPH *p’ong ~ *p’ung1] CNH *p’οŋ1/*p’uŋ1/*fυŋ1

Shē

fēng 蜂 QYS phjwong CDC *fung1/EC *phong
FA [p’uŋ6]; FD [p’uŋ6]; LY [p’uŋ6]; SM [p’uŋ6]; SC [p’uŋ6]; HA [p’uŋ6];
GX [p’uŋ6]; CN [p’uŋ6 ~ p’uŋ3]; JN [p’uŋ6 ~ p’uŋ3]; LS [p’uŋ6 ~ p’uŋ3]; LngY [p’uŋ6 ~
p’uŋ3];
CZ [p’uŋ6]; FS [p’uŋ6]; TY [—] CS *p’iuŋ6 ~ *p’iuŋ3 ~ *p’uŋ6

Hakka

fàn 飯 QYS bjwɔn-, bjwɔn: CDC *van6/EC *bonh
[OPH *fan6?] CNH *p’on6/L *fan6

Shē

fàn 飯 QYS bjwɔn-, bjwɔn: CDC *van6/EC *bonh
FA [p’uan6]; FD [p’uan6]; LY [p’uan6]; SM [p’uan6]; SC [p’uan6 ~ p’uan6]; HA [p’an6];
GX [p’uan6]; CN [p’uan6]; JN [p’uan6]; LS [p’uan6]; LngY [p’uan6];
CZ [p’an6]; FS [p’an6]; TY [p’uan6] CS *p’uan6
Common Neo-Hakka: A Comparative Reconstruction

Hakka

fù 婦 QYS bjəu: CDC *vu4/EC *bix
[OPH *fu5] CNH *pu1/*p’u1/*pu5/L *fu5

Shē

fù 婦 QYS bjəu: CDC *vu4/EC *bix
FA [p’iu6]; FD [p’iu6]; LY [p’iu6]; SM [p’iu6]; SC [p’iu6]; HA [p’iu6];
GX [p’iu6]; CN [p’iu6]; JN [p’iu6]; LS [p’iu6]; LngY [p’iu6];
CZ [p’iu6]; FS [p’iu6]; TY [fu3] CS *p’iu6
The TY form is of extraneous origin.

Hakka

wèn 問 QYS mjən- CDC *mvun6/EC *munh
OPH *mun5 CNH *mun5/L vun5

Shē

wèn 問 QYS mjən- CDC *mvun6/EC *munh
FA [mun1]; FD [mun1]; LY [mun1]; SM [mun1]; SC [mun1]; HA [mun1];
GX [mun1]; CN [mun1]; JN [mun1]; LS [mun1]; LngY [men1];
CZ [mun1]; FS [mun1]; TY [mən6] CS *mun1

Occasionally one also encounters cases where Hakka forms dentilabialize nearly
everywhere while Shē does not show this change at all, e.g.,

Hakka

fěn 粉 QYS pjən: CDC *fun3/EC *punx
[OPH *fun3] CNH *fun3

Shē

fěn 粉 QYS pjən: CDC *fun3/EC *punx
FA [pun3]; FD [pun3]; LY [pun3]; SM [pun3]; SC [pun3]; HA [pun3];
GX [pun3]; CN [pun3]; JN [pun3]; LS [pun3]; LngY [pen3];
CZ [pun3]; FS [pun3]; TY [—] CS *pun3
Varia and Conclusions

Hakka

fán 帆 QYS bjwɔm CDC *vam2/EC *bom

OPH *fam2 CNH *fam2

Shē

fān 帆 QYS bjwɔm CDC *vam2/EC *bom

FA [p’un2]; FD [p’un2]; LY [p’un2]; SM [p’un2]; SC [p’un2]; HA [p’un2];
GX [p’un2]; CN [p’un2]; JN [p’un2]; LS [p’un2]; LngY [p’un2];
CZ [fuam2]; FS [p’un2]; TY [—] CS *p’un2

The CZ form is irregular and clearly has a different origin from other forms in this set. Reconstruction of the Common Shē final is problematic.

Hakka

fěn 墳 QYS bjwɔn CDC *vun2/EC *bun

[OPH *fun2—] CNH *fun2

Shē

fěn 墳 QYS bjwɔn CDC *vun2/EC *bun

FA [p’un2]; FD [p’un2]; LY [p’un2]; SM [p’un2]; SC [p’un2]; HA [p’un2];
GX [p’un2]; CN [p’un2]; JN [p’un2]; LS [p’un2]; LngY [p’en2];
CZ [p’un2]; FS [p’un2]; TY [pən2] CS *p’un2

As indicated above, Shē does of course have dentilabial-derived forms for non-popular lexemes, though these are realized not as dentilabials in Common Shē, but rather as *h(u)-. The following are examples:

Hakka

fā 法 QYS pjwɔp CDC *fap7/EC *pop

OPH *fap7 CNH *fap7/*fat7

Shē

fā 法 QYS pjwɔp CDC *fap7/EC *pop

FA [huat7]; FD [huat7]; LY [huaʔ7]; SM [huaʔ7]; SC [huat7]; HA [huat7];
The Hakka material reviewed here shows two lexical layers that are reconstructable for the common system, one having undentilabialized labial initials and the other showing dentilabialization. Since it is generally agreed that dentilabials in most dialects evolved from earlier labials, we can confidently seriate our two layers, placing the labial stratum earlier than the dentilabial one. The probable date for dentilabialization in North China was the Táng period, and in the Northwest, which is particularly rich in historical phonological evidence of various kinds, the date for the onset of the process can be narrowed to approximately 600 AD, with completion achieved by about 750–800 AD (Coblin 1991a; 1991b; 1994).72 This leads us to suspect that the Common Neo-Hakka dentilabialized stratum is likely to have been laid down as a result of the Ānshǐ migration wave of late Táng to Five Dynasties times, though some forms could of course date from later than that. This means that Primitive Neo-Hakka of the pre-Ānshǐ period almost certainly did not have dentilabial initials. This supposition is supported by the very robust corpus of undentilabialized forms in Common Shē, for we can assume that this conservative form of South Central Highlands Chinese would be likely to have preserved an

72 It is possible that dentilabialization originally began in Northwest China and then spread from there to other areas. This is of course conjectural. What we can confidently say is that it began quite early in the northwest.
intact older layer of conservative forms as against a weaker stratum of later dentilabialized competing forms. It is important, however, to note that Shē did have dentilabialized forms. This tells us that Common Hakka-Shē was itself a stratally complex language. The more archaic, still completely undentilabialized language from which both branches evolved would have been earlier, and almost certainly of pre-Táng provenance. We can therefore be fairly certain that the Common Hakka-Shē unity survived until the Ānshǐ period; and this agrees well with our historical evidence, which indicates that Sinitic-Shē relations began to sour as a result of the heavy influx of northern Ānshǐ-stage immigrants.

### 6.2.1.2 Unshifted dental stops

Norman (1989) has drawn attention to a small number of Hakka unshifted dentals, i.e., Early Chinese dental stop initials belonging to the traditional QYS shéshàng 舌上 class which have not undergone affrication. Hakka correspondence sets of this type invariably involve a mixture of stop and affricate forms. An example from Norman’s own list of eight such syllables is the following:

zhōng 中 QYS ṭjung CDC *ciung1/EC *trung
[OPH *tung5 ~ tšung1] CNH *tuŋ1/L *tšiuŋ1

Opposite this we find the following Shē set:

zhōng 中 QYS ṭjung CDC *ciung1/EC *trung
FA [tuŋ1]; FD [tuŋ1]; LY [tuŋ1]; SM [tyuŋ1]; SC [tyuŋ1]; HA [tuŋ1];
GX [tuŋ1]; CN [tuŋ1]; JN [tuŋ1]; LS [tuŋ1]; LngY [tuŋ1];
CZ [tuŋ1]; FS [tuŋ1]; TY [tʃuŋ1] CS *tuŋ1 ~ *tiuŋ1

The TY form is not derivable from either reconstruction and appears to be a loan.

Another interesting case is the following:

zhī 知 QYS ṭje CDC *ci1/EC *tre
[OPH *ti1] CNH *ti1/L *tši1
Here we can compare our Shē correspondence set for the verb in question:

“To Know”
FA [hai1 liaʔ]; FD [hieu3 tiʔ]; LY [hai1 liaʔ]; SM [te1]; SC [hieu3 taʔ]; HA [te1];
GX [hieu3 taʔ]; CN [hieu3 tiʔ]; JN [hau3 tiʔ]; LS [hieu3 tiʔ]; LngY [cieu3 tiʔ];
CZ [te1]; FS [te1]; TY [cieu3 taʔ]   CS *hai1 siaʔ [解 O]/*te1 [知]/*hieu3 *taʔ~ *tiʔ [曉得]

Only two of our Shē dialects, Cháozhōu and Fēngshùn, use forms of the etymon zhī 知 as their word “to know”. These enable us to reconstruct the Common Shē form of this word as *te1. In both of the above examples, we see that, where Shē forms are available for comparison, they consistently have dental stop rather than affricate initials.

In addition to these examples, there are fairly numerous instances where Common Neo-Hakka has only affricate initial forms, while Common Shē must be reconstructed with competing stop and affricate initial readings. Some examples are:

Hakka
chōu 抽   QYS ṭhjau   CDC *chieu1/EC *thriw
[OPH *tš’iu1]   CNH *tš’ieu1
Shē
chōu 抽   QYS ṭhjau   CDC *chieu1/EC *thriw
FA [t’iu1]; FD [t’iu1]; LY [t’iu1]; SM [t’iu1]; SC [t’iu1]; HA [t’iu1];
GX [ts’ou1]; CN [t’iu1]; JN [t’iu1]; LS [te’iu1]; LngY [te’iu1];
CZ [t’iu1]; FS [tʃ’e1]; TY [—]   CS *t’iu1 ~ *tʃ’iu1

Hakka
chuí 槌·錘   QYS ḍjwi   CDC *jui2/EC *druy
OPH *tš’ui2   CNH *tš’ui2
Shē
chuí 槌   QYS ḍjwi   CDC *jui2/EC *druy
FA [t’ui2]; FD [t’ui2]; LY [t’ui2]; SM [t’ui2]; SC [t’ui2]; HA [t’ui2];
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GX [t’ui2]; CN [t’ui2]; JN [t’ui2 ~ t’e’y2]; LS [t’ui2 ~ t’e’y2]; LngY [t’ui2 ~ t’e’y2];
CZ [t’ui2 ~ ts’ui2]; FS [t’ui2 ~ tj’ui2]; TY [—]   CS *t’ui2 ~ *tj’yì2

Hakka
zhàng 丈 QYS djang:   CDC *jiong4/EC *drangx
[OPH *tš’ong6]   CNH *tš’ioŋ1/L *tš’ioŋ6
Shē
dång 丈 QYS djang:   CDC *jiong4/EC *drangx
FA [te’yøŋ6]; FD [te’yøŋ6]; LY [te’yøŋ6]; SM [te’yøŋ6 ~ t’oŋ6]; SC [te’yøŋ6]; HA [te’ioŋ6];
GX [ts’øŋ6 ~ t’øŋ6]; CN [te’yøŋ6]; JN [te’yøŋ6]; LS [te’yøŋ6]; LngY [te’yøŋ6];
CZ [ts’øŋ6]; FS [tʃ’øŋ6]; TY [tʃ’uøŋ6 ~ tʃ’oŋ1]   CS *tʃ’ioŋ6 ~ *t’oŋ6

Hakka
zhūō 桌 QYS (tåk)   CDC —/EC —
[OPH *tsok7]   CNH *tsok7
Shē
dåō 桌 QYS (tåk)   CDC —/EC —
FA [tɔʔ7]; FD [tɔʔ7]; LY [tɔʔ7]; SM [—]; SC [—]; HA [—];
GX [tɔʔ7]; CN [tɔʔ7]; JN [tɔʔ7]; LS [tɔʔ7]; LngY [tɔʔ7];
CZ [—]; FS [—]; TY [tʃɔʔ7]   CS *tɔʔ7

The TY form reflects a different origin from that of the remaining forms in this set and is
probably borrowed from some external source.

Here we have a situation that is in certain ways analogous to that seen for
dentilabialization. To wit, the unshifted dentals belong an older layer, while the affricate initial
forms represent a later one. And here again it is widely held that the stop to affricate shift in
question occurred in the north in Táng times. In the Northwest, we can date its onset to the Mid-
Táng, slightly later that dentilabialization (Coblin 1991b; 1994). That its advent in Hakka
should be associated with the Ānshí migration wave seems likely, and we can accordingly
assign the pre-affrication layer to some time before that.
6.2.1.3 Fricativization of Early Chinese *kh- to *h-

In popular words, Common Dialectal Chinese syllables having initial *kh- nearly always have Common Neo-Hakka variant readings in *h-, while higher register syllables tend to show only the stop initial. With this in mind, compare now Hakka sets of this type with corresponding ones in Common Shē:

Hakka
kāi 開 QYS khāi  CDC *khoi1/EC *'khuy
[OPH *k’oi1]  CNH *hoi1/*k’oi1

Shē
kāi 開 QYS khāi  CDC *khoi1/EC *‘khuy
FA [hɔi1]; FD [hɔi1]; LY [hui1]; SM [hue1]; SC [hue1]; HA [hɔi1];
GX [hue1]; CN [hue1]; JN [fɔi1]; LS [fɔi1]; LngY [fɔi1];
CZ [hue1]; FS [fɔi1]; TY [xwɔi1]  CS *hoi1 ~ *huoi1
The JN, LS, LngY, and FX appear to derive from the second reconstruction. The TY form could descend from either.

Hakka
kāng 糠 QYS khâng  CDC *khong1/EC *’khang
[OPH *hoŋ1]  CNH *hoŋ1/L *k’oŋ1

Shē
kāng 糠 QYS khâng  CDC *khong1/EC *‘khang
FA [hɔŋ2]; FD [hɔŋ2]; LY [hɔŋ2]; SM [hɔŋ2]; SC [hɔŋ2]; HA [hɔŋ2];
GX [hɔŋ2]; CN [hɔŋ2]; JN [hɔŋ2]; LS [hɔŋ2]; LngY [hɔŋ2];
CZ [hɔŋ2]; FS [hɔŋ2]; TY [—]  CS *hoŋ2

Hakka
kěn 肯 QYS khəŋ:  CDC *kheng3/EC *‘khingx
OPH *hen3  CNH *hen3/L *k’eŋ
From examples of this type we see that where Common Neo-Hakka shows *k’- ~ *h-variants, Common Shē invariably has forms in *h-. And in the Hakka materials, if information on wén/bái levels is available, the *h- initial forms will nearly always be assigned the latter register. This strongly suggests that in Common Hakka-Shē the original initial in such etyma was *h-, with the *k’- forms having been introduced later as borrowings from more prestigious forms of Chinese. In other words, it is likely that in cases such as these Early Central Highlands Chinese had undergone a general shift from *kh- to *h-. Later, newer aspirated stop forms were reintroduced into Common Neo-Hakka, but Common Shē to a great extent escaped this process. It is worth noting that Common Gàn also shows occasional traces of this phenomenon, for example, cf. kǒu 口 CG *heu3b ~ *k’eu3w; but such cases are rare there. What this suggests is that the old *kh- > *h- shift may have been a characteristic not only of Early Central Highland Chinese but rather also of Early South Central Chinese in general. In the Gàn basin north of the Central Highlands the feature was almost entirely effaced by the influx of inundating northern immigrant lects during the Ānshī and Jingkāng migrations. In the Highlands, it was partially eroded in the speech of the Sinitic Highlanders, as they ultimately amalgamated with immigrants from the north. But the Ancestral Shē, who eschewed contact with all Hàn Chinese beginning in the late Táng period, were relatively unaffected by the change.

Our proposed early *kh- > *h- change did not affect Common Mǐn, as reconstructed by Norman (1974),73 or Common Wú (Simmons 1999: Chapter 3), so far as we know. Traces of it in the Yuè dialects suggest that Yuè-speaking areas of today were at some point influenced by Early South Central Chinese. Perhaps some variety of it was actually the dominant Sinitic

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73 In his last years, Norman preferred the term “Common Mǐn” to “Proto-Mǐn”. Additionally, he also read the name Mǐn as Mín, which he considered the more correct form for the dialect name.
speech form before the massive influx of northern speakers into Guǎngdōng in medieval times. It does not occur in Common Central Xiāng (Coblin 2011). Probably, it was an archaic innovation of South Central (i.e., non-western and non-eastern) Chinese in the pre-Táng period, when this type of language was crystallizing south of the Yangtze in the Gàn River drainage basin and areas directly south of there.

Examples of the *kh- > *h- before high front vowels are rather rare in the data, for reasons that remain unclear. The following are examples:

Hakka
qǐ 起 QYS khï: CDC *khi3/EC *khix
[OPH *hi3] CNH *hi3/*k’i3
Shē
dì 起 QYS khï: CDC *khi3/EC *khix
FA [hi3]; FD [hi3]; LY [hi3]; SM [hi3]; SC [hi3]; HA [hi3];
GX [hi3]; CN [hi3]; JN [hi3]; LS [hi3]; LngY [hi3];
CZ [hi3]; FS [hi3]; TY [tɕ’i3] CS *hi3
The TY form appears to be derived from a loan, originally read *k’i3.

Hakka
qiān 牽 QYS khïen CDC *khian1/EC *’khen
[OPH *k’ian1] CNH *k’ian1/*hian1
Shē
dì 牽 QYS khïen CDC *khian1/EC *’khen
FA [hen1]; FD [hien1]; LY [hêŋ1]; SM [hêŋ1]; SC [hen1]; HA [hen1];
GX [hien1]; CN [hien1]; JN [hien1]; LS [hien1]; LngY [hien1];
CZ [hen1]; FS [hen1]; TY [tɕ’i1] CS *hien1

A different set of cases is also directly connected with the sound change we have been considering here. The following are examples:
Hakka  
kū 窟  QYS  khuat  
CDC *khut7/EC *'khut  
[OPH *fut7]  CNH *fut7/L *k’ut7  
Shē  
kū 窟  QYS  khuat  
CDC *khut7/EC *'khut  
FA [hut7]; FD [hut7]; LY [huʔ7]; SM [huʔ7]; SC [hut7]; HA [hut7]; 
GX [hut7]; CN [hut7]; JN [fut7]; LS [fut7]; LngY [fut7];  
CZ [hut7]; FS [fut7]; TY [——]  
CS *hut7  

The second CZ form appears to be a loan.

Hakka  
kū 苦  QYS  khuo:  
CDC *khu3/EC *khax  
[OPH *fu3]  CNH *fu3/L *k’u3  
Shē  
kū 苦  QYS  khuo:  
CDC *khu3/EC *khax  
FA [hu3]; FD [hu3]; LY [hu3]; SM [hu3]; SC [hu3]; HA [hu3];  
GX [hu3]; CN [hu3]; JN [fu3]; LS [fu3]; LngY [fu3];  
CZ [hu3 ~ k’u3]; FS [fu3]; TY [fu3]  
CS *hu3  
The second CZ form appears to be a loan.

Hakka  
kūò 閶  QYS  khuat  
CDC *khuot7/EC *’khot  
[OPH *fat7]  CNH *k’uot5 ~ *fuat7 (or *fuot7 ?)  
Shē  
kūò 閶  QYS  khuat  
CDC *khuot7/EC *’khot  
FA [huot7]; FD [huot7]; LY [huoʔ7]; SM [huʔ7]; SC [hut7]; HA [hɔt7]; 
GX [hut7]; CN [hɔt7]; JN [fuot7]; LS [fuot7]; LngY [fuɔt7];  
CZ [huot7]; FS [fuot7]; TY [xɔiʔ7]  
CS *huot7 ~ *hut7  
The JN and LngY forms derive regularly from the first reconstruction. Those of SM, SC and 
GX derive from the second. The remaining forms do not constitute a recognizable
correspondence set, appearances notwithstanding. Since the word is of literary register, in many contexts we may suspect that these readings are borrowed.

In these sets, Common Neo-Hakka has initial *f- opposite *k’- in variant pairs, while the corresponding Common Shē forms show CS *h-. Here we may be reasonably certain that Common Neo-Hakka has innovated by dentilabializing *h- before the vowel *u, while Common Shē preserves the older configuration in *h-. This *h-, in turn, can be viewed as deriving from an even earlier *kh-, which has fricativized in Early South Central Chinese. If this view is correct, then the Neo-Hakka dialects share the *hu- > *fu- change as an innovation vis-à-vis the Common Hakka-Shē language, which would mark them as a taxonomic unit and differentiate them from Shē.

6.2.1.4 Hakka Popular *v- corresponding to literary *h-

The following are examples of this variant pairing:

Hakka
huáng 皇 QYS ŋwâng   CDC *huong2/EC *’gwang
OPH *fong2   CNH *vøŋ2/*huoŋ2
Shē
huáng 皇 QYS ŋwâng   CDC *huong2/EC *’gwang
FA [uøŋ2]; FD [huoŋ2]; LY [uøŋ2]; SM [uøŋ2]; SC [uøŋ2]; HA [møŋ2];
GX [huoŋ2]; CN [yøŋ2]; JN [uøŋ2]; LS [uøŋ2]; LngY [uøŋ2];
CZ [møŋ2]; FS [fuoŋ2]; TY [—]   CS *huoŋ2 ~ uoŋ2

Hakka
hún 魂 QYS ŋuən   CDC *hun2/EC *’gun
[OPH *fun2 (~ vun2 ?)]   CNH *vun2/L *hun2
Shē
hún 魂 QYS ŋuən   CDC *hun2/EC *’gun
Varia and Conclusions

The FS form must derive from earlier *iat8.

Also of related interest in this connection is the following word, which has no literary form in Hakka:

Hakka

hé 禾  QYS  yuâ  CDC *huo2, ho2/EC *’goy

With this compare now the following word which both popular and literary readings:

hé 和  QYS  yuâ  CDC *huo2, ho2/EC *’goy
All of these examples except for hé 禾 "rice plant", which is a purely popular word in Hakka, are clearly indicative of layering. Where wén/bái stylistic register is noted in the sources, forms having CNH *v- are identified as bái, while *h- marks the wén or literary variant. In the corresponding Shē sets, the initial configuration is invariably an onset in Common Shē *u-. This suggests that the CNH *v-/CS *u- type syllables belong to an older popular layer. However, this then raises a further question, i.e., which modern type best represents the earlier, i.e., Common Hakka-Shē initial configuration? In other words, is CNH *v- original, or is *u- the older form?

In dealing with this problem, we must begin by noting a significant fact, i.e., in the above examples all Common Neo-Hakka *v- forms and all Common Shē *u- forms have rounded nuclear vowels. But let us now compare examples where the main vowels are unrounded:

Hakka
huá 滑 QYS ɣwāt CDC *huat8/EC *grot? ~ *grut?
OPH *vat8 CNH *vat8
Shē
huá 滑 QYS ɣwāt CDC *huat8/EC *grot? ~ *grut?
FA [iat8 ~ iet8]; FD [iat8]; LY [iaʔ8]; SM [iaʔ8 ~ ȵiaʔ8]; SC [iat8]; HA [iat8 ~ iet8];
GX [iat8]; CN [iæt8 ~ iat8]; JN [iat8]; LS [iat8]; LngY [iat8];
CZ [ŋiaʔ8 ~ ȵiat8]; FS [ʒat8]; TY [vaiʔ8] CS *iat8 ~ *ŋiat8
The TY form is not accounted by the reconstruction. It is derivable from an earlier *uat8 of non-Shē origin.

Hakka
huán 還 QYS ɣwan CDC *huan2/EH *gwren
[OPH *van2] CNH *van2/L *huan2
Shē
huán 還 QYS ɣwan CDC *huan2/EH *gwren
FA [ian2]; FD [ian2]; LY [Ian2]; SM [Ian2]; SC [ian2]; HA [nian2];
GX [ian2]; CN [ian2]; JN [ian2]; LS [ian2]; LngY [ian2];
This set comprises the Shē words for “to return (v.t)”. The HA initial is unexpected.

In these cases, comparison with the Common Neo-Hakka forms would lead us to expect Common Shē onsets in *ua-; but instead we find there *ia-. What has apparently happened is that the onset vowel of original “pre-Common Shē” *ua- has been unrounded to *i- by assimilation to the following vowel. This assumption suggests explanations for the Common Shē forms in the following pairs of sets:

Hakka
huáng 黃 QYS ɣwâng CDC *huong2/EC *’gwang
OPH *vong2 CNH *vʊŋ2/*huoŋ2
Shē
huáng 黃 QYS ɣwâng CDC *huong2/EC *’gwang
FA [uoŋ2]; FD [huoŋ2]; LY [uoŋ2]; SM [uoŋ2]; SC [uoŋ2]; HA [mɔŋ2];
GX [huoŋ2]; CN [ɣuoŋ2]; JN [uoŋ2]; LS [uoŋ2]; LngY [uoŋ2];
CZ [moŋ2]; FS [vuoŋ2]; TY [foŋ2] CS *huoŋ2 ~ uoŋ2 ~ *iaŋ2

Here, it seems probable that the third variant form for the word “yellow” in Common Shē was pre-Common Shē *uaŋ2, which had become *iaŋ2 by the Common Shē stage. The first and second forms in this set appear to be of extraneous origin.

Hakka
héng 橫 QYS ɣwɒŋ “horizontal” CDC *huang2/EC *gwreng
OPH *vang2 CNH *vuaŋ2
Shē
héng 橫 QYS ɣwɒŋ “horizontal” CDC *huang2/EC *gwreng
FA [huaŋ2]; FD [huaŋ2]; LY [huaŋ2]; SM [huaŋ2]; SC [heŋ2 ~ iəŋ2]; HA [huaŋ2];
GX [huoŋ2 ~ iəŋ2]; CN [huaŋ2]; JN [huoŋ2 ~ foŋ2]; LS [huoŋ2 ~ foŋ2]; LngY [huoŋ2 ~ foŋ2];
CZ [uaŋ2]; FS [vaŋ2]; TY [ian2] CS *huaŋ2 ~ *huaŋ2 ~ *uaŋ2 ~ *ian2

The first SC form appears to be a loan, perhaps from some northern dialect or koine.

CZ [ian2 ~ hen2]; FS [ʒan2]; TY [ian2] CS *ian2
This example is in certain ways similar to the preceding one, except that here we have a seeming contradiction, for we find variants in both CS *uaŋ2 and *iaŋ2. Our suggestion in this case is that the form *uaŋ2 is in fact a late borrowing into Shē, which has therefore escaped the dissimilation process we have proposed above. This approach also allows us to account for the following example:

Hakka
huà 話 QYS ɣwai- CDC *hua6 ~ *huai6/EC *gwrath
[OPH *fa6 ~ *va5 ?]  CNH *va6 ~ *voi1/L *hua6
Shē
huà 話 QYS ɣwai- CDC *hua6 ~ *huai6/EC *gwrath
FA [uo6]; FD [ua6]; LY [ua6]; SM [ua6]; SC [ua6]; HA [ua6];
GX [uo6]; CN [yua6]; JN [uo6]; LS [uo6]; LngY [uo6];
CZ [ue6 ~ ua6]; FS [vɔi6~ va6 ~ ua6]; TY [vʌ6 ~ vo6]  CS *ua6 ~ *uo6
The first CZ and FS variant forms are irregular. The CZ form is probably a Southern Mǐn loan.

We may tentatively suppose that CS *ua6 in this example is of extraneous origin. The second variant, *uo6, is unproblematic. Perhaps it represents an original or “native” Shē form.

With these points in mind, we must now consider the following pair of sets:

Hakka
kuài 快 QYS khwai- CDC *kuai5/EC *khwrath
[OPH *k’uai5]  CNH *k’uai5/*fai5
Shē
kuài 快 QYS khwai- CDC *kuai5/EC *khwrath
FA [hiai1]; FD [hiai1]; LY [hiei1]; SM [hiai1]; SC [hiei1 ~ hiai1]; HA [hiai1];
GX [hiai1]; CN [hiai1]; JN [hiai1]; LS [hiai1]; LngY [cie1];
CZ [hie1]; FS [hiai1]; TY [k’ʌ1]  CS *hiai1
The TY word is not derivable from CS *hiai1 and is in fact probably a loan from a southern Wú dialect.
Beginning with the Hakka set, we see a Common Neo-Hakka variant pair of the sort encountered in §6.2.1.3 above. And we may suspect that the form *k’uai5 is the later borrowed member of the pair, while CNH *fai5 is the older form, almost certainly descended from earlier *huai5. This is the form which should be compared with the Common Shē one. But instead of a Common Shē *huai1 here, we find instead CS *hiai1.\textsuperscript{74} This surely is because an earlier pre-Common Shē *huai1 (< *huai5) has undergone the vowel dissimilation observed above and become *hiai1. And from this example we can also draw another inference, i.e., that this dissimilatory process must have affected *u regardless of whether it occurred in absolute initial position or after some other element. This then leads us to suspect that the original Common Hakka-Shē initial configuration of words such as huá 滑 and huán 還 was also *ua- rather than *va-. Shē has innovated by dissimilating *ua- to *ia-, while Hakka has changed it to *va-. Neither has retained the original form for these words.

We have already seriated the two lexical layers with which we have been dealing in this section. In closing, we shall also attempt to date them more precisely on an absolute chronological scale. And here early Northwest Chinese evidence can again be brought into play. For example, let us consider the word huán 還 from the list above. In northwest transcriptions of the fifth century AD, this syllable is used to represent the Indic element -vartan-, whose Prakrit form may have been simply -van-. On the other hand, in Dunhuang Tibeto-Chinese transcriptions of the Late Táng/Five Dynasties period, this huán is rendered as Tibetan hwan (Coblin 1994). Evidence of this type confirms our suspicion that Common Neo-Hakka forms in *v- (< Common Hakka-Shē *u-) are older, while those in *h- are later. But it also aids us in dating these forms. For the former can now be identified as of pre-Táng provenance and may in fact date from Yǒngjiā or even earlier times, while the latter can probably be assigned to the Ān-Shǐ layer of the late Táng period.

\textsuperscript{74} Note that Common Shē Tone 1 is the regular correlate of Common Neo-Hakka Tone 5 in syllables of this type, as has been pointed out by Nakanishi (2010).
6.2.1.5 Common Neo-Hakka *ts’- corresponding to *s-

The following are examples of this pairing:

Hakka
xiàng 像 QYS zjang: CDC *ziong4/EC *zangx
[OPH *ts’iong5] CNH *ts’iong6/L *siong5
Shē
CS *ts’iong6.75

Hakka
xiè 謝 QYS zja- CDC *zia6/EC *zakh
[OPH *ts’ia6] CNH *ts’ia6/L *sia
Shē
xiè 謝 QYS zja- CDC *zia6/EC *zakh
FA [te’ia6]; FD [sia6]; LY [te’ia6]; SM [cia6]; SC [te’ia6]; HA [cia6];
GX [cia6]; CN [cia6]; JN [cia6]; LS [cia6]; LngY [cia6];
CZ [cia6]; FS [cia6]; TY [—] CS *zia6 ~ *ts’ia6

Hakka
xú 徐 QYS zjwo CDC *zie2 (~ *ziu2)/EC *za
[OPH *ts’i2] CNH *ts’iu2/*siu2
Shē
CS *sy2.76

In examples of this type, CNH *s- initial forms are often identified as being of literary register. QYS and Common Dialectal Chinese forms have the fricative initial *z-, and the usual initial in the North Chinese koines of various periods is also a fricative rather than an affricate.

75 Reconstruction based on data from Dèng (2013).
76 Reconstruction based on data from Dèng (2013).
It therefore seems probable that the CNH *s- forms represent northern importations. Dating of such borrowing is difficult. A possible instance where this can be accomplished using tonal criteria will be discussed in §6.2.3.4 below.

6.2.1.6 Common Neo-Hakka *ŋ- vs. corresponding to *v-

Examples of this pairing are:

wài 外 QYS ngwái- CDC *nguoi6/EC *’ngwath
OPH *ngo6 CNH *ngo6/vai5

wán 頑 QYS ngwăn CDC *nguan2/EC *ngron
[OPH *ngan2] CNH *ŋuan2/*van2

wù 悟 QYS nguo- CDC *ngu6/EC *’ngah
[OPH ?] CNH *ŋu6/*vu6

Dunhuang Tibeto-Chinese transcriptions of late Táng and Five Dynasties times render wài 外 as ’gwe or ’goi, 頑 as ’gwan, and wù 悟 as ’gu, where initial ’g- probably represents the prenasalized consonant [ŋ], a special characteristic of medieval Northwest Chinese dialects. Farther east the initial was probably simply [ŋ] during the same period. The Common Yangtze Watershed Mandarin reconstruction for wài 外 is *vuai6 (Coblin 2010: 168), showing loss of the earlier initial nasal. The Common Neo-Hakka form *vai5 has the same general syllabic shape as this early Mandarin syllable. It is probable that Common Yangtze Watershed Mandarin dates from the time of the Jingkâng migrations, and we may accordingly suspect that *v- initial readings in such sets as these date from no earlier than that, while our *ŋ- initial forms must be older.
6.2.2 Syllable finals

6.2.2.1 CNH *-iai vs. *-i

Syllables reconstructed with CNH *-iai often have variants in *-i, and the sources frequently identify the latter as literary readings (see Chapter III, §3.1.5 for examples). A typical syllable of this type is the following:

dì 弟 QYS diei: CDC *diai4/EC *’diyx
OPH *t’ai1   CNH *t’iai1/L *t’i6

In ‘Phags-pa Chinese this word is spelled di [ti], indicating that in standard forms of Chinese of the 1200’s its final was -i (Coblin 2007). In late Táng Tibetan transcriptions from Dunhuang, it is spelled as de, while in Chinese transcriptions of Sanskrit from the mid-Táng it represents Indic dhe (Coblin 1994). However, there are also other syllables in the Táng Chinese Buddhist transcriptional corpus where the final in question here (i.e., QYS -iei) renders Indic i. Probably, the merger of this final into a common *-i was already in progress in late Táng times in the north. Thus, the CNH -i final literary readings for words such as di 弟 could have been borrowed as early as the Ānshǐ migration period but might also date from as late as the Jingkāng stage or later. It is therefore difficult to arrive at a precise dating. The Common Shē form for dì 弟 is *t’ai6, and in our view the Common Hakka-Shē final was probably *-iai6, i.e., identical with the Common Neo-Hakka form and Norman’s Common Dialectal Chinese *-iai. The absolute chronological age of this final is not determinable using the methods we have so far employed to deal with such problems, since nothing like it is reflected in early transcriptional or other such materials.

6.2.2.2 CNH *-an vs. *ian

CNH final *-an in examples of this type occurs after velar initials. An example is the following:

jiān 間 QYS kăn CDC *kan1/EC *kren
[OPH *kan1]   CNH *kan1/L *kian1
This syllable is usually spelled kan in Tibeto-Chinese transcriptional sources, while in ‘Phags-pa Chinese it is spelled gyan [kjan]. It is likely that the literary layer form dates from the Jingkāng stage, while the older form *kan1 could derive from any period before that time.

6.2.2.3 CNH *-oi vs. *-ai

An example of this pairing type is the following:

ài 愛 QYS ?âi- CDC *oi5/EC *’uyh
[OPH *oi5] CNH *oi5/*ai5

Rounding in the main vowel of this final had already been lost by the mid-Táng, when the Buddhist transcriber Amoghavajra (705–774) used the syllable ài 愛 to render Sanskrit ai and āi. Many more such examples from this period occur in the transcriptional data, and all later sources confirm that the final was basically “ai-like”. This suggests that Common Neo-Hakka -ai final forms of this type were probably introduced by at least the early Ānshī period, though they may date from earlier times. Northwest Chinese fānqiè formulae from mid-Táng times and erroneous character substitutions from Dunhuang vernacular texts strictly separate QYS final -âi and -âi final syllables, indicating that these had not yet merged at that time. But, whatever the difference between them was, it cannot have involved a rounding contrast of the oi/ai type in the Northwest. By ‘Phags-pa times, the two finals had completely merged as [ai]. The Common Shē reconstruction for ài 愛 is *oi1, confirming the rounding of the final for Common Hakka-Shē, which, it may be noted, also agrees with that of Norman’s Common Dialectal Chinese reconstruction.

6.2.2.4 CNH *-on vs. *-an

Transcriptional evidence bearing on syllables with this final type date back to Eastern Hàn times, and all of it points to “an-like” readings. However, Common Shē has *-on, confirming rounding at least back to the Common Hakka-Shē stage for this family of dialects. Interestingly,
examples of the following type do allow us to situate our *-on readings within a general time frame:

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{fàn} & \text{飯} & \text{QYS} & \text{bjwön-}, \text{bjwön} & \text{CDC} & \text{*van6/EC} \text{ *bonh} \\
[\text{OPH} \text{ *fan6 ?}] & \text{CNH} & \text{ *p’on6/L *fan6} \\
\text{CS} & \text{ *p’uon6} \\
\end{array}
\]

Here, the undentilabialized Common Neo-Hakka initial of the first form enables us to date the entire syllable form to at least the Six Dynasties period, as we have seen in §6.2.1.1 above. This then gives us a \textit{terminus ante quem} for the final.

**6.2.2.5 CNH *-ot vs. *-at**

After labial initials, *-at occurs as a variant reading for *-ot in nearly all of our examples for this final. A sample case is the following:

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{bō} & \text{鉢} & \text{QYS} & \text{puât} & \text{CDC} & \text{ *pot7/EC} \text{ *’pot} \\
[\text{OPH} \text{ *pat7}] & \text{CNH} & \text{ *pot7/*pat7} \\
\text{CS} & \text{ *puot7} \\
\end{array}
\]

The following case is of particular interest:

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{fā} & \text{發} & \text{QYS} & \text{pjwšt} & \text{CDC} & \text{ *fat7/EC} \text{ *pot} \\
\text{OPH} & \text{ *pot7} & \text{CNH} & \text{ *pot7/L *fat7} \\
\end{array}
\]

Here, the undentilabialized initial of CNH *pot7 places this syllable no later than Six Dynasties times, suggesting that the rounded final also dates from no later than that. The word bō 鉢 “alms bowl” is an Eastern Hán transcription of an Indic form (cf. Sanskrit pātra, Pāli patta “id”), with an unrounded vowel. Northwest transcriptional evidence from Amoghavajra uses fā 發 as a transcription of Sanskrit phal-, showing that the vowel of the syllable was unrounded in mid-Táng times. (The Chinese initial correspondence with Indic ph- here may reflect dentilabialization on the Chinese side. This process had of course long since occurred in North Chinese by Amoghavajra’s time.) The dentilabial initial of the literary form allows us to
date it to the Ānshī period or later. Interestingly, the Common Shē forms for this word are *huot7 ~ *huat7, which reflect a dentilabialized reading rather than a labial one. This form must therefore postdate the Common Hakka-Shē period.

6.2.2.6 CNH *-iu vs. *-ie

This pairing is well represented in the data; and, as pointed out in §3.3.2 and §3.4.2 of Chapter III, the *-ie forms in such cases are based entirely on data from the Jiāngxī dialects or from Fújiàn dialects that are contiguous to Jiāngxī. Mei (2013: 305–310), has suggested that the *-ie readings belong to a layer that arose in Hakka through contact with the Gân dialects. This view is convincing, in our opinion. However, exactly what the nature of the contact with Gân was remains to be determined. Direct borrowing is of course a possibility. Survival of a vestigial substrate of some sort should also be considered. Complex examples of the following type are particularly interesting:

Hakka

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>QYS</th>
<th>CDC</th>
<th>EC</th>
<th>CNH</th>
<th>OPB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>女</td>
<td>njwo:</td>
<td>*nie4 (~ *niu3)</td>
<td>*nrax</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ŋ 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Shē

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>QYS</th>
<th>CDC</th>
<th>EC</th>
<th>CNH</th>
<th>OPB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>女</td>
<td>njwo:</td>
<td>*nie4 (~ *niu3)</td>
<td>*nrax</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ŋ 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FA [ŋy3 ~ ŋi3]; FD [ŋy3 ~ ŋi3]; LY [ŋy3 ~ ŋi3]; SM [ŋy3]; SC [ŋy3]; HA [ŋiu3]; GX [ŋu3 ~ ŋiu3]; CN [ŋy3 ~ ņi3]; JN [ŋy3 ~ ņi3]; LS [ŋy3]; LngY [ŋy3]; CZ [ŋioŋ3]; FS [ŋiu3]; TY [ŋiu3]; CS *ŋy3 ~ *ŋi3

Hakka

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>QYS</th>
<th>CDC</th>
<th>EC</th>
<th>CNH</th>
<th>OPB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>魚</td>
<td>njwo</td>
<td>*ngie2 (~ *ngiu2)</td>
<td>*nga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ŋ 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Shē

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>QYS</th>
<th>CDC</th>
<th>EC</th>
<th>CNH</th>
<th>OPB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>魚</td>
<td>njwo</td>
<td>*ngie2 (~ *ngiu2)</td>
<td>*nga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ŋ 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the Mainstream Hakka dialects, the syllabic nasal forms for “woman, daughter” and “fish” are the popular pronunciations, which occur as the ordinary vernacular words for these entities. And throughout the Hakka-speaking world, where these syllabic nasal forms are paired with other realizations of the etyma in question, the former are normally identifiable as bái pronunciations, while the latter are viewed as wén readings. For these reasons, it seems highly likely that the syllabic nasal forms belong to the oldest layer of the Common Neo-Hakka lexicon, while the other readings are later accretions of some sort.

With these observations in mind, we can now turn to the parallel Common Shē sets. Here we find that the word for “fish” is reconstructed as CS *ŋy2, while one of the forms for “woman, daughter” is *ŋy3. And it is significant that the Common Shē final *-y often corresponds directly to CNH *-iu in cognate sets. Now, no syllable type *ŋiu having been reconstructed for Common Neo-Hakka, we are led to wonder if in “pre-CNH”, the words for “fish” and “woman, daughter” were in fact *ŋiu2 and *ŋiu3 respectively. Whether the Common Hakka-Shē forms had finals in *-iu, *-y, or something else, must await full comparative study of Common Neo-Hakka and Common Shē.

Returning to the Hakka set for “woman, daughter”, we may now speculate that the original, “native” form for this word was *ŋiu3. This represents the oldest layer. Somewhat later than this is *nie3, which is extraneous and ultimately derives in some way from Gàn. And, finally, we have *ńiu3, which is clearly identifiable as a reading pronunciation for the character nǚ 女. This is almost certainly an extraneous loan form. The oldest form, *ŋiu3 (>ŋ3), may in fact derive from the Early Central Highlands Chinese period. The latest form, *ńiu3, could perhaps have been imported during the Ānshī migrations. The remaining form, *nie3, is of uncertain antiquity. Clarification of its history must await further studies of the population dynamics of central and southern Jiāngxī in the relevant periods.

The Common Neo-Hakka forms for “fish” are somewhat more complex. In parallel with “woman, daughter”, we can posit *ŋiu2 (>*ŋ2) as the oldest form, *ńiu2 as a later, medieval
period importation, and *ŋie2 as a “Gân-influenced” form. The literary character reading *iu2 must be very recent and may even date from as late as the early modern or modern periods. The final form, *ŋei2, must for the nonce remain a mystery. We cannot convincingly tie it to anything else we have been dealing with here.

6.2.2.7 CNH *-iaŋ vs. *-iŋ and *-aŋ vs. *-eŋ

As we have seen in §3.5.5 and §3.4.7 of Chapter III, these pairings represent popular vs. literary pronunciations of the same etyma. And where Common Shē forms are available, they invariably correspond to the *a-vowel forms in Hakka, e.g.,

tíng 聽 QYS thieng CDC *thiang1/EC *’theng
[OPH *t’ian5] CNH *t’iaŋ1/ *t’iaŋ5/L *t’iŋ1/*t’iŋ6
CS *t’ian1

shēng 生 QYS ʂiŋg CDC *shang1/EC *sring
OPH *sang1 CNH *saŋ1/L *seŋ1
CS *saŋ1 77

It seems beyond question that the *a-vowel readings in these sets represent the older forms in Hakka, while those in *-iŋ and *-eŋ are later importations, probably dating from the period of the Jingkāng migrations. This observation then leads to a further one, which may ultimately prove to be of some importance for Chinese linguistic and demographic history. For a striking fact is that the layering observable in these Hakka finals is also detectable in the Gân and Central Xiāng dialect groups. Compare now the following:

77 Data supporting this reconstruction were taken from Dèng (2013).
It defies credence to suppose that these stratal parallels are fortuitous, particularly in view of the fact that the three dialect groups in question form a continuum, beginning with Hakka in the southeast, moving then north and westward through Gàn, and finally arriving at Central Xiāng to the west. And if, as we have suggested, the Hakka layers were laid down as the result of particular migration waves, then it stands to reason that the same waves must have affected the areas where the Gàn and Central Xiāng dialects are spoken.

6.2.2.8 CNH *-i vs. *-ɨ

As we have seen in §3.6.1 of Chapter III, the apical final *-ɨ is an integral and well-established part of the Common Neo-Hakka sound system. However, it does alternate there with *-i, especially in the popular layer of the lexicon. The following examples illustrate this:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Common Neo-Hakka</th>
<th>Common Gàn</th>
<th>Common Central Xiāng</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ting</td>
<td>*t’iæŋ</td>
<td>*t’iæŋ</td>
<td>*t’iŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Layer I</td>
<td>*t’iæŋ</td>
<td>*t’iæŋ</td>
<td>*t’iŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Layer II</td>
<td>*t’iŋ</td>
<td>*t’iŋ</td>
<td>*t’in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| shēng  | 生  |    |    |
| Layer I | *saŋ | *saŋ | *səŋ |
| Layer II | *seŋ | *seŋ | *səŋ |

78 After Coblin (2015).
79 After Coblin (2011).
Apicalization of earlier *i in syllables of this type is generally thought to have occurred in North Chinese in late Táng to Five Dynasties times. In Northwest transcriptions of the mid-Táng period, Amoghavajra still used such syllables to transcribe Sanskrit forms having the vowel -i-, and Tibeto-Chinese transcriptions from Dunhuang spelt them with Tibetan -i. Our guess would be that apical vowel readings in Hakka should probably be dated to the Ānshî migration period or later.

6.2.3 Tones

6.2.3.1 CNH Tone 1 vs. Tone 2

This type of pairing involves syllables of the following type:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
<th>Tones</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lóng 聾</td>
<td>lung</td>
<td>CNH *luŋ1/*luŋ2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máo 毛</td>
<td>mâu</td>
<td>CNH *mou1/mou2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wén 蚊</td>
<td>mjuən</td>
<td>CNH *mvun2/EC *mun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As mentioned in §4.1 of Chapter IV, Norman (1989) pointed out that Tone 1 readings of syllables of this sort are a distinctive peculiarity of Hakka. He also suggested that Tone 2 variant forms, which are often specifically identified as literary in register, are later borrowings from some external source. The third example above is interesting in this respect, since the Tone 2 form of the pair shows dentilabialization. This suggests that it was borrowed no earlier than ca. 600 AD and probably dates from mid-Táng times or later. Perhaps it, together with other such Tone 2 variants, are importations of the Ānshî period.
6.2.3.2 CNH Tone 1 vs. Tone 3

Words of this type have exclusively sonorant initials or zero syllable onsets, e.g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QYS</th>
<th>CDC</th>
<th>EC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yǒu</td>
<td>*yeu4</td>
<td>*wix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lěng</td>
<td>*lang4</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lǐng</td>
<td>*liang4</td>
<td>*lengx</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Tone 1 readings of such pairings are prototypically Hakka and represent a native development. On the other hand, when stylistic register is indicated in the sources, it is the Tone 3 variants that are usually said to belong to the literary register. In Common Dialectal Chinese, these syllables had Tone 4 (yángshǎng), while it is a notable characteristic of North Chinese dialects that such words join the common shǎngshēng of these languages. That the Tone 3 character readings in question here were borrowed from a northern dialect or koine of this type seems likely, and that must have happened after the assignment of these syllables to northern Tone 3. When this may have occurred is a question to which we shall turn in the next section.

6.2.3.3 CNH Tone 1 vs. Tone 6

This pairing is closely related to that discussed in the preceding section, in that it involves obstruent initial words that had Common Dialectal Chinese Tone 4 (yángshǎng). Examples of it are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QYS</th>
<th>CDC</th>
<th>EC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dàn</td>
<td>*dam4</td>
<td>*damx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di</td>
<td>*diai4</td>
<td>*diyx</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[OPH *t’am1]  CNH *t’am1/L *t’am6

OHH *t’ai1  CNH *t’ai1/L *t’i6
Norman (1989: 333–334) considered the Tone 1 readings in syllables of this type to be a “distinctive Kèjiā trait”. The presence of Tone 6 readings in such cases he then attributed to “late reading traditions”. We may suppose that these later readings were imported at a time when the donor dialects, which were almost certainly northern, still retained upper and lower register qùshēng tones and assigned Common Dialectal Chinese obstruent initial yángshǎng words of this type to the lower tone (i.e., Tone 6, yángqù). As has often been noted on the basis of textual evidence of various types (e.g., Wang 1985), this major tone change had begun in North China by the latter part of the Táng Dynasty. Thus, our Tone 6 variants probably date from the Ānshǐ period or later. The same inference can be drawn for the Tone 3 variants discussed in the preceding section, for they must belong to a period after Common Dialectal Tone 4 (yángshǎng) had been lost in the North and the sonorant initial syllables in question had joined the now general shǎngshēng tone (i.e., northern Tone 3).

6.2.3.4 CNH Tone 6 vs. Tone 5

The following are examples of this pairing type:

lù 路 QYS luo- CDC *lu6/EC *lakh
OPH *lu6 CNH *lu6/L *lu5

wài 外 QYS ngwāi- CDC *nguoi6/EC *ngwath
OPH *ngoi6 CNH *ngoi6/vai5

xiàn 縣 QYS yiwen- CDC *hion6/EC *gwenh
[OPH *ian5] CNH *vion6/L *hian5

xiàng 像 QYS zjang: CDC *ziong4/EC *zangx
[OPH *ts`iong5] CNH *ts`ionŋ6/L *sionŋ5
As noted in §4.5 of Chapter IV, Tone 5 variants in pairs of this sort may be loans from northern dialects in which CDC Tone 6 had merged into Tone 5. However, arriving at an exact chronology for this development is difficult. Common Yangtze Watershed Mandarin, which probably dates from the time of the Jingkāng migrations, can be reconstructed with distinct upper and lower qù tones (Coblin 2011). Loans into Hakka from this type of dialect would presumably postdate the Jingkāng period. But if the borrowed material came from more northerly dialect types, this time frame might not be valid. The matter remains problematic. The forms for the syllable wài 外 are interesting in this connection. As noted in §6.2.1.5 above, Dunhuang Tibeto-Chinese transcriptions of late Táng and Five Dynasties times render this word as ‘gwe and ‘goi, where initial ‘g- probably represents the prenasalized consonant [ᵑɡ]. Farther east the initial was probably simply [ŋ] during the same period. The Common Yangtze Watershed Mandarin reconstruction for this syllable is *vuai6 (Coblin 2011: 168), showing loss of the earlier initial nasal. The Common Neo-Hakka form *vai5 has the same general syllabic shape as this early Mandarin syllable but must date from a time when upper and lower qù had merged. Perhaps it was borrowed during the late Southern Sòng period, if not later than that.

6.2.3.5 CNH Tone 8 vs. Tone 7

Cases of this pairing involve sonorant initial syllables. The following are examples:

liù 六 QYS ljuk       CDC *ʰliuk8  ~ luk8/EC *luk
OPH *liuk7  CNH *liuk7/*luk7/*luk8

ròu 肉 QYS ńźjuk     CDC *ʰnhiuk8/EC *nuk
OPH *ńliuk7  CNH *ńliuk7/*ńliuk8

As we have noted in §4.6 of Chapter IV, O’Connor (1976: §6.2) and Norman (1989: 331–332) attribute Tone 7 readings of this syllable class to the presence of a voiceless sonorant initial series at some earlier stage of the language. Norman then suggests that Tone 8 variant readings in such cases are later literary loans from dialects where Common Dialectal Chinese sonorants regularly condition the development of modern lower register tones. This proposal is surely
correct, but it remains difficult to date the suggested Tone 8 loan stratum in absolute chronological terms. In any case, we are clearly dealing with layering here.

6.3 Common Neo-Hakka and Common Shē — Determining the Relationship

In §1.2 of Chapter I we noted the important contribution of Nakanishi (2010), in which he pointed out that the Shē dialects share common innovations with Hakka vis-à-vis the QYS. And, significantly, he also showed that the Shē dialects possess among themselves unique common innovations which are not shared with the rest of Hakka (i.e., our Neo-Hakka). In other words, the Shē dialects differ en bloc from the “traditional” Neo-Hakka group in significant and demonstrable ways. Nakanishi’s case is patently convincing. However, in our view there should be added to it a demonstration that Common Shē cannot possibly be systematically derived from Common Neo-Hakka and cannot therefore simply be considered a Neo-Hakka dialect. This is what we shall attempt to do in the present section.

Our first point concerns the undentilabialized labials and unaffricated dental stops discussed in §6.2.1.1 and §6.2.1.2 above. In each of these cases, Common Shē possesses specific archaic initial forms which are not present in Common Neo-Hakka, so far as we can currently determine. In cases such as these, the Common Shē forms cannot be generated from the reconstructed Common Neo-Hakka system using ordered rules or regular processes. If we assume that Shē and Hakka had a proximate common origin, which is in fact the position of both Nakanishi and the present work, then we can hypothesize that Neo-Hakka has undergone extensive erosion of its original unchanged labials and dentals through replacement by later borrowed forms.80

The second point concerns the curious *ua > *ia change in Common Shē, with which we have dealt in §6.2.1.4 above. When this configuration occurs in absolute initial position, we

80 Logically there is of course the alternate possibility that Common Neo-Hakka is derived from Common Shē. To the best of our knowledge no one has ever proposed this, and it could in fact be easily refuted. We shall not deal with it further here.
have proposed that its pre-Shē origin was *ua-. The corresponding Hakka configuration is *va-.
It is of course theoretically possible that an earlier *va- could have yielded Common Shē *ia-;
but a change of this sort would be unusual. Vowel unrounding of *u to *i as a dissimilatory
change is the simpler and more natural alternative. And, additionally, we have noted the case
of the word kuài 快, which is *hiai1 in Common Shē but *k’uai5 and *fai5 (< *huaï5) in
Common Neo-Hakka. Here, the simplest assumption is that both the Shē and second Hakka
forms derive from an earlier *huaï5. There is no simple or cogent way that the Shē form could
derive from an earlier *fai5.

Thirdly, it is noteworthy that Common Neo-Hakka and Common Shē have a generally
parallel distinction between dental and postalveolar/alveopalatal fricatives, e.g., CNH *s-/*š-
corresponding to CS *s-/*ʃ-, etc. However, there is not complete parity between the two systems.
Compare, for example, the following Shē sets:

shān 衫 QYS ʂam CDC *sham1/EC —
FA [ɬam1]; FD [sam1]; LY [ɬaŋ1]; SM [saŋ1]; SC [san1]; HA [sam1];
GX [san1]; CN [sam1]; JN [sam1]; LS [san1]; LngY [san1];
CZ [sam1]; FS [sam1]; TY [ʃəŋ1]  CS *ʃam1
Cf. CNH *sam1

shuāng 霜 QYS ʂąŋ  CDC *shong1/EC *srang
FA [ɬɔŋ1]; FD [sɔŋ1]; LY [ɬɔŋ1]; SM [sɔŋ1]; SC [sɔŋ1]; HA [sɔŋ1];
GX [sɔŋ1]; CN [sɔŋ1]; JN [sɔŋ1]; LS [sɔŋ1]; LngY [sɔŋ1];
CZ [sɔŋ1]; FS [sɔŋ1]; TY [ʃəŋ1]  CS *ʃəŋ1
Cf. CNH *səŋ1

shuāng 雙 QYS ʂąŋ  CDC *shong1/EC *srong
FA [ɬuŋ1]; FD [suŋ1]; LY [ɬuŋ1]; SM [suŋ1]; SC [suŋ1]; HA [suŋ1];
GX [suŋ1]; CN [suŋ1]; JN [suŋ1]; LS [suŋ1]; LngY [suŋ1];
CZ [suŋ1]; FS [suŋ1]; TY [ʃuŋ1]  CS *ʃuŋ1
Cf. CNH *suŋ1
In these cases Common Shē has *ʃ- opposite CNH *s-, and it is obvious that the difference between the two systems cannot be predicted on the basis of the Common Neo-Hakka configuration. However, the distribution of *ʃ- in Common Shē does match perfectly that of CDC *sh- (and QYS ṣ-) in these examples. Clearly, then, what has happened is that Hakka has lost an earlier distinction which Shē has preserved; and, ultimately, Common Hakka-Shē must be reconstructed with the older initial distribution in order to derive the modern forms of each branch. But to derive Common Shē directly from Common Neo-Hakka would be impossible.

Our fourth point involves tonal categories. In §6.2.3.5 above, we have noted a set of sonorant initial entering tone words that take Proto-Hakka Tone 7 rather than the lower register Tone 8 that would be expected in such cases. These, according to O’Connor and Norman, must derive from older forms with voiceless sonorant initials. Cases of this tonal oddity do occur in the Shē data, but they are rare. The following is an example:

\[
\text{nìè 鑷 QYS ɲāp CDC *niap\textsuperscript{8}/EC *nrap}
\]

FA [niap7]; FD [nep7]; LY [ɲieʔ7]; SM [ nieuʔ7]; SC [ nieuʔ7]; HA [nep7];
GX [ nieuʔ7]; CN [niap7]; JN [niap7]; LS [ nieuʔ7]; LngY [ nieuʔ7];
CZ [ niap7]; FS [ɲiep7]; TY [—] CS *niap7 ~ *niap7 ~ *ɲiep7 ~ *nep7

This complex set clearly reflects a variety of readings from disparate sources. But all four suggested reconstructions are supported by examples from at least two dialect points.
Cf. CNH *ɲiap7

However, most such cases where O’Connor and Norman noted this peculiar Hakka tone 7, and for which we also have parallel Shē data, take Common Shē tone 8. The following are examples:
wà 襪 QYS mjwot CDC *m*vat8/EC *mot
FA [uat8]; FD [uat8]; LY [uaʔ8]; SM [muʔ8 ~ mueʔ8]; SC [muʔ8 ~ mot8]; HA [mut8];
GX [muot8 ~ mot8]; CN [yuat8 ~ yat8]; JN [uot8 ~ uat8]; LS [uot8 ~ uat8]; LngY [muot8 ~
uat8];
CZ [mat8]; FS [muat8 ~ mat8]; TY [mɔʔ8] CS *uot8 ~ *muot8
The m- initial SM, SC, HA, and CZ forms derive regularly from the first reconstruction. Those
of GX, LngY, FS, and TY derive from the second. The final of the first CN form is irregular
and unexpected in a set of this type.
Cf. CNH *mat7

rì 日 QYS ńʒjet CDC *ŋhit8/EC *nit
FA [ŋit8]; FD [ŋit8]; LY [ŋiʔ8]; SM [ŋiʔ8]; SC [ŋit8]; HA [ŋit8];
GX [ŋit8]; CN [ŋit8]; JN [ŋit8]; LS [ŋit8]; LngY [ŋit8];
CZ [ŋit8]; FS [ŋit8]; TY [ŋiʔ8] CS *ŋit8
Cf. CNH *ŋit7/*ŋiat7

e 额 QYS ngɒk CDC *ŋgak8/EC *ngak
FA [ŋaʔ8]; FD [ŋaʔ8]; LY [ŋaʔ8]; SM [ŋaʔ8]; SC [ŋaʔ8]; HA [ŋaʔ8];
GX [ŋaʔ8]; CN [ŋaʔ8]; JN [ŋaʔ8]; LS [ŋaʔ8]; LngY [ŋaʔ8];
CZ [ŋiaʔ8]; FS [ŋaʔ8]; TY [ŋaiʔ8] CS *ŋaʔ8
The final of the TY form is irregular.
Cf. CNH *ŋak7/*ŋiat7/*ŋek7

mù 木 QYS muk CDC *muk8/EC *mok
FA [muʔ8]; FD [muʔ8]; LY [muʔ8]; SM [muʔ8]; SC [muʔ8]; HA [muʔ8];
GX [muʔ8]; CN [muʔ8]; JN [muʔ8]; LS [muʔ8]; LngY [muʔ8];
CZ [muʔ8]; FS [muʔ8]; TY [məuʔ8] CS *muʔ8
Cf. CNH *muk7

liù 六 QYS ljuk CDC *l*uk8 ~ luk8/EC *luk
FA [lyʔ8]; FD [lyʔ8]; LY [lyʔ8]; SM [lyuʔ8]; SC [lyuʔ8]; HA [lioʔ8];
GX [liuʔ8]; CN [lyʔ8]; JN [lyʔ8]; LS [lyʔ8]; LngY [lyuʔ8];
CZ [lioʔ8]; FS [lioʔ8]; TY [liuʔ8]  CS *liuʔ8
Cf. CNH *liuk7/*luk7/*luk8

Here the third Common Neo-Hakka form does have a Tone 8 reading, but it is clearly the first form, *liuk7, which must correspond directly to the Common Shē form.

The Proto-Hakka forms in these sets cannot be ancestral to the Shē ones. Instead, we must suppose that the Common Shē tone class is the original one and that the Neo-Hakka pattern has evolved later, probably as conditioned by the presence of voiceless sonorant initials proposed by O’Connor and Norman.

Our fifth and last point relates to the tonal problems discussed in §6.2.3.3 above. Both Common Neo-Hakka and Common Shē are reconstructed with tonal systems in which Common Dialectal Chinese Tone 4 (yángshǎng) has been lost. Many Chinese dialects that have undergone this change merge the earlier Tone 4 syllables into Tone 6 (yángqù) in obstruent initial syllables, and Common Shē is in fact a case of this type. Common Neo-Hakka, on the other hand, moves them to CNH Tone 1. The following are examples of this syllable type:

\[ \text{dì 弟 QYS } \text{diei:} \quad \text{CDC *diai4/EC *’diyx} \]
FA [t’ai6]; FD [t’ai6]; LY [t’ai6]; SC [t’ai6]; HA [t’ai6];
GX [t’ai6]; CN [t’ai6]; JN [t’ai6]; LS [t’ai6]; LngY [t’ai6];
CZ [t’ai6]; FS [t’ai6]; TY [t’ai6]  CS *t’ai6
Cf. CNH *t’iai1/L *t’i6

Here, the finals tell us that the Hakka literary form *t’i6 cannot be directly compared to CS *t’ai6. It is instead CNH *-iai that shows a regular correspondence, i.e., CNH *-iai = CS *-ai.

\[ \text{zhù 苧 QYS } \text{djwo:} \quad \text{CDC *jie4 (~ *jiu4)/EC *drax} \]
FA [te’y6]; FD [te’y6]; LY [te’y6]; SC [te’y6]; HA [te’iu6];
GX [tu’6 ~ te’iu6]; CN [tu’6]; JN [te’y6]; LS [te’y6]; LngY [te’y6];
CZ [ts’i6]; FS [tʃ’u6]; TY [tey2]  CS *tʃ’y6

The final of the CZ form is irregular, as are the initial and tone of the TY form.
Cf. CNH *tʃ’iu1/*tʃ’ie1
fēng 蜂 QYS phjwong CDC *fung1/EC *phong
FA [p’uŋ6]; FD [p’yŋ6]; LY [p’uŋ6]; SM [p’uŋ6]; SC [p’uŋ6]; HA [p’uŋ6];
GX [p’uŋ6]; CN [p’uŋ6 ~ p’yŋ3]; JN [p’uŋ6 ~ p’yŋ3]; LS [p’uŋ6 ~ p’yøŋ3]; LngY [p’yuŋ6 ~ p’yøŋ3];
CZ [p’uŋ6]; FS [p’uŋ6]; TY [—] CS *p’iuŋ6 ~ *p’iuŋ3 ~ *p’uŋ6
Cf. CNH *p’oŋ1/*p’uŋ1/*fuŋ1

One might perhaps argue that the Common Shē Tone 6 forms in cases of this type are later loans which correspond to the Common Neo-Hakka literary layer that reads Tone 6 in syllables of this type. However, the set for dì 弟 proves that this is in fact not so. The Common Shē Tone 6 forms must on the contrary belong to the oldest attested layers of this dialect type. And, significantly for us, they cannot be regularly derived from Common Neo-Hakka Tone 1 forms in a regular way.

In addition to the five systemic obstacles we have posed above to a putative derivation of Common Shē from Common Neo-Hakka, there are many, many cases of individual words or small groups of words that are not explainable in terms of such a derivation. We shall cite one of these here as an illustration. Compare the following pairs:

Hakka
zhēng 爭 QYS tṣeng CDC *cang1/EC *tsreng
[OPH *tsang1] CNH *tsaŋ1/L *tsen1
zhēng 正 QYS tšiăng “first Lunar month” CDC *ciang1/EC *teng
[OPH *tšang5 ~ *tšang1] CNH *tšaŋ1/L *tšiŋ1

Shē
zhēng 爭 QYS tṣeng CDC *cang1/EC *tsreng
FA [tsaŋ1]; FD [tsaŋ1]; LY [tsaŋ1]; SM [tsaŋ1]; SC [tsaŋ1]; HA [tsaŋ1];
GX [tsaŋ1]; CN [tsaŋ1]; JN [tsaŋ1]; LS [tsaŋ1]; LngY [tsaŋ1];
CZ [tsaŋ1]; FS [tsaŋ1]; TY [tʃan1] CS *tʃaŋ1
Here it is evident the popular Hakka forms rather than the literary ones are the direct cognates of the parallel Shē syllables. And it is equally clear that Common Shē preserves an older distinction (as represented by CDC *-ang vs. *-iang) between the finals *-aŋ and *iaŋ that Common Neo-Hakka does not have. In order to explain the relationship between the two dialect types here, we must posit an earlier stage, i.e., Common Hakka-Shē, and then assume that Hakka has lost medial *-i- in the word for “first Lunar month” while Shē has retained it. (For further discussion, cf. §3.1.12 and §3.1.13 of Chapter III.)

A full enumeration of such individual examples belongs by rights to a specialized comparative study of Hakka and Shē that lies beyond the scope of the present work. Our goal here has merely been to put permanently to rest any suspicions that the Shē dialects might be considered Neo-Hakka pure and simple.

In closing this section, we note again that we are in essential agreement with Nakanishi (2010) regarding the relationship between Hakka and Shē, to wit, they are separate daughter branches of an earlier common entity. Nakanishi has chosen to call that common entity “Hakka”. Our choice is to call it Common Hakka-Shē. But this is in the end a difference in nomenclature rather than of substance. It does not affect the overall agreement in our respective assessments of the nature of affiliation between the two dialect types.

6.4 Concluding Remarks

In this section we amalgamate our demographic and linguistic findings into a common historical-developmental model, which then provides a blueprint for future comparative Hakka and Early South Central Highland Chinese research.
6.4.1 The Hakka question in historical perspective

In our view it is essential to move beyond current concerns with specifically Hakka demographic and linguistic history and think instead of South Central Highlanders and Early South Central Highland Chinese. For, while the speakers of Mainstream Hakka dialects today are indeed descended in part from the South Central Highlanders, and certain strata of their speech derive from Early South Central Chinese, neither they nor their dialects are the sole progeny of those early Han Chinese people and their language. Indeed, as Leong (1997) has argued, the term “Hakka” is most accurately viewed as denoting an ethnicity, which crystalized only relatively recently, during and after the Hakka Migrations. While we may wish to continue the common practice of referring to the speech forms used by the modern ethnic group as “Hakka dialects”, we tread on the shifting sands of anachronism and ahistoricity when we conflate all linguistic scions of Early South Central Chinese as “Hakka”, and all speakers of these languages as “Hakkas”. These practices should be discarded in the interests of both historical accuracy and terminological precision.

6.4.2 The Hakka-Shē question in historical perspective

A comparison of the migration and demographic historical outline presented in §6.1 with the linguistic findings of Nakanishi (2010), as adumbrated in §6.3, will show that the two mesh rather well. In §6.1 we saw that the Early South Central Highlanders and the Aboriginal Indigenes of the Central Highlands experienced an early period of symbiosis, during which the former shifted to the speech of the latter. Later, there was a rift between the two peoples, with the Aboriginal Indigenes in particular adopting a strategy of avoidance and reclusion.

Nakanishi’s finding was that the Shē dialects and those now often called Neo-Hakka (Xīn Kējiāhuà) possess a number of common innovations, but that the Shē dialects themselves also show uniquely shared innovations in which the Neo-Hakka dialects had no part. Our own conclusions, as developed in §6.3, indicate that, though Common Shē is closely related to Common Neo-Hakka, it cannot be derived from it. Instead Shē and Neo-Hakka must be viewed as daughter branches deriving from a common source, which we have tentatively called
Common Hakka-Shē. In other words, the relationship between Shē and Hakka is similar to that between Old Frisian and Old English. These two languages are very closely related, but neither can be derived from the other. Instead, Germanists envisage a slightly older common ancestor, which is usually called Proto-Anglo-Frisian. In the case of Hakka and Shē, we hypothesize that Common Hakka-Shē corresponds to a stage of South Central Highlands Chinese, at the time when this language was spoken in common by both the Sinitic Highlanders and the Aboriginal Indigenes, and before the two groups separated. After that separation occurred, two separate languages developed, one which was Primitive Neo-Hakka and the other Common Shē. As the speech of the Sinitic Highlanders was affected by wave after wave of new Sinitic immigration into the Highlands, this type of language became the lexically multi-stratal entity we have reconstructed as broader or more general (as opposed to strictly Primitive) Common Neo-Hakka. Common Shē of course also evolved, but often not in the same ways as its sister lect, Common Neo-Hakka.

6.4.3 The Paleo-Hakka question in historical perspective

The expressions Paleo-Hakka (Lǎo Kèjíāhuà 老客家話) and Neo-Hakka (Xīn Kèjihuà 新客家話) are of relatively late coinage. Their locus classicus is unknown to the present writer. The term Lǎo Kèjíāhuà is used in the conclusion of Zhāng and Wàn (1996), where it is enclosed in quotes, as if readers should perhaps be expected to view it as neologism. In Xiàng and Cáo (2005: 165) both Lǎo Kèjíāhuà and Xīn Kèjihuà are in active use and appear to be established terms. In any case, the concepts underlying these terms crystalized over several decades, beginning by at least the 1980’s. In that period Chinese linguists and dialectologists were taking increasing notice of certain taxonomically obscure dialects, spoken mainly in northern Guǎngdōng and usually simply called tūhuà 土話 “local patois” or pínghuà 平話 “plain speech, ordinary vernacular”. In handbooks and atlases of that era these languages were often simply identified as “unclassified”; but, increasingly, dialectologists began to notice that they showed certain “Hakka-like” features, while at the same time lacking a number of the prototypical diagnostic characteristics used to identify “real” Hakka dialects. And it was also observed that the speakers of these dialects did not self-identify with the Hakka ethnic group,
share in their migration traditions, or otherwise feel any particular kinship with them. It was therefore hypothesized that these “quasi-Hakkas” were the descendants of early emigrants from the ancestral Hakka Heartland in the Central Highlands whose dialects had not yet undergone the changes that would have made them canonically Hakka. It is in this sense that they were viewed as “old”, while Hakka dialects proper, which were in a sense more evolved, were said to be “new”. It is very important to note that these Lǎo Kèjiāhuà speech forms were not so named because they possessed early textual attestation. It is for this reason that we have chosen to call them “Paleo-Hakka” here, rather than “Old Hakka”, a translation which in English does imply such textual attestation for a language. The term Neo-Hakka for Xīn Kèjiāhuà has been coined merely to maintain English etymological parity between the two Greek root-based expressions.

The Guǎngdōng Paleo-Hakka dialect that is probably best known in the West is Nánxióng 南雄. This is because of a short but very informative study of this language published by Søren Egerod (1983). Egerod’s conclusion regarding the taxonomy of Nánxióng was that it was either some unusual form of Mǐn, or at least a highly “Mǐn-like” language. Nearly a decade later, Laurent Sagart (2001) published a reassessment of the taxonomic problem, basing himself on Egerod’s original article, his own fieldwork, and a later study of Nánxióng by Xiè (1991). Sagart concluded that Nánxióng is basically Hakka-like, though it differs from typical Hakka dialects in significant ways. His reasoning and conclusions are clearly and succinctly outlined in the abstract, which is consequently worthy of full citation (1991: 142):81

Although Hakka and Nanxiong differ in their mode of devoicing, the dialect of Nanxiong city has a split treatment of the entire zhuoshang category remarkably similar to Hakka in its lexical incidence. This suggests that they share a recent common ancestor, from which the zhuoshang split was inherited. It is argued that the set of zhuoshang words which have tone 1 in standard Hakka and tone 1 or 2 in Nanxiong had tone 4 in the parent language. It is also argued that this common ancestor had not yet merged its

81 In this connection readers may also wish to compare the views of Zhāng and Wàn (1996) on Nánxióng.
quanzhuo initials with the voiceless aspirated initials. The ancestral tone 4 then merged with tone 1 in Hakka and with tone 1 or 2 in Nanxiong; and devoicing occurred separately in Nanxiong and Hakka.  

Several points here are significant both for their insightfulness and their prescience. To wit, (1) Nánxióng differs from Hakka (i.e., what is now called “Neo-Hakka”), (2) Nanxiong and Hakka share certain features that have been widely believed to uniquely characterize Hakka but must now be viewed as including Nanxiong, (3) Nanxiong and Hakka must share a proximate common ancestor, and (4) Nanxiong and Hakka must have diverged at a time when the unique features shared by both had already developed in the ancestral language but when the features that distinguish the two types had not. These observations, it should be recalled, predate the advent of the terms “Paleo-Hakka” and “Neo-Hakka” by perhaps as much as four years but fully presage the concepts they embody. Additionally, they add an historical dimension to the discussion which is of fundamental importance to the chronological model we have developed in this section. For, it will be recalled, that model does not yet take account of the earliest developmental stages envisaged by Sagart in his article. However, before rectifying this deficiency, we should turn briefly to the further accrual of information about Paleo-Hakka that has occurred during the last two decades.

By the beginning of the new century, scholarly interest in Paleo-Hakka had spread well beyond Nánxióng to a wider area of northern Guǎngdōng. A major book-length contribution of this period was the detailed comparative study by Zhuāng Chūshēng 莊初昇 (2004), which afforded readers a synoptic view of the broader typological range and geographical extent of Guǎngdōng Paleo-Hakka. A further article a few years later was devoted specifically to the classification of these dialects (Zhuāng 2008). As time passed, it became clear that curious

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82 The Chinese version of the abstract, which is interesting in its own right, reads as follows: 從詞彙角度看，南雄城裏話濁上字的演化和客家話是一致的，尤其是次濁上聲字的歸類，如：「馬、有、野」為一類。這表明南雄方言和客家話源於幾百年前贛南一帶的某種方言。當時這種方言還保留著全濁聲母。但南雄方言和客家話全濁聲母的清化方式完全不同，說明這兩種方言是從這同一種方言分化出來之後才發生濁音清化的。
dialects of the Paleo-Hakka type are found not only below the South Central Highlands in Guǎngdōng but also north and west of them, in adjacent areas of Hūnán and in Jiāngxī. A recent doctoral dissertation is devoted in part to a survey and assessment of the latter type, with comparisons between them and the Neo-Hakka dialects of that area (Zhāng 2014a).

It is interesting at this point to consider what light these ongoing studies of Paleo-Hakka throw upon Sagart’s reflections of nearly a quarter century ago regarding Nánxióng. Sagart noted that QYS zhuó initial syllables became voiceless plain (i.e., unaspirated) in Nánxióng, while in (Neo-)Hakka they uniformly yield voiceless aspirates. When Nánxióng is compared with Neo-Hakka dialects in order to reconstruct a common ancestral system, this correspondence pattern requires the reconstruction of a third manner type (i.e., neither voiceless plain nor voiceless aspirated) in order to account for the development of all initial classes represented in Neo-Hakka and Nánxióng. The modern data do not tell us what the phonetic nature of this third series was. They only confirm that it must have existed. Different transcriptional strategies can be used in such circumstances. A relatively abstract one would be to reconstruct something like *pH, *tH, *tsH, etc., which would contrast with *p, *t, *ts, etc., and *p’, *t’, *ts’, etc., in order to yield the modern configurations found in the two dialect types. A more “realistic” approach, based on our knowledge of other dialect families and Chinese historical phonology, would be to adopt phonetic-like transcriptions such as *b, *d, *dz, or *p̩, *t̩, *ts̩, etc. But whatever course is chosen, the earlier existence of the new third series must be recognized and noted. And, as Sagart pointed out, this shows that the ancestral language from which Neo-Hakka and Nánxióng derive was in this respect the same as the QYS (and of course also Common Dialectal Chinese).

Since Sagart wrote his article, the initial systems of many Paleo-Hakka dialects have been described; and Zhuang (2008: 49–51) has provided a succinct summary of these findings, specifically as they bear on the northern Guǎngdōng dialects. As it turns out, only Nánxióng realizes QYS zhuó stops and affricates across the board as voiceless plain. However, a number of other dialects do this to a lesser degree and under specific conditions, such as in the presence of certain initial articulatory classes and/or tone categories. But what is significant is that Sagart’s original prediction of an ancestral third initial type holds for every one of these dialects,
i.e., the development of each modern system can be predicted, mutatis mutandis, in terms of that three-manner system, but none can be accounted for without it.

Another prediction made by Sagart in his article is that the ancestral language must have had an independent Tone 4 (i.e., yángshǎng tone). This has now been concretely substantiated by Zhuāng (2012) for a Guǎngdōng Paleo-Hakka dialect, and by Zhāng (2014b) for a Jiāngxī one, in both of which the said tone actually survives. Thus, what Sagart hypothesized regarding tone classes purely on the basis of comparative evidence has now been confirmed by actual descriptive examples discovered through new fieldwork.

The above observations bring us at last to the historical considerations with which we are primarily concerned here. To begin, it should be noted that the Paleo-Hakka dialects in aggregate do not constitute a taxonomic unit or node within a Stammbaum. That is to say, they do not show uniquely shared innovations vis-à-vis some earlier linguistic system. What they have in common is that each of them individually has certain characteristics that are prototypically Hakka and others that are characterizable as “pre-Hakka”, in the sense that they appear to predate the development of the prototypical Hakka system. Thus, the various individual Paleo-Hakka dialects, together with Common Hakka-Shē, can be said to form a higher taxon corresponding to Sagart’s proposed ancestral common language. For this reason, it would not be methodologically or historically valid to reconstruct a “Common Paleo-Hakka” system. Instead, the Paleo-Hakka dialects should be treated as independent collateral branches with Common Hakka-Shē, and then compared with it and with one another to arrive at the higher or older common stage.

How, then, are we to integrate all these points into the general historical model developed in the preceding section? To begin we note that the Guǎngdōng Paleo-Hakka varieties are spoken in upland riverine valleys and defiles that rise in the southern parts of the Central Highlands (Zhuāng 2004: 8). According to Zhāng (2014a: 228–230), those spoken in Jiāngxī are found in the relatively flat parts of riparian basins on the north side of the Highlands, while the Neo-Hakka dialects of that region are spoken at higher elevations in the uplands.
We may now hypothesize that Sagart’s proposed ancestral language should in fact be identified with our Early South Central Highlands Chinese. He has further quite plausibly suggested that the speakers of the ancestral forms of what we now call Paleo-Hakka left the Highlands before the development of those features that ultimately came to typify the Hakka dialects. To this we can now add the further observation that their departure must in fact have occurred before the breakup of Common Hakka-Shē, which, as Nakanishi has shown, does share so many of these prototypically Hakka characteristics. The fact that the Paleo-Hakka dialects of today do not form a common taxon suggests that there must in fact have been a multiplicity of such emigrations, almost certainly at different times and under different historical circumstances. Migrants who moved south stopped and settled in the valleys of northern Guǎngdōng. Those who moved northward occupied relatively desirable flatlands of the riverine basins they encountered there. Much later, when true Neo-Hakka migrants arrived in these Jiāngxī areas, they settled in the more upland areas, where Zhāng (2014a) reports that their descendants are located today. Presumably, the Paleo-Hakka dialects of Húnán would have been implanted as the result of similar population dynamic processes, though this hypothesis remains to be tested.

The chronology of the Hakka Migrations has been determined with considerable precision by Leong (1997). What, then, can be said about the proposed migrations of the ancestral Paleo-Hakka speakers? Firm evidence is scant, but what can be known is of some interest. As regards the Guǎngdōng dialects, basing themselves on an examination of clan registers, Gě et al. (1997: 189) point out that during the pre-Yuán period most migrants from Jiāngxī into northern Guǎngdōng immigrated piecemeal and in small numbers during the Northern and Southern Sòng Dynasties. However, the largest numbers of people made this move in the period spanning the late Sòng to the early Yuán. And these same authorities earlier observed that this late and large migration pulse was in great part due the disorders in southern Jiāngxī that were triggered by the Mongol invasion of that area at the end of the Southern Sòng (1993: 317). In both the 1993 and 1997 books these migrants are called “Hakkas”. However, in the later work (1997: loc. cit.) the authors express doubts concerning whether these people could have been ethnically and linguistically “Hakka” in the conventional sense of this term. This point seems well taken,
for in our view the migrants in question were really “pre-Hakka” South Central Highlanders rather than members of the mainstream Hakka ethnos of later times.

To these migration studies Zhuāng (2004: 8) adds an interesting datum, i.e., that the speakers of northern Guǎngdōng tǔhuà (i.e., Paleo-Hakka) varieties preserve oral traditions that their ancestors migrated to their present locations from Jiāngxī and Húnán during the Northern and Southern Sòng periods. This accords well with the archival findings of Gě et al. In summary, then, it seems not unlikely that the breakup of Sagart’s proposed “ancestral language”, which we would now call Early South Central Highlands Chinese, occurred from Sòng to early Yuán times. It would have been occasioned by small-scale departures of individual groups of migrants, who left the core area over an extended period covering the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries.

Documentation on the migration history of the Jiāngxī Paleo-Hakka dialects is disappointingly scant. According to Zhāng (2014a: 233–234), surveys of clan registers indicate significant increases in the number of Kèjiā xiānmín 客家先民 (i.e., “Pre-Hakka” or “Ancestral Hakka”) in the late Táng to Five Dynasties period. During Sòng times southern Jiāngxī is said to have been peaceful and prosperous, and census records are reported to show further population increases. The migrants who joined these population movements are said to have come from the north and from western Fújiàn. In the period spanning the end of the Southern Sòng and the beginning of the Yuán, Zhāng (2014a: 233–234) remarks upon the disorders resulting from the war of resistance against the Mongols and the flight of Jiāngxī migrants southward into Guǎngdōng, as already mentioned above. None of this information throws direct light on the particular settlement history of the early South Central Highlanders who interest us, unless perhaps immigrants from western Fujian into Jiāngxī can be associated with this group. The increases in population in Sòng times would be congruent with parallel developments in northern Guǎngdong at that time, but whether and to what extent they resulted from movements out of the Highlands remains unclear. Perhaps future population and migration studies will elucidate the matter.

Map IV attempts to show possible migration routes of ancestral Paleo-Hakka immigrants who departed the South Central Highlands for lower areas of Guǎngdōng and Jiāngxī. Routes are indicated by yellow arrows. These have been drawn along riverine drainage basins which
link the modern Paleo-Hakka dialect points identified by Zhuāng (2004; 2008) and Zhāng (2014a). Provincial boundaries, which are indicated by thick pink lines, follow approximate summit crest lines of the South Central Highlands Massif. Red and dark brown un-arrowed lines are modern transportation arteries.
In conclusion, the most likely time frame for the breakup of the Early South Central Chinese linguistic unity was the Sòng to early Yuán periods. As noted in §6.1 above, this was more or less the time when friction was developing between the Sinitic Highlanders and the
Shē. The piecemeal departure of the “ancestral Paleo-Hakka” emigrants would by definition have occurred sometime before Common Hakka-Shē underwent the further shared innovations that came to characterize this combined entity. Subsequently, Shē and Hakka, though basically quite similar, went their separate ways. This must have already happened by the roughly contemporaneous Shē Diaspora and Hakka Migrations of Míng and Qīng times.

6.4.4 The road ahead

Future research on Neo-Hakka, Paleo-Hakka, and Shē studies should have the ultimate goal of reconstructing the phonology, lexicon, and syntax of Early South Central Highland Chinese. Our primary concern at present should be the first of these areas, i.e., historical phonology. To this end, we need to improve our understanding of the Common Neo-Hakka and Common Shē phonological systems, by incorporating into the process of comparative reconstruction as much new modern dialect data as possible. Next, we must compare these two proto-systems to arrive at the Common Hakka-Shē stage, which would be what is often called a “second-order proto-language”. Then, we will be able to move even further backward by comparing this entity with the various Paleo-Hakka dialects, which should be viewed as collateral branches parallel to Common Hakka-Shē. The result of this undertaking should bring us to the Early South Central Highlands stage, which would represent one of the oldest forms of Chinese spoken in South Central China after the advent of Sinitic settlement of this area in the early centuries of our era.

Related to this admittedly rather ambitious program is the task of comparing the various later strata of Common Neo-Hakka with parallel layers in Common Gǎn, Common Central Xiāng, Common Wú, etc. For we need to solidify our understanding of why the striking parallelism between the lexical strata in these systems exists and what it means for Chinese linguistic and demographic history.

And, finally, we must use what we have learned from the reconstruction of mainstream

83 A term coined by Mary Haas (1958: 259).
dialect groups such as Hakka as a foundation for the study of “aberrant” Sinitic and Sinitic-like languages and language families of South China, which may in turn represent traces of very early, perhaps even prehistoric, Sinitic penetration of the South. Only when all these steps have been taken will we comprehend the full tapestry of Chinese linguistic history of the last two millennia.
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Appendix: Data

In this appendix are given all 1368 cognate sets used in reconstructing the Common Neo-Hakka sound system. The sets are arranged alphabetically by Modern Standard Chinese pronunciation of the example syllables, as spelled in the pīnyīn system. At the head of each set Qièyùn System (QYS) forms are supplied in the orthography of Bernhard Karlgren as slightly modified by F. K. Li. The QYS forms are given merely for ease of reference to the traditional classificatory framework and play no role in the reconstructions. In addition, Common Dialectal Chinese (CDC; Norman 2006) and Early Chinese (EC; Norman Ms. 1) forms are given for each set. These too are supplied merely for reference. The twenty-six dialect points in each set are discussed in §1.4 and §1.5 of Chapter I. For certain sets, brief notes on irregular forms and problematic correspondences are added. For detailed treatment of these points, see the pertinent sections of Chapters II, III, and IV. As noted in §1.4 of Chapter I, competing Common Neo-Hakka forms are posited for sets where parallel variant readings are present at two or more dialect points.

A

ǎi 矮 QYS ʔaï: CDC *ai3/EC —
BMH [ai]; MX [ai3]; HL [ai3]; SX [ai3]; LF [ai3]; LZ [ai3]; SHT [ai3]
HY [ai3]; XY [ei3]; DB [ei3]; YL [ei3]; XC [ai3]
CT [ai3]; WP [ai3]; YD [ei3]; SH [ei3]; LC1 [ei3]; LC2 [—]
NK [æ3]; AY [æ3]; SY [æ3]; XS [ai3]; QN [ai3]; ND1 [ŋai3]; ND2 [ŋai3]; ND3 [ŋai3]
[OPH *ai3] CNH *ai3/*ei3
In this set, final *-ei is reflected in the Xìnyí, Diànbái, and Yílǒng forms, and in the final vowel -i Yōngdìng, Shānháng, and Liányêng of the Fújiān line.

ài 艾 QYS ŋâi- CDC *ŋoi6/EC *ngath
BMH [ŋai]; MX [ŋai5w ~ nɛ5b]; HL [oi5]; SX [oi5]; LF [ne5]; LZ [ŋiɔi5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ŋai5]; XC [ŋai5]
CT [ŋe5]; WP [ŋe5 ~ ŋi5]; YD [ŋei3]; SH [ŋei5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ŋæ5]; AY [ŋæ5]; SY [ŋæ5]; XS [ŋai5]; QN [ŋai5]; ND1 [ŋai5]; ND2 [ŋai5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH ?] CNH *oi5 ~ *ŋoi5 (?)/L *ŋai5

The second reconstructed form is conjectural and is based on the Méixiàn, Lìzhīzhuāng, and Fújiān line forms. Cf. Norman Proto-Mǐn *ňhiäi-“artemisia” (p.e. and Ms. 2).

ài 愛 QYS ʔäi- CDC *œi5/EC *œyih
BMH [œi]; MX [œi5]; HL [œi5]; SX [œi5]; LF [œi5]; LZ [œi5]; SHT [œi5]
HY [œai5]; XY [œai5]; DB [œi5]; YL [œai5]; XC [œai5]
CT [œi5]; WP [œi5]; YD [œi3]; SH [œ3]; LC1 [œi5]; LC2 [œi5]
NK [œ5]; AY [œ5]; SY [œ5]; XS [œi5]; QN [œi5]; ND1 [œi5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [œai5]
[OPH *œi5] CNH *œi5/*œai5

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

ài 碍 QYS ʔäi- CDC *ŋœi6/EC *ŋœih
BMH [ŋœi]; MX [ŋœi5]; HL [ŋœi6]; SX [ŋœi5]; LF [ŋœi6]; LZ [ŋœi5]; SHT [—]
HY [ŋœai6]; XY [ŋœai3]; DB [ŋœi3]; YL [—]; XC [ŋœai5]
CT [ŋœi6]; WP [ŋœi3]; YD [—]; SH [ŋœ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ŋœ5]; AY [ŋœ5]; SY [ŋœ5]; XS [ŋœi5]; QN [ŋœi6]; ND1 [ŋœəi6]; ND2 [ŋœi6]; ND3 [ŋœi6]
[OPH *ŋœi6] CNH *ŋœi6/*ŋai6

The second reconstructed form is supported by the Xīchāng and Níngdū-3 forms.

ān 安 QYS ʔän CDC *œn1/EC *œən
BMH [œn]; MX [œn1]; HL [œn1]; SX [œn1]; LF [œn1]; LZ [œn1]; SHT [œn1]
HY [œn1]; XY [œn1]; DB [œn1]; YL [œn1]; XC [œn1]
CT [œn1]; WP [œn1]; YD [œn1]; SH [œ]; LC1 [œn1]; LC2 [œn1]
NK [œ1]; AY [œ1]; SY [œœ1]; XS [œn1]; QN [œn1]; ND1 [œœœ1]; ND2 [œœœ1]; ND3 [œnœn1]
OPH *œn1 CNH *œn1

The Nánkāng form probably reflects an earlier *œən1, which cannot be reconstructed comparatively for this set because it is not reflected elsewhere.
Appendix: Data

àn 岸 QYS ngân- CDC *ngon6/EC *'nganh
BMH [ŋan]; MX [ŋan5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [ŋan5]; LZ [ŋan5]; SHT [—]
HY [ŋuan6]; XY [ŋuan3]; DB [ŋon5]; YL [ŋan5]; XC [ŋn5]
CT [—]; WP [ŋan3]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ŋa5]
NK [ŋa5]; AY [ŋ6]; SY [ŋa5]; XS [ŋon5]; QN [ŋan6]; ND1 [ŋan6]; ND2 [ŋan6]; ND3 [ŋuan6]
[OPH *ŋan5] CNH *ŋon6/*ŋan6

àn 闇 QYS ʔậ CDC *'umh
BMH [ʔâm]; MX [am5]; HL [am5]; SX [am5]; LF [am5]; LZ [am5]; SHT [am5]
HY [am5]; XY [am5]; DB [am5]; YL [am3]; XC [am5]
CT [ŋə5]; WP [ŋə5]; YD [ŋə3]; SH [ʔə5]; LC1 [ŋə5]; LC2 [ŋə5]
NK [oə5]; AY [ə5]; SY [uə2]; XS [am5]; QN [am5]; ND1 [ŋəm5]; ND2 [ŋuəm5]; ND3 [ŋəm5]
[OPH *am5] CNH *⁰⁵/*am5

áo 熬 QYS ngâu CDC *ngaw
BMH [ŋâu]; MX [ŋau2]; HL [ŋau2]; SX [ŋau2]; LF [ŋau2]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [ŋau2]; XY [ŋau2]; DB [ŋau2]; YL [ŋau2]; XC [ŋau2]
CT [ŋə2]; WP [ŋə2]; YD [ŋau2]; SH [ŋu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ŋə2]; AY [ŋə2]; SY [ŋə2]; XS [ŋau2]; QN [ŋau2]; ND1 [ŋau2]; ND2 [ŋau2]; ND3 [ŋau2]
[OPH *ŋau2] CNH *ŋau2

aò 傲 QYS ngâu- CDC *ngawh
BMH [ŋâu]; MX [ŋau5]; HL [ŋau6]; SX [ŋau5]; LF [ŋau5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [ŋau6]; XY [ŋau3]; DB [ŋou3]; YL [ŋau5]; XC [ŋau5]
CT [ŋə5]; WP [ŋə3]; YD [ŋau5]; SH [ŋu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ŋə5]; AY [ŋə6]; SY [ŋə2]; XS [ŋau5]; QN [ŋau6]; ND1 [ŋau6]; ND2 [ŋau6]; ND3 [ŋau6]
[OPH *ŋau6] CNH *ŋau6

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B

bā 巴 QYS pa CDC *pa1/EC *pra
BMH [pa]; MX [pa1]; HL [pa1]; SX [pa1]; LF [pa1]; LZ [pa1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [pa1]; XC [pa1]
CT [pa1]; WP [pa1]; YD [pa1]; SH [pa1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [pa1]; AY [pa1]; SY [pa1]; XS [pa1]; QN [pa1]; ND1 [pa1]; ND2 [pa1]; ND3 [pa1]
[OPH *pa1] CNH *pa1

bā 疤 QYS pa CDC *pa1/EC *pra
BMH [pa]; MX [pa1]; HL [pa1]; SX [pa1]; LF [—]; LZ [pa1]; SHT [—]
HY [pa1]; XY [pa1]; DB [pa1]; YL [pa1]; XC [pa1]
CT [pa1]; WP [pa1]; YD [pa1]; SH [pa1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [po1]
NK [pa1]; AY [pa1]; SY [pa1]; XS [pa1]; QN [pa1]; ND1 [pa1]; ND2 [pa1]; ND3 [pa1]
[OPH *pa1] CNH *pa1

bā 八 QYS pwăt CDC *pat7/EC *pret
BMH [pát]; MX [pat7]; HL [pat7]; SX [pat7]; LF [pat7]; LZ [pat7]; SHT [pat7]
HY [pat7]; XY [pat7]; DB [pat7]; YL [paʔ7]; XC [paʔ7]
CT [pe2]†; WP [pieʔ7]††; YD [pieʔ7]; SH [paʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [pe6]
NK [paʔ7]; AY [paʔ6]; SY [pa5]; XS [paʔt7]; QN [paʔeʔ7]; ND1 [paʔt7]; ND2 [pat7]; ND3 [pat7]
OPH *pat7 CNH *pat7
†DCBG: var. pa2.
††DCBG: paʔ7.
The mid-vowel final readings in the Fújiàn line appear to be intrusive and are of possible Mǐn origin. They do not show a regular correspondence pattern.

bā 把 QYS pa: CDC *pa3/EC *prax
BMH [pá]; MX [pa3]; HL [pa3]; SX [pa3]; LF [pa3]; LZ [pa3]; SHT [pa3]
HY [pa3]; XY [pa3]; DB [pa3]; YL [pa3]; XC [pa3]
CT [pa3]; WP [pa3]; YD [pa3]; SH [pa3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [pa3 ~ pa3]
NK [pa3]; AY [pa3]; SY [pa2 ~ pa3]; XS [pa2 ~ pa3]; QN [pa3]; ND1 [pa3]; ND2 [pa3]; ND3 [pa3]
[OPH *pa3] CNH *pa3

bà 罢 QYS baï- CDC *ba6/EC *brayx
BMH [phà]; MX [p’a5]; HL [p’a5]; SX [p’a5]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [pa5]
CT [p’a5]; WP [—]; YD [p’a5]; SH [pha3w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [pa3]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [p’a6]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *p’a5] CNH *p’a5/*p’a6

bái 白 QYS bǎi CDC *bak8/EC *brak
BMH [phák]; MX [p’ak8]; HL [p’ak8]; SX [p’ak8]; LF [p’ak8]; LZ [phak8]; SHT [p’ak8]
HY [p’ak8]; XY [p’ak8]; DB [p’ak8]; YL [p’aʔ8]; XC [p’aʔ8]
CT [p’a6]; WP [phaʔ8]; YD [p’aʔ8]; SH [phaʔ8 ~ pʰeʔ8]; LC1 [p’o5]; LC2 [—]†
NK [p’a1]; AY [p’a6]; SY [p’a5]; XS [p’ak8]; QN [p’aʔ8]; ND1 [p’ak8]; ND2 [p’ak8]; ND3 [p’ak8]
OPH *p’ak8 CNH *p’ak8
†FJFYZ: p’o5.

bǎi 百 QYS bǎi CDC *pak7/EC *prak
BMH [pak]; MX [pak7]; HL [pak7]; SX [pak7]; LF [pak7]; LZ [pak7]; SHT [pak7]
HY [pak7]; XY [pak7]; DB [pak7]; YL [paʔ7]; XC [paʔ7]
CT [pa2]; WP [paʔ7]; YD [paʔ7]; SH [paʔ7]; LC1 [p’o6]; LC2 [—]
NK [pa8]; AY [pa6]; SY [pa5]; XS [pak7]; QN [paʔ7]; ND1 [pak7]; ND2 [pak7 ~ pak7]; ND3 [pak7]
[OPH *pak7] CNH *pak7
bài 拜 QYS pwái- CDC *pai5/EC *prath
BMH [pài]; MX [pai5]; HL [pai5]; SX [pai5]; LF [pai5]; LZ [pai5]; SHT [pai5]  
HY [pai5]; XY [pai5]; DB [pai5]; YL [pai3]; XC [pai5]  
CT [pe5]; WP [pi5]; YD [pai3]; SH [pa5]; LC1 [pa5]; LC2 [—]
NK [pa5]; AY [pæ5]; SY [pæ2]; XS [pai5]; QN [pai5]; ND1 [pai5]; ND2 [pai5]; ND3 [pai5]  
[OPH *pai5]  CNH *pai5/*pei5  
The Chángtīng and Wúpíng forms derives from earlier *-ei rather than *-ai.

bài 敗 QYS păi-, băi- CDC *bai6/EC *brath
BMH [phài]; MX [p’ai5]; HL [p’ai6]; SX [p’ai5]; LF [p’ai6]; LZ [phai5]; SHT [—]
HY [p’ai6]; XY [p’ai3]; DB [p’ai3]; YL [pai5w ~ p’ai3b]; XC [p’ai5]  
CT [p’ai6]; WP [pha3]; YD [pai5]; SH [pha3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [p’æ5]; AY [p’æ5]; SY [p’æ5]; XS [p’ai5]; QN [p’ai6]; ND1 [p’ai6]; ND2 [p’ai6]; ND3 [p’ai6]  
[OPH *p’ai6]  CNH *pai5/*’p’ai6  
In literary usage, “to defeat”/*to be defeated, ruined”.

bān 班 QYS pwan CDC *pan1/EC *pran
BMH [pan]; MX [pan1]; HL [pan1]; SX [pan1]; LF [pan1]; LZ [—]; SHT [pan1]  
HY [pan1]; XY [pan1]; DB [pan1]; YL [pan1]; XC [pan1]  
CT [paŋ1]; WP [paŋ1]; YD [pan1]; SH [pã1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [pa1]  
NK [pã1]; AY [pã1]; SY [pã1]; XS [pan1]; QN [pan1]; ND1 [pan1]; ND2 [pan1]; ND3 [pan1]  
[OPH *pan1]  CNH *pan1

bān 搬 QYS puân CDC *pon1/EC *’pan
BMH [pan]; MX [pan1]; HL [pan1]; SX [pan1]; LF [pan1]; LZ [pan1]; SHT [—]
HY [puan1]; XY [pan1]; DB [pan1]; YL [pan1]; XC [pan1]  
CT [paŋ1]; WP [paŋ1]; YD [—]; SH [pã1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [poẽ1]; AY [pã1]; SY [põ1]; XS [pon1]; QN [pan1]; ND1 [poẽ1]; ND2 [puon1]; ND3 [puan1]
The tone of the Lufeng form is irregular. The initial of the Nan'kang form irregularly lacks aspiration. The tone for the second reconstruction is uncertain but should probably be Tone 6.
CT [pɔŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [paŋ1]; SH [poŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [pɔŋ1]; AY [pɔŋ1]; SY [pɔŋ1]; XS [pɔŋ1]; QN [pɔŋ1]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [pɔŋ1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *pang1]   CNH *poŋ1/*paŋ1

bāng 帮 QYS pāng       CDC *pong1/EC *'pang
BMH [pong]; MX [pɔŋ1]; HL [pɔŋ1]; SX [pɔŋ1]; LF [pɔŋ1]; LZ [pɔŋ1]; SHT [pɔŋ1]
HY [pɔŋ1]; XY [pɔŋ1]; DB [pɔŋ1]; YL [pɔŋ1]; XC [pɔŋ1]
CT [pɔŋ1]; WP [pɔŋ1]; YD [pɔŋ1]; SH [pɔŋ1]; LC1 [pɔŋ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [pɔŋ1]; AY [pɔŋ1]; SY [pɔŋ1]; XS [pɔŋ1]; QN [pɔŋ1]; ND1 [pɔŋ1]; ND2 [pɔŋ1]; ND3 [pɔŋ1]
[OPH *pong1]   CNH *pɔŋ1

bāng 蚌 QYS  bång:       CDC *pong4/EC *brcnx
BMH [phong]; MX [p’ɔŋ1]; HL [p’ɔŋ1]; SX [p’ɔŋ1]; LF [—]; LZ [p’ɔŋ1]; SHT [p’ɔŋ3]
HY [p’ɔŋ5]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [—]; WP [p’uŋ5]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [p’ɔŋ1]; AY [—]; SY [p’ɔ5]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [p’ɔŋ6]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *p’ong1]   CNH * p’ɔŋ1/*p’ɔŋ6 (?)

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

bão 霧 QYS  bāk      CDC *bok8/EC *brawk
BMH [phök]; MX [p’ok8]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [p’ok8]; LZ [phök8]; SHT [—]
HY [p’au5]; XY [p’au5]; DB [p’au5 ~ p’ok8]; YL [pau?8w†]; XC [pau1]
CT [—]; WP [pho?8]; YD [p’ɔ8]; SH [pho5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

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The colloquial word for “hail” in this language is [lan1 ts1] (冷子).
The first Quánán variant perhaps reflects a third form, *poi1, which is not reconstructable comparatively for this set.
Appendix: Data

The common Yûlòng and Xîchāng form seems to reflect an underlying *pei1, which may be a loan from some form of Southwest Mandarin. The Dìnbái form may also be related to this loan. The second Yûlòng form is of uncertain provenance.

bèi 北 QYS paque CDC *pek7/EC *’pik
BMH [pet]; MX [pet7]; HL [pet7]; SX [pet7]; LF [pet7]; LZ [pet7]; SHT [pet7]
HY [pat7]; XY [pet7]; DB [pet7]; YL [peʔ7]; XC [peʔ7]
CT [pe2]; WP [peʔ7]; YD [peʔ7]; SH [peʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [pa8]; AY [pe6]; SY [pe5]; XS [pet7]; QN [peʔ7]; ND1 [pak7]; ND2 [pak7]; ND3 [pak7]
OPH *pet7 CNH *pek7

The second Basel Mission variant may simply reflect the regular Méixiàn reflex of this etymon. The Sixiàn reflects an earlier *pi5, for which we do not have unambiguous evidence elsewhere.

bèi 背 QYS puai- CDC *puoi5/EC *’pikh
BMH [pûi ~ pi]; MX [pi5]; HL [pui5]; SX [pi5]; LF [pui5]; LZ [pui5]; SHT [pøi4]
HY [puai5]; XY [puai5 ~ pui5]; DB [pei5]; YL [pei5]; XC [pei5]
CT [pe5]; WP [pi5]; YD [pei5 ~ pei3]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [pe5]; AY [pe5]; SY [pe2]; XS [—]; QN [pui5]; ND1 [pei5]; ND2 [pei5]; ND3 [pei5]
OPH *pui5 CNH *pui5

The second Basel Mission variant may simply reflect the regular Méixiàn reflex of this etymon. The Sixiàn reflects an earlier *pi5, for which we do not have unambiguous evidence elsewhere.

bèi 背 QYS puai- CDC *puoi5/EC *’pikh
BMH [pøi]; MX [pøi5]; HL [pøi5]; SX [pøi5]; LF [pøi5]; LZ [pøi5]; SHT [pøi5]
HY [puai5]; XY [puai5]; DB [pøi5]; YL [pøi5]; XC [pøi5]
CT [pue5]; WP [pi5 ~ puε5]; YD [pøi3 ~ p’oi5]; SH [pi5 ~ pei1 ~ puε5]; LC1 [pøi5]; LC2 [pøi5 ~ p’oi6]
Common Neo-Hakka:
A Comparative Reconstruction

NK [pe5 ~ p’ei5]; AY [pi5 ~ p’ue6]; SY [pe2]; XS [p’oi5]; QN [pui5 ~ pi5]; ND1 [poe5]; ND2 [p’ei6 ~ puei5]; ND3 [pua5]

OPH *poi5   CNH *poi5/*pui5/*pi5// *p’oi6

“Back”//“to recite”. Three variant forms for the word “back” occur in the data, reflecting three different protoforms. Some points in the set also include a different etymon, meaning “to recite”.

bèi 備  QYS  bi-3  CDC *bi6/EC *biyh
BMH [phi]; MX [p’i5]; HL [p’i6]; SX [p’i5]; LF [p’i6]; LZ [phi5]; SHT [—]
HY [p’i6]; XY [p’i3]; DB [p’i3]; YL [pi5]; XC [phi5]
CT [p’i6]; WP [phi3]; YD [—]; SH [p’i3 ~ phi3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [p’i5]; AY [p’i6]; SY [p’i5]; XS [p’i5]; QN [p’i6]; ND1 [p’i6]; ND2 [p’i6]; ND3 [p’i6]
OPH *p’i6   CNH *p’i6

The Yílǒng and Xīchāng forms may be of Mandarin origin.

bèi 被  QYS  bje:3 “blanket, coverlet”  CDC *bi4/EC *bayh
BMH [phi]; MX [p’i1]; HL [p’i1]; SX [p’i1]; LF [p’i1]; LZ [phi1]; SHT [—]
HY [p’i1 ~ p’i5]; XY [p’i1]; DB [p’i1]; YL [pi5]; XC [—]
CT [p’i1]; WP [phi1]; YD [p’i1]; SH [phi1]; LC1 [p’i1]; LC2 [p’i1]
NK [p’i1]; AY [p’i1]; SY [p’i1]; XS [p’i1]; QN [p’i1]; ND1 [p’i1]; ND2 [p’i1]; ND3 [p’i1]
[OPH *p’i1]   CNH *p’i1
†Not used in ordinary speech in this dialect and of probable Mandarin origin.

běn 本  QYS  puən:  CDC *pun3/EC */punx
BMH [pùn]; MX [pun3]; HL [pun3]; SX [pun3]; LF [pun3]; LZ [pun3]; SHT [pun3]
HY [pun3]; XY [pun3]; DB [pən3]; YL [pən3]; XC [pən3]
CT [pən3]; WP [pən3]; YD [pun3]; SH [pən3]; LC1 [pəi3]; LC2 [pəi3]
NK [pən3]; AY [pən3]; SY [pən3]; XS [pən3]; QN [pun3]; ND1 [pən3]; ND2 [pən3]; ND3 [pən3]
[OPH *pun3]   CNH *pun3
bèn 笨 QYS (bu₄n::) CDC *bun⁴/EC *’bunx
BMH [pùn]; MX [pun5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [phun₁b ~ pun₅w]; SHT [pun⁵ ~ pin⁴]
HY [p’un⁶]; XY [pun⁵]; DB [pân⁵]; YL [pën⁵]; XC [pân⁵]
CT [pên⁵]; WP [pën⁵]; YD [pun⁵]; SH [pein⁵]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [pẽ⁵]; AY [pən⁵]; SY [pê³]; XS [pân⁵]; QN [pun⁵]; ND1 [pân⁵]; ND2 [pân⁵]; ND3 [pân⁵]
[OPH *pun⁵] CNH *pun⁵
Most forms in this set reflect the reconstructed form. The Héyuán word presumably derives from an earlier *p’un⁶, which would be the etymologically “correct” form for this etymon. The Lìzhīzhuāng bái form reflects earlier *p’un¹, and shows the prototypical Hakka tonal shift from CDC 4 to modern tone 1 in popular obstruent initial words.

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

bǐ 笔 QYS pjet³ CDC *pit⁷/EC *put
BMH [pit]; MX [pit⁷]; HL [pit⁷]; SX [pit⁷]; LF [pit⁷]; LZ [pit⁷]; SHT [pit⁷]
HY [pit⁷]; XY [pit⁷]; DB [pat⁷]; YL [piʔ⁷]; XC [pieʔ⁷]
CT [pi²]; WP [piʔ⁷]; YD [piʔ⁷]; SH [piʔ⁷]; LC1 [pi³]; LC2 [—]
NK [pie⁷]; AY [pi³]; SY [pi⁵]; XS [pi⁷]; QN [piʔ⁷]; ND1 [pi⁷]; ND2 [pi⁷]; ND3 [pi⁷]
[OPH *pi⁷] CNH *pi⁷

bǐ 比 QYS pi:⁴ CDC *pi³/EC *piyx
BMH [pî]; MX [pi³]; HL [pi³]; SX [pi³]; LF [pi³]; LZ [pi³]; SHT [—]
HY [bi³]; XY [pi³]; DB [pi³]; YL [pi³]; XC [pi³]
CT [pi³]; WP [pi³]; YD [—]; SH [pi³]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [pi³]; AY [pi³]; SY [pi³]; XS [pi³]; QN [pi³]; ND1 [pi³]; ND2 [pi³]; ND3 [pi³]
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[OPH *pi3]   CNH *pi3

bi 彼 QYS pje:3 CDC *pi3/EC *payx
BMH [pi]; MX [pi3]; HL [pi3]; SX [—]; LF [pi3]; LZ [pi3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [pi3]; XC [pi3]
CT [pi3]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [pi3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [pi3]; SY [—]; XS [p’i3]; QN [—]; ND1 [pi3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *pi3]   CNH *pi3
The Xiūshuǐ initial is irregularly aspirated.

bi 壁 QYS piek CDC *piak7/EC *pek
BMH [piak]; MX [pi7w ~ piak7b]; HL [piak7]; SX [piak7]; LF [piak7]; LZ [piak7]; SHT [piak7]
HY [piak7]; XY [piak7]; DB [piak7]; YL [piaʔ7]; XC [piaʔ7]
CT [pia2]; WP [piaʔ7]; YD [piaʔ7]; SH [piaʔ7]; LC1 [pio6]; LC2 [pio6]
NK [pia8]; AY [pia6]; SY [pia5]; XS [piak7]; QN [piaʔ7 ~ piʔ7]; ND1 [piak7]; ND2 [piak7];
    ND3 [piak7]
OPH *piak7   CNH *piak7/L *piak7 (?)
Reconstruction of the coda in the second form is uncertain, since we lack a Níngdū form with
which to distinguish it from *-t. Etymology would suggest *-k as the coda.

bi 敝 QYS bjiäi-4 CDC *bi6/EC *beth
BMH [pi]; MX [pi5]; HL [pi5]; SX [pi5]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [pi5]; XC [pi5]
CT [pi5]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [pi5]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [pi5]; QN [p’i3]; ND1 [pi6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *pi5]   CNH *pi5
The Quánnán and Níngdū forms are anomalous.
Appendix: Data

The Lìzhīzhuāng initial and the Shàngyōu final are anomalous.

The Ningdū-1 initial is anomalous.

The 必 必 initial is anomalous.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Common Neo-Hakka:</th>
<th>A Comparative Reconstruction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>biān 邊 QYS pien</td>
<td>CDC *pian1/EC 'pen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BMH [pien]; MX [pien1]; HL [pian1]; SX [pian1]; LF [pian1]; LZ [pën1]; SHT [pën1]</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>HY [pian1]; XY [pian1]; DB [pien1]; YL [pien1]; XC [pien1]</td>
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<tr>
<td>CT [piŋ1]; WP [piŋ1]; YD [pien1]; SH [piě1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [pe1]</td>
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<tr>
<td>NK [piě1]; AY [pi1]; SY [piě1]; XS [piě1]; QN [piě1]; ND1 [piě1]; ND2 [pian1]; ND3 [pian1]</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPH *pian1 CNH *pian1</td>
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<tr>
<td>biān 鞭 QYS pjiän4</td>
<td>CDC *pian1/EC *pen</td>
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<tr>
<td>BMH [pien]; MX [pien1]; HL [pian1]; SX [pian1]; LF [pian1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]</td>
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<td>HY [pian1]; XY [pian1]; DB [pien1]; YL [pien1]; XC [pien1]</td>
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<td>CT [piŋ1]; WP [piŋ1]; YD [pien1]; SH [piě1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>[OPH *pian1] CNH *pian1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biān 扁 QYS pien:</td>
<td>CDC *pian3/EC *pen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BMH [pién]; MX [pien3]; HL [pian3]; SX [pian3]; LF [pian3]; LZ [pën3]; SHT [—]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HY [pian3]; XY [pian3]; DB [pien3]; YL [pien3]; XC [pien3]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT [piŋ3]; WP [piŋ2]; YD [pien3]; SH [piě3]; LC1 [pe3]; LC2 [—]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NK [piě3]; AY [pi3]; SY [piě3]; XS [piě3]; QN [piě3]; ND1 [piě3]; ND2 [pian3]; ND3 [pian3]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[OPH *pian3] CNH *pian3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>biān 辯 QYS bjān:3</td>
<td>CDC *bian4/EC *banx</td>
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<tr>
<td>BMH [phièn]; MX [p’ien5]; HL [p’ian6]; SX [p’ian5]; LF [—]; LZ [phen5]; SHT [—]</td>
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<td>HY [p’ian5]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [pien5]; XC [pien5]</td>
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<tr>
<td>CT [p’iŋ6]; WP [phièn3]; YD [—]; SH [phiě3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Appendix: Data

[OPH *p’ian6] CNH *p’ian6

biàn 便 QYS bjiän-4 CDC *bian6/EC *benh
BMH [phièn]; MX [p’ien5]; HL [p’ian6]; SX [p’ian5]; LF [p’ian6]; LZ [phen5]; SHT [p’ien5]
HY [—]; XY [p’ian3]; DB [p’ien3]; YL [p’ien5]; XC [p’ien5]
CT [p’iŋ6]; WP [phièn3]; YD [p’ien5]; SH [phiè3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [p’e1]
NK [p’iē5]; AY [p’i6]; SY [p’iē5]; XS [p’ien5]; QN [p’ien6]; ND1 [p’ien6]; ND2 [p’ian6]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *p’ian6] CNH *p’ian6

biàn 變 QYS pjän-3 CDC *pian5/EC *ponh
BMH [pièn]; MX [pien5]; HL [pian5]; SX [pian5]; LF [pian5]; LZ [pen5]; SHT [pen5]
HY [pian5]; XY [pian5]; DB [pien5]; YL [pian5]; XC [pian5]
CT [p’iŋ5]; WP [pieu5]; YD [pien5]; SH [piè5]; LC1 [pe5]; LC2 [—]
NK [piê5]; AY [pi5]; SY [piè5]; XS [pian5]; QN [pian5]; ND1 [pian5]; ND2 [pian5]; ND3 [pian5]
[OPH *pian5] CNH *pian5

biǎo 表 QYS *pjäu:3 CDC *piau3/EC *pawx
BMH [piáu]; MX [piau3]; HL [piau3]; SX [peu3]; LF [piau3]; LZ [piau3]; SHT [piau3]
HY [piau3]; XY [piau3]; DB [piau3]; YL [piau3]; XC [piau3]
CT [pia3]; WP [pia3]; YD [pieu3]; SH [pia3]; LC1 [pia3]; LC2 [—]
NK [pia3]; AY [pia3]; SY [pia3]; XS [piau3]; QN [piau3]; ND1 [piau3]; ND2 [piau3]; ND3 [piau3]
[OPH *piau3] CNH *piau3

biē 鼈 QYS pjiät4 CDC *piat7/EC *pet
BMH [piet]; MX [piet7]; HL [piet7]; SX [piet7]; LF [piat7]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [pieʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [pi1]; YD [pieʔ7]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
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NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [pieʔ7]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

OPH *piat7 CNH *piat7

bié 別 QYS pjät3, bjät3 CDC *biat8 ~ *piat7
BMH [phiét ~ phét]; MX [p’iet8w ~ p’et8b]; HL [p’iet8]; SX [p’iet8]; LF [p’iat8 ~ p’et8]; LZ [phet8]; SHT [—]
HY [p’iat8]; XY [p’iat8]; DB [p’iet8]; YL [p’iet7]; XC [pieʔ7 ~ p’ieʔ7]
CT [p’e6]; WP [phieʔ8 ~ pieʔ7]; YD [p’ieʔ8]; SH [phieʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [p’ie5]; AY [p’i51]; SY [p’ie5]; XS [p’iet8]; QN [p’ieʔ8]; ND1 [p’iet8]; ND2 [p’iat8]; ND3 [p’iat8]

[OPH *p’iat8] CNH *p’iat8/L *p’et8

bīn 賓 QYS pjien4 CDC *pin1/EC *pin
BMH [pin]; MX [pin1]; HL [pin1]; SX [pin1]; LF [pin1]; LZ [pin1]; SHT [—]
HY [pin1]; XY [pen1]; DB [p打开1]; YL [—]; XC [pin1]
CT [pen1]; WP [piŋ1]; YD [—]; SH [piŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [piŋ1]; AY [piŋ1]; SY [piŋ1]; XS [pin1]; QN [pin1]; ND1 [pin1]; ND2 [pin1]; ND3 [pin1]

[OPH *pin1] CNH *pin1

bīng 兵 QYS pjwong CDC *piang1/EC *pang
BMH [pin]; MX [pin1]; HL [pin1]; SX [pin1]; LF [pin1]; LZ [pin1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [pin1]; DB [pin1]; YL [pin1]; XC [pin1]
CT [pen1]; WP [piŋ1]; YD [piŋ1]; SH [piŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [piŋ1]; AY [piŋ1]; SY [piŋ1]; XS [pin1]; QN [pin1]; ND1 [pin1]; ND2 [piŋ1]; ND3 [piŋ1]

[OPH *piŋ1] CNH *piŋ1

bīng 冰 QYS pjæŋ CDC *ping1/EC *ping
BMH [pen]; MX [pen1]; HL [pen1]; SX [pen1]; LF [pen1]; LZ [pen1]; SHT [—]
HY [pen1]; XY [pin1]; DB [pen1]; YL [pin1]; XC [pin1]
CT [pen1]; WP [pen1]; YD [pen1 ~ pen1]; SH [piŋ1 ~ pæŋ1]; LC1 [pen1]; LC2 [pæŋ1]
Appendix: Data

The coda in the second reconstructed form is uncertain, because determinative forms excluding final *-n are lacking in the set.

*bǐng* 禾  QYS  pjën:  CDC *pim3/EC *pimx

BMH [pin]; MX [pin3]; HL [pin3]; SX [pin3]; LF [pin3]; LZ [pin3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [pin3]
CT [pen3]; WP [pin3]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [piŋ3]; AY [piŋ3]; SY [piŋ3]; XS [pin3]; QN [pin3]; ND1 [pin3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *piŋ3]  CNH *piŋ3 (?)

Determinative forms are lacking for the reconstructed coda. Final *-ŋ would also be possible.

*bǐng* 柄  QYS  piwông-  CDC *piang5/EC *pengh

BMH [piàng]; MX [piaŋ5]; HL [piaŋ5]; SX [piaŋ5]; LF [piaŋ5]; LZ [piaŋ5]; SHT [—]
HY [piaŋ5]; XY [piaŋ5]; DB [piaŋ5]; YL [piaŋ3]; XC [piaŋ5]
CT [—]; WP [piaŋ5]; YD [piaŋ5]; SH [piaŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [piŋ3]; AY [—]; SY [piŋ3]; XS [pin3]; QN [pin3]; ND1 [pin3]; ND2 [piaŋ3 ~ piŋ5]; ND3 [piaŋ5]

[OPH *piang5]  CNH *piaŋ5/*piŋ3

*bǐng* 餅  QYS  pjäng:  CDC *piang3/EC *pengx

BMH [piaŋ]; MX [piaŋ3]; HL [piaŋ3]; SX [piaŋ3]; LF [piaŋ3]; LZ [piaŋ3]; SHT [piaŋ3]
HY [piaŋ3]; XY [piaŋ3]; DB [piaŋ3]; YL [piaŋ3]; XC [piaŋ3]
CT [piaŋ3]; WP [piaŋ3]; YD [piaŋ3]; SH [piaŋ3]; LC1 [piaŋ3]; LC2 [—]
NK [piaŋ3]; AY [piaŋ3]; SY [piaŋ3]; XS [piaŋ3]; QN [piaŋ3]; ND1 [piaŋ3]; ND2 [piaŋ3]; ND3 [piaŋ3]

[OPH *piang3]  CNH *piaŋ3
The reconstructed coda is conjectural, since confirming evidence is lacking. The Chángtīng and Shàngháng forms are not congruent with the rest of the set. They appear to be related to the first of the two QYS forms given above.

**bing** 病  QYS  biw̚ng-

BMH [phiâng]; MX [p’iâŋ5]; HL [p’iâŋ6]; SX [p’iâŋ5]; LF [p’iâŋ6]; LZ [p’hiaŋ5]; SHT [p’iâŋ5]

CT [p’iâŋ6]; WP [p’hiaŋ3]; YD [p’iâŋ5]; SH [piaŋ3]; LC1 [p’iâŋ6]; LC2 [p’iâŋ6]

NK [p’iâŋ5 ~ p’iâŋ5]; AY [p’iâ6]; SY [p’iâ5]; XS [p’iâŋ5]; QN [p’in6 ~ p’iâŋ6]; ND1 [p’iâŋ6]; ND2 [p’iâŋ6]; ND3 [p’iâŋ6]

OPH *p’iâng6  CNH *p’iâŋ6/*p’iŋ6

**bō** 波  QYS  puâ-

BMH [p0]; MX [p0]; HL [p0]; SX [p0]; LF [p0]; LZ [p0]; SHT [—]

CT [p0]; WP [p0]; YD [—]; SH [p0]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [p0]; AY [p0]; SY [p0]; XS [p0]; QN [p0]; ND1 [p0]; ND2 [p0]; ND3 [p0]

OPH *p0  CNH *p0

**bō** 鉢  QYS  puât

BMH [pat]; MX [—]; HL [pat7]; SX [pat7]; LF [pat7]; LZ [pat7]; SHT [—]

CT [—]; WP [pa7]; YD [pat7]; SH [pa7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [pa6]
The tone of the Nánkāng form is irregular. The Quánnán form is not directly cognate here and appears to reflect an earlier *pek7, which is not reconstructable for the set as a whole.

The tone of the Nánkāng form is irregular. The Quánnán form is not directly cognate here and appears to reflect an earlier *pek7, which is not reconstructable for the set as a whole.
Common Neo-Hakka:
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HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [paʔ7]; SH [pʰʔ7 ~ phieʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [po6]
NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *pak7] CNH *pak7

bù 补 QYS puo: CDC *pu3/EC *pax
BMH [pù]; MX [pu3]; HL [pu3]; SX [pu3]; LF [pu3]; LZ [pu3]; SHT [—]
HY [pu3]; XY [pu3]; DB [pu3]; YL [pu3]; XC [pu3]
CT [pu3]; WP [pu3]; YD [pi3]; SH [pu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [pu3]; AY [pu3]; SY [pu3]; XS [pu3]; QN [pu3]; ND1 [pu3]; ND2 [pu3]; ND3 [pu5]

[OPH *pu5] CNH *pu5

bù 不 QYS pjau, pjau:, pjau-, pjuat CDC *put7/EC *—
BMH [put]; MX [put7]; HL [put7]; SX [put7]; LF [put7]; LZ [put7]; SHT [put7]
HY [put7]; XY [put7]; DB [pət7]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [put7]; SH [peiʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [pə8]; AY [p33]; SY [pə5]; XS [pət7]; QN [pəiʔ7]; ND1 [pət7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [pət7]

[OPH *put7] CNH *put7

bù 布 QYS puo- CDC *pu5/EC *pah
BMH [pù]; MX [pu5]; HL [pu5]; SX [pu5]; LF [pu5]; LZ [pu5]; SHT [pu5]
HY [pu5]; XY [pu5]; DB [pu5]; YL [pu5]; XC [pu5]
CT [pu5]; WP [pu5]; YD [pi3]; SH [pu5]; LC1 [piue5]; LC2 [—]
NK [pu5]; AY [pu5]; SY [pu2]; XS [pu5]; QN [pu5]; ND1 [pu5]; ND2 [pu5]; ND3 [pu5]

[OPH *pu5] CNH *pu5

bù 步 QYS buo- CDC *bu6/EC *bakh
BMH [phù]; MX [p’u5]; HL [p’u6]; SX [p’u5]; LF [p’u5]; LZ [phu5]; SHT [—]
HY [pu6]; XY [p’u3]; DB [p’u3]; YL [p’u3]; XC [p’u5]
CT [p’u6]; WP [p’u3]; YD [p’i5]; SH [phu3]; LC1 [p’iue6]; LC2 [p’yε5]
Appendix: Data

NK [p’u5]; AY [p’u6]; SY [p’u5]; XS [pu5]; QN [p’u6]; ND1 [p’u6]; ND2 [p’u6]; ND3 [p’u6]  
OPH *p’u5]  CNH *p’u6

bu 簿 QYS buo:  CDC *bu4/EC *’bax
BMH [phu]; MX [p’u1]; HL [p’u1]; SX [p’u1]; LF [p’u1]; LZ [phu1]; SHT [—]
HY [p’u6]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [p’u3]; XC [p’u5]
CT [p’u6]; WP [—]; YD [p’i1]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [p’u5]; AY [p’u5]; SY [p’u1]; XS [p’u5]; QN [p’u6]; ND1 [p’u6]; ND2 [p’u1]; ND3 [p’u1]  
OPH *p’u1]  CNH *p’u1/*p’u6

C

cái 財 QYS dzáí  CDC *dzoi6/EC *’dzi
BMH [tshôi]; MX [ts’oi2]; HL [ts’oi2]; SX [ts’oi2]; LF [ts’oi2]; LZ [tʃhɔi2]; SHT [ts’oi2]
HY [—]; XY [ts’uai2]; DB [ts’oi2]; YL [ts’oi2]; XC [ts’oi2]
CT [ts’ue2]; WP [tshue2]; YD [ts’ai2]; SH [tsha2]; LC1 [ts’a2]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’æ2]; AY [ts’ue2]; SY [ts’e2]; XS [ts’oi2]; QN [ts’oi2]; ND1 [ts’oe2]; ND2 [ts’uei2];  
ND3 [ts’uai2]  
OPH *ts’oi2]  CNH *ts’oi2/*ts’ai2

cái 才 QYS dzáí  CDC *dzoi2 EC *’dzi
BMH [tshôi]; MX [ts’oi2]; HL [ts’oi2]; SX [ts’oi2]; LF [ts’oi2]; LZ [tʃhɔi2]; SHT [ts’oi2]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts’oi2]; XC [ts’oi2]
CT [ts’ue2]; WP [tshue2]; YD [ts’ai2]; SH [tsha2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’æ2]; AY [ts’ue2 ~ ts’æ2]; SY [ts’e2]; XS [ts’oi2]; QN [ts’oi2]; ND1 [ts’oe2]; ND2  
[ts’uei2]; ND3 [—]  
OPH *ts’oi2]  CNH *ts’oi2/*ts’ai2

cái 裁 QYS dzáí  CDC *dzoi2 EC *’dzi
BMH [tshâi]; MX [ts’ai2]; HL [ts’ai2]; SX [ts’ai2]; LF [ts’ai2]; LZ [tʃhɔi2]; SHT [ts’oi2]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts’oi2]; XC [ts’ai2]  
CT [ts’ue2]; WP [tshue2]; YD [ts’ai2]; SH [tsha2]; LC1 [ts’a2]; LC2 [—]  
NK [ts’æ2]; AY [ts’ue2]; SY [ts’e2]; XS [ts’oi2]; QN [ts’oi2]; ND1 [ts’oe2]; ND2 [ts’uei2];  
ND3 [—]  
[OPH *ts’oi2 (~ *ts’ai2 ?)]   CNH *ts’oi2/*ts’ai2  

cài 菜 QYS tshâi- CDC *tshoi5/EC *’tshih  
BMH [tshòi]; MX [ts’ai5]; HL [ts’oi5]; SX [ts’oi5]; LF [ts’oi5]; LZ [tʃhøi5]; SHT [ts’oi5]  
HY [ts’uai5]; XY [ts’uai5]; DB [ts’ai5]; YL [ts’oi5]; XC [ts’oi5]  
CT [ts’ue5]; WP [tshue5]; YD [ts’oi3]; SH [tshue5]; LC1 [ts’ui5]; LC2 [ts’oi5]  
NK [ts’æ5]; AY [ts’ue5]; SY [ts’e2]; XS [ts’oi5]; QN [ts’oi5]; ND1 [ts’oe5]; ND2 [ts’uei5];  
ND3 [ts’uai5]  
[OPH *ts’oi5]   CNH *ts’oi5  

cān 餐 QYS tshân CDC *tshan1/EC *’tshân  
BMH [tshon]; MX [ts’on1]; HL [ts’on1]; SX [ts’on1]; LF [ts’on1]; LZ [tʃhøn1]; SHT [ts’on1]  
HY [ts’an1]; XY [ts’an1]; DB [ts’an1]; YL [ts’an1]; XC [—]  
CT [ts’an1]; WP [tshon1]; YD [ts’on1]; SH [tshon1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ts’ua1]  
NK [ts’ã1]; AY [ts’ã1]; SY [ts’ã1]; XS [ts’an1]; QN [ts’an1]; ND1 [ts’an1]; ND2 [ts’an1]; ND3  
[ts’an1]  
[OPH *ts’on1]   CNH *ts’on1  

cān 参 QYS tshâm CDC *tshom1/EC *’tshum  
BMH [tsham]; MX [ts’am1]; HL [ts’am1]; SX [ts’am1]; LF [ts’am1]; LZ [tʃham1]; SHT  
[ts’am1]  
HY [ts’am1]; XY [ts’am1]; DB [ts’am1]; YL [ts’an1]; XC [ts’an1]  
CT [ts’an1]; WP [tshaŋ1]; YD [ts’aŋ1]; SH [tshã1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ts’aŋ1]  
NK [ts’à1]; AY [ts’à1]; SY [ts’à1]; XS [ts’an1]; QN [ts’am1 ~ ts’an1]; ND1 [ts’am1]; ND2  
[ts’am1]; ND3 [ts’am1]  
[OPH *ts’am1]   CNH *ts’am1
Appendix: Data

cán 螞 QYS dzâm CDC *dzom2/EC *’dzym
BMH [tshâm]; MX [ts’am2]; HL [ts’am2]; SX [ts’am2]; LF [ts’am2]; LZ [tʃham2]; SHT [ts’am2]
HY [ts’am2]; XY [ts’am2]; DB [ts’am2]; YL [ts’an2]; XC [ts’an2]
CT [ts’an2]; WP [tshan2]; YD [ts’an2]; SH [tshâ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ts’an2]
NK [ts’a2]; AY [ts’a2]; SY [ts’a2]; XS [ts’an2]; QN [ts’an2]; ND1 [ts’am2]; ND2 [ts’am2]; ND3 [ts’am2]
[OPH *ts’am2] CNH *ts’am2

cân 慘 QYS tshâm: CDC *tshom3/EC *’tshumx
BMH [tshâm]; MX [ts’am3]; HL [ts’am3]; SX [ts’am3]; LF [ts’am3]; LZ [tʃham3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts’an3]; XC [ts’an3]
CT [ts’an3]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tshâ3w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ts’an3]
NK [ts’a3]; AY [ts’a3]; SY [ts’a1]; XS [ts’an3]; QN [ts’an3]; ND1 [ts’am3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ts’am3] CNH *ts’am3

câng 倉 QYS tshăng CDC *tshong1/EC *’tshang
BMH [tshong]; MX [ts’ɔŋ1]; HL [ts’ɔŋ1]; SX [ts’ɔŋ1]; LF [ts’ɔŋ1]; LZ [tʃɔŋ1]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’ɔŋ1]; XY [ts’ɔŋ1]; DB [ts’ɔŋ1]; YL [ts’ɔŋ1]; XC [ts’ɔŋ1]
CT [ts’ɔŋ1]; WP [tshɔŋ1]; YD [ts’ɔŋ1]; SH [tshɔŋ1]; LC1 [ts’ɔŋ1]; LC2 [ts’ɔŋ1]
NK [ts’d1]; AY [ts’ɔŋ1]; SY [ts’d1]; XS [ts’ɔŋ1]; QN [ts’ɔŋ1]; ND1 [ts’ɔŋ1]; ND2 [ts’ɔŋ1]; ND3 [ts’ɔŋ1]
OPH *ts’ong1 CNH *ts’ong1

cáng 藏 QYS dzâng CDC *dzong2/EC *’dzang
BMH [tshông]; MX [ts’ɔŋ2]; HL [ts’ɔŋ2]; SX [ts’ɔŋ2]; LF [ts’ɔŋ2]; LZ [tʃɔŋ2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [ts’ɔŋ2]; WP [tshɔŋ2]; YD [ts’ɔŋ2]; SH [tshɔŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’ɔ2]; AY [ts’ɔŋ2]; SY [ts’ɔ2]; XS [ts’ɔŋ2]; QN [ts’ɔŋ2]; ND1 [ts’ɔŋ2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *ts’ong2] CNH *ts’ɔŋ2

cáo 曹 QYS dzâu CDC *dzou2/EC *’dzaw
BMH [tshâu]; MX [ts’au2]; HL [ts’o2]; SX [ts’o2]; LF [ts’o2]; LZ [tʃhau2]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’au2]; XY [ts’ɔ2]; DB [ts’o2]; YL [ts’au2]; XC [ts’au2]
CT [ts’ɔ2]; WP [tshɔ2]; YD [ts’ou2]; SH [tʃhu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’ɔ2]; AY [ts’ɔ2]; SY [ts’ɔ2]; XS [ts’au2]; QN [ts’au2]; ND1 [ts’au2]; ND2 [ts’au2]; ND3 [ts’au2]

[OPH *ts’ou2] CNH *ts’ou2

cáo 草 QYS tshâu: CDC *tshou3/EC *’tshux
BMH [tsháu]; MX [ts’au3]; HL [ts’o3]; SX [ts’o3]; LF [ts’o3]; LZ [tʃhau3]; SHT [ts’au3]
HY [ts’au3]; XY [ts’ɔ3]; DB [ts’o3]; YL [ts’au3]; XC [ts’au3]
CT [ts’ɔ3]; WP [tshɔ3]; YD [ts’ou3]; SH [tʃhu3]; LC1 [ts’ɔ3]; LC2 [ts’ɔ3]
NK [ts’ɔ3]; AY [ts’ɔ3]; SY [ts’ɔ3]; XS [ts’au3]; QN [ts’au3]; ND1 [ts’au3]; ND2 [ts’au3]; ND3 [ts’au3]

OPH *ts’ou3 CNH *ts’ou3

cè 冊 QYS tʃhek CDC *chak7/EC *tʃhek
BMH [tʃhak]; MX [ts’aʔ7]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [tʃhak7]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts’aʔ7]; XC [ʦ’ɛʔ]
CT [ts’a2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tʃaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’a8]; AY [ts’a6]; SY [ts’a5]; XS [ts’et7]; QN [—]; ND1 [ts’ak7]; ND2 [ts’ak7]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *ts’ak7] CNH *ts’ak7/*ts’ek7

cè 测 QYS tʃhjak CDC *chek7/EC *tʃrik
BMH [tʃhet]; MX [ts’aʔ7]; HL [ts’et8]; SX [ts’et8]; LF [tʃhak7]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
The reconstruction does not capture either of the Basil Mission forms. In fact, the syllable is lacking for many points, because most Hakka dialects do not use it in their ordinary words for “privy”.

cè 厕  QYS  tšį-    CDC *chek7/EC *tšrikh

BMH [tʃên ~ tʃiên]; MX [ts ’en2 ~ t’ien2b]; HL [ts ’en2]; SX [ts ’en2]; LF [—]; LZ [tʃen2]; SHT [ts ’en2]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts ’a7]; XC [ts ’e5]

CT [ts ’eŋ2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tʃêʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [ts ’ak7]; ND2 [ts ’ak7]; ND3 [ts ’a6]
[OPH *ts ’e8]    CNH *ts ’ek7/*ts ’ak7

céng 曾  QYS  dzǎŋ    CDC *dzeng2/EC *’dzing

BMH [tʃən ~ tʃiên]; MX [ts ’en2 ~ t’ien2b]; HL [ts ’en2]; SX [ts ’en2]; LF [—]; LZ [tʃen2]; SHT [ts ’en2]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts ’an2]; XC [ts ’an2]

CT [ts ’eŋ2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tʃêʔ2 ~ tʃiêʔ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ts ’eŋ2]

NK [ts ’e2]; AY [—]; SY [ts ’e2]; XS [ts ’en2]; QN [ts ’en2]; ND1 [ts ’aŋ2]; ND2 [ts ’aŋ2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH * ts ’en2]    CNH *ts ’eŋ2

céng 層  QYS  dzǎŋ    CDC *dzeng2/EC *’dzing

BMH [tʃən]; MX [ts ’en2]; HL [ts ’en2]; SX [ts ’en2]; LF [ts ’en2]; LZ [tʃen2]; SHT [ts ’en2]

HY [ts ’an2]; XY [ts ’en2]; DB [ts ’en2]; YL [ts ’an2 ~ ts ’en2]; XC [ts ’an2]

CT [ts ’eŋ2]; WP [tʃêŋ2]; YD [ts ’en2]; SH [tʃêʔ2]; LC1 [ts ’ai2]; LC2 [—]

NK [ts ’e2]; AY [ts ’aŋ2]; SY [ts ’e2]; XS [ts ’en2]; QN [ts ’en2]; ND1 [ts ’aŋ2]; ND2 [ts ’aŋ2]; ND3 [ts ’aŋ2]
[OPH *ts ’en2]    CNH *ts ’eŋ2
Here, the Xīchāng introduces a “Mandarinized” retroflex reading, as is often the case for this dialect. Yílǒng less commonly also does this. We consider such retroflexes to be a contact induced and do not project them back to the common system.

The presence of medial -i- in the Yǒngdìng form is unexplained.
In this set, Xīchāng uncharacteristically fails to adopt “Mandarinized” retroflexion.
chǎi 拆 QYS ʈʰɔk CDC *chiak7/EC *thrak
BMH [tʃhak]; MX [ts’ak7]; HL [ts’ak8]; SX [ts’ak8]; LF [ts’ak7]; LZ [tʃhak7]; SHT [ts’ak7]
HY [ts’ak7]; XY [ts’ak7]; DB [ts’ak7]; YL [tʂ’aʔ7]; XC [tʂ’aʔ7]
CT [ts’a2]; WP [tʃshaʔ7]; YD [ts’aʔ7]; SH [tʃshʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’a8]; AY [ts’iau2]; SY [ts’a5]; XS [ts’ak7]; QN [ts’aʔ7]; ND1 [ts’ak7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ts’ak7]
[OPH *ts’ak7]   CNH *ts’ak7
Here, both Yílǒng and Xīchāng show “Mandarinized” retroflexion.

chái 柴 QYS ʈʂaï CDC *jai2/EC *dzre
BMH [tʃhài ~ tʃhiâu]; MX [ts’ai2w ~ ts’aiu2b]; HL [ts’aiu2]; SX [ts’e2]; LF [ts’aiu2]; LZ [tʃhài2]; SHT [ts’ai2]
HY [ts’ai2]; XY [ts’ai2]; DB [ts’ai2]; YL [ts’ai2]; XC [tʂ’ai2]
CT [ts’ai2]; WP [—]; YD [ts’ai2 ~ ts’ieu2]; SH [tʃsha2w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ts’ia2]
NK [ts’a2]; AY [sæ2]; SY [ts’a2]; XS [ts’ai2]; QN [ts’ai2]; ND1 [sai2]; ND2 [sai2]; ND3 [sai2]
[OPH *ts’ai2; ts’iau2]   CNH *ts’ai2/*sai2/*ts’iau2
Two entirely different etyma are represented in this set. The form *ts’aiu2 is the popular and
colloquial word for “firewood” in many Hakka dialects and is etymologically unrelated to the
graph 柴. CNH *tsai2 (~ *sai2) is of mainly literary register and serves as a reading
pronunciation for the graph 柴 in dialects where it is not a spoken word for “firewood”.

chān 産 QYS ʂăn: CDC *chan3 ~ *shan3/EC *sranx
BMH [ʂan]; MX [san3]; HL [san3]; SX [san3]; LF [san3]; LZ [tʃhan3]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’an3]; XY [ts’an3]; DB [ts’an3]; YL [ts’an3]; XC [tʂ’an3]
CT [ts’an3]; WP [san3]; YD [san3]; SH [sà3 ~ tshà3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [sà3]
NK [ts’a3]; AY [ts’a3]; SY [ts’a3]; XS [ts’an3]; QN [ts’an3]; ND1 [ts’an3]; ND2 [ts’an3]; ND3 [ts’an3]
[OPH *san3]   CNH *san3/*ts’an3
cháng 常 QYS ʒjang CDC *jiong2 ~ zhiong2/EC *dang
BMH [ʃəŋ]; MX [səŋ2]; HL [ʃəŋ2]; SX [ʃəŋ2]; LF [ʃəŋ2]; LZ [ʃəŋ2]; SHT [—]
HY [səŋ2]; XY [səŋ2 ~ ts’əŋ2]; DB [səŋ2]; YL [ʂəŋ2]; XC [tʂ’əŋ2w ~ ʂəŋ2b]
CT [ʃəŋ2]; WP [tʃəŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [tʃəŋ2 ~ səŋ2]; LC1 [ʃəŋ2]; LC2 [—]
NK [səŋ2]; AY [səŋ2]; SY [səŋ2]; XS [ʂəŋ2]; QN [səŋ2]; ND1 [səŋ2]; ND2 [səŋ2]; ND3 [səŋ2]
[OPH *ʂəŋ2] CNH *ʂion2/L *tʂ’ion2
Cf. Qīngliú: [ʃi32].
The medial of the second reconstruction is restored analogically.

cháng 長 QYS djang CDC *zhiong2/EC *dang
BMH [chhông]; MX [ts’əŋ2]; HL [tʃʰəŋ2]; SX [tʃʰəŋ2]; LF [tʃʰəŋ2]; LZ [tʃʰəŋ2]; SHT [ts’əŋ2]
HY [ts’əŋ2]; XY [ts’əŋ2]; DB [ts’əŋ2]; YL [ts’əŋ2]; XC [tʃ’əŋ2]
CT [tʃʰəŋ2]; WP [tʃʰəŋ2]; YD [ts’əŋ2]; SH [tʃʰəŋ2]; LC1 [tʃʰəŋ2]; LC2 [—]†
NK [ts’əŋ2]; AY [ts’əŋ2]; SY [ts’əŋ2]; XS [tʃ’əŋ2]; QN [ts’əŋ2]; ND1 [ts’əŋ2]; ND2 [ts’əŋ2]; ND3 [ts’əŋ2]
[OPH *tʃʰong2] CNH *şioŋ2
The Chángtīng form reflects and affricate initial reading that is not reconstructable comparatively.
Cf. Qīngliú: [ʃi32].

†FJFYZ: tʃʰion2.
cháng, shāng 衍 QYS ㄓㄧㄤ  CDC *zhiong2/EC *dang  
BMH [shông]; MX [—]; HL [ʃoŋ2]; SX [ʃoŋ2]; LF [ʃoŋ2]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]  
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ʂoŋ2]; XC [ʂoŋ2]  
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]  
NK [ʂɔŋ2]; AY [ʂoŋ2]; SY [ʂɔŋ2]; XS [ʂoŋ2]; QN [ʂoŋ2]; ND1 [ʂoŋ2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ʂoŋ2]  
[OPH *ʂong2] CNH *ʂiong2  
Cf. Qīngliú: [ʃiŋ2].

chāo 抄 QYS ㄕحرية CDC *chau1/EC *tshraw  
BMH [tshau]; MX [ts’au1]; HL [ʃ̩oŋ5]; SX [ʃ̩oŋ5]; LF [ʃ̩oŋ5]; LZ [ʃ̩oŋ5]; SHT [ts’oŋ5]  
HY [ts’oŋ5]; XY [ts’oŋ5]; DB [ts’oŋ5]; YL [ts’oŋ5]; XC [ts’oŋ5]  
CT [ʃ̩oŋ5]; WP [tshoŋ5]; YD [ts’oŋ3]; SH [tshoŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ʃ̩oŋ5]  
NK [ts’ɔ̃5]; AY [ts’oŋ5]; SY [ts’ɔ̃5]; XS [ts’oŋ5]; QN [ts’oŋ5]; ND1 [ts’oŋ5]; ND2 [ts’oŋ5]; ND3 [ts’oŋ5]  
[OPH *ts’ong5] CNH *t’s’iong5  
Cf. Qīngliú: [tʃ’iŋ5].

cháo 巢 QYS ㄕˇㄓ CDC *jau2/EC *dzraw  
BMH [tshâu]; MX [ts’au1]; HL [ts’au1]; SX [ts’au1]; LF [ts’au1]; LZ [tʃhau1]; SHT [—]  
HY [ts’au1]; XY [ts’au1]; DB [ts’au1]; YL [tʃ’au1]; XC [tʃ’au1]  
CT [ts’ɔ̃1]; WP [tshɔ̃1]; YD [ts’au1]; SH [tsho1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]  
NK [ts’ɔ̃1]; AY [ts’ɔ̃1]; SY [ts’ɔ̃1]; XS [ts’au1]; QN [ts’au1]; ND1 [ts’au1]; ND2 [ts’au1]; ND3 [ts’au1]  
[OPH *ts’au1] CNH *ts’au1

choáo 巢 QYS ㄕˊㄓ CDC *jau2/EC *dzraw  
BMH [tshâu]; MX [sau2]; HL [sau2]; SX [sau2]; LF [—]; LZ [tʃhau2]; SHT [ts’au2]  
HY [ts’au2]; XY [ts’au2]; DB [lau2]; YL [tʃ’au2]; XC [ts’au2]  
CT [—]; WP [sɔ̃2]; YD [sau2]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
In this set, interestingly, it is Yílǒng rather than Xīchāng that shows a “Mandarinized” retroflex initial form. Xīchāng, on the other hand, retains a “native” Hakka dental sibilant reading.

chǎo 朝  QYS  tʂhja  CDC *chia1/EC *cha (khya)  
BMH [chtʃaː]; MX [ts’a1]; HL [tʃ’a1]; SX [tʃ’a1]; LF [tʃ’a1]; LZ [tʃha1]; SHT [ts’a1]  
HY [ts’a1]; XY [ts’a1]; DB [ts’a1]; YL [tʂ’a1]; XC [tʂ’a1]  
CT [tʃ’a1]; WP [tʃsha1]; YD [ts’a1]; SH [tʃsha1]; LC1 [tʃ’a1]; LC2 [—]  
NK [ts’a1]; AY [ts’a1]; SY [ts’a1]; XS [tʂ’a1]; QN [ts’a1]; ND1 [ts’a1]; ND2 [—]  
[OPH *tʃ’a1]  CNH *tʃ’ia1

Cf. Qīngliú: [tʃ’io1].
chén 沈 QYS Ȝjm CDC *jm2/EC *drum
BMH [chhîn]; MX [ts’əm2]; HL [ʧ’em2]; SX [ʧ’em2]; LF [ʧ’im2]; LZ [ʧhim2]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’im2]; XY [ts’im2]; DB [ts’əm2]; YL [ʦ’ən2]; XC [ʦ’ən2]
CT [ʧ’ən2]; WP [tsheŋ2]; YD [tshin2]; SH [tsheŋ2]; LC1 [ʧ’ən2]; LC2 [—]
NK [ʨ’iŋ2]; AY [ʦ’əŋ2]; SY [ʨ’iŋ2]; XS [ʦ’ən2]; QN [ʨ’in2]; ND1 [ʦ’əm2]; ND2 [ʦ’əm2];
   ND3 [ʦ’əm2]
[OPH *ʦ’im2]   CNH *ʦ’im2

chén 辰 QYS Ȥjen CDC *zhin2/EC *dun
BMH [shîn]; MX [sən2]; HL [ʃen2]; SX [ʃen2]; LF [ʃin2]; LZ [ʃin2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ʂən2]; XC [ʦ’ən2]
CT [ʃen2]; WP [ʃiŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [ʃəiŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ʃən2]
NK [ʃiŋ2]; AY [sən2]; SY [ʃiŋ2]; XS [ʃən2]; QN [—]; ND1 [sən2]; ND2 [sən2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ʃiŋ2]   CNH *ʃiŋ2

chén 臣 QYS Ȥjen CDC *jin2/EC *din
BMH [shîn ~ chhîn]; MX [sən2]; HL [ʃen2]; SX [ʃen2]; LF [ʃin2]; LZ [ʃin2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ʦ’ən2]; XC [ʦ’ən2]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [ʦ’əŋ2]; SY [ʨ’iŋ1]; XS [ʦ’ən2]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [sən2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ʦ’in2 ~ ʃiŋ2]   CNH *ʦ’in2 ~ ʃiŋ2

chén 陳 QYS Ȝjen CDC *jin2/EC *drin
BMH [chhîn]; MX [ʦ’ən2]; HL [ʧ’em2]; SX [ʧ’em2]; LF [ʧ’im2]; LZ [ʧhin2]; SHT [—]
HY [ʦ’in2]; XY [ʦ’in2]; DB [ʦ’ən2]; YL [ʦ’ən2]; XC [ʦ’ən2]
CT [ʧ’eŋ2]; WP [tsheŋ2]; YD [ʦ’in2]; SH [tsheŋ2]; LC1 [ʧ’eŋ2]; LC2 [—]
NK [ʨ’iŋ2]; AY [ʦ’əŋ2]; SY [ʨ’iŋ2]; XS [ʦ’ən2]; QN [ʨ’in2]; ND1 [ʦ’ən2]; ND2 [ʦ’ən2];
   ND3 [ʦ’ən2]
[OPH *ʦ’in2]   CNH *ʦ’in2
chéng 稱 QYS tšhjæŋ CDC *ching1/EC *thing
BMH [chhin]; MX [ts’eñ1]; HL [tʃ’en1]; SX [tʃ’en1]; LF [tʃ’in1]; LZ [tʃhin1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʃ’eñ1]; XC [tʃ’eñ1]
CT [tʃ’en1]; WP [tʃên1]; YD [—]; SH [tʃeñ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tʃ’eñ1]; AY [—]; SY [tʃ’eñ1]; XS [tʃ’eñ1]; QN [—]; ND1 [tʃ’eñ1]; ND2 [tʃ’eñ1]; ND3 [tʃ’eñ1]
[OPH *tʃ’ëñ1]  CNH *tʃ’ëñ1

chéng 成 QYS źjang CDC *zhiang2 ~ *jiang2/EC *deng
BMH [ʃâng]; MX [saŋ2 ~ saŋ2b]; HL [ʃaŋ2 ~ ŋaŋ2b]; SX [ʃaŋ2 ~ ŋaŋ2b]; LF [ʃin2];
   LZ [ʃaŋ2 ~ ŋin2]; SHT [saŋ2]
HY [sin2 ~ saŋ2]; XY [saŋ2]; DB [saŋ2 ~ saŋ2]; YL [tʃ’eñ2]; XC [tʃ’eñ2]
CT [tʃ’eñ2 ~ ŋaŋ2]; WP [saŋ2]; YD [saŋ2 ~ siŋ2]; SH [saŋ2 ~ seŋ2]; LC1 [ʃaŋ2]; LC2 [—]
NK [tʃ’eñ2]; AY [ts’aŋ2 ~ sâ2]; SY [tʃ’eñ2 ~ sâ2]; XS [tʃ’eñ2 ~ saŋ2]; QN [tʃ’eñ2 ~ ts’aŋ2 ~
   san2]; ND1 [ts’aŋ2 ~ san2 ~ ts’aŋ2 ~ san2]; ND2 [saŋ2]; ND3 [saŋ2 ~ saŋ2]
[OPH *ʃaŋ2]  CNH *ʃiaŋ2/L *ʃiŋ2; *tʃ’aŋ2/*tʃ’ëñ2
Cf. Qīngliú: [ʃiä2].

chéng 城 QYS źjang CDC *zhiang2 ~ *jiang2/EC *deng
BMH [ʃânh]; MX [saŋ2]; HL [ʃaŋ2]; SX [ʃaŋ2]; LF [ʃaŋ2]; LZ [ʃaŋ2]; SHT [saŋ2]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʃ’eñ2]; XC [tʃ’eñ2w ~ saŋ2b]
CT [ʃaŋ2]; WP [saŋ2]; YD [saŋ2]; SH [saŋ2]; LC1 [ʃaŋ2]; LC2 [ʃaŋ2]
NK [tʃ’eñ2]; AY [sâ2]; SY [tʃ’eñ2 ~ sâ2]; XS [tʃ’eñ2 ~ saŋ2]; QN [tʃ’eñ2 ~ saŋ2]; ND1 [tʃ’eñ2 ~
   saŋ2]; ND2 [saŋ2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ʃaŋ2]  CNH *ʃiaŋ2/L *tʃ’ëñ2
Cf. Qīngliú: [ʃiä2].

chéng 盛 QYS źjang CDC *zhiang2 ~ *jiang2/EC *deng
BMH [ʃîn]; MX [saŋ5]; HL [ʃen5]; SX [ʃen5]; LF [ʃin5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
The Basil Mission form shows etymologically expected tone 2. All other points have tone 5. Thus, their forms are identical with those for the word sheng 盛 “full, plenteous”, q.v. infra. The Yǒngdìng form is not derivable from tentative CNH *šiŋ5. We may guess that it descends from an earlier *tš’aŋ5, but this form is not reconstructable comparatively.

chéng 程 QYS ㄐㄤ  CDC *jiang2/EC *thing

BMH [chhîn ~ chhâng]; MX [ts’aŋ2w ~ ts’aŋ2b]; HL [tʃ’aŋ2]; SX [tʃ’aŋ2]; LF [tʃ’in2]; LZ [tʃhan2 ~ tʃhin2]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’aŋ2]; XY [ts’in2]; DB [ts’aŋ2]; YL [tʃ’en2]; XC [tʃ’an2]
CT [tʃ’aŋ2]; WP [tʃan2]; YD [—]; SH [tsheŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
NK [tʃ’iŋ2]; AY [ts’aŋ2]; SY [tʃ’iŋ2]; XS [tʃ’an2]; QN [tʃ’in2]; ND1 [ts’aŋ2]; ND2 [ts’aŋ2]; ND3 [ts’aŋ2]
[OPH *tś’ang] CNH *tś’aŋ2/L *tś’iŋ2
†FJFYZ: [tʃ’ien2].

chéng 承 QYS ㄓㄥ  CDC *zhing2 ~ *jing2/EC *ding

BMH [shin]; MX [sən2]; HL [ʃen2]; SX [ʃen2]; LF [ʃin2]; LZ [ʃin2]; SHT [—]
HY [sin2]; XY [sin2]; DB [sən2]; YL [tʃ’en2]; XC [tʃ’an2]
CT [ʃen2]; WP [sən2]; YD [ʃiŋ2]; SH [sien2]; LC1 [ʃen2]; LC2 [—]
NK [ʃiŋ2]; AY [ts’aŋ2]; SY [tʃ’iŋ2]; XS [sən2]; QN [tʃ’in2]; ND1 [sən2]; ND2 [ts’aŋ2 ~ sən2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *śin2] CNH *śiŋ2/*tš’iŋ2

chī 喫 QYS ㄑ季后, khiek CDC *khiak7/EC *’hek

BMH [—]; MX [ts’at7]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [—]; WP [tshiaʔ]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
This word is a literary form, known mainly in compounds such as chīkuī 吃虧 “lose out”. It is not possible to reconstruct a true common form for it, probably because it was borrowed disparately well after the common Hakka period. The speculative form given here is based exclusively on forms found in the Fújiàn and Jiāngxī lines.

chí 迟 QYS ɖi CDC *ji2/EC *dri
BMH [chhî]; MX [ts’i2]; HL [ʃi2]; SX [ʃi2]; LF [ʃi2]; LZ [ʃhi2]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’i2]; XY [ts’i2]; DB [ts’i2]; YL [ts’2]; XC [ts’2]
CT [ʃi2]; WP [tʃh2]; YD [ts’i2]; SH [ts’2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’2]; AY [ts’2]; SY [ts’2]; XS [ts’2]; QN [ts’2]; ND1 [ts’i2]; ND2 [ts’i2]; ND3 [ts’i2]
[OPH *tš’i2] CNH *tš’i2

chì 持 QYS ɖi CDC *ji2/EC *dri
BMH [chhî]; MX [ts’2]; HL [ʃi2]; SX [ʃi2]; LF [ʃi2]; LZ [ʃhi2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʃ’2]; XC [tʃ’2]
CT [ʃi2]; WP [tʃh2]; YD [—]; SH [tʃh2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’2]; AY [ts’2]; SY [ts’2]; XS [—]; QN [ts’2]; ND1 [ts’a2 ~ te’i6]; ND2 [te’i2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tš’i2] CNH *tš’i2

The tone of the second Ningdū-1 form is irregular. It is, however, this form whose final is regular within the set as a whole. The first probably represents a borrowed apical vowel reading from some other dialect.

chí 齒 QYS tʃhî: CDC *chi3/EC *chix (khyix)
BMH [chhî]; MX [ts’3]; HL [ʃi3]; SX [ʃi3]; LF [ʃi3]; LZ [ʃhi3]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’i3]; XY [ts’i3]; DB [ts’i3]; YL [tʃ’3]; XC [tʃ’3]
The tone of the Ningdū-1 form is irregular.

Cf. Xiùzhuàn: [tʃ'ia7].

The final of this form is reconstructed analogically on the basis of the correspondence profile of the set.
The Lúfēng initial is irregular. The Yílǒng initial irregularly lacks aspiration. The Níngdū form indicates by its final that it is probably a borrowing of an apical vowel reading from some other dialects. This etymon is not the common word for “wing” in many Hakka dialects and may be of literary origin at those points that attest it.

chōng 春 QYS ʂjwong CDC *shiung1, chiung1/EC *ṭong

BMH [chhʊŋ]; MX [ts’uŋ1]; HL [tʃ’uŋ1]; SX [tʃ’uŋ1]; LF [tʃuŋ1]; LZ [tʃuŋ1]; SHT [tsuŋ1]
HY [tsʊŋ1]; XY [tsʊŋ1]; DB [tsʊŋ1]; YL [tʃʊŋ1]; XC [tʃʊŋ1]
CT [—]; WP [sun1]; YD [tsʊŋ1]; SH [tʊŋ1 ~ sʊŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [saŋ1]; AY [saŋ1]; SY [səŋ1]; XS [ʂəŋ1]; QN [ts’uŋ1]; ND1 [sun1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ts’uŋ1]
[OPH *tʃ’un1] CNH *tʃiʊŋ1/*tʃ’iʊŋ1/*ʃ’iʊŋ1

Cf. Wēngyuán: ts’iʊŋ1. Correspondence patterns between initials and finals within sets of this type enable us to reconstruct medial *-i- here. For full discussion, see Chapter III, §3.1.2.

chóng 充 QYS ḏjwong CDC *chiung1/EC *thung

BMH [chhung]; MX [ts’uŋ1]; HL [tʃ’uŋ1]; SX [tʃ’uŋ1]; LF [—]; LZ [tʃhuŋ1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʃ’uŋ1]; XC [tʃ’uŋ1]
CT [tʃ’oŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tsʰəŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’əŋ1]; AY [ts’əŋ1]; SY [ts’əŋ1]; XS [tʃ’əŋ1]; QN [—]; ND1 [ts’uŋ1]; ND2 [ts’uŋ1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tʃ’un1] CNH *tʃiʊŋ1

chóng 重 QYS ɖjwong CDC *jiuŋ2/EC *drong

BMH [chhʊŋ]; MX [ts’uŋ2]; HL [tʃ’uŋ2]; SX [tʃ’uŋ2]; LF [tʃ’uŋ2]; LZ [tʃhuŋ2]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’oŋ2]; XY [ts’oŋ2]; DB [ts’uŋ2]; YL [tʃ’uŋ2]; XC [tʃ’uŋ2]
CT [tʃ’oŋ2]†; WP [tʃhuŋ2]; YD [ts’uŋ2]; SH [tʃəŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’əŋ2]; AY [ts’əŋ2]; SY [ts’əŋ2 ~ ts’əŋ1]; XS [tʃ’əŋ2]; QN [ts’uŋ2]; ND1 [ts’uŋ2]; ND2 [ts’uŋ2]; ND3 [ts’uŋ2]
[OPH *tʃ’un2] CNH *tʃ’iʊŋ2
†Form after DCBG.

chóng 蟲 QYS djung CDC *jung2/EC *druŋ
BMH [chhûng]; MX [ts’uŋ2]; HL [tʃ’uŋ2]; SX [tʃ’uŋ2]; LF [tʃ’uŋ2]; LZ [tʃ’huŋ2]; SHT [ts’uŋ2]
HY [ts’oŋ2]†; XY [ts’oŋ2]; DB [ts’uŋ2]; YL [ts’uŋ2]; XC [tʃ’uŋ2]
CT [tʃ’oŋ2]; WP [tʃhuŋ2]; YD [ts’uŋ2]; SH [tʃaŋ2]; LC1 [tʃ’oŋ2]; LC2 [tʃ’əŋ2]††
NK [ts’əŋ2]; AY [ts’əŋ2]; SY [ts’əŋ2]; XS [tʃ’əŋ2]; QN [ts’uŋ2]; ND1 [ts’uŋ2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ts’uŋ2]
OPH *tš’uŋg2  CNH *ts’iʊŋ2
†The source writes initial tʃ’-, which must be a typographical error, since no such initial exists in this dialect.
††FJFYZ: [tʃ’iəŋ2].

chóng 崇 QYS dhjwong: CDC *chiung3/EC *throngx
BMH [tʃhûng]; MX [ts’uŋ2]; HL [ts’uŋ2]; SX [ts’uŋ2]; LF [tʃ’uŋ2]; LZ [tʃ’huŋ2]; SHT [ts’uŋ2]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts’uŋ2]; XC [tʃ’uŋ2]
CT [ts’oŋ2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’əŋ2]; AY [—]; SY [ts’əŋ2]; XS [ts’əŋ2]; QN [—]; ND1 [ts’uŋ2]; ND2 [ts’uŋ2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tš’uŋg3]  CNH *ts’iʊŋ3
Appendix: Data

The final of the second Basil Mission form is irregular and may be a loan from a Yuè dialect. The first Song Him Tong form is regular, while the second appears to be a loan form some other form of Hakka. The Nánkāng form is irregular and appears to derive from an earlier *ts’ieu2.

The final of the the second Basil Mission form is irregular and may be a loan from a Yuè dialect. The first Song Him Tong form is regular, while the second appears to be a loan form some other form of Hakka. The Nánkāng form is irregular and appears to derive from an earlier *ts’ieu2.
CT [tʃʰeu2]; WP [tʃe2]; YD [ts’iu2]; SH [tʃhiu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɕiu2]; AY [tɕ’u2]; SY [tɕ’u2]; XS [tʂ’u2]; QN [tɕ’iu2]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ts’əu2]; ND3 [ sıo]
[OPH *ɕiu2]   CNH *ɕieu2/*tʃ’ieu2

chòu 臭 QYS  tśhjwet CDC *chiu5/EC *thuh
BMH [chhiù]; MX [ts’u5]; HL [tʃ’u5]; SX [tʃ’u5]; LF [tʃ’iu5]; LZ [tʃhiu5]; SHT [ts’iu5]
HY [ts’iu5]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʃ’əu5]; XC [tʃ’u5]
CT [tʃ’eu5]; WP [tʃe5]; YD [ts’iu3]; SH [tʃhiu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ts’eu5 ~ tʃ’eu5]
NK [tɕ’iu5]; AY [tɕ’u5]; SY [tɕ’iu2]; XS [tʂ’u5]; QN [tɕ’iu5]; ND1 [ts’eu5]; ND2 [ts’əu5];
   ND3 [ts’əu5]
[OPH *tʃ’iu5]   CNH *tʃ’iu5

chū 出 QYS  tśhjwet CDC *chut7/EC *thut
BMH [chhut]; MX [ts’ut7]; HL [tʃ’ut7]; SX [tʃ’ut7]; LF [tʃ’ut7]; LZ [tʃhut7]; SHT [ts’ut7]
HY [ts’ut7]; XY [ts’ut7]; DB [ts’ət7]; YL [tʃ’ueiʔ7]; XC [tʃ’uʔ7]
CT [tʃ’e2]; WP [tʃeʔ7]; YD [ts’ut7]; SH [tʃheiʔ7]; LC1 [tʃ’eu6]; LC2 [tʃ’uə6 ~ tʃ’uə5]
NK [tʃ’æ7]; AY [tʃ’ə3]; SY [tʃ’uo5]; XS [tʂ’uit7]; QN [ts’uit7]; ND1 [ts’uit7]; ND2 [ts’ut7];
   ND3 [ts’ut7]
OPH *tʃ’ut7   CNH *tʃ’iut7

chū 初 QYS  tśhjwo CDC *chu1/EC *tshra
BMH [tʃhj]; MX [ts’1]; HL [ts’u1]; SX [ts’u1]; LF [ts’ɔ1]; LZ [tʃhɔ1]; SHT [ts’ɔ1]
HY [ts’uɔ1]; XY [ts’ɔ1]; DB [ts’ɔ1]; YL [ts’u1]; XC [tʃ’o1]
CT [ts’u1]; WP [tʃh1]; YD [ts’i1]; SH [tʃh1 ~ tʃh1w]; LC1 [ts’i1]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’u1]; AY [ts’u1]; SY [ts’u1]; XS [ts’1]; QN [ts’u1]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ts’u1]; ND3 [ts’u1]
[OPH *ts’u1]   CNH *ts’uɔ1

502
chú 銜 QYS dzjwo CDC *je2 (~ *ju2)/EC *dzra
BMH [tshû]; MX [ts’γ2]; HL [ts’u6]; SX [ts’u5]; LF [ts’o2]; LZ [tʃha2]; SHT [ts’o2]
HY [ts’u2]; XY [ts’u2]; DB [ts’o2]; YL [ts’u2]; XC [ts’o2]
CT [ts’u2]; WP [tshu2]; YD [ts’i2]; SH [tshu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’u2]; AY [ts’u2]; SY [ts’u2]; XS [ts’γ2]; QN [ts’u2]; ND1 [ts’u2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ts’u2]
[OPH *ts’u2] CNH *ts’uo2

chú 錄 QYS djwo CDC *jie2 (~ *jiu2)/EC *dra
BMH [chhû]; MX [ts’u2]; HL [tʃ’u2]; SX [tʃ’u2]; LF [tʃ’u2]; LZ [tʃhu2]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’y2]; XY [ts’y2]; DB [ts’i2]; YL [ts’u2]; XC [tʃ’u2]
CT [tʃ’u2]; WP [thu2]; YD [ts’i2]; SH [tshu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tʃ’ye2]†
NK [ts’u2]; AY [ts’γ2]; SY [ts’y2]; XS [tʃ’u2]; QN [ts’u2]; ND1 [ts’u2]; ND2 [ts’u2]; ND3 [ts’u2]
[OPH *tʃ’u2] CNH *tʃ’iu2
† Cf. FJFYZ: [tʃ’ye2].

chú 廚 QYS dju CDC *jiu2/EC *dro
BMH [chhû]; MX [ts’u2]; HL [tʃ’u2]; SX [tʃ’u2]; LF [tʃ’u2]; LZ [tʃhu2]; SHT [ts’u2]
HY [ts’y2]; XY [ts’y2]; DB [ts’i2]; YL [tʃ’u2]; XC [tʃ’u2]
CT [tʃ’u2]; WP [thu2]; YD [ts’i2]; SH [tshu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tʃ’ue2]
NK [ts’u2]; AY [ts’γ2]; SY [ts’y2]; XS [tʃ’u2]; QN [ts’u2]; ND1 [ts’u2]; ND2 [ts’u2]; ND3 [ts’u2]
[OPH *tʃ’u2] CNH *tʃ’iu2

chú 楚 QYS tʃhjwo: CDC *che3 (~ *chu3)/EC *tshrax
BMH [tshû]; MX [ts’γ3]; HL [ts’u3]; SX [ts’u3]; LF [ts’e3]; LZ [tʃhɔ3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts’u3]; XC [tʃ’u3]
CT [ts’u3]; WP [tsh3]; YD [ts’i3]; SH [tsh3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’u3]; AY [ts’u3]; SY [ts’u3]; XS [ts’γ3]; QN [ts’u3]; ND1 [ts’u3]; ND2 [ts’u3]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ts’u3] CNH *ts’uo3
chù 處 QYS tśhjwo- CDC *chie5 (~ *chiu5)/EC *chax (khyax)
BMH [chhù]; MX [ts’u5]; HL [tʃ’u5]; SX [tʃ’u5]; LF [ts’u3]; LZ [tʃhu5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʃ’u5]; XC [tʃ’u5]
CT [tʃ’u5]; WP [tʃhu5]; YD [—]; SH [tʃhu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tʃ’ye5]
NK [ts’u3]; AY [ts’ʃ5]; SY [tʃ’y3]; XS [tʃ’u5]; QN [ts’u5]; ND1 [ts’u5]; ND2 [ts’u5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tš’u5] CNH *tš’iu5

chù 畜 QYS ṭhjuk “livestock, domestic animals” CDC *chiuk7/EC *thruk
BMH [hiuk]; MX [hiuk7]; HL [hiuk7]; SX [hiuk7]; LF [hiuk7]; LZ [tʃhu7]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʃ’ueiʔ7 ~ tʃ’yʔ7]†; XC [eiuʔʔw ~ tʃ’uʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [tʃhuiʔ7]; YD [siuʔ7]; SH [tʃhioʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tʃ’iu8 ~ ts’u8]; AY [ts’ʃ6]; SY [ts’u5]; XS [tʃ’uk7]; QN [tʃ’iuʔ7]; ND1 [ts’uk7]; ND2 [ts’uk7]; ND3 [ts’uk7]
[OPH *hiuk7] CNH *tš’iu7/*hiuk7†
†Second form is from the glossary section of the source.

chuān 穿 QYS tśhjwän CDC *chion1/EC *thon
BMH [chhon]; MX [ts’ən1]; HL [tʃ’on5]; SX [tʃ’on5]; LF [tʃ’on5]; LZ [tʃhən1]; SHT [ts’ən1]
HY [ts’uən1]; XY [ts’uən1]; DB [ts’ən1]; YL [tʃ’ən1]; XC [tʃ’uən1]
CT [tʃ’un1]; WP [tʃhuiən5]; YD [ts’ən1]; SH [tʃhuiən1]; LC1 [k’ue1]; LC2 [k’ue1]
NK [ts’oə1]; AY [ts’oə1]; SY [ts’uə1]; XS [tʃ’ən1]; QN [ts’ən1]; ND1 [ts’oən1]; ND2 [ts’uən1]; ND3 [ts’uən1]
[OPH *tš’on1 ~ tš’on5] CNH *tš’uən1/*tš’uən5

chuán 傳 QYS djwän CDC *jion2/EC *dron
BMH [chhôn]; MX [ts’ən2]; HL [tʃ’on2]; SX [tʃ’on2]; LF [tʃ’on2]; LZ [tʃhən2]; SHT [ts’ən2]
HY [ts’uən2]; XY [ts’uən2]; DB [ts’ən2]; YL [tʃ’ən2]; XC [tʃ’uən2]
CT [tʃ’un2]; WP [tʃhuiən2]; YD [ts’ən2]; SH [tʃhuiən2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [k’ue2]
NK [ts’oə2]; AY [ts’oə2]; SY [ts’uə2]; XS [tʃ’ən2]; QN [ts’ən2]; ND1 [ts’oən2]; ND2 [ts’uən2]; ND3 [ts’uən3]
The final of the Diànbái form is irregular.

Yílǒng and Xīchāng show an affricate initial form which does not occur at other points. It is perhaps a Mandarin loan.

Yílǒng and Xīchāng show an affricate initial form which does not occur at other points. It is perhaps a Mandarin loan.
chuáng 牀 QYS dzjang CDC *jong2/EC *dzrang
BMH [tʃʰɔŋ]; MX [tsʰɔŋ2]; HL [tsʰɔŋ2]; SX [tsʰɔŋ2]; LF [tsʰɔŋ]; LZ [tʃʰɔŋ2]; SHT [tsʰɔŋ2]
HY [tsʰɔŋ2]; XY [tsʰɔŋ2]; DB [tsʰɔŋ2]; YL [tsʰɔŋ2]; XC [tʂʰɔŋ2]
CT [sɔŋ2]; WP [sɔŋ2]; YD [sɔŋ2]; SH [sɔŋ2]; LC1 [sɔŋ2]; LC2 [sɔŋ2]
NK [ts’ɔŋ2]; AY [tsʰɔŋ2]; SY [ts’ɔŋ2]; XS [tsʰɔŋ2]; QN [tsʰɔŋ2]; ND1 [tsʰɔŋ2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [tsʰɔŋ2]
[OPH *ts’ɔŋ2]  CNH *ts’ɔŋ2

chuí 吹 QYS tʃʰjwe CDC *chui1/EC *thoy
BMH [ʃʰoi ∼ chhui]; MX [tsʰei1]; HL [tʃʰoi1 ∼ tʃʰui1b]; SX [tʃʰoi1]; LF [tʃʰoi1]; LZ [tʃʰui1];
    SHT [tsʰui2]
HY [tsʰui1]; XY [tsʰei1]; DB [tsʰei1]; YL [tʃʰei1]; XC [tʃʰei1]
CT [tʃʰei1]; WP [tʃhei1]; YD [tsʰei1]; SH [tʃhei1]; LC1 [kʰi1]; LC2 [kʰi1]
NK [tʃʰi1]; AY [tsʰei1]; SY [tʃʰi1]; XS [tʃʰi1]; QN [tsʰui1]; ND1 [tsʰui1]; ND2 [tsʰui1]; ND3 [tsʰui1]
[OPH *tʃʰoi1]  CNH *tʃʰiui1/L *tʃʰoi1
Cf. Wēngyuán [tsʰui1].

chuí 槌、錘 QYS djwi CDC *jui2/EC *druy
BMH [ʃʰui]; MX [tsʰui2]; HL [tʃʰui2]; SX [tʃʰui2]; LF [tʃʰui2]; LZ [tʃʰui2]; SHT [tsʰui2]
HY [tsʰui2]; XY [tsʰui2]; DB [tsʰui2]; YL [tʃʰui2]; XC [tʃʰui2]
CT [tʃʰui2]; WP [tshe2 ∼ tshi2]; YD [tsʰei2]; SH [tshe2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tʃʰye2]
NK [tʃʰi2]; AY [tsʰei2]; SY [tʃʰi2]; XS [tʃʰi2]; QN [tsʰui2]; ND1 [tsʰui2]; ND2 [tsʰui2]; ND3 [tsʰui2]
[OPH *tsʰui2]  CNH *tʃʰiui2
Cf. Wēngyuán [tsʰui2].
The Liánchéng-2 form is quite irregular. We would expect [kʰi2] here for this dialect. The form may be a loan of some sort.
Appendix: Data

chūn 春 QYS tshuen CDC *chiun1/EC *thun
BMH [chhun]; MX [ts`un1]; HL [ʃun1]; SX [ʃun1]; LF [ʃun1]; LZ [ʃhun1]; SHT [ts`un1]
HY [ts`un1]; XY [ts`un1]; DB [ts`ən1]; YL [tʃ`un1]; XC [tʃ`uən1]
CT [ʃeŋ1]; WP [tsheŋ1 ~ tshin1]; YD [ts`un1]; SH [tʃeŋ1]; LC1 [k`ueŋ1]; LC2 [k`ueŋ1]
NK [tʃ`eŋ1]; AY [ts`ən1]; SY [tʃ`eŋ1]; XS [tʃ`ən1]; QN [ts`un1]; ND1 [ts`un1]; ND2 [ts`un1];
ND3 [ts`un1]
OPH *ts`un1 CNH *tʃ`iun1

chún 唇、脣 QYS dzjuen CDC *zhiun2 ~ *jiun2/EC *dun
BMH [ʃhun]; MX [sun2]; HL [ʃun2]; SX [ʃun2]; LF [ʃun2]; LZ [ʃun2]; SHT [sun2]
HY [sun2]; XY [sun2]; DB [ʃən2]; YL [sun2]†; XC [—]
CT [ʃeŋ2]; WP [—]; YD [ʃiŋ2]††; SH [ʃeŋ2]; LC1 [ʃeŋ2]; LC2 [ʃeŋ2]
NK [ʃeŋ2]; AY [ʃən2]; SY [ʃeŋ2]; XS [ʃən2]; QN [sun2]; ND1 [sun2]; ND2 [ʃən2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ʃun2] CNH *ʃiun2
†Form occurs only in the glossary, whose informant is reported by the source as having had no
retroflexes in his language.
††Used in the special sense “edge or bank (of a body of water)”.

chún 純 QYS dzjuen CDC *zhiun2 ~ *jiun2/EC *dun
BMH [ʃhun]; MX [sun2]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [ʃun2]; LZ [ʃun2]; SHT [—]
HY [sun2]; XY [sun2]; DB [ʃən2]; YL [ʃun2]; XC [ʃən2]
CT [ʃeŋ2]; WP [—]; YD [ʃun2]; SH [ʃeŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ʃeŋ2]; AY [ʃən2]; SY [ʃeŋ2]; XS [ʃən2]; QN [sun2]; ND1 [ts`un2]; ND2 [sun2]; ND3 [ts`un2]
[OPH *ʃun2] CNH *ʃiun2

Ningdū-1 and 3 reflect an earlier *tʃ`iun2 which is not comparable to the forms found at other
points. The Diànbái initial is irregular, since we would expect it to descend from CNH *s-.
chǔn 惫、蠢 QYS tšhjuen: CDC *chiun3/EC *thonx
BMH [chhún]; MX [ts’un3]; HL [tʃ’un3]; SX [—]; LF [tʃ’un3]; LZ [tʃun3]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’un3]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʃ’un3]; XC [tʃ’un3]
CT [tʃ’en3]; WP [tʃen3]; YD [—]; SH [tʃen3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [k’un3]
NK [tʃ’en3]; AY [ts’aŋ3]; SY [tʃ’en3]; XS [tʃ’en3]; QN [ts’un3]; ND1 [ts’un3]; ND2 [ts’un3];
ND3 [—]
[OPH *tʃ’un3]  CNH *tʃ’iun3

cí 辭 QYS zǐ CDC *zi2/EC *zi
BMH [tšu]; MX [ts’ə2]; HL [ts’ə2]; SX [ts’ə2]; LF [ts’e2]; LZ [tʃu2]; SHT [—]
HY [s’ə2]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts’ə2]; XC [ts’ə2]
CT [ts’ə2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [ts’ə2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’ə2]; AY [ts’ə2]; SY [ts’ə2]; XS [ts’ə2]; QN [—]; ND1 [ts’a2]; ND2 [sa2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ts’i2]  CNH *ts’i2
The Níngdū-2 initial in this and the following form is irregular.

cí 祠 QYS zǐ CDC *dzi2/EC *zi
BMH [tšu]; MX [ts’ə2]; HL [ts’ə2]; SX [ts’ə2]; LF [ts’e2]; LZ [tʃu2]; SHT [—]
HY [s’ə2]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts’ə2]; XC [ts’ə2]
CT [ts’ə2]; WP [ts’ə2]; YD [ts’ə2]; SH [ts’ə2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’ə2]; AY [ts’ə2]; SY [ts’ə2]; XS [ts’ə2]; QN [ts’ə2]; ND1 [ts’a2]; ND2 [sa2]; ND3 [ts’a2]
[OPH *ts’i2]  CNH *ts’i2

cí 輯 QYS dzǐ CDC *dzi2/EC *dzi
BMH [tšu]; MX [ts’ə2]; HL [ts’ə2]; SX [ts’ə2]; LF [ts’e2]; LZ [tʃu2]; SHT [—]
HY [s’ə2]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts’ə2]; XC [ts’ə2]
CT [ts’ə2]; WP [ts’ə2]; YD [ts’ə2]; SH [ts’ə2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’ə2]; AY [ts’ə2]; SY [ts’ə2]; XS [ts’ə2]; QN [ts’ə2]; ND1 [ts’a2]; ND2 [sa2]; ND3 [ts’a2]
[OPH *ts’i2]  CNH *ts’i2
This set comprises two different etyma having the sense of “thorn; prick”. Where the second form is used in speech in this sense, the first is usually a literary word and serves as the canonical character reading for the graph 刺. The Lìzhīzhuāng form is clearly to be associated with this first reading, but its final is irregular. It is perhaps a Yuè dialect loan. The tone of the Méixiàn wén form is irregular. The provenance of the third Méixiàn form is obscure.
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts’ɨ5]; XC [ts’ɨ5]  
CT [—]; WP [tshɨ5]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]  
NK [—]; AY [sɨ5]; SY [sɨ5]; XS [sɨ5]; QN [sɨ5]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]  
[OPH *sɨ5]  CNH *sɨ5/*ts’i5
The Lìzhīzhuāng form is a possible Yuè loan.

cōng 蔥 QYS tshung CDC *tshung1/EC *tshong  
BMH [tshung]; MX [ts’uŋ1]; HL [ts’uŋ1]; SX [ts’uŋ1]; LF [ts’uŋ1]; LZ [tʃuŋ1]; SHT [ts’uŋ1]  
HY [ts’oŋ1]; XY [ts’oŋ1]; DB [ts’uŋ1]; YL [ts’uŋ1]; XC [ts’uŋ1]  
CT [ts’oŋ1]; WP [tshuŋ1]; YD [ts’uŋ1]; SH [tʃəʊ1]; LC1 [ts’oŋ1]; LC2 [—]  
NK [ts’əŋ1]; AY [ts’əŋ1]; SY [ts’əŋ1]; XS [ts’əŋ1]; QN [ts’uŋ1]; ND1 [ts’uŋ1]; ND2 [ts’uŋ1]  
[OPH *ts’uŋ1]  CNH *ts’uŋ1

cōng 從 QYS dzjwong CDC *dziung2/EC *dzong  
BMH [tshiung]; MX [ts’iʊn2]; HL [ts’iʊn2]; SX [ts’iʊn2]; LF [ts’iʊn2]; LZ [tʃiʊn2]; SHT  
[ts’uŋ2 ~ ts’iʊn2]  
HY [ts’oŋ2]; XY [ts’oŋ2]; DB [ts’uŋ2]; YL [ts’uŋ2]; XC [ts’uŋ2]  
CT [ts’iʊn2]; WP [—]; YD [ts’iʊn2]; SH [tʃəʊ2 ~ tʃiʊ2]; LC1 [ts’iʊn2]; LC2 [—]  
NK [ts’əŋ2]; AY [ts’əŋ2]; SY [ts’əŋ2]; XS [ts’əŋ2]; QN [ts’uŋ2]; ND1 [ts’uŋ2]; ND2 [te’iʊn2];  
ND3 [ts’uŋ2 ~ ts’iʊn2]  
OPH *ts’iʊn2  CNH *ts’iʊn2/*ts’uŋ2

cū 粗 QYS tshuo CDC *tshu1/EC *tsha  
BMH [tʃu ~ tʃo]; MX [ts’ɨ1]; HL [ts’u1]; SX [ts’u1]; LF [ts’e1]; LZ [tʃu1]; SHT [ts’u1]  
HY [ts’u1]; XY [ts’u1]; DB [ts’u1]; YL [ts’u1]; XC [ts’u1]  
CT [ts’u1]; WP [tʃu1]; YD [ts’i1]; SH [tʃ1b ~ tʃu1w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]  
NK [ts’u1]; AY [ts’u1]; SY [ts’u1]; XS [ts’ɨ1]; QN [ts’u1]; ND1 [ts’u1]; ND2 [ts’u1]; ND3  
[ts’u1]  
[OPH *ts’u1]  CNH *ts’u1
Appendix: Data

cù 醋 QYS tshuo- CDC *tshuo5/EC *'tshakh
BMH [tshʊ]; MX [ts’ɨ5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [tʃu5]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’u5]; XY [ts’u5]; DB [ts’u5]; YL [ts’u5]; XC [ts’u5]
CT [ts’u5]; WP [tʃu5]; YD [ts’i3]; SH [tʃu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’u5]; AY [ts’u5]; SY [ts’u2]; XS [ts’ɪ5]; QN [ts’u5]; ND1 [ts’u5]; ND2 [ts’u5]; ND3 [ts’u5]
[OPH *ts’u5] CNH *ts’u5

cūn 村 QYS tshuən CDC *tshun1/EC *’tshun
BMH [tʃuən]; MX [ts’uən1]; HL [ts’uən1]; SX [ts’uən1]; LF [ts’uən1]; LZ [tʃuən1]; SHT [ts’uən1]
HY [ts’uən1]; XY [ts’uən1]; DB [ts’ən1]; YL [ts’ən1]; XC [ts’ən1]
CT [ts’eŋ1]; WP [tʃeŋ1]; YD [ts’uən1]; SH [tʃeŋ1]; LC1 [ts’əi1]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’emás1]; AY [ts’əŋ1]; SY [ts’emás1]; XS [ts’ən1]; QN [ts’uən1]; ND1 [ts’uən1]; ND2 [ts’uən1]; ND3 [ts’uən1]
[OPH *ts’uən1] CNH *ts’uən1
The vowel of the Yǐlǒng form is anomalous.

cūn 寸 QYS tshuən- CDC *tshun5/EC *’tshunh
BMH [tʃuən]; MX [ts’uən5]; HL [ts’uən5]; SX [ts’uən5]; LF [ts’uən5]; LZ [tʃuən5]; SHT [ts’uən5]
HY [ts’uən5]; XY [ts’uən5]; DB [ts’ən5]; YL [ts’uən5]; XC [ts’ən5]
CT [ts’eŋ5]; WP [tʃeŋ5]; YD [ts’uən3]; SH [tʃeŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’emás5]; AY [ts’əŋ5]; SY [ts’emás2]; XS [—]; QN [ts’uən5]; ND1 [ts’uən5]; ND2 [ts’uən5]; ND3 [ts’uən5]
[OPH *ts’uən5] CNH *ts’uən5

cuō 撮 QYS tshuət CDC *tshot7/EC *’tshot
BMH [tʃuət]; MX [ts’ət7 ~ ts’ot7]; HL [ts’ət7]; SX [ts’ot7]; LF [ts’ot7]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’uət7]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts’əʔ7]; XC [tsəʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [tʃuəʔ7]; YD [ts’əʔ7]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
Common Neo-Hakka:
A Comparative Reconstruction

NK [tsoœ7]; AY [—]; SY [tsu01 ~ ts’o5]; XS [tsœit7]; QN [tsœiʔ7]; ND1 [ts’oct7]; ND2 [tsuot7]; ND3 [—]

OPH *ts’ot7  CNH *ts’(u)ot7 ~ *ts(u)ot7

cuò 錯 QYS tshâk  CDC *tshok7, *tshuo5/EC *’shak, *tshakh
BMH [tshò]; MX [ts’o5]; HL [ts’o5]; SX [ts’o5]; LF [ts’o5]; LZ [tʃho5]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’ua5]; XY [ts’ɔ]; DB [ts’o5]; YL [ts’au5]; XC [ts’o5]
CT [—]; WP [tʃho5]; YD [ts’o5 ~ ts’o7]; SH [tʃu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ts’o8]; AY [ts’o5]; SY [ts’o2]; XS [ts’o5]; QN [ts’o5]; ND1 [ts’o5]; ND2 [ts’o5]; ND3 [ts’o5]

[OPH *ts’o5]  CNH *ts’o5

D

dā 搭 QYS tăng  CDC *top7, *tap7/EC *’tup
BMH [tap]; MX [tap7]; HL [tap7]; SX [tap7]; LF [tap7]; LZ [tap7]; SHT [—]
HY [tap7]; XY [tap7]; DB [tap7]; YL [taʔ7]; XC [taʔ7]
CT [ta2]; WP [taʔ7]; YD [taʔ7]; SH [taʔ7]; LC1 [to6]; LC2 [ta6 ~ to6]

NK [ta7]; AY [ts6]; SY [ta5]; XS [tait7]; QN [tæʔ7]; ND1 [taip7]; ND2 [tap7]; ND3 [tap7]

OPH *tap7  CNH *tap7

dá 答 QYS tăng  CDC *top7/EC *’tup
BMH [tap]; MX [tap7]; HL [tap7]; SX [tap7]; LF [tap7]; LZ [tap7]; SHT [—]
HY [tap7]; XY [tap7]; DB [tap7]; YL [taʔ7]; XC [taʔ7]
CT [ta2]; WP [taʔ7]; YD [—]; SH [taʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [to6]

NK [ta7]; AY [ts6]; SY [ta5]; XS [tait7]; QN [tæʔ7]; ND1 [taip7]; ND2 [tap7]; ND3 [tap7]

[OPH *tap7]  CNH *tap7

dá 達 QYS dat  CDC *dat8/EC *’dat
BMH [thát]; MX [t’at8]; HL [t’at8]; SX [t’at8]; LF [t’at8]; LZ [that8]; SHT [—]
HY [t’at8]; XY [t’at8]; DB [t’at8]; YL [taʔ7]; XC [taʔ8]
CT [—]; WP [thaʔ8]; YD [t’at8]; SH [thaʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [t’a5]
NK [t’a8]; AY [t’ə1]; SY [t’a5]; XS [t’aiʔ8]; QN [t’aʔ8]; ND1 [t’aiʔ8]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [t’at8]

OPH *t’at8   CNH *t’at8

dǎ 打     QYS (tong:)   CDC *ta3 ～ tang3/EC —

BMH [tá]; MX [ta3]; HL [ta3]; SX [ta3]; LF [ta3]; LZ [ta3]; SHT [ta3]
HY [ta3]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ta3]; XC [ta3]
CT [ta3]; WP [ta3]; YD [ta3]; SH [ta3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [to3]
NK [ta3]; AY [ta3]; SY [ta3]; XS [ta3]; QN [ta3]; ND1 [ta3]; ND2 [ta3]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *ta3]   CNH *ta3

dà 大     QYS dâ-, dâi-  CDC *do6 ～ *dai6/EC *’dayh

BMH [thâi]; MX [t’ai5]; HL [t’ai6]; SX [t’ai5]; LF [t’ai6]; LZ [thai5]; SHT [t’ai5]
HY [t’ai6]; XY [t’ai5 ～ t’ai3]; DB [t’ai5 ～ t’ai3]; YL [t’ai3]; XC [t’ai5]
CT [t’ai6]; WP [tha3]; YD [t’ai5]; SH [tha3]; LC1 [ta6]; LC2 [ta6 ～ t’ai6]
NK [t’æ5]; AY [t’æ6]; SY [t’æ5]; XS [t’ai5]; QN [t’ai6]; ND1 [t’ai6]; ND2 [t’ai6]; ND3 [t’ai6]

OPH *t’ai6   CNH *t’ai6

dài 帶     QYS tài-    CDC *tai5/EC *’tath

BMH [tai]; MX [tai5]; HL [tai5]; SX [tai5]; LF [tai5]; LZ [tai5]; SHT [tai5]
HY [tai5]; XY [tai5]; DB [tai5]; YL [tai5]; XC [tai5]
CT [tai5]; WP [ta5]; YD [tai3 ～ t’ai5]; SH [ta5]; LC1 [ta5]; LC2 [ta5]
NK [tæ5]; AY [tæ5]; SY [tæ2]; XS [tai5]; QN [tai5]; ND1 [tai5]; ND2 [tai5]; ND3 [tai5]

OPH *tai5   CNH *tai5

dài 待     QYS dài:    CDC *doi4/EC *’dix

BMH [thăi]; MX [t’ai5]; HL [t’ai6]; SX [t’ai5]; LF [t’oi6]; LZ [thai5]; SHT [—]
HY [t’uai6]; XY [t’uai3]; DB [t’oi3]; YL [—]; XC [tai5]
CT [t’ai6]; WP [tha3]; YD [t’ai5]; SH [tha3w ～ thue3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
The Xīchāng form appears to be a direct loan from some form of Mandarin. The same is true in the next three sets below.

The Liánchéng-1 form is derived from earlier *t’ai6, which is not reflected at other points.
The tones of the Lìzhīzhuāng and Sung Him Tong form is irregular.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>QYS</th>
<th>CDC</th>
<th>OPH</th>
<th>CNH</th>
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<td>dàn 淡</td>
<td>QYS dâm:</td>
<td>དམ-</td>
<td>*damx</td>
<td>*t'am6</td>
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<tr>
<td>BMH [thâm ~ tham]; MX [t'äm5w ~ t'äm1b]; HL [t'äm6 ~ t'äm1]; SX [t'äm5w ~ t'äm1b]; LF [t'äm1]; LZ [thäm1]; SHT [—]</td>
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<tr>
<td>HX [t'äm1]; XY [t'äm1]; DB [t'äm1]; YL [t'an1]; XC [t'an2]</td>
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<tr>
<td>CT [t'an1]; WP [thän3 ~ thän1b]; YD [t'an5 ~ t'an1]; SH [thän1]; LC1 [t'an1]; LC2 [t'an1]</td>
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<tr>
<td>NK [t'ã1]; AY [t'ã3]; SY [t'ã1]; XS [t'an1]; QN [t'äm1]; ND1 [t'äm1]; ND2 [t'äm6]; ND3 [t'äm1]</td>
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<tr>
<td>OPH *t'am1</td>
<td>CNH *t'am1/L *t'am6</td>
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<tr>
<td>The tone of the Xīchāng form is irregular.</td>
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<tr>
<td>dāng 當</td>
<td>QYS tâng</td>
<td>CDC *tong1</td>
<td>*tang</td>
<td>*t'ang</td>
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<tr>
<td>BMH [tong]; MX [tɔŋ1]; HL [tɔŋ1]; SX [tɔŋ1]; LF [tɔŋ1]; LZ [tɔŋ1]; SHT [tɔŋ1]</td>
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<tr>
<td>HX [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɔŋ1]; XC [tɔŋ1]</td>
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<tr>
<td>CT [tɔŋ1]; WP [tɔŋ1]; YD [tɔŋ1]; SH [tɔŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tɔŋ1]</td>
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<tr>
<td>NK [tɔŋ1]; AY [tɔŋ1]; SY [tɔŋ1]; XS [tɔŋ1]; QN [tɔŋ1]; ND1 [tɔŋ1]; ND2 [tɔŋ1]; ND3 [—]</td>
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<tr>
<td>OPH *t'øŋ1</td>
<td>CNH *t'øŋ1</td>
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<tr>
<td>dâng 蕩</td>
<td>QYS dâng:</td>
<td>CDC *dong4</td>
<td>*dangx</td>
<td>*t'øŋ6</td>
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<td>BMH [thóng]; MX [t'ɔŋ3]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [t'øŋ6]; LZ [tɔŋ5]; SHT [—]</td>
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<td>HX [t'øŋ6]; XY [t'øŋ5]; DB [t'øŋ3]; YL [t'øŋ5]; XC [t'øŋ5]</td>
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<tr>
<td>CT [t'øŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [thoŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]</td>
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<td>NK [t'øŋ5]; AY [t'øŋ6]; SY [t'øŋ5]; XS [t'øŋ5]; QN [t'øŋ6]; ND1 [t'øŋ6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [t'øŋ6]</td>
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<tr>
<td>OPH ? CNH *t'øŋ6/*t'øŋ1/*t'øŋ3</td>
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<tr>
<td>The basic sense of this word in spoken Hakka is “unsettled, irregular (of action or behavior)”. The character also has various other literary senses, and the disparate tonal readings that are reconstructable for it may in some cases reflect literary character readings.</td>
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<tr>
<td>dăo 刀</td>
<td>QYS tâu</td>
<td>CDC *tou1</td>
<td>*taw</td>
<td>*t'əʊ1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>HX [tau1]; XY [tau1]; DB [tau1]; YL [tau1]; XC [tau1]</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Appendix: Data

CT [tɔ1]; WP [tɔ1]; YD [tou1]; SH [tu1]; LC1 [tɔ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɔ1]; AY [tɔ1]; SY [tɔ1]; XS [tau1]; QN [tau1]; ND1 [tau1]; ND2 [tau1]; ND3 [tau1]

OPH *tou1  CNH *tou1

dǎo 倒  QYS tâu:   CDC *tou3/EC *’tawx
BMH [tàu]; MX [tau3]; HL [to3]; SX [to3]; LF [to3]; LZ [tau3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɔu3]; XC [tau3]

CT [tɔ3]; WP [tɔ3]; YD [tou3]; SH [tu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tɔ3]
NK [tɔ3]; AY [tɔ3]; SY [tɔ3]; XS [tau3]; QN [tau3]; ND1 [tau3]; ND2 [tau3]; ND3 [—]

OPH *tou3  CNH *tou3

dào 倒  QYS tâu- “to pour”  CDC *tou5/EC *’tawh
BMH [tàu]; MX [tau3]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [to5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [to3]; DB [—]; YL [tɔu5]; XC [tau5]

CT [tɔ5]; WP [tɔ5]; YD [tou3]; SH [tu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɔ5]; AY [tɔ5]; SY [tɔ5]; XS [tau5]; QN [tau5]; ND1 [tau5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *tou5]  CNH *tou5

dào 到  QYS tâu- CDC *tou5/EC *’tawh
BMH [tàu]; MX [tau5]; HL [to5]; SX [to5]; LF [to5]; LZ [tau5]; SHT [—]
HY [tau5]; XY [tɔ5]; DB [to5]; YL [tɔu5]; XC [tau5]

CT [tɔ5]; WP [tɔ5]; YD [tou3]; SH [tu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tɔ5]
NK [tɔ5]; AY [tɔ5]; SY [tɔ5]; XS [tau5]; QN [tau5]; ND1 [tau5]; ND2 [tau5]; ND3 [tau5]

[OPH *tou5]  CNH *tou5

dào 道  QYS dâu: “road, principle”  CDC *dou4/EC *’dux
BMH [tàu ~ thò]; MX [t’au5 ~ tau5]; HL [t’o6]; SX [t’o5]; LF [t’o6]; LZ [thau5]; SHT [t’au5]
HY [t’au6]; XY [t’ɔ3]; DB [t’o3]; YL [tau5w ~ t’au3b]; XC [t’au5]

CT [t’ɔ6]; WP [t’ɔ3]; YD [t’au5]; SH [tu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [t’ɔ5]; AY [t’ɔ6]; SY [t’ɔ5]; XS [t’au5]; QN [t’au6]; ND1 [t’au6]; ND2 [t’au6]; ND3 [t’au6]
[OPH *t’ou6]  CNH *t’ou6

dé 得 QYS tak  CDC *tek7/EC *’tik
BMH [tet]; MX [tet7]; HL [tet7]; SX [tet7]; LF [tet7]; LZ [tet7]; SHT [tet7]
HY [tat7]; XY [tet7]; DB [tet7]; YL [teʔ7]; XC [teʔ7]
CT [taʔ2]; WP [teʔ7]; YD [teʔ7]; SH [teʔ7]; LC1 [tuə6]; LC2 [tuə6]
NK [te8]; AY [te6]; SY [te5]; XS [tet7]; QN [teʔ7]; ND1 [taʔ7]; ND2 [taʔ7]; ND3 [taʔ7]
OPH *tet7  CNH *tek7

dēng 燈 QYS tāng  CDC *teng1/EC *’ting
BMH [ten]; MX [ten1]; HL [ten1]; SX [ten1]; LF [ten1]; LZ [ten1]; SHT [ten1]
HY [tan1]; XY [ten1]; DB [ten1]; YL [tan1]; XC [tan1]
CT [teŋ1]; WP [teŋ1]; YD [teŋ1]; SH [tɛ1]; LC1 [tai1]; LC2 [taiŋ1]
NK [tɛ1]; AY [tiŋ1]; SY [tɛ1]; XS [ten1]; QN [ten1]; ND1 [taiŋ1]; ND2 [tiŋ1]; ND3 [tiŋ1]
OPH *ten1  CNH *teŋ1

dēng 等 QYS tāngː  CDC *teng3/EC *’tingx
BMH [tɛn]; MX [ten3]; HL [ten3]; SX [ten3]; LF [ten3]; LZ [ten3]; SHT [ten3]
HY [tan3]; XY [ten3]; DB [ten3]; YL [tan3]; XC [ten3]
CT [teŋ3]; WP [teŋ3]; YD [teŋ3]; SH [tɛ3]; LC1 [tai3]; LC2 [taiŋ3]*
NK [tɛ3]; AY [tiŋ3 ~ təŋ3]; SY [tɛ3]; XS [ten3]; QN [ten3]; ND1 [taiŋ3 ~ tin3]; ND2 [tiŋ3];
    ND3 [taiŋ3]
OPH *ten3  CNH *teŋ3
*The vowel in this form may be a typographical error for -æ-.

dēng 癱 QYS tānː  CDC *teng5/EC *’tingh
BMH [tɛn]; MX [ten5]; HL [ten5]; SX [ten5]; LF [ten5]; LZ [ten5]; SHT [—]
HY [tan5]; XY [ten5]; DB [ten5]; YL [tan5]; XC [ten5]
CT [teŋ5]; WP [teŋ5]; YD [teŋ5]; SH [tɛ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɛ5]; AY [tiŋ5]; SY [tɛ2]; XS [ten5]; QN [ten5]; ND1 [tin5]; ND2 [tiŋ5]; ND3 [tiŋ5]
Appendix: Data

[OPH *ten5]  CNH *teŋ5

dī 低  QYS tiei  CDC *tiai/EC *te
BMH [taى]; MX [tau1]; HL [tau1]; SX [tau1]; LF [tau1]; LZ [tau1]; SHT [tau1]
HY [tie1]; XY [tei1]; DB [te1]; YL [tei1]; XC [—]
CT [te1]; WP [—]; YD [tei1]; SH [tei1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [te1]
NK [ti1]; AY [te1]; SY [ti1]; XS [ta1]; QN [ti1 ~ tei1]; ND1 [tie1]; ND2 [tie1]; ND3 [tiai1]
[OPH *tau1]  CNH *tiai

dī 滴  QYS tiek  CDC *tiak7/EC *tek
BMH [tit]; MX [tit7]; HL [tit7]; SX [tit7]; LF [tit7]; LZ [tit7]; SHT [—]
HY [tit7]; XY [tek8 ~ tit8]; DB [tat7]; YL [—]; XC [ti7]
CT [ti2]; WP [ti8]; YD [ti8]; SH [ti8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ti6]
NK [tie8]; AY [tis3]; SY [tie5]; XS [tit7]; QN [ti7]; ND1 [tit8 ~ tik7]†; ND2 [tik7]; ND3 [tik8 ~ tit7]
[OPH * tit7]  CNH *tik7
†Second form in BJYJ only.

dī 笛  QYS diek  CDC *diak8/EC *diwk
BMH [thák]; MX [t’ak8]; HL [tit7w ~ t’ak8b]; SX [tit7]; LF [t’ak8]; LZ [thak8]; SHT [—]
HY [t’iak8]; XY [t’iat8]; DB [t’et8]; YL [ti2]; XC [ti7]
CT [—]; WP [the8]; YD [t’i8]; SH [the8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [t’ie8 ~ t’ia1]; AY [t’ia6]; SY [t’ie5]; XS [t’it8]; QN [t’i8]; ND1 [t’iak8]; ND2 [t’iak8]; ND3 [t’iak8]
[OPH *t’ak8]  CNH *t’iak8/L *t’ik8
The Mandarinized Yílǒng and Xīchāng forms lack initial aspiration.

dī 底  QYS tiei:  CDC *tiai3/EC *tiyx
BMH [tái]; MX [tau3]; HL [tau3]; SX [tau3]; LF [tau3]; LZ [tau3]; SHT [—]
HY [tie3]; XY [tau3]; DB [tau3]; YL [tau3]; XC [ti3w ~ tai3b]
The tones of the Yǒngdìng and Níngdū-1 forms point to an etymologically obscure reading, *ti6. The Shàngyóu form is also irregular.
diǎn 點  QYS  tiem:  CDC *tiam3/EC ’timx
BMH [tiám]; MX [tian3]; HL [tiam3]; SX [tiam3]; LF [tiam3]; LZ [tiam3]; SHT [tiam3]
HY [tiam3]; XY [tiam3]; DB [tiam3]; YL [tien3]; XC [tien3]
CT [tiŋ3]; WP [tiaŋ3]; YD [tiaŋ3]; SH [tiâ3]; LC1 [te3]; LC2 [te3]
NK [tiē3]; AY [tiâ3]; SY [tiē3]; XS [tien3]; QN [tiam3]; ND1 [tiam3]; ND2 [tiam3]; ND3 [tiam3]
[OPH *tiam3]  CNH *tiam3

diàn 店  QYS  tiem-  CDC *tiam5/EC —
BMH [tiâm]; MX [tiam5]; HL [tiam5]; SX [tiam5]; LF [tiam5]; LZ [tiam5]; SHT [—]
HY [tiam5]; XY [tiam5]; DB [tiam5]; YL [tien5]; XC [tien5]
CT [tiŋ5]; WP [tiaŋ5]; YD [tiaŋ3]; SH [tiâ5]; LC1 [te5]; LC2 [—]
NK [tiē5]; AY [tiâ5]; SY [tiē2]; XS [tien5]; QN [tiam5]; ND1 [tiam5]; ND2 [tiam5]; ND3 [tiam5]
OPH *tiam5  CNH *tiam5

diào 掉  QYS  dieu-  CDC *diau6/EC *’dewkh
BMH [thiàu]; MX [t’iau5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tiau5]; XC [tiau5]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tio5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [t’io5]; AY [t’iə6 ~ tio5]; SY [t’iə5 ~ tiə1]; XS [t’iau5]; QN [t’iau6 ~ tiau5]; ND1 [t’iau6];
ND2 [—]; ND3 [t’iau5]
[OPH *t’iau5 ?]  CNH *t’iau6/*tiau5

diào 釣  QYS  tieu-  CDC *tiau5/EC *’tewkh
BMH [tiàu]; MX [tiau5]; HL [tiau5]; SX [tiau5]; LF [tiau5]; LZ [tiau5]; SHT [tiau5]
HY [tiau5]; XY [tiau5]; DB [tiau5]; YL [tiau5]; XC [tiau5]
CT [tiə5]; WP [tio5]; YD [tieu3]; SH [tio5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tio5]; AY [tio5]; SY [tie2]; XS [tiau5]; QN [tiau5]; ND1 [tiau5]; ND2 [tiau5]; ND3 [tiau5]
[OPH *tiau5]  CNH *tiau5
diē 跌 QYS tiet CDC *tiat/EC *‘tet
BMH [tiet]; MX [tiet7]; SX [tiet7]; LF [tiat7]; LZ [tet7]; SHT [—]
HY [tiet7 ~ tiat7]; XY [tiet7]; DB [tiet7]; YL [tieʔ7]; XC [tieʔ7]
CT [te2]; WP [tieʔ7]; YD [tieʔ7]; SH [tieʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [te6]
NK [tieʔ7]; AY [tis3]; SY [tie5]; XS [tiet7]; QN [tieʔ7]; ND1 [tiet7]; ND2 [tiat7]; ND3 [tiet7]
OPH *tiat7   CNH *tiat7

diē 碟 QYS diep CDC *diap8/EC *‘dep
BMH [thiáp]; MX [t’iap8]; HL [t’iap8]; SX [t’iap8]; LF [t’iap8]; LZ [thiap8]; SHT [t’iap8]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tieʔ7]
CT [t’e6]; WP [thieʔ8]; YD [t’iaʔ8]; SH [thiaʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [t’ie8]; AY [t’i31]; SY [—]; XS [t’iet8]; QN [—]; ND1 [t’iap8]; ND2 [t’iap8]; ND3 [—]
OPH *t’iap8   CNH *t’iap8

dié 疊 QYS diep CDC *diap8/EC *‘dep
BMH [thiáp]; MX [t’iap8]; HL [t’iap8]; SX [t’iap8]; LF [t’iap8]; LZ [thiap8]; SHT [—]
HY [t’iap8]; XY [t’iap8]; DB [t’iap8]; YL [t’ieʔ7]; XC [tieʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [thieʔ8]; YD [t’iaʔ8]; SH [thiaʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [t’i31]; SY [—]; XS [t’iet8]; QN [—]; ND1 [t’iap8]; ND2 [t’iap8]; ND3 [t’iap8]
[OPH *t’iap8]   CNH *t’iap8

dīng 釘 QYS tieng- CDC *tiang1/EC *‘teng
BMH [tang]; MX [tan1]; HL [tan1]; SX [tan1]; LF [tan1]; LZ [tan1]; SHT [—]
HY [tian1]; XY [ten1]; DB [ten1]; YL [tan1]; XC [tan1]
CT [teŋ1]; WP [teŋ1]; YD [teŋ1]; SH [tẽ1]; LC1 [tâi1]; LC2 [te1]
NK [tiā1]; AY [tiā1]; SY [tiā1 ~ tin1]; XS [tian1]; QN [tian1 ~ tin1]; ND1 [tian1]; ND2 [tian1]; ND3 [tian1]
[OPH *tang1]   CNH *tian1/*tiŋ1
Appendix: Data

ţǐng  QYS  tieng:  CDC *tiang3/EC *tengx
BMH [tiIN]; MX [tin3]; HL [tin3]; SX [tin3]; LF [tin3]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tan3]; XC [tang3]
CT [ten3]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tin3]; AY [—]; SY [tin3]; XS [tin3]; QN [tin3]; ND1 [tian3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tin3]  CNH *tian3/*tin3

ţǐng  QYS  dieng-  CDC *diang6/EC *dengh
BMH [tin]; MX [tiIN]; HL [tiIN]; SX [tiIN]; LF [tiIN]; LZ [thian5b ~ thin5w]; SHT [tiIN]
HY [tiIN ~ t’ian5]; XY [tiIN]; DB [tiEN]; YL [tiIN]; XC [tiIN]
CT [t’en6]; WP [thin3]; YD [t’en5]; SH [thê3]; LC1 [t’ai6]; LC2 [taen6]
NK [tiIN]; AY [tiIN ~ t’ia6]; SY [tiIN]; XS [tiIN]; QN [tiIN]; ND1 [tiIN ~ t’ian6]; ND2
[t’in6 ~ t’ian6]; ND3 [t’in6 ~ t’ian6]
[OPH *t’in6]  CNH *t’ian6/L *t’in6

The LZ bái form is irregular, for we would expect final -aŋ for this dialect in this environment.
The form may have been borrowed from some other Hakka variety.

dōnɡ  QYS  tung  CDC *tung1/EC *tong
BMH [tung]; MX [tun1]; HL [tun1]; SX [tun1]; LF [tun1]; LZ [tun1]; SHT [tun1]
HY [tou1]; XY [tou1]; DB [tun1]; YL [tun1]; XC [tun1]
CT [tou1]; WP [tun1]; YD [tun1]; SH [tou1]; LC1 [tou1]; LC2 [tou1]
NK [tou1]; AY [tou1]; SY [tou1]; XS [tou1]; QN [tun1]; ND1 [tun1]; ND2 [tun1]; ND3 [tun1]
OPH *tun1  CNH *tun1

dōnɡ  QYS  tuong  CDC *tung1/EC *tung
BMH [tung]; MX [tun1]; HL [tun1]; SX [tun1]; LF [tun1]; LZ [tun1]; SHT [tun1]
HY [tou1]; XY [tou1]; DB [tun1]; YL [tun1]; XC [tun1]
CT [tou1]; WP [tun1]; YD [tun1]; SH [tou1]; LC1 [tou1]; LC2 [—]
NK [tou1]; AY [tou1]; SY [tou1]; XS [tou1]; QN [tun1]; ND1 [tun1]; ND2 [tun1]; ND3 [tun1]
OPH *tun1  CNH *tun1
dòng 棟  QYS  tung-  CDC *tung5/EC *'tongh
BMH [tʊŋ]; MX [tuŋ5]; HL [tuŋ5]; SX [tuŋ5]; LF [tuŋ5]; LZ [tuŋ5]; SHT [—]
HY [tɔŋ5]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tuŋ5]; XC [tuŋ5]
CT [tɔŋ5]; WP [tuŋ5]; YD [tuŋ3]; SH [təŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [təŋ1]
NK [təŋ5]; AY [təŋ5]; SY [təŋ2]; XS [təŋ5]; QN [tuŋ5]; ND1 [tuŋ5]; ND2 [tuŋ5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tuŋ5]  CNH *tuŋ5

dòng 動  QYS  dung:  CDC *dung4/EC *'dongx
BMH [thʊŋ ~ thʊŋ]; MX [t’ʊŋ5w ~ t’ʊŋ1b]; HL [t’ʊŋ6 ~ t’ʊŋ1]; SX [t’ʊŋ5 ~ t’ʊŋ1]; LF [t’ʊŋ6]; LZ [thʊŋ1b ~ thʊŋ5w]; SHT [—]
HY [t’ɔŋ6]; XY [t’ɔŋ3]; DB [t’ʊŋ3]; YL [t’ʊŋ1]; XC [tʊŋ5w ~ tʊŋ2b]
CT [t’ɔŋ1]; WP [thʊŋ1]; YD [t’ʊŋ5 ~ t’ʊŋ1]; SH [tʰəʊŋ3 ~ tʰəʊŋ1]; LC1 [t’ɔŋ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [t’ɔŋ1]; AY [t’əʊŋ3]; SY [t’əʊŋ1]; XS [t’əʊŋ1]; QN [t’ʊŋ1]; ND1 [t’ʊŋ1]; ND2 [t’ʊŋ6]; ND3 [t’ʊŋ6]
[OPH *t’ʊŋ1]  CNH *t’ʊŋ1/L *t’ʊŋ6

dòng 洞  QYS  dung-  CDC *dung6/EC *’dongh
BMH [thʊŋ]; MX [t’ʊŋ5]; HL [t’ʊŋ6]; SX [t’ʊŋ5]; LF [t’ʊŋ6]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [t’ɔŋ6]; XY [t’ɔŋ3]; DB [t’ʊŋ3]; YL [tʊŋ5]; XC [tʊŋ5]
CT [t’ɔŋ6]; WP [thʊŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [tʰəʊŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [t’əʊŋ5]; AY [t’əʊŋ6]; SY [t’əʊŋ5]; XS [t’əʊŋ1]; QN [t’ʊŋ6]; ND1 [t’ʊŋ6]; ND2 [t’ʊŋ6]; ND3 [t’ʊŋ6]
[OPH *t’ʊŋ6]  CNH *t’ʊŋ6

dōu 斗  QYS  tœ:  CDC *teu3/EC *’tox
BMH [tɛu]; MX [tœu3]; HL [tœu3]; SX [tœu3]; LF [tœu3]; LZ [tœu3]; SHT [—]
HY [tœai3]; XY [tœu3]; DB [tœi3]; YL [tai3]; XC [tœu3]
CT [tœu3]; WP [tɛ3]; YD [tœu3]; SH [tə3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tə3]; AY [tœ3]; SY [tio3]; XS [tœu3]; QN [tœu3]; ND1 [tœu3]; ND2 [tœu3]; ND3 [tœu3]
[OPH *tœu3]  CNH *tœu3
The final of the Níngdū-3 form is irregular.

dōu 豆 QYS dâu- CDC *deu6/EC *’doh
BMH [thèu]; MX [t’eú5]; HL [t’eú5]; SX [t’eú5]; LF [t’eú6]; LZ [theú5]; SHT [t’iu5]
HY [t’uai6]; XY [t’u3]; DB [t’ei3]; YL [t’ai3]; XC [t’au5]
CT [t’eu6]; WP [t’e3]; YD [t’eú5]; SH [tha3]; LC1 [t’eú6]; LC2 [t’uωu6]
NK [t’z5]; AY [t’u6]; SY [t’io5]; XS [t’ωu5]; QN [t’eu6]; ND1 [t’eu6]; ND2 [t’iu6]; ND3 [t’iu6]
[OPH *t’eu6] CNH *t’eu6

dū 都 QYS tuo CDC *tu1/EC *’ta
BMH [tu]; MX [tu1]; HL [tu1]; SX [tu1]; LF [tu1]; LZ [tu1]; SHT [tu1]
HY [tu1]; XY [tu1]; DB [tu1]; YL [tu1]; XC [tu1]
CT [tu1]; WP [tu1]; YD [tu1]; SH [tu1 ~ tu1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tu1]; AY [—]; SY [tu1]; XS [tu1]; QN [tu1]; ND1 [tu1]; ND2 [tu1]; ND3 [tu1]
[OPH *tu1] CNH *tu1

dú 讀 QYS duk CDC *duk8/EC *’dok
BMH [thúk]; MX [t’uk8]; HL [t’uk8]; SX [t’uk8]; LF [t’uk8]; LZ [thuk8]; SHT [t’ukk8]
HY [t’oku8]; XY [t’ou8]; DB [t’uk8]; YL [t’uω8]; XC [t’u8]
CT [t’u6]; WP [thu8]; YD [t’u8]; SH [tha8]; LC1 [t’iu5]; LC2 [—]
NK [t’u1]; AY [t’u6]; SY [t’u5]; XS [t’uk8]; QN [t’u8]; ND1 [t’uk8]; ND2 [t’uk8]; ND3 [t’uk8]
[OPH *t’ukk8] CNH *t’uk8

dū 毒 QYS duok CDC *duk8/EC *’duk
BMH [thúk]; MX [t’uk8w ~ t’eu5b]; HL [t’uk8]; SX [t’uk8]; LF [t’uk8]; LZ [thuk8]; SHT [t’uk8]
HY [t’oku8]; XY [t’ou8]; DB [t’uk8]; YL [t’uω8]; XC [t’u8]
CT [t’u6]; WP [thu8]; YD [t’u8]; SH [tha8]; LC1 [t’iu5]; LC2 [—]
NK [t’u1]; AY [t’u6]; SY [t’u5]; XS [t’uk8]; QN [t’u8]; ND1 [t’uk8]; ND2 [t’uk8]; ND3 [t’uk8]
Common Neo-Hakka:
A Comparative Reconstruction

OPH *t’uk8   CNH *t’uk8

dǔ 篙  QYS  tuo  CDC *tuk7/EC *’tuk
BMH [tuk]; MX [—]; HL [tuk7]; SX [tuk7]; LF [tuk7]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tuʔ7]; XC [tuʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [tuʔ7]; YD [tuʔ7]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tu8]; AY [tu5]; SY [tu5]; XS [tuk7]; QN [tuʔ7]; ND1 [tuk7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tuk7]   CNH *tuk7

’dù 肚  QYS  tuo:  CDC *tu4/EC *’tax
BMH [tú]; MX [tu3]; HL [tu3]; SX [tu3]; LF [tu3]; LZ [tu3]; SHT [tu3]
HY [tu3]; XY [tu3]; DB [tu3]; YL [tu3]; XC [tu3]
CT [tu3]; WP [tu3]; YD [ti3]; SH [tu3]; LC1 [tie3]; LC2 [—]
NK [tu3]; AY [tu3]; SY [tu3]; XS [tu3]; QN [tu3]; ND1 [tu3]; ND2 [tu3]; ND3 [tu3]
[OPH *tu3]   CNH *tu3

’dù 杜  QYS  duo:  CDC *du4/EC *’dax
BMH [thù]; MX [t’u5]; HL [t’u2]; SX [t’u2]; LF [t’u6]; LZ [t’u5]; SHT [—]
HY [t’u6]; XY [t’u3]; DB [t’u5]; YL [t’u5]; XC [t’u5]
CT [t’u6]; WP [thu5]; YD [—]; SH [t’u5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [t’u5]; AY [t’u3]; SY [t’u2]; XS [t’u5]; QN [t’u5]; ND1 [t’u5]; ND2 [t’u6]; ND3 [t’u6]
[OPH *t’u6]   CNH *t’u6

’duān 端  QYS  tuân  CDC *ton1/EC *’ton
BMH [ton]; MX [ton1]; HL [ton1]; SX [ton1]; LF [ton1]; LZ [ton1]; SHT [—]
HY [tuan1]; XY [tuan1]; DB [ton1]; YL [ton1]; XC [tuan1]
CT [tuŋ1]; WP [tueŋ1]; YD [ton1]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tœ̃1]; AY [tœ̃1]; SY [tuŋ1]; XS [ton1]; QN [ton1]; ND1 [tœ̃1]; ND2 [tun1]; ND3 [tuan1]
[OPH *ton1]   CNH *tun1
duǎn 短 QYS tuân: CDC *ton3/EC *tonx
BMH [tòn]; MX [ton3]; HL [ton3]; SX [ton3]; LF [ton3]; LZ [ton3]; SHT [ton3]
HY [tuan3]; XY [tuan3]; DB [ton3]; YL [ton3]; XC [tuan3]
CT [tʊŋ3]; WP [tueŋ3]; YD [təŋ3]; SH [tuə3]; LC1 [tuə3]; LC2 [tue3]
NK [təŋ3]; AY [təŋ3]; SY [təŋ3]; XS [ton3]; QN [təŋ3]; ND1 [təŋ3]; ND2 [tuan3]; ND3 [tuan3]
OPH *ton3 CNH *tuan3

duàn 断 QYS tuân: ~ tuân: CDC *ton3 ~ *ton5 ~ *don4/EC *tonh ~ *t'onx
BMH [thon ~ tòn]; MX [təŋ5]; HL [ton5 ~ t'on1]; SX [ton5 ~ t'on1]; LF [ton5]; LZ [thon1];
SHT [təŋ5]
HY [t'uan5]; XY [t'uan1]; DB [t'ən5]; YL [t'ən1]; XC [t'uan2]
CT [t'ʊŋ6]; WP [tueŋ5w ~ thuəŋ1b]; YD [t'ən1]; SH [tuə3 ~ thuə1]; LC1 [t'uo1]; LC2 [tue3]
NK [təŋ3]; AY [təŋ3 ~ t'əŋ3]; SY [təŋ3 ~ t'uo1]; XS [t'ən1 ~ təŋ3]; QN [t'ən1 ~ təŋ3]; ND1
[t'ən1]; ND2 [t'uo1 ~ təŋ5]; ND3 [t'uoŋ6]
[OPH *ton5 ~ *t'on1] CNH *t'uoŋ1/*t'uoŋ6/L *tuan5

dui 對 QYS tuâi- CDC *tuo5/EC *tuyh
BMH [túi]; MX [tui5]; HL [tui5]; SX [tui5]; LF [tui5]; LZ [tui5]; SHT [tui5]
HY [tui5]; XY [tui5]; DB [tei5]; YL [tuei3]; XC [tuei5]
CT [tue5]; WP [ti5 ~ tue5]; YD [tei3]; SH [tei5 ~ tu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tue5]; AY [te5]; SY [te2]; XS [ti5]; QN [tui5]; ND1 [tui5]; ND2 [tuei5 ~ tui5]; ND3 [tui5]
OPH *tui5 CNH *tui5

dùn 頓 QYS tuân- CDC *tun5/EC *tunh
BMH [tùn ~ tún]; MX [tun3]; HL [tun3]; SX [tun3]; LF [tun3]; LZ [tun3]; SHT [—]
HY [tun3 ~ tun5]; XY [tun1]; DB [tən3]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [teŋ5]; WP [teŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [teiŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [təŋ5]; AY [təŋ5]; SY [təŋ3]; XS [təŋ5]; QN [tun5]; ND1 [tun5]; ND2 [tun5]; ND3 [tun5]
[OPH *tun3] CNH *tun5/*tun3

Appendix: Data
duō 多 QYS tâ CDC *to1/EC *tay
BMH [to]; MX [tɔ1]; HL [tɔ1]; SX [tɔ1]; LF [tɔ1]; LZ [tɔ1]; SHT [tɔ1]
HY [tuo1]; XY [tɔ1]; DB [tɔ1]; YL [tua1]; XC [tɔ1]
CT [tɔ1]; WP [tɔ1]; YD [tou1]; SH [tua1]; LC1 [tua1]; LC2 [tua1]
NK [tɔ1]; AY [tɔ1]; SY [tɔ1]; XS [tɔ1]; QN [tɔ1]; ND1 [tɔ1]; ND2 [tɔ1]; ND3 [tɔ1]
OPH *tɔ1 CNH *tɔ1

duó 奪 QYS duât CDC *dot8/EC *’dot
BMH [thɔt]; MX [t’ɔt8]; HL [t’ɔt8]; SX [t’ɔt8]; LF [t’ɔt7]; LZ [tɔt8]; SHT [—]
HY [t’uat8]; XY [t’uat8]; DB [t’ɔt8]; YL [t’ɔt8]; XC [tɔt8]
CT [t’ue6]; WP [thuɛt8]; YD [t’ɔt8]; SH [thuɛt8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [t’o1]; AY [t’ue1]; SY [t’o5]; XS [t’ɔi8]; QN [t’ɔi8]; ND1 [t’oet8]; ND2 [t’uot8]; ND3 [t’uat8]
[OPH *t’ot8] CNH *t’(u)ot8

duǒ 朵 QYS tuâ: CDC *to5/EC *’toyx
BMH [tɔ]; MX [tɔ3]; HL [t’o2]; SX [t’o2]; LF [tɔ3]; LZ [tɔ3]; SHT [—]
HY [tua3 ~ tye3]; XY [tɔ3]; DB [tɔ3]; YL [tua3]; XC [tɔ3]
CT [tɔ3]; WP [tɔ3]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɔ3]; AY [tɔ3]; SY [tɔ3]; XS [tɔ3]; QN [tɔ3]; ND1 [tɔ3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [tɔ3]
[OPH *tɔ3] CNH *tɔ3

duò 惰 QYS duâ:, duâ- CDC *do4/EC *’doyx
BMH [thɔ]; MX [t’ɔ5]; HL [t’o6]; SX [t’o5]; LF [t’o6]; LZ [thɔ5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tɔ5]
CT [t’o6]; WP [thɔ3]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [t’o3]; AY [t’o6]; SY [t’o3]; XS [t’ɔ5]; QN [t’o6]; ND1 [t’o3]; ND2 [t’o6]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *t’o6] CNH *t’o6
Appendix: Data

E

é 額 QYS ngək  CDC *ngək8/EC *ngrak
BMH [ŋək]; MX [ŋək7]; HL [ŋək7]; SX [ŋək7]; LF [ŋək7]; LZ [ŋək7]; SHT [ŋək7]
HY [ŋək7]; XY [ŋək7]; DB [ŋək7]; YL [ŋəʔ7 ~ ŋə5]; XC [ŋəʔ7]
CT [ŋə2]; WP [ŋiaʔ7]; YD [ŋiaʔ7]; SH [ŋiaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ŋio6]
NK [ŋə1]; AY [ŋə6]; SY [ŋə5 ~ ŋə5]; XS [—]; QN [ŋiaʔ7]; ND1 [ŋək7]; ND2 [ŋək7]; ND3 [ŋək7]
OPH *ŋəiak7 ~ *ŋəiak7  CNH *ŋək7/*ŋəiak7/*ŋək7

The tone of the Nánkāng form is irregular.

é 鵝 QYS ngə  CDC *ngə2/EC *’ngay
BMH [ŋə2]; MX [ŋə2]; HL [ŋə2]; SX [ŋə2]; LF [ŋə2]; LZ [ŋə2]; SHT [ŋə2]
HY [ŋə2]; XY [ŋə2]; DB [ŋə2]; YL [ŋə2]; XC [ŋə2]
CT [ŋə2]; WP [ŋə2]; YD [ŋə2]; SH [ŋə2]; LC1 [ŋə2]; LC2 [ŋə2]
NK [ŋə2]; AY [ŋə2]; SY [ŋə2]; XS [ŋə2]; QN [ŋə2]; ND1 [ŋə2]; ND2 [ŋə2]; ND3 [ŋə2]
OPH *ŋə2  CNH *ŋə2

è 恁 QYS ʔək  CDC *ok7/EC *’akh
BMH [ək]; MX [ək7]; HL [ək7]; SX [ək7]; LF [ək7]; LZ [ək7]; SHT [ək7]
HY [ək7]; XY [ək7]; DB [ək7]; YL [—]; XC [əʔ7]
CT [ə2]; WP [əʔ7]; YD [əʔ7]; SH [əʔ7]; LC1 [u6]; LC2 [uə22]
NK [ə8]; AY [ə6]; SY [ə5]; XS [ək7]; QN [əʔ7]; ND1 [vək7]; ND2 [vək7]; ND3 [vək7]
[OPH *ok7]  CNH *ək7

ěn 恩 QYS ʔən  CDC *en1/EC *’un1
BMH [en]; MX [en1]; HL [en1]; SX [en1]; LF [en1]; LZ [en1]; SHT [—]
HY [en1]; XY [en1]; DB [en1]; YL [en1]; XC [en1]
CT [en1]; WP [en1]; YD [en1]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [êl]; AY [ən1]; SY [êl]; XS [en1]; QN [en1]; ND1 [en1]; ND2 [en1]; ND3 [en1]
OPH *en1  CNH *en1
The second Basil Mission and the Ningdū forms appear to reflect an early Guānhuà loan form such as *ɻə.† Second form as in the word hŋ̩ 3 ni1[女兒] “daughter”, found in a children’s ditty (Qiū 2012: 327).

The variant forms in ə3 and ɜ3, etc. are almost certainly very late borrowings of a northern ɚ3.

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The second Basil Mission and the Ningdū forms appear to reflect an early Guānhuà loan form such as *ɻə.† Second form as in the word hŋ̩ 3 ni1[涎り] “daughter”, found in a children’s ditty (Qiū 2012: 327).

The variant forms in ə3 and ɜ3, etc. are almost certainly very late borrowings of a northern ɚ3.
The Basil Mission form is simply the second person pronoun. The Lìzhīzhuāng form seems to derive from an earlier *i2 which is not reconstructable comparatively.

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

F

fä 發 QYS pjwɔt CDC *fat7/EC *pot
BMH [fat ~ pot]; MX [fat7w ~ pot7b]; HL [pot7 ~ fat7]; SX [pot7 ~ fat7]; LF [pot7 ~ fat7]; LZ [pot7b ~ fat7w]; SHT [fat7]
HY [fat7 ~ p’a7t]; XY [fat7]; DB [fat7]; YL [fat7]; XC [faʔ]
CT [—]; WP [puɛʔ7 ~ faʔ7]; YD [pɔʔ7 ~ faʔ7]; SH [puɛʔ7 ~ faʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [fa6 ~ poi6]
NK [fa7]; AY [fa5]; SY [fa5]; XS [faɪʔ7]; QN [faɪʔ7]; ND1 [faɪʔ7]; ND2 [faɪʔ7]; ND3 [faɪʔ7]
OPH *pɔ7 CNH *pɔ7/L *fat7

fä 法 QYS pjwɔp CDC *fap7/EC *pop
BMH [fap]; MX [fap7]; HL [fap7]; SX [fap7]; LF [fap7]; LZ [fap7]; SHT [fap7 ~ fat7]
HY [fat7]; XY [fat8]; DB [fat8]; YL [fat7]; XC [faʔ]
CT [fa2]; WP [faʔ7]; YD [faʔ7]; SH [faʔ7]; LC1 [fo6]; LC2 [fo6]
NK [fa7]; AY [f3]; SY [fa5]; XS [fait7]; QN [fæʔ7]; ND1 [faip7]; ND2 [fap7]; ND3 [fat7]

OPH *fap7  CNH *fap7/*fat7

fán 凡  QYS bjwɔm  CDC *vam2/EC *bom
BMH [fâm]; MX [fam2]; HL [fam2]; SX [fam2]; LF [fam2]; LZ [fan2]; SHT [—]
HY [fan2]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [fan2]; XC [fan2]
CT [fan2]; WP [fan2]; YD [—]; SH [fâ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [fâ2]; AY [fâ2]; SY [fâ2]; XS [fan2]; QN [—]; ND1 [fam2]; ND2 [fan2]; ND3 [fam2]

[OPH *fam2]  CNH *fam2

fán 帆  QYS bjwɔm  CDC *vam2/EC *bom
BMH [fâm]; MX [fam2]; HL [fam2]; SX [fam2]; LF [—]; LZ [fan2]; SHT [fan2]
HY [—]; XY [fan2]; DB [fan2]; YL [fan2]; XC [fan2]
CT [fan2]; WP [fan2]; YD [fan2]; SH [fâ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [fâ2]; AY [fâ2]; SY [fâ2]; XS [fan2]; QN [—]; ND1 [fam2]; ND2 [fan2]; ND3 [—]

OPH *fam2  CNH *fam2

fán 反  QYS pjwɔm:  CDC *fan3/EC *ponx
BMH [fân]; MX [fan3]; HL [fan3]; SX [fan3]; LF [fan3]; LZ [fan3]; SHT [—]
HY [fan3]; XY [fan3]; DB [fan3]; YL [fan3]; XC [fan3]
CT [faŋ3]; WP [faŋ3]; YD [fan3]; SH [fâ3]; LC1 [fa3]; LC2 [—]
NK [fâ3]; AY [fâ3]; SY [fâ3]; XS [fan3]; QN [fan3]; ND1 [fan3]; ND2 [fan3]; ND3 [fan3]

[OPH *fan3]  CNH *fan3

fán 犯  QYS bjwɔm:  CDC *vam4/EC *bomx
BMH [fam ~ fâm]; MX [fam5w ~ fam1b]; HL [fam5]; SX [fam5]; LF [fam6]; LZ [fam5]; SHT [—]
HY [fan6]; XY [fan3]; DB [fan3]; YL [fan5]; XC [fan5]
CT [faŋ6]; WP [fan3]; YD [fan5]; SH [fâ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
Appendix: Data

NK [fā5]; AY [fā6]; SY [fā5]; XS [fan5]; QN [fan6]; ND1 [fam6]; ND2 [fam6 ~ fan2]; ND3 [fam6]

OPH *fam6  CNH *fam1/L *fam6

fàn 飯 QYS bjwɔn-, bjwɔn:  CDC *van6/EC *bonh
BMH [fān ~ phōn ~ fûn]; MX [fan5]; HL [fan6]; SX [fan5]; LF [fɔn6]; LZ [fan5]; SHT [fan5]
HY [fan6]; XY [fan3]; DB [fan3]; YL [fan3]; XC [fan5]
CT [fan6w ~ p’un6b ~ p’un6b]; WP [phuŋ3]; YD [p’an5]; SH [phuɛ3]; LC1 [p’a6]; LC2 [p’a6]

NK [fā5]; AY [fā6]; SY [fā5]; XS [fan5]; QN [fan6]; ND1 [fan6]; ND2 [p’an6]; ND3 [p’an6]

[OPH *fan6 ?]  CNH *p’on6/L *fan6
The vowel of the Lūfēng form is unexpected and irregular. The Ningdū-2 and 3 forms may reflect an earlier *p’an6 which is not reconstructable comparatively.

fāng 方 QYS pjwang  CDC *fɔŋ1/EC *pang
BMH [fɔŋ]; MX [fɔŋ1]; HL [fɔŋ1]; SX [fɔŋ1]; LF [fɔŋ1]; LZ [fɔŋ1]; SHT [fɔŋ1]
HY [fɔŋ1]; XY [fɔŋ1]; DB [fɔŋ1]; YL [fɔŋ1]; XC [fɔŋ1]
CT [fɔŋ1]; WP [fɔŋ1]; YD [fɔŋ1]; SH [fɔŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [fɔŋ1]

NK [fɔŋ1]; AY [fɔŋ1]; SY [fɔŋ1]; XS [fɔŋ1]; QN [fɔŋ1]; ND1 [fɔŋ1]; ND2 [fɔŋ1]; ND3 [fɔŋ1]

[OPH *fɔŋ1]  CNH *fɔŋ1

fāng 房 QYS bjwɔng  CDC *vɔŋ2/EC *bang
BMH [fɔŋ]; MX [fɔŋ2 ~ p’iŋ2b]; HL [fɔŋ2]; SX [fɔŋ2]; LF [fɔŋ2]; LZ [fɔŋ2]; SHT [fɔŋ2]
HY [fɔŋ3]; XY [fɔŋ3]; DB [fɔŋ2]; YL [fɔŋ2]; XC [fɔŋ2]
CT [fɔŋ2]; WP [fɔŋ2]; YD [fɔŋ2]; SH [fɔŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [fɔŋ2]; AY [fɔŋ2]; SY [fɔŋ2]; XS [fɔŋ2]; QN [fɔŋ2]; ND1 [fɔŋ2]; ND2 [fɔŋ2]; ND3 [fɔŋ2]

[OPH *fɔŋ2]  CNH *fɔŋ2
The Méixiàn bái form appears to derive from an earlier *p’iŋ2 for which we lack comparative evidence.
fǎng 纡

QYS pjwang: CDC *fong3/EC *phangx

BMH [fông ~ phiông]; MX [fɔŋ5w ~ piong5b]; HL [fɔŋ5w ~ piong5b]; SX [fɔŋ5w ~ piong5b]; LF [fɔŋ5 ~ piong5]; LZ [fɔŋ5]; SHT [fɔŋ5]
HY [fɔŋ5]; XY [fɔŋ5]; DB [fɔŋ5]; YL [fɔŋ5]; XC [fɔŋ5]
CT [fɔŋ5 ~ piong5]; WP [piɔŋ5]; YD [piɔŋ3 ~ piong3]; SH [piong5]; LC1 [piong5]; LC2 [piɔŋ5]
NK [fɔŋ5]; AY [fɔŋ3]; SY [fɔŋ3]; XS [fɔŋ3]; QN [fɔŋ3]; ND1 [fɔŋ3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [fɔŋ3]
[OPH *p′iong3 ~ *p′iong2 ?] CNH *p′ioŋ3/*p′ioŋ2/*fɔŋ3

fàng 放

QYS pjwang: CDC *fong5/EC *pangh

BMH [fông]; MX [fɔŋ5w ~ piong5b]; HL [fɔŋ5w ~ piong5b]; SX [fɔŋ5w ~ piong5b]; LF [fɔŋ5 ~ piong5]; LZ [fɔŋ5]; SHT [fɔŋ5]
HY [fɔŋ5]; XY [fɔŋ5]; DB [fɔŋ5]; YL [fɔŋ5]; XC [fɔŋ5]
CT [fɔŋ5 ~ piong5]; WP [piɔŋ5]; YD [piɔŋ3 ~ piong3]; SH [piong5]; LC1 [piong5]; LC2 [piɔŋ5]
NK [fɔŋ5]; AY [fɔŋ5 ~ hɔŋ5]; SY [fɔŋ2]; XS [fɔŋ5]; QN [fɔŋ5]; ND1 [fɔŋ5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [fɔŋ5]
[OPH *piong5] CNH *piong5/L *fɔŋ5

fēi 非

QYS pjwei: CDC *fui1/EC *puy

BMH [fui]; MX [fɪ1]; HL [fui1]; SX [fui1]; LF [fui1]; LZ [fui1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [fɛi1]; XC [fɛi1]
CT [fɪ1]; WP [fɪ1]; YD [fɛi1]; SH [fɪ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [fɪ1]; AY [fɛ1]; SY [fɪ1]; XS [fɪ1]; QN [fui1]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [fɪ1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *fui1] CNH *fui1

fēi 飞

QYS pjwei: CDC *fui1/EC *puy

BMH [fui ~ pui]; MX [fɪ1w ~ pɪlb]; HL [fui1w ~ pui1b]; SX [fui1w ~ pui1b]; LF [fui1 ~ pui1]; LZ [pui1w ~ fui1b]; SHT [fui1]
HY [fɪ1]; XY [fui1 ~ pe1]; DB [fɛi1]; YL [fɛi1]; XC [fɛi1]
CT [fɪ1]; WP [fɪ1w ~ pɪlb]; YD [fɛi1 ~ pɪ1]; SH [fɪ1 ~ pe1]; LC1 [po1]; LC2 [—]
NK [fɪ1]; AY [fɛ1]; SY [fɪ1]; XS [fɪ1]; QN [fui1]; ND1 [fɪ1]; ND2 [fɪ1]; ND3 [fɪ1]
[OPH *pui1] CNH *pui1/*fui1
†Wén and bái forms appear to be reversed in this pair.

**fēi 肥**

QYS: bjwei

CDC: *vui2/EC: *buy

BMH: [phûi]; MX: [p’i2]; HL: [p’u2]; SX: [p’u2]; LF: [p’u2]; LZ: [phui2 ~ fui2w]; SHT: [p’u2]

HY: [fi2]; XY: [fui2]; DB: [p’ei2]; YL: [p’ei2b]; XC: [fei2w ~ p’ei2b]

CT: [p’e2]; WP: [phi2]; YD: [p’ei2]; SH: [phei2]; LC1: [p’o2]; LC2: [p’ue2]

NK: [fi2]; AY: [fe2 ~ p’e2]; SY: [fï2]; XS: [fï2]; QN: [fui2]; ND1: [p’ei2]; ND2: [p’ei2]; ND3: [fï2 ~ p’ei2]

OPH: *p’u2i CNH: *p’u2/L: *fui2

**fèi 貔**

QYS: phjweī-

CDC: *fui5/EC: *phuth

BMH: [fûi]; MX: [fi5]; HL: [fui5]; SX: [fui5]; LF: [fui6]; LZ: [fui5]; SHT: [—]

HY: [fe5]; XY: [fui5]; DB: [fei5]; YL: [fei3]; XC: [fei5]

CT: [fe6]; WP: [fi2]; YD: [fei3]; SH: [fï5]; LC1: [—]; LC2: [—]

NK: [fi5]; AY: [fe5]; SY: [fï2]; XS: [fï5]; QN: [fui5]; ND1: [fï5 ~ fei5]; ND2: [fi5]; ND3: [fï5]

[OPH: *fui5] CNH: *fui5

**fēn 分**

QYS: pjuan-

CDC: *fun1/EC: *pun

BMH: [fun ~ pun]; MX: [fun1w ~ pun1b]; HL: [pun1 ~ fun1]; SX: [pun1 ~ fun1]; LF: [fun1 ~ pun1]; LZ: [pin1b ~ fun1w]; SHT: [fun1]

HY: [pun1 ~ hun1]; XY: [fun1]; DB: [fan1 ~ pan1]; YL: [fën1w ~ pën1b]; XC: [fân1]

The tone of the second reconstructed form is uncertain, because all dialects that would show Tone 6 take the first form. It could theoretically also be Tone 5.
Forms in initial p- are often used specifically in the sense “to give” in the vernaculars that have it.

The second Basil Mission form derives from an earlier *p’un2 which is not reconstructable comparatively.
The second Méixiàn form derives from an earlier *p’un3 which is not reconstructable comparatively.

fen 冀 QYS pjuen- CDC *fun5/EC *punh
BMH [pu:n]; MX [pun5]; HL [pun5]; SX [pun5]; LF [pun5]; LZ [pun5b ~ fun5w]; SHT [—]
HY [hun5]; XY [pun5]; DB [pun5]; YL [pun5]; XC [pun5]
CT [pun5]; WP [pun5]; SH [pun5]; LC1 [pang]; LC2 [—]
NK [pun5]; AY [pun5]; SY [pun5]; XS [pun5]; QN [fun5]; ND1 [pun5]; ND2 [pun5]; ND3 [pun5 ~ fun5]
[OPH *pun5] CNH *pun5/L *fun5

fen 慨 QYS bjun: CDC *vun4/EC *bunx
BMH [fun]; MX [fun5]; HL [fun5]; SX [fun5]; LF [—]; LZ [fun5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [fun5]; XC [fun5]
CT [fun5]; WP [fun5]; YD [—]; SH [fun5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [fun5]; AY [fun5]; SY [fun5]; XS [fun5]; QN [—]; ND1 [fun6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *fun5] CNH *fun6
The Shàngyóu and Xiūshúi tones are irregular.

feng 風 QYS pjung CDC *fung1/EC *pum
BMH [fung]; MX [fun1]; HL [fun1]; SX [fun1]; LF [fun1]; LZ [fun1]; SHT [fun1]
HY [hoŋ1]; XY [foŋ1]; DB [fun1]; YL [fun1]; XC [fun1]
CT [foŋ1]; WP [xun1]; YD [fun1]; SH [foŋ1]; LC1 [foŋ1]; LC2 [foŋ1]
NK [foŋ1]; AY [foŋ1]; SY [foŋ1]; XS [foŋ1]; QN [fun1]; ND1 [fun1]; ND2 [fun1]; ND3 [fun1]
OPH *fun1 CNH *fun1

feng 楓 QYS pjung CDC *fung1/EC *pum
BMH [fung ~ pung ~ phung]; MX [fun1]; HL [fun1]; SX [fun1]; LF [fun1]; LZ [fun1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [fun1]; XC [fun1]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [puŋ 1]; SH [pəŋ 1 ~ fəŋ 1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [fəŋ 1]; AY [fəŋ 2]; SY [fəŋ 1]; XS [fəŋ 1]; QN [—]; ND1 [fuŋ 1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *pung ~ *phung ?] CNH *puŋ 1/*fuŋ 1
†Forms supplied by Dr. and Mrs. Wen Pi-ch’ien.

fēng 蜂 QYS phjwong CDC *fung 1/EC *phong
BMH [fung ~ phung ~ phong]; MX [fuŋ 1]; HL [p’oŋ 1 ~ p’unŋ 1]; SX [p’oŋ 1]; LF [p’unŋ 1]; LZ [fuŋ 1]; SHT [fuŋ 1]
HY [hoŋ 1]; XY [fəŋ 1 ~ p’oŋ 1]; DB [fuŋ 1]; YL [fuŋ 1w ~ p’unŋ 1b]; XC [fuŋ 1]
CT [fəŋ 1]; WP [xuŋ 1 ~ phuŋ 1]; YD [p’unŋ 1]; SH [peĩŋ 1 ~ phəŋ 1]; LC1 [fəŋ 1]; LC2 [—]
NK [fəŋ 1]; AY [fəŋ 1]; SY [fəŋ 1]; XS [fəŋ 1]; QN [fuŋ 1]; ND1 [fuŋ 1]; ND2 [fuŋ 1]; ND3 [fuŋ 1]
[OPH *p’oŋ 1 ~ *p’unŋ 1] CNH *p’oŋ 1/*p’unŋ 1/*fuŋ 1

féng 縫 QYS bjwong CDC *vung 2/EC *bong
BMH [fùng ~ phûng]; MX [fuŋ 2]; HL [p’unŋ 2]; SX [fuŋ 2]; LF [fuŋ 2]; LZ [fuŋ 2]; SHT [—]
HY [p’oŋ 2]; XY [fəŋ 2]; DB [fuŋ 2]; YL [fuŋ 2 ~ p’unŋ 3]; XC [fuŋ 2]
CT [fəŋ 2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [fəŋ 2w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [fəŋ 2]; AY [fəŋ 2]; SY [fəŋ 2]; XS [fəŋ 2]; QN [fuŋ 2]; ND1 [fuŋ 2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *p’unŋ 2] CNH *p’unŋ 2/*fuŋ 2
The tone of the second Yìlǒng form is irregular.

fèng 奉 QYS bjwong: CDC *vung 4/EC *bongx
BMH [fùng]; MX [fuŋ 5]; HL [fuŋ 5]; SX [fuŋ 5]; LF [fuŋ 6]; LZ [fuŋ 5]; SHT [fuŋ 5]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [fuŋ 5 ~ puŋ 3]; XC [fuŋ 5]
CT [fəŋ 6]; WP [fuŋ 3]; YD [—]; SH [fəŋ 3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [fəŋ 5]; AY [fəŋ 6]; SY [fəŋ 3]; XS [fəŋ 5]; QN [fuŋ 6]; ND1 [fuŋ 3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *fuŋ 6] CNH *fuŋ 6

fēng 凰 QYS bjung- CDC *vung 6/EC *bumh
BMH [fùng]; MX [fuŋ 5]; HL [fuŋ 5]; SX [fuŋ 5]; LF [fuŋ 6]; LZ [fuŋ 5]; SHT [—]
Appendix: Data

HY [hoŋ6]; XY [fuŋ3]; DB [fuŋ3]; YL [fuŋ5]; XC [fuŋ2]
CT [—]; WP [fuŋ3]; YD [fuŋ5]; SH [faŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [fəŋ5]; AY [faŋ6]; SY [faŋ5]; XS [faŋ5]; QN [fuŋ5]; ND1 [fuŋ6]; ND2 [fuŋ6]; ND3 [fuŋ6]
[OPH *fuŋ6]   CNH *fuŋ6

fō 佛 QYS bjuat   CDC *vut8/EC *but
BMH [fut]; MX [fut8]; HL [fut8]; SX [fut8]; LF [fut8]; LZ [fut8]; SHT [—]
HY [hut8]; XY [fut8]; DB [fat8]; YL [fu2]; XC [fuʔ8]
CT [fue6]; WP [feʔ8]; YD [fut8]; SH [feiʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [fu8]; AY [fu1]; SY [fu5]; XS [fu8]; QN [fu8]; ND1 [foɛt8]; ND2 [fat8]; ND3 [fuɛt8]
[OPH *fut8]   CNH *fut8
†Tone confirmed in Chappell & Lamarre (2005).
The upper register tone of the Basil Mission form is irregular.

fōu 否 QYS pjau:   CDC *feu3/EC *pix
BMH [fēu]; MX [feu3]; HL [feu2]; SX [feu2]; LF [feu3]; LZ [feu3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [feu3]; WP [—]; YD [feu3]; SH [fə3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [fui]; SY [fui3]; XS [fau3]; QN [—]; ND1 [fau3]; ND2 [fau3]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *feu3]   CNH *feu3

fū 夫 QYS pju   CDC *fu1/EC *pa
BMH [fu]; MX [fu1]; HL [fu1]; SX [fu1]; LF [fu1]; LZ [—]; SHT [fu1]
HY [hu1]; XY [fu1]; DB [fu1]; YL [fu1]; XC [fu1]
CT [fu1]; WP [fu1w]; YD [fi1]; SH [fu1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [fu1]; AY [fu1]; SY [fu1]; XS [fu1]; QN [fu1]; ND1 [fu1]; ND2 [fu1]; ND3 [fu1]
[OPH *fu1]   CNH *fu1

fū 孵 QYS phju   CDC *fu1/EC *pho
BMH [fu ~ phù]; MX [—]; HL [p’u6]; SX [p’u5]; LF [—]; LZ [phu5]; SHT [—]
Common Neo-Hakka:
A Comparative Reconstruction

HY [p’u5]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [p’u1]; WP [phu3]; YD [p’i5]; SH [pha3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [p’ye6]
NK [p’u5]; AY [p’u6]; SY [—]; XS [p’u5]; QN [p’u6]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *p’u6] CNH *p’u6
The tone of the Chángtīng form is irregular.

fú 浮 QYS bjou CDC *veu2/EC *bo
BMH [féu]; MX [feu2w ~ p’au2b]; HL [feu2]; SX [feu2]; LF [feu2]; LZ [feu2]; SHT [fiu2]
HY [fuai2]; XY [—]; DB [fei2]; YL [fu2 ~ fœu2]; XC [—]
CT [feu2 ~ p’u2]; WP [fe2w ~ phœ2b]; YD [feu2w ~ p’ou2]; SH [fœ2 ~ phu2]; LC1 [feu2]; LC2 [—]
NK [fœ2]; AY [fœu2]; SY [fio2]; XS [fœu2]; QN [fœu2]; ND1 [fœu2]; ND2 [fœu2]; ND3 [fœu2]
[OPH *feu2] CNH *p’ou2/L *feu2

fú 扶 QYS bjwak CDC *vu2/EC *ba
BMH [fū ~ phû]; MX [fu2w ~ p’u2b]; HL [fu2]; SX [fu2]; LF [fu2]; LZ [phu2b ~ fu2]; SHT [—]
HY [fu2]; XY [fu2]; DB [fu2]; YL [fu2]; XC [fu2w ~ p’u2b]
CT [fu2 ~ p’u2]; WP [phu2b]; YD [—]; SH [fœ1w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [p’u2]; AY [p’u2]; SY [p’u2]; XS [p’u2]; QN [p’u2 ~ fu2]; ND1 [p’u2]; ND2 [p’u2]; ND3 [p’u2 ~ fu2]
[OPH *p’u2] CNH *p’u2/L *fu2

fú 绀 QYS bjwak CDC *vok/EC *bak
BMH [phiók]; MX [p’iok7]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [p’iok8]; LZ [phök7]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [p’iok8]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [fu5]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *p’iok8] CNH *p’iok8
The Līzhīzhuāng and Ānyuán forms are irregular.
Appendix: Data

fú 服 QYS bjuk   CDC *vuk8/EC *—
BMH [fúk]; MX [fuk8]; HL [fuk]; SX [fuk]; LF [fuk7]; LZ [fuk8]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [p’ou8]; DB [p’uk8]; YL [fau7 ~ fu7]; XC [fu8]
CT [p’u6]; WP [fu8]; YD [fu8]; SH [fau8 ~ fua8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [p’u1 ~ fu8]; AY [p’u6 ~ fu6]; SY [p’u5 ~ fu5]; XS [p’uk8 ~ fu8]; QN [fu8 ~ p’u8];
ND1 [fu8]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *p’uk8]   CNH *p’uk/L *fuk8

fú 服 QYS bjuk   CDC *vuk8/EC *—
BMH [fúk]; MX [fuk8]; HL [fuk8]; SX [fuk8]; LF [fuk7]; LZ [fuk8]; SHT [—]
HY [hok8]; XY [fou8]; DB [fuk8]; YL [—]; XC [fu8]
CT [—]; WP [fu8]; YD [fu8]; SH [fau8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [fu8]; AY [fu6]; SY [fu5]; XS [fuk8]; QN [fu8]; ND1 [fuk8]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [fuk8]
[OPH *fuk8]   CNH *fuk8
†FJFYZ: [fye5].

fú 福 QYS pjuk   CDC *fuk7/EC *pik
BMH [fuk]; MX [fuk7]; HL [fuk7]; SX [fuk7]; LF [fuk7]; LZ [fuk7]; SHT [fuk7]
HY [hok7]; XY [fou7]; DB [fuk7]; YL [fau7]; XC [fu7]
CT [fu2]; WP [fu7]; YD [fu7]; SH [fau7]; LC1 [fu6]; LC2 [—]
NK [fu8]; AY [fu6]; SY [fu5]; XS [fuk7]; QN [fu7]; ND1 [fuk7]; ND2 [fuk7]; ND3 [fuk7]
[OPH *fuk7]   CNH *fuk7
†FJFYZ: [fye6].

fú 斧 QYS pju:   CDC *fu3/EC *pax
BMH [pú]; MX [pu3]; HL [pu3]; SX [pu3]; LF [pu3]; LZ [pu3]; SHT [fu3]
HY [p’u3]; XY [pu3]; DB [pu3]; YL [fu3]; XC [fu3]
CT [pu3]; WP [phu3]; YD [pi3]; SH [pu3]; LC1 [piue3]; LC2 [—]
NK [fu3]; AY [fu3]; SY [fu3]; XS [p’u3]; QN [—]; ND1 [pu3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [pu1]
Common Neo-Hakka:
A Comparative Reconstruction

**OPH *pu3**  **CNH *pu3/*p’u3/*fu3**

**fù 府**  **QYS**  **pjú:**  **CDC *fu3/EC *pox**
BMH [fù]; MX [fu3]; HL [fu3]; SX [fu3]; LF [fu3]; LZ [fu3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [fu3]; XC [fu3]
CT [fu3]; WP [fu3]; YD [fi3]; SH [fu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [fu3]; AY [fu3]; SY [fu3]; XS [—]; QN [fu3]; ND1 [fu3]; ND2 [fu3]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *fu3]  **CNH *fu3**

**fù 辅**  **QYS**  **bju:**  **CDC *vu3/EC *bax**
BMH [phú]; MX [p’u3]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [fu5]; SHT [—]
HY [p’u3]; XY [fu3]; DB [fu5]; YL [fu3]; XC [fu3]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [fu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [p’u3]; AY [p’u3]; SY [p’u3]; XS [p’u3]; QN [p’u3]; ND1 [p’u3]; ND2 [fu3]; ND3 [p’u]
[OPH *p’u3]  **CNH *p’u3/*fu3**

**fù 父**  **QYS**  **bju:**  **CDC *vu4/EC *bax**
BMH [fù]; MX [fu5]; HL [fu5]; SX [fu5]; LF [fu5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [fu5]; XC [—]
CT [fu6]; WP [—]; YD [fi3]; SH [fu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [fu5]; AY [fu5]; SY [—]; XS [fu5]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [fu6]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *fu5]  **CNH *fu6**

**fù 妇**  **QYS**  **bjwu:**  **CDC *vu4/EC *bix**
BMH [fù ~ khiu]; MX [fu5w ~ k’iu1b]; HL [fu5]; SX [fu5]; LF [fu5]; LZ [fu1]; SHT [—]
HY [hu6 ~ pu5]; XY [p’u1]; DB [p’u1]; YL [fu5w ~ pu1b]; XC [fu5w ~ pu5b]
CT [fu1]; WP [pu1]; YD [fi5]; SH [pu1 ~ phei1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [pye1]
NK [fu5 ~ fu1]; AY [fu5]; SY [fu1]; XS [fu1]; QN [—]; ND1 [pu1 ~ pu3 ~ fu1 ~ fu5]; ND2 [fu6 ~ p’u1 ~ p’u6]; ND3 [fu6 ~ p’u1 ~ p’u6]
[OPH *fu5]  **CNH *pu1/*p’u1/*pu5/L *fu5**
Níngdū-2 and 3 have variant forms that must derive from earlier *p’u6. Basil Mission and Méixiàn show for 婦 a second form, reconstructable as CNH *k’ieu1, which occurs exclusively in the bisyllabic compound [sim1 k’iu1] “daughter-in-law” (i.e., general southern Chinese xīnfù 新婦 “the new woman”). This compound is given in a number of our sources; and, following popular native tradition, the second syllable is sometimes written as jiù 舅 (CNH *k’ieu1/*k’ieu6) “maternal uncle”. However, it is now fairly widely thought to be some sort of nonce deformation of the word fù 婦, as in xīnfù 新婦. Níngdū-2 and -3 have what appears to be a reading in *p’u6, which is not attested elsewhere.

fù 復 QYS bjuk CDC *vuk8/EC *bukh
BMH [fúk]; MX [fuk7w ~ puk7b]; HL [fuk7 ~ puk8]; SX [fuk7 ~ puk8]; LF [fuk8]; LZ [fuk8]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [fǔ? ~ fǔ]
CT [fu2]; WP [fuʔ]; YD [fuʔ]; SH [fɔʔ]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [fu8]; AY [fu6]; SY [fǔ]; XS [fuk8]; QN [fuʔ]; ND1 [fuk8]; ND2 [fuk7]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *puk8] CNH *puk8/L *fuk8/*fuk7

G

gāi 該 QYS kǎi CDC *koi1/EC *'ki
BMH [koi]; MX [koi1]; HL [koi1]; SX [koi1]; LF [kai1]; LZ [koi1]; SHT [koi1]
HY [kuai1]; XY [kuai1]; DB [kɔi1]; YL [koi1]; XC [koi1]
CT [kuε1]; WP [kuε1]; YD [—]; SH [kuε1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [kæ1]; AY [kuε1]; SY [kæ1 ~ kuε1]; XS [koi1]; QN [koi1]; ND1 [kɔi1]; ND2 [kuεi]; ND3 [kuai1]
[OPH *koi1] CNH *koi1

gāi 改 QYS kǎi: CDC *koi3/EC *'kix
BMH [kɔi]; MX [kɔi3]; HL [kɔi3]; SX [kɔi3]; LF [kɔi3]; LZ [kɔi3]; SHT [—]
HY [kuai3]; XY [kuai3]; DB [kɔi3]; YL [kai3]; XC [kai3]
CT [kue3]; WP [kuɛ3]; YD [koi3]; SH [kuɛ3]; LC1 [kui3]; LC2 [—]
NK [kæ3]; AY [kue3]; SY [kue3]; XS [koi3]; QN [koi3]; ND1 [kæi3]; ND2 [kuɛi3]; ND3 [kuai3]

[OPH *koi3]   CNH *koi3

盖 QYS  kâi-   CDC *koi5/EC *’kath
BMH [kɔi]; MX [kɔi5]; HL [kɔi5]; SX [kɔi5]; LF [kɔi5]; LZ [kɔi5]; SHT [—]
HY [kuai5]; XY [kuai5]; DB [kɔi5]; YL [kɔi5]; XC [kɔi5]
CT [kue5]; WP [kuɛ5]; YD [kɔi3]; SH [kɔei]; LC1 [kui5]; LC2 [—]
NK [kæ5]; AY [kue5]; SY [kue2]; XS [koi5]; QN [kɔi5]; ND1 [kæi5]; ND2 [kuæi5]; ND3 [kuai5]

[OPH *koi5]   CNH *koi5

甘 QYS  kâm   CDC *kam1/EC *’kam
BMH [kam]; MX [kam1]; HL [kam1]; SX [kam1]; LF [kam1]; LZ [kam1]; SHT [kam1]
HY [kam1]; XY [kam1]; DB [kam1]; YL [kam1]; XC [kam1]
CT [kaŋ1]; WP [kaŋ1]; YD [kaŋ1]; SH [kã1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [kã1]; AY [kã1]; SY [kã1 ~ kuɔ1]; XS [kan1]; QN [kan1]; ND1 [koem1]; ND2 [kuom1]; ND3 [kuam1]

[OPH *kam1]   CNH *kom1

甘 桔 QYS  kâm   CDC *kam1/EC —
BMH [kam]; MX [kam1]; HL [kam1]; SX [kam1]; LF [kam1]; LZ [kam1]; SHT [—]
HY [kam1]; XY [kam1]; DB [kam1]; YL [kam1]; XC [kam1]
CT [kaŋ1]; WP [kaŋ1]; YD [kaŋ1]; SH [kã1]; LC1 [kam1]; LC2 [—]
NK [koɛ1]; AY [kã1]; SY [—]; XS [kan1]; QN [—]; ND1 [koem1]; ND2 [kuom1]; ND3 [kuam1]

[OPH *kam1]   CNH *kom1

肝 QYS  kân   CDC *kon1/EC *’kan
BMH [kon]; MX [kon1]; HL [kon1]; SX [kon1]; LF [kon1]; LZ [kon1]; SHT [kon1]
HY [kuan1]; XY [kuan1]; DB [kon1]; YL [kon1]; XC [kon1]
Appendix: Data

CT [kuŋ1]; WP [kueŋ1]; YD [kəŋ1]; SH [kuɛ1]; LC1 [kuɔ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [koɛ1]; AY [kʊə1]; SY [kuʃ1]; XS [kɔn1]; QN [kɔn1]; ND1 [kʊɛn1]; ND2 [kuon1]; ND3 [kuan1]
OPH *kon1   CNH *kon1

gān 竿  QYS kân  CDC *kon1/EC *'kan
BMH [kon]; MX [kən1]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [kon1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [kuan1]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [kən1]; XC [kən1]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [kəŋ1]; SH [kuɛ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kuɛ1]
NK [koɛ1]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [kəŋ1]; QN [kəŋ1]; ND1 [kʊɛn1]; ND2 [kuon1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *kon1]   CNH *kon1

gān 乾  QYS kân  CDC *kon1/EC *’kan
BMH [kon]; MX [kən1]; HL [kən1]; SX [kən1]; LF [kon1]; LZ [kən1]; SHT [kən1]
HY [—]; XY [kuan1]; DB [kən1]; YL [kən1]; XC [kən1]
CT [—]; WP [kueŋ1]; YD [kən1]; SH [kuɛ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kəŋ1]
NK [koɛ1]; AY [kʊə1]; SY [kuʃ1]; XS [kəŋ1]; QN [kəŋ1]; ND1 [kʊɛn1]; ND2 [kuon1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *kon1]   CNH *kon1

gān 感  QYS kâm:  CDC *kom3/EC *kumx
BMH [kám]; MX [kam3]; HL [kam3]; SX [kam3]; LF [kam3]; LZ [kam3]; SHT [kam3]
HY [kam3]; XY [kam3]; DB [kam3]; YL [—]; XC [kan3]
CT [kan3]; WP [kan3]; YD [—]; SH [kə3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [koɛ3]; AY [kə3]; SY [kə3]; XS [kan3]; QN [kan3]; ND1 [kʊɛm3]; ND2 [kuom3]; ND3 [kuam3]
[OPH *kam3]   CNH *kom3

gān 敢  QYS kâm:  CDC *kom3/EC *’kamx
BMH [kám]; MX [kam3]; HL [kam3]; SX [kam3]; LF [kam3]; LZ [kam3]; SHT [—]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Common Neo-Hakka: A Comparative Reconstruction</th>
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</table>

| [OPH *kam3] | CNH *kom3 |

| QYS | gàn 幹 | CDC *kɔŋ1/EC *‘kanx |
| BMH [kɔŋ]; MX [kɔŋ1]; HL [kɔŋ1]; SX [kɔŋ1]; LF [kɔŋ1]; SHT [kɔŋ1] |
| HY [kuam]; XY [kuam]; DB [kɔŋ1]; YL [kan5]; XC [kan5] |
| CT [kɔŋ5]; WP [kuam]; YD [kɔŋ3]; SH [kã5w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—] |
| NK [koẽ5]; AY [kã5 ~ kõ5]; SY [kuɔ̃2]; XS [kɔŋ5]; QN [kɔŋ5]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [kuam5] |
| [OPH *kɔŋ5] | CNH *kɔŋ5 |

| QYS | gāng 續 | CDC *kong1/EC *‘kang |
| BMH [kong]; MX [kɔŋ1]; HL [kɔŋ1]; SX [kɔŋ1]; LF [—]; LZ [kɔŋ1]; SHT [kɔŋ1] |
| HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [kɔŋ1]; XC [kɔŋ1] |
| CT [kɔŋ1]; WP [kɔŋ1]; YD [kɔŋ1]; SH [kɔŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—] |
| NK [kɔŋ1]; AY [kɔŋ1]; SY [kɔŋ1]; XS [kɔŋ1]; QN [kɔŋ1]; ND1 [kɔŋ1]; ND2 [kɔŋ1]; ND3 [—] |
| [OPH *kong1] | CNH *kɔŋ1 |

| QYS | gāng 鋼 | CDC *kong1/EC *‘kang |
| BMH [kong]; MX [kɔŋ1]; HL [kɔŋ1]; SX [kɔŋ1]; LF [kɔŋ1]; LZ [kɔŋ1]; SHT [—] |
| HY [kɔŋ1]; XY [kɔŋ5]; DB [kɔŋ5]; YL [kɔŋ1]; XC [kɔŋ1] |
| CT [kɔŋ1]; WP [kɔŋ1]; YD [kɔŋ1]; SH [kɔŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—] |
| NK [kɔŋ1]; AY [kɔŋ1]; SY [kɔŋ1]; XS [kɔŋ1]; QN [kɔŋ1]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [kɔŋ1]; ND3 [—] |
| [OPH *kong1] | CNH *kɔŋ1 |

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Appendix: Data

CT [kɔŋ1]; WP [kɔŋ5 ~ kɔŋ1]; YD [kɔŋ5]; SH [kɔŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [kɔŋ5]; AY [kɔŋ5]; SY [kɔŋ2]; XS [kɔŋ1]; QN [kɔŋ5]; ND1 [kɔŋ5]; ND2 [kɔŋ5]; ND3 [kɔŋ5]
[OPH *kɔŋ1] CNH *kɔŋ1

<stdlib> QYS 晃: CDC *kɔŋ3/EC *kɔŋx
BMH [kɔŋ]; MX [kɔŋ3]; HL [kɔŋ3]; SX [kɔŋ3]; LF [kɔŋ3]; LZ [—]; SHT [kɔŋ3]
HY [kɔŋ3]; XY [kɔŋ3]; DB [kɔŋ3]; YL [kɔŋ3]; XC [kɔŋ3]
CT [kɔŋ3]; WP [kɔŋ3]; YD [kɔŋ3]; SH [kɔŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [kɔŋ3]; AY [kɔŋ3]; SY [kɔŋ3]; XS [kɔŋ3]; QN [kɔŋ3]; ND1 [kɔŋ3]; ND2 [kɔŋ3]; ND3 [kɔŋ3]
[OPH kɔŋ3] CNH *kɔŋ3

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

سلوك QYS 歌: CDC *kau1/EC *'kay
BMH [kau]; MX [kau]; HL [kau]; SX [kau]; LF [kau]; LZ [kau]; SHT [kau]
HY [kau]; XY [kau]; DB [kau]; YL [kau]; XC [kau]
CT [kau]; WP [kau]; YD [kau]; SH [kau]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kau]
NK [kau]; AY [kau]; SY [kau]; XS [kau]; QN [kau]; ND1 [kau]; ND2 [kau]; ND3 [kau]
[OPH kau] CNH *kau1

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[OPH *ko1]   CNH *ko1

gē 割  QYS kât   CDC *kot7/EC *'kat
BMH [kot]; MX [kot7]; SX [kot7]; LF [kot7]; LZ [kot7]; SHT [kot7]
HY [kuat7]; XY [kuat7]; DB [kot7]; YL [kɔʔ7]; XC [koʔ7]
CT [kue2]; WP [kueʔ7]; YD [kot7]; SH [kuʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kue6]
NK [koæ7]; AY [ku31]; SY [kuo5]; XS [kɔʔ7]; QN [kɔʔ7]; ND1 [koet7]; ND2 [kuot7]; ND3 [kuat7]
[OPH *kot7]   CNH *kot7

gē 鴿  QYS kâp   CDC *kop7/EC *'kup
BMH [kap]; MX [kap7]; HL [kap7]; SX [kap7]; LF [kap7]; LZ [kap7]; SHT [kap7]
HY [kap7]; XY [kap7]; DB [kap7]; YL [kɔʔ7]; XC [koʔ7]
CT [ko2]; WP [kaʔ7]; YD [kaʔ7]; SH [kaʔ7]; LC1 [ku6]; LC2 [—]
NK [koæ7]; AY [ku3]; SY [kuo5]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [koep7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [kuap7]
[OPH *kap7]   CNH *kop7

gé 格  QYS kok   CDC *kak7/EC *'kak
BMH [ket ~ kiet ~ kak]; MX [ket7w ~ kak7b]; HL [ket7]; SX [ket7]; LF [kak7]; LZ [kak2];
SHT [kak7]
HY [kak7]; XY [kak7]; DB [kak7]; YL [kaʔ7]; XC [kaʔ7]
CT [ka2]; WP [keʔ5w ~ kaʔ7]; YD [kaʔ7]; SH [kaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ka8]; AY [ka6]; SY [ka5 ~ ke5]; XS [kak7]; QN [kaʔ7 ~ keʔ7]; ND1 [kak7]; ND2 [kak7b ~ kak7w]; ND3 [kak7 ~ kak7]
[OPH *kak7]   CNH *kak7/L *kek7

gē 隔  QYS kek   CDC *kak7/EC *krek
BMH [ket ~ kak]; MX [kak7]; HL [kak7]; SX [kak7]; LF [kak7]; LZ [kak7]; SHT [—]
HY [kak7]; XY [kak7]; DB [kak7]; YL [kaʔ7]; XC [kaʔ7]
CT [ka2 ~ ke2]; WP [kaʔ7]; YD [kaʔ7]; SH [kaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
Appendix: Data

NK [ka8]; AY [ka6]; SY [ka5]; XS [kak7]; QN [kaʔ7]; ND1 [kak7]; ND2 [kak7]; ND3 [kak7]
OPH *kak7   CNH *kak7/*kek7?
The coda of the second form is uncertain because it is not attested in the determinative Ningdū dialects.

gè 節、個  QYS  kâ-  CDC *ko5/EC *'kayh
BMH [kè ~ kài]; MX [ke5]; HL [kai5]; SX [kai5]; LF [kai5]; LZ [kai5b ~ kɔ5w]; SHT [kai5]
HY [kei†]; XY [ke††]; DB [kai5]; YL [kai5 ~ ke1 ke1]; XC [ki5]
CT [ko5 ~ ke5]; WP [ke5]; YD [kai3]; SH [e5 ~ ne5]; LC1 [ku06]; LC2 [—]
NK [kæ5 ~ ke5]; AY [kæ5 ~ ke5]; SY [kæ5 ~ ko1 ~ ke2]; XS [kai5 ~ ke5]; QN [kai5 ~ ko5 ~ ki5]; ND1 [kai5 ~ kei5]; ND2 [kai5 ~ kai††]; ND3 [ke5]
OPH *kiai5   CNH kai5/L *ko5/*kai5 ~ *ke5
 Classifier//subordinative particle. Two entirely different lexical items are combined within this set because the sources write them with the same character. For discussion of the subordinative particle, see specifically Chapter V, §5.2.80.
†Subordinative particle only. Tone neutral.
††Non-canonical mid-level tone, structurally perhaps actually neutral.
‡Second form is the subordinative particle.

gè 各  QYS  kâk  CDC *kok7/EC *'kak
BMH [kok]; MX [kɔk7]; HL [kok7]; SX [kok7]; LF [kok7]; LZ [kɔk7]; SHT [—]
HY [kok7]; XY [kok7]; DB [kok7]; YL [koʔ7]; XC [koʔ7]
CT [ko2]; WP [koʔ7]; YD [koʔ7]; SH [koʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ko8]; AY [ko5]; SY [ko5]; XS [kɔk7]; QN [koʔ7]; ND1 [kok7]; ND2 [kɔk7]; ND3 [kɔk7]
[OPH *kok7]   CNH *kok7

gēn 根  QYS  kən  CDC *ken1/EC *'kun
BMH [ken ~ kin]; MX [ken1 ~ kin1s]; HL [kin1]; SX [kin1]; LF [kin1]; LZ [kin1]; SHT [kin1]
HY [kan1]; XY [ken1]; DB [kiɛn1]; YL [kan1]; XC [kən1]
CT [ken1]; WP [ken1]; YD [ken1]; SH [kɛ1]; LC1 [ken1]; LC2 [—]
Common Neo-Hakka: A Comparative Reconstruction

NK [kê1]; AY [kan1 ~ teiŋ1]; SY [kê1]; XS [kên1]; QN [ken1]; ND1 [kəŋ1]; ND2 [kəŋ1]; ND3 [kəŋ1]

[OPH *kin1] CNH *ken1/Vulgo *kin1

gēn 跟 QYS kān CDC *ken1/EC *kun
BMH [ken]; MX [kên1]; HL [ken1]; SX [ken1]; LF [ken1 ~ kin1]; LZ [kên1]; SHT [kên1]
HY [—]; XY [k’iŋ1]; DB [kán1 ~ kîn1]; YL [kán1]; XC [kán1]
CT [kên1]; WP [kên1]; YD [kên1]; SH [kē1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [kê1]; AY [teiŋ1]; SY [kê1]; XS [kên1]; QN [—]; ND1 [kəŋ1]; ND2 [kəŋ1]; ND3 [kəŋ1]

[OPH *ken1] CNH *ken1

The Xînyì form probably represents a different lexical layer. Cf. the set for gēn 根 immediately above.

gēng 更 QYS kàng “to change” CDC *kang1/EC *krang
BMH [kang]; MX [kâŋ1]; HL [kâŋ1]; SX [kâŋ1]; LF [kâŋ1]; LZ [kâŋ1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [kâŋ1 ~ kên1w†]; XC [kān1]
CT [kâŋ1]; WP [kâŋ1]; YD [kâŋ1]; SH [kē1]; LC1 [kâŋ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [kê1]; AY [kâŋ1]; SY [—]; XS [kâŋ1]; QN [kâŋ1]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [kâŋ1]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *kâŋ1] CNH *kân1/L *kēŋ1?

†Second form is literary and also has the specific sense “watch (of the night)”
The coda of the second reconstructed form is conjectural.

gēng 耕 QYS kâng CDC *kang1/EC *kren
BMH [kâŋ1]; MX [kâŋ1]; HL [kâŋ1]; SX [kâŋ1]; LF [kâŋ1]; LZ [kâŋ1]; SHT [kâŋ1]
HY [kâŋ1]; XY [kâŋ1]; DB [kâŋ1]; YL [—]; XC [kâŋ1]
CT [kâŋ1]; WP [kâŋ1]; YD [kâŋ1]; SH [kē1]; LC1 [kâĩ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [kê1]; AY [kâi ~ kâŋ1]; SY [kê1]; XS [kên1]; QN [kâŋ1]; ND1 [kəŋ1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *kâŋ1] CNH *kâŋ1/L *kêŋ1
Appendix: Data

The coda of the second form is conjectural because no determinative form is present in the set.

The coda of the second form is conjectural because no determinative form is present in the set.

The coda of the second form is conjectural because no determinative form is present in the set.
gōng 供  QYS  kjwong   CDC *kiung1
BMH [kiung]; MX [kiuŋ1]; HL [kiuŋ1]; SX [kiuŋ1]; LF [kiuŋ1]; LZ [kiuŋ1]; SHT [—]
HY [koŋ1]; XY [koŋ1]; DB [kuŋ1]; YL [kuŋ1]; XC [kuŋ1]
CT [ʧioun5]; WP [tsiuŋ1]; YD [kiuŋ3]; SH [teiŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kiuŋ1]
NK [teiŋ1]; AY [teiŋ1]; SY [teiŋ1]; XS [teiŋ1]; QN [teiŋ1]; ND1 [tsuŋ1]; ND2 [tsuŋ1]; ND3
 [kuŋ1 ~ tsuŋ1]
[OPH *kiuŋ1]   CNH *kiuŋ1

gōng 共  QYS  gjwongh   CDC *giung6/EC *gongh
BMH [khiuŋ]; MX [kiuŋ5]; HL [k’iŋ65]; SX [k’iŋ65]; LF [k’iŋ66]; LZ [khiuŋ5]; SHT [—]
HY [k’oiŋ6]; XY [k’oiŋ3]; DB [k’uŋ3]; YL [k’iŋ5w ~ k’uŋ3b]; XC [kuŋ5]
CT [ʧiouŋ6]; WP [ts’iouŋ3]; YD [k’iouŋ5]; SH [tehiouŋ3]; LC1 [k’iouŋ6]; LC2 [—]
NK [k’iŋ5 ~ te’iŋ5]; AY [k’iŋ6 ~ te’iŋ6]; SY [k’iŋ5 ~ te’iŋ5]; XS [te’iŋ5]; QN [te’iŋ6];
 ND1 [k’iŋ6 ~ ts’uŋ6]; ND2 [ts’uŋ6]; ND3 [k’uŋ6]
[OPH *k’iung6]   CNH *k’iouŋ6/L *k’uŋ6

gǒu 溝  QYS  kəu   CDC *keu1/EC *’ko
BMH [keu]; MX [keu1]; HL [keu1]; SX [keu1]; LF [keu1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [kuai1]; XY [keu1]; DB [kiei1]; YL [kə1]; XC [kəu1]
CT [keu1]; WP [ke1]; YD [keu1]; SH [kə1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [kə1]; AY [kə1]; SY [kio1]; XS [kəu1]; QN [—]; ND1 [keu1]; ND2 [kəu1]; ND3 [kəu1]
[OPH *keu1]   CNH *keu1

gǒu 狗  QYS  kau:   CDC *keu3/EC *’kox
BMH [kəu]; MX [kəu3]; HL [kəu3]; SX [kəu3]; LF [kəu3]; LZ [kəu3]; SHT [kuı3]
HY [kuai3]; XY [kəu3]; DB [kiei3]; YL [kə3]; XC [kəu3]
CT [keu3]; WP [ke3]; YD [keu3]; SH [kə3]; LC1 [keu3]; LC2 [—]
NK [kə3]; AY [kə3]; SY [kio3]; XS [kəu3]; QN [kəu3]; ND1 [keu3]; ND2 [kəu3]; ND3 [kəu3]
[OPH *keu3]   CNH *keu3
gū 姑 QYS kuo CDC *ku/EC *'ka
BMH [ku]; MX [ku1]; HL [ku1]; SX [ku1]; LF [ku1]; LZ [ku1]; SHT [ku1]
HY [ku1]; XY [ku1]; DB [ku1]; YL [ku1]; XC [ku1]
CT [ku1]; WP [ku1]; YD [ki1]; SH [ku1]; LC1 [ku1]; LC2 [kye1]
NK [ku1]; AY [ku1]; SY [ku1]; XS [ku1]; QN [ku1]; ND1 [ku1]; ND2 [ku1]; ND3 [ku1]
[OPH *ku1] CNH *ku1

gū 篆 QYS (kuo) CDC *ku1/EC *—
BMH [khu]; MX [ku1]; HL [ku1]; SX [ku1]; LF [ku1]; LZ [ku1]; SHT [ku1]
HY [ku1]; XY [ku1]; DB [ku1]; YL [ku1]; XC [ku1]
CT [ku1]; WP [ku1]; YD [ku1]; SH [ku1]; LC1 [ku1]; LC2 [ku1]
NK [ku1]; AY [ku1]; SY [ku1]; XS [ku1]; QN [ku1]; ND1 [ku1]; ND2 [ku1]; ND3 [ku1]
[OPH *k’u1] CNH *k’u1/*ku1

gù 古 QYS kuo: CDC *ku3/EC *’kax
BMH [kú]; MX [ku3]; HL [ku3]; SX [ku3]; LF [ku3]; LZ [ku3]; SHT [ku3]
HY [ku3]; XY [ku3]; DB [ku3]; YL [ku3]; XC [ku3]
CT [ku3]; WP [ku3]; YD [ku3]; SH [ku3]; LC1 [ku3]; LC2 [kye3]
NK [ku3]; AY [ku3]; SY [ku3]; XS [ku3]; QN [ku3]; ND1 [ku3]; ND2 [ku3]; ND3 [ku3]
[OPH *ku3] CNH *ku3

gù 牯 QYS kuo: CDC *ku3/EC *’kax
BMH [kú]; MX [ku3]; HL [ku3]; SX [ku3]; LF [ku3]; LZ [ku3]; SHT [ku3]
HY [ku3]; XY [ku3]; DB [ku3]; YL [ku3]; XC [ku3]
CT [ku3]; WP [ku3]; YD [ku3]; SH [ku3]; LC1 [ku3]; LC2 [kye3]
NK [ku3]; AY [ku3]; SY [ku3]; XS [ku3]; QN [ku3]; ND1 [ku3]; ND2 [ku3]; ND3 [ku3]
[OPH *ku3] CNH *ku3

gù 脊 QYS kuat CDC *kut7/EC *’kut
BMH [kwut]; MX [kut7]; HL [kut7]; SX [kut7]; LF [kut7]; LZ [kut7]; SHT [kut7]
HY [kut7]; XY [kut7]; DB [kuɔt7 ~ kut7]; YL [kueiʔ7]; XC [kuʔ7]
CT [kue2]; WP [kuεʔ7]; YD [kut7]; SH [kueiʔ7]; LC1 [ku5]; LC2 [ku5]
NK [koæ7]; AY [ku3]; SY [kuo5]; XS [kuit7]; QN [kuiʔ7]; ND1 [kuit7]; ND2 [kut7]; ND3 [kut7]
OPH *kut7    CNH *kut7

gué 穀  QYS  kuk    CDC *kuk7/EC *‘kok
BMH [kwuk]; MX [kuk7]; HL [kuk7]; SX [kuk7]; LF [kuk7]; LZ [kuk7]; SHT [kuk7]
HY [kok7]; XY [kouʔ7]; DB [kuk7]; YL [kauʔ7 ~ kuʔ7]; XC [kuʔ7]
CT [kue]; WP [kuʔ7]; YD [kuʔ7]; SH [kuʔ7]; LC1 [ku6]; LC2 [kuε6]
NK [ku8]; AY [ku6]; SY [ku5]; XS [kuk7]; QN [kuʔ7]; ND1 [kuk7]; ND2 [kuk7]; ND3 [kuk7]
OPH *kuk7    CNH *kuk7

gué 固    QYS  kuo-    CDC *ku5/EC *‘kah
BMH [kù]; MX [ku5]; HL [ku5]; SX [ku5]; LF [ku5]; LZ [ku5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ku5]; XC [ku5]
CT [ku5]; WP [ku5]; YD [ki3]; SH [ku5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ku5]; AY [ku5]; SY [ku2]; XS [ku5]; QN [ku5]; ND1 [ku5]; ND2 [ku5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ku5]    CNH *ku5

gué 故    QYS  kuo-    CDC *ku5/EC *‘kah
BMH [kù]; MX [ku5]; HL [ku5]; SX [ku5]; LF [ku5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [ku5]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ku5]; XC [ku5]
CT [ku5]; WP [ku5]; YD [ki3]; SH [ku5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ku5]; AY [ku5]; SY [ku2]; XS [ku5]; QN [ku5]; ND1 [ku5]; ND2 [ku5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ku5]    CNH *ku5

gué 雇    QYS  kuo-    CDC *ku5/EC *‘kah
BMH [kù]; MX [ku5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [ku5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ku5]; XC [ku5]
Appendix: Data

CT [ku5]; WP [ku5]; YD [ki3]; SH [ku5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ku5]; AY [ku5]; SY [ku2]; XS [ku5]; QN [ku5]; ND1 [ku5]; ND2 [ku5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ku5]  CNH *ku5

gù 顧 QYS  kuo- CDC *ku5/EC *'kah
BMH [kù]; MX [ku5]; HL [ku5]; SX [ku5]; LF [ku5]; LZ [ku5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ku5]; XC [ku5]
CT [ku5]; WP [ku5]; YD [ki3]; SH [ku5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ku5]; AY [ku5]; SY [ku2]; XS [ku5]; QN [ku5]; ND1 [ku5]; ND2 [ku5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ku5]  CNH *ku5

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

guāi 刮 QYS  kwai CDC *kuai1/EC *kruy
BMH [kwai]; MX [kuai1]; HL [kuai1]; SX [kuai1]; LF [kuai1]; LZ [kæi1]; SHT [—]
HY [kai1]; XY [kai1]; DB [kuai1]; YL [kuai1]; XC [kuai1]
CT [—]; WP [kuai1]; YD [kuai1]; SH [kuai1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
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NK [kuæ1]; AY [kue1]; SY [kua1]; XS [kuai1]; QN [kai1]; ND1 [kai1]; ND2 [kai1]; ND3 [kai1]

OPH *kuai1 CNH *kuai1

guài 怪 QYS kwâi- CDC *kuai5/EC *kwrih
BMH [kwâi]; MX [kuai5]; HL [kuai5]; SX [kuai5]; LF [kuai5]; LZ [kai5]; SHT [kai5]
HY [kai5]; XY [kai5]; DB [kuai5]; YL [kuai5]; XC [kuai5]
CT [ — ]; WP [kua5]; YD [ — ]; SH [kua5]; LC1 [ — ]; LC2 [ — ]
NK [kuæ5]; AY [kue5]; SY [kua2]; XS [kuai5]; QN [kai5]; ND1 [kai5]; ND2 [kai5]; ND3 [kai5]

OPH *kuai5 CNH *kuai5

guān 官 QYS kuân CDC *kuon1/EC *'kwan
BMH [kwon]; MX [koon1]; HL [kon1]; SX [kon1]; LF [kon1]; LZ [kon1]; SHT [kon1]
HY [kuan1]; XY [kuan1]; DB [koon1]; YL [kon1]; XC [kuan1]
CT [kuŋ1]; WP [kuŋ1]; YD [kuan1]; SH [kuân]; LC1 [kuû1]; LC2 [kuœ1]
NK [koẽ1]; AY [kœ1]; SY [kû1]; XS [kon1]; QN [kon1]; ND1 [koœ1]; ND2 [kuon1]; ND3 [kuan1]

OPH *kuon1 CNH *kuon1

guān 檀 QYS kuân CDC *kuon1/EC *'kwan
BMH [kwon]; MX [ — ]; HL [kon1]; SX [kon1]; LF [kon1]; LZ [kon1]; SHT [ — ]
HY [kuan1]; XY [kan1]; DB [kuon1]; YL [kon1]; XC [kuan1]
CT [ — ]; WP [kuœ1]; YD [kuan1]; SH [kuân]; LC1 [ — ]; LC2 [ — ]
NK [koẽ1]; AY [kœ1]; SY [ — ]; XS [kon1]; QN [ — ]; ND1 [koœ1]; ND2 [kuon1]; ND3 [ — ]

OPH *kuon1 CNH *kuon1

guān 觀 QYS kuân CDC *kuon1/EC *'kon
BMH [kwon]; MX [koon1]; HL [kon1]; SX [kon1]; LF [kon1]; LZ [kon1]; SHT [ — ]
HY [ — ]; XY [ — ]; DB [ — ]; YL [kon1]; XC [kuan1]
Appendix: Data

CT [kuəŋ]; WP [kuɛŋ]; YD [kuan]; SH [kuâ]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [koœ]; AY [kõ]; SY [kuɔ]; XS [kɔn]; QN [kɔn]; ND1 [kœn]; ND2 [kuon]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *kuon]   CNH *kuon

guān 關  QYS  kwan  CDC *kuan/EC *kron
BMH [kwan]; MX [kuan]; HL [kuan]; SX [kuan]; LF [kun]; LZ [kan]; SHT [—]
HY [kan]; XY [kan]; DB [kuan]; YL [kuan]; XC [kuan]

CT [kuaŋ]; WP [kuaŋ]; YD [kuan]; SH [kuâ]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [kuâ]; AY [kuâ ~ k’â]; SY [kuâ ~ k’uâ]; XS [kuan]; QN [kan]; ND1 [kan]; ND2 [kan]; ND3 [kuan]

[OPH *kuon]   CNH *kuon

guāng 光  QYS  kuâng  CDC *kuong/EC *’kwang
BMH [kwong]; MX [kuan]; HL [koun]; SX [koun]; LF [koun]; LZ [kan]; SHT [kâ]
HY [koun]; XY [koun]; DB [kuon]; YL [koun]; XC [koun]

CT [kəŋ]; WP [kəŋ]; YD [kəŋ]; SH [kəŋ]; LC1 [kəŋ]; LC2 [kəŋ]
NK [kəŋ]; AY [kəŋ]; SY [kəŋ]; XS [kəŋ]; QN [kəŋ]; ND1 [kəŋ]; ND2 [kəŋ]; ND3 [kəŋ]

[OPH *kuong]   CNH *kuong

guāng 广  QYS  kuâng:  CDC *kuong3/EC *’kwangx
BMH [kwóng]; MX [kuan3]; HL [koun3]; SX [koun3]; LF [koun3]; LZ [koun3]; SHT [koun3]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [koun3]; XC [koun3]

CT [—]; WP [kəŋ3]; YD [kəŋ3]; SH [kəŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [kəŋ3]; AY [kəŋ3]; SY [kəŋ3]; XS [kəŋ3]; QN [kəŋ3]; ND1 [kəŋ3]; ND2 [kəŋ3]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *kuong3]   CNH *kuong3

guī 规  QYS  kjwie4  CDC *kui/EC *kwe
BMH [kwui]; MX [kui]; HL [kui]; SX [kui]; LF [kui]; LZ [kui]; SHT [—]
HY [kui]; XY [k’ui]; DB [k’uei]; YL [kuei]; XC [kuei]
CT [kue1]; WP [kui1w]; YD [kuei1]; SH [kuei1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [kue1]; AY [kue1]; SY [kue1]; XS [kui1]; QN [kui1]; ND1 [kui1]; ND2 [kui1]; ND3 [kui1]
[OPH *kui1]  CNH *kui1

guī 龜 QYS kjwi3  CDC *kui1/EC *kwi
BMH [kwui]; MX [kui]; HL [kui1]; SX [kui1]; LF [kui]; LZ [kui1]; SHT [kui1]
HY [kui1]; XY [kui1]; DB [kuei1]; YL [kue1]; XC [kuei1]
CT [kue1]; WP [kui1]; YD [kuei1]; SH [kuei1]; LC1 [kui1]; LC2 [—]
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guī 鬼 QYS kjwei:  CDC *kui3/EC *kuyx
BMH [kwúi]; MX [kui3]; HL [kui3]; SX [kui3]; LF [kui3]; LZ [kui3]; SHT [kui3]
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guī 貴 QYS kjwei-  CDC *kui5/EC *kuth
BMH [kwùi]; MX [kui5]; HL [kui5]; SX [kui5]; LF [kui5]; LZ [kui5]; SHT [—]
HY [kui5]; XY [kui5]; DB [kuei5]; YL [kuei5]; XC [kuei5]
CT [kue5]; WP [kui5]; YD [kuei5]; SH [kuei5]; LC1 [kui5]; LC2 [—]
NK [kue5]; AY [kue5]; SY [kue2]; XS [kui5]; QN [kui5]; ND1 [kui5]; ND2 [kui5]; ND3 [kui5]
[OPH *kui5]  CNH *kui5

guī 櫃 QYS gjwi-3  CDC *guti6/EC *guth
BMH [khwùi]; MX [k’ui5]; HL [k’ui5]; SX [k’ui5]; LF [k’ui6]; LZ [khui5]; SHT [k’ui5]
HY [k’ui6]; XY [k’ui3]; DB [k’uei3]; YL [k’uei3]; XC [kuei5]
CT [k’ue6]; WP [khui3]; YD [k’uei5]; SH [khuei3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
The Nánkāng and Shàngyóu forms derive from the second reconstruction.

gui 跪 QYS gjwe: CDC *gui4/EC *guyx
BMH [khwúi]; MX [k’ui3]; HL [k’ui5]; SX [k’ui3]; LF [k’ui6]; LZ [khui3]; SHT [—]
HY [k’ui6]; XY [k’ui3]; DB [k’uei3]; YL [k’uei3]; XC [kuei3]
CT [k’ue6]; WP [khui3]; YD [k’uei5]; SH [khuei3]; LC1 [k’ui6]; LC2 [—]
NK [k’ue3]; AY [k’ue3]; SY [k’ue3]; XS [k’ui3]; QN [k’ui3]; ND1 [k’ui3]; ND2 [k’ui3]; ND3 [k’ui3]
[OPH *k’ui6] CNH *k’ui6

gǔn 滾 QYS — CDC *kun3/EC *—
BMH [kwún]; MX [kun3]; HL [kun3]; SX [kun3]; LF [kun3]; LZ [kun3]; SHT [kun3]
HY [kuan3 ~ kun3]; XY [kun3]; DB [kən3]; YL [kun3]; XC [kuan3]
CT [kueŋ3]; WP [kueŋ3]; YD [kun3]; SH [kueŋ3]; LC1 [kuæiŋ3]; LC2 [kuæiŋ3]
NK [kuë3]; AY [kuəŋ3]; SY [kuẽ3]; XS [kun3]; QN [kun3]; ND1 [kun3]; ND2 [kun3]; ND3 [kun3]
[OPH *kun3] CNH *kun3

guó 國 QYS kwək CDC *kuek7/EC *EC *’kwik
BMH [kwet]; MX [kuei7]; HL [kuei7]; SX [kuei7]; LF [kuei7]; LZ [ket7b ~ kæk7w]; SHT [ket7]
HY [kat7]; XY [kək7]; DB [kuək7]; YL [kuæ7]; XC [kuei7]
CT [kue7]; WP [kuæ7]; YD [kut7]; SH [kuæi7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [koæ8]; AY [kue3]; SY [kuo5]; XS [kuei7]; QN [kui77]; ND1 [kək7]; ND2 [kæk7]; ND3 [kæk7]
OPH *kue7 CNH *kuek7
guǒ 果 QYS kuâ: CDC *kuo3/EC *'koyx
BMH [kwó]; MX [kua3]; HL [ko3]; SX [ko3]; LF [ko3]; LZ [ko3]; SHT [ko3]
HY [kuo3]; XY [ko3]; DB [ko3]; YL [kəu3]; XC [ko3]
CT [ko3]; WP [ko3]; YD [kou3]; SH [kua3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ku3]
NK [ko3]; AY [ko3]; SY [ko3]; XS [kə3]; QN [ko3]; ND1 [ko3]; ND2 [ko3]; ND3 [ko3]
OPH *kuo3  CNH *kuo3

guò 過 QYS kuâ－ CDC *kuo5/EC *koyh
BMH [kwò]; MX [ku5]; HL [ko5]; SX [ko5]; LF [ko5]; LZ [ko5]; SHT [ko5]
HY [ku5]; XY [ko5]; DB [ko5]; YL [kəu5]; XC [ko5]
CT [ko5]; WP [ko5]; YD [kou3]; SH [ku5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ku5]
NK [ko5]; AY [ko5]; SY [ko2]; XS [kə3]; QN [ko5]; ND1 [ko5 ~ kə5]; ND2 [ko5]; ND3 [ko5]
OPH *kuo5  CNH *kuo5

H

hǎi 海 QYS xâi: CDC *xoi3/EC *'hix
BMH [hōi3]; MX [hoi3]; HL [hōi3]; SX [hoi3]; LF [hōi3]; LZ [hōi3]; SHT [hōi3]
HY [huai3]; XY [huai3]; DB [hoi3]; YL [hai3w ~ hoi3b]; XC [hoi3]
CT [hue3]; WP [xue3]; YD [hoi3]; SH [hue3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [hæ3]; AY [hue3]; SY [hue3]; XS [hoi3]; QN [hoi3]; ND1 [hœi3]; ND2 [huei3]; ND3 [huai3]
OPH *hoi3  CNH *hoi3

hán 寒 QYS yân CDC *hon2/EC *'gan
BMH [hôn]; MX [hun2]; HL [hon2]; SX [hon2]; LF [hon2]; LZ [hœn2]; SHT [—]
HY [huan2]; XY [huan2]; DB [hón2]; YL [han2]; XC [hôn2]
CT [huŋ2]; WP [xuɛŋ2 ~ xaŋ2]; YD [hœn2]; SH [huɛ2]; LC1 [hun2]; LC2 [hun2]
NK [hoẽ2]; AY [hô2]; SY [hu32]; XS [hœn2]; QN [hœn2]; ND1 [hoẽn2]; ND2 [hun2]; ND3 [hun2]
[OPH *hon2]  CNH *hon2
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hào 號 QYS ɣâu- CDC *hou6/EC *'gawh
BMH [hàu]; MX [hau5]; SX [ho5]; LF [ho6]; LZ [hau5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [hɔ3]; DB [ho3]; YL [hau3]; XC [hau5]
CT [hɔ6]; WP [xɔ3]; YD [hou5]; SH [hû5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [hɔ5]; AY [hɔ6]; SY [hɔ5]; XS [hau5]; QN [hau6]; ND1 [hau6 ~ hau3]; ND2 [hau6]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *hou6]   CNH *hou6

hé 何 QYS ɣâ   CDC *ho2/EC *'gawh
BMH [hô]; MX [hɔ2]; HL [ho2]; SX [ho2]; LF [ho2]; LZ [hɔ2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [hau2]; XC [ho2]
CT [ho2]; WP [xɔ2]; YD [hou2]; SH [hû2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ho2]; AY [ho2]; SY [ho2]; XS [ho2]; QN [ho2]; ND1 [ho2]; ND2 [ho2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ho2]   CNH *ho2

hé 河 QYS ɣâ   CDC *ho2/EC *'gawh
BMH [vô]; MX [vo2]; HL [vo2]; SX [vo2]; LF [vo2]; LZ [vɔ2]; SHT [vɔ2]
HY [vuɔ2]; XY [vɔ2]; DB [vo2]; YL [hau2]; XC [ho2]
CT [vo2]; WP [o2 ~ vo2]; YD [vou2]; SH [vû2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [vû2]
NK [vo2]; AY [vo2]; SY [vo2]; XS [vo2]; QN [vo2]; ND1 [vo2]; ND2 [vo2]; ND3 [vo2]
[OPH *vo2]   CNH *vuo2

In this set and the following one, Yîlông and Xîchâng use a Mandarin-like loan form, reconstructable as earlier *ho2.
hé 和 QYS γuat CDC *huo2, ho2/EC *'goy

BMH [fɔ ~ vɔ]; MX [fɔ2w ~ vɔ2b]; HL [fo2 ~ vo2]; SX [fo2 ~ vo2]; LF [fo2 ~ wo2]; LZ [fɔ2];
SHT [vɔ2]
HY [—–]; XY [—–]; YL [hau2]; XC [ho2]
CT [—–]; WP [fo2 ~ o2]†; YD [fou2 ~ vou2]; SH [hu2 ~ vu2]; LC1 [—–]; LC2 [vuu2]
NK [ho2 ~ vo2]; AY [ho2 ~ vo2]; SY [ho2 ~ vo2]; XS [fo2]; QN [fo2]; ND1 [fo2]; ND2 [fo2];
ND3 [—–]

[OPH *vo2]   CNH *vuo2/L *huo2
†This is the probable identification for the third syllable in this dialect’s colloquial compound
kɔŋ1 thɛ2 o2 (prob. =*kuɔŋ1 t’eu2 vuo2 光頭和尚), lit. “bald-pate monk”, whence, “baldy, bald fellow”.
In this set, the first reconstruction is supported by forms in initial v-, w-, initial zero, etc., which
are ordinarily limited to the words for héshàng 和尚 “Buddhist monk” in these dialects.

hé 盒 QYS γapat CDC *hop8 (~ kop7)†/EC *'gup

BMH [háp]; MX [hap8 ~ kap7]; HL [hap8]; SX [hap8]; LF [hap8]; LZ [hap8]; SHT [hap8]
HY [hap8]; XY [hap8]; DB [hap8]; YL [hɔʔ8]; XC [hoʔ8]
CT [ho6]; WP [kaʔ7 ~ khaʔ8]; YD [haʔ8]; SH [haʔ8]; LC1 [hu5]; LC2 [—–]
NK [hoẹ5]; AY [h31]; SY [huo5]; XS [hait8 ~ kait7]; QN [haʔ8]; ND1 [hoep8 ~ koep7]; ND2
[hup8 ~ kuop8]; ND3 [huap8 ~ hap8]

[OPH *hap8]   CNH *hop8/*kop7
†The second CDC form represents a word having the sense “unit of measure”. This form is
represented in a number of the sources, where it is treated as a variant reading. This format is
retained here for convenience, though the words are different etyma.
“Join together; shut, close up”//unit of measure.

hé 盒 QYS γapat CDC *hop8/EC *—

BMH [háp]; MX [hap8]; HL [hap8]; SX [hap8]; LF [hap8]; LZ [—–]; SHT [—–]
HY [—–]; XY [—–]; DB [—–]; YL [hɔʔ8]; XC [hoʔ8]
CT [ho6]; WP [—–]; YD [haʔ8]; SH [haʔ8]; LC1 [hu5]; LC2 [—–]
NK [hoæ5]; AY [h31]; SY [huo5]; XS [hait8]; QN [—]; ND1 [hoep8]; ND2 [huop8]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *hap8] CNH *hop8

| Character | Sound | Region
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<td>[OPH *hen6] CNH *hen6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The coda of the second reconstructed form is conjectural.
Common Neo-Hakka:  
A Comparative Reconstruction

hóng 紅 QYS ɣung CDC *hung2/EC *'gong
BMH [ʧʊŋ]; MX [fʊŋ]; HL [fʊŋ]; SX [fʊŋ]; LF [fʊŋ]; LZ [fʊŋ]; SHT [fʊŋ]
HY [χʊŋ]; XY [χʊŋ ~ fʊŋ]; DB [χʊŋ]; YL [fʊŋ]; XC [fʊŋ]
CT [fʊŋ]; WP [xʊŋ]; YD [fʊŋ]; SH [ʃʊŋ]; LC1 [fʊŋ]; LC2 [—]
NK [ŋʊŋ]; AY [ŋʊŋ]; SY [ŋʊŋ]; XS [fʊŋ]; QN [fʊŋ]; ND1 [fʊŋ]; ND2 [fʊŋ]; ND3 [fʊŋ]
[OPH *fʊŋ] CNH *hʊŋ

hóu 猴 QYS ɣəu CDC *heu2/EC *'go
BMH [χɛu]; MX [χɛu]; HL [χɛu]; SX [χɛu]; LF [χɛu]; LZ [χɛu]; SHT [χiʊ]
HY [χuɑi]; XY [χɛu]; DB [χɛi]; YL [χɛi]; XC [χʊu]
CT [χɛu]; WP [xɛ2]; YD [χɛu]; SH [χæ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [χɛu]
NK [ŋʊ2]; AY [ŋʊ2]; SY [ŋʊ2]; XS [fʊŋ2]; QN [fʊŋ2]; ND1 [fʊŋ2]; ND2 [fʊŋ2]; ND3 [fʊŋ2]
[OPH *fʊŋ2] CNH *hʊŋ

hòu 後 QYS ɣəu: CDC *heu4/EC *'gox
BMH [χɛu]; MX [χɛu5w ~ χɛu1b]; HL [χɛu5]; SX [χɛu5]; LF [χɛu6]; LZ [χɛu1 ~ χɛu5]; SHT [χiʊ]
HY [χuai6]; XY [χɛu3]; DB [χɛi3]; YL [χɛi3]; XC [χɛu5]
CT [χɛu6]; WP [xɛ3]; YD [χɛu1 ~ χɛu5]; SH [χɔ1 ~ χɔ5]; LC1 [χɛu6]; LC2 [χɛu6]
NK [ŋʊ5]; AY [ŋʊ5]; SY [ŋʊ5]; XS [ŋʊ5]; QN [ŋʊ6]; ND1 [ŋʊ6]; ND2 [ŋʊ6]; ND3 [ŋʊ6]
[OPH *ŋʊ6] CNH *χu1/L *χɛu6

hòu 厚 QYS ɣəu: CDC *heu4/EC *'gox
BMH [χɛu]; MX [χɛu5]; HL [χɛu5]; SX [χɛu5]; LF [χɛu2]; LZ [χɛu5]; SHT [—]
HY [χuai6]; XY [χɛu1]; DB [χɛi5]; YL [χɛi3]; XC [χɛu5]
CT [χɛu1]; WP [kʰɛu]; YD [kʰɛu1 ~ χɛu5]; SH [kʰɛ1]; LC1 [χɛu6]; LC2 [—]
NK [ŋʊ1]; AY [ŋʊ5]; SY [χiʊ1]; XS [ŋʊ5]; QN [ŋʊ1]; ND1 [ŋʊ1]; ND2 [ŋʊ1]; ND3 [ŋʊ1]
[OPH *ŋʊ5] CNH *χu1/*χɛu6
Appendix: Data

hū 忽 QYS xuət CDC *xué7/EC *hut
BMH [fut]; MX [fut7]; HL [fut7]; SX [fut7]; LF [fut7]; LZ [fut7]; SHT [—]
HY [hut7]; XY [fut7]; DB [fat7]; YL [—]; XC [fuʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [fut8]; SH [feiʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [hoæ5]; AY [huɜ3]; SY [ho5]; XS [fat8]; QN [feʔ8]; ND1 [fat7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [fat7]
[OPH *fut7] CNH *hut7

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

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

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

hú 虎 QYS xuo: CDC *xu3/EC *'hax
BMH [fű]; MX [fu3]; HL [fu3]; SX [fu3]; LF [fu3]; LZ [fu3]; SHT [fu3]
HY [hu3]; XY [fu3]; DB [fu3]; YL [fu3]; XC [fu3]
CT [fu3]; WP [fu3]; YD [fi3]; SH [fu3]; LC1 [fiue3]; LC2 [—]
NK [fu3]; AY [fu3]; SY [fu3]; XS [fu3]; QN [fu3]; ND1 [fu2]; ND2 [fu2]; ND3 [fu3]
[OPH *fu3] CNH fu3

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The pair of Méixiàn forms suggests that there was an early Tone 1 popular form in the protolanguage, and that our reconstructed Tone 6 form is ultimately literary in origin.
In dialects that use both forms colloquially, reflexes of *va6 tend to mean “to speak”, while those of *hua6 usually mean “speech, language”. This is, however, not an absolute rule. CNH *voi1 is exclusively nominal in our sources. Compare, the cognate form [voi5] in Jiéxī 揭西 Hakka (Lǐ & Zhāng 1992), which takes Tone 5 rather than Tone 1.
Common Neo-Hakka:
A Comparative Reconstruction

CT [huŋ1]; WP [xueŋ1]; YD [fan1]; SH [fã1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [fa1]
NK [hoẽ1]; AY [hoẽ1]; SY [hu5]; XS [fɔn1]; QN [fɔn1]; ND1 [fœn1]; ND2 [fuon1]; ND3 [fuan1]

OPH *fon1   CNH *huon1

huán 還 QYS ɣwan   CDC *huan2/EH *gwren
BMH [fɔn ~ fan]; MX [fan2w ~ fɔn2b]; HL [fan2w ~ van2b ~ han2b]; SX [van2b ~ han2b]; LF [fan2]; LZ [van2]; SHT [hàn2 ~ van2]
HY [van2]; XY [van2]; DB [van2]; YL [uan2]; XC [van2]
CT [vaŋ2]; WP [vaŋ2]; YD [van2]; SH [va2]; LC1 [va2]; LC2 [va2]
NK [huã2 ~ vã2]; AY [vã2]; SY [huã2 ~ vã2]; XS [fan2 ~ van2]; QN [van2]; ND1 [fan2 ~ van2]; ND2 [van2]; ND3 [van2]

[OPH *van2]   CNH *van2/L *huan2
Basil Mission and Méixiàn have variant forms that appear to descend from earlier *huon2, though no such form can be reconstructed comparatively.

huán 换 QYS ɣuán-   CDC *huon6/EC *'gwank
BMH [fɔn/fan ~ von/van]; MX [fon5w ~ von5b]; HL [von6]; SX [von5]; LF [von6]; LZ [von5];
SHT [—]
HY [vuan6]; XY [vanz]; DB [von3]; YL [—]; XC [von5]
CT [vʊŋ6]; WP [xuęŋ3]; YD [fan5]; SH [fã3 ~ vã3]; LC1 [va6]; LC2 [—]
NK [hoẽ5]; AY [hẽ6]; SY [hu5]; XS [fon5]; QN [fon6]; ND1 [fon6]; ND2 [uon6]; ND3 [vuan6]

[OPH *vʊŋ6]   CNH *vou6/L *huon6

huāng 荒 QYS xwâng   CDC *xuong1/EC *’hwang
BMH [fɔŋ]; MX [fɔŋ1]; HL [—]; SX [foŋ2]; LF [foŋ1 ~ foŋ2]; LZ [foŋ1]; SHT [—]
HY [foŋ1]; XY [foŋ1]; DB [foŋ1]; YL [foŋ1]; XC [foŋ1]
CT [foŋ1]; WP [foŋ1]; YD [foŋ1]; SH [foŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [hɔŋ1]; AY [hoŋ1]; SY [hoŋ1]; XS [foŋ1]; QN [foŋ1]; ND1 [foŋ1]; ND2 [foŋ1]; ND3 [foŋ1]
Appendix: Data

[OPH *fong1] CNH *huoŋ1

huáng QYS wâng CDC *huong2/EC *’gwang
BMH [vông]; MX [vɔŋ2]; HL [vɔŋ2]; SX [vɔŋ2]; LF [vɔŋ2]; LZ [vɔŋ2]; SHT [vɔŋ2]
HY [vɔŋ2]; XY [vɔŋ2]; DB [vɔŋ2]; YL [uɔŋ2]; XC [vɔŋ2]
CT [vɔŋ2]; WP [vɔŋ2]; SH [vɔŋ2]; LC1 [vɔŋ2]; LC2 [vɔŋ2]
NK [hɔŋ2 ~ vɔŋ2]; AY [vɔŋ2]; SY [hɔŋ2 ~ vɔŋ2]; XS [foŋ2]; QN [fɔŋ2 ~ vɔŋ2]; ND1 [foŋ2 ~ vɔŋ2];
  ND2 [foŋ2]; ND3 [foŋ2 ~ vɔŋ2]
OPH *vong2 CNH *vɔŋ2/*huoŋ2

huáng 皇 QYS wâng CDC *huong2/EC *’gwang
BMH [fông]; MX [fɔŋ2]; HL [fɔŋ2]; SX [fɔŋ2]; LF [fɔŋ2]; LZ [fɔŋ2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [uɔŋ2]; XC [vɔŋ2]
CT [fɔŋ2]; WP [fɔŋ2]; SH [fɔŋ2]; LC1 [fɔŋ2]; LC2 [—]
NK [hɔŋ2]; AY [hɔŋ2]; SY [hɔŋ2]; XS [fɔŋ2]; QN [fɔŋ2]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [fɔŋ2]; ND3 [vɔŋ2]
OPH *fong2 CNH *vɔŋ2/*huoŋ2

huī 灰 QYS xuài CDC *xuoi1/EC *’hw1
BMH [foi]; MX [fɔi1]; HL [foi1]; SX [foi1]; LF [fɔi1]; LZ [fɔi1]; SHT [fɔi1]
HY [fuai1 ~ fɔi1]; XY [fuai1]; DB [fɔi1]; YL [fɔi1]; XC [—]
CT [fue1]; WP [xue1]; YD [fɔ1]; SH [hue1]; LC1 [fui1]; LC2 [fɔi1 ~ fue1]
NK [huæ1]; AY [hue1]; SY [hue1]; XS [fɔi1]; QN [fɔi1]; ND1 [foè1]; ND2 [fuei1]; ND3 [fuai1]
OPH *foi1 CNH *huoi1
The Liánchéng-1 one form probably derives from a fairly late form in *huı1 or *fui1.

hui 會 QYS ɣuài- CDC *huoi6/EC *’gwa6
BMH [fui ~ fòi ~ voî]; MX [fui4 ~ voî5]; HL [fui6w ~ voî6b]; SX [fui6w ~ voî5]; LF [fui6 ~ voî6];
  LZ [fui5 ~ fɔi5]; SHT [fui5]
HY [fuai6 ~ vaï6]; XY [fui3 ~ vaï5]; DB [fei3 ~ voî5]; YL [fei3]; XC [fei5 ~ voî5]

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

**huón 婚** QYS xuàn CDC *xun1/EC *’hun

**hún 魂** QYS yuàn CDC *hun2/EC *’gun

**huó 活** QYS yuât CDC *huot8/EC *’got
Appendix: Data

huǒ 火 QYS xuà: CDC *xuâ3/EC *’xoyx
BMH [fô]; MX [fɔ3]; HL [fɔ3]; SX [fɔ3]; LF [fɔ3]; LZ [fɔ3]; SHT [fɔ3]
HY [fuɔ3]; XY [fɔ3]; DB [fɔ3]; YL [fuɔ3]; XC [fɔ3]
CT [fɔ3]; WP [xo3]; YD [fuɔ3]; SH [fu3]; LC1 [fu3]; LC2 [huɔ3]
NK [ho3]; AY [ho3]; SY [ho3]; XS [fɔ3]; QN [fɔ3]; ND1 [fɔ3]; ND2 [fɔ3]; ND3 [fɔ3]
OPH *fo3  CNH *huo3

huò 禍 QYS yuà: CDC *huo4/EC *’goyx
BMH [fô]; MX [fɔ5]; HL [fɔ5]; SX [fɔ5]; LF [fɔ5]; LZ [vɔ5]; SHT [—]
HY [fuɔ6]; XY [vɔ2]; DB [vɔ3]; YL [huau5]; XC [fɔ5]
CT [fɔ6]; WP [ho3]; YD [fuɔ5]; SH [fu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ho5]; AY [ho6]; SY [ho5]; XS [fɔ5]; QN [ho6]; ND1 [fɔ6]; ND2 [fɔ6]; ND3 [fɔ6]
OPH *fo5  CNH *huo6/*vo6 ?
The tone of the second reconstruction is conjectural, since the determinative forms for Tone 6 are missing. Instead, we find such forms only for the first reconstruction.

huò 或 QYS ɣwək CDC *huek8/EC *’gwik
BMH [fêt]; MX [fet8]; HL [fet8]; SX [fet8]; LF [fet8]; LZ [fêt]; SHT [fêt8]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [huet2]; XC [huet7]
CT [fet2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [hoæ8 ~ vu2]; AY [—]; SY [huo5]; XS [fet8]; QN [fet8]; ND1 [fok8]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
OPH *fet8  CNH *huek8
Interestingly, the Nánkâng reading appears to derive from an earlier form in *v-, for which we unfortunately have no comparative evidence from other points.

huò 禿 QYS ɣwâk CDC *huok8/EC *’gwak
BMH [vök]; MX [vɔk8]; HL [vok8]; SX [vok8]; LF [vok8]; LZ [vok8]; SHT [vok8]
HY [vok8]; XY [vok8]; DB [vok8]; YL [uɔʔ ~ ɔʔ]; XC [vɔʔ]
CT [—]; WP [ueʔ8]; YD [vɔʔ8]; SH [vɔʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [vo1]; AY [vo6]; SY [vo5]; XS [vok8]; QN [voʔ8]; ND1 [vok8]; ND2 [vok8]; ND3 [vok8]
Common Neo-Hakka:  
A Comparative Reconstruction

\[ \text{OPH } *\text{vok8} \quad \text{CNH } *\text{vok8} \]

\section*{J}

\text{jī 雞 QYS kiei} \quad \text{CDC } *\text{kiai1}/"ke

BMH [kai ~ ke]; MX [kɐi1]; HL [kai1]; SX [ke2]; LF [kai1]; LZ [kai1]; SHT [kai1]
HY [kie1]; XY [kie1]; DB [kɐi1]; YL [kie1]; XC [kai1]
CT [tʃi1]; WP [ke1]; YD [kie1]; SH [kie1]; LC1 [kɨ1]; LC2 [kɨ1]

\text{NK [tei1]; AY [ke1]; SY [tei1]; XS [kɐ̆1]; QN [kɨ1]; ND1 [tsai1]; ND2 [tsai1]; ND3 [tsai1]}
\text{OPH } *\text{kiai1} \quad \text{CNH } *\text{kiai1}/"kɨ1

\text{jī 基 QYS kjì} \quad \text{CDC } *\text{kɨ1}/EC *ki

BMH [ki]; MX [kɨ1]; HL [kɨ1]; SX [—]; LF [kɨ1]; LZ [kɨ1]; SHT [—]
HY [kɨ1]; XY [kɨ1]; DB [kɨ1]; YL [tei1]; XC [tei1]
CT [tʃi1]; WP [—]; YD [kɨ1]; SH [tei1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

\text{NK [tei1]; AY [tei1]; SY [tei1]; XS [tei1]; QN [tei1]; ND1 [tei1]; ND2 [tei1]; ND3 [tsi1]}
\text{[OPH } *\text{kɨ1]} \quad \text{CNH } *\text{kɨ1}

\text{jī 饞 QYS kjei} \quad \text{CDC } *\text{kɨ1}/EC *kuy ~ *kiy

BMH [ki]; MX [kɨ1]; HL [kɨ1]; SX [kɨ1]; LF [kɨ1]; LZ [kɨ1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tei1]; XC [tei1]
CT [tʃi1]; WP [tsi1]; YD [kɨ1]; SH [tei1]; LC1 [kɨ1]; LC2 [—]

\text{NK [tei1]; AY [tei1]; SY [tei1]; XS [tei1]; QN [tei1]; ND1 [tei1]; ND2 [tei1]; ND3 [—]}
\text{[OPH } *\text{kɨ1]} \quad \text{CNH } *\text{kɨ1}

\text{jī 疾 QYS dzjet} \quad \text{CDC } *\text{dzit8}/EC *dzit

BMH [tʃhit]; MX [ts’it8]; HL [ts’it8]; SX [ts’it8]; LF [ts’it7]; LZ [tʃhit8]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [teieʔ7]
CT [ts’i6]; WP [tʃiʔ8]; YD [ts’iʔ8]; SH [tehiʔ8 ~ teieʔ8 ~ teiaʔ7]; LC1 [ts’i5]; LC2 [ts’i5]
APPENDIX: DATA

NK [ʨ’ie5]; AY [ʦ’i31]; SY [ʨ’ie5]; XS [ʦ’it8]; QN [ʨ’iʔ8]; ND1 [ʨiet8]; ND2 [ʨ’iat7]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *ʦ’it8] CNH *ʦ’it8

ji 極 QYS gjok CDC *gik8/EC *gik
BMH [khit]; MX [k’it8]; HL [k’it8]; SX [k’it8]; LF [k’it8]; LZ [khit8]; SHT [—]
HY [k’it8]; XY [k’it8]; DB [k’ai8]; YL [teiʔ7]; XC [ʨeʔ7]
CT [ʨi6]; WP [ʦhiʔ8 – xeʔ8]; YD [—]; SH [ʨeʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ʨ’ie5]; AY [ʨ’e31]; SY [ʨ’ie5]; XS [ʨ’it8]; QN [ʨ’iʔ8]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ʦ’aik8]; ND3 [ʦ’aik8]

[OPH *k’it8] CNH *k’ik8

ji 急 QYS kjøp CDC *kip7/EC *kip
BMH [kip]; MX [kip7]; HL [kip7]; SX [kip7]; LF [kip7]; LZ [kip7]; SHT [kip7]
HY [kip7]; XY [kip7]; DB [kip7]; YL [teiʔ7]; XC [ʨeʔ7]
CT [ʨiʔ7]; WP [ʦiʔ7]; YD [ʨiʔ7]; SH [ʨeʔ7]; LC1 [ki6]; LC2 [—]
NK [ʨie7]; AY [ʨei3]; SY [ʨe5]; XS [ʨit7]; QN [ʨiʔ7]; ND1 [ʦaʔ7]; ND2 [ʦaʔ7]; ND3 [ʦaʔ7]

OPH *kip7 CNH *kip7

ji 及 QYS gjøp CDC *gip8/EC *—
BMH [khip]; MX [k’ip8]; HL [k’ip8]; SX [k’ip8]; LF [k’ip8]; LZ [kip8]; SHT [—]
HY [k’ip8]; XY [k’ip8]; DB [k’ip8]; YL [ʨeiʔ7]; XC [ʨeʔ7]
CT [ʨi6]; WP [—]; YD [k’iʔ8]; SH [ʨeʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ʨ’ie5]; AY [ʨ’e31]; SY [ʨe5]; XS [ʨ’it8]; QN [ʨ’iʔ8]; ND1 [ʦ’aip8]; ND2 [ʦ’aip8]; ND3 [ʦ’aip8]

[OPH *k’ip8] CNH *k’ip8

ji 即 QYS tsjøk CDC *tsik7/EC *tsik
BMH [ʦit]; MX [ʦit7]; HL [ʦit7]; SX [ʦit7]; LF [ʦit7]; LZ [ʨi7]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tei7?]; XC [tɛiʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [tsiʔ7]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [tsi3]; SY [tɛiɛʔ7]; XS [tsi7]; QN [teiʔ7]; ND1 [tei7?]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tsi7]    CNH *tsi7

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

**ji 己 QYS kji:**    CDC *ki3/EC *kix
BMH [ki]; MX [ki3]; HL [ki3]; SX [ki3]; LF [ki3]; LZ [ki3]; SHT [—]
HY [ki3]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tei3]; XC [tei3]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [ki3]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tei3]; AY [—]; SY [tei3]; XS [tei3]; QN [tei3]; ND1 [tei3]; ND2 [tei1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ki3]    CNH *ki3

**ji 祭 QYS tsjäi-**    CDC *tsi5/EC *tsath
BMH [tsi]; MX [tsi5]; HL [tsi5]; SX [tsi5]; LF [tsi5]; LZ [tʃi5]; SHT [tsi5]
HY [ts’ie5]; XY [tsi5]; DB [tsi5]; YL [tei5]; XC [tei5]
CT [tsi5]; WP [—]; YD [tsi3]; SH [—]; LC1 [tsi5]; LC2 [—]
NK [tei5]; AY [tsi5]; SY [tei2]; XS [tsi5]; QN [tei5]; ND1 [tei5]; ND2 [teiɛi5]; ND3 [tsi5]
[OPH *tsi5]    CNH *tsi5/*tsi5

**ji 際 QYS tsjäi-**    CDC *tsi5/EC *tsath
BMH [tsi]; MX [tsi5]; HL [tsi5]; SX [tsi5]; LF [—]; LZ [tʃi5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tei5]; XC [tei5]
CT [tsi5]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
Appendix: Data

NK [tei5]; AY [tsi5]; SY [tei2]; XS [tsi5]; QN [tei5]; ND1 [tei5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *tsi5] CNH *tsi5

ji 既 QYS kjei- CDC *ki5/EC *kuyh, *kiyh
BMH [ki]; MX [ki5]; HL [ki5]; SX [ki5]; LF [ki5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tei5]; XC [tei5]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tei3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tei5]; AY [tei5]; SY [tei2]; XS [tei5]; QN [tei5]; ND1 [tei5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ki5] CNH *ki5

ji 纪 QYS kjï: CDC *ki5 ~ ki5/EC *ki3
BMH [ki]; MX [ki3 ~ ki5]; HL [ki5]; SX [ki5]; LF [ki5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tei3]; XC [tei3]
CT [tei3]; WP [tsi3 ~ tsi5]; YD [ki3]; SH [tei5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tei3]; AY [tei5]; SY [tei3 ~ tei2]; XS [tei3]; QN [tei5]; ND1 [tei5]; ND2 [tei5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ki5] CNH *ki5/*ki3

ji 記 QYS kjï- CDC *ki5/EC *kii
BMH [ki]; MX [ki5]; HL [ki5]; SX [ki5]; LF [ki5]; LZ [ki5]; SHT [ki5]
HY [ki5]; XY [ki5]; DB [ki5]; YL [tei5]; XC [tei5]
CT [tei5]; WP [tsi5]; YD [—]; SH [tei5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tei5]; AY [tei5]; SY [tei2]; XS [tei5]; QN [tei5]; ND1 [tei5]; ND2 [tei5]; ND3 [tsi5]
[OPH *ki5] CNH *ki5

ji 寄 QYS kje-3 CDC *ki5/EC *kayh
BMH [ki]; MX [ki5]; HL [ki5]; SX [ki5]; LF [ki5]; LZ [ki5]; SHT [—]
HY [ki5]; XY [ki5]; DB [ki5]; YL [tei5]; XC [tei5]
CT [tei5]; WP [—]; YD [ki3]; SH [tei5]; LC1 [ki5]; LC2 [—]
NK [tei5]; AY [tei5]; SY [tei2]; XS [tei5]; QN [tei5]; ND1 [tei5]; ND2 [tei5]; ND3 [tsi5]
[OPH *ki5] CNH *ki5
ji 竄 QYS — “to stand” CDC *gi4/EC *gay4
BMH [khi]; MX [k’i1]; HL [k’i1]; SX [k’i1]; LF [k’i1]; LZ [khi1]; SHT [—]
HY [k’i5]; XY [k’i1]; DB [k’i1]; YL [te’i5]; XC [te’i2]
CT [t’i5?]; WP [tshi1]; YD [k’i1]; SH [tehi1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [k’i1]
NK [te’i1]; AY [te’i3]; SY [te’i1]; XS [te’i1]; QN [te’i1]; ND1 [te’i1]; ND2 [te’i1]; ND3 [ts’i1]
OPH *k’i1 CNH *k’i1

ji 技 QYS gje:3 CDC *gi4/EC *gex
BMH [khi]; MX [k’i1]; HL [k’i1]; SX [k’i1]; LF [k’i3]; LZ [ki5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tei5]; XC [tei5]
CT [t’i6]; WP [tshi3]; YD [—]; SH [tehi3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’i5]; AY [—]; SY [tei1]; XS [te’i5]; QN [te’i1]; ND1 [te’i6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH?] CNH *k’i1/*ki1/*k’i6

jiä 家 QYS ka CDC *ka1/EC *kra
BMH [ka]; MX [kai1]; HL [ka1]; SX [ka1]; LF [ka1]; LZ [ka1]; SHT [ka1]
HY [ka1]; XY [kai1]; DB [ka1]; YL [ka1]; XC [ka1]
CT [ka1]; WP [ka1]; YD [ka1]; SH [ka1]; LC1 [ko1]; LC2 [ko1]
NK [ka1]; AY [ka1]; SY [ka1]; XS [ka1]; QN [ka1]; ND1 [ka1]; ND2 [ka1]; ND3 [ka1]
OPH *ka1 CNH *ka1

(jiá) (夾/挾)† QYS (kiep) CDC (*kiap7)/EC —
BMH [kap ~ kiap] (夾); MX [kap7 ~ kiap8]; HL [kiap8]; SX [kiap8]; LF [kap7]; LZ [kap7];
SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [kaʔ7, kaʔ7b] (夾)
CT [ka2]; WP [tsiaʔ8 ~ kaʔ7]; YD [kaʔ8 ~ kaʔ7]; SH [tehaʔ8 ~ kaʔ8]; LC1 [ka6]; LC2 [—]
NK [ka7]; AY [teiʔ3]; SY [ka5]; XS [kaiʔ7]; QN [—]; ND1 [kaʔ7]; ND2 [kap7]; ND3 [kap7]
[OPH *kap7 ~ *kiap8 ?] CNH *kap7/*kap8/L *kiap8
† Graphic forms representing the same Hakka etymon tend to vary from source to source. Sources that prefer 夾 to 拽 are so indicated in parentheses.
jià 甲 QYS kap CDC *kap7/*krap
BMH [kap]; MX [kap7]; HL [kap7]; SX [kap7]; LF [kap7]; LZ [kap7]; SHT [kap7]
HY [kap7]; XY [kap7]; DB [kap7]; YL [kaʔ7]; XC [kaʔ7]
CT [ka2]; WP [kaʔ7]; YD [kaʔ7]; SH [kaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ko6]
NK [ka7]; YAY [ka3]; SY [ka1]; XS [kait7]; QN [kaʔ7]; ND1 [kaip7]; ND2 [kap7]; ND3 [kap7]
OPH *kap7   CNH *kap7

jià 假 QYS ka: CDC *ka3/EC *krax
BMH [ká]; MX [ka3]; HL [ka3]; SX [ka3]; LF [ka3]; LZ [ka3]; SHT [ka3]
HY [ka3]; XY [ka3]; DB [ka3]; YL [ka3]; XC [ka3]
CT [ka3]; WP [ka3]; YD [ka3]; SH [ka3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ka3]; YAY [ka3]; SY [ka3]; XS [ka3]; QN [ka3]; ND1 [ka3]; ND2 [ka3]; ND3 [ka3]
[OPH *ka3]   CNH *ka3

jià 價 QYS ka- CDC *ka5/EC *krah
BMH [kà]; MX [ka5]; HL [ka5]; SX [ka5]; LF [ka5]; LZ [ka5]; SHT [—]
HY [ka5]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ka5]; XC [ka5]
CT [ka5]; WP [ka5]; YD [ka3]; SH [ka5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ka5]; YAY [—]; SY [ka2]; XS [ka5]; QN [ka5]; ND1 [ka5]; ND2 [ka5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ka5]   CNH *ka5

jià 架 QYS ka- CDC *ka5/EC *krayh
BMH [kà]; MX [ka5]; HL [ka5]; SX [ka5]; LF [ka5]; LZ [ka5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ka5]; XC [ka5]
CT [ka5]; WP [ka5]; YD [ka3]; SH [ka5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ko5]
NK [ka5]; YAY [ka5]; SY [ka2]; XS [ka5]; QN [ka5]; ND1 [ka5]; ND2 [ka5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ka5]   CNH *ka5

jià 嫁 QYS ka- CDC *kra5/EC *krah
BMH [kà]; MX [ka5]; HL [ka5]; SX [ka5]; LF [ka5]; LZ [ka5]; SHT [ka5]
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HY [ka5]; XY [ka5]; DB [ka5]; YL [ka5]; XC [ka5]
CT [ka5]; WP [ka5]; YD [ka3]; SH [ka5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ka5]; AY [ka5]; SY [ka2]; XS [ka5]; QN [ka5]; ND1 [ka5]; ND2 [ka5]; ND3 [ka5]

[OPH *ka5]  CNH *ka5

jiān 尖  QYS tsjäm  CDC *tsiam/EC —
BMH [tsiam]; MX [tsiam1]; HL [tsiam1]; SX [tsiam1]; LF [tsiam1]; LZ [tʃiam1]; SHT [tsiŋ1]
HY [tsiam1]; XY [tsiam1]; DB [tsiam1]; YL [tɕien1]; XC [tɕien1]
CT [tʃiŋ1]; WP [tʃiŋ1]; YD [tʃiŋ1]; SH [tɕiën1]; LC1 [tɕiën1]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕiën1]; AY [tɕiën1]; SY [tɕiën1]; XS [tɕiën1]; QN [tɕiäm1]; ND1 [tɕiäm1]; ND2 [tɕiäm1]; ND3 [tɕiäm1]

[OPH *tsiam1]  CNH *tsiam1

jiān 間  QYS kän  CDC *kan1/EC *kren
BMH [kan ~ kien]; MX [kian1]; HL [kian1]; SX [kian1]; LF [kian1]; LZ [kan1]; SHT [kan1]
HY [kan1]; XY [kan1]; DB [kan1]; YL [kan1]; XC [tɕiën1w ~ kan1b]
CT [kan1 ~ tʃiŋ1]; WP [tʃiŋ1 ~ kaŋ1]; YD [kien1]; SH [tɕiën1 ~ kā1]; LC1 [kaŋ1]; LC2 [ke1]
NK [kā1]; AY [kā1]; SY [kā1]; XS [kan1]; QN [kan1]; ND1 [kan1]; ND2 kan1]; ND3 [kan1]

[OPH *kan1]  CNH *kan1/L *kian1

jiān 堅  QYS kien  CDC *kian1/EC *—
BMH [kien ~ ken]; MX [kian1]; HL [kian1]; SX [kian1]; LF [kian1]; LZ [ken1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕien1]; XC [tɕien1]
CT [tʃiŋ1]; WP [tʃiŋ1]; YD [—]; SH [tɕiën1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕiën1]; AY [tɕiën1]; SY [tɕiën1]; XS [tɕiën1]; QN [teiën1 ~ cien1]; ND1 [tsan1]; ND2 [tsan1]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *kian1]  CNH *kian1

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jiān 肩 QYS kien CDC *kian1/EC **ken
BMH [ken ~ kien]; MX [kian1w ~ kin1b]; HL [kian1]; SX [kian1]; LF [kian1]; LZ [kën1]; SHT [—]
HY [kan1]; XY [kian1]; DB [kien1]; YL [teien1]; XC [teien1]
CT [tʃiŋ1]; WP [kən1]; YD [kien1]; LC1 [ke1]; LC2 [—]
NK [tei₁]; AY [tei1]; SY [tei₁]; XS [tei₁]; QN [tei₁]; ND1 [tsan1]; ND2 [tsan1]; ND3 [tsan1]
[OPH *kian1] CNH *kian1

jiān 煎 QYS tsjän CDC *tsian1/EC *tsen
BMH [tsien]; MX [tsien1]; HL [tsian1]; SX [tsian1]; LF [tsian1]; LZ [tʃen1]; SHT [tsen1]
HY [tsian1]; XY [tsian1]; DB [tsien1]; YL [teien1]; XC [teien1]
CT [tsiŋ1]; WP [tsiŋ1]; YD [tsien1]; SH [tei₁]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tei₁]; AY [tsi]; SY [tei₁]; XS [tsien1]; QN [tei₁]; ND1 [tsien1]; ND2 [tsien1]; ND3 [tsien1]
[OPH *tsian1] CNH *tsian1

jiān 剪 QYS tsjän: CDC *tsian3/EC *tsenx
BMH [tsiën]; MX [tsien3]; HL [tsian3]; SX [tsian3]; LF [tsian3]; LZ [tʃen3]; SHT [tsen3 ~ tʃiën3]
HY [tsian3]; XY [tsian3]; DB [tsien3]; YL [teien3]; XC [teien3]
CT [tsiŋ3]; WP [tsiŋ3]; YD [tsien3]; SH [tei₂]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tei₂]; AY [tsi3]; SY [tei₂]; XS [tsien3]; QN [tei₃]; ND1 [tei₂]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [tsien3]
[OPH *tsian3] CNH *tsian3

jiān 揀 QYS kăn: CDC *kan3/EC *krenx
BMH [kán]; MX [kian3]; HL [kian3]; SX [kian3]; LF [kian3]; LZ [kan3]; SHT [kan3]
HY [kan3]; XY [kan3]; DB [kan3]; YL [teien3]; XC [teien3]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [kan3]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
Common Neo-Hakka:
A Comparative Reconstruction

The Yīlǒng and Xīchāng forms may represent Mandarinized pronunciations.
Appendix: Data

The Yílǒng and Xīchāng forms may represent Mandarinized pronunciations.
jian 件 QYS gjän: CD *gian4/EC *ganx
BMH [khèn ~ khién]; MX [k’ian5]; HL [k’ian6]; SX [k’ian5]; LF [k’ian6]; LZ [khèn5]; SHT [—]
HY [k’ian6]; XY [k’ian3]; DB [k’ien3]; YL [te’ien3]; XC [teiên5]
CT [tʃ’iŋ6]; WP [tshieŋ3]; YD [k’ien5]; SH [teiǹ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’iɛ5]; AY [te’i6]; SY [te’iĕ5]; XS [te’ien5]; QN [te’ien6]; ND1 [ts’an6]; ND2 [ts’an6]; ND3 [ts’an6]
[OPH *k’ian6]  CNH *k’ian6

jian 漸 QYS dzjäm: CDC *dziam6/EC *dzamx
BMH [tshiàm]; MX [ts’iam5]; HL [ts’iam6]; SX [ts’iam5]; LF [tʃhiam5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [teiên5]
CT [—]; WP [tshian3]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [te’iĕ3]; XS [ts’ien5]; QN [—]; ND1 [te’iam6]; ND2 [te’iam6]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ts’iam6]  CNH *ts’iam6

jiāng 將 QYS tsjang  CDC *tsiong1/EC *tsang
BMH [tsiong]; MX [tsioŋ1]; HL [tsioŋ1]; SX [tsioŋ1]; LF [tsioŋ1]; LZ [tʃioŋ1]; SHT [tsioŋ1]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [teioŋ1]; XC [teioŋ1]
CT [—]; WP [tsioŋ1]; YD [tsioŋ1]; SH [teioŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [teiɔ1]; AY [tsioŋ1]; SY [teiɔ1]; XS [tsioŋ1]; QN [teioŋ1]; ND1 [teioŋ1]; ND2 [teioŋ1]; ND3 [—]
OPH *tsiong1  CNH *tsioŋ1

jiāng 漿 QYS tsjang  CDC *tsiong1/EC *tsang
BMH [tsiong]; MX [tsioŋ1]; HL [tsioŋ1]; SX [tsioŋ1]; LF [tsioŋ1]; LZ [tʃioŋ1]; SHT [tsioŋ1]
HY [tsioŋ1]; XY [tsioŋ1]; DB [tsioŋ1]; YL [teioŋ1]; XC [teioŋ1]
CT [tsioŋ1]; WP [tsioŋ5]; YD [tsioŋ1]; SH [teioŋ1]; LC1 [tsioŋ1]; LC2 [—]
Appendix: Data

NK [teiɔŋ1]; AY [tsiɔŋ1]; SY [teiɔŋ1]; XS [tsiɔŋ1]; QN [teiɔŋ1]; ND1 [teiɔŋ1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [tsiɔŋ1]
[OPH *tsiong1] CNH *tsiong1

The Yílǒng and Xīchāng forms may reflect Mandarinization in these dialects.

The Yílǒng and Xīchāng forms may reflect Mandarinization in these dialects.
The palatalized Yilõng and Xīchāng forms are Mandarinized loans. At the former point, the borrowed form is still in competition with its original Common Hakka counterpart.
jiǎo 脚 QYS  kjak  CDC *kiok7/EC *kak
BMH [kiok]; MX [kiok7]; HL [kiok7]; SX [kiok7]; LF [kiok7]; LZ [kiok7]; SHT [kiok7 ~ kiok7]
HY [kyok7]; XY [kiok7]; DB [kiok7]; YL [teio7]; XC [teio7]
CT [tfio2]; WP [tsio7]; YD [kiio7]; SH [teio7]; LC1 [kiok6]; LC2 [kioku3]
NK [teio8]; AY [teio6]; SY [teio5]; XS [teio7]; QN [teio7]; ND1 [tsok7]; ND2 [tsok7]; ND3 [tsok7]†
OPH *kiok7  CNH *kiok7
†Also transcribed tsok7 in the source.

jiào 角 QYS  käk  CDC *k(i)ok7/EC *krok
BMH [kok]; MX [kɔk7]; HL [kok7]; SX [kok7]; LF [kok7]; LZ [kok7]; SHT [kok7]
HY [kok7]; XY [kok7]; DB [kok7]; YL [teio7 ~ ko77]; XC [teio7w ~ ko77b]
CT [ko2]; WP [ko77]; YD [ko77]; SH [ko77]; LC1 [ku6]; LC2 [ku6 ~ ko6 ~ kia6]
NK [ko8]; AY [ko6]; SY [ko5]; XS [kɔk7]; QN [ko77]; ND1 [kok7]; ND2 [kok7]; ND3 [kok7]
OPH *kok7  CNH *kok7
The Yílǒng and Xīchāng wén forms are perhaps loans from some form of Mandarin or Guānhuà koine.

jiào 叫 QYS  kiu-  CDC *kiau5/EC *kiwh
BMH [kiào]; MX [kiau5]; HL [kiau5]; SX [keu5]; LF [kiau5]; LZ [kiau5]; SHT [kiau5]
HY [kiau5]; XY [kiau5]; DB [kiau5]; YL [teiau5]; XC [teiau5]
CT [tfio5]; WP [tsio5]; YD [kieu3]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [teio5]; AY [teio5]; SY [teio2]; XS [teiau5]; QN [teiau5]; ND1 [teiau5]; ND2 [tsau5 ~ teiau1]; ND3 [tsau5]
OPH *kiau5  CNH *kiau5

jiào 教 QYS  kau-  CDC *kau5/EC *krewh
BMH [kàu]; MX [kau5]; HL [kau5]; SX [kau5]; LF [kau5]; LZ [kau5]; SHT [kau5]
HY [kau5]; XY [kau5]; DB [kau5]; YL [teiau1]; XC [teiau5]
CT [kɔ5]; WP [kɔ5]; YD [kau3]; SH [ko5]; LC1 [kɔ1]; LC2 [—]

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The Yīlǒng and Xīchāng forms may be Mandarinized loans.

jiào 轎 QYS gjäu- CDC *giau6/EC *gawh
BMH [khiàu]; MX [k’iau5]; HL [k’iau6]; SX [k’iau5]; LF [k’iau6]; LZ [khiau5]; SHT [—]
HY [k’iau6]; XY [k’iau3]; DB [k’iau3]; YL [t’e’iau3 ~ t’e’iau5]; XC [t’e’iau5]
CT [—]; WP [tshiɔ3]; YD [k’ieu5]; SH [tehia3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’iɔ5]; AY [te’iɔ3]; SY [te’iɔ5]; XS [te’iau5]; QN [te’iau6]; ND1 [ts’au6]; ND2 [ts’au6];
ND3 [ts’au6]
[OPH *k’iau6] CNH *k’iau6

jiē 接 QYS tsjäp CDC *tsiap7/EC *tsap
BMH [tsiap]; MX [tsiap7]; HL [tsiap7]; SX [tsiap7]; LF [tsiap7]; LZ [tʃiap7]; SHT [tsiap7]
HY [tsiap7]; XY [tsiap7]; DB [tsiap7]; YL [teieʔ7]; XC [teieʔ7]
CT [tʃe2]; WP [tsiaʔ7 ~ tsiaʔ7]; YD [tsiɛʔ7]; SH [teiəʔ7]; LC1 [tsi6]; LC2 [—]
NK [teieʔ7]; AY [tsis3]; SY [teie5]; XS [tsiet7]; QN [teieʔ7]; ND1 [teiapi7]; ND2 [teiapi7]; ND3 [tsiap7]
[OPH *tsiap7] CNH *tsiap7

jiē 街 QYS kai CNH *kai1/L *kia1
BMH [kai ~ kiai ~ ke]; MX [ke1]; HL [kia1w ~ kai1b]; SX [kiai1]; LF [kai1]; LZ [kai1]; SHT [—]

HY [kai1]; XY [kai1]; DB [kai1]; YL [kai1]; XC [kai1]
CT [tʃei1]; WP [ke1]; YD [kai1]; SH [kai1]; LC1 [kai1]; LC2 [kai1]
NK [kæ1]; AY [kæ1]; SY [kæ1]; XS [kai1]; QN [kai1]; ND1 [kai1]; ND2 [kai1]; ND3 [kai1]
[OPH *kiai1] CNH *kai1/L *kia1

jiē 節 QYS tsiet CDC *tsiat7/EC *’tsit
BMH [tsiet]; MX [tsiet7]; HL [tsiet7]; SX [tsiet7]; LF [tsiat7]; LZ [tʃet7]; SHT [tset7]
Appendix: Data

HY [tsiat7]; XY [tsiat7]; DB [tsiet7]; YL [teie?7]; XC [teie?7]
CT [tse2]; WP [tsie?7]; YD [teie?7]; SH [teie?7]; LC1 [tsi6]; LC2 [tsi6]
NK [teie?7]; AY [tsis3]; SY [teie5]; XS [tsiet7]; QN [teie?7]; ND1 [teiet7]; ND2 [teiat7]; ND3 [tsiat7]

OPH *tsiat7  CNH *tsiat7

jié 結  QYS kiet  CDC *kiat5/EC *’kit
BMH [ket ~ kiet]; MX [kiat7w ~ kiet7b]; HL [kiet7w ~ ket7b]; SX [kiet7w ~ ket7b]; LF [kiat7];
  LZ [ket7]; SHT [—]
HY [kiat7]; XY [kiat7]; DB [kiat7]; YL [teie?7]; XC [teie?7]
CT [—]; WP [ke?7 ~ tsie?7]; YD [kie?7]; SH [teie?7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kia6 ~ ki6]
NK [teie?7]; AY [tsis3]; SY [teie5]; XS [teiet7]; QN [teie?7]; ND1 [tsat7]; ND2 [tsat7]; ND3 [tsat7]
[OPH *ket7]  CNH *ket7/L *kiat7

jié 潔  QYS kiet  CDC *kiat7/EC *’ket
BMH [ket ~ kiet]; MX [kiat7]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [kiat7]; LZ [ket7]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [teie?7]; XC [teie?7]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [teie?7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [tsis3]; SY [—]; XS [teiet7]; QN [—]; ND1 [tsat7]; ND2 [tsat7]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *kiat7]  CNH *ket7/*kiat7

jié 竭  QYS gjot, gjät3  CDC *giat7/EC *—
BMH [khét ~ khiét]; MX [k’iat8]; HL [k’iæt8]; SX [k’iæt8]; LF [k’iat8]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [k’yat8]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [te’ie?7]
CT [tʃ’e6]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [te’ie5]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *k’iat8]  CNH *k’iat8

The final of the Héyuán form is irregular. It appears to reflect an earlier *kiot8, for which we do not have corroborating evidence from other points.
jiě 解 QYS kǎi: CDC *kai3/EC *krex
BMH [kāi ~ kiái]; MX [kiai3w ~ ke3b]; HL [kiai3w ~ kai3b]; SX [kiai3]; LF [kai3]; LZ [kai3]; SHT [kai3]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [kei3]; XC [kai3]
CT [tʃe3]; WP [ke3 ~ tsia3]; YD [kai3]; SH [kei3]; LC1 [ka1 ~ ke3]; LC2 [ka3]
NK [kæ3]; AY [kæ3]; SY [kæ3]; XS [kiai3]; QN [kai3]; ND1 [kai3]; ND2 [kai3]; ND3 [—]
OPH *kiai3 CNH *kai3/L *kiai3

jiè 芥 QYS kǎi- CDC *kai5/krath
BMH [kāi]; MX [kiai5]; HL [kiai5 ~ kai5]; SX [—]; LF [kai5]; LZ [kai5]; SHT [kai5]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [kai5]; XC [kai5]
CT [tʃe5]; WP [—]; YD [kai1]; SH [tɕia5]; LC1 [kai5]; LC2 [—]
NK [kæ5]; AY [kæ5]; SY [kæ2]; XS [kai5]; QN [kai5]; ND1 [kai5]; ND2 [kai5]; ND3 [—]
OPH *kiai5 CNH *kai5/*kiai5

jiè 戒 QYS kǎi- CDC *kai5/EC *krikh
BMH [kāi]; MX [kiai5]; HL [kiai3w ~ kai3b]; SX [kiai3]; LF [kai5]; LZ [kai5]; SHT [kai1]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [kai5]; XC [kai5]
CT [kai5]; WP [—]; YD [kai3]; SH [tɕia5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [kæ5]; AY [kæ5]; SY [kæ2]; XS [kai5]; QN [—]; ND1 [kai5]; ND2 [kai5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *kiai5] CNH *kai5/*kiai5

jīn 今 QYS kjam CDC *kim1/EC *kim
BMH [kim]; MX [kim1]; HL [kim1w ~ kin1b]; SX [kim1]; LF [kim1 ~ kin1]; LZ [kim1]; SHT [kim1]
HY [kin1]; XY [kim1]; DB [kim1]; YL [tɕin1]; XC [tɕin1]
CT [tʃen1]; WP [tɕin1]; YD [kij1]; SH [tɕin1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ken1]
NK [tɕin1]; AY [tɕin1]; SY [tɕin1]; XS [tɕin1]; QN [tɕin1]; ND1 [tsəm1]; ND2 [tsəm1]; ND3 [—]
OPH *kim1 CNH *kim1
Appendix: Data

The second Basil Mission variant implies the earlier existence of a form *kiun1 for which modern evidence is not found in our data. However, it is confirmed by Xiùzhuàn kyn1. Reflexes of the third form are found only in Yílǒng and in the Jiāngxī line dialects.

The second Basil Mission variant implies the earlier existence of a form *kiun1 for which modern evidence is not found in our data. However, it is confirmed by Xiùzhuàn kyn1. Reflexes of the third form are found only in Yílǒng and in the Jiāngxī line dialects.

For this syllable Xiùzhuàn again has kyn1, pointing to an earlier *kiun1 for which we have no other evidence in our data. A form comparable to CNH *ken1 is also reconstructable in Common She (see Coblin Ms. 1).
jǐn 緊 QYS kjien:4 CDC *kin3/EC *kinx
BMH [kin]; MX [kin3]; HL [kin3]; SX [kin3]; LF [kin3]; LZ [kin3]; SHT [—]
HY [kin3]; XY [kin3]; DB [kən3]; YL [tein3]; XC [tein3]
CT [tɕeŋ3]; WP [tsiŋ3]; YD [kɨn3]; SH [teɨŋ3]; LC1 [kieŋ3]; LC2 [kəŋ3 ~ kæŋ3]
NK [teɨŋ3]; AY [teiəŋ3]; SY [teiŋ3]; XS [teiŋ3]; QN [teiŋ3]; ND1 [tsən3]; ND2 [tsən3]; ND3 [tsən3]
OPH *kin3 CNH *kin3

jǐn 謹 QYS kjən: CDC *kin3/EC *kunx
BMH [kiún]; MX [kiun3]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [kiun3]; LZ [kiun3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tein3]; XC [tein3]
CT [—]; WP [tsiŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [teiŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [teiŋ3]; AY [teiəŋ3]; SY [teiŋ3]; XS [teiŋ3]; QN [teiŋ3]; ND1 [tsən3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *kiun3] CNH *kiun3/*kin3

jǐn 僅 QYS gjən:3 CDC *gin6/EC *gunh
BMH [khiun]; MX [kiun3]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [kiun3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tein3]; XC [tein3]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [teiŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [teiŋ3]; AY [—]; SY [teiŋ3]; XS [teiŋ5]; QN [teiŋ3]; ND1 [tsən3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *kiun3] CNH *kiun3/*kin3

jìn 近 QYS gjən:, gjən- CDC *gin4/EC *gunx
BMH [khiun ~ khiùn]; MX [k’iun5w ~ k’iun1b]; HL [k’iun6 ~ k’iun1]; SX [k’iun5 ~ k’iun1];
LF [k’iun6 ~ k’iun1]; LZ [k’iun1b ~ k’iun5w]; SHT [k’iun1]
HY [k’iŋ5]; XY [k’ən1]; DB [k’ən1]; YL [təyn1]; XC [tei5w ~ te’i5b]
CT [k’eŋ1]; WP [k’əŋ1]; YD [k’un5 ~ k’un1]; SH [kʰe1 ~ təhn3]; LC1 [k’iəŋ1 ~ k’iæŋ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’iŋ1]; AY [te’iəŋ3]; SY [te’iŋ1]; XS [te’iŋ1]; QN [te’iun1]; ND1 [ts’ən1]; ND2 [ts’ən1];
ND3 [ts’ən6]
Appendix: Data

[OPH *k’iu1]   CNH *k’iu1/L *k’iu6/*k’in1

jin 進 QYS tsjen- CDC *tsin5/EC *tsinh
BMH [tsin]; MX [tsin5]; HL [tsin5]; SX [tsin5]; LF [tsin5]; LZ [tʃin5]; SHT [—]
HY [tsin5]; XY [tsin5]; DB [tʃən5]; YL [tʃin5]; XC [tʃin5]
CT [tʃən5]; WP [—]; YD [tʃən3]; SH [tʃən5]; LC1 [tʃən5]; LC2 [—]
NK [tʃən5]; AY [tʃən5]; SY [tʃən2]; XS [tsin5]; QN [tʃin5]; ND1 [tʃin5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [tsin5]
[OPH *tsin5]   CNH *tsin5

jin 盡 QYS dzjien: CDC *dzin4/EC *dzinx
BMH [tʃin]; MX [t’sin5]; HL [t’sin5]; SX [t’sin5]; LF [t’sin6]; LZ [tʃiŋ5]; SHT [—]
HY [t’sin6]; XY [t’sin3]; DB [tʃən3]; YL [—]; XC [tʃiŋ5w ~ tʃiŋ5b]
CT [tʃən6]; WP [tʃiŋ3]; YD [tʃən5]; SH [tʃiŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tʃən6]
NK [tʃən5]; AY [tʃən6]; SY [tʃən5]; XS [t’sin5]; QN [tʃiŋ6]; ND1 [tʃi’n6]; ND2 [tʃi’n6];
         ND3 [t’sin6]
[OPH *t’sin6]   CNH *t’sin6

jīng 精 QYS tsjāng CDC *tsiəŋ1/EC *tseng
BMH [tsin]; MX [tsiŋ1w ~ tsiaŋ1b]; HL [tsin1]; SX [tsin1]; LF [tsin1]; LZ [tʃiaŋ1b ~ tʃiŋ1w];
         SHT [—]
HY [tsin1]; XY [tsin1]; DB [tʃən1]; YL [tʃin1]; XC [tʃiŋ1]
CT [tʃəŋ1 ~ tʃiaŋ1]; WP [tʃiaŋ1 ~ tʃiaŋ1]; YD [tʃiaŋ1]; SH [tʃiaŋ1 ~ tʃiaŋ1]; LC1 [tʃiaŋ1]; LC2
         [tʃiaŋ1 ~ tʃiaŋ1]
NK [tʃiaŋ1 ~ tʃiaŋ1]; AY [tʃiaŋ1 ~ tʃiaŋ1]; SY [tʃiaŋ1 ~ tʃiaŋ1]; XS [tʃiaŋ1 ~ tʃiaŋ1]; QN [tʃiaŋ1];
         ND1 [tʃiaŋ1 ~ tʃiaŋ1]; ND2 [tʃiaŋ1 ~ tʃiaŋ1]; ND3 [tʃiaŋ1 ~ tʃiaŋ1]
[OPH *tsin1]   CNH *tʃiaŋ1/L *tʃiŋ1

jīng 京 QYS kjong CDC *kiąŋ1/EC *kang
BMH [kin]; MX [kin1]; HL [kin1]; SX [kin1]; LF [kin1]; LZ [kin1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʃiŋ1]; XC [tʃiŋ1]
CT [tʃeŋ1]; WP [——]; YD [tɕiŋ1]; SH [tɕiŋ1]; LC1 [——]; LC2 [kэŋ1]
NK [tɕiŋ1]; AY [tɕiəŋ1]; SY [tɕiŋ1]; XS [tɕiŋ1]; QN [——]; ND1 [tsəŋ1]; ND2 [——]; ND3 [——]
[OPH *kin1]   CNH *киŋ1

jǐng 经 QYS kieng CDC *киаŋ1/EC *кёng
BMH [kin ~ kăng]†; MX [kin1w ~ kaŋ1b]; HL [kin1]; SX [kin1]; LF [kin1]; LZ [kaŋ1b ~
kin1w]; SHT [kin1]
HY [kin1]; XY [kin1 ~ kaŋ1]; DB [kəŋ1]; YL [tɕiŋ1]; XC [tɕiŋ1]
CT [tʃəŋ1]; WP [——]; YD [kiŋ1]; SH [tɕiŋ1]; LC1 [——]; LC2 [——]
NK [tɕiŋ1]; AY [tɕiəŋ1]; SY [tɕiŋ1]; XS [tɕiŋ1]; QN [tɕiŋ1]; ND1 [tsəŋ1]; ND2 [tsaŋ1b ~
tsaŋ1w]; ND3 [tsaŋ1]
[OPH *kin1]   CNH *каŋ1/L *киŋ1
†Second form said in the source to be used in the sense “to weave”.

jǐng þ jǐng 经 QYS kjong CDC *kiang1/EC *kang
BMH [kiang]; MX [kiaŋ1]; HL [kiaŋ1]; SX [kiaŋ1]; LF [kiaŋ1]; LZ [kiaŋ1]; SHT [——]
HY [kiaŋ1]; XY [kiaŋ1]; DB [kiaŋ1]; YL [tɕiŋ1 ~ ʨiəŋ1]; XC [tɕiŋ1]
CT [tʃiaŋ1]; WP [tɕiaŋ1]; YD [kiaŋ1]; SH [tɕiəŋ1]; LC1 [——]; LC2 [——]
NK [tɕiŋ1 ~ tɕiəŋ1]; AY [tɕiəŋ1]; SY [tɕiŋ1 ~ tɕiəŋ1]; XS [tɕiŋ1 ~ tɕiəŋ1]; QN [——]; ND1 [tsaŋ1];
ND2 [tsaŋ1]; ND3 [——]
[OPH *kiang1]   CNH *kiəŋ1/*kiŋ1
The coda of the second reconstructed form is conjectural.

jǐng 井 QYS tsjang: CDC *tsiang3/EC *tsengx
BMH [tɕiāŋg]; MX [tɕiəŋ3]; HL [tɕiəŋ3]; SX [tɕiəŋ3]; LF [tɕiəŋ3]; LZ [tʃiəŋ3]; SHT [tɕiəŋ3]
HY [tɕiəŋ3]; XY [tɕiəŋ3]; DB [tɕiəŋ3 ~ tɕiəŋ3]; YL [tɕiəŋ3]; XC [tɕiəŋ3]
CT [tɕiəŋ3]; WP [tɕiəŋ3]; YD [tɕiəŋ3]; SH [tɕiəŋ3]; LC1 [tɕiəŋ3]; LC2 [tɕiəŋ3]
NK [tɕiəŋ3]; AY [tɕiəŋ3]; SY [tɕiəŋ3 ~ tɕiəŋ3]; XS [tɕiəŋ3]; QN [tɕiəŋ3]; ND1 [tɕiəŋ3]; ND2
[ tɕiəŋ3]; ND3 [tɕiŋ3 ~ tɕiəŋ3]
OPH *tɕiəŋ3   CNH *tɕiəŋ3/*tɕiŋ3
Appendix: Data

jìng 淨  QYS  dzjäng-  CDC *dziang6/EC *dzheng
BMH [tʃhiaŋ]; MX [ts’iən5 ~ ts’iən5b]; HL [ts’iən6]; SX [ts’iən5]; LF [ts’iən6]; LZ [tʃhiaŋ5]; SHT [ts’iən5]
HY [ts’iən6]; XY [ts’iən3]; DB [ts’iən3]; YL [te’iən5]; XC [te’iən5]
CT [ts’iən6]; WP [—]; YD [ts’iən5]; SH [teiŋ3 ~ teiŋ3]; LC1 [ts’iən6]; LC2 [ts’iən6]
NK [te’iã5]; AY [ts’iã6]; SY [te’iən3 ~ te’iã5]; XS [ts’iən5 ~ ts’iən5]; QN [te’iən6]; ND1 [te’iən6]; ND2 [te’iən6]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ts’iən6]   CNH *ts’iən6/L *ts’iən6

jìng 竟  QYS  kjɔŋ-  CDC *kiang5/EC *kang
BMH [kìn]; MX [kin5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [kin3]; LZ [kin3]; SHT [kin3]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tein3]; XC [tein5]
CT [—]; WP [tsiŋ5]; YD [—]; SH [tein5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tein5]; AY [tein5]; SY [—]; XS [tein5]; QN [tein5]; ND1 [tsən5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *kin5]   CNH *kin5

jìng 鏡  QYS  kjɔŋ-  CDC *kiang5/EC *kang
BMH [kiãŋ]; MX [kiaŋ5]; HL [kiaŋ5]; SX [kiaŋ5]; LF [kiaŋ5]; LZ [kiaŋ5]; SHT [—]
HY [kiaŋ5]; XY [kiaŋ5]; DB [kiaŋ5]; YL [teiŋ5]; XC [teiŋ5]
CT [tʃiaŋ5]; WP [tsiaŋ5]; YD [kiaŋ3]; SH [teiŋ5]; LC1 [kiaŋ5]; LC2 [—]
NK [teiã5]; AY [teiã5]; SY [teiən2 ~ teiã2]; XS [teiŋ5 ~ teiã5]; QN [teiŋ5]; ND1 [tsaŋ5]; ND2 [tsaŋ5]; ND3 [tsaŋ5]
[OPH *kiang5]   CNH *kiaŋ5/*kiŋ
The coda of the second reconstructed form is conjectural.

jiǔ 久  QYS  kjɔu:  CDC *kieu3/EC *kwix
BMH [kiú]; MX [kiu3]; HL [kiu3]; SX [kiu3]; LF [kiu3]; LZ [kiu3]; SHT [kiu3]
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CT [tʃiəu3]; WP [tsiu3]; YD [—]; SH [teiu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kiu3]
Common Neo-Hakka:
A Comparative Reconstruction

NK [têiu3]; AY [têu3]; SY [têiu3]; XS [têiu3]; QN [têiu3]; ND1 [tseu3]; ND2 [tsəu3]; ND3 [tsəu3]
OPH *kiu3 CNH *kieu3

jiù 九 QYS kjœ: CDC *kieu3/EC *kux
BMH [kiú]; MX [kïu3]; HL [kiu3]; SX [kïu3]; LF [kïu3]; LZ [kiu3]; SHT [kïu3]
HY [kiu3]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [têòu3]; XC [têòu3]
CT [tjiu3]; WP [tsiu3]; YD [kïu3]; SH [kïu3]; LC1 [kieu3]; LC2 [—]
NK [têiu3]; AY [têu3]; SY [têiu3]; XS [têiu3]; QN [têiu3]; ND1 [tseu3]; ND2 [tsəu3]; ND3 [tsəu3]
[OPH *kiu3] CNH *kieu3

jiù 酒 QYS tsjœ: CDC *tsieu3/EC *tsux
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[OPH *tsiu3] CNH *tsieu3

jiù 救 QYS kjœ- CDC *kieu5/EC *kuh
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[OPH *kiu5] CNH *kieu5

jiù 舅 QYS gjœ: CDC *gieu4/EC *gux
BMH [khiu]; MX [k’iu1]; HL [k’iu1]; SX [k’iu1]; LF [k’iu1]; LZ [khiu1]; SHT [k’iu1]
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jiù 舊 QYS gjəu- CDC *gieu6/EC *gwhi

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jiù 就 QYS dzjəu- CDC *dzieu6/EC *dzukh

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jū 居 QYS kjwo CDC *kie1 (~ *kιu1)/EC *ka

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jú 菊 QYS kjuk CDC *kiuk7/EC *kuk

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CT [tf’ieu2]; WP [—]; YD [k’iuʔ7]; SH [tehiaʔ7]; LC1 [k’ieu6]; LC2 [—]

NK [te’iu8 ~ te’io8]; AY [te’io5]; SY [te’io5]; XS [—]; QN [teiuiʔ7]; ND1 [ts’uk7]; ND2 [ts’uk7]; ND3 [ts’uk7]

[OPH *k’iu7]  CNH *k’iuk7/*kuuk7

The tone of the Basil Mission form is irregular.
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Appendix: Data
O’Connor (1976: 47) expresses doubt regarding the final of his Proto-Hakka form. Cf. xuě 雪 below.
Appendix: Data

jué 据  QYS  giuat  CDC *giut8/EC *gut
BMH [khiut]; MX [k’iut7]; HL [k’un8]; SX [k’iut8]; LF [—]; LZ [khut5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [—]; WP [khueʔ8]; YD [k’ut8]; SH [khuεʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’yæ5]; AY [te’iɔ3]; SY [te’ye5]; XS [te’iεt8]; QN [—]; ND1 [ts’uit8]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH ?]  CNH *k’iut7
The Xiūshuǐ final is irregular. We would expect final -it rather than -iet here.

jūn 君  QYS  kjuàn  CDC *kiun1/EC *kun
BMH [kïun]; MX [kïun1]; HL [kïun1]; SX [kïun1]; LF [kïun1]; LZ [kïun1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tεyn1]; XC [tæin1]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [kïun1]; SH [tæïŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tεyn1]; AY [tëïŋ1]; SY [tεyn1]; XS [tæin1]; QN [tæïun1]; ND1 [tsæn1]; ND2 [tsæn1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *kïun1]  CNH *kïun1

jùn 矮  QYS  gjwen:3  CDC *giun4/EC *gunx
BMH [kïun]; MX [k’iun1]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [khun3]; SHT [—]
HY [k’un5]; XY [k’un3 ~ k’un1]; DB [k’un3]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [tʃ’æŋ1]; WP [tæiŋ1]; YD [—]; SH [tæiŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’ïŋ1]; AY [te’iɔŋ3]; SY [te’yeŋ1]; XS [te’iæin1]; QN [te’ïun1 ~ te’iæun6]; ND1 [ts’æn2]; ND2 [ts’æn3]; ND3 [ts’æn1]
[OPH ?]  CNH *k’iun1/*k’iun6/k’iun2/*k’un3

jùn 郡  QYS  guan-  CDC *giun6/EC *gunh
BMH [khiùn]; MX [—]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [k’iun2]; LZ [khiùn6]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [—]; WP [tæiŋ3]; YD [k’un3]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
The reconstruction is based on the Basil Mission, Lufeng, Wuping, Quannan, and Ningdu forms. The remaining forms in the set are irregular in various ways.

The tone of the Shangyou form is irregular.

K

Common Neo-Hakka:
A Comparative Reconstruction

NK [tayŋ]; AY [te’iæŋ]; SY [teyŋ3]; XS [tein5]; QN [te’iun6]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ts’aŋ6]; ND3 [—]

[OPH ?] CNH *k’iun6?

Kāi 开 QYS khâi CDC *khoi1/EC *’khu

BWH [khoi ~ hoi]; MX [k’o1]; HL [k’o1]; SX [k’o1]; LF [k’o1]; LZ [hœ1]; SHT [hœ1]
HY [huai1]; XY [huai1]; DB [hœ1]; YL [k’o1]; XC [k’o1]
CT [k’ue1]; WP [xue1]; YD [k’o1]; SH [hœ1]; LC1 [k’ui1]; LC2 [hui3]
NK [k’æ1 ~ hœ1]; AY [k’ue1 ~ hue1]; SY [hue1]; XS [k’œ1]; QN [hœ1 ~ k’œ1]; ND1 [k’œ1];

[OPH *k’o1] CNH *hoil/*k’o1

Kān 刊 QYS khân CDC *khon1/EC *’khan

BWH [khan]; MX [k’an1]; HL [k’an1]; SX [k’an1]; LF [k’an1]; LZ [hœ1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [k’an1]; WP [—]; YD [k’an1]; SH [hœ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [k’œ1]; QN [—]; ND1 [k’œ1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *k’an1] CNH *k’an1/*k’on1
The Lìzhīzhuāng form appears to derive from an earlier *hon1 for which we lack comparative corroboration.

The Níngdū-1 form in this and the following set point to an earlier rounded vowel form, *kom1, which has been replaced elsewhere.

The Nìngdū-1 form must derive from earlier *k‘om3, a form that has been replaced by *k‘am3 at other points.
kāng 糧 QYS khâng CDC *khong1/EC *’khang  
BMH [khong ~ hong]; MX [hoŋ1]; HL [hoŋ1]; SX [hoŋ1]; LF [k’oŋ1 ~ hoŋ1]; LZ [hoŋ1]; SHT [—]  
HY [—]; XY [hoŋ1]; DB [hoŋ1]; YL [k’oŋ1]; XC [k’oŋ1]  
CT [k’oŋ1]; WP [xoŋ1]; YD [k’oŋ1]; SH [khon1]; LC1 [k’oŋ1]; LC2 [—]  
NK [hɔŋ1]; AY [hoŋ1]; SY [k’ɔŋ1 ~ hɔŋ1]; XS [k’oŋ1]; QN [k’oŋ1w ~ hoŋ1b]; ND1 [k’oŋ1]; ND2 [k’oŋ1]; ND3 [hoŋ1]  
[OPH *hoŋ1] CNH *hoŋ1/L *k’oŋ1

kàng 囥 QYS khâng “hide, conceal” CDC *khong5/EC —  
BMH [khòng]; MX [—]; HL [k’oŋ5]; SX [k’oŋ5]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]  
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]  
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [k’ɔŋ3]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]  
NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]  
[OPH *k’oŋ5] CNH *k’oŋ5

kào 考 QYS khâu: CDC *khou3/EC *’khux  
BMH [kháu]; MX [k’au3]; HL [k’au3]; SX [k’au3]; LF [k’au3]; LZ [khau3]; SHT [k’au3]  
HY [k’au3]; XY [hau3]; DB [hau3]; YL [k’au3]; XC [k’au3]  
CT [k’ɔ3]; WP [kho3]; YD [k’au3]; SH [khu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]  
NK [k’ɔ3]; AY [k’ɔ3]; SY [k’ɔ3]; XS [k’au3]; QN [k’au3]; ND1 [k’au3]; ND2 [k’au3]; ND3 [k’au3]  
[OPH *k’au3] CNH *k’au3/*hau3
The Shàngháng form must derive from earlier *k’ou3 rather than *k’au3.

kào 靠 QYS khâu- CDC *khou5/EC *’khuh  
BMH [khâu]; MX [k’au5]; HL [k’au5]; SX [k’au5]; LF [—]; LZ [khau5]; SHT [—]  
HY [k’au5]; XY [k’au5]; DB [k’o5]; YL [k’au5]; XC [k’au5]  
CT [k’ɔ5]; WP [—]; YD [k’au3]; SH [khu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
Appendix: Data

NK [k’ɔ5]; AY [k’ɔ5]; SY [k’ɔ2]; XS [k’au5]; QN [k’au5]; ND1 [k’au5]; ND2 [k’au5]; ND3 [k’au5]

[OPH *k’au5] CNH *k’au5

The Shànháng form reflects earlier *k’ou5.

kē 棵 QYS (khuâ) CDC *khuo1/EC *’khoy
BMH [―]; MX [k’ɔ1 ~ k’ɔ5]; HL [―]; SX [―]; LF [―]; LZ [―]; SHT [―]
HY [―]; XY [―]; DB [―]; YL [k’au3]; XC [k’o1]
CT [k’o1]; WP [―]; YD [―]; SH [―]; LC1 [―]; LC2 [―]
NK [k’o1]; AY [k’o1]; SY [k’o1]; XS [k’ɔ1]; QN [k’o1]; ND1 [k’o1]; ND2 [k’o1]; ND3 [―]

[OPH ?] CNH k’o1

kē 殼 QYS khâk CDC *kh(i)ok7/EC *khrok
BMH [khok ~ hok]; MX [hok7]; HL [hok7]; SX [hok7]; LF [k’ok7]; LZ [hɔk7]; SHT [hɔk7]
HY [k’ɔk7]; XY [k’ɔk7]; DB [hok7]; YL [k’ɔʔ7]; XC [k’oʔ7]
CT [k’o2]; WP [khoʔ7]; YD [k’ɔʔ7]; SH [khoʔ7]; LC1 [k’u6]; LC2 [―]
NK [k’o8]; AY [k’o6]; SY [k’ɔ5]; XS [k’ɔk7]; QN [k’oʔ7]; ND1 [k’ok7]; ND2 [k’ɔk7]; ND3 [k’ɔk7]

[OPH *hok7] CNH *hok7/*k’ok7

kē 可 QYS khâ: CDC *kho3/EC *’khayx
BMH [khô]; MX [k’ɔ3]; HL [k’ɔ3]; SX [k’ɔ3]; LF [k’ɔ3]; LZ [hɔ3 ~ hɔ3]; SHT [k’ɔ3]
HY [k’uɔ3]; XY [hɔ3]; DB [hɔ3]; YL [k’au3]; XC [k’o3]
CT [k’o3]; WP [―]; YD [―]; SH [hku3]; LC1 [―]; LC2 [―]
NK [k’o3]; AY [k’o3]; SY [k’ɔ3]; XS [k’ɔ3]; QN [k’o3]; ND1 [k’o3]; ND2 [―]; ND3 [k’o3]

[OPH *k’o3] CNH *k’o3/*hɔ3

kē 刻 QYS khak CDC *khek7/EC *’khik
BMH [khet ~ khiet]; MX [k’et7]; HL [k’et7]; SX [k’et7]; LF [k’et7]; LZ [khet7]; SHT [―]
HY [k’at7]; XY [k’et7]; DB [kiet7]; YL [k’eʔ7]; XC [k’eʔ7]
The tone of the second Hâilù form is irregular. The coda of the third reconstruction is conjectural, since determinative forms are not available in the Níngdū varieties.

The tone of the second Hâilù form is irregular. The coda of the third reconstruction is conjectural, since determinative forms are not available in the Níngdū varieties.
The coda of the first reconstructed form is conjectural, because determinative forms for it are absent from the set.

**kēng** 坑 QYS khong CDC *khang1/EC *khrang
BMH [hang ~ khang]; MX [haŋ1]; HL [haŋ1b]; SX [haŋ1b]; LF [haŋ1]; LZ [haŋ1]; SHT [haŋ1]
HY [haŋ1]; XY [haŋ1]; DB [haŋ1]; YL [k’aŋ1]; XC [k’əŋ1]
CT [haŋ1]; WP [khaŋ1 ~ xoŋ1]; YD [k’aŋ1]; SH [khəŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [k’aŋ1]
NK [hâ1]; AY [hâ1]; SY [hâ1]; XS [haŋ1]; QN [haŋ1]; ND1 [k’aŋ1]; ND2 [k’aŋ1]; ND3 [haŋ1]
[OPH *haŋ1] CNH *haŋ1/L *k’aŋ1

**kōng** 空 QYS khung CDC *khung1/EC *’khong
BMH [khung]; MX [k’uŋ1]; HL [k’uŋ1]; SX [k’uŋ1]; LF [k’uŋ1]; LZ [khun1]; SHT [—]
HY [k’oŋ1]; XY [hoŋ1]; DB [huŋ1]; YL [k’uŋ1]; XC [k’uŋ1]
CT [k’oŋ1]; WP [khuŋ1]; YD [k’uŋ1]; SH [khəŋ1]; LC1 [k’oŋ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [k’əŋ1]; AY [k’əŋ1]; SY [k’əŋ1]; XS [k’əŋ1]; QN [k’uŋ1]; ND1 [k’uŋ1]; ND2 [k’uŋ1]; ND3 [k’uŋ1]
[OPH *k’uŋ1] CNH *k’uŋ1/*huŋ1

**kǒng** 恐 QYS khjwong: CDC *khung3/EC *khongx
BMH [khiúng]; MX [k’uŋ3]; HL [k’uŋ6]; SX [k’i uŋ3]; LF [k’i uŋ3]; LZ [khun3]; SHT [huŋ3]
HY [k’oŋ3]; XY [hoŋ3]; DB [k’uŋ3]; YL [k’uŋ3]; XC [k’uŋ3]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [khəŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [k’əŋ3]; AY [k’əŋ3]; SY [k’əŋ3]; XS [k’əŋ3]; QN [k’uŋ3]; ND1 [k’uŋ3]; ND2 [k’uŋ3]; ND3 [k’uŋ3]
[OPH *k’i uŋ3] CNH *k’i uŋ3/*k’uŋ3/*huŋ3

The tone of the Hǎilù form is anomalous.

**kǒu** 口 QYS khāu CDC *kheu3/EC *’khox
BMH [khēu ~ héu]; MX [k’eu3w ~ heu3b]; HL [k’eu3w ~ heu3b]; SX [k’eu3w ~ heu3b]; LF [k’eu3 ~ heu3]; LZ [heu3]; SHT [hiu3]
HY [huai3]; XY [həu3]; YL [k’ei3]; XC [k’ou3w ~ həu3b]
CT [k’ei3 ~ heu3]; WP [khe3w ~ xə3b]; YD [k’ei3]; SH [kəo3]; LC1 [k’ei3]; LC2 [həu3]
NK [k’ə3 ~ hə3]; AN [te’u3 ~ əu3]; SY [k’io3 ~ hio3]; XS [k’ou3 ~ həu3]; QN [k’ei3 ~ heu3];
   ND1 [k’ei3]; ND2 [k’ou3]; ND3 [k’ou3 ~ həu3]

OPH *k’ei3   CNH *heu3/L *k’ei3

kòu 扣 QYS khəu:, khəu- CDC *kheu5/EC *’koh
BMH [kheu]; MX [k’ei5]; HL [k’ei5]; SX [k’ei5]; LF [k’ei5]; LZ [kheu5]; SHT [—]
HY [kuai5]; XY [k’ei5]; DB [k’ie5]; YL [k’əu5]
CT [k’ei5]; WP [khe5]; YD [k’ei3]; SH [kho5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [k’eu5]
NK [k’ə3]; AN [te’u5]; SY [k’io5]; XS [k’ou5]; QN [—]; ND1 [k’ei5]; ND2 [k’ou5]; ND3
   [k’əu5]

[OPH *k’ei5]   CNH *k’ei5

kū窟 QYS khuat CDC *kheut7/EC *’kut
BMH [fut ~ khwut]; MX [k’iut7w ~ fut7b]; HL [fut7]; SX [fut7]; LF [fut7]; LZ [fut7]; SHT
   [fut7]
HY [—]; XY [fut7]; DB [fut7]; YL [k’ueiʔ7]; XC [k’uʔ7]
CT [k’ue2]; WP [feʔ7]; YD [k’ut7]; SH [khuieʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AN [k’uə3 ~ fə3]; SY [—]; XS [k’uit7]; QN [feʔ7]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [k’ut7]; ND3
   [fut7]

[OPH *fut7]   CNH *fut7/L *k’ut7

The forms fət7 and feʔ7 at these two points are actually colloquial readings of kū窟，as found in the compound shǐkūyǎn 屎窟眼 “anus”. The source has failed to identify them as such. Níngdū-1 has a similar form, read [fai7] in its parallel compounds for “buttocks” (shikū 屎窟) and “anus”, but the final is irregular, for we would expect a [fət7] here. Cf. hū 忽 above. The pronunciation of the syllable has perhaps been deformed through taboo avoidance. The final of the Méixiàn wén form is anomalous. It may reflect a contamination derived from qū 屈 (Méixiàn k’iut7), which is phonetic in the graph窟.
Appendix: Data

kù 苦 QYS khuo: CDC *khu3/EC *khax
BMH [fu ~ khu]; MX [k’u3w ~ fu3b]; HL [k’u3w ~ fu3b]; SX [k’u3w ~ fu3b]; LF [k’u3]; LZ [khu3w ~ fu3b]; SHT [fu3]
HY [k’u3 ~ hu3]; XY [k’u3]; DB [k’u3]; YL [k’u3]; XC [k’u3w ~ fu3b]
CT [k’u3]; WP [fu3]; YD [k’i3]; SH [khu3]; LC1 [k’iue3]; LC2 [k’ye3]
NK [k’u3 ~ fu3]; NY [k’u3 ~ fu3]; SY [k’u3 ~ fu3]; XS [k’u3 ~ fu3]; QN [k’u3 ~ fu3]; ND1 [ku3]; ND2 [k’u3]; ND3 [k’u3]
[OPH *fu3] CNH *fu3/L *k’u3

kù 褲 QYS khuo- CDC *khu5/EC *’khah
BMH [fu ~ khu]; MX [fu5]; HL [fu5]; SX [k’u5w ~ fu5b]; LF [k’u5]; LZ [fu5]; SHT [—]
HY [hu5]; XY [k’u5]; DB [k’u5]; YL [k’u5]; XC [fu5]
CT [k’u5]; WP [khu5 ~ fu5]; YD [k’i3]; SH [khu5]; LC1 [k’iue5]; LC2 [fye5]
NK [fu5]; NY [fu5]; SY [fu2]; XS [fu5]; QN [fu5]; ND1 [k’u5]; ND2 [fu5]; ND3 [k’u5 ~ fu5]
[OPH *fu5] CNH *fu5/L *k’u5

kuài 快 QYS khwai- CDC *khuai5/EC *khwrath
BMH [khwài ~ fài]; MX [k’uai5]; HL [k’uai5]; SX [k’uai5]; LF [k’uai5]; LZ [khai5]; SHT [k’uai5 ~ k’ai5]
HY [fai5]; XY [k’ai5]; DB [k’uai5]; YL [k’uai5]; XC [k’uai5]
CT [k’uei5]; WP [khuai5]; YD [k’uai3]; SH [khuei5]; LC1 [k’uai5]; LC2 [—]
NK [k’uei5]; NY [k’uei5]; SY [k’uai2]; XS [k’uai5]; QN [k’ai5]; ND1 [k’ai5]; ND2 [k’ai5]; ND3 [k’ai5]
[OPH *k’ai5] CNH *k’ai5/*fai5

kuài 堆 QYS khuai- CDC *khuoi5/EC *’khuyh
BMH [khwài]; MX [k’uai5]; HL [k’uai5]; SX [k’uai5]; LF [k’uai5]; LZ [khai5]; SHT [—]
HY [k’ai5 ~ fai5†]; XY [k’ai5]; DB [k’uai5]; YL [k’uai5]; XC [k’uai5]
CT [k’uei5]; WP [khuai5]; YD [k’uei3 ~ k’uai3]; SH [khua5]; LC1 [k’ua5]; LC2 [k’ua5]
The second Héyuán form reflects the second reconstruction. It is supported by similar forms in western Guǎngdōng Hakka dialects that are not included in our database. See Lí Rúlóng et al. (1999: 36).

**kuān** 宽 QYS khuàn CDC *khuon1/EC *—
BMH [khwon ~ khwan]; MX [k’ɔn1]; HL [k’on1]; SX [k’on1]; LF [k’on1]; LZ [k’ɔn1]; SHT [—]
HY [k’uan1]; XY [k’an1]; DB [k’uon1]; YL [k’uan1]; XC [k’uan1]
CT [k’uŋ1]; WP [khuŋ1]; YD [k’uon1]; SH [khuât1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [k’oɛ1]; AY [k’ɔ̃1]; SY [k’uɔ̃1]; XS [k’ɔn1]; QN [k’ɔn1]; ND1 [k’oɛn1]; ND2 [k’uon1]; ND3 [k’uən1]
[OPH *k’on1] CNH *k’uon1

**kuàng** 曠 QYS xjwang- CDC *kuong5/EC *khwangh
BMH [khwong ~ khwông]; MX [k’ɔŋ3]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [k’ɔŋ3]; LZ [k’oŋ5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [k’ɔŋ5]
CT [k’ɔŋ5]; WP [—]; YD [k’ɔŋ3]; SH [khoŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [k’ɔŋ5]; AY [—]; SY [k’ɔŋ5]; XS [k’ɔŋ5]; QN [—]; ND1 [k’ɔŋ5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *k’ong3] CNH *k’uɔŋ3/*k’oŋ3/*k’oŋ5

**kuàng** 况 QYS xjwang- CDC *kuong5/EC *hwangh
BMH [khwong ~ khwông ~ khong]; MX [k’ɔŋ3]; HL [k’ɔŋ3]; SX [k’ɔŋ3]; LF [k’ɔŋ5]; LZ [k’oŋ3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [k’ɔŋ5]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [khoŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [k’ɔŋ5]; AY [—]; SY [k’ɔŋ5]; XS [k’ɔŋ5]; QN [k’ɔŋ5]; ND1 [k’ɔŋ5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
Appendix: Data

[OPH *k’ong3]  CNH *k’uoŋ5/*k’uoŋ3/*k’oŋ5

kuǐ 虧  QYS  khjwe3  CDC *khui1/EC *khoi
BMH [khui]; MX [k’ui1]; HL [k’ui1]; SX [k’ui1]; LF [k’ui1]; LZ [khui1]; SHT [—]
HY [k’ui1]; XY [k’ui1]; DB [k’uei1]; YL [k’uei1]; XC [k’uei1]
CT [k’uei1]; WP [khui1]; YD [k’uei1]; SH [khuei1]; LC1 [k’ui1]; LC2 [—]
NK [k’uei1]; AN [k’uei1]; SY [k’uei1]; XS [k’ui1]; QN [k’ui1]; ND1 [k’ui1]; ND2 [k’ui1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *k’ui1]  CNH *k’ui1

kùn 困  QYS  khaul-  CDC *khun5/EC *’khun
BMH [khwùn]; MX [k’un5]; HL [k’un5]; SX [k’un5]; LF [k’un5]; LZ [khun5]; SHT [—]
HY [k’un5]; XY [k’un5]; DB [k’un5]; YL [k’un5]; XC [k’uən5]
CT [k’uən5]; WP [khuɛŋ5]; YD [k’un3]; SH [khuɛn5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [k’uɛ5]; AN [k’uən5]; SY [k’uɛ2]; XS [k’un5]; QN [k’un5]; ND1 [k’un5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [k’un5]
[OPH *k’un5]  CNH *k’un5

kuò 括  QYS  kuât  CDC *kuot7/EC *’kot
BMH [kwat]; MX [kuat7]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [kat7]; SHT [—]
HY [kat7]; XY [k’at7]; DB [kuat7]; YL [k’uaʔ7]; XC [k’uaʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [kuaʔ7]; YD [—]; SH [kuaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [kua7]; AN [ku33]; SY [kua5]; XS [kuait7]; QN [koiʔ7]; ND1 [koet7]; ND2 [kuot7]; ND3 [k’uat7]
[OPH *kuat7]  CNH *kuot7/*k’uat7

kuò 開  QYS  khuât  CDC *kuot7/EC *’khot
BMH [fat ~ khwat]; MX [fat7]; HL [fat7]; SX [fat7]; LF [fat7]; LZ [fat7]; SHT [—]
HY [fiuat7]; XY [k’at7]; DB [k’uat7]; YL [k’ueʔ7]; XC [k’ueʔ7]
CT [k’ue2]; WP [khuæʔ7]; YD [k’uat7]; SH [khuæʔ7]; LC1 [k’ua6]; LC2 [—]
Common Neo-Hakka: A Comparative Reconstruction

NK [k’ua7]; AY [k’u3]; SY [k’uait7]; XS [k’uit7]; QN [k’æʔ7]; ND1 [k’oct7]; ND2 [k’uot5]; ND3 [k’uat7]

[OPH *fat7] CNH *k’uot5 ~ *fuat7 (or *fuot7 ?)

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

kuò廓 QYS khwâk CDC *kuok5/EC *’khwak

BMH [khwok]; MX [kuɔk7]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [koʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [khoʔ7w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ko8]; AY [ko6]; SY [—]; XS [kɔk7]; QN [koʔ7]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH ?] CNH *k’uok7/*kuok7

L

là 拉 QYS — CDC *la1 (?)/EC *—

BMH [la ~ lo ~ lai]; MX [la1 ~ lai1]; HL [la1]; SX [la1 ~ lai1]; LF [—]; LZ [la1]; SHT [—]
HY [lai1]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [lauʔ8]; XC [lai2]
CT [la1]; WP [—]; YD [la1]; SH [laiʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [la1]; AY [la1 ~ læ1]; SY [la1]; XS [—]; QN [la1]; ND1 [la1]; ND2 [la1]; ND3 [—]

OPH *la1 CNH *la1/*lai1

It is possible that several different etyma are represented in this set. Two are reconstructable comparatively.

là 蠟 QYS làp CDC *lap8/EC *’lap

BMH [làp]; MX [lap8]; HL [lap8]; SX [lap8]; LF [lap8]; LZ [lap8]; SHT [—]
HY [lap8]; XY [lap8]; DB [lap8]; YL [laʔ8]; XC [laʔ8]
CT [la6]; WP [laʔ7]; YD [laʔ8]; SH [laʔ7]; LC1 [lo6]; LC2 [lo6]
NK [la5 ~ la7]; AY [la3]; SY [la5]; XS [lait8]; QN [læʔ8]; ND1 [laip7]; ND2 [lap7]; ND3 [lap7]
The Níngdū-2 form and the second Níngdū-3 form probably derive from an earlier *lei2, which is not attested at other points. It is probably a loan from Southern Gàn, where this form of the word “to come” is common.
The Ningdū-2 tone is irregular. We would expect Tone 6.

Where yīnpíng and yángpíng forms of this etymon are distinguished in the same dialect, the two words generally refer to slightly different types of baskets.
Appendix: Data

làn 爛 QYS lân- CDC *lan6/EC *'lanh
BMH [làn]; MX [lan5]; HL [lan6]; SX [lan5]; LF [lan6]; LZ [lan5]; SHT [lan5]
HY [lan6]; XY [lan3]; DB [lan3]; YL [lan3]; XC [lan5]
CT [lan5]; WP [lan3]; YD [lan5]; SH [lã̃]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [la6]
NK [lã̃]; AY [lã̃]; SY [lã̃]; XS [lan5]; QN [lan6]; ND1 [lan6]; ND2 [lan6]; ND3 [lan6]
[OPH *lan6] CNH *lan6

láng 郎 QYS lâng CDC *long2/EC *’lang
BMH [lông]; MX [lọ̣g2]; HL [lọ̣g2]; SX [lọ̣g2]; LF [lọ̣g2]; LZ [lọ̣g2]; SHT [lọ̣g2]
HY [lọ̣g2]; XY [lọ̣g2]; DB [lọ̣g2]; YL [lọ̣g2]; XC [lọ̣g2]
CT [lọ̣g2]; WP [lọ̣g2]; YD [lọ̣g2]; SH [lọ̣g2]; LC1 [lọ̣g2]; LC2 [lọ̣g2]
NK [lọ̣g2]; AY [lọ̣g2]; SY [lọ̣g2]; XS [lọ̣g2]; QN [lọ̣g2]; ND1 [lọ̣g2]; ND2 [lọ̣g2]; ND3 [lọ̣g2]
[OPH *lọ̣g2] CNH *lọ̣g2

làng 浪 QYS lâng- CDC *long6/EC *’langh
BMH [lòng]; MX [lọ̣g5]; HL [lọ̣g6]; SX [lọ̣g5]; LF [lọ̣g6]; LZ [lọ̣g5]; SHT [—]
HY [lọ̣g6]; XY [lọ̣g3]; DB [lọ̣g3]; YL [lọ̣g5]; XC [lọ̣g5]
CT [lọ̣g5]; WP [lọ̣g5]; YD [lọ̣g5]; SH [lọ̣g5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [lọ̣5]; AY [lọ̣g6]; SY [lọ̣5]; XS [lọ̣g5]; QN [lọ̣g6]; ND1 [lọ̣g6]; ND2 [lọ̣g6]; ND3 [lọ̣g6]
[OPH *lọ̣g6] CNH *lọ̣g6

lāo 撈 QYS lâu CDC *lou1 ~ *lou2/EC *—
BMH [lâu]; MX [lau2 ~ lau1]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [lo1]; LZ [lau2]; SHT [—]
HY [lau1]; XY [lau2]; DB [—]; YL [lau2]; XC [lau2]
CT [—]; WP [le2]; YD [—]; SH [lo2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [lo2]; AY [lo2]; SY [lo2]; XS [lau1 ~ lau2]; QN [lau1 ~ lau2]; ND1 [lau1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [lau1]
[OPH *lou1] CNH *lou1/*lou2
The two western Guǎngdōng points, Xìnyí and diànbái, inexplicably have Tone 3 for this word.

The Lìzhīzhuāng final is irregular.

The Lìzhīzhuāng final is irregular.
The Nankāng, Ānyuǎn, Xīshuǐ, and Quánnán forms reflect the second reconstruction.
The coda of the third reconstructed form is conjectural. The Ningdū forms appear to reflect a proto-form in *liaŋ1. This is a different etymon from that reflected elsewhere in the set. The Ānyuǎn form may be related to this form but disagrees with it in tone.

li 梨 QYS lji CDC *li2/EC *liy
BMH [li]; MX [li2]; HL [li2]; SX [li2]; LF [li2]; LZ [li2]; SHT [li2]
HY [li2]; XY [li2]; DB [li2]; YL [li2]; XC [li2]
CT [li2 ~ ti2]; WP [ti2]; YD [li2]; SH [ti2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ti2]; AY [ti2]; SY [ti2]; XS [li2]; QN [li2]; ND1 [li2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [li2]
[OPH *li2] CNH *li2

li 犁 QYS liei CDC *liai2/EC *liy
BMH [lâi ~ lê]; MX [li2w ~ lai2b]; HL [lai2]; SX [lai2]; LF [lai2]; LZ [lai2]; SHT [lai2]
HY [lie2]; XY [lei2]; DB [le2]; YL [lei2]; XC [li2w ~ nai2b]
CT [le2]; WP [li2]; YD [lei2]; SH [lei2]; LC1 [le2]; LC2 [—]†
NK [ti2 ~ li2]; AY [ti2]; SY [ti2]; XS [le2]; QN [li2 ~ lei2]; ND1 [li2]; ND2 [lei2]; ND3 [liai2]
[OPH *lai2] CNH *liai2/L *li2
†FJFYZ: [le2].

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

li 鯉 QYS ljï: CDC *li4/EC *lix
BMH [li]; MX [li1]; HL [li1]; SX [li1]; LF [li1]; LZ [li1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [li3]; XC [li3]
CT [li3]; WP [ti1]; YD [li1]; SH [ti1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
Appendix: Data

NK [ti1]; AY [ti3]; SY [ti1]; XS [li3]; QN [li1]; ND1 [li1]; ND2 [li6]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *li1]    CNH *li1/*li3

li 利 QYS lji- CDC *li6/EC *lith
BMH [li]; MX [li5]; HL [li6]; SX [li5]; LF [li6]; LZ [li5]; SHT [li5]
HY [li6]; XY [li3]; DB [li3]; YL [li3]; XC [li5]
CT [li6 ~ ti6]; WP [li3]; YD [li5]; SH [ti5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ti5]; AY [li6 ~ ti6]; SY [ti5]; XS [li5]; QN [li6]; ND1 [li6]; ND2 [li6]; ND3 [li6]
[OPH *li6]    CNH *li6

li 力 QYS lj3k CDC *lik8/EC *lik
BMH [lit]; MX [lit8]; HL [lit8]; SX [lit8]; LF [lit8]; LZ [lit8]; SHT [lit8]
HY [lit8]; XY [lit8]; DB [lit8]; YL [li8]; XC [li8]
CT [liw ~ ti6b]; WP [ti8]; YD [li8]; SH [ti8]; LC1 [ti5]; LC2 [ti5 ~ ti6]
NK [ti1]; AY [ti1]; SY [ti5]; XS [lit8]; QN [li8]; ND1 [lit8]; ND2 [lik8]; ND3 [lik8]
OPH *lit8    CNH *lik8

li 曆 QYS liek CDC *liak8/EC *'lek
BMH [líp]; MX [lak8]; HL [lak8]; SX [lak8]; LF [lak8]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [li8]; XC [li8]
CT [li6]; WP [li8]; YD [li8]; SH [li8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [lie8]; AY [lia6]; SY [lie5]; XS [li8]; QN [li8]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [liak8]; ND3 [lik8]
[OPH *lak8]    CNH *liak8/*lik8

li 立 QYS ljıp CDC *lip8/EC *lip
BMH [lip]; MX [lip8]; HL [lip8]; SX [lip8]; LF [lip8]; LZ [lip8]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [li8]; XC [lie7]
CT [li6]; WP [li8]; YD [—]; SH [li8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tie5]; AY [ti31]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [li8]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [liap8]; ND3 [—]
OPH *lip8    CNH *lip8
†FJFYZ: [li5].
The Ningdū-2 form appears to derive from an earlier *liap8.

li 粒 QYS ljəp CDC *ʰlip8/EC *lip
BMH [lip]; MX [ləp7]; HL [liap8]; SX [liap8]; LF [lip7]; LZ [lip8]; SHT [—]
HY [lip7]; XY [nap8]; DB [nəp7]; YL [liʔ8]; XC [liɛʔ7]
CT [li6 ~ ti6]; WP [tiʔ7]; YD [liaʔ8]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tie7]; AY [ti3]; SY [tie5]; XS [li7]; QN [tiʔ7]; ND1 [lip7]; ND2 [lip7]; ND3 [lit8]
[OPH ?] CNH *lip7/*lip8/*lep7/*liap8
It seems likely that CNH *lep7 in this rather complex set is a Yuè dialect loan form. The Xinyí and Diànbái forms are relatable to this *lep7 but irregularly have nasal initials. This peculiarity is particularly suggestive of Yuè dialect influence. Compare the following set, where this irregularity is not present. The fourth reconstruction, CNH *liap8, is probably a southern Mǐn loan form.

li 笠 QYS ljəp CDC *ʰlip8/EC *lip
BMH [lip]; MX [ləp7]; HL [liap8]; SX [liap8]; LF [lip7]; LZ [lip8]; SHT [liʔ7]
HY [lip7]; XY [lap7]; DB [lap8]; YL [liʔ8]; XC [liɛʔ7]
CT [ti2]; WP [tiʔ7]; YD [liʔ7]; SH [tiʔ7]; LC1 [ti6]; LC2 [ti5]
NK [tie7]; AY [ti3]; SY [tie5]; XS [li7]; QN [tiʔ7]; ND1 [lip7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [li8]
[OPH *lip7] CNH *lip7/*lip8/*lep7
The Diànbái form is clearly to be derived from the third reconstruction but inexplicably has Tone 8 rather than Tone 7.

lián 鏈 QYS ljäm CDC *liam2/EC *lem
BMH [liam]; MX [liam2]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [liam2]; LZ [liam2]; SHT [liam2]
HY [liam2]; XY [liam2]; DB [liam2]; YL [lien2]; XC [liɛn2]
CT [liŋ2]; WP [tiaŋ2]; YD [liaŋ2]; SH [tiə2b ~ liə2w]; LC1 [le2]; LC2 [—]
NK [tiə2]; AY [tiə2]; SY [tiə2]; XS [lien2]; QN [liən2]; ND1 [liam2]; ND2 [liam2]; ND3 [liam2]
[OPH *liam2] CNH *liam2
The BMH tone appears to be a typographical error.

lián 連  QYS  liān  CDC *lian2/EC *len
BMH [lièn]; MX [lièn2]; HL [lian2]; SX [lian2]; LF [lian2]; LZ [len2]; SHT [len2]
HY [lian2]; XY [liān2]; DB [lièn2]; YL [lièn2]; XC [lièn2]
CT [liēn2 ~ tiēn2]; WP [liēn2]; YD [lian2]; SH [liē2 ~ tiē2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [liē2]; AY [li2]; SY [liē2]; XS [lian2]; QN [liēn2]; ND1 [liēn2]; ND2 [lian2]; ND3 [lian2]
[OPH *lian2]  CNH *lian2

liàn 恋  QYS  lièn  CDC *lian6 (~ *lian6)/EC *lionh
BMH [lièn]; MX [lien5]; HL [lian6]; SX [lian5]; LF [lian6]; LZ [len5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [lien5]; XC [lien5]
CT [liēn6]; WP [liēn3]; YD [—]; SH [liē3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [liē5]; AY [li6]; SY [liē5]; XS [lian5]; QN [—]; ND1 [lien6]; ND2 [lian6]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *lian6]  CNH *lian6

liáng 量  QYS  liāng “to measure”  CDC *liang2/EC *lang
BMH [liàng]; MX [liāng2]; HL [liāng2]; SX [liāng2]; LF [liāng2]; LZ [liāng2]; SHT [liāng2]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [liāng2 ~ tiāng2]; WP [tiāng2]; YD [—]; SH [liāng2 ~ tiāng2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [liāng2 ~ tiāng2]; AY [tiāng2]; SY [liāng2 ~ tiāng2]; XS [liāng2]; QN [liāng2]; ND1 [liāng2]; ND2 [liāng2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *liang2]  CNH *liāng2
liǎng 兩 QYS ljang: “two” CDC *liōng4/EC *langx
BMH [liōng]; MX [liəŋ3]; HL [liəŋ3]; SX [liəŋ3]; LF [liəŋ3]; LZ [liəŋ3]; SHT [liəŋ3]
HY [liəŋ3]; XY [liəŋ3]; DB [liəŋ3]; YL [liəŋ3]; XC [liəŋ3]
CT [liəŋ3w ~ tien3b]; WP [tiəŋ3]; YD [liəŋ3]; SH [liəŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tiəŋ3]†
NK [li33 ~ ti33]; AY [tiəŋ3]; SY [ti33]; XS [—]; QN [liəŋ3]; ND1 [liəŋ3]; ND2 [liəŋ1]††; ND3 [liəŋ3]
[OPH *liōng3] CNH *lioŋ3
††In Níngdū-2 the words for “two” and “ounce” are homophonous, both being read in Tone 1.
In most dialects, only “ounce” is read in Tone 1.

liàng 諒 QYS ljang- CDC *liōng4/EC *langh
BMH [liòng]; MX [liəŋ5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [liəŋ6]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [liəŋ5]; XC [liəŋ5]
CT [liəŋ6]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [liəŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [li55]; AY [liəŋ6]; SY [li55]; XS [liəŋ5]; QN [—]; ND1 [liəŋ6]; ND2 [liəŋ6]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *liōng5] CNH *liōŋ6

liáo 燼 QYS ljäu CDC *liau2/EC *lew
BMH [liau]; MX [liau2]; HL [liau2]; SX [liau2]; LF [liau2]; LZ [liau2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [liau3]; XC [liau2]
CT [—]; WP [lia2]; YD [—]; SH [lio2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [lia2]; AY [lia2]; SY [lia2]; XS [liau2]; QN [—]; ND1 [liau2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *liau2] CNH *liau2

liǎo 了 QYS lieu; CDC *liau4/EC *’lewx
BMH [liáu]; MX [liau3]; HL [liau3]; SX [liau3]; LF [liau3]; LZ [liau3]; SHT [—]
HY [liau3]; XY [liau3]; DB [liau3]; YL [liau3]; XC [liau3]
CT [lia3]; WP [—]; YD [liau3]; SH [lio3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [lia3]; AY [lia3]; SY [lia3]; XS [liau3]; QN [liau3]; ND1 [liau3]; ND2 [liau3]; ND3 [liau3]
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<td>NK [liŋ2]; AY [liŋ2]; SY [liŋ2 ~ tiŋ2]; XS [lin2]; QN [lin2]; ND1 [lim2]; ND2 [lim2]; ND3 [lin2]</td>
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†FJFYZ: [len2w ~ ten2b].
NK [liŋ2 ~ tiŋ2]; AY [liŋ2 ~ tiŋ1]; SY [—]; XS [lin2]; QN [lin2]; ND1 [lim2]; ND2 [lim2]; ND3 [lim2];
[OPH *lim2]   CNH *lim2

lin 鱗 QYS ljên CDC *lin/EC *lin
BMH [lin]; MX [lin1]; HL [lin1]; SX [lin1]; LF [lin2]; LZ [lin1b ~ lin2w]; SHT [lin1]
HY [lin1]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [lin2]; XC [lin2]
CT [teŋ1]; WP [tiŋ1]; YD [liŋ1]; SH [liŋ2w ~ tiŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [leŋ1]
NK [tiŋ2]; AY [tiŋ1]; SY [tiŋ2]; XS [lin2]; QN [lin1]; ND1 [lin2]; ND2 [lin2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *lin1]   CNH *lin1/L *lin2
†FJFYZ: [leŋ1w ~ teŋ2b].

líng 淩 QYS liêng CDC *liang2/EC *lêng
BMH [lin]; MX [lin2]; HL [lin2]; SX [lin2]; LF [lin2]; LZ [lin2]; SHT [lin2]
HY [lin2]; XY [lin2]; DB [lêng2]; YL [lin2]; XC [lin2]
CT [leŋ2]; WP [liŋ2]; YD [lêng2]; SH [liŋ2 ~ lê2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [liŋ2]; AY [liŋ2]; SY [liŋ2 ~ tiŋ2]; XS [lin2]; QN [lin2]; ND1 [lin2]; ND2 [liŋ2]; ND3 [liŋ2 ~ liŋ2]
[OPH *lin2]   CNH *liŋ2/*lêng2
Níngdū-2 and 3 show forms derived from an earlier *lêng2, which is not found at other points.

líng 凌 QYS ljêng CDC *ling2/EC *ling
BMH [lin]; MX [lin2]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [lin2]; LZ [lin2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [lin2]; XC [lin2w ~ lin5b]
CT [leŋ2]; WP [lêng2]; YD [lêng2]; SH [liŋ2 ~ lê2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [lêng2]
NK [liŋ2]; AY [liŋ2]; SY [liŋ2]; XS [lin2]; QN [lin2]; ND1 [lin2]; ND2 [liŋ2]; ND3 [liŋ2]
[OPH *lin2]   CNH *liŋ2
Appendix: Data

lǐng 領 QYS  ljäng:   CDC *liang4/EC *lengx
BMH [liang ~ liáng]; MX [liaŋ3w ~ liŋ1b]; HL [liaŋ1]; SX [liaŋ1]; LF [liaŋ3]; LZ [liaŋ1]; SHT [liaŋ3 ~ liaŋ1]
HY [liaŋ5]; XY [liaŋ1]; DB [liaŋ1]; YL [liaŋ3]; XC [liaŋ2]
CT [tiaŋ1]; WP [tiaŋ1 ~ liaŋ5]; YD [liaŋ1]; SH [tiaŋ1 ~ liaŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tiaŋ1]
NK [tiaŋ1]; AY [tiaŋ3]; SY [tiaŋ1]; XS [liaŋ3]; QN [lin3 ~ liaŋ1]; ND1 [liaŋ1]; ND2 [liaŋ1]; ND3 [liaŋ1]

[OPH *liaŋ1]   CNH *liaŋ1/L *liaŋ3/*liaŋ5

líng 項 QYS  ljäng:   CDC *liang4/EC *lengx
BMH [liaŋ]; MX [liaŋ3w ~ liaŋ1b]; HL [liaŋ1]; SX [liaŋ1]; LF [liaŋ1]; LZ [liaŋ1]; SHT [—]
HY [liaŋ5]; XY [liaŋ1]; DB [liaŋ1]; YL [liaŋ3]; XC [liaŋ2]
CT [tiaŋ1]; WP [liaŋ1w ~ tiaŋ1 ~ liaŋ1]; YD [liaŋ1]; SH [tiaŋ1 ~ liaŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tiaŋ1]
NK [tiaŋ3 ~ tie1]; AY [tiaŋ3 ~ tie1]; SY [tie1 ~ tie3 ~ lin3]; XS [liaŋ3]; QN [lin3 ~ liaŋ3 ~ liaŋ1]

[OPH *liaŋ1]   CNH *liaŋ1/L *liaŋ3/*liaŋ1

líng 今 QYS  ljäng, ljäng-   CDC *liaŋ6/EC *lin6
BMH [lin]; MX [lin5w ~ liŋ5b]; HL [lin6]; SX [lin5]; LF [lin6]; LZ [lin5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [lin5]
CT [lien6]; WP [—]; YD [lien5]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [lien5]; AY [lien6]; SY [lien5]; XS [lin5]; QN [lin6]; ND1 [lin6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [lien6]
[OPH *lin6]   CNH *lin6
The Méixiàn bái form points to an earlier *liaŋ6 for which we have no comparative evidence from other points.

liú 流 QYS  ljou   CDC *lieu2/EC *lu
BMH [liù]; MX [liu2]; HL [liu2]; SX [liu2]; LF [liu2]; LZ [liu2]; SHT [liu2]
HY [liu2]; XY [liu2]; DB [liu2]; YL [liou2]; XC [liou2]
CT [lieu2]; WP [liu2]; YD [liu2]; SH [liu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
Common Neo-Hakka:
A Comparative Reconstruction

NK [liu2]; AY [lu2]; SY [liu2]; XS [liu2]; QN [liu2]; ND1 [liuə2]; ND2 [liuə2]; ND3 [liu2]
[OPH *liu2]   CNH *lieu2

liú 硫 QYS  ljou   CDC *lieu2/EC *
BMH [liù]; MX [liu2]; HL [liu2]; SX [liu2]; LF [liu2]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [liuə2]; XC [liuə2]
CT [lieu2]; WP [liu2]; YD [—]; SH [liu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [liu2]; AY [lu2]; SY [liu2]; XS [liu2]; QN [liu2]; ND1 [liuə2]; ND2 [liuə2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *liu2]   CNH *lieu2

liú 劉 QYS  ljou   CDC *lieu2/EC *
líw
BMH [liù]; MX [liu2]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [liu2]; LZ [liu2]; SHT [—]
HY [liu2]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [liuə2]; XC [liuə2]
CT [lieu2w ~ teu2b]; WP [tiu2]; YD [—]; SH [tiu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
NK [tiu2 ~ liu2]; AY [tu2]; SY [tiu2]; XS [liu2]; QN [liu2]; ND1 [liuə2]; ND2 [liuə2]; ND3 [liu2]
[OPH *liu2]   CNH *lieu2
†FJFYZ: [lau2].

liú 柳 QYS  ljou:   CDC *lieu3/EC *
líwx
BMH [liù]; MX [li3]; HL [liu1]; SX [liu1]; LF [liu1]; LZ [liu3]; SHT [—]
HY [liu5]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [liuə3]; XC [liuə3]
CT [lieu3]; WP [liu3]; YD [liu3]; SH [liu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tiu3]; AY [lu3]; SY [liu3]; XS [liu3]; QN [liu3]; ND1 [liuə3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [liu3]
[OPH *liu3]   CNH *lieu3/*lieu1

liú 六 QYS  ljuk   CDC *liuk8 ~ luk8/EC *
luk
BMH [liuk]; MX [liuk7]; HL [liuk7]; SX [liuk7]; LF [liuk7]; LZ [liuk7]; SHT [liuk7]
HY [lok8]; XY [liou?]; DB [liuk7]; YL [liau7?]; XC [liu7?]
CT [teu2]; WP [tu7?]; YD [liu?7]; SH [taʔ7?]; LC1 [teu6]; LC2 [tuaʔ5]†
The Xiūshuǐ tone is irregularly of lower register.

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<td>QYS lung</td>
<td>CDC *liung2/EC *'long</td>
<td>BMH [lung]; MX [liŋ2]; HL [luŋ1]; SX [liŋ2]; LF [liŋ2]; LZ [luŋ2]; SHT [luŋ2]</td>
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<td>CDC *leu2/EC *'lo</td>
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<td>CDC *leu6/EC *'loah</td>
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Common Neo-Hakka:
A Comparative Reconstruction

NK [le5]; AY [lu6]; SY [lio5]; XS [ləu5]; QN [leu6]; ND1 [leu6]; ND2 [ləu6]; ND3 [lu6]
OPH *leu6   CNH *leu6

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†FJFYZ: [lye6].

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<td>BMH [lù]; MX [lu5]; HL [lu5]; SX [lu5]; LF [lu5]; LZ [lu5]; SHT [—]</td>
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<td>HY [lu6]; XY [lu5]; DB [lu5]; YL [lu5]; XC [lu5]</td>
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<td>CT [lu5]; WP [lu5]; YD [li3]; SH [lu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]</td>
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<td>NK [lu5]; AY [lu5]; SY [lu2]; XS [lu5]; QN [lu5]; ND1 [lu5]; ND2 [lu5]; ND3 [lu5]</td>
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<td>OPH *lu5   CNH *lu5</td>
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<th>CDC *lie2 (~ *liu2)/EC *la</th>
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<td>CT [—]; WP [ti2]; YD [li2]; SH [ti2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]</td>
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<td>NK [—]; AY [lu2]; SY [li2]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [lie2]; ND3 [—]</td>
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628
The Ningdū-2 form points to an earlier *lie, for which we lack comparative evidence at other
points.

The final of the Ningdū-2 form is anomalous.
Common Neo-Hakka:
A Comparative Reconstruction

NK [tiu8]; AY [ti6]; SY [tiu5]; XS [—]; QN [luʔ8]; ND1 [liuk8]; ND2 [liuk7]; ND3 [liuk8]
[OPH *liuk8]   CNH *liuk8

luǎn 卵 QYS  luân: CDC *ʰlon4/EC *'lonx
BMH [lôn]; MX [lon3]; SX [lon3]; LF [lon3]; LZ [lon3]; SHT [lon3]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [lon3]; XC [luan5]
CT [luŋ3]; WP [luŋ3]; YD [lon3]; SH [luʔ3]; LC1 [luo3]; LC2 [lun3]
NK [loɛ3]; AY [luo3]; SY [luʔ3]; XS [lon3]; QN [lon3]; ND1 [loen5]; ND2 [luon3]; ND3 [lun3]
~ [lon3]
OPH *lon3   CNH *luon3

luàn 乱 QYS  luân- CDC *lon6/EC *'lonh
BMH [lön]; MX [lon5]; HL [lon6]; SX [lon5]; LF [lon6]; LZ [lon5]; SHT [lon5]
HY [luan5]; XY [luan3]; DB [lon3]; YL [lon5]; XC [luan5]
CT [luŋ6]; WP [luŋ3]; YD [lon5]; SH [luʔ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [lun6]
NK [loė5]; AY [lœ5]; SY [lu35]; XS [lon5]; QN [lon6]; ND1 [loen6]; ND2 [lun6]; ND3 [lun6]
[OPH *lon5]   CNH *luon6

lüè 略 QYS  ljak C DC *liok8/EC *lawk
BMH [liók]; MX [liok8]; HL [liok8]; SX [liok8]; LF [liok8]; LZ [liok8]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [lioʔ7]
CT [lio6]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [lioʔ8 ~ nioʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [lio1]; AY [lio6]; SY [lio5]; XS [liok8]; QN [lioʔ8]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [liok7]; ND3 [—]
OPH *liok8   CNH *liok8
The Ningdū-2 tone is irregular.

lùn 論 QYS  ljuen, luăn, luän- CDC *lun6 (~ *liun6)/EC *'lun
BMH [lùn]; MX [lun5]; HL [lun6]; SX [lun5]; LF [lun6]; LZ [lun5]; SHT [—]
HY [lun6]; XY [lun3]; DB [lun3]; YL [lun3]; XC [lun5]
CT [leŋ6]; WP [leŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [leŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
Appendix: Data

NK [lẽ5]; AY [ləŋ6]; SY [lẽ5]; XS [lun5]; QN [lun6]; ND1 [lun6]; ND2 [lun6]; ND3 [lun6]
[OPH *lun6]  CNH *lun6

luó 驢  QYS luà  CDC *lo2/EC *løy
BMH [lò]; MX [lɔ2]; HL [lɔ2]; SX [lɔ2]; LF [lɔ2]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [lyɛ2]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [lau2]; XC [lɔ2]
CT [lɔ2]; WP [lɔ2]; YD [—]; SH [lu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [lɔ2]; AY [lɔ2]; SY [lɔ2]; XS [lɔ2]; QN [lɔ2]; ND1 [lɔ2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *lɔ2]  CNH *lɔ2

luó 螺  QYS luà  CDC *lo2/EC *løy
BMH [lõ]; MX [lɔ2]; HL [lɔ2]; SX [lɔ2]; LF [lɔ2]; LZ [lɔ2]; SHT [—]
HY [luu2 ~ lyɛ2]; XY [lɔ2]; DB [lɔ2]; YL [luu2]; XC [lɔ2]
CT [lɔ2]; WP [lɔ2]; YD [luu2]; SH [luu2]; LC1 [lu2]; LC2 [—]
NK [lɔ2]; AY [lɔ2]; SY [lɔ2]; XS [lɔ2]; QN [lɔ2]; ND1 [lɔ2]; ND2 [lɔ2]; ND3 [lɔ2]
[OPH *lɔ2]  CNH *lɔ2

The final of the Diànbái form is irregular. We would expect final -o in this word.

luò 落  QYS lák  CDC *lok8/EC *lak
BMH [lõk]; MX [lok8]; HL [lok8]; SX [lok8]; LF [lok8]; LZ [lok8]; SHT [lok8]
HY [luk8]; XY [lok8]; DB [lok8]; YL [lok8]; XC [lok8]
CT [lo6]; WP [lok8]; YD [lɔʔ8 ~ laʔ8]; SH [loʔ8]; LC1 [lu5]; LC2 [luu6 ~ luu5]
NK [lo1]; AY [lo6]; SY [lo5]; XS [lok8]; QN [loʔ8]; ND1 [lok8]; ND2 [lo2 ~ lɔk8]; ND3 [lok8]
OPH *lok8  CNH *lok8

luò 洛  QYS lák  CDC *lok8/EC *lak
BMH [lõk]; MX [lok8]; HL [lok8]; SX [lok8]; LF [—]; LZ [lɔk7]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [lok8]; XC [loʔ8]
CT [lo6]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [loʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [lo8]; AY [lo6]; SY [lo5]; XS [lok8]; QN [loʔ8]; ND1 [lok8]; ND2 [lo2 ~ lɔk8]; ND3 [—]
Common Neo-Hakka:
A Comparative Reconstruction

[OPH *lok8]  CNH *lok8

M

má 麻 QYS ma  CDC *ma2/EC *mray
BMH [mâ]; MX [ma2]; HL [ma2]; SX [ma2]; LF [ma2]; LZ [ᵐba2]; SHT [—]
HY [ma2]; XY [ma2]; DB [ma2]; YL [ma2]; XC [ma2]
CT [ma2]; WP [ma2]; YD [ma2]; SH [ma2]; LC1 [mo2]; LC2 [mo2]
NK [ma2]; AY [ma2]; SY [ma2]; XS [ma2]; QN [ma2]; ND1 [ma2]; ND2 [ma2]; ND3 [ma2]
OPH *ma2  CNH *ma2

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

mà 罵 QYS ma-  CDC *ma6/EC *mrah
BMH [mâ]; MX [ma5]; HL [ma5]; SX [ma5]; LF [ma5]; LZ [ᵐba5]; SHT [—]
HY [ma6]; XY [ma5]; DB [ma5]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [ma5]; WP [ma5]; YD [ma3]; SH [ma5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ma5]; AY [ma5w ~ mä5]; SY [ma1]; XS [ma5]; QN [ma5]; ND1 [ma5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ma5]
OPH *ma5  CNH *ma5

mài 買 QYS maï:  CDC *mai4/EC *mrex
BMH [mai]; MX [mai1]; HL [mai1]; SX [mai1]; LF [mai1]; LZ [ᵐbai1]; SHT [mai1]
HY [mai5]; XY [mai1]; DB [mai1]; YL [mai1]; XC [mai2]
CT [me1]; WP [mi1]; YD [mei1]; SH [mei1]; LC1 [me3]; LC2 [—]
Appendix: Data

NK [mæ1]; AY [mæ3]; SY [mæ3]; XS [maɪ]; QN [maɪ]; ND1 [maɪ]; ND2 [maɪ]; ND3 [maɪ]

OPH *maɪ CNH *meɪ/*meɪ

mài 賣 QYS maɪ- CDC *maɪ/EC *mre

BMH [mài]; MX [maɪ]; HL [maɪ]; SX [maɪ]; LF [maɪ]; LZ [maɪ]; SHT [—]

HY [maɪ]; XY [maɪ]; DB [maɪ]; YL [maɪ]; XC [maɪ]

CT [meɪ]; WP [meɪ]; YD [meɪ]; SH [meɪ]; LC1 [meɪ]; LC2 [—]

NK [maɪ]; AY [maɪ]; SY [maɪ]; XS [maɪ]; QN [maɪ]; ND1 [maɪ]; ND2 [maɪ]; ND3 [maɪ]

OPH *maɪ CNH *meɪ/*meɪ

mài 麥 QYS mwɛ CDC *mah8/EC *mre

BMH [mák]; MX [mak8]; HL [mak8]; SX [mak8]; LF [mak8]; LZ [mak8]; SHT [—]

HY [mak8]; XY [mak8]; DB [mak8]; YL [maʔ8]; XC [maʔ8]

CT [maʔ8]; WP [maʔ8]; YD [maʔ8]; SH [maʔ8]; LC1 [maʔ8]; LC2 [—]

NK [maʔ]; AY [maʔ]; SY [maʔ]; XS [mak8]; QN [maʔ]; ND1 [p’ak8]; ND2 [mak8]; ND3 [mak8]

OPH *mak8 CNH *mak8/*mak7

Norman (1988b: 331) gives Tone 7 readings for Méixián and Yǒngdìng. We find Tone 8 for both dialects. O’Connor finds Tone 8 in all his data, including Méixián. Our reconstruction of a Tone 7 variant is based on the Nánkǎng and Quánnán forms, of which Norman and O’Connor were probably unaware.

mán 蠻 QYS mwan CDC *man2/EC *mran

BMH [mán]; MX [man2]; HL [man2]; SX [man2]; LF [man2]; LZ [man2]; SHT [—]

HY [man2]; XY [man2]; DB [man2]; YL [man2]; XC [man2]

CT [man2]; WP [man2]; YD [man2]; SH [mǎ]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ma2]

NK [mâ2]; AY [mâ2]; SY [mâ2]; XS [man2]; QN [man2]; ND1 [man2]; ND2 [man2]; ND3 [man2]
Common Neo-Hakka:
A Comparative Reconstruction

[OPH *man2]  CNH *man2

mǎn  滿  QYS  muân:   CDC *ʰmon4 ~ *mon4/EC *’monx
BMH [man]; MX [man3]; HL [man1]; SX [man1]; LF [man1]; LZ [œban1]; SHT [man3]
HY [muan5]; XY [man1]; DB [man1]; YL [man1]; XC [man2]
CT [maŋ1]; WP [maŋ1]; YD [man1 ~ man3 ~ mën1]; SH [mā1]; LC1 [ma1]; LC2 [maŋ3* ~ ma1]
NK [mā1]; AY [mā3]; SY [mā1 ~ mā53]; XS [man1]; QN [man1 ~ man2]; ND1 [moœn1 ~ moœn3]; ND2 [muon3]; ND3 [muan3]

[OPH *man6]  CNH *man6

màn  慢  QYS  man-   CDC *man6/EC *mranh
BMH [män]; MX [man5]; HL [man6]; SX [man5]; LF [man6]; LZ [œban5]; SHT [man5]
HY [man6]; XY [man3]; DB [man3]; YL [man3]; XC [man5]
CT [maŋ6]; WP [—]; YD [man5]; SH [mā3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [mā5]; AY [mā6]; SY [mā5]; XS [man5]; QN [man6]; ND1 [man6]; ND2 [man6]; ND3 [man6]

[OPH *man6]  CNH *man6

māo  貓  QYS  mau, mjäu3  CDC *mau1/2 ~ *miau2/EC *maw
BMH [miàu]; MX [miau5]; HL [miau5]; SX [meu5]; LF [miau5]; LZ [œbiau5]; SHT [miau5]
HY [miao2]; XY [miau1]; DB [miau1]; YL [miau5]; XC [mauw ~ miaub]
CT [mia5]; WP [mia5]; YD [miu3]; SH [mio5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
Appendix: Data

NK [miɔ1]; AY [miɔ5]; SY [miɔ1]; XS [miaw5]; QN [miaw1 ~ miaw5]; ND1 [miaw5]; ND2 [miaw5]; ND3 [miaw5]

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<tr>
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<th>CNH</th>
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<tr>
<td>*miaw5</td>
<td>*miaw5/L *miaw1</td>
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**máo 毛**

QYS  mâu  CDC *₄mou2/EC *maw

<table>
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<tr>
<th>BMH</th>
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<td>[mao1]; WP [mao1]; YD [mao1]; SH [mau1 ~ mo1]; LC1 [mao2]; LC2 [mao1]</td>
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<td>[mao1]; AY [mao1]; SY [mao1]; XS [mau1]; QN [mau1]; ND1 [mau1]; ND2 [mau1]; ND3 [mau1]</td>
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<table>
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<th>OPH</th>
<th>CNH</th>
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<tr>
<td>*mau1</td>
<td>*mau1/mou2</td>
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†Second form specifically and exclusively in the sense of “surname Máo”.

**mǎo 卯**

QYS  mau:  CDC *mau4/EC *mrux

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<tr>
<td>*mau1</td>
<td>*mau1/mau3</td>
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**mào 帽**

QYS  mau:  CDC *mau6/EC *muh

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<th>BMH</th>
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<td>HY</td>
<td>[mau6]; XY [mao3]; DB [mo3]; YL [mau3]; XC [mau5]</td>
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<td>*mau6</td>
<td>*mau6</td>
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měi 媒 QYS muāi CDC *muoi2/EC *’mi
BMH [mòi]; MX [mōi2]; HL [mōi2]; SX [mōi2]; LF [mōi2]; LZ [mōi2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [mūai2]; DB [mōi2]; YL [mōi2]; XC [mōi2]
CT [mue2]; WP [mue2]; YD [mei2]; SH [mue2]; LC1 [mui2]; LC2 [—]
NK [me2]; AY [mue2]; SY [me2]; XS [mōi2]; QN [mui2]; ND1 [moe2]; ND2 [mui2]; ND3 [mui2]
[OPH *moei2] CNH *muoi2/*mui2

měi 每 QYS muāi: CDC *muoi4/EC *’mix
BMH [mui ~ mi]; MX [mī1]; HL [mūi1]; SX [mūi1]; LF [mūi1]; LZ [—]; SHT [mui1]
HY [—]; XY [mui1]; DB [mei1]; YL [mei1]; XC [mei3]
CT [me3]; WP [mi1]; YD [mei1]; SH [mei1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [me3]; AY [me3]; SY [me3]; XS [mi3]; QN [mui3]; ND1 [mei3]; ND2 [mei1]; ND3 [mei3]
[OPH *mui1] CNH *mui1/*mui3

měi 美 QYS mji:3 CDC *mii4/EC *miyix
BMH [mui]; MX [mī1]; HL [mūi1]; SX [mūi1]; LF [mūi1]; LZ [dbui1]; SHT [—]
HY [mi6]; XY [mi1]; DB [mei1]; YL [—]; XC [mei3]
CT [me3]; WP [—]; YD [mi1]; SH [mi3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [me3]; AY [me3]; SY [me3]; XS [mi3]; QN [mui3]; ND1 [mi3]; ND2 [mi1]; ND3 [mi1]
[OPH *mui1] CNH *mui1/*mui3/*mi1/*mi3

mèi 妹 QYS muāi- CDC *mooi6/EC *—
BMH [mài]; MX [mōi5]; HL [mōi5]; SX [mōi5]; LF [mōi5]; LZ [mōi5]; SHT [mōi5]
HY [mūai6]; XY [mūai5]; DB [mōi5]; YL [mōi5]; XC [mōi5]
CT [mue5]; WP [mēi3]; YD [mōi3]; SH [mue5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [mōi5]
NK [me5]; AY [mue5]; SY [me2]; XS [mōi5]; QN [mōi5 ~ mui5]; ND1 [moe5]; ND2 [mēi5]; ND3 [mōi5]
[OPH *moei5] CNH *muoi5
The Héyuán tone is etymologically expected but not in agreement with the remaining forms in the set.

mén 門 QYS muan CDC *mun2/EC *‘mun
BMH [mûn]; MX [mun2]; HL [mun2]; SX [mun2]; LF [mun2]; LZ [ⁿbun2]; SHT [mun2]
HY [muan2 ~ mun2]; XY [mun2]; DB [mən2]; YL [mən2]; XC [mən2]
CT [mən2]; WP [mən2]; YD [mun2]; SH [mən2]; LC1 [məi2]; LC2 [—]
NK [mən2]; AY [mən2]; SY [mən2]; XS [mən2]; QN [mun2]; ND1 [mən2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [mən2]
[OPH *mun2] CNH *mun2

mèng 猛 QYS məŋ: CDC *mang4/EC *mrangx
BMH [məŋ]; MX [mən1]; HL [mən3]; SX [mən2]; LF [ⁿbaŋ1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [mən5]; XY [mən1]; DB [mən3]; YL [mən3]; XC [mən3]
CT [mən3]; WP [mən3]; YD [mən3]; SH [mən3w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [mən3]; AY [mən3]; SY [mən3]; XS [—]; QN [mən3]; ND1 [mən3]; ND2 [mən1]; ND3 [mən3]
[OPH ?] CNH *məŋ1/L *məŋ3
The Yîlông and Xîchâng forms are probably Mandarin loans. They are not reflected in the reconstructions.

mèng 夢 QYS mjung- CDC *mung6/EC *mingh
BMH [mʊŋ]; MX [mʊŋ5 ~ mʊŋ5]; HL [mʊŋ5]; SX [mʊŋ5]; LF [mʊŋ6]; LZ [ⁿbʊŋ5]; SHT [mʊŋ5]
HY [mʊŋ6]; XY [mʊŋ3]; DB [mʊŋ3]; YL [mʊŋ3]; XC [mʊŋ5]
CT [mʊŋ6]; WP [mʊŋ3]; YD [mʊŋ5]; SH [mʊŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [mʊŋ6]
NK [mʊŋ5]; AY [mʊŋ6]; SY [mʊŋ5]; XS [mʊŋ5]; QN [mʊŋ6]; ND1 [mʊŋ6]; ND2 [mʊŋ6]; ND3 [mʊŋ6]
[OPH *mung5] CNH *mʊŋ6
The final of the Ānyuǎn form is irregular. It is possibly derived from an earlier *mui2.

The tone of the Méixiàn form is irregular.

The Héyuán form appears to reflect an earlier *miai3 for which comparative evidence is not present at other points.

The Héyuán form appears to reflect an earlier *miai3 for which comparative evidence is not present at other points.
Appendix: Data

NK [mie6]; AY [mi31]; SY [mie5]; XS [mit8]; QN [mi8]; ND1 [mi8]; ND2 [miat8]; ND3 [miat8]

[OPH *met8]  CNH *met8/*mit8

mián 棉  QYS mjiän4  CDC *mian2/EC *men
BMH [miên]; MX [miên2]; HL [mian2]; SX [mian2]; LF [mian2]; LZ [=ben2]; SHT [mên2]
HY [mian2]; XY [mian2]; DB [mien2]; YL [miên2]; XC [mien2]
CT [miŋ2]; WP [mien2]; YD [mien2]; SH [miĕ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [miĕ2]; AY [mi2]; SY [miĕ2]; XS [mien2]; QN [mien2]; ND1 [mien2]; ND2 [mian2]; ND3 [mian2]

[OPH *mian2]  CNH *mian2

miàn 面  QYS mjēän4  CDC *mian6/EC *menh
BMH [miên]; MX [miên5]; HL [mian5]; SX [mian5]; LF [mian5]; LZ [=ben5]; SHT [mên5]
HY [mian6]; XY [mian5]; DB [mien5]; YL [miên5]; XC [mien5]
CT [miŋ6 ~ miŋ5]; WP [mien5]; YD [mien3]; SH [miĕ5]; LC1 [me5]; LC2 [me5 ~ meŋ5]
NK [miĕ5]; AY [mi5]; SY [miĕ5]; XS [mien5]; QN [mien5]; ND1 [mien5]; ND2 [mian5]; ND3 [mian5]

OPH *mian5  CNH *mian5/*mian6

miào 廟  QYS mjäu-  CDC *miao6/EC *mawh
BMH [miâu]; MX [miao5]; HL [miao6]; SX [meu5]; LF [miao6]; LZ [=biau5]; SHT [—]
HY [miao6]; XY [miao3]; DB [miao3]; YL [miao3]; XC [miao5]
CT [miə6]; WP [mio3]; YD [meu3]; SH [mio3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [mio5]; AY [mio6]; SY [mio5]; XS [miao5]; QN [miao6]; ND1 [miao6]; ND2 [miao6]; ND3 [miao6]

OPH *miao6  CNH *miao6

miè 灭  QYS mjīät4  CDC *miat8/EC *met
BMH [mêt]; MX [met8]; HL [met8]; SX [met8]; LF [met8]; LZ [=bet8]; SHT [—]
The second reconstruction appears to be reflected in the Diànbái and Yílǒng forms.

miè 篥 QYS miet CDC *miat8/EC *met
BMH [mèt]; MX [—]; HL [met8]; SX [met8]; LF [—]; LZ [“bet8]; SHT [—]
HY [miat8]; XY [miat5]; DB [mięt5]; YL [mie8]; XC [mie8]
CT [me6]; WP [mie8]; YD [mie5]; SH [mie8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [mie5]; AY [mi31]; SY [mie5]; XS [mięt8]; QN [mie8]; ND1 [mięt8]; ND2 [mięt8]; ND3 [mięt8]
[OPH *met8] CNH *met8/*miat8

min 民 QYS mjien4 CDC *min2/EC *min
BMH [min]; MX [min2]; HL [min2]; SX [min2]; LF [min2]; LZ [“bin2]; SHT [—]
HY [min2]; XY [mun2]; DB [man2]; YL [min2]; XC [min2]
CT [—]; WP [miŋ2]; YD [min2 ~ miŋ2]; SH [min2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [miŋ2]; AY [miŋ2]; SY [miŋ2]; XS [min2]; QN [min2]; ND1 [min2]; ND2 [min2]; ND3 [min2]
[OPH *min2] CNH *min2

ming 明 QYS mjwɔŋ CDC *miæŋ2/EC *—
BMH [mǐn ~ miâŋ]; MX [min2w ~ miæŋ2b]; HL [min2 ~ miæŋ2]; SX [min2 ~ miæŋ2]; LF [min2 ~ miæŋ2]; LZ [“bin2]; SHT [—]
HY [min2]; XY [min2 ~ miæŋ2]; DB [mɔn2]; YL [min2w ~ miæŋ2b]; XC [miæŋ2]
CT [mɛŋ2 ~ miæŋ2]; WP [mɛŋ2 ~ miæŋ2]; YD [mɛŋ2 ~ miæŋ2]; SH [mɛŋ2 ~ miæŋ2]; LC1 [miæŋ2]; LC2 [—]
Appendix: Data

NK [miŋ2 ~ miã2]; AY [miŋ2 ~ miã2]; SY [miŋ2 ~ miã2]; XS [min2 ~ miaŋ2]; QN [min2 ~ miaŋ2]; ND1 [min2 ~ miaŋ2]; ND2 [miaŋ2 ~ min2]; ND3 [min2 ~ miaŋ2]

[OPH *miaŋ2] CNH *miaŋ2/L *miŋ2

ming  名  QYS mjäng   CDC *miang2/EC *meng
BMH [miâng]; MX [miaŋ2]; HL [miaŋ2]; SX [miaŋ2]; LF [miaŋ2]; LZ [mbiaŋ2b ~ mbin2w]; SHT [miaŋ]
HY [miaŋ2]; XY [miaŋ2]; DB [miaŋ2]; YL [miaŋ2]; XC [miaŋ2]
CT [miaŋ2]; WP [miaŋ2]; YD [miaŋ2]; SH [miaŋ2]; LC1 [miaŋ2]; LC2 [—]
NK [miŋ2 ~ miã2]; AY [miã2]; SY [miŋ2 ~ miã2]; XS [min2 ~ miaŋ2]; QN [min2 ~ miaŋ2];
  ND1 [min2 ~ miaŋ2]; ND2 [miaŋ2]; ND3 [min2 ~ miaŋ2]
[OPH *miaŋ2] CNH *miaŋ2/L *miŋ2

ming  命  QYS mjwong-   CDC *miang6/mengh
BMH [min ~ miâng]; MX [min5w ~ miaŋ5b]; HL [min6w ~ miaŋ6b]; SX [min5w ~ miaŋ5b];
  LF [min6 ~ miaŋ6]; LZ [mbiaŋ5b ~ mbin5w]; SHT [miaŋ5]
HY [miaŋ6]; XY [min3 ~ miaŋ3]; DB [miaŋ5]; YL [miaŋ3]; XC [miaŋ5]
CT [miaŋ6]; WP [miaŋ3]; YD [miaŋ5]; SH [miaŋ3]; LC1 [miaŋ6]; LC2 [miaŋ6]
NK [miŋ5 ~ miã5]; AY [miŋ6 ~ miã6]; SY [miŋ5 ~ miã5]; XS [min5 ~ miaŋ5]; QN [min6 ~ miaŋ6];
  ND1 [min6 ~ miaŋ6]; ND2 [miaŋ6]; ND3 [min6 ~ miaŋ6]
[OPH *miaŋ6] CNH *miaŋ6/L *miŋ6

miù 謹  QYS mjwja-   CDC *mieu6/EC *miwh
BMH [méu ~ miáu]; MX [miau3]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [mbiu5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [miau5]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [mi5]; AY [mi6]; SY [mi3]; XS [miau5]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH ?] CNH *miau6/*miau3

The final of the Lìzhīzhuāng form is irregular.
mó, mò 磨  QYS  mò, muâ– CDC *mo2-6/EC *’may, *mayh
BMH [mò ~ mò]; MX [mo2 ~ mo5]; HL [mo6]; SX [mo5]; LF [mo2 ~ mo6]; LZ [mbɔ2 ~ mbɔ5];
SHT [—]
HY [muɔ2 ~ muɔ6]; XY [mo2 ~ mo3]; DB [no2 ~ mo3]; YL [məu2 ~ məu3]; XC [mo2 ~ mo5]
CT [mo2 ~ mo6]; WP [mo2 ~ mo3]; YD [mou2 ~ mou3]; SH [mu3]; LC1 [mu5]; LC2 [—]
NK [mo2 ~ mo5]; AY [mo2 ~ mo6]; SY [mo2 ~ mo5]; XS [mo2 ~ mo5]; QN [mo2 ~ mo6];
ND1 [mo6]; ND2 [mo2 ~ mo6]; ND3 [mo2 ~ mo6]
[OPH *mo2 ~ *mo6]   CNH *mo2/*mo6
Some points distinguish a píng tone reading meaning “grind” and a qù tone reading in the sense
“mill”. Others give only the qù tone reading or derivatives thereof.

mǒ 抹  QYS  muât   CDC *mot8 ~ *mat8/EC —
BMH [mat]; MX [mat7]; HL [mat7]; SX [mat7]; LF [—]; LZ [mˇbat7]; SHT [—]
HY [mat7]; XY [mat7]; DB [mat7]; YL [maʔ7]; XC [moʔ8w ~ maʔ7b]
CT [mai6]; WP [maʔ7]; YD [—]; SH [maʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ma6]
NK [ma8]; AY [mɔ3]; SY [—]; XS [mait7]; QN [maʔ7]; ND1 [maitamin8]; ND2 [muot8];
ND3 [mautan8]
[OPH *mat7]   CNH *mat7/L *mot7

mò 末  QYS  muât   CDC *mot8/EC *’mat
BMH [mát]; MX [mat8]; HL [mat8]; SX [mat8]; LF [mat8]; LZ [mˇbat8]; SHT [—]
HY [maut8]; XY [mat8]; DB [mat8]; YL [—]; XC [moʔ8]
CT [mai6]; WP [maʔ8]; YD [mat8]; SH [maʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ma6]
NK [mo5]; AY [mɔ1]; SY [mo5]; XS [mait8]; QN [maʔ8]; ND1 [mouent8]; ND2 [muot8]; ND3
[mautan8]
[OPH *mat8]   CNH *mat8/*mot8

mò 墨  QYS  mək   CDC *mek8/EC *’mik
BMH [mət]; MX [met8]; HL [met8]; SX [met8]; LF [met8]; LZ [məbet8]; SHT [—]
HY [mat8]; XY [met8]; DB [met8]; YL [mεʔ8]; XC [mεʔ8]
The tone of the Lìzhīzhuāng form is irregular.
Common Neo-Hakka:
A Comparative Reconstruction

HY [muai2]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [meu3]; WP [me1w]; YD [meu3]; SH [ma3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ma1]; AY [mu3]; SY [mio3]; XS [mau3]; QN [meu3]; ND1 [meu3]; ND2 [mau3]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *meu1]   CNH *meu1/*meu3

mǔ 母  QYS mǔ:    CDC *mu4/EC *'mix
BMH [mu]; MX [mu1]; HL [mu1]; SX [mu1]; LF [mu1]; LZ [mbu3]; SHT [—]
HY [mu5]; XY [mu1]; DB [mu1]; YL [mu3]; XC [mu2]
CT [mu3]; WP [mu3w]; YD [mou3]; SH [mei ~ mu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [mu3]; AY [mu3]; SY [mo1]; XS [—]; QN [mu3]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [mu1]; ND3 [mu3]

[OPH *mu1]   CNH *mu1/L *mu3

mǔ 畈  QYS mǔ:    CDC *meu4 ~ *mu4 (~ *mo4 ?)/EC *’mix
BMH [meu]; MX [meu1]; HL [meu6]; SX [meu5]; LF [meu1]; LZ [meu3]; SHT [miu1]
HY [muai5]; XY [meu1]; DB [mei1]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [meu3]; WP [me3]; YD [meu3]; SH [ma3]; LC1 [meu3]; LC2 [—]
NK [ma1]; AY [mu3]; SY [mio3]; XS [mau3]; QN [meu3]; ND1 [meu3]; ND2 [mau1]; ND3 [meu3]

[OPH *meu1]   CNH *meu1/*meu3/*meu6

mù 墓  QYS muo-    CDC *mu6 ~ *mo6/EC *’makh
BMH [mù]; MX [mu5]; HL [mu5]; SX [mu5]; LF [mu6]; LZ [mbu5]; SHT [mu5]
HY [mu6]; XY [mu5]; DB [mu5]; YL [mau3]; XC [mo5]
CT [mu5]; WP [mu5]; YD [mou3]; SH [ma5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [mye5]
NK [mu5]; AY [mu5]; SY [mo2]; XS [mu5]; QN [mu6]; ND1 [mu5]; ND2 [mu6]; ND3 [mu5]

[OPH *mu6]   CNH *mu5 ~ mu6
mù 目 QYS mjuk CDC *ʰmuk8/EC *muk
BMH [muk ~ múk]; MX [muk8 ~ muk8]; HL [muk7]; SX [muk7]; LF [muk7]; LZ [ᵐbuk7];
SHT [muk7]
HY [mok7]; XY [mouʔ7]; DB [muk7]; YL [—]; XC [muʔ7]
CT [mu2]; WP [muʔ7]; YD [muʔ7]; SH [maʔ7]; LC1 [miue6]; LC2 [mye6]
NK [mo8]; AY [mu6]; SY [mo5]; XS [muk7]; QN [muʔ7]; ND1 [muk7]; ND2 [muk7]; ND3
[muk7]
[OPH *muk7] CNH *muk7/*muk8

mù 牧 QYS mjuk CDC *muk8/EC *mik
BMH [muk]; MX [muk8]; HL [mok8]; SX [muk8]; LF [muk7]; LZ [ᵐbuk8]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [muʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [muʔ8]; YD [muʔ8]; SH [mu5w ~ maʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [mu8]; AY [mu5]; SY [mo5]; XS [muk8]; QN [muʔ7]; ND1 [muk7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *muk8] CNH *muk8/*muk7

mù 木 QYS muk CDC *ʰmuk8/EC *mok
BMH [muk]; MX [muk7]; HL [muk7]; SX [muk7]; LF [muk7]; LZ [ᵐbuk7]; SHT [muk7]
HY [mok7]; XY [mouʔ7]; DB [muk7]; YL [mouʔ7]; XC [muʔ7]
CT [mu2]; WP [muʔ7]; YD [muʔ7]; SH [maʔ7]; LC1 [miue6]; LC2 [mye5]
NK [mu8 ~ mo8]; AY [mu6]; SY [mo5]; XS [muk7]; QN [muʔ7]; ND1 [muk7]; ND2 [muk7];
ND3 [muk7]
OPH *muk7 CNH *muk7

N
nà 拿 QYS ȵa (CDC *na2)/EC *—
BMH [na]; MX [na2]; HL [na2]; SX [na1]; LF [na1]; LZ [lə2]; SHT [lə1]
HY [na5]; XY [na3]; DB [na2]; YL [na2]; XC [na2]
CT [na1]; WP [na1]; YD [lə1]; SH [na1 ~ na2]; LC1 [no1]; LC2 [no2 ~ no1]
Common Neo-Hakka:
A Comparative Reconstruction

NK [na1]; AY [na1w ~ nã1]; SY [na3]; XS [—]; QN [na1]; ND1 [na1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [na1]

OPH *na1?  CNH *na1/*na2

nà 納  QYS 業p  CDC *nop8/EC *nap8
BMH [náp]; MX [nap8]; HL [nap8]; SX [nap8]; LF [nap8]; LZ [lap8]; SHT [—]
HY [nap8]; XY [nap8]; DB [nap8]; YL [—]; XC [naʔ7]
CT [na6]; WP [naʔ8]; YD [laʔ8]; SH [naʔ8 ~ naʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [no5]

NK [na7]; AY [nǎ1]; SY [na5]; XS [nait8]; QN [naeʔ8]; ND1 [naip8]; ND2 [nap8]; ND3 [nap8]

[OPH *nap8]  CNH *nap8

nǎi 乃  QYS 業i:  CDC *noi4/EC *'nix
BMH [nǎi]; MX [nai1]; HL [nai1]; SX [nai1]; LF [nai1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [nai5]

CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [lai3]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [nai3]; AY [næ3]; SY [næ3]; XS [nai3]; QN [nai3]; ND1 [nai3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *nai1]  CNH *nai1/*nai3

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

CT [naŋ2]; WP [nan2]; YD [lan2]; SH [nã2]; LC1 [na2]; LC2 [na2]

NK [nã2]; AY [nã2]; SY [nã2]; XS [nan2]; QN [nan2]; ND1 [nan2]; ND2 [nan2]; ND3 [nan2]

OPH *nan2  CNH *nan2

nân 南  QYS 業m  CDC *nom2/EC *'num
BMH [nâm]; MX [nam2]; HL [nam2]; SX [nam2]; LF [nam2]; LZ [lam2]; SHT [nam2]
HY [nam2]; XY [nam2]; DB [nam2]; YL [nam2]; XC [nam2]

CT [naŋ2]; WP [nan2]; YD [lan2]; SH [nã2]; LC1 [naŋ2]; LC2 [naŋ2]

NK [nã2]; AY [nã2]; SY [nã2]; XS [nan2]; QN [nam2]; ND1 [nam2]; ND2 [nam2]; ND3 [nam2]

OPH *nam2  CNH *nam2
nán 男  QYS  năm  CDC *nom2/EC */num
BMH [năm]; MX [nam2]; HL [nam2]; SX [nam2]; LF [nam2]; LZ [lam2]; SHT [nam2]
HY [nam2]; XY [nam2]; DB [nam2]; YL [nan2]; XC [nan2]
CT [nαn2]; WP [nαn2]; YD [lan2]; SH [nαn2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [nαn2]
NK [nαn2]; AY [nαn2]; SY [nαn2]; XS [nαn2]; QN [nam2]; ND1 [nam2]; ND2 [nam2]; ND3 [nam2]
OPH *nam2  CNH *nam2

nào 腦  QYS  nâu:  CDC *nou4/EC */’nawx
BMH [nαu ~ nò]; MX [nau3]; HL [n03]; SX [n03]; LF [n03]; LZ [lau3]; SHT [—]
HY [nau3]; XY [n03]; DB [n03]; YL [nαu3]; XC [nαu5]
CT [n03]; WP [n03]; YD [lau3]; SH [n01 ~ n03]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [n03]
NK [nα1]; AY [nα3]; SY [nα3]; XS [nαu3]; QN [nαu3]; ND1 [nαu3]; ND2 [nαu3]; ND3 [nαu3]
[OPH *nou3]  CNH *nou3/*/nou1

nào 鬨  QYS  nau-  CDC *nau6/EC —
BMH [nαu]; MX [nau5]; HL [nau6]; SX [nau5]; LF [nau6]; LZ [lau5]; SHT [—]
HY [nau6]; XY [nau3]; DB [nau3]; YL [lau3]; XC [nau5]
CT [nα6]; WP [n03]; YD [lau5]; SH [n03]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [nα5]; AY [nα6]; SY [nα5]; XS [nαu5]; QN [nαu6]; ND1 [nαu6]; ND2 [nαu6]; ND3 [nαu6]
[OPH *nau6]  CNH *nau6

nèi 内  QYS  nuài-  CDC *nuoi6/EC */’nuth
BMH [nui]; MX [nui5]; HL [nui6]; SX [nui5]; LF [nui6]; LZ [lui5]; SHT [—]
HY [nuai6]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [luei3]; XC [nuei5]
CT [nue6]; WP [ni3w]; YD [lei5]; SH [nei3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [nαe5]; AY [ne6]; SY [ne5]; XS [—]; QN [nui6]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [nui6]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *nui6]  CNH *nui6

nèn 嫩  QYS  nuən-  CDC *nun6/EC */’nunh
BMH [nun]; MX [nun5]; HL [nun6]; SX [nun5]; LF [nun6]; LZ [lun5]; SHT [—]
The finals of the Yílǒng forms are anomalous. It is possible that they are analogical back formations from nǐ 泥.
Appendix: Data

nǐ 擬 QYS nǐː: CDC *ngi4/EC *ngi2

BMH [nyi]; MX [—]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [ni3]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ni3]; AY [—]; SY [ni2]; XS [ni2]; QN [—]; ND1 [ni2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ni3] CNH *ńi3

Reconstruction of the initial of this form is problematic, due to paucity of data. Initial *n- remains a possibility. The word is of high literary register and is likely to be of late provenance. Absence of determinative data also makes it impossible to determine whether O’Connor would have reconstructed his *n or *n.

nǐ 你 QYS nǐː: CDC *ni4/EC —; rǔ 汝 CDC *nhie4/EC *nax

BMH [ni† ~ ni‡ ~ nyi‡‡]; MX [ni3w ~ η2b]; HL [ni2 ~ ni2]; SX [ni2]; LF [ni1 ~ ni2]; LZ [qi2b ~ li3w]; SHT [ni2]
HY [ŋi5]; XY [ni2]; DB [ni2w ~ ni2b]; YL [ŋ3 ~ ŋ2]; XC [ni2]
CT [ni1]; WP [xŋ2 ~ xm2]; YD [ni2 ~ hŋ2 (~ hŋ2)]; SH [ŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ni2]; AY [ni2 ~ ŋ2]; SY [ni1]; XS [ni1]; QN [ni2]; ND1 [niɛ1]; ND2 [nie1 ~ nie2]; ND3 [nie1]
[OPH?] CNH *ŋi2 ~ *ŋi3/*ni2/*ni3
†Character reading.
††Modern second person pronouns. All these forms are written in the source as 阿.
‡FJFY: [ŋi1].

Our other sources tend to conflate various second person pronominal forms under the Chinese graph 你. The two Wǔpíng words are free variant derivatives of the Tone 2 alternate pronunciation of the first reconstruction. The second Yǒngdìng form descends from the same Tone 2 alternate, and the third Yǒngdìng form appears to be a deformed variant of the second. The three Ningdū forms may derive from an earlier *nie2 (~ *nie3), which is Gàn-like in appearance and may have been borrowed from that family. Only the third reconstruction, which is literary in register, can be directly related to the written form nǐ 你.
ni 腻 QYS ṇi-  CDC *ni6/EC *nriyh
BMH [nyi ~ nyê]; MX [ni6]; HL [ni6]; SX [ni5]; LF [—]; LZ [li5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [ne3]; YL [ni5]; XC [ni5]
CT [ni5]; WP [ni3]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ni5]; AY [ni6]; SY [—]; XS [ni5]; QN [—]; ND1 [ni6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ni6] CNH *ni6/*n̥i6

The tone of the Méixiàn form and the final of the Diànbái form are irregular. It is not possible to determine whether O’Connor would have reconstructed OPH *ŋi1 or *ŋi2 for this word.

ni 逆 QYS ngijk  CDC *ngiak8/EC *ngak
BMH [nyák]; MX [niak8]; HL [niak8]; SX [niak8]; LF [niak8]; LZ [ŋiak8]; SHT [ŋiak8]
HY [ŋiak8]; XY [niak8]; DB [ŋiak8]; YL [niɛʔ8]; XC [niɛʔ8]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [niaʔ8]; SH [niaʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [nie8]; AY [nia6]; SY [nia5]; XS [niak8]; QN [niaʔ8]; ND1 [nak8]; ND2 [nak7]; ND3 [nak8 ~ nət8]
[OPH *niak8] CNH *niak8/*n̥iak8

The tone of the Ningdū-2 form is irregularly of upper register.

nián 年 QYS nien  CDC *nian2/EC *nin
BMH [nyên]; MX [nian2]; HL [nian2]; SX [nian2]; LF [nian2]; LZ [ŋən2]; SHT [ŋen2]
HY [ŋian2]; XY [nian2]; DB [nian2]; YL [nien2]; XC [nien2]
CT [niŋ2]; WP [nien2]; YD [nien2]; SH [niɛʔ2]; LC1 [ne2 ~ nien2]; LC2 [nəŋ2 ~ ne2]
NK [nie2]; AY [ni2]; SY [niɛʔ2]; XS [nien2]; QN [nien2]; ND1 [nan2]; ND2 [nan2]; ND3 [nan2]
[OPH *nian2] CNH *nian2

nián 黏 QYS njäm  CDC *niam/EC *nrem
BMH [nyâm]; MX [niam2]; HL [niam2]; SX [niam2]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [niam1]
HY [niəm1]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [nien1]
CT [—]; WP [nian2]; YD [—]; SH [niə1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [niɛʔ2]; AY [ni2]; SY [—]; XS [nien2]; QN [—]; ND1 [nam2]; ND2 [nam2]; ND3 [nam2]
Appendix: Data

[OPH *ŋiam2]  CNH *ŋiam2/*ŋiam1

niàn 念 QYS niem-  CDC *niam6/EC *nimh
BMH [ŋiam6]; MX [ŋiam5]; HL [ŋiam6]; SX [ŋiam5]; LF [ŋiam6]; LZ [ŋiam5]; SHT [ŋen2]
HY [ŋiam6]; XY [nian3]; DB [nian3]; YL [nien5]; XC [nien5]
CT [niŋ6]; WP [niŋ6]; YD [niŋ5]; SH [niəŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [niŋ5]; AY [niŋ6]; SY [niŋ5]; XS [niŋ5]; QN [niŋ5 ~ niŋ5]; ND1 [nam6]; ND2 [nam6];
ND3 [nam6]
OPH *ŋiam6  CNH *ŋiam6

niàng 娘 QYS njang  CDC *niong2/EC —
BMH [nyông]; MX [ŋion2]; HL [ŋion2]; SX [ŋion2]; LF [ŋion2]; LZ [ŋion2]; SHT [ŋion2]
HY [ŋiong2]; XY [ŋion2]; DB [ŋion2]; YL [ŋion2]; XC [ŋion2]
CT [ŋion2]; WP [ŋion2]; YD [ŋion2]; SH [ŋion2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
NK [niŋ2]; AY [niŋ2]; SY [niŋ2]; XS [niŋ2]; QN [niŋ2]; ND1 [niŋ2 ~ niŋ2]; ND2 [—];
ND3 [niŋ2]
OPH *ŋiong2  CNH *ŋiong2
†FJFYZ: [ŋion2].

niǎo 鸟 QYS tieu:  CDC *tiau3 (~ *niau4)/EC *tiwx
BMH [niau ~ niáu ~ nyáu ~ tiau]; MX [niau ~ tiau]; HL [niau ~ tiau]; SX [niau ~ tiau];
LF [niau1 ~ tiau1]; LZ [tiau1 ~ niəu1]; SHT [niu2]
HY [niau3 ~ tiau1]; XY [niau3 ~ tiau1]; DB [niau3 ~ tiau3]; YL [tiau3]; XC [tiau3]
CT [tio3]; WP [tio1]; YD [nieu3 ~ tieu1]; SH [tio3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tiau3]
NK [tio1 ~ nio3]; AY [tio1 ~ nio3w]; SY [nio3]; XS [niau3 ~ tiau3]; QN [niau3 ~ tiau1]; ND1
[tiau1]; ND2 [tiau1]; ND3 [tiau1]
OPH *tiau1  CNH *tiau1 ~ *tiau3/L *niau1 ~ *niau3

niào 尿 QYS nieu-  CDC *niau6/EC *newh
BMH [nyàu]; MX [niau5]; HL [niau6]; SX [niau5]; LF [niau6]; LZ [ŋiau5]; SHT [niau5]
HY [ŋiau6 ~ niau6]; XY [niau3]; DB [niau3]; YL [niau3]; XC [niau5]
CT [nia6]; WP [niɔ3]; YD [niɛ5]; SH [niɔ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [niɔ ~ niɔ6]
NK [niɔ5]; AY [niɔ6]; SY [niɔ5]; XS [niau5]; QN [niau6]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [nau6]; ND3 [nau6]
OPH *n³iau6 CNH *ńiau6

nie 鐳 QYS ȵjäp CDC *niap8/EC *nrap
BMH [nyap]; MX [niap7]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [niɛʔ8]; XC [niɛʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [nie5]; AY [—]; SY [nie5]; XS [niɛʔ7]; QN [niɛʔ7]; ND1 [naip7]; ND2 [nap7]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *niap7]† CNH *ńiap7
†Also OPH [*n³iap7], sense of “pinch with the fingers”, written nie捏. The words are essentially the same etymon in Hakka.

niú 牛 QYS ngjau CDC *ngieu2/EC *ngwi
BMH [nyû]; MX [niu2]; HL [niu2]; SX [niu2]; LF [niu2]; LZ [ŋiu2]; SHT [ŋiu2]
HY [ŋyai2]; XY [ŋeũ2]; DB [ŋeũ2]; YL [ŋiɛũ2 ~ ŋiɛũ2b]; XC [ŋiũ2]
CT [ŋeũ2]; WP [ŋe2]; YD [ŋeũ2]; SH [ŋa2]; LC1 [ŋeũ2]; LC2 [ŋeũ2]
NK [niu2]; AY [ŋa2]; SY [niu2]; XS [niu2]; QN [niu2]; ND1 [ŋəu2 ~ ŋeũ2]†; ND2 [nəu2]; ND3 [nəu2]
[OPH *n³iu2] CNH *ńieu2/*ŋeũ2
†First form found in BJYJ.

niǔ 紐 QYS ǹjau: CDC *ŋieu4/EC *ŋrux
BMH [nyû]; MX [ŋeũ3]; HL [ŋeũ3]; SX [ŋeũ3]; LF [ŋeũ3]; LZ [ŋeũ3]; SHT [—]
HY [ŋiũ3 ~ nuaĩ3]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [ŋiũ3]
CT [ŋieu3 ~ ŋeũ3]; WP [ŋe3]; YD [ŋeũ3 ~ niu3]; SH [ŋa3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ŋei3]; AY [ŋn̚i]; SY [ŋn̚i]; XS [ŋn̚i]; QN [ŋn̚i]; ND1 [ŋeũ3]; ND2 [nau3]; ND3 [nau3]
[OPH *ŋeũ3] CNH *ŋeũ3/*ńieu3
Appendix: Data

nóng 濃 QYS njwong, (nung) CDC *niung2 ~ *nung2/EC *nong ?
BMH [nyùŋ]; MX [nuŋ2w ~ niŋ2b]; HL [nuŋ2]; SX [nuŋ2]; LF [nuŋ1]; LZ [ŋiuŋ2]; SHT —
HY [nọŋ2 ~ -yọŋ2]; XY [niŋ2]; DB [niŋ2]; YL [nuŋ2]; XC [nuŋ2]
CT [nuŋ2]; WP [nuŋ2]; YD [niŋ2]; SH [niŋ2 ~ nọŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [niŋ2]; AY [niŋ2]; SY [niŋ2]; XS [niŋ2]; QN [niŋ2]; ND1 [nuŋ2]; ND2 [nuŋ2]; ND3 [nuŋ2]
[OPH *niŋ2] CNH *niŋ2/L *nuŋ2

nòng 弄 QYS lung- CDC *nung6 ~ *lung6/EC *'longh
BMH [lùng ~ lúng]; MX [luŋ3 ~ luŋ5]; HL [luŋ6]; SX [nuŋ5]; LF [luŋ6]; LZ [luŋ5]; SHT —
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [luŋ1]; XC [luŋ1]
CT [luŋ6]; WP [luŋ3]; YD [luŋ5]; SH [laŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [laŋ5]; AY [laŋ6]; SY [laŋ5]; XS [laŋ5]; QN [luŋ6]; ND1 [luŋ6]; ND2 [luŋ6]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *luŋ6] CNH *luŋ6
The initial of the Sixiàn form is irregular.

nú 奴 QYS nuo CDC *nu2/EC *'na
BMH [nù]; MX [nu2]; HL [nu2]; SX [nu2]; LF [nu2]; LZ [lu2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [nu2]; XC [nu2]
CT [nu2]; WP [nu2w]; YD [—]; SH [nu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [nu2]; AY [nu2]; SY [nu2]; XS [nu2]; QN [nu2]; ND1 [nu2]; ND2 [nu2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *—] CNH *nu2

nǔ 努 QYS nuo: CDC *nu4/EC *'nax
BMH [nù]; MX [nu3]; HL [nu5]; SX [nu2]; LF [nu5]; LZ [lu3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [nu3]; XC [nu5]
CT [nu3]; WP [nu3w]; YD [—]; SH [nu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [nu3]; AY [nu3]; SY [nu3]; XS [nu3]; QN [nu3]; ND1 [nu3]; ND2 [nu3]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *nu3 ?] CNH *nu3/nu5

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The tone of the Sixián form is aberrant.

nü 怒 QYS nuo- CDC *nu6/EC *nah
BMH [nù]; MX [nu5]; HL [nu6]; SX [nu5]; LF [nu5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [nu3]; XC [—]
CT [nu6]; WP [nu3]; YD [—]; SH [nu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
NK [nu5]; AY [nu5]; SY [nu2]; XS [nu5]; QN [nu6]; ND1 [nu6]; ND2 [nu6]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *nu6] CNH *nu6
†FJFYZ: [nye6].

nǚ 女 QYS  יוסף: CDC *nie4 (~ *niu3)/EC *nrax
BMH [ŋ̩ 3 ~ nyí]; MX [ŋ̩ 3]; HL [ŋ̩ 3]; SX [ŋ̩ 3]; LF [ŋ̩ 3]; LZ [ŋ̩ 3b ~ ʂi3w]; SHT [ŋ̩ 3 ~ ŋi3]
HY [ŋ̩ 3 ~ ny3]; XY [ŋy3]; DB [ni3]; YL [ŋy3]; XC [ŋi3w ~ m3b]
CT [ni3]; WP [ŋ3]; YD [ŋ̩ 3b ~ ŋi3w ~ zi2]; SH [ŋ̩ 3 ~ m2]; LC1 [niu3e]; LC2 [i3]†
NK [ni3 ~ nie3]; AY [ni3 ~ nie3]; SY [ni3 ~ nie3]; XS [ŋ̩ 3 ~ ni3]; QN [ni3]; ND1 [nie3]; ND2
  [nu3w ~ nie3b]; ND3 [nu3 ~ nie3]
[OPH *ŋ̩ 3] CNH *ŋ̩ 3/*nie3/L *ňiu3
The second reconstructed form is Gàn-like in appearance and has perhaps been borrowed from
that family. The Liánchéng-2 and third Yǒngding forms, which do not agree with each other in
tone, appear to reflect a zero initial reading, which is of obscure origin.
†Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [nye3].

nuǎn 暖 QYS nuän: CDC *non4/EC *’nonx
BMH [non ~ nön]; MX [non3w ~ non1b]; HL [non1]; SX [non1]; LF [non1]; LZ [lön1]; SHT
  [lön1]
HY [nuan5]; XY [nuan1]; DB [non1]; YL [lön1]; XC [nuan2]
CT [nuŋ1]; WP [nuŋ1]; YD [lön1]; SH [nuœ1]; LC1 [nuœ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [noœ1]; AY [nô3]; SY [nuœ1]; XS [non1]; QN [non1]; ND1 [noœ1]; ND2 [nuon3]; ND3
  [nuœ1]
OPH *non1 CNH *nuon1/*nuon3
Appendix: Data

nuò 糯  QYS  nuá-  CDC *nuo6/EC *noyh
BMH [nò]; MX [no5]; HL [no6]; SX [no5]; LF [no6]; LZ [lo5]; SHT [lo5]
HY [nu6]; XY [no3]; DB [no3]; YL [lau3]; XC [no2]
CT [no6]; WP [no3]; YD [lou5]; SH [nu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [no5]; AY [no6]; SY [no5]; XS [no5]; QN [no6]; ND1 [no6]; ND2 [no6]; ND3 [no6]
[OPH *no6]  CNH *no6

O

òu 歐  QYS  ?ou  CDC *eu1/EC *'o
BMH [eu]; MX [eu1]; HL [eu1]; SX [eu1]; LF [eu1]; LZ [eu1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [eu1]; WP [e1w]; YD [eu]; SH [ə1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ə1]; AY [ə1]; SY [ə1]; XS [ə1]; QN [—]; ND1 [ŋəu1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *eu1]  CNH *eu1

òu 嘔  QYS  ?ou:  CDC *eu3/EC *'ox
BMH [eui3]; MX [eui3]; HL [eui3]; SX [eui3]; LF [eui3]; LZ [eui3]; SHT [iu3]
HY [uai3]; XY [eui3]; DB [ei3]; YL [ai3]; XC [au3]
CT [eui3]; WP [e3]; YD [eui3]; SH [ə3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ə3]; AY [ə3]; SY [io3]; XS [əui3]; QN [—]; ND1 [ŋəu3]; ND2 [ŋəu3]; ND3 [ŋəu3]
OPH *eu3  CNH *eu3

P

pá 爬  QYS  ba  CDC *ba2/EC *bra
BMH [phà]; MX [p’ə2]; HL [p’ə2]; SX [p’ə2]; LF [p’ə2]; LZ [pha2]; SHT [p’ə2]
HY [p’ə2]; XY [p’ə2]; DB [p’ə2]; YL [p’ə2]; XC [p’ə2w]
CT [p’ə2]; WP [pha2]; YD [p’ə2]; SH [pha2]; LC1 [p’o2]; LC2 [—]†
NK [p’a2]; AY [p’a2]; SY [p’a2]; XS [p’a2]; QN [p’a2]; ND1 [p’a2]; ND2 [p’a2]; ND3 [p’a2]
[OPH *p’a2] CNH *p’a2
†FJFYZ: p’o2.

pà 怕 QYS pha- CDC *pha5/EC *phrakh
BMH [phà]; MX [p’a5]; HL [p’a5]; SX [p’a5]; LF [p’a5]; LZ [pha5]; SHT [p’a5]
HY [p’a5]; XY [p’a5]; DB [p’a5]; YL [p’a5]; XC [p’a5]
CT [p’a5]; WP [pha5]; YD [p’ai2]; SH [pha5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [p’a5]; AY [p’a5]; SY [p’a2]; XS [p’a5]; QN [p’a5]; ND1 [p’a5]; ND2 [p’a5]; ND3 [p’a5]
[OPH *p’a5] CNH *p’a5

pái 排 QYS băi CDC *bai2/EC *bruy
BMH [phài]; MX [p’ai2]; HL [p’ai2]; SX [p’ai2]; LF [p’ai2]; LZ [phai2]; SHT [—]
HY [p’ai2]; XY [p’ai2]; DB [p’ai2]; YL [p’ai2]; XC [p’ai2]
CT [p’ai2]; WP [pha2]; YD [p’ai2]; SH [pha2]; LC1 [p’ai2]; LC2 [—]
NK [p’a2]; AY [p’a2]; SY [p’a2]; XS [p’ai2]; QN [p’ai2]; ND1 [p’ai2]; ND2 [p’ai2]; ND3 [p’ai2]
[OPH *p’ai2] CNH *p’ai2

pái 牌 QYS bwăi CDC *bai2/EC *bre
BMH [phài]; MX [p’ai2]; HL [p’ai2]; SX [p’ai2]; LF [p’ai2]; LZ [phai2]; SHT [p’ai2]
HY [p’ai2]; XY [p’ai2]; DB [p’ai2]; YL [p’ai2]; XC [p’ai2]
CT [p’e2]; WP [phi2]; YD [p’ai2]; SH [pha2]; LC1 [p’e2]; LC2 [—]
NK [p’a2]; AY [p’a2]; SY [p’a2]; XS [p’ai2]; QN [p’ai2]; ND1 [p’ai2]; ND2 [p’ai2]; ND3 [p’ai2]
[OPH *p’ai2] CNH *p’ai2/*p’e2

The Chángtīng, Wúpíng, and Liánchéng forms derives from earlier *-ei rather than *-ai.

pán 盤 QYS buân CDC *bon2/EC *’ban
BMH [phân]; MX [p’an2]; HL [p’an2]; SX [p’an2]; LF [p’an2]; LZ [phan2]; SHT [p’un2]
Appendix: Data

HY [p’uan2]; XY [p’an2]; DB [p’an2]; YL [p’an2]; XC [p’an2]
CT [p’an2]; WP [p’an2]; YD [p’an2]; SH [p’an2]; LC1 [p’a2]; LC2 [p’a2]
NK [p’oŋ2]; AY [p’ai2]; SY [p’32]; XS [p’an2]; QN [p’an2]; ND1 [p’oŋ2]; ND2 [p’uon2];
ND3 [p’uan2]
[OPH *p’an2]   CNH *p’on2

páng 旁 QYS 普 bang CDC *bong2/EC *’bang
BMH [phong]; MX [p’oŋ2]; HL [p’oŋ2]; SX [p’oŋ2]; LF [p’oŋ2]; LZ [phon2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [p’oŋ2]; XC [p’oŋ2]
CT [p’oŋ2]; WP [phon2]; YD [p’oŋ2]; SH [phon2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [p’32]; AY [p’oŋ2]; SY [p’32]; XS [p’oŋ2]; QN [p’oŋ2]; ND1 [p’oŋ2]; ND2 [p’oŋ2]; ND3
[—]
[OPH *p’oŋ2]   CNH *p’on2

páo 袍 QYS 普 bou CDC *bou2/EC *’bu
BMH [phau]; MX [p’au2]; HL [p’au2]; SX [p’au2]; LF [p’au2]; LZ [phau2]; SHT [—]
HY [p’au2]; XY [p’au2]; DB [p’o2]; YL [p’au2]; XC [p’au2]
CT [p’ɔ2]; WP [phon2]; YD [p’o2]; SH [phon2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [p’ɔ2]; AY [p’ɔ2]; SY [p’ɔ2]; XS [p’au2]; QN [p’au2]; ND1 [p’au2]; ND2 [p’au2]; ND3
[p’au2]
[OPH *p’au2]   CNH *p’au2

pēi 坏 QYS 普 phu phi CDC *phuoi1/EC *’phi
BMH [phoi]; MX [—]; HL [p’o1]; SX [p’o1]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [p’o1]; XC [p’ei1]
CT [p’ei1]; WP [—]; YD [p’ei1 ~ p’o1]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [p’ei1]; AY [p’uei1]; SY [p’ei1]; XS [p’i1]; QN [p’oi1]; ND1 [p’oɛ1]; ND2 [p’uei1]; ND3
[—]
[OPH *p’oi1]   CNH *p’oi1 ~ *p’ei1

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péi 陪 QYS buài CDC *buoi2/EC *'bi
BMH [phûi]; MX [p’i2]; HL [p’oi2]; SX [p’oi2]; LF [p’ui2]; LZ [phui2]; SHT [p’ui2]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [p’oi2]; XC [p’ei2]
CT [p’e2]; WP [phi2]; YD [p’ei2]; SH [phei2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [p’e2]; AY [p’e2]; SY [p’e2]; XS [p’i2]; QN [p’ui2]; ND1 [p’ei2]; ND2 [p’ei2]; ND3 [—]
OPH *p’oi2 ? CNH *p’oi2/*p’ui2

péi 賠 QYS buài CDC *buoi2/EC *’bi
BMH [phûi]; MX [p’i2]; HL [p’oi2]; SX [p’oi2]; LF [p’ui5]; LZ [phoi2]; SHT [—]
HY [p’uai2]; XY [p’uai2]; DB [p’oi2]; YL [p’oi2]; XC [p’ei2]
CT [p’ue2]; WP [phi2]; YD [p’oi2]; SH [phei2]; LC1 [p’ui2]; LC2 [—]
NK [p’e2]; AY [p’ue2]; SY [p’e2]; XS [p’i2]; QN [p’ui2]; ND1 [p’oe2]; ND2 [p’ei2]; ND3 [p’uai2]
[OPH *p’oi2]  CNH *p’oi2/*p’ui2

pén 盆 QYS buən CDC *bun2/EC *’bun
BMH [phûn]; MX [p’un2]; HL [p’un2]; SX [p’un2]; LF [p’un2]; LZ [phun2]; SHT [—]
HY [p’uan2]; XY [p’uan2]; DB [p’ən2]; YL [p’ən2]; XC [p’ən2]
CT [p’ən2]; WP [phən2]; YD [p’ən2]; SH [phein2]; LC1 [p’əi2]; LC2 [p’ən2]
NK [p’ẽ2]; AY [p’ən2]; SY [p’ẽ2]; XS [p’ən2]; QN [p’un2]; ND1 [p’ən2]; ND2 [p’ən2]; ND3 [p’ən2]
[OPH *p’un2]  CNH *p’un2

pêng 蓬 QYS bung CDC *bung2/EC *’bong
BMH [phûng]; MX [p’uŋ2]; HL [p’uŋ2]; SX [p’uŋ2]; LF [—]; LZ [phuŋ2]; SHT [—]
HY [p’oŋ2]; XY [p’uŋ2]; DB [p’uŋ2]; YL [p’uŋ2]; XC [p’uŋ2]
CT [p’oŋ2]; WP [phuŋ2]; YD [p’uŋ2]; SH [phəŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [p’əŋ2]; AY [p’əŋ2]; SY [p’əŋ2]; XS [p’ən2]; QN [p’uŋ2]; ND1 [p’uŋ2]; ND2 [p’uŋ2]; ND3 [p’uŋ2]
[OPH *p’ung2]  CNH *p’uŋ2
The Yílǒng and Xīchāng forms appear to be Mandarin loans and are not reflected in the reconstructions.
Common Neo-Hakka:
A Comparative Reconstruction

[OPH *p’it7]   CNH *p’it7

piàn 片 QYS phien- CDC *p’ian5/EC —
BMH [phien]; MX [p’iën3w ~ p’iën3b]; HL [p’ian3]; SX [p’ian3]; LF [p’ian5]; LZ [phen3];
SHT [—]
HY [p’ian5]; XY [p’ian5]; DB [p’ien5]; YL [p’ien5]; XC [p’ien5]
CT [p’iŋ5]; WP [phien3]; YD [p’ien3]; SH [phiê3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [p’ie5]; AY [p’i]; SY [p’iê3]; XS [p’ien5]; QN [p’ien5]; ND1 [p’ien5]; ND2 [p’ian5]; ND3
[p’ian5]
[OPH *p’ian3 ~ *p’ian5]   CNH *p’ian3/L *p’ian5

piáo 嫖 QYS phjiäu4, phjiäu- 4 CDC *biau2/EC —
BMH [phiâu]; MX [p’iau3]; HL [p’iau2]; SX [p’iu2]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [p’iau2]; XC [p’iau2]
CT [—]; WP [phia2]; YD [p’ieu2]; SH [phia2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [p’ia2]; AY [p’i2]; SY [p’io2]; XS [p’iau2]; QN [p’iau2]; ND1 [p’iau2]; ND2 [p’iau2];
ND3 [—]
[OPH *p’iau2]   CNH *p’iau2

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

píng 平 QYS bjwong   CDC *biang2/EC *beng
BMH [phîn ~ phiâng]; MX [p’în2w ~ p’iâng2b]; HL [p’în2w ~ p’iâng2b]; SX [p’în2w ~ p’iâng2b];
LF [p’în2 ~ p’iâng2]; LZ [phìng2b ~ phîn2w]; SHT [—]
Appendix: Data


CT [p‘eŋ2]; WP [phĩ2w ~ phĩan2b]; YD [p‘ian2]; SH [phĩ2 ~ phĩan2]; LC1 [p‘ian2]; LC2

[—]


[OPH *p‘ian2] CNH p‘ian2/L p‘iŋ2

The coda of the second reconstructed form is conjectural.

ping 愛 QYS bjʊŋ CDC *bing2/EC *bing

BMH [phĩn ~ phuí]; MX [p‘in2w ~ p‘en5b]; HL [p‘in2 ~ p‘en5]; SX [p‘in2 ~ p‘en5]; LF

[p‘in2]; LZ [phũŋ2]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [p‘en3]; DB [p‘en3]; YL [p‘in2]; XC [p‘in2]

CT [p‘eŋ2]; WP [phĩ2]; YD [p‘en5]; SH [phẽ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [p‘eŋ6]

NK [p‘iŋ2]; AY [p‘iŋ2]; SY [p‘iŋ2]; XS [p‘in2]; QN [p‘in2]; ND1 [p‘in2]; ND2 [p‘iŋ2]; ND3

[—]


The coda of the first reconstructed form is conjectural, since final *-n is also possible.

ping 瓶 QYS bieng CDC *biang2/EC *beng

BMH [phiáng ~ phẽn]; MX [p‘in2w ~ p‘ian2b]; HL [p‘ian2]; SX [p‘ian2]; LF [p‘ian2]; LZ

[phián2]; SHT [—]

HY [p‘ian2]; XY [p‘in2]; DB [p‘en2]; YL [p‘ian2]; XC [p‘in2]

CT [p‘eŋ2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [p‘iŋ2]; AY [p‘iŋ2]; SY [p‘iŋ2]; XS [p‘in2]; QN [p‘in2]; ND1 [p‘in2]; ND2 [p‘iŋ2]; ND3

[ p‘iŋ2]

[OPH * p‘iang2] CNH *p‘iŋ2/L *p‘iŋ2

pō 潑 QYS phuât CDC *phot7/EC *phot

BMH [phat]; MX [p’at7 ~ pat7]; HL [p’at7]; SX [p’at7]; LF [p’at7]; LZ [phat7]; SHT [—]

HY [p’uat7]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [p’oʔ7]; XC [p’oʔ7]
CT [p’ai2]; WP [phaʔ7]; YD [—]; SH [phaʔ7]; LC1 [p’a6]; LC2 [—]
NK [p’a7]; AY [p’æ3]; SY [po1]; XS [p’ai7]; QN [p’æʔ7]; ND1 [p’oet7]; ND2 [p’uoʔt7]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *p’at7] CNH *p’oʔt7/*p’at7/*pot7

婆 pó QYS buâ- CDC *bo2/EC *bay
BMH [phô]; MX [p’o2]; SX [p’o2]; LF [p’o2]; LZ [phò2]; SHT [p’o2]
HY [p’uʔ2]; XY [p’æ2]; DB [p’ø2]; YL [p’œu2]; XC [p’o2]
CT [p’o2]; WP [pho2]; YD [p’ou2]; SH [phu2]; LC1 [p’u2]; LC2 [p’uʔ2]
NK [p’o2]; AY [p’o2]; SY [p’o2]; XS [p’o2]; QN [p’o2]; ND1 [p’o2]; ND2 [p’o2]; ND3 [p’o2]

[OPH *p’o2] CNH *p’o2

菩 pú QYS buo CDC *bu2/EC *’ba
BMH [phû]; MX [—]; HL [p’u2]; SX [p’u2]; LF [p’u2]; LZ [phu2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [p’u2]; XC [p’u2]
CT [p’u2]; WP [phu2]; YD [—]; SH [phu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [p’u2]; SY [p’u2]; XS [p’u2]; QN [—]; ND1 [p’u2]; ND2 [p’u2]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *p’u2] CNH *p’u2

Q

七 qī QYS tshjiet CDC *tshit5/EC *tshit
BMH [tshit]; MX [ts’it7]; HL [ts’it7]; SX [ts’it7]; LF [ts’it7]; LZ [tʃit7]; SHT [ts’it7]
HY [ts’it7]; XY [ts’it7]; DB [ts’at7]; YL [tʃeʔ7]; XC [te’ieʔ7]
CT [tsi2]; WP [tshiʔ7]; YD [ts’iʔ7]; SH [tʃeiʔ7]; LC1 [ts’i6]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’ie1]; AY [ts’is3]; SY [te’ie5]; XS [ts’it7]; QN [te’iʔ7]; ND1 [te’it7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ts’it7]

[OPH *ts’it7] CNH *ts’it7
Appendix: Data

qī 妻 QYS tshiei CDC *tshiai/EC *tshiy
BMH [tshi]; MX [ts’i1]; HL [ts’i1]; SX [ts’i1]; LF [ts’i1]; LZ [tʃhi1]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’ie]; XY [ts’ei1]; DB [ts’i1]; YL [t’e’i1]; XC [t’e’i1]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [ts’i1]; SH [tʃei1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [t’e’i1]; AY [ts’i1]; SY [t’e’i1]; XS [ts’i1]; QN [—]; D1 [t’e’i1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ts’i1]
OPH *ts’i1 CNH *ts’i1/*ts’iai1

qī 欺 QYS khjï CDC *khi/EC *khi
BMH [khi]; MX [k’i1]; HL [k’i1]; SX [k’i1]; LF [k’i1]; LZ [khi1]; SHT [—]
HY [hi1]; XY [hi1]; DB [hi1]; YL [t’e’i1]; XC [t’e’i1]
CT [tʃ’i1]; WP [tʃi1]; YD [k’i1]; SH [tʃei1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [t’e’i1]; AY [te’i1]; SY [te’i1]; XS [te’i1]; QN [te’i1]; ND1 [te’i1]; ND2 [te’i1]; ND3 [ts’i]
[OPH *k’i1] CNH *k’i1/*khi1

qī 其 QYS gjï CDC *gi2/EC *gi
BMH [khî]; MX [k’i2]; HL [k’i2]; SX [k’i2]; LF [k’i2]; LZ [khi2]; SHT [k’i2]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [t’e’i2]; XC [t’e’i1]
CT [tʃ’i2]; WP [—]; YD [k’i2]; SH [tʃei2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [t’e’i2]; AY [te’i2]; SY [te’i2]; XS [te’i2]; QN [—]; ND1 [te’i2]; ND2 [te’i2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *k’i2] CNH *k’i2

qi 奇 QYS gje3 CDC *gi2/EC *gay
BMH [khî]; MX [k’i2]; HL [k’i2]; SX [k’i2]; LF [k’i2]; LZ [khi2]; SHT [k’i2]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [t’e’i2]; XC [t’e’i1]
CT [tʃ’i2]; WP [tʃi2]; YD [k’i2]; SH [tʃei2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [t’e’i2]; AY [te’i2]; SY [te’i2]; XS [te’i2]; QN [—]; ND1 [te’i2]; ND2 [te’i2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *k’i2] CNH *k’i2

qi 騎 QYS gje3 CDC *gi2/EC *gay
BMH [khî]; MX [k’i2]; HL [k’i2]; SX [k’i2]; LF [k’i2]; LZ [khi2]; SHT [k’ia2]
HY [k’i2]; XY [k’e2]; DB [k’i2]; YL [te’i2]; XC [te’i2]
CT [tʃ’i2]; WP [tʃi2]; YD [k’i2]; SH [tehí2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [k’i2]
NK [te’i2]; AY [te’i2]; SY [te’i2]; XS [te’i2]; QN [—]; ND1 [te’i2]; ND2 [te’i2]; ND3 [ts’i2]
[OPH *k’i2] CNH *k’i2

qi 齊 QYS dziei CDC *dzai2/EC *’dziy
BMH [tʃi ~ tʃê]; MX [ts’i2w ~ ts’e2b]; HL [ts’e2]; SX [ts’e2]; LF [ts’e2 ~ ts’i2]; LZ [tʃe2];
SHT [ts’e2]
HY [ts’ie2]; XY [ts’ei2]; DB [ts’e2]; YL [ts’ei2]; XC [te’i1]
CT [ts’e2]; WP [tʃi2]; YD [—]; SH [tehí2 ~ tshei2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ts’i2 ~ ts’e2]
NK [te’i2]; AY [ts’i2 ~ ts’e2]; SY [te’i2]; XS [ts’i2]; QN [te’i2]; ND1 [te’i2]; ND2 [te’iei2];
ND3 [ts’i2]
OPH *ts’ei CNH *ts’iai2/L *ts’i2

qi 起 QYS khį: CDC *khi3/EC *khix
BMH [hi ~ khi]; MX [hi3]; HL [hi3]; SX [hi3]; LF [hi3]; LZ [hi3]; SHT [hi3]
HY [hi3]; XY [hi3]; DB [hi3]; YL [te’i3]; XC [eį3]
CT [tʃ’i3 ~ ʃi3]; WP [tʃi3]; YD [k’i3]; SH [tehi3]; LC1 [k’i3]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’i3]; AY [te’i3]; SY [te’i3 ~ eį3]; XS [eį3]; QN [te’i3 ~ eį3]; ND1 [te’i3]; ND2 [te’i3 ~
eį3]; ND3 [ts’i3 ~ si3]
[OPH *hi3] CNH *hi3/*k’i3

qi 企 QYS khjie:4, khjie-4 CDC *khi5 ~ *khi3/EC *khex
BMH [khi]; MX [k’i1s]; HL [k’i1]; SX [k’i1]; LF [k’i1]; LZ [khi3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [te’i1]; XC [te’i2w]
CT [tʃ’i5]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tehí1 ~ tehi3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’i3]; AY [te’i3]; SY [te’i1]; XS [te’i3]; QN [—]; ND1 [te’i3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
OPH *k’i1 CNH *k’i1/*k’i3
### Appendix: Data

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<td>*hi5/L</td>
<td>*k’i5</td>
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| qi 氣 | QYS | khjei- | CDC | *khi5/EC | *khuyh, khiyh |
| BMH | [hi ~ khi]; MX [hi5]; HL [hi5]; SX [hi5]; LF [hi5]; LZ [hi5]; SHT [hi5] |
| HY | [hi5]; XY [hi5]; DB [hi5]; YL [te’i5]; XC [ei5] |
| CT | [tʃ’i5 ~ fʃi5]; WP [tʃi5]; YD [k’i3]; SH [tehi5]; LC1 [k’i5]; LC2 [—] |
| NK | [te’i5 ~ eʃi5]; AY [te’i5 ~ eʃi5]; SY [te’i2 ~ eʃi2]; XS [ei5]; QN [te’i5 ~ eʃi5]; ND1 [ei5]; ND2 [te’i5 ~ eʃi5]; ND3 [ts’i5] |
| [OPH *hi5] | CNH | *hi5/L | *k’i5 |

| qi 前 | QYS | tshiei- | CDC | *tshiai/EC | — |
| BMH | [tʃi ~ tʃhe]; MX [—]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—] |
| HY | [—]; XY [tʃ’i5]; DB [—]; YL [te’i5]; XC [te’i5] |
| CT | [—]; WP [tʃe’i5]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—] |
| NK | [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [te’i5]; ND3 [tsi5] |
| [OPH ?] | CNH | *ts’iai5/*ts’i5 |

The final and tone of the Wǔpíng form are anomalous. The final of the Yílǒng is quite irregular. The initial of the Níngdū-3 form irregularly lacks aspiration.

| qiān 簽 | QYS | tshjam | CDC | *tshiam1/EC | *tsham |
| BMH | [tʃiam]; MX [tʃ’i1]; HL [tʃ’i1]; SX [tʃ’i1]; LF [—]; LZ [tʃhiam1]; SHT [—] |
| HY | [tʃ’i1]; XY [tʃ’i1]; DB [tʃ’i1]; YL [te’i1]; XC [te’i1] |
| CT | [tʃ’in1]; WP [tʃhian1]; YD [—]; SH [tʃhi1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—] |
| NK | [te’i1]; AY [ts’i1]; SY [te’i1]; XS [ts’i1]; QN [te’ian1]; ND1 [te’iam1]; ND2 [te’iam1]; ND3 [—] |
Common Neo-Hakka:
A Comparative Reconstruction

[OPH *ts’iam1]   CNH *ts’iam1
qiān 千 QYS tshien  CDC *tshian1/EC *’tshin
BMH [tshien]; MX [ts’ien1]; HL [ts’ian1]; SX [ts’ian1]; LF [ts’ian1]; LZ [tʃhen1]; SHT [ts’en1]
HY [ts’ian1]; XY [ts’ian1]; DB [ts’ien1]; YL [te’ien1]; XC [te’ien1]
CT [ts’iŋ1]; WP [tshieŋ1]; YD [ts’ien1]; SH [tʃe ŭ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’iɛ1]; AY [ts’i1]; SY [te’iɛ1]; XS [ts’ien1]; QN [te’ien1]; ND1 [te’ien1]; ND2 [te’ian1];
ND3 [ts’ian1]

[OPH *ts’ian1]   CNH *ts’ian1
qiān 牵 QYS khien  CDC *khian1/EC *’khen
BMH [khen ~ khien]; MX [k’ian1]; HL [k’ian1]; SX [k’ian1]; LF [k’ian1]; LZ [khɛn1]; SHT
[—]
HY [hian1]; XY [hian1]; DB [hien1]; YL [te’ien1]; XC [te’ien1]
CT [ʃ’iŋ1]; WP [tshieŋ1]; YD [k’ien1]; SH [tʃe ŭ1]; LC1 [k’e1]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’iɛ1]; AY [te’i1]; SY [te’iɛ1]; XS [te’ien1]; QN [te’ien1]; ND1 [ts’an1]; ND2 [ts’an1];
ND3 [ts’ian1]
[OPH *k’ian1]   CNH *k’ian1/*hian1
qiān 鉛 QYS jiwän  CDC *tshian1 ~ *ion2 (~ *khan1)/EC *yon
BMH [yên]; MX [ian2]; HL [ʒan2]; SX [ian2]; LF [jan2]; LZ [ʒan2]; SHT [jen2]
HY [yan2]; XY [ian2]; DB [zan2]; YL [jen2]; XC [te’iɛn1]
CT [ʃ’in2]; WP [—]; YD [viɛn2]; SH [viɛ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iɛ2]; AY [—]; SY [jyɛ2]; XS [iɛn2]; QN [—]; ND1 [iɛn2]; ND2 [ian2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ian2]   CNH *vian2/*vion2
qiān 前 QYS dzien  CDC *dzian2/EC *’dzen
BMH [tʃiɛn]; MX [ts’ien2]; HL [ts’ian2]; SX [ts’ian2]; LF [ts’ian2]; LZ [tʃen2]; SHT [ts’en2]
HY [ts’ian2]; XY [ts’ian2 ~ ts’an2]; DB [ts’ien2]; YL [te’ien2]; XC [te’iɛn2]
CT [ts’iŋ2]; WP [tshieŋ2]; YD [ts’ien2]; SH [tʃe ŭ2]; LC1 [ts’e2]; LC2 [ts’e2]
Appendix: Data

NK [te’iẽ2]; AY [ts’i2]; SY [te’iẽ2]; XS [ts’iẽn2]; QN [te’iẽn2]; ND1 [te’iẽn2]; ND2 [te’ian2]; ND3 [ts’ian2]

OPH *ts’ian2  CNH *ts’ian2

qian 錢 QYS dzjän CDC *dzian2/EC *dzen

BMH [tshiên]; MX [ts’iẽn2]; HL [ts’ian2]; SX [ts’ian2]; LF [ts’iẽn2]; LZ [tʃhẽn2]; SHT [ts’eẽn2]

HY [ts’ian2]; XY [ts’ian2]; DB [ts’iẽn2]; YL [ts’iẽn2]; XC [ts’iẽn2]

CT [ts’iŋ2]; WP [ts’iẽn2]; YD [ts’iẽn2]; SH [tehiẽ2]; LC1 [ts’e2]; LC2 [ts’e2]

NK [tehiẽ2]; AY [ts’i2]; SY [te’iẽ2]; XS [ts’iẽn2]; QN [te’iẽn2]; ND1 [te’iẽn2]; ND2 [te’ian2]; ND3 [ts’ian2]

OPH *ts’ian2  CNH *ts’ian2

qian 鉗 QYS gjäm3 CDC *giam2/EC *gam

BMH [khiâm]; MX [k’iam2]; HL [k’iam2]; SX [k’iam2]; LF [k’iam2]; LZ [khiam2]; SHT [—]

HY [k’iam2]; XY [k’iam2]; DB [k’iam2]; YL [te’iẽn2]; XC [te’iẽn2]

CT [tʃ’iŋ2]; WP [tshiaŋ2]; YD [kian2 ~ k’ian2 ~ k’ian1]; SH [tehiâ2]; LC1 [k’e2]; LC2 [—]

NK [te’iẽ2]; AY [te’iâ2]; SY [te’iẽ2]; XS [te’iẽn2]; QN [te’i’am2]; ND1 [ts’am2]; ND2 [ts’am2]; ND3 [ts’am2]

[OPH *k’iam2]  CNH *k’iam2

qian 深 QYS tshjän: CDC *tshian3/EC *tshenx

BMH [tshiên]; MX [ts’iẽn3]; HL [ts’ian3]; SX [ts’ian3]; LF [ts’ian3]; LZ [tʃhẽn3]; SHT [ts’eẽn3]

HY [ts’ian3]; XY [ts’ian3]; DB [ts’iẽn3]; YL [te’iẽn3]; XC [te’iẽn3]

CT [ts’iŋ3]; WP [tshien3]; YD [ts’iẽn3]; SH [tehiẽ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [te’iẽ3]; AY [ts’i3]; SY [te’iẽ3]; XS [ts’iẽn3]; QN [te’iẽn3]; ND1 [te’iẽn3]; ND2 [te’yon3]; ND3 [ts’yan3]

[OPH *ts’ian3]  CNH *ts’ian3

Ningdū-2 and Ningdū-3 forms are not normal syllable types for these dialects. They are of obscure provenance.
qiàn 欠 QYS khjom- CDC *khiam5/EC *khomh
BMH [khiàm]; MX [k’iam5]; HL [k’iam5]; SX [k’iam5]; LF [k’iam5]; LZ [khiam5]; SHT [k’iam5]
HY [hiam5]; XY [k’iam5]; DB [k’iam5]; YL [te’ien5]; XC [te’ien5]
CT [tʃ’eŋ5]; WP [tshiaŋ5]; YD [k’ian3]; SH [tehiaŋ5]; LC1 [k’e5]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’iə5]; AY [te’iə5]; SY [te’iə5]; XS [te’iə5]; QN [te’iə5]; ND1 [ts’am5]; ND2 [ts’am5];
ND3 [ts’am5]
[OPH *k’iam5] CNH *k’iam5

qiáng 强 QYS gjang CDC *giong2/EC *gang
BMH [khiông]; MX [k’iəŋ2]; HL [k’iəŋ2]; SX [k’iəŋ2]; LF [k’iəŋ2]; LZ [khiəŋ2]; SHT [k’iəŋ2]
HY [k’yəŋ2]; XY [k’iəŋ2]; DB [k’iəŋ2]; YL [te’iəŋ2]; XC [te’iəŋ2]
CT [tʃ’iəŋ2]; WP [tshiong2]; YD [k’iəŋ2]; SH [tehiong2]; LC1 [k’iəŋ2]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’iəŋ2]; AY [te’iəŋ2]; SY [te’iəŋ2]; XS [te’iəŋ2]; QN [te’iəŋ2]; ND1 [te’iəŋ2]; ND2 [ts’iəŋ2];
ND3 [ts’iəŋ2]
[OPH *k’iəŋ2] CNH *k’iəŋ2

qiǎng 墙 QYS dzjang CDC *dziong2/EC *dzig
BMH [siông ~ tshiông]; MX [siəŋ2]; HL [ts’iəŋ2]; SX [ts’iəŋ2]; LF [ts’iəŋ2]; LZ [ʃiəŋ2]; SHT [siəŋ2]
HY [ts’yəŋ2]; XY [ts’iəŋ2]; DB [ts’iəŋ2]; YL [te’iəŋ2]; XC [te’iəŋ2]
CT [ts’iəŋ2]; WP [tshiong2]; YD [ts’iəŋ2]; SH [tehiong2]; LC1 [ts’iəŋ2]; LC2 [ts’iəŋ2]
NK [te’iəŋ2]; AY [ts’iəŋ2]; SY [te’iəŋ2]; XS [te’iəŋ2]; QN [te’iəŋ2]; ND1 [te’iəŋ2]; ND2 [te’iəŋ2];
ND3 [ts’iəŋ2]
[OPH *ts’iəŋ2] CNH *ts’iəŋ2/*siəŋ2

qiāng 搶 QYS tshjang: CDC *tshiong3/EC *tshangx
BMH [tshiông]; MX [ts’iəŋ3]; HL [ts’iəŋ3]; SX [ts’iəŋ3]; LF [ts’iəŋ3]; LZ [tʃiəŋ3]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’yəŋ3]; XY [ts’iəŋ3]; DB [ts’iəŋ3]; YL [te’iəŋ3]; XC [te’iəŋ3]
CT [ts’iəŋ3]; WP [tshiong3]; YD [ts’iəŋ3]; SH [tehiong3]; LC1 [ts’iəŋ3]; LC2 [—]
Appendix: Data

NK [te’iɔŋ3]; AY [ts’ioŋ3]; SY [te’iɔŋ3]; XS [ts’ioŋ3]; QN [te’iɔŋ3]; ND1 [te’iɔŋ3]; ND2 [te’iɔŋ3];
   ND3 [ts’ioŋ3]
[OPH *ts’iong3]   CNH *ts’ioŋ3

qiáo 橋 QYS gjäu   CDC *giau2/EC *gaw
BMH [khiâu]; MX [k’iau2]; HL [k’iau2]; SX [k’eu2]; LF [k’iau2]; LZ [khiau2]; SHT [—]
HY [k’iau2]; XY [k’iau2]; DB [k’iau2]; YL [te’iau2]; XC [te’iau2]
CT [tf’ia2]; WP [tshiɔ2]; YD [k’iau2]; SH [tchio2]; LC1 [k’ic2]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’iɔ2]; AY [te’iɔ2]; SY [te’iɔ2]; XS [te’iau2]; QN [te’iau2]; ND1 [ts’au2]; ND2 [ts’au2];
   ND3 [ts’au2]
[OPH *k’iau2]   CNH *k’iau2

qiáo 巧 QYS khau:   CDC *khau3/EC *—
BMH [kháu]; MX [k’au3]; HL [k’au3]; SX [k’au3]; LF [k’au3]; LZ [khiau3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [te’iau3]; XC [te’iau3]
CT [ts’iɔ3]; WP [khɔ3]; YD [k’au3]; SH [tchia3w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’iɔ3]; AY [te’iɔ3]; SY [te’iɔ3]; XS [te’iau3]; QN [te’iau3]; ND1 [te’iau3]; ND2 [k’au3];
   ND3 [—]
[OPH *k’au3]   CNH *k’au3/*k’iau3

qiē 切 QYS tshiet   CDC *tshiat7/EC *’tshut ~ *’tshit
BMH [tshiet]; MX [ts’iet7]; HL [ts’iet7]; SX [ts’iet7]; LF [ts’iat7]; LZ [tshet7]; SHT [ts’et7]
HY [ts’iat7]; XY [ts’iat7]; DB [ts’iet7]; YL [te’iet7]; XC [te’ieʔ7]
CT [ts’e2]; WP [tshieʔ7]; YD [ts’ieʔ7]; SH [tshieʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’ie5]; AY [ts’iɔ3]; SY [te’ie5]; XS [ts’iet7]; QN [te’ieʔ7]; ND1 [te’iet7]; ND2 [—]; ND3
   [ts’iat7]
[OPH *ts’iat7]   CNH *ts’iat7

qiē 葫 QYS gja   CDC *gio2/EC —
BMH [khiô]; MX [k’io2]; HL [k’io2]; SX [k’io2]; LF [—]; LZ [khia2]; SHT [k’iɔ2]
HY [k’ye2]; XY [k’e2]; DB [k’e2]; YL [te’iou2]; XC [te’ie2w ~ te’io2b]
CT [t’io2]; WP [—]; YD [k’iou2]; SH [tehio2]; LC1 [k’ieu2]; LC2 [k’io2]
NK [te’io2]; AY [te’io2]; SY [te’io2]; XS [te’io2]; QN [te’io2]; ND1 [ts’o2]; ND2 [ts’o2]; ND3 [ts’o2]
OPH *k’io2  CNH *k’io2

qiě 且 QYS tshja  CDC *tshia3/EC *tshax
BMH [tshiá]; MX [ts’ia3]; HL [ts’ia3]; SX [ts’ia3]; LF [ts’ia3]; LZ [t’hia3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [ts’ia3]; WP [tshia3]; YD [ts’ia3]; SH [tehia3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’ia3]; AY [ts’ia3]; SY [te’ia3]; XS [ts’ia3]; QN [te’ia3]; ND1 [te’ia3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ts’ia3]  CNH *ts’ia3

qīn 親 QYS tshjen  CDC *tshin1/EC *tshin
BMH [tshin]; MX [ts’in1]; HL [ts’in1]; SX [ts’in1]; LF [ts’in1]; LZ [t’hin1]; SHT [ts’in1]
HY [ts’in1]; XY [ts’in1]; DB [ts’ain1]; YL [te’in1]; XC [te’in1]
CT [ts’eŋ1]; WP [tshin1]; YD [ts’iŋ1]; SH [tehiŋ1]; LC1 [ts’eŋ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’iŋ1]; AY [ts’iŋ1]; SY [te’iŋ1]; XS [ts’in1]; QN [te’in1]; ND1 [te’iŋ1]; ND2 [te’iŋ1]; ND3 [ts’iŋ1]
[OPH *ts’in1]  CNH *ts’iŋ1

qīn 侵 QYS tshjam  CDC *tshim1/EC *tshim
BMH [tshim]; MX [ts’im1]; HL [ts’im1]; SX [ts’im1]; LF [t’him1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [ts’eŋ1]; WP [tshin5]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’in1]; AY [tsin1]; SY [te’in1]; XS [tsin1]; QN [te’in1]; ND1 [te’im1]; ND2 [te’im1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ts’im1]  CNH *ts’im1/*tshim
qīn 钦 QYS kjhəm CDC *khim1/EC *khum
BMH [khim]; MX [k’im1]; HL [k’im1]; SX [k’im1]; LF [k’im1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [te’in1]; XC [te’in1]
CT [tʃ’eŋ1]; WP [tʃin1]; YD [—]; SH [tʃin1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’iŋ1]; AY [te’iəŋ1]; SY [te’iŋ1]; XS [te’iŋ1]; QN [te’iŋ1]; ND1 [ts’aəm1]; ND2 [—];
   ND3 [—]
[OPH *k’im1]   CNH *k’im1

qín 琴 QYS gjəm CDC *gim2/EC *gim
BMH [khîm]; MX [k’im2]; HL [k’im2]; SX [k’im2]; LF [k’im2]; LZ [khim2]; SHT [k’im2]
HY [k’im2]; XY [k’im2]; DB [k’im2]; YL [te’in2]; XC [te’in2]
CT [tʃ’eŋ2]; WP [tʃin2]; YD [k’iŋ2]; SH [tʃiŋ2]; LC1 [k’iəŋ2]; LC2 [k’iəŋ2]
NK [te’iŋ2]; AY [te’iəŋ2]; SY [te’iŋ2]; XS [te’iŋ2]; QN [te’iŋ2]; ND1 [ts’aəm2]; ND2 [ts’aəm2];
   ND3 [ts’aəm2]
[OPH *k’im2]   CNH *k’im2

qìn 芹 QYS gjən CDC *gin2/EC *gun
BMH [khïun]; MX [k’aiun2]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [k’iun2]; LZ [k’iun2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [te’in2]; XC [te’in2]
CT [tʃ’eŋ2]; WP [tʃin2]; YD [k’un2]; SH [tʃiŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’iŋ2]; AY [te’iəŋ2]; SY [te’iŋ2]; XS [te’iŋ2]; QN [te’iŋ2]; ND1 [ts’aən2]; ND2 [—]; ND3
   [—]
[OPH *k’iun2]   CNH *k’iun2/*k’in2

qīng 清 QYS tʃhʃjàŋ CDC *tʃiəŋ1/EC *tʃəŋ
BMH [tʃhin]; MX [ts’iŋ1w ~ ts’iəŋ1b]; HL [ts’iŋ1 ~ ts’iəŋ1]; SX [ts’iŋ1 ~ ts’iəŋ1]; LF [ts’iŋ1w
   ~ ts’iəŋ1b]; LZ [tʃhin1]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’iŋ1]; XY [ts’iŋ1 ~ ts’iəŋ1]; DB [ts’aŋ1]; YL [te’iəŋ1]; XC [te’in1]
CT [ts’eŋ1]; WP [tʃiŋ1 ~ tʃiəŋ1]; YD [ts’iŋ1]; SH [tʃiŋ1 ~ tʃiəŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
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NK [te’iŋ1 ~ te’iāl]; AY [ts’in1w ~ ts’iāl]; SY [ts’in1 ~ ts’iān1]; XS [te’iŋ1 ~ ts’iān1]; QN [te’iŋ1 ~ te’iān1]; ND1 [te’iŋ1 ~ te’iān1]; ND2 [te’iān1]; ND3 [ts’iŋ1]
[OPH *ts’ian1] CNH *ts’ian1/L *ts’iŋ1

qīng 青 QYS tshieng CDC *tshiang1/EC *tsheng
BMH [tshiang]; MX [ts’ian1]; HL [ts’ian1]; SX [ts’ian1]; LF [ts’ian1]; LZ [tʃhian1b ~ tʃhin1w]; SHT [ts’iŋ1]
HY [ts’ian1]; XY [ts’ian1]; DB [ts’aŋ1 ~ ts’ian1]; YL [te’iān1]; XC [te’iān1]
CT [ts’eŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [ts’ian1]; SH [tʃiŋ1]; LC1 [ts’ian1]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’iŋ1 ~ te’iāl]; AY [ts’iŋ1w ~ ts’iāl]; SY [te’iŋ1 ~ ts’iāl]; XS [ts’in1 ~ ts’iān1]; QN [te’iŋ1 ~ te’iāl]; ND1 [te’iŋ1 ~ ts’iān1]; ND2 [ts’ian1]; ND3 [ts’iŋ1 ~ ts’iān1]
[OPH *ts’ian1] CNH *ts’ian1/L *ts’iŋ1

qīng 輕 QYS khjwäng, khjäng CDC *khiang1/EC *kheng
BMH [khiang]; MX [k’in1w ~ k’iān1b]; HL [k’in1w ~ k’iān1b]; SX [k’in1w ~ k’iān1b]; LF [k’iān1]; LZ [khiang1]; SHT [k’iān1]
HY [k’iān1]; XY [hiaŋ1]; DB [hiaŋ1]; YL [te’iān1]; XC [te’iān1]
CT [tʃ’ian1]; WP [—]; YD [k’iān1]; SH [tʃiŋ1]; LC1 [k’iān1]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’iŋ1 ~ te’iāl]; AY [te’iāl]; SY [te’iŋ1 ~ te’iāl]; XS [ts’iŋ1 ~ te’iān1]; QN [te’iŋ1 ~ te’iān1]; ND1 [ts’aŋ1]; ND2 [ts’aŋ1]; ND3 [ts’aŋ1]
[OPH *k’iān1] CNH *k’iān1/L *k’iŋ1

The coda of the second reconstruction is conjectural.

qīng 傾 QYS khjwäng, khjäng CDC *khiang1/EC *khweng
BMH [khin ~ khen]; MX [k’en1]; HL [k’en3]; SX [k’en3]; LF [—]; LZ [khin1]; SHT [—]
HY [k’in1]; XY [k’eŋ1]; DB [k’eŋ1]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [tʃ’eŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tʃiŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’iŋ1]; AY [te’iŋ1]; SY [te’yəŋ3; XS [te’in1]; QN [te’iun1]; ND1 [ts’əŋ1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ts’əŋ1 ~ ts’iŋ1]
[OPH *k’en3] CNH *k’iuiŋ1
Appendix: Data

qing 晴 QYS dzjâng CDC *dziang2/EC *dzeng
BMH [tshiâng]; MX [ts’iən2 ~ ts’iæn2b]; HL [ts’iæn2]; SX [ts’iæn2]; LF [ts’iæn2]; LZ [tʃhian2];
SHT [—]
HY [ts’iæn2]; XY [ts’iæn2]; DB [ts’iæn2]; YL [te’iæn2]; XC [te’iæn2]
CT [ts’eən2]; WP [tshian2]; YD [ts’iæn2]; SH [tehian2]; LC1 [ts’iæn2]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’iə2]; AY [ts’iə2]; SY [te’iə2]; XS [ts’iæn2]; QN [te’iæn2 ~ te’iæn2]; ND1 [te’iæn2]; ND2 [te’iæn2]; ND3 [ts’iæn2]
[OPH *ts’iæn2] CNH *ts’iæn2/L *ts’iə

qing 請 QYS tshîâng: CDC *tshiang3/EC *tshengx
BMH [tshiâng]; MX [ts’iæn3]; HL [ts’iæn3]; SX [ts’iæn3]; LF [ts’iæn3]; LZ [tʃhian3]; SHT [ts’iæn3]
HY [ts’iæn3]; XY [ts’iæn3]; DB [ts’iæn3]; YL [te’iæn3]; XC [te’iæn3]
CT [ts’eən3]; WP [tshian3]; YD [ts’iæn3]; SH [tehian3]; LC1 [ts’iæn3]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’iə3]; AY [ts’iə3]; SY [te’iə3 ~ te’iə3]; XS [te’iæn3 ~ te’iæn3]; QN [te’iæn3]; ND1 [te’iæn3]; ND2 [te’iæn3]; ND3 [ts’iæn3 ~ ts’iæn3]
[OPH *ts’iæn3] CNH *ts’iæn3/L *ts’iə

qióng 穷 QYS gjung CDC *giung2/EC *gung
BMH [khiûng]; MX [k’iuŋ2]; HL [k’iuŋ2]; SX [k’iuŋ2]; LF [k’iuŋ2]; LZ [khiuŋ2]; SHT [k’iuŋ2]
HY [k’uŋ2]; XY [k’uŋ2]; DB [k’uŋ2]; YL [te’iæn2]; XC [te’iæn2]
CT [tʃ’iən2]; WP [tshiuŋ2]; YD [k’iuŋ2]; SH [tehian2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’iən2]; AY [te’iæn2]; SY [te’iæn2]; XS [te’iæn2]; QN [te’iæn2]; ND1 [ts’uŋ2]; ND2 [ts’uŋ2];
ND3 [ts’uŋ2]
[OPH *k’iun2] CNH k’iunn2

qiū 秋 QYS ts’iəu CDC *tshieu1/EC *tshux? ~ *tshiw?
BMH [tshiu]; MX [ts’iəu1]; HL [ts’iæu1]; SX [ts’iæu1]; LF [ts’iæu1]; LZ [tʃhieu1]; SHT [ts’iæu1]
HY [ts’iæu1]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [te’iæu1]; XC [te’iæu1]
CT [ts’iæu1]; WP [tshiu1]; YD [ts’iæu1]; SH [tshiu1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
Common Neo-Hakka:
A Comparative Reconstruction

NK [tə’iu1]; AY [ts’u1]; SY [tə’iu1]; XS [ts’iu1]; QN [tə’iu1]; ND1 [tə’iəu1]; ND2 [tə’iəu1];
ND3 [ts’iu1]

OPH *ts’iu1   CNH *ts’ieu1

qiú 求 QYS gjəu CDC *gieu2/EC *gu
BMH [khiû]; MX [k’iu2]; HL [k’iu2]; SX [k’iu2]; LF [k’iu2]; LZ [khiu2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tə’iəu2]; XC [tə’iəu2]

CT [tʃ’ieu2]; WP [tshi2]; YD [k’iu2]; SH [tchiu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [tə’iu2]; AY [tə’u2]; SY [tə’iu2]; XS [tə’iu2]; QN [tə’iu2]; ND1 [tə’iəu2]; ND2 [ts’əu2];
ND3 [—]

[OPH *k’iu2]   CNH *k’ieu2

qiú 球 QYS gjəu CDC *gieu2/EC *gu
BMH [khiû]; MX [k’iu2]; HL [k’iu2]; SX [k’iu2]; LF [k’iu2]; LZ [khiu2]; SHT [k’iu2]
HY [k’iu2]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tə’iəu2]; XC [tə’iəu2]

CT [tʃ’ieu2]; WP [tshi2]; YD [k’iu2]; SH [tchiu2]; LC1 [k’iu2]; LC2 [—]

NK [tə’iu2]; AY [tə’u2]; SY [tə’iu2]; XS [tə’iu2]; QN [tə’iu2]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ts’əu2]; ND3
[ts’əu2]

[OPH *k’iu2]   CNH *k’ieu2

qū 趨 QYS tshju CDC *tshi1/EC *tsho
BMH [tshi]; MX [ts’1]; HL [ts’i5]; SX [ts’i5]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]

CT [ts’i1]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tchi1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

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

[OPH *ts’i5]   CNH ?

It is possible that this syllable should be restored with final *-iu in CNH. Unfortunately,
however, forms from the requisite points for determining this are absent from the set. The word
is of high literary register and is consequently not listed in most of our sources.
Appendix: Data

qū 屈 QYS khjwat  CDC *khiut7/EC *khut
BMH [khiut]; MX [k’iut7]; HL [k’iut8]; SX [k’iut8]; LF [k’iut8]; LZ [khiut7]; SHT [—]
HY [k’ut7]; XY [k’ut7]; DB [k’uat7]; YL [—]; XC [t’e’iu?7]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [k’ut7]; SH [khueiʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’io8]; AY [te’i33]; SY [te’ye5]; XS [te’it7]; QN [te’iuoi?]; ND1 [ts’uit7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ts’at7]
OPH *k’iut7 ~ 8 (?) CNH *k’iut7/*k’iut8

qū 曲 QYS khjwok  CDC *khiuk7/EC *khok
BMH [khiuk]; MX [k’iuk7]; HL [k’iuk7]; SX [k’iuk7]; LF [k’iuk7]; LZ [khiuk7]; SHT [k’uk7 ~ k’iuk7]
HY [k’ok7]; XY [k’ouʔ7]; DB [k’uk7]; YL [te’yʔ8]; XC [te’iuʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [tshiʔ7]; YD [k’iuʔ7]; SH [tehioʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’iu8]; AY [te’io6]; SY [te’io5]; XS [—]; QN [te’iuʔ7]; ND1 [ts’uk7]; ND2 [ts’uk7]; ND3 [ts’uk7]
[OPH *k’iuk7] CNH *k’iuk7

qū 取 QYS tshju:  CDC *tshiu3/EC *tshox
BMH [tshi]; MX [ts’i3]; HL [ts’i3]; SX [ts’i3]; LF [ts’i3]; LZ [tʃhi3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [te’y3]; XC [—]
CT [ts’i3]; WP [tshi3]; YD [ts’i3]; SH [tehi3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’y3]; AY [ts’i3]; SY [ts’i3]; XS [ts’i3]; QN [te’i3]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [te’iu3]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ts’i3] CNH *ts’iu3

qū 娶 QYS tshju-, (tshju:)  CDC *tshiu3 ~ *tshiu5/EC *tshox
BMH [tshi]; MX [ts’i3]; HL [ts’i3]; SX [ts’i3]; LF [ts’i3 ~ ts’e6]; LZ [tʃhi3]; SHT [ts’i3]
HY [ts’y3]; XY [ts’y3]; DB [ts’i3]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [ts’i3]; WP [—]; YD [ts’i3]; SH [tehi3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’y3]; AY [ts’i3]; SY [te’i3]; XS [ts’i3]; QN [te’i3]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [t’e’iu3]; ND3 [ts’iu3]
[OPH *ts’i3] CNH *ts’iu3
The initial of the Ningdū-2 form is irregular.

qù 去 QYS kjhwo- CDC *khie5 (~ *khiu)/EC *kha
BMH [khi ~ hi]; MX [k’i5w ~ hi5b]; HL [k’i5w ~ hi5b]; SX [k’i5w ~ hi5b]; LF [k’i3 ~ hi5];
LZ [hi5]; SHT [k’iu5 ~ hi5]
HY [hy5]; XY [hi5]; DB [hi5]; YL [te’i5]; XC [ei5]
CT [t’i5]; WP [si5]; YD [k’i3]; SH [khi5]; LC1 [k’ui5]; LC2 [hoi5]†
NK [he5]; AY [te’i5 ~ ei5]; SY [te’y2 ~ he2]; XS [ei5]; QN [te’i5 ~ ei5]; ND1 [eie5 ~ eie2];
ND2 [eie5]; ND3 [sie5]
[OPH *hi5]   CNH *hiu5/*hie5/L *k’iu5
†Cf. FJJFYZ, LC: [hue5].
The Xinyí form appears to reflect earlier *hi5 rather than *hiu5. Likewise, the Yílōng form
must derive from earlier *k’i5 rather than *k’y5.

quán 全 QYS dzjwän   CDC *dzion2/EC *dzo
BMH [tshiên]; MX [ts’i5n]; HL [ts’i5n]; SX [ts’i5n]; LF [ts’i6n]; LZ [tʃi5n]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [te’y5n]; XC [ei5n]
CT [ts’i5n]; WP [tshi5n]; YD [—]; SH [tshi5n]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’y5n]; AY [ts’i5n]; SY [te’i3n]; XS [ts’i5n]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ts’i6n]   CNH *ts’iu6

quán 全 QYS dzjwän   CDC *dzion2/EC *dzo
BMH [tshiên]; MX [ts’i5n]; HL [ts’i5n]; SX [ts’i5n]; LF [ts’i6n]; LZ [tʃi5n]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’yan2]; XY [ts’uan2]; DB [ts’iæn2]; YL [te’yen2]; XC [te’ien2]
CT [ts’iæn2]; WP [tshiæn2]; YD [ts’iæn2]; SH [tshiæ2]; LC1 [ts’e2]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’yê2]; AY [ts’ô2]; SY [te’iê2]; XS [ts’iæn2]; QN [te’iuæn2]; ND1 [te’ien2]; ND2
[te’ian2]; ND3 [ts’ian2]
[OPH *ts’ion2]   CNH *ts’ion2
quán 泉 QYS dzjwän CDC *dzion2/EC *dzan
BMH [tshan]; MX [tsian2]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [tsian2]; LZ [tshan]; SHT [ts’an2]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [te’yen2]; XC [te’ien2]
CT [ts’iē2]; WP [tshien2]; YD [ts’an2]; SH [tehi2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
NK [te’iē2]; AY [ts’ō2]; SY [te’iē2]; XS [ts’ien2]; QN [te’iuon2]; ND1 [te’ien2]; ND2 [te’ian2];
ND3 [—]
[OPH ?] CNH *ts’ion2
†FJFYZ: [ts’e2].

quǎn 拳 QYS gijwän3 CDC *gion2/EC *gon
BMH [khên ~ khiên]; MX [k’ian2]; HL [k’ian2]; SX [k’ian2]; LF [k’ian2]; LZ [khen2]; SHT [—]
HY [k’yan2]; XY [k’ian2]; DB [k’ien2]; YL [te’yen2]; XC [te’ien2]
CT [tj’iē2]; WP [khuē2]; YD [k’un2]; SH [tehi2]; LC1 [k’ue2]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’yē2]; AY [te’iō2]; SY [te’yē2]; XS [te’iēn2]; QN [te’iuon2]; ND1 [ts’an2]; ND2 [—];
ND3 [ts’an2]
[OPH *k’ian2] CNH *k’ion2/*k’un2
The second form is supported by the Wǔpíng and Yǒngdìng forms. It is quite possible a Mǐn loanword.

quǎn 犬 QYS khiwen: CDC *khion3/EC **khwenx
BMH [khên]; MX [k’ian3]; HL [k’ian3]; SX [k’ian3]; LF [k’ian3]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [te’ien3]
CT [tj’iē3]; WP [tshien3]; YD [k’ien3]; SH [tehi3w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [khué3]
NK [te’yē3]; AY [te’iō3]; SY [te’yē3]; XS [te’iēn3]; QN [te’iuon3]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *k’ian3] CNH *k’ion3
quàn 勸 QYS khjwɔn- CDC *khion5/khwoŋ
BMH [khēn ~ khêin]; MX [k’ian5]; HL [k’ian5]; SX [k’ian5]; LF [k’ian5]; LZ [hên5]; SHT [khêin5]
HY [hyan5 ~ hian5]; XY [k’ian5]; DB [k’ien5]; YL [te’yen5]; XC [te’ien5]
CT [t’iɛn5]; WP [tšiɛn5]; YD [k’iɛn3]; SH [tšiɛn5]; LC1 [k’ue5]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’yê5]; AY [te’iɔ5]; SY [te’yê2]; XS [te’ien5]; QN [te’iuɔn5]; ND1 [ts’an5]; ND2 [ts’an5]; ND3 [ts’an5]
[OPH *k’ian5] CNH *k’ion5

quē 缺 QYS khiwet CDC *khiot7/EC *’khwet
BMH [khet ~ khiet]; MX [k’iat7]; HL [k’iet5]; SX [k’iet5]; LF [k’iat5]; LZ [khet7]; SHT [—]
HY [k’yat7]; XY [k’iat7]; DB [k’iet7]; YL [te’yeʔ7]; XC [te’ieʔ7]
CT [tʃ’ei1]; WP [—]; YD [k’ieʔ7]; SH [tʃieʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’yæ7]; AY [te’iɔ3]; SY [te’ye5]; XS [te’iet7]; QN [te’iuɔʔ7]; ND1 [ts’aɪt7]; ND2 [ts’aɪt7]; ND3 [ts’aɪt7]
[OPH *k’iat7 ?] CNH *k’iɔt7

què 瘸 QYS guâ CDC *giuɔ2/EC *—
BMH [khiɔ]; MX [—]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [k’io2]; LZ [kho2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [tʃ’io2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’io2]; AY [te’io2]; SY [te’io2]; XS [te’io2]; QN [te’io2]; ND1 [ts’o2]; ND2 [ts’o2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *k’io2] CNH *k’io2

què 雀 QYS tsjak CDC *tsiɔk7/EC *tsawk
BMH [tsiɔk]; MX [tsiɔk7]; HL [tsiɔk7]; SX [tsiɔk7]; LF [tsiɔk7]; LZ [tʃiɔk7]; SHT [tsiɔk7]
HY [tsyɔk7 ~ tsiɔk7]; XY [tsiɔk7]; DB [tsiɔk7]; YL [—]; XC [te’ioʔ7]
CT [tsio2]; WP [tʃiɔʔ7]; YD [tsiɔʔ7]; SH [tʃiɔʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tʃeʊ6]
Appendix: Data

NK [t’e’io8]; AY [ts’io6]; SY [t’e’io5]; XS [ts’iɔk7]; QN [t’e’ioʔ7]; ND1 [teiok7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ts’iɔk8]

OPH *tsiok7    CNH *tsiok7/*ts’iok7

The Ningdū-3 tone is irregular.

què 却    QYS  kḥjak    CDC *khiok7/EC *kḥak
BMH [khiok]; MX [k’iok7]; HL [k’iok7]; SX [—]; LF [k’iok7]; LZ [khiok7]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [t’e’ioʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [k’i’,ʔ7]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [te’io6]; SY [t’e’io5]; XS [te’iɔk7]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ts’i̯k7]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *k’iok7]    CNH *k’iok7

què 確    QYS  khāk    CDC *khoʊk7/EC *kʰrawk
BMH [khok]; MX [k’ok7]; HL [k’ok7]; SX [k’ok7]; LF [k’ok7]; LZ [koʊk7]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [t’e’ioʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [khoʔʔ7]; YD [—]; SH [khoʔʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [k’o8]; AY [k’o6]; SY [k’o5]; XS [k’ok7]; QN [k’oʔ7]; ND1 [k’ok7]; ND2 [k’ok7]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *k’ok7]    CNH *k’ok7

qún 裙    QYS  gjuən    CDC *giun2/EC *gun
BMH [khiûn]; MX [k’iun2]; HL [k’iun2]; SX [k’iun2]; LF [k’iun2]; LZ [khiun2]; SHT [k’iun2]
HY [k’uni2]; XY [k’uni2]; DB [k’uni2]; YL [te’ynə]; XC [te’i̯n2]
CT [tʃ’i̯n2]; WP [tʃi̯n2]; YD [k’uni2]; SH [tʃi̯n2]; LC1 [k’uən2]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’i̯n2]; AY [te’iən2]; SY [te’yn2]; XS [te’i̯n2]; QN [te’iun2]; ND1 [ts’ən2]; ND2 [ts’ən2];
    ND3 [ts’ən2]
OPH *k’iun2    CNH *k’iun2
R

rán 然 QYS ńźjân CDC *nhian2/EC *nan
BMH [yên]; MX [ian2]; HL [ʒan2]; SX [ian2]; LF [jan2]; LZ [ʒɛn2]; SHT [—]
HY [jian2]; XY [nian2]; DB [zan2]; YL [—]; XC [zan2]
CT [—]; WP [iɛŋ2]; YD [iɛn2]; SH [iɛ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iɛ2]; AY [ji2]; SY [jii2]; XS [iɛn2]; QN [iɛn2]; ND1 [iɛn2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ian2]
[OPH *ian2]    CNH *ian2
The Xînhî form reflects an earlier *ňian2. The Xîchāng reading is a Mandarinized form.

rán 燃 QYS ńźjäm: CDC *nhiam4 ~ *nhiam4/EC *namx
BMH [nyâm ~ nyàm]; MX [niam3 ~ niam5]; HL [niam6]; SX [niam5]; LF [niam6]; LZ [ŋiam5]; SHT [—]
HY [njiam3]; XY [niam3]; DB [niam3]; YL [niɛn3]; XC [ʒan3]
CT [niŋ3]; WP [iɛŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [niâ3]; LC1 [ŋe3]; LC2 [—]
NK [niɛ1]; AY [niâ6]; SY [jii3]; XS [niɛn3]; QN [niam3]; ND1 [nam3]; ND2 [nam1]; ND3 [nam1]
[OPH *niam6]    CNH *ňiam3/*ňiam6
The Shàngyóu form is derived from earlier *ian3, which is intrusive rather than the native. The second and third Nîngdû forms have an unexpected tone 1 that is not found elsewhere.

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Appendix: Data

ràng 譲 QYS ńźjang- CDC *nhiong6/EC *nangh
BMH [yòng ~ nyòng]; MX [iən5w ~ ńiəŋ5b]; HL [ʒoŋ5]; SX [iəŋ5]; LF [joŋ6]; LZ [ŋiəŋ5]; SHT [—]
HY [nyəŋ6]; XY [ńiəŋ3]; DB [ńiəŋ5]; YL [ńiəŋ3]; XC [ńiəŋ5]
CT [ńiəŋ6]; WP [ńiəŋ3]; YD [ńiəŋ5]; SH [ńiəŋ3]; LC1 [ńiən6]; LC2 [—]
NK [ńiəs5]; AY [ńiəŋ6]; SY [ńiəs5]; XS [ńiəŋ5]; QN [ńiəŋ5]; ND1 [ńəŋ6]; ND2 [ńəŋ6]; ND3 [ńəŋ6]
[OPH *ńiəŋ5] CNH *ńiəŋ6/L *ńiən6

ráo 饒 QYS ńźjäu CDC *nhiau2/EC *new
BMH [nyâu]; MX [ńiau2]; HL [ńiau2]; SX [ńieu2]; LF [ńiau2]; LZ [ńiəu2]; SHT [—]
HY [ńiau2]; XY [ńiau2]; DB [ńiau2]; YL [ńiau2]; XC [ńau2]
CT [—]; WP [ńia2]; YD [ńieu2]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ńia2]; AY [ńia2]; SY [ńia2]; XS [ńiau2]; QN [ńiau2]; ND1 [ńau2]; ND2 [ńau2]; ND3 [ńau2]
OPH *ń2iau2 CNH *ńiau2

rè 熱 QYS ńźjät CD *niat8/EC *nat
BMH [nyêt]; MX [ńiat8]; HL [ńiet8]; SX [ńiet8]; LF [ńiat8]; LZ [ńiət8]; SHT [—]
HY [ńiat8]; XY [ńiat8]; DB [ńiat8]; YL [ńieʔ8]; XC [ńieʔ8]
CT [ńe6]; WP [ńieʔ8]; YD [ńieʔ8]; SH [ńieʔ8]; LC1 [ńi5]; LC2 [ńi5]
NK [ńie5]; AY [ńi5]; SY [ńie5]; XS [ńieʔ8]; QN [ńieʔ8]; ND1 [ńait8]; ND2 [ńat8]; ND3 [ńat8]
OPH *ń4iat8 CNH *ńiət8

rén 人 QYS ńźjen CDC *nhin2/EC *nin
BMH [ńyin]; MX [ńin2]; HL [ńin2]; SX [ńin2]; LF [ńin2]; LZ [ŋin2]; SHT [ńin2]
HY [ńin2]; XY [ńin2]; DB [ńən2]; YL [ńin2]; XC [ńin2]
CT [ńen2]; WP [ńin2]; YD [ńin2]; SH [ńin2]; LC1 [ńien2]; LC2 [ńien2 ~ ńien2]
NK [ńin2]; AY [ńien2]; SY [ńin2 ~ ńiən2]; XS [ńin2]; QN [ńin2]; ND1 [ńən2]; ND2 [ńən2b ~ in2w]; ND3 [ńən2 ~ in2]
Common Neo-Hakka: A Comparative Reconstruction

OPH *n₁in2  CNH *ńin2/L in2

rèn 任 QYS ńźjæn- CDC *nhim6/EC *nimh
BMH [nyim]; MX [im5]; HL [3em5]; SX [im5]; LF [nim6]; LZ [ŋim5]; SHT [ŋim5]
HY [ŋim6]; XY [nim3]; DB [nəm3]; YL [nin3]; XC [nin5]
CT [ieŋ6]; WP [iŋ3]; YD [iŋ5]; SH [iŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iŋ5]; AY [jiŋ6]; SY [jiŋ5]; XS [—]; QN [nin6]; ND1 [im6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [im6]
[OPH *n₁im6]  CNH *ńim6/*im6

rèn 忍 QYS ńźjen: CDC *nhin4/EC *nunx
BMH [nyun ~ nyún†]; MX [niun1]; HL [niun1]; SX [niun1]; LF [niun1]; LZ [ŋiuŋ3]; SHT [—]
HY [nin5]; XY [nyn1]; DB [nən1]; YL [nin3]; XC [nin3]
CT [enŋ1]; WP [nin1]; YD [nin1]; LC1 [ŋieŋ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [niŋ5]; AY [niəŋ3]; SY [niŋ3]; XS [nin3]; QN [nin1]; ND1 [nəŋ3]; ND2 [nəŋ3]; ND3 [nəŋ3]
OPH *n₁iun1  CNH *ńiun1/*ńiun3/L *ńin1/*ńin3
†Said by the source to be the “proper” (i.e., literary or character) reading.
††Form after Lán (1999).

rèn 刃 QYS ńźjen- CDC *nhin6/EC *nunh
BMH [nyun]; MX [niŋ3]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [niŋ5]; AY [niəŋ6]; SY [niŋ3]; XS [nin5]; QN [nin6]; ND1 [nəŋ6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *n₁iŋ3]  CNH *ńiŋ6/*ńin6

rèn 認 QYS ńźjen- CDC *nhin6/EC *nunh
BMH [nyin]; MX [nin5]; HL [nin6]; SX [nin5]; LF [nin6]; LZ [ŋin5]; SHT [—]
HY [nin6]; XY [nin3]; DB [nən3]; YL [nin3]; XC [nin5]
CT [neŋ6]; WP [niŋ3]; YD [niŋ5]; SH [niŋ3]; LC1 [ŋieŋ6]; LC2 [—]
NK [niŋ5]; AY [niəŋ6]; SY [niŋ5]; XS [nin5]; QN [nin6]; ND1 [nən6]; ND2 [nən6]; ND3 [nən6]
[OPH *n₁in6]  CNH *ńín6

ri  目  QYS ńźjet  CDC *ⁿhit8/EC *nit
BMH [nyit]; MX [nit7]; HL [nit7]; SX [nit7]; LF [nit7]; LZ [ŋit7]; SHT [ŋit7]
HY [ŋit7]; XY [nit7]; DB [nət7]; YL [ŋiʔ8 ~ nieʔ8b]†; XC [zəŋ2w ~ zən̥2w ~ nieʔ7b]
CT [ni2]; WP [niʔ7]; YD [niʔ7]; SH [niʔ7]; LC1 [ŋi6]; LC2 [ni6 ~ ni6]
NK [nie5 ~ nie7]; AY [ni3]; SY [nie5]; XS [nit7]; QN [niʔ7]; ND1 [nat7]; ND2 [nat7]; ND3 [nat7]
[OPH *n₁it7]  CNH *ńit7/*ńiat7
†Second form, sense of “day”, is found in the Glossary section of the source.
The Yiłǒng bái form appears to be a substitution of rè 熱 *ńiat8 “hot”, as reconstructed above.

róng 容  QYS jiwong  CDC *yung2/EC *yong
BMH [yûŋ]; MX [iuŋ2]; HL [ʒuŋ2]; SX [iuŋ2]; LF [juŋ2]; LZ [ʒuŋ2]; SHT [jʊŋ2]
HY [jioŋ2]; XY [iəŋ2]; DB [zuoŋ2]; YL [iuŋ2]; XC [iəŋ2]
CT [iəŋ2]; WP [iəŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [iəŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iŋ2]; AY [jiŋ2]; SY [jiaŋ2]; XS [iəŋ2]; QN [iŋ2]; ND1 [iŋ2]; ND2 [iŋ2]; ND3 [iŋ2]
[OPH *iŋ2]  CNH *iŋ2

róu 柔  QYS ńźjου  CDC *nhieu2/EC *—
BMH [yû]; M X [iu2]; HL [ʒu2]; SX [iu2]; LF [—]; LZ [ʒiu2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [ʒʊu2]
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CT [—]; WP [iu2]; YD [—]; SH [io2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iu2]; AY [—]; SY [jiu2]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *iu2]  CNH *ieu2

ròu 肉 QYS ńźjuk  CDC *niu8/EC *nuk
BMH [nyuk]; MX [niuk7]; HL [niuk7]; SX [niuk7]; LF [niuk7]; LZ [qiuk7]; SHT [niuk7]
HY [nyok7 ~ nyok8]†; XY [niuk7]; DB [niuk7]; YL [niou7]; XC [niuk7]
CT [nieu2 ~ nia2]; WP [niuʔ7]; YD [niuʔ7]; SH [niaʔ]; LC1 [niu6]; LC2 [nie6 ~ niew5]
NK [niu8]; AY [nio6w ~ n6]; SY [niu5]; XS [niuk7]; QN [niuʔ7]; ND1 [nuk7]; ND2 [nuk7];
ND3 [nuk7 ~ niuk7]
[OPH *niuʔ7]  CNH *niu7/*niuk8
†Second form used specifically in the compound [nyok8 tsy1] 肉豬 “castrated hog”. It is the
first form which normally means “meat” in this dialect.

rú 如 QYS ńźjwo, (ńźjwo-)  CDC *nhie2 (~ *niu2)/EC *na
BMH [yi]; MX [i2]; HL [zi2]; SX [i2]; LF [ji2]; LZ [zi2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [zu2]; XC [zu2]
CT [i2]; WP [i2]; YD [—]; SH [i2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ye2]
NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [jy2]; XS [—]; QN [e2]; ND1 [lu2]; ND2 [lu2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *i2]  CNH *iu2
The two Ningdū forms appear to be borrowings of a northern reading [qu2].

rǔ 汝 QYS ńźjwo:  CDC *nhie4/EC *na “you”  See sub nǐ 你.

rǔ 乳 QYS ńźju:  CDC *niu4/EC *nox
BMH [—]; MX [i1]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [i3]; WP [—]; YD [zi3]; SH [i3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [lu3 ~ iui3]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH ?]  CNH *iu3 ?
The first Quánnán form may be a late northern loan, in which non-indigenous initial `ɻ- has been replaced by native l-.

ru 侮辱  QYS ńźjwok  CDC *nhiuk8/EC *nok
BMH [yūk]; MX [niuk8]; HL [ŋu8]; SX [ŋu8]; LF [juk8]; LZ [ʒu8]; SHT [—]
HY [ŋyok8]; XY [ŋiu8]; DB [zung8]; YL [—]; XC [quʔ7]
CT [ieu6]; WP [—]; YD [ŋiʔ8]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ŋi8]; AY [ji1]; SY [io5]; XS [—]; QN [lu3]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH ?] CNH *ŋiuk8
†FJFYZ: [ŋiau5].
The Méixiàn form appears to derive from an earlier *ŋiuk8, which is not represented elsewhere.
The Quánnán form is probably a borrowing of northern [qu2].

ru 入  QYS ńźjwok  CDC *nhiuk8/EC *nok
BMH [yūk]; MX [niuk8]; HL [ŋu8]; SX [ŋu8]; LF [juk8]; LZ [ʒu8]; SHT [—]
HY [ŋyok8]; XY [ŋiu8]; DB [zung8]; YL [—]; XC [quʔ7]
CT [ieu6]; WP [—]; YD [ŋiʔ8]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ŋi8]; AY [ji1]; SY [io5]; XS [—]; QN [lu3]; ND1 [ŋiuk8]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ŋiuk7]
OPH *ŋiuk8 CNH *ŋiuk8

ruǎn 軟  QYS ńźjwän:  CDC *nhion4/EC *nonx
BMH [nyon]; MX [niön1]; HL [niön1]; SX [niön1]; LF [niön1]; LZ [ŋiön1]; SHT [ŋiön1]
HY [ŋyan5]; XY [niän1]; DB [niön2]; YL [—]; XC [nyën2]
The Changting form is irregular. The Tone of the Heyuan form is not explained by any of the reconstructions.

ruì 銳 QYS  jiwäi- CDC *yui6/EC *yoth
BMH [yüi]; MX [iui5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [guei5]; XC [—]
CT [ʃue5]; WP [—]; YD [iei3]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [lue5]; AY [lue6]; SY [lue3]; XS [—]; QN [iui6]; ND1 [lui6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH ?]  CNH *iui6/*šui5
The l- initial forms in this set do not show a recognizable correspondence pattern appear to be late borrowings of a northern or northern-like [qui6].

ruò 弱 QYS  ńźjak CDC *nhiok8/EC *—
BMH [nyok]; MX [niok8]; HL [niok8]; SX [niok8]; LF [niok8]; LZ [ŋiok8]; SHT [ŋiok8]
HY [nyok8]; XY [niok8]; DB [niok8]; YL [niok8]; XC [nio?8]
CT [nio6]; WP [nio?8]; YD [nio?8]; SH [nio?8]; LC1 [ŋieu5]; LC2 [—]
NK [nio1]; AY [nio6]; SY [nio5]; XS [niok8]; QN [nio?8]; ND1 [nok8]; ND2 [ŋok8]; ND3 [ŋok8]
[OPH *niok8]  CNH *niok8

ruò 若 QYS  ńźjak CDC *nhiok8/EC *nak
BMH [yok]; MX [isk8]; HL [3ok8]; SX [iok8]; LF [jok8]; LZ [3ok8]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [nio?8]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [io1]; AY [—]; SY [nio5]; XS [—]; QN [io?7]; ND1 [nok8]; ND2 [ŋok8]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *iok8]  CNH *niok8/*iok8
S

sà 薩 QYS sät CDC *sat7/EC *'sat
BMH [sat]; MX [—]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [sat7]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [saʔ7]; XC [saʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [saʔ7]; YD [sat7]; SH [saʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sa8]; AY [sə3]; SY [sa5]; XS [saɪt7]; QN [saɛʔ7]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *sat7] CNH *sat7

sān 三 QYS sâm CDC *sam1/EC *’sam
BMH [sam]; MX [sam1]; HL [sam1]; SX [sam1]; LF [sam1]; LZ [ʃam1]; SHT [sam1]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [saŋ1]; XC [saŋ1]
CT [saŋ1]; WP [saŋ1]; YD [saŋ1]; SH [saŋ1]; LC1 [saŋ1]; LC2 [saŋ1]
NK [sā1]; AY [sā1]; SY [saŋ1]; XS [sam1]; QN [sam1]; ND1 [sam1]; ND2 [sam1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *sam1] CNH *sam1

sāng 喪 QYS sâng CDC *song1/EC *’song
BMH [song]; MX [sɔŋ1]; HL [sɔŋ1]; SX [sɔŋ1]; LF [sɔŋ1]; LZ [sɔŋ1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [ʃɔŋ1]; YL [sɔŋ1]; XC [sɔŋ1]
CT [sɔŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [sɔŋ1 ∼ səŋ1]; SH [sɔŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sɔŋ1]; AY [—]; SY [sɔŋ1]; XS [sɔŋ1]; QN [—]; ND1 [sɔŋ1]; ND2 [sɔŋ1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *sɔŋ1] CNH *sɔŋ1

sāng 桑 QYS sâng CDC *song1/EC *’song
BMH [song]; MX [sɔŋ1]; HL [sɔŋ1]; SX [sɔŋ1]; LF [sɔŋ1]; LZ [sɔŋ1]; SHT [—]
HY [sɔŋ1]; XY [sɔŋ1]; DB [ʃɔŋ1]; YL [sɔŋ1]; XC [sɔŋ1]
CT [sɔŋ1]; WP [suŋ1]; YD [sɔŋ1]; SH [sɔŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sɔŋ1]; AY [sɔŋ1]; SY [sɔŋ1]; XS [sɔŋ1]; QN [sɔŋ1]; ND1 [sɔŋ1]; ND2 [sɔŋ1]; ND3 [sɔŋ1]
[OPH *sɔŋ1] CNH *sɔŋ1
Common Neo-Hakka:
A Comparative Reconstruction

sǎo 嫂 QYS sāu: CDC *sou3/EC *'sux
BMH [sāu ~ sò]; MX [sau3]; SX [so3]; LF [so3]; LZ [jau3]; SHT [sau3]
HY [sau3]; XY [sō3]; DB [[lɔɔ]; YL [sau3]; XC [sau3]
CT [sɔ3]; WP [so3]; YD [sou3]; SH [su3]; LC1 [sɔ3]; LC2 [suu3]
NK [sɔ3]; AY [sɔ3]; SY [sɔ3]; XS [sau3]; QN [sau3]; ND1 [sau3]; ND2 [sau3]; ND3 [sau3]
[OPH *sou3] CNH *sou3

sè 色 QYS sjək CDC *shek7/EC *srik
BMH [sɛt]; MX [sɛt7]; HL [sɛt7]; SX [sɛt7]; LF [sɛt7]; LZ [ʃɛt7]; SHT [—]
HY [sɛt7]; XY [ʃɛt7]; DB [ʃɛt7]; YL [ʃɛʔ7]; XC [sɛʔ7]
CT [sɛʔ7]; WP [ʃɛʔ7]; YD [ʃɛʔ7]; SH [ʃɛʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sɛʔ5]; AY [sɛʔ6]; SY [sɛʔ5]; XS [sɛʔ7]; QN [sɛʔ7]; ND1 [sɛk7]; ND2 [sɛk7]; ND3 [sɛk7]
[OPH *sɛt7] CNH *sɛk7

sè 瑟 QYS sjɛp CDC *shɛt7/EC *srip
BMH [sep]; MX [ʃɛp7]; HL [ʃɛp7]; SX [ʃɛp7]; LF [ʃɛp7]; LZ [ʃɛp7]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ʃɛʔ7]; XC [ʃɛʔ7]
CT [―]; WP [―]; YD [―]; SH [―]; LC1 [―]; LC2 [―]
NK [―]; AY [―]; SY [―]; XS [―]; QN [―]; ND1 [ʃɛt7]; ND2 [―]; ND3 [―]
[OPH *ʃɛt7] CNH *ʃɛt7/*ʃɛt7

The initial of the Xīchāng form probably reflects Mandarin influence of some sort.
sēn 森 QYS şem CDC *shem1/EC *srim
BMH [sem]; MX [sem1]; HL [sem1]; SX [sem1]; LF [sem1]; LZ [jem1]; SHT [sim1]
HY [sam1]; XY [sem1]; DB [lam1]; YL [şen1 ~ san1]; XC [şen1]
CT [sen1]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [şê2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sê1]; AY [—]; SY [sê1]; XS [şen1]; QN [sen1]; ND1 [şam1]; ND2 [şam1]; ND3 [şam1]
OPH *sem1 CNH *sem1

sēng 僧 QYS şəng CDC *seng1/EC *’sing
BMH [sen]; MX [şen1]; HL [sen1]; SX [şen1]; LF [sen1]; LZ [thɛn1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [san1]; XC [şan1]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [şê1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sê1]; AY [—]; SY [sê1]; XS [şen1]; QN [şen1]; ND1 [şəŋ1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *sen1] CNH *şəŋ1

shā 沙 QYS şa CDC *shal1/EC *sray
BMH [sa]; MX [sa1]; HL [sa1]; SX [sa1]; LF [sa1]; LZ [ʃa1]; SHT [sa1]
HY [sa1]; XY [sa1]; DB [la1]; YL [sa1]; XC [ga1]
CT [sa1]; WP [sa1]; YD [sa1]; SH [sa1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [so1]
NK [sa1]; AY [sa1]; SY [sa1]; XS [sa1]; QN [sa1]; ND1 [sa1]; ND2 [sa1]; ND3 [sa1]
OPH *sa1 CNH *sa1

shā 殺 QYS şat CDC *shat7/EC *srat
BMH [sat]; MX [sat7]; HL [sat7]; SX [sat7]; LF [sat7]; LZ [ʃat7]; SHT [sat7]
HY [sat7]; XY [sat7]; DB [lat7]; YL [sa2]; XC [—]
CT [saí2]; WP [sa7]; YD [sat7]; SH [sa7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [sa6]
NK [sa7]; AY [sa3]; SY [sa5]; XS [saí7]; QN [Şa7]; ND1 [saí7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [sa7]
[OPH *sat7] CNH *sat7

shā 傻 QYS şwa: CDC *shua3 (?)/EC *—
BMH [så]; MX [şɔ2]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [ʃɔ2]; SHT [şɔ2]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [—]; WP [sa1]; YD [—]; SH [sa1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [so3]; SY [sa3]; XS [sa3]; QN [—]; ND1 [sa3]; ND2 [sat7]; ND3 [—]
[OPH ?] CNH *so2/*sa3

shāi QYS ʂㄧ “sieve” CDC *shai1/EC *sre
BMH [si ~ tshe]; MX [si1 ~ sai1]; HL [si1]; SX [—]; LF [si1]; LZ [ʃi]; SHT [—]
HY [sai1]; XY [ts’ei1]; DB [ts’e1]; YL [—]; XC [ʃai1]
CT [sai1]; WP [sa1]; YD [sa1]; SH [sa1 ~ tshei1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sæ1]; AY [sæ1]; SY [sæ1]; XS [sai1]; QN [sai1]; ND1 [sai1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [sai1]
[OPH *si1] CNH *sai1/*sai1
A variant form having initial *ts’- is also represented in this set, but its final is impossible to reconstruct.

shài晒、曬 QYS ʂai- CDC *shai5/EC *sre
BMH [sái]; MX [sai5]; HL [sai5]; SX [sai5]; LF [sai5]; LZ [ʃai5]; SHT [sai1]
HY [sai5]; XY [sai5]; DB [ʃai5]; YL [sai5]; XC [ʃai5]
CT [—]; WP [sa5]; YD [sai3]; SH [sai3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sæ5]; AY [sæ5]; SY [sæ1]; XS [sai5]; QN [sai5]; ND1 [sa5]; ND2 [sai3]; ND3 [sa5]
[OPH *sai5] CNH *sai5/*sai3

shān山QYS ʂan CDC *shan1/EC *sran
BMH [san]; MX [san1]; HL [san1]; SX [san1]; LF [san1]; LZ [ʃan1]; SHT [san1]
HY [san1]; XY [san1]; DB [ʃan1]; YL [san1]; XC [ʃan1]
CT [san1]; WP [sa1]; YD [san1]; SH [ʃa1]; LC1 [sa1]; LC2 [sa1]
NK [sâ1]; AY [sâ1]; SY [ʃa1]; XS [san1]; QN [san1]; ND1 [ʃan1]; ND2 [sa1]; ND3 [san1]
OPH *san1 CNH *san1

shān衫QYS ʂam CDC *sham1/EC —
BMH [sam]; MX [sam1]; HL [sam1]; SX [sam1]; LF [sam1]; LZ [ʃam1]; SHT [sam1]
Appendix: Data

HY [sam1]; XY [sam1]; DB [lam1]; YL [san1]; XC [ʂan1]
CT [saŋ1]; WP [saŋ1]; YD [saŋ1]; SH [sə1]; LC1 [saŋ1]; LC2 [saŋ1]
NK [sə1]; AY [sə1]; SY [sə1]; XS [san1]; QN [sam1]; ND1 [sam1]; ND2 [sam1]; ND3 [sam1]

[OPH *sam1] CNH *sam1

shān 杉 QYS ʂäm CDC *sham1/EC —
BMH [tshám]†; MX [ts’am5]; HL [ts’am5]; SX [ts’am5]; LF [ts’am5]; LZ [tʃam5]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’am5]; XY [ts’am5]; DB [ts’am5]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [saŋ1]; WP [saŋ1]; YD [ts’an3]; SH [tʃə5]; LC1 [ts’an1]; LC2 [ts’an5]
NK [sa1]; AY [sa1]; SY [sə1 ~ sa1]; XS [sa1]; QN [sa1]; ND1 [sa1]; ND2 [ts’am1]; ND3
[ts’am5]

[OPH *ts’am5] CNH *ts’am5/*sam1/*sa1
The tone of this form is probably a misprint in our primary source. Cf. Zhuāng & Huáng (2014), who consistently give tshám for this word.

shàn 閃 QYS ʂjà̃ː; - CDC *shiam3/EC *0amx
BMH [shám]; MX [sam3 ~ sap7s]; HL [ʃam3]; SX [ʃam3]; LF [ʃam3]; LZ [ʃjəm3]; SHT [ʃiam3]
HY [siam3]; XY [sam3]; DB [sam3]; YL [ʂan3]; XC [ʂan3]
CT [ʃiŋ3]; WP [saŋ3]; YD [ʃaŋ3]; SH [sə3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sə3]; AY [sə3]; SY [sə3]; XS [ʃən3]; QN [—]; ND1 [sam3]; ND2 [sam3]; ND3 [sam1]

[OPH *ʃam3] CNH *ʃiam3
The tone of the Níngdū-3 form is irregular.

shàn 善 QYS ʒjà̃ː; ʒjàn- CDC *zhian6/EC *danx
BMH [ʃən ~ shàn ~ shán]; MX [san5]; HL [ʃən5]; SX [ʃən5]; LF [ʃən5]; LZ [ʃən5]; SHT [—]
HY [ʃən6]; XY [san3]; DB [san3]; YL [ʂən5]; XC [ʂən5]
CT [ʃiŋ6]; WP [ʃən3]; YD [—]; SH [sə3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sə5]; AY [ɕi6]; SY [ʂə5]; XS [ʃən5]; QN [ʃən6]; ND1 [san6]; ND2 [san6]; ND3 [san6]

[OPH *ʃan5] CNH *ʃian6
The tone of the Hǎilù form is irregular.
### shàn 扇 QYS שיאn- CDC *śian5/0anh
BMH [shèn]; MX [ṣan5]; HL [ʃan5]; SX [ʃan5]; LF [fən5]; LZ [ʃən5]; SHT [ʃən5]
HY [śian5]; XY [ṣan5]; DB [ṣan5]; YL [śan5]; XC [ṣan5]
CT [ʃĩn]; WP [ṣən5]; YD [ṣən3]; SH [sən5]; LC1 [ʃe5]; LC2 [ʃe5]
NK [sən5]; AY [ei5]; SY [sən2]; XS [ṣən5]; QN [ṣən7]; ND1 [ṣan5]; ND2 [ṣan5]; ND3 [ṣan5]
[OPH *ṣan5] CNH *śian5

### shāng 商 QYS シアng CDC *śiong1/EC *θang
BMH [shān]; MX [səŋ1]; HL [ʃəŋ1]; SX [ʃəŋ1]; LF [ʃəŋ1]; LZ [ʃəŋ1]; SHT [ʃəŋ1]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ʂəŋ1]; XC [ʂəŋ1]
CT [ʃəŋ1]; WP [səŋ1]; YD [səŋ1]; SH [səŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [səŋ1]; AY [səŋ1]; SY [səŋ1]; XS [ʂəŋ1]; QN [ʂəŋ1]; ND1 [səŋ1]; ND2 [səŋ1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *səŋ1] CNH *śiong1
No Qīngliú form is available for this word. The final of the Song Him Tong form inexplicably retains medial *-i- here.

### shàng 上 QYS シアng- “ascend” CDC *zhiong4/EC *dangx
BMH [shòng]; MX [səŋ5 ~ ʂəŋ1b]; HL [ʃəŋ6 ~ ʃəŋ1]; SX [ʃəŋ1]; LF [ʃəŋ1]; LZ [ʃəŋ1]; SHT [ʃəŋ1]
HY [səŋ5]; XY [səŋ1]; DB [səŋ1]; YL [ʂəŋ3]; XC [ʂəŋ5]
CT [ʃəŋ1]; WP [səŋ1]; YD [—]; SH [səŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ʃəŋ1]
NK [səŋ3 ~ səŋ1]; AY [ʂəŋ3]; SY [ʂəŋ3]; XS [ʂəŋ5]; QN [ʂəŋ6]; ND1 [səŋ1]; ND2 [səŋ1]; ND3 [ʂəŋ1]
[OPH *səŋ1] CNH *śiong1/L *śion6
Cf. Qīngliú: [ʃiŋ5].

### shàng 上 QYS シアng- “up, top” CDC *zhiong6/EC *dangh
BMH [shòng]; MX [səŋ5 ~ ʂəŋ5s]; HL [ʃəŋ6 ~ ʃəŋ5]; SX [ʃəŋ6]; LF [ʃəŋ5]; LZ [ʃəŋ5]; SHT [səŋ5]
HY [səŋ1]; XY [səŋ3]; DB [səŋ3]; YL [ʂəŋ3]; XC [ʂəŋ5]
The second reconstruction may be secondary and due to confusion with the word in the preceding set.

Medial *-i- in this form is reconstructed analogically.
shé 蛇 QYS ʣja CDC *zhia2/EC *δay
BMH [ʃá]; MX [sa2]; HL [ʃa2]; SX [ʃa2]; LF [ʃa2]; LZ [ʃa2]; SHT [sa2]
HY [sa2]; XY [sa2]; DB [sa2]; YL [sa2]; XC [ʃa2]
CT [ʃa2]; WP [sa2]; YD [sa2]; SH [sa2]; LC1 [ʃo2]; LC2 [ʃo2]
NK [sa2]; AY [sa2]; SY [sa2]; XS [ʃa2]; QN [sa2]; ND1 [sa2]; ND2 [sa2]; ND3 [sa2]
OPH *ʃa2 CNH *ʃia2
Cf. Qīngliú: [ʃio2].

shé 舌 QYS ʣjät CDC *zhiat8/EC *δat
BMH [ʃéť]; MX [sa8]; HL [ʃat8]; SX [ʃat8]; LF [ʃat8]; LZ [ʃet8]; SHT [ʃet8]
HY [ʃiat8]; XY [sa8]; DB [sa8]; YL [ʃeʔ8 ~ ʃaʔ8]; XC [ʃeʔ8]
CT [ʃe6]; WP [saʔ8 ~ seʔ8]; YD [seʔ8]; SH [seʔ8]; LC1 [ʃi5]; LC2 [ʃi5]
NK [ʃe5]; AY [ʃi1]; SY [ʃe5]; XS [ʃet8]; QN [ʃeʔ8]; ND1 [ʃait8]; ND2 [ʃat8]; ND3 [ʃat7]
OPH *ʃat8 CNH *ʃi8t8

shě 捨 QYS śja: CDC *shia3/EC *0ax
BMH [ʃá]; MX [sa3]; HL [ʃa3]; SX [ʃa3]; LF [ʃa3]; LZ [ʃa3]; SHT [—]
HY [sha3]; XY [sha3]; DB [sha3]; YL [ʃa3]; XC [ʃa3]
CT [ʃa3]; WP [sha3]; YD [sha3]; SH [ʃa3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sha3]; AY [sha3]; SY [sha3]; XS [ʃa3]; QN [sha3]; ND1 [sha3]; ND2 [sha3]; ND3 [sha3]
[OPH *ʃa3] CNH *ʃia3
Final *-ia in this and the following set is indicated by the final/initial correspondence pattern or signature of the set as a whole. See §3.1.2 of Chapter III.

shè 社 QYS ʒja: CDC *zhia3/EC *dax
BMH [sha]; MX [sa1]; HL [ʃa5]; SX [ʃa1 ~ ʃa5]; LF [ʃa5]; LZ [ʃa1]; SHT [—]
HY [sa5]; XY [sa1]; DB [sa1]; YL [ʃa3]; XC [ʃe5w ~ ʃa5b]
CT [ʃa1]; WP [sa1]; YD [sa1]; SH [sa1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sa3]; AY [sa3]; SY [sa3]; XS [ʃa1]; QN [sa1]; ND1 [sa6]; ND2 [sa1 ~ sa6w]; ND3 [sa6]
[OPH *ʃa1 ~ *ʃa5 ?] CNH *ʃia1/L *ʃia6/*ʃia5
The final of the Shàngháng wén form is anomalous. It is possible that it was borrowed from another dialect which read *sen1 for the literary form in question.

shēn 深  QYS  śjəm  CDC *shim1/EC *θəm
BMH [chim]; MX [ts’əm1]; HL [ʃəm1]; SX [ʃəm1]; LF [ʃim1]; LZ [ʃhim1]; SHT [ts’im1]
HY [ts’im1]; XY [t’s’im1]; DB [ts’əm1]; YL [sən1]; XC [ʃən1]
CT [ʃən1]; WP [tʃən1]; YD [ts’ən1]; SH [sən1]; LC1 [ʃən1]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɕən1]; AY [sən1]; SY [ɕən1]; XS [tʃ’ən1]; QN [tʃ’ən1]; ND1 [səm1]; ND2 [səm1]; ND3 [səm1]
OPH *tʃ’im1  CNH *tʃ’im1/L *ʃim1

shén 神  QYS  dźjen  CDC *zhin2/EC *δin
BMH [shin]; MX [sən2]; HL [ʃən2]; SX [ʃən2]; LF [ʃin2]; LZ [ʃin2]; SHT [sin2]
HY [ʃən2]; XY [ʃən2]; DB [ʃən2]; YL [ʃən2]; XC [ʃən2]
CT [ʃən2]; WP [ʃən2]; YD [ʃən2]; SH [ʃən2]; LC1 [ʃən2]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɕən2]; AY [sən2]; SY [ɕən2]; XS [ʃən2]; QN [ɕən2]; ND1 [sən2]; ND2 [sən2]; ND3 [ʃən2]
OPH *ʃin2  CNH *sin1

shèn 甚  QYS  źjəmː, źjəm-  CDC *zhim4/EC *dumx
BMH [şim]; MX [səm5]; HL [ʃem3]; SX [ʃem3]; LF [ʃim6]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [ʃəm5]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɕəm5]; AY [səm6]; SY [ɕəm5]; XS [ʃəm5]; QN [—]; ND1 [səm6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
OPH *ʃim6  CNH *ʃim6
It is difficult to reconstruct a proto-form for this set on the basis of such scant evidence. The Méixiàn form is not comparable to the remaining forms in the set.

The coda of the second reconstructed form is uncertain.
CT [ʃeŋ1]; WP [saŋ1]; YD [saŋ1]; SH [saŋ1]; LC1 [ʃaŋ1]; LC2 [ʃaŋ1]; NK [ɕiŋ1w ~ sã1b]; AY [sã1]; SY [ɕiŋ1 ~ sã1]; XS [ʂən1 ~ ʂaŋ1]; QN [saŋ1]; ND1 [səŋ1 ~ saŋ1]; ND2 [saŋ1]; ND3 [saŋ1 ~ saŋ1]; OPH *šang1   CNH *šiaŋ1/L *šiŋ1

Cf. Qīngliú: [ʃiã1].

shēng 升 QYS ʂjaŋg CDC *shing1/EC *tiaŋ
BMH [shin]; MX [saŋ1]; HL [ʃen1]; SX [ʃen1]; LF [ʃin1]; LZ [ʃin1]; SHT [sin1]
HY [sin1]; XY [ʃin1]; DB [səŋ1]; YL [ʃən1]; XC [ɕən1]
CT [ʃen1]; WP [ — ]; YD [ɕiŋ1]; SH [ɕiŋ1]; LC1 [ʃeŋ1]; LC2 [ — ]
NK [ɕiŋ1]; AY [səŋ2]; SY [ɕiŋ2]; XS [ʂən2]; QN [ɕiŋ2]; ND1 [səŋ2]; ND2 [səŋ2]; ND3 [səŋ2]
[OPH *ɕiŋ1]   CNH *ɕiŋ1

shèng 纏 QYS dzjæŋg CDC *zhing2/EC *tiaŋ
BMH [shûn]; MX [sun2]; HL [ʃen2]; SX [ʃen2]; LF [ʃun2]; LZ [ʃin2]; SHT [ — ]
HY [sin2]; XY [ʃin2]; DB [səŋ2]; YL [ — ]; XC [ — ]
CT [ — ]; WP [ — ]; YD [sun2]; SH [ɕiŋ2]; LC1 [ — ]; LC2 [ — ]
NK [ɕiŋ2]; AY [səŋ2]; SY [ɕiŋ2]; XS [ʂən2]; QN [ɕiŋ2]; ND1 [səŋ2]; ND2 [ — ]; ND3 [səŋ2]
[OPH *ʃun2]   CNH *ʃun2/*ɕiŋ2

shèng 盛 QYS ʒjang- CDC *ziang6/EC *dengh
BMH [ʃin]; MX [sən5]; HL [ʃen5]; SX [ʃen5]; LF [ʃin5]; LZ [ʃin5]; SHT [ — ]
HY [ — ]; XY [ — ]; DB [ — ]; YL [ʃən5]; XC [ɕən5]
CT [ʃen6]; WP [ — ]; YD [ — ]; SH [ — ]; LC1 [ — ]; LC2 [tʃən5]
NK [ɕiŋ5]; AY [ — ]; SY [ɕiŋ5]; XS [səŋ5]; QN [ — ]; ND1 [səŋ6]; ND2 [ — ]; ND3 [ — ]
[OPH *ɕiŋ5]   CNH *ɕiŋ6/*ɕiŋ5

The tone of the second reconstruction is confirmed by the Hǎilù form.

shèng 聖 QYS ʒjang- CDC *shiâng5/EC *tiaŋ
BMH [ʃin]; MX [sən5w ~ saŋ5b]; HL [ʃen5]; SX [ʃen5]; LF [ʃin5]; LZ [ʃin5]; SHT [ — ]
The Héyuán form is irregular and appears to derive from an earlier *si1.
Appendix: Data

CT [ʃi2]; WP [sc?7]; YD [si?7]; SH [sei?7]; LC1 [ʃi6]; LC2 [—]
NK [se7 ~ sæ5]; AY [s33]; SY [se5]; XS [ɡ1t17]; QN [ei?7 ~ sʔ7]; ND1 [səp7]; ND2 [səp7];
        ND3 [səp7]
OPH *šip7   CNH *šip7
†Second form after BJYJ.

shī 當   QYS ʂjɛt   CDC *ʃet7/EC *srit
BMH [ʃet ~ sɨt]; MX [ʃet7]; HL [ʃet7]; SX [ʃet7]; LF [ʃet7]; LZ [ʃɨt7]; SHT [ʃɨt7]
HY [ʃɨt7]; XY [ʃet7]; DB [ʃɨt7]; YL [ʃeʔ7]; XC [ʃieʔ7]
CT [se2]; WP [ʃeʔ7]; YD [ʃeʔ7]; SH [ʃeʔ7]; LC1 [su6]; LC2 [sɨu6 ~ sɨu2]
NK [səʔ7]; AY [si33]; SY [se5]; XS [ — ]; QN [ʃeʔ7]; ND1 [ʃat7]; ND2 [ʃɨt7]; ND3 [ʃat7]
OPH *ʃet7   CNH *ʃet7

shí 時   QYS ʂjɪ   CDC *zhi2/EC *di
BMH [ʃi]; MX [ʃ2]; HL [ʃi2]; SX [ʃi2]; LF [ʃi2]; LZ [ʃi2]; SHT [ʃi2]
HY [ʃ2]; XY [ʃi2]; DB [ʃi2]; YL [ʃi2]; XC [ʃi2]
CT [ʃi2]; WP [ʃi2]; YD [ʃi2]; SH [ʃ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ʃi2]
NK [ʃ2]; AY [ʃ2]; SY [ʃ2]; XS [ʃi2]; QN [ʃ2]; ND1 [ɕi2]; ND2 [ɕi2]; ND3 [ɕi2]
[OPH *si2]   CNH *si2

The Ningdū forms in [sap8] appear to be loans of some sort.
Common Neo-Hakka:  
A Comparative Reconstruction

shi 石 QYS Ċjäk CDC *zhiak8/EC *dak
BMH [shák]; MX [sak8]; SX [fak8]; LF [fak8]; LZ [fak8]; SHT [sak8]
HY [sak8]; XY [sak8]; DB [sak8]; YL [saʔ8]; XC [saʔ8]
CT [ja6]; WP [saʔ8]; YD [saʔ8]; SH [saʔ8]; LC1 [jo5]; LC2 [jo5]
NK [sa1]; AY [sa6]; SY [sa5]; XS [ʃak8]; QN [saʔ8]; ND1 [sak8]; ND2 [sak8]; ND3 [sak8]
OPH *šak8  CNH *šiak8
Cf. Xiúzhuàn: [ʃia6]; Qīngliú: [ʃioʔ7].

shi 食 QYS dźjak CDC *zhik8/EC *őik
BMH [shit]; MX [sat8]; HL [ʃit8]; SX [ʃit8]; LF [ʃit8]; LZ [ʃit8]; SHT [sit8]
HY [sit8]; XY [sit8]; DB [sat8]; YL [ʃeʔ7]; XC [ʃeʔ8]
CT [ʃi6]; WP [siʔ8]; YD [siʔ8]; SH [ʃeʔ8]; LC1 [ʃi5]; LC2 [ʃi5 ~ ʃi5]
NK [sə1]; AY [se6]; SY [se5]; XS [ʃi8]; QN [ʃiʔ8 ~ seʔ8]; ND1 [sak8]; ND2 [sak8]; ND3 [sak8]
OPH *šit8  CNH *šik8/*šit8
The second reconstruction is reflected in Xiūshuǐ form, the first Quánnán reading, and the second Liánchéng-2 reading. It is perhaps a loan from some other more prestigious form of Hakka which had this pronunciation.

shi 實 QYS dʒjet CDC *zhit8/EC *őit
BMH [shit]; MX [sat8]; HL [ʃit8]; SX [ʃit8]; LF [ʃit8]; LZ [ʃit8]; SHT [—]
HY [sit8]; XY [sit8]; DB [sat8]; YL [ʃeʔ7]; XC [ʃeʔ8]
CT [ʃi6]; WP [ʃeʔ8 ~ siʔ8]; YD [siʔ8]; SH [ʃeʔ8]; LC1 [ʃi5]; LC2 [—]
NK [sə5]; AY [sə1]; SY [se5]; XS [ʃi8]; QN [ʃiʔ8 ~ seʔ8]; ND1 [sət8]; ND2 [sət8]; ND3 [sət8 ~ sik7]
[OPH *šit8]  CNH *ši8

shi 使 QYS ʂi: CDC *shei3/EC *srix
BMH [su]; MX [sɿ3]; HL [ɕi3]; SX [ɕi3]; LF [sɛ3]; LZ [fu3]; SHT [su3]
HY [ɕie3]; XY [sɿ3]; DB [ɿ3]; YL [ʂɿ3]; XC [ɕɿ3]
Appendix: Data

CT [sì3]; WP [sì3]; YD [sì3]; SH [sì3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sì3]; AY [sì3]; SY [sì3]; XS [sì3]; QN [sì3]; ND1 [sà3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [sà3]

OPH *sì3   CNH *sì3

shi 屁  QYS  shì:   CDC *shì3/EC *ši5y
BMH [sì]; MX [—]; HL [ʃì3]; SX [ʃì3]; LF [ʃì3]; LZ [ʃì3]; SHT [sì]
HY [ʃì3]; XY [sì3]; DB [sì3]; YL [ʂì3]; XC [ʂì3]
CT [ʃì3]; WP [sì3]; YD [sì3]; SH [ʂì3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ʂì3]
NK [sì3]; AY [sì3]; SY [sì3]; XS [ʂì3]; QN [sì3]; ND1 [ʂì3]; ND2 [ʂì3]; ND3 [ʂì3 ~ sì3]

[OPH *sì3]   CNH *sì3

shí 事  QYS  džì-   CDC *zhe6/EC *dzrih
BMH [sù]; MX [ʂì5]; HL [ʃì5 ~ʃe5b]; SX [ʂì5 ~ʃe5b]; LF [ʃe5]; LZ [ʃu5]; SHT [—]
HY [ʃe6]; XY [su3]; DB [le3]; YL [ʂì3]; XC [ʂì5]
CT [sì5]; WP [sì3]; YD [sì5]; SH [sì5 ~ sì5b ~ se5b]; LC1 [sì6]; LC2 [sì6]
NK [sì5]; AY [sì6]; SY [sì5]; XS [sì5]; QN [sì6]; ND1 [sà6]; ND2 [sà6]; ND3 [sà6]

OPH *sì5 ~ *še5   CNH *še6/L *sì6

shì 世  QYS  džì:   CDC *zhe6/EC *dzrix
BMH [sù]; MX [ʂì5]; HL [sì5]; SX [sì5]; LF [sè6]; LZ [ʃu5]; SHT [—]
HY [ʃe6]; XY [su3]; DB [le3]; YL [ʂì5]; XC [ʂì5]
CT [sì5]; WP [sì3]; YD [sì5]; SH [sì5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sì5]; AY [sì5]; SY [sì5]; XS [sì5]; QN [—]; ND1 [sà6]; ND2 [sà6]; ND3 [sà6]

[OPH *sì5]   CNH *sì6

shì 世  QYS  şjäi-   CDC *shia5/EC *søath
BMH [ʃè ~ sì]; MX [ʃì5w ~ se5b]; HL [ʃì5 ~ʃe5b]; SX [ʃì5 ~ʃe5b]; LF [ʃe5]; LZ [ʃe5b ~ʃjì5w]; SHT [ʃe5]
HY [ʃe5]; XY [sè5]; DB [ʃe5]; YL [ʂì5]; XC [ʂì5]
CT [ʃì5]; WP [sì5]; YD [sì5]; SH [sì5]; LC1 [ʃì5]; LC2 [ʃì5]

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Common Neo-Hakka:
A Comparative Reconstruction

NK [sɿ5]; AY [sɿ5]; SY [sɿ2]; XS [—]; QN [sɿ5]; ND1 [ei5]; ND2 [sai5]; ND3 [ei5 ~ sai5]
OPH *še5 ~ *si5  CNH *šiaɪ5/L *ši5

shi 是 QYS źje: CDC *zhi4/EC *dex
BMH [shi]; MX [sɿ5]; HL [ʃi5]; SX [ʃi5]; LF [ʃi6]; LZ [ʃi1]; SHT [si5]
HY [ʃi6]; XY [ʃi3]; DB [ʃi3]; YL [ɕi3]; XC [ɕi5]
CT [ʃi6]; WP [—]; YD [ʃi3]; SH [ʃi3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ʃi6]
NK [sɿ5]; AY [sɿ6]; SY [ʃi1]; XS [—]; QN [ʃi6]; ND1 [sa6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ei6]
[OPH *ši6]  CNH *ši6
The final of the Héyuán form is irregular. The word is perhaps borrowed from some extraneous source. The Níngdū-1 form reflects an earlier *sɿ6, which is not covered by the reconstruction.

shi 試 QYS ʂii- CDC *shi5/EC *ʊɪkʰ
BMH [shi ~ chhi]; MX [ʃi5]; HL [ʃi5]; SX [ʃi5]; LF [ʃi5]; LZ [ʃi5]; SHT [si5]
HY [ʃi6]; XY [ʃi5]; DB [ʃi5]; YL [ɕi5]; XC [ɕi5]
CT [ʃi5 ~ tʃi5]; WP [ʃi5 ~ tʃi5]; YD [ts’i5]; SH [ʃi5 ~ tʃi5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sɿ5]; AY [sɿ5]; SY [—]; XS [ɕi5]; QN [ʃi5]; ND1 [ei5]; ND2 [ei5]; ND3 [ʃi5]
[OPH *ɕi5]  CNH *ɕi5/ɕi5
The Níngdū-3 form appears to reflect an earlier *ʃi5.

shi 明 QYS ɖi- CDC *zhi6/EC *ʊiyh
BMH [shi]; MX [ʃi5]; HL [ʃi5]; SX [ʃi5]; LF [ʃi5]; LZ [ʃi5]; SHT [—]
HY [ʃi6]; XY [ʃi3]; DB [ʃi5]; YL [ɕi5]; XC [ɕi5]
CT [ʃi6]; WP [ʃi3]; YD [ʃi3]; SH [ʃi3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sɿ5]; AY [sɿ5]; SY [ʃi5]; XS [ɕi5]; QN [ʃi5]; ND1 [sa6]; ND2 [ei6]; ND3 [ei5]
[OPH *ɕi5]  CNH *ɕi6/*ɕi5
The Níngdū-1 form reflects an earlier *ʃi6.

shi 視 QYS ʐiː, źi- CDC *zhi6/EC *diyh
BMH [shi]; MX [ʃi5]; HL [ʃi5]; SX [ʃi5]; LF [ʃi5]; LZ [ʃi5]; SHT [—]
Appendix: Data

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ʂʅ]; XC [ʂʅ]
CT [ʃï]; WP [—]; YD [ʂʅ]; SH [ʂʅ]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ʂʅ]; AY [ʂʅ]; SY [ʂʅ]; XS [ʂʅ]; QN [—]; ND1 [ɕi6]; ND2 [ɕi6]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ɕi5] CNH *ɕi6/*ɕi5

The tone and final of the Xiūshuǐ form are irregular.

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ʂʅ]; XC [ʂʅ]
CT [ʃï]; WP [siʔ]; YD [ʃï]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ʂʅ]; AY [ʂʅ]; SY [ʂʅ]; XS [ʂʅ]; QN [—]; ND1 [ɕi6]; ND2 [ɕi6]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ʃi5] CNH *ʃi6/*ʃi5

The tone of the Xiūshuǐ form is irregular.
Common Neo-Hakka: A Comparative Reconstruction

shi 識 QYS ʂjə CDC *šik7/EC *šik
BMH [shit]; MX [sat7]; SX [fit7]; LF [fit7]; LZ [fit7]; SHT [sit7]
HY [sit7]; XY [sit7]; DB [sat7]; YL [geiʔ7]; XC [seʔ78]
CT [fj2]; WP [seʔ7]; YD [seiʔ7]; SH [seiʔ7]; LC1 [fj6]; LC2 [fj6]
NK [saʔ8]; AY [se6]; SY [se5]; XS [ʂɿt8]; QN [eiʔ7]; ND1 [saʔ7]; ND2 [saʔ7]; ND3 [saʔ7]
[OPH *šit7] CNH *šik7/*šit7
The tone of the Xiūshui form is irregular.

shōu 收 QYS ʂjə CNH *šieu1
BMH [shiu]; MX [su1]; HL [jui1]; SX [jui1]; LF [jui1]; LZ [jui1]; SHT [jui1]
HY [jui1]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ʂəu1]; XC [ʂəu1]
CT [ʃeu1]; WP [se1]; YD [jui1]; SH [ɕeu1]; LC1 [ʃeu1]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɕeu1]; AY [ɕeu1]; SY [ɕəu1]; XS [su1]; QN [ɕiu1]; ND1 [ɕəu1]; ND2 [ɕəu1]; ND3 [ɕəu1]
[OPH *ʃiú] CNH *šieu1

shōu 手 QYS ʂjə: CNH *šieu3
BMH [šiú]; MX [su3]; HL [ʃiu3]; SX [ʃiu3]; LF [ʃiu3]; LZ [ʃiu3]; SHT [ʃiú3]
HY [ʃiú]; XY [ʃiú]; DB [ʃiú]; YL [ʂəu3]; XC [ʂəu3]
CT [ʃeu3]; WP [se3]; YD [ʃiu3]; SH [ɕeu3]; LC1 [ʃeu3]; LC2 [ʃeu3]
NK [ɕiú3]; AY [ɕiú3]; SY [ɕəu3]; XS [ʂu3]; QN [ɕiú3]; ND1 [ɕəu3]; ND2 [ɕəu3]; ND3 [ɕəu3]
[OPH *ʃiu3] CNH *šieu3

shōu 守 QYS ʂjə: CNH *šieu3
BMH [šiú]; MX [su3]; HL [ʃiu3]; SX [ʃiu3]; LF [ʃiu6]; LZ [ʃiu3]; SHT [—]
HY [ʃiú]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ʂəu3]; XC [ʂəu3]
CT [ʃeu3]; WP [se3]; YD [ʃiú]; SH [ɕeu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɕiú3]; AY [ɕiú3]; SY [ɕiú3]; XS [ʂu3]; QN [ɕiú3]; ND1 [ɕəu3]; ND2 [ɕəu3]; ND3 [ɕəu3]
[OPH *ʃiú3] CNH *šieu3
The Lùfēng tone is anomalous.
Appendix: Data

shòu 獸 QYS ʂjœu- CDC *shieu4/EC *θuŋ
BMH [chhiù]; MX [tsʾu5 ~ su5]; HL [tʃʾu5]; SX [tʃʾu5]; LF [tʃʾiu5]; LZ [tʃhuiu5]; SHT [—]
HY [siu5]; XY [tsʾiu5]; DB [tsʾiu5]; YL [—]; XC [ʂøu5]
CT [ʃeu5]; WP [tshe5]; YD [tsʾiu3]; SH [tʃhuiu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [teʾiu5]; AY [teʾu5]; SY [teʾiu2]; XS [ʂu5]; QN [—]; ND1 [tsʾeu5]; ND2 [səu3]; ND3 [səu5]
[OPH *tʃʾiu5] CNH *tʃʾieu5/*šieu5

shòu 受 QYS ʐjœu:, ʐjœ- CDC *zhieu4/EC *dux
BMH [shiù]; MX [su5]; HL [ʃu6]; SX [ʃu5]; LF [ʃiu6]; LZ [ʃiu5]; SHT [siu5]
HY [siu6]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ʂøu5]; XC [ʂøu5]
CT [ʃeu6]; WP [sə3]; YD [siu5]; SH [ɕiʊ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɕiʊ5]; AY [ɕu6]; SY [ɕiʊ5]; XS [ʂu5]; QN [ɕiʊ6]; ND1 [ɕu6]; ND2 [səu3]; ND3 [səu6 ~ siu6]
[OPH *ɕiu6] CNH *ɕieu6

shòu 寿 QYS ʐjœu:, ʐjœ- CDC *zhieu6/EC *duh
BMH [shiù]; MX [su5]; HL [ʃu6]; SX [ʃu5]; LF [ʃiu6]; LZ [ʃiu5]; SHT [—]
HY [siu6]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ʂøu5]; XC [ʂøu5]
CT [ʃeu6]; WP [sə3]; YD [siu5]; SH [ɕiʊ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɕiʊ5]; AY [ɕu6]; SY [ɕiʊ5]; XS [ʂu5]; QN [ɕiʊ6]; ND1 [ɕu6]; ND2 [səu3]; ND3 [səu6]
[OPH *ɕiu6] CNH *ɕieu6

shòu 瘦 QYS ʂjœu- CDC *sheu5/EC *sriwh
BMH [sèu]; MX [səu5]; HL [ʃəu5]; SX [ʃəu5]; LF [ʃəu5]; LZ [ʃəu5]; SHT [siu5]
HY [ʂai5]; XY [ʃəu5]; DB [lei5]; YL [ai5]; XC [ʂøu5]
CT [ʃəu5]; WP [sə5]; YD [ʃəu5]; SH [ʂəu5]; LC1 [ʃəu]; LC2 [—]
NK [ʂə5]; AY [ʂu5]; SY [ɕio2]; XS [ʂəu5]; QN [ʃəu5]; ND1 [ʃəu5]; ND2 [səu3]; ND3 [səu5]
OPH *ʃəu5 CNH *ʃəu5
shū 书  QYS  śjwo  CDC *shie1 (~ *shiu1)/EC *0a
BMH [shu]; MX [su1w ~ ts’u1b]; HL [ʃu1]; SX [ʃu1]; LF [ʃu1]; LZ [ʃu1]; SHT [su1]
HY [ʃy1]; XY [su1]; DB [su1]; YL [ʃu1]; XC [ʃu1]
CT [ʃu1]; WP [ʃu1]; YD [ʃi1]; SH [ʃu1]; LC1 [ʃue1]; LC2 [ʃy1]
NK [ʃu1]; AY [ʃ1]; SY [ʃy1]; XS [ʃu1]; QN [ʃu1]; ND1 [ʃe1]; ND2 [ʃe1]; ND3 [ʃe1]
[OPH *su1] CNH *ʃiu1
†Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [ʃy1].
The Ningdū forms reflect an earlier *ʃie1 which may have arisen through contact with Gän dialects.

shū 殊  QYS  żju  CDC *zhu2/EC *do
BMH [ʃù]; MX [ʃul]; HL [ʃu2]; SX [ʃu2]; LF [ʃu2]; LZ [ʃu2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ʃu1]; XC [ʃu1]
CT [—]; WP [ʃu2]; YD [—]; SH [ʃu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ʃye1]
NK [ʃu1]; AY [ʃ1]; SY [ʃye3]; XS [—]; QN [ʃu1]; ND1 [ʃe1]; ND2 [ʃu2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *su1 ?] CNH *ʃiu1/*ʃu2

shū 梳  QYS  sjwo  CDC *she1 (~ shu1)/EC *sra
BMH [ʃù]; MX [ʃ1]; HL [ʃ1]; SX [ʃ1]; LF [ʃ1]; LZ [ʃ1]; SHT [ʃ1]
HY [ʃ1]; XY [ʃ1]; DB [ʃ1]; YL [ʃ1]; XC [ʃ1]
CT [ʃ1]; WP [ʃ1]; YD [ʃ1]; SH [ʃu1 ~ ʃ1b]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ʃ1]; AY [ʃ1]; SY [ʃ1]; XS [ʃ1]; QN [ʃ1]; ND1 [ʃe1]; ND2 [ʃu1]; ND3 [ʃe1]
[OPH ?] CNH *ʃuo1/*ʃo1/*ʃle1
Probable variant protoforms for this set may be the result of interdialectal borrowing.

shū/shù 叔  QYS  śjuk  CDC *shiuk/EC *0uk
BMH [ʃuk]; MX [ʃuk7]; HL [ʃuk7]; SX [ʃuk8]; LF [ʃuk7]; LZ [ʃuk7]; SHT [ʃuk7]
HY [ʃok7]; XY [ʃou7]; DB [ʃuk7]; YL [ʃou7]; XC [ʃu7]
CT [ʃu2]; WP [ʃu7]; YD [ʃu7]; SH [ʃoʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ʃu6]
NK [ʃu8]; AY [ʃ6]; SY [ʃu5]; XS [ʃuk7]; QN [ʃuʔ7]; ND1 [ʃu7]; ND2 [ʃu7]; ND3 [ʃu7]
shú, shóu 熟 QYS ʒjuk CDC *zhiuk8/EC *duk
BMH [ʃu̯k]; MX [suk]; HL [ʃu̯k]; SX [ʃu̯k]; LF [ʃu̯k]; LZ [ʃu̯k]; SHT [suk]
HY [ʃok]; XY [ʃoʔ]; DB [ʃu̯k]; YL [ʃouʔ~souʔ ~ suʔ]; XC [ʃuʔ]
CT [ʃu6]; WP [ʃuʔ]; YD [ʃuʔ]; SH [ʃaʔ]; LC1 [feu5]; LC2 [—]
NK [su1]; AY [ʃ6]; SY [su5]; XS [ʃu̯k]; QN [ʃuʔ]; ND1 [suk]; ND2 [suk]; ND3 [suk]
[OPH *ʃuk8]   CNH *ʃiuk8
Cf. Wēngyuán [siuk]

shǔ 鼠 QYS ʒjwo: CDC *shie3 (~ *shiu3)/EC *0ax
BMH [ʃu̯]; MX [ʃu̯]; HL [ʃu̯]; SX [ʃu̯]; LF [ʃu̯]; LZ [ʃu̯]; SHT [ʃu̯]
HY [ʃy]; XY [ʃy]; DB [ʃi3]; YL [ʃu̯]; XC [ʃu̯]
CT [ʃu3]; WP [ʃu5]; YD [ʃi3]; SH [ʃu̯]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ʃye3 ~ ʃye3]
NK [ʃy]; AY [ʃe3]; SY [ʃy]; XS [ʃu̯]; QN [ʃu3 ~ sui3]; ND1 [ʃa]; ND2 [ʃa]; ND3 [ʃa]
OPH *ʃu̯ CNH *ʃiua/*ʃiua
The final of the Ningdū forms is irregular and enigmatic. The Ānyuān final is also unique in the
set. The form almost certainly derives from an earlier *ʃie3, which cannot be reconstructed
comparatively due to lack of parallel forms elsewhere.

shù 數 QYS ʃju: “to count” CDC *shu3/EC *srox
BMH [ʃu ~ sù]; MX [ʃ5]; HL [ʃ5]; SX [ʃ5]; LF [ʃe5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [ʃ5 ~ ʃ5]; LC1 [ʃue3]; LC2 [—]
NK [ʃu3]; AY [ʃu3]; SY [ʃu3]; XS [ʃ3]; QN [ʃu3]; ND1 [ʃu3]; ND2 [ʃu3]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ʃu5]   CNH *ʃu5/*su3

shù 樹 QYS ʃju “tree” CDC *zhiu6/EC *doh
BMH [ʃu]; MX [ʃu5]; HL [ʃu]; SX [ʃ6]; LF [ʃu]; LZ [ʃu]; SHT [ʃu5]
HY [sy6]; XY [sy3]; DB [si3]; YL [ʂu3]; XC [ʂu5]
CT [ʃu6]; WP [ʃu5]; YD [si3]; SH [ʂu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ʃye6]†
NK [su5 ~ te’y5]; AY [ʂɿ5]; SY [te’y4]; XS [ʂu5]; QN [su6]; ND1 [su6]; ND2 [su6]; ND3 [su6]
[OPH *su6]   CNH *ʃiu6/*tʂ’iu6
†Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [ʃue5 ~ ʃye5].

shù 述 QYS ǳjüt  CDC *ziut8/EC *—
BMH [ʃùt]; MX [sɪ5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [ʃut8]; SHT [—]
HY [su5]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ʂuʔ]; XC [ʂuʔ]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [soæ7]; AY [—]; SY [su5]; XS [sɥ7]; QN [—]; ND1 [su8]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *sɪt8]   CNH *sɥt8

shù 數 QYS ʂju-  CDC *шу5/EC *srokh
BMH [ʂɨ ~ sʊ]; MX [ʂɿ5]; HL [su5]; SX [su5]; LF [sɛ5]; LZ [ʃu5]; SHT [su5]
HY [su5]; XY [su5]; DB [lu5]; YL [ʂu5]; XC [ʂu5]
CT [su5]; WP [ʂɿ5]; YD [si3]; SH [su5 ~ ʂɿ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [soæ7]; AY [su5]; SY [su2]; XS [ʂɿ5]; QN [su5]; ND1 [su5]; ND2 [su5]; ND3 [su5]
OPH *su5   CNH *su5
The Yǒngdìng and Shàngyóu tones are irregular.

shuā 刷 QYS ʂwät  CDC *ʃuat7 ~ *ʃot7/EC *srot
BMH [sot]; MX [sot7]; HL [sot7b]; SX [sot7]; LF [sot7]; LZ [ʃat7]; SHT [—]
HY [sat7]; XY [ts’at7]; DB [lat7]; YL [—]; XC [guəʔ7]
CT [sɿ2]; WP [sɿʔ]; YD [sɿʔ]; SH [sɿʔ]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [soæ7]; AY [—]; SY [su5]; XS [sɿt7]; QN [—]; ND1 [sɿt7]; ND2 [suot7]; ND3 [sɿt7]
[OPH *sɿt7]   CNH *s(u)ot7/*sət7?
The second reconstruction is possibly reflected by the dialects of the second row of the set. The initial of the Xīnyí form is totally aberrant.

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The second reconstruction is supported by the Xinyí, Yōngding and Shàngánháng forms.

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

The second reconstruction is supported by the Xinyí, Yōngding and Shàngánháng forms.
shuǐ 水 QYS ści: CDC *shui3/EC *0uyx
BMH [shuí]; MX [sui3]; HL [fui3]; SX [fui3]; LF [fui3]; LZ [fui3]; SHT [sui3]
HY [sui3]; XY [sui3]; DB [sei3]; YL [šei3]; XC [šei3]
CT [fue3]; WP [fï3b]; YD [fï3]; SH [fï3]; LC1 [fï3]; LC2 [fï3]
NK [cy3]; AY [se3]; SY [cy3]; XS [ši3]; QN [sui3]; ND1 [sui3]; ND2 [sui3]; ND3 [sui3]
OPH *šui3   CNH *šiui3
Cf. Wēngyuán [siui3].

shui 睡 QYS ʒjwe- CDC *zhui6/EC *doyh
BMH [shòi]; MX [sɔi5]; HL [ʃoi6]; SX [ʃoi5]; LF [ʃoi6]; LZ [ʃoi5]; SHT [ʃoi5]
HY [—]; XY [suaɪ5]; DB [sɔi5]; YL [ʃɔi3]; XC [ʃɔi5]
CT [ʃue6]; WP [se3]; YD [sɔi5 ~ fei3]; SH [ʃei3]; LC1 [ʃi6]; LC2 [ʃi6]
NK [sue5]; AY [ʃeɪ5]; SY [ʃe2]; XS [ʃi5]; QN [ʃi6]; ND1 [ʃi6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
OPH *ʃoi6   CNH *ʃoi6/*ʃui6
The second reconstructed form appears to be a late loan form of some sort.

shùn 順 QYS dźjuen- CDC *zhiun6/EC —
BMH [shùn]; MX [sun5]; HL [ʃun5]; SX [ʃun5]; LF [ʃun6]; LZ [ʃun5]; SHT [sun5]
HY [sun6]; XY [sun3]; DB [sɔn3]; YL [ʃun5]; XC [ʃuʌn5]
CT [ʃeŋ6]; WP [—]; YD [ʃun5]; SH [ʃeŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [cyŋ5]; AY [ʃeŋ6]; SY [ʃeŋ5]; XS [ʃeŋ5]; QN [ʃun6]; ND1 [ʃun6]; ND2 [ʃun6]; ND3 [ʃun6]
[OPH *ʃun6]   CNH *ʃiun6
Cf. Wēngyuán [siun6].
The tone of the Hǎilù form is irregular.

shuō 說 QYS śjwät CDC *shiot7/EC *0ot
BMH [ʃhot]; MX [sɔt7]; HL [ʃot7]; SX [ʃot7]; LF [ʃot7]; LZ [ʃot7]; SHT [sɔt7]
HY [suaɪ7]; XY [suaɪ7]; DB [sɔt7]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [ʃue2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [ʃueʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
Appendix: Data

NK [soæ7]; AY [sə3]; SY [suo5]; XS [ʂɔi7]; QN [səʔ7]; ND1 [sət7]; ND2 [suot7]; ND3 [suat1]

OPH *šot7      CNH *š(u)ot7

shuò 朔 QYS ʂåk      CDC *shok7/EC *srak?

BMH [sok]; MX [sok7]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [sok7]; LZ [ʃok7]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ʃ1]; XC [—]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [soʔ8]; AY [—]; SY [so5]; XS [ʂok7]; QN [soʔ7]; ND1 [sok7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *sok7]    CNH *sok7

sī 思 QYS sî      CDC *si1/EC *si

BMH [sɨ]; MX [sɨ1]; HL [sɨ1]; SX [sɨ1]; LF [sɿ1]; LZ [ʃu1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [s1]; XC [s1]
CT [sɨ1]; WP [s1]; YD [sɨ1]; SH [s1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [s1]; AY [s1]; SY [s1]; XS [s1]; QN [s1]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [sɿ1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *sɨ1]    CNH *sɨ1

sī 私 QYS si      CDC *si1/EC *siy

BMH [sɨ]; MX [sɨ1]; HL [sɨ1]; SX [sɨ1]; LF [sɿ1]; LZ [ʃu1]; SHT [—]
HY [s1]; XY [sɿ1]; DB [lɛ1]; YL [s1]; XC [s1]
CT [sɨ1]; WP [s1]; YD [sɨ1]; SH [s1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [s1]; AY [s1]; SY [s1]; XS [s1]; QN [s1]; ND1 [sɿ1]; ND2 [sɿ1]; ND3 [sɿ1]
[OPH *sɨ1]    CNH *sɨ1

sī 絲 QYS si      CDC *si1/EC *si

BMH [sɨ]; MX [sɨ1]; HL [sɿ1]; SX [sɨ1]; LF [sɿ1]; LZ [ʃi1]; SHT [sɿ1]
HY [s1 – sɿ1]; XY [sɨ1]; DB [lɛ1]; YL [sɿ1]; XC [s1]
CT [sɨ1]; WP [s1]; YD [sɨ1]; SH [s1]; LC1 [sɨ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [s1]; AY [s1]; SY [s1]; XS [s1]; QN [—]; ND1 [sɿ1]; ND2 [sɿ1]; ND3 [sɿ1]
Common Neo-Hakka:
A Comparative Reconstruction

[OPH *si1] CNH *si1/*si1

sǐ 死 QYS si: CDC *si3/EC *siyx
BMH [sǐ]; MX [si3]; HL [si3]; SX [si3]; LF [si3]; LZ [ʃu3]; SHT [si3]
HY [sǐ]; XY [si3]; DB [li3]; YL [ʃi3]; XC [ei3]
CT [si3]; WP [ʃi3]; YD [si3]; SH [ʃi3]; LC1 [ʃi3]; LC2 [ʃi3]
NK [ʃi3]; AY [ʃi3]; SY [ʃi3]; XS [ʃi3]; QN [ʃi3 ~ ei3]; ND1 [ʃi3]; ND2 [ei3]; ND3 [ʃi3]
OPH *si3 CNH *si3/*si3

sì 四 QYS si- CDC *si5/EC *sih
BMH [sì]; MX [ʃi5]; HL [ʃi5]; SX [ʃi5]; LF [ʃi5]; LZ [ʃu3]; SHT [ʃi5]
HY [ʃi5]; XY [ʃi5]; DB [li5]; YL [ʃi5w ~ ei5b]; XC [ei5]
CT [ʃi5]; WP [ʃi5]; YD [ʃi3]; SH [ʃi5]; LC1 [ʃi5]; LC2 [—]
NK [ʃi5]; AY [ʃi5]; SY [ʃi2]; XS [ʃi5]; QN [ʃi5]; ND1 [ʃi5]; ND2 [ʃi5]; ND3 [ʃi5]
[OPH *sì] CNH *sì5/L *sì5

zì 寺 QYS zi- CDC *zi6/EC *zih
BMH [ʃù]; MX [ts’ʃi5]; HL [ʃi5]; SX [—]; LF [ʃe5]; LZ [ʃu5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ʃi3]; XC [ʃi5]
CT [ʃi6]; WP [ʃi3]; YD [—]; SH [tsʰ3b]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’ʃi5]; AY [ʃi6]; SY [ts’ʃi5]; XS [—]; QN [ʃi6]; ND1 [ʃa6]; ND2 [ts’a6]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *sì?] CNH *ts’i6/L *sì6

zì 巳 QYS zi: CDC *zi6/EC *zix
BMH [ʃù]; MX [—]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [ʃi6]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ʃi5]; AY [ʃi6]; SY [ʃi5]; XS [ʃi5]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ʃa5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH?] CNH *sì6

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The Lìzhīzhuāng form appears to derive from earlier *ts’i2. Its origin is uncertain.

The Yílǒng and Xīchāng forms are probable Mandarin loans.
[OPH *siung5]   CNH *siuŋ5/*suŋ5

sōu 搜 QYS sjau   CDC *sheu1/EC *sru sriw ?
BMH [seu]; MX [seu1]; SX [seu1]; LF [seu1]; LZ [fau1]; SHT [—]
HY [sua1]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [sai1]; XC [səu1]
CT [seu1]; WP [sə1]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sə1]; AY [su1]; SY [cio1]; XS [səu1]; QN [səu1]; ND1 [səu1]; ND2 [səu1]; ND3 [səu1]
[OPH *seu1]   CNH *seu1

sū 蘇 QYS suo   CDC *su1/EC *sa
BMH [sə]; MX [sə1]; HL [səu1]; SX [səu1]; LF [sə1]; LZ [fau1]; SHT [—]
HY [səu1]; XY [səu1]; DB [lu1]; YL [səu1]; XC [səu1]
CT [səu1]; WP [sə1]; YD [sə1]; SH [sə1b]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [səu1]; AY [səu1]; SY [səu1]; XS [səu1]; QN [səu1]; ND1 [səu1]; ND2 [səu1]; ND3 [səu1]
[OPH *sue1]   CNH *sue1

sú 俗 QYS zjwok   CDC *ziuk8/EC *zok
BMH [siúk]; MX [siuk8]; HL [siuk8]; SX [siuk8]; LF [—]; LZ [juk8]; SHT [siuk8]
HY [ts’ok8]; XY [ts’ou8?]; DB [luk8]; YL [ey2]; XC [eiuʔ7]
CT [sə2]; WP [səu8?]; YD [səu8?]; SH [eioʔ8?]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [eio8]; AY [s16]; SY [eio5]; XS [—]; QN [eioʔ8?]; ND1 [eiuk8]; ND2 [eiuk8]; ND3 [suk8]
[OPH *siuk8]   CNH *siuk8/*suk8
The Héyuán and Diànbái forms perhaps derive from an earlier *ts’uk8 or *ts’iuk8. The matter is uncertain.

sù 素 QYS suo-   CDC *su5/EC *sakh
BMH [sʊ]; MX [sʊ5]; HL [su5]; SX [su5]; LF [sə5]; LZ [fʊ5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [su5]; XC [su5]
CT [su5]; WP [sə5]; YD [—]; SH [səu5w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [su5]; AY [su1]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [su5]; ND1 [su5]; ND2 [su5]; ND3 [—]
The Lufeng tone is irregular.

The initial of the Lìzhīzhuāng form is irregular.
Common Neo-Hakka: A Comparative Reconstruction

NK [soẽ5]; AY [sõ5]; SY [su5]; XS [sןn5]; QN [sןn5]; ND1 [sןn5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [suan5]
OPH *son5   CNH *suon5

suì 歲 QYS sjwäi-   CDC *sioi5/EC *soth
BMH [sôi ~ sœi ~ sê]; MX [sui5w ~ sę5b]; HL [soi5]; SX [soi5]; LF [soi5]; LZ [şi5]; SHT [soi5]
HY [suai5]; XY [sui5]; DB [lõi5]; YL [suei5]; XC [soi5]
CT [se5]; WP [si5]; YD [sei3]; SH [se5]; LC1 [si5]; LC2 [—]
NK [si5]; AY [sue5]; SY [sue2]; XS [si5]; QN [soi5]; ND1 [cœi5]; ND2 [ciei5]; ND3 [siai5]
[OPH *soi5 ?]   CNH *soi5 ~ *sioi5 ?/L *sui5
CNH *sioi5 may be reflected by the Méixiàn bái form and the three Ningdū forms.
Cf. Wēngyuán: [sui5].

sui 碎 QYS suài-   CDC *sui5/EC *’suth
BMH [sœi]; MX [sui5]; HL [sui5]; SX [sui5]; LF [sui5]; LZ [fui5]; SHT [—]
HY [sui5]; XY [sui5]; DB [le3i]; YL [ts’eui5]; XC [suei5]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tshei5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ts’oi5]
NK [sœ5]; AY [se5]; SY [se2]; XS [si5]; QN [sui5]; ND1 [sui5]; ND2 [sui5]; ND3 [sui5]
[OPH *sui5]   CNH *sui5/*ts’ui5/*ts’uoï5 ?
Cf. Wēngyuán: [sui5].
The third reconstruction appears to be reflected in the Shànghâng and Liâncêng-2 forms. The Wēngyuán form is a probable back formation from borrowed *sui5. The set as a whole is highly mixed.

sûn 孫 QYS suœn   CDC *sun1/EC *’sun
BMH [sun]; MX [sun1]; HL [sun1]; SX [sun1]; LF [sun1]; LZ [fun1]; SHT [sun1]
HY [sun1]; XY [sun1]; DB [lœn1]; YL [sun1]; XC [sœn1]
CT [seŋ1]; WP [seŋ1]; YD [sun1]; SH [seŋ1]; LC1 [sœn1]; LC2 [—]
NK [sœ1]; AY [sœ1]; SY [sœ1]; XS [sœ1]; QN [sun1]; ND1 [sun1]; ND2 [sun1]; ND3 [sun1]
[OPH *sun1]   CNH *sun1
sǔn 筍 QYS sjuen: CDC *siun3/EC *sunx
BMH [sún]; MX [sun3]; HL [sun3]; SX [sun3]; LF [sun3]; LZ [sun3]; SHT [sun3]
HY [sun3]; XY [sun3]; DB [län3]; YL [sun3]; XC [san3]
CT [seŋ3]; WP [siŋ3]; YD [sun3]; SH [sein3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [cyn3]; AY [səŋ3]; SY [cyn2]; XS [sən3]; QN [sun3]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ɕiŋ3]; ND3 [sin3]
[OPH *sun3] CNH *siun3/*sun3
Cf. Wengyuan: [siun3].

suǒ 索 QYS sâk CDC *sok7/EC *’sak
BMH [sok]; MX [sok7]; HL [suk7]; SX [suk7]; LF [sok7]; LZ [ʃok7]; SHT [sɔk7]
HY [—]; XY [sok7]; DB [lək7]; YL [sək7]; XC [soʔ7]
CT [so2]; WP [soʔʔ7]; YD [soʔ7]; SH [soʔ7]; LC1 [su6]; LC2 [—]
NK [so8]; AY [so6]; SY [so5]; XS [sək7]; QN [soʔ7]; ND1 [sok7]; ND2 [sək7]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *sok7] CNH *sok7

suǒ 所 QYS sjwo: CDC *she3 (~ shu3)/EC *srax
BMH [só]; MX [sə3]; HL [so3]; SX [so3]; LF [so3]; LZ [ʃə3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [səu3]; XC [so3]
CT [su3]; WP [sɨ3]; YD [—]; SH [su3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [so3]; AY [so3]; SY [so3]; XS [sə3]; QN [so3]; ND1 [su3]; ND2 [su3]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *so3] CNH *suə3/*so3

suǒ 鎖 QYS suâ: CDC *so3/EC *’soyx
BMH [só]; MX [so3]; HL [so3]; SX [so3]; LF [so3]; LZ [ʃɔ3]; SHT [sɔ3]
HY [su3]; XY [so3]; DB [lo3]; YL [səu3]; XC [so3]
CT [so3]; WP [so3]; YD [sou3]; SH [su3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [so3]; AY [so3]; SY [so3]; XS [so3]; QN [so3]; ND1 [so3]; ND2 [so3]; ND3 [so3]
[OPH *so3] CNH *so3
Common Neo-Hakka:
A Comparative Reconstruction

T

tā 他  QYS  thâ  CDC *tha1/EC *—
BMH [tha]; MX [t’a1]; HL [t’a1]; SX [t’a1]; LF [t’a1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [t’a1]; SH [tha1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [t’a1]; AY [t’a1]; SY [t’a1]; XS [t’a1]; QN [t’a1]; ND1 [t’a1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *t’a1]  CNH *t’a1

tà 塔  QYS  thâp  CDC *thap7/EC *’thup
BMH [thap]; MX [t’ap7]; HL [t’ap7]; SX [t’ap7]; LF [t’ap7]; LZ [thap7]; SHT [—]
HY [t’ap7]; XY [t’ap7]; DB [t’ap7]; YL [t’ap7]; XC [t’a7]
CT [t’a2]; WP [tha7]; YD [t’a7]; SH [tha7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [t’o6]
NK [t’a8]; AY [t’a3]; SY [t’a5]; XS [t’a7]; QN [t’a7]; ND1 [t’aip7]; ND2 [t’ap7]; ND3 [t’ap7]
[OPH *t’ap7]  CNH *t’ap7

tàì 踏  QYS  thâp  CDC *thop7, *thap7/EC *’thup
BMH [tháp]; MX [t’ap8]; HL [t’ap7]; SX [t’ap7]; LF [t’ap8]; LZ [thap8]; SHT [t’ap8]
HY [t’ap8]; XY [t’ap8]; DB [t’ap8]; YL [t’ap7]; XC [t’a7]
CT [—]; WP [tha8]; YD [t’a8]; SH [tha8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [t’o5]
NK [t’a8]; AY [t’a3]; SY [t’a5]; XS [t’a7]; QN [t’a7]; ND1 [t’aip8]; ND2 [t’ap8]; ND3 [t’ap8]
[OPH *t’ap8]  CNH *t’ap8/*t’ap7

tàì 胎  QYS  thâi  CDC *thoi1/EC *’thi
BMH [thoi]; MX [t’oi1]; HL [t’oi1]; SX [t’oi1]; LF [t’oi1]; LZ [thoi1]; SHT [t’oi1]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [t’oi1]; XC [t’oi1]
CT [t’ue1]; WP [thue1]; YD [t’oi1]; SH [thue1]; LC1 [t’ue1]; LC2 [t’oi1]
NK [t’a1]; AY [t’ue1]; SY [t’e1 ~ t’a2]; XS [—]; QN [t’oi1]; ND1 [t’oe1]; ND2 [t’uei1]; ND3 [—]

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Appendix: Data

[OPH *t’o1]   CNH *t’o1

tān  QYS  thâm  CDC *thom1/EC *’thum
BMH [tham]; MX [t’am1]; HL [t’am1]; SX [t’am1]; LF [t’am1]; LZ [tham1]; SHT [—]
HY [t’am1]; XY [t’am1]; DB [t’am1]; YL [t’am1]; XC [t’an1]
CT [t’an1]; WP [thaŋ1]; YD [t’an1]; SH [thâ1]; LC1 [t’an1]; LC2 [t’an1]
NK [t’a1]; AY [t’a1]; SY [t’a1]; XS [t’an1]; QN [t’am1]; ND1 [t’am1]; ND2 [t’am1]; ND3 [t’am1]

[OPH *t’am1]   CNH *t’am1

tān  QYS  dâm  CDC *dam2/EC *’dam
BMH [thâm]; MX [t’am2]; HL [t’am2]; SX [t’am2]; LF [t’am2]; LZ [tham2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [t’am2]; XC [t’an2]
CT [t’an2]; WP [thaŋ2]; YD [t’an3]; SH [thâ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [t’a2]; AY [t’a2]; SY [t’a2]; XS [t’an2]; QN [t’am2]; ND1 [t’am2]; ND2 [t’am2]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *t’am2]   CNH *t’am2

tān  QYS  —  CDC *dom2/EC *—
BMH [thâm]; MX [t’am2]; HL [t’am2]; SX [t’am2]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [t’am2]; XC [t’an2]
CT [t’an2]; WP [thaŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [thâ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [t’a2]
NK [t’a2]; AY [t’a2]; SY [t’a2]; XS [t’an2]; QN [t’an2]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [t’am2]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *t’am2]   CNH *t’am2

tān  QYS  thân-  CDC *than5/EC *’thanh
BMH [thân]; MX [t’an5]; HL [t’an5]; SX [t’an5]; LF [t’an5]; LZ [than5]; SHT [t’an5]
HY [t’an5]; XY [t’an5]; DB [t’an5]; YL [t’an5]; XC [t’an5]
CT [t’an5]; WP [thaŋ5]; YD [t’an3]; SH [thâ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [t’an5]
NK [t’a5]; AY [t’a5]; SY [t’a2]; XS [t’an5]; QN [—]; ND1 [t’an5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [t’an5]

[OPH *t’an5]   CNH *t’an5
tāng 湯 QYS thâng CDC *thong/EC *'thang
BMH [thông]; MX [t’oŋ1]; HL [t’oŋ1]; SX [t’oŋ1]; LF [t’oŋ1]; LZ [thɔŋ1]; SHT [—]
HY [t’oŋ1]; XY [t’oŋ1]; DB [t’oŋ1]; YL [t’oŋ1]; XC [t’oŋ1]
CT [t’oŋ1]; WP [thɔŋ1]; YD [t’oŋ1]; SH [thɔŋ1]; LC1 [t’oŋ1]; LC2 [t’oŋ1]
NK [t’ɔŋ1]; AY [t’oŋ1]; SY [t’ɔŋ1]; XS [t’oŋ1]; QN [t’oŋ1]; ND1 [t’oŋ1]; ND2 [t’oŋ1]; ND3 [t’oŋ1]
[OPH *t’oŋ1] CNH *t’oŋ1

tâng 唐 QYS dâng CDC *dong2/EC *’dang
BMH [thông]; MX [t’oŋ2]; HL [t’oŋ2]; SX [t’oŋ2]; LF [t’oŋ2]; LZ [thɔŋ2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [t’oŋ2]; XC [t’oŋ2]
CT [t’oŋ2]; WP [thɔŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [thɔŋ2]; LC1 [t’oŋ2]; LC2 [—]
NK [t’ɔŋ2]; AY [t’oŋ2]; SY [t’ɔŋ2]; XS [t’oŋ2]; QN [t’oŋ2]; ND1 [t’oŋ2]; ND2 [t’oŋ2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *t’oŋ2] CNH *t’oŋ2

tâng 堂 QYS dâng CDC *dong2/EC *’dang
BMH [thông]; MX [t’oŋ2]; HL [t’oŋ2]; SX [t’oŋ2]; LF [t’oŋ2]; LZ [thɔŋ2]; SHT [t’oŋ2]
HY [t’oŋ2]; XY [t’oŋ2]; DB [t’oŋ2]; YL [t’oŋ2]; XC [t’oŋ2]
CT [t’oŋ2]; WP [thɔŋ2]; YD [t’oŋ2]; SH [thɔŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [t’oŋ2]
NK [t’ɔŋ2]; AY [t’oŋ2]; SY [t’ɔŋ2]; XS [t’oŋ2]; QN [t’oŋ2]; ND1 [t’oŋ2]; ND2 [t’oŋ2]; ND3 [t’oŋ2]
[OPH *t’oŋ2] CNH *t’oŋ2

tè 特 QYS dak CDC *dek8/EC *’dik
BMH [thit]; MX [t’it8]; HL [t’it8]; SX [t’it8]; LF [t’it8]; LZ [thit8]; SHT [—]
HY [t’at8]; XY [t’at8]; DB [t’at8]; YL [t’eʔ7]; XC [t’eʔ7]
CT [t’e6]; WP [th’e8]; YD [t’iʔ8]; SH [th’e8 ~ thiʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [t’un5]
NK [t’a1]; AY [t’e6]; SY [t’e5]; XS [t’et8]; QN [t’eʔ7]; ND1 [t’ak8]; ND2 [t’ak8]; ND3 [t’ak8]
[OPH *t’it8] CNH *t’ek8/*t’ik8 ?
The coda of the second reconstruction is conjectural. The Basel Mission and Quánán forms, together with those of the Sichuān points, Yílǒng and Xīchāng, point to proto-tone 7.

téng  藤  QYS  dŏng  CDC *deng2/EC *’ding
BMH [thên]; MX [t’en2]; HL [t’en2]; SX [t’en2]; LF [t’en2]; LZ [thên2]; SHT [t’en2]
HY [t’an2]; XY [t’en2]; DB [t’an2]; YL [t’an2]; XC [t’an2]
CT [t’en2]; WP [thêng2]; YD [t’en2]; SH [thêng2]; LC1 [t’ai2]; LC2 [—]
NK [t’êng2]; AY [t’îng2]; SY [t’êng2]; XS [t’en2]; QN [t’en2]; ND1 [t’êng2]; ND2 [t’êng2]; ND3 [t’êng2]
[OPH *t’en2]  CNH *t’en2

tí  梯  QYS  thiei  CDC *thiai1/EC *’thiy
BMH [thoi]; MX [t’îw ~ t’oi1b]; HL [t’oi1]; SX [t’oi1]; LF [t’oi1]; LZ [thoi1]; SHT [t’ai1 ~ t’oi1]
HY [t’iê1]; XY [t’ei1]; DB [t’ei1]; YL [t’ei1]; XC [t’oi1]
CT [t’ue1]; WP [—]; YD [t’oi1]; SH [thue1]; LC1 [thui1]; LC2 [—]
NK [t’i1]; AY [t’i2]; SY [t’i2]; XS [—]; QN [t’i1]; ND1 [t’ie1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [t’i1]
[OPH *t’oi1]  CNH *t’oi1/*t’iai1/*t’i1

tí  踢  QYS  thiek  CDC *thiak7/EC *’thek
BMH [thet]; MX [t’êt7]; HL [t’êt7]; SX [t’êt7]; LF [t’êt7]; LZ [thiak7]; SHT [t’iak7]
HY [t’iak7]; XY [t’iak7]; DB [tek7 ~ t’êt7]; YL [—]; XC [t’ieʔ7]
CT [t’ê2]; WP [thêʔ7]; YD [t’êt7]; SH [thêʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [t’ia8]; AY [t’i6]; SY [t’ia5 ~ t’ie5]; XS [t’it7]; QN [t’iʔ7 ~ t’iaʔ7]; ND1 [t’it7 ~ t’iʔk7];
ND2 [t’iʔ7]; ND3 [t’it7 ~ t’iʔk7]
[OPH *t’êt7]  CNH *t’iak7/*t’iʔk7
LZ and SHT inexplicably retain -iak here, rather than showing their regular reduction to -ak.

tí  题  QYS  diei  CDC *diai2/EC *’de
BMH [thi]; MX [t’i2]; HL [t’i2]; SX [t’i2]; LF [t’i2]; LZ [thi2]; SHT [—]
HY [t’iε2]; XY [t’i2]; DB [t’i2]; YL [t’i2]; XC [t’i2]
The Héyuán form appears to derive from an earlier *t’ie2 for which comparative evidence is lacking in our data. Compare the following set, where such evidence is present.

**tǐ**  
QYS diei  
CDC *diai1/EC *’de  
BMH [thāi ~ thè]; MX [t’i2w ~ t’ai2b]; HL [t’i2w ~ t’ai2b]; SX [t’i2w ~ t’ai2b]; LF [t’ai2]; LZ [thai2]; SHT [t’ai2]  
HY [t’ie2]; XY [t’ei2]; DB [t’e2]; YL [t’i2]; XC [t’i2]  
CT [t’e2]; WP [thi2]; YD [t’ei2]; SH [thei2]; LC1 [t’i2]; LC2 [t’e2]  
NK [t’i2]; AY [t’e2]; SY [t’i2]; XS [t’i2]; QN [—]; ND1 [t’i2]; ND2 [t’i2]; ND3 [t’iai2]  
[OPH *t’ai2]   CNH *t’ai2/L *t’i2

**tǐ**  
QYS thiei:  
CDC *thiai3/EC *’thiyx  
BMH [thi]; MX [t’i3]; HL [t’i3]; SX [t’i3]; LF [t’i3]; LZ [thi3]; SHT [—]  
HY [t’ie3]; XY [t’i3]; DB [t’i3]; YL [t’i3]; XC [t’i3]  
CT [t’i3]; WP [thi5w]; YD [t’i3]; SH [thi5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]  
NK [t’i3]; AY [t’i3]; SY [t’i3]; XS [t’i3]; QN [t’i3]; ND1 [t’i3]; ND2 [t’i3]; ND3 [t’i3]  
[OPH *t’i3]   CNH t’i3

**tì**  
QYS thiei-  
CDC *thiai5/EC *’thiy  
BMH [thi ~ thài]; MX [t’i5]; HL [t’i5w ~ t’ai5b]; SX [t’i5w ~ t’ai5b]; LF [—]; LZ [thai5]; SHT [—]  
HY [t’ie5]; XY [t’ei5]; DB [t’e5]; YL [t’i5]; XC [t’i5]  
CT [t’e5]; WP [thi5]; YD [t’ei5]; SH [thei5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]  
NK [t’i5]; AY [t’i5]; SY [t’i2]; XS [t’i5]; QN [t’i5]; ND1 [t’i5]; ND2 [t’iei5]; ND3 [t’iai5]  
[OPH *t’ai5]   CNH *t’ai5/L *t’i5
Appendix: Data

**tiān 添 QYS thiem CDC *thiam1/*’thim**

BMH [thiam]; MX [t’iam1]; HL [t’ian1]; SX [t’iam1]; LF [t’iam1]; LZ [thiam1]; SHT [—]
HY [t’iam1]; XY [t’ian1]; DB [t’iam1]; YL [t’ien1]; XC [t’ien1]
CT [t’iŋ1]; WP [thian1]; YD [t’ian1]; SH [thiə1]; LC1 [t’e1]; LC2 [t’e1]
NK [t’iẽ1]; AY [t’iā1]; SY [t’iẽ1]; XS [t’iɛ1]; QN [t’iam1]; ND1 [t’iam1]; ND2 [t’iam1]; ND3 [t’iam1]
OPH *t’iam1  CNH *t’iam1

**tiān 天 QYS thien CDC *thian1/EC *’thin**

BMH [thien]; MX [t’iɛ1]; HL [t’ian1]; SX [t’ian1]; LF [t’ian1]; LZ [thiɛn1]; SHT [t’ɛn1]
HY [t’ian1]; XY [t’ian1]; DB [t’iɛn1]; YL [t’ien1]; XC [t’ien1]
CT [t’iŋ1]; WP [thiɛn1]; YD [t’ien1]; SH [thiɛ1]; LC1 [t’e1]; LC2 [t’e1]
NK [t’iẽ1]; AY [t’i1]; SY [t’iẽ1]; XS [t’iɛ1]; QN [t’iɛn1]; ND1 [t’iɛn1]; ND2 [t’iɛn1]; ND3 [t’iɛn1]
OPH *t’iɛn1  CNH *t’iɛn1

**tián 甜 QYS diem CDC *diam2/EC *’dem**

BMH [thiâm]; MX [t’iɛm2]; HL [t’iɛm2]; SX [t’iɛm2]; LF [t’iɛm2]; LZ [thiɛm2]; SHT [t’iɛm2]
HY [t’iɛm2]; XY [t’iɛm2]; DB [t’iɛm2]; YL [t’iɛn2]; XC [t’iɛn2]
CT [t’iŋ2]; WP [thiɛm2]; YD [t’iɛn2]; SH [thiɛ2]; LC1 [t’e2]; LC2 [—]
NK [t’iẽ2]; AY [t’iã2]; SY [t’iẽ2]; XS [t’iɛ2]; QN [t’iɛm2]; ND1 [t’iɛm2]; ND2 [t’iɛm2]; ND3 [t’iɛm2]
[OPH *t’iɛm2  CNH *t’iɛm2

**tián 田 QYS dien CDC *dian2/EC *’din**

BMH [thiên]; MX [t’iɛn2]; HL [t’ian2]; SX [t’iɛn2]; LF [t’ian2]; LZ [thiɛn2]; SHT [t’iɛn2]
HY [t’ian2]; XY [t’iɛn2]; DB [t’iɛn2]; YL [t’iɛn2]; XC [t’iɛn2]
CT [t’iŋ2]; WP [thiɛn2]; YD [t’iɛn2]; SH [thiɛ2]; LC1 [t’e2]; LC2 [t’e2]
NK [t’iẽ2]; AY [t’i2]; SY [t’iẽ2]; XS [t’iɛn2]; QN [t’iɛn2]; ND1 [t’iɛn2]; ND2 [t’iɛn2]; ND3 [t’iɛn2]
Common Neo-Hakka:
A Comparative Reconstruction

OPH *t’ian2   CNH *t’ian2

tiāo 挑 QYS thieu   CDC *thiau1/EC *’thew
BMH [thiau]; MX [t’iau1]; HL [t’iau1]; SX [t’iau1]; LF [t’iau1]; LZ [thiau1]; SHT [—]
HY [t’iau1]; XY [t’iau1]; DB [t’iau1]; YL [t’iau1]; XC [t’iau1]
CT [t’iɔ1]; WP [—]; YD [t’ieu1]; SH [thio1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [t’iɔ1]; AY [t’iɔ1]; SY [t’iɔ1]; XS [t’iau1]; QN [t’iau1]; ND1 [t’iau1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [t’iau1]

[OPH *t’iau1]   CNH *t’iau1

tiáo 條 QYS dieu   CDC *diau2/EC *’diw
BMH [thiâu]; MX [t’iau2]; HL [t’iau2]; SX [t’iau2]; LF [t’iau2]; LZ [thiau2]; SHT [t’iou2]
HY [t’iau2]; XY [t’iau2]; DB [t’iau2]; YL [t’iau2]; XC [t’iau2]
CT [t’iɔ2]; WP [thio2]; YD [t’ieu2]; SH [thio2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [t’iɔ2]; AY [t’iɔ2]; SY [t’iɔ2]; XS [t’iau2]; QN [t’iau2]; ND1 [t’iau2]; ND2 [t’iau2]; ND3 [t’iau2]

OPH *t’iau2   CNH *t’iau2

tiào 跳 QYS thieu-   CDC *thiau5/EC *’thewh
BMH [thiâu ~ thiâu]; MX [t’iau5 ~ t’iau2]; HL [t’iau5]; SX [t’iau5]; LF [t’iau5]; LZ [thiau5];
    SHT [t’iau5]
HY [t’iau2]; XY [t’iau5]; DB [t’iau5]; YL [t’iau5]; XC [t’iau5]
CT [t’iɔ5]; WP [thio5w]; YD [t’ieu3]; SH [thio5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [t’iɔ5]; AY [t’iɔ5]; SY [t’iɔ1 ~ t’iɔ2]; XS [t’iau5]; QN [t’iau6]; ND1 [t’iau5]; ND2 [t’iau5];
    ND3 [t’iau5]

[OPH *t’iau5]   CNH *t’iau5

tiē 贼 QYS thiep   CDC *thiap7/EC *’thip
BMH [thiap]; MX [t’iap7 ~ tiap7]; HL [t’iap7]; SX [t’iap7]; LF [t’iap7 ~ tiap7]; LZ [thiap7];
    SHT [t’iap7]
HY [t’iap7]; XY [t’iap7]; DB [t’iap7]; YL [t’ieʔ7]; XC [t’ieʔ7]
CT [t’e2]; WP [thiaʔ7]; YD [t’iaʔ7 ~ tiaʔ7]; SH [thiaʔ7 ~ tiaʔ7]; LC1 [——]; LC2 [——]†
NK [t’ieʔ7]; AY [t’is3]; SY [t’ie5]; XS [t’iet7]; QN [t’iaeʔ7]; ND1 [t’iap7]; ND2 [t’iap7]; ND3 [tiap7]
[OPH *t’iap7] CNH t’iap7/tiap7
†FJFYZ: [t’e6].

tíè 鐵 QYS thiet CDC *thiat7/EC *thet
BMH [thiet]; MX [t’iet7]; HL [t’iet7]; SX [t’iet7]; LF [t’iat7]; LZ [thet7]; SHT [t’et7]
HY [t’iat7]; XY [t’iat7]; DB [t’iet7]; YL [t’ieʔ7]; XC [t’ieʔ7]
CT [t’e2]; WP [thiaʔ7]; YD [t’ieʔ7]; SH [thiaʔ7]; LC1 [t’e6]; LC2 [——]
NK [t’ieʔ7]; AY [t’is3]; SY [t’ie5]; XS [t’iet7]; QN [t’ieʔ7]; ND1 [t’iet7]; ND2 [t’iat7]; ND3 [tiat7]
[OPH *t’iat7] CNH *t’iat7

tíèng 聽 QYS thiet CDC *thiat7/EC *thet
BMH [thin ~ thang]; MX [t’iŋ1w ~ t’aŋ1b]; HL [t’in6w ~ t’aŋ5b]; SX [t’in6 ~ t’aŋ5]; LF [t’in5w ~ t’aŋ5b]; LZ [thaŋ5]; SHT [t’aŋ5]
HY [t’iaŋ5]; XY [t’iŋ1]; DB [t’iŋ1]; YL [t’an1]; XC [t’aŋ5]
CT [t’aŋ1]; WP [thæŋ1]; YD [t’iŋ3 ~ t’iŋ1]; SH [thæ1]; LC1 [t’ia1]; LC2 [t’aŋ1]
NK [t’iə1]; AY [t’iə1]; SY [t’iə1 ~ t’iŋ1]; XS [t’iaŋ1]; QN [t’iaŋ1]; ND1 [t’iaŋ1]; ND2 [t’iaŋ1]; ND3 [t’iŋ1]
[OPH *t’aŋ5] CNH *t’iaŋ1/*t’iaŋ5/L *t’iŋ1/*t’iŋ6
The initial of the Diànbái form is irregularly unaspirated.

tōng 通 QYS thung CDC *thung1/EC *thong
BMH [thung]; MX [t’un1]; HL [t’un1]; SX [t’un1]; LF [t’un1]; LZ [thun1]; SHT [——]
HY [t’oŋ1]; XY [t’oŋ1]; DB [t’un1]; YL [t’un1]; XC [t’un1]
CT [t’oŋ1]; WP [thun1]; YD [t’un1]; SH [thoŋ1]; LC1 [——]; LC2 [t’oŋ1]
NK [tʰəŋ1]; AY [tʰəŋ1]; SY [tʰəŋ1]; XS [tʰəŋ1]; QN [tʰuŋ1]; ND1 [tʰuŋ1]; ND2 [tʰuŋ1]; ND3 [tʰuŋ1]

[OPH *tʰuŋ1]   CNH *tʰuŋ1

tóng 同 QYS dung CDC *dung2/EC *'dong
BMH [ thuŋ]; MX [tʰuŋ2]; HL [tʰuŋ2]; SX [tʰuŋ2]; LF [tʰuŋ2]; LZ [ thuŋ2]; SHT [tʰuŋ2]
HY [tʰoŋ2]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʰuŋ2]; XC [tʰuŋ2]
CT [tʰoŋ2]; WP [buŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [thʊŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tʰəŋ2]; AY [tʰəŋ2]; SY [tʰəŋ2]; XS [tʰəŋ2]; QN [tʰuŋ2]; ND1 [tʰuŋ2]; ND2 [tʰuŋ2]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *tʰuŋ2]   CNH *tʰuŋ2

tóng 銅 QYS dung CDC *dung2/EC *'dong
BMH [ thuŋ]; MX [tʰuŋ2]; HL [tʰuŋ2]; SX [tʰuŋ2]; LF [tʰuŋ2]; LZ [ thuŋ2]; SHT [tʰuŋ2]
HY [tʰoŋ2]; XY [tʰoŋ2]; DB [—]; YL [tʰuŋ2]; XC [tʰuŋ2]
CT [tʰoŋ2]; WP [buŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [thʊŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tʰəŋ]
NK [tʰəŋ2]; AY [tʰəŋ2]; SY [tʰəŋ2]; XS [tʰəŋ2]; QN [tʰuŋ2]; ND1 [tʰuŋ2]; ND2 [tʰuŋ2]; ND3 [tʰuŋ2]

[OPH *tʰuŋ2]   CNH *tʰuŋ2

tóng 童 QYS dung CDC *dung2/EC *'dong
BMH [ thuŋ]; MX [tʰuŋ2]; HL [tʰuŋ2]; SX [tʰuŋ2]; LF [tʰuŋ2]; LZ [ thuŋ2]; SHT [tʰuŋ2]
HY [tʰoŋ2]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʰuŋ2]; XC [tʰuŋ2]
CT [tʰoŋ2]; WP [buŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [thʊŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tʰəŋ]
NK [tʰəŋ2]; AY [tʰəŋ2]; SY [tʰəŋ2]; XS [tʰəŋ2]; QN [tʰuŋ2]; ND1 [tʰuŋ2]; ND2 [tʰuŋ2]; ND3 [tʰuŋ2]

[OPH *tʰuŋ2]   CNH *tʰuŋ2

tóng 僮、童 QYS dung CDC *dung2/EC *'dong
BMH [ thuŋ]; MX [tʰuŋ2]; HL [tʰuŋ2]; SX [tʰuŋ2]; LF [tʰuŋ2]; LZ [ thuŋ2]; SHT [—]
Appendix: Data

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [t’ʊŋ2]; XC [t’ʊŋ2]
CT [t’oŋ2]; WP [thʊŋ2]; YD [t’ʊŋ2]; SH [tʰəŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [t’əŋ2]; AY [t’əŋ2]; SY [t’əŋ2]; XS [t’əŋ2]; QN [t’ʊŋ2]; ND1 [t’ʊŋ2]; ND2 [t’ʊŋ2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *t’ʊŋ2] CNH *t’ʊŋ2

tǒng 桶 QYS thung: CDC *thung3/EC *’thongx
BMH [thúng]; MX [t’ʊŋ3]; HL [t’ʊŋ3]; LF [t’ʊŋ3]; LZ [thʊŋ3]; SHT [—]
HY [t’oŋ3]; XY [t’oŋ3]; DB [t’ʊŋ3]; YL [t’ʊŋ3]; XC [t’ʊŋ3]
CT [t’oŋ3]; WP [thʊŋ3]; YD [t’ʊŋ3]; SH [tʰəŋ3]; LC1 [t’oŋ3]; LC2 [—]
NK [t’əŋ3]; AY [t’əŋ3]; SY [t’əŋ3]; XS [t’əŋ3]; QN [t’ʊŋ3]; ND1 [t’ʊŋ3]; ND2 [t’ʊŋ3]; ND3 [t’ʊŋ3]
[OPH *t’ʊŋ3] CNH *t’ʊŋ3

tǒng 痛 QYS thung- CDC *thung5/EC *’thongh
BMH [thúng]; MX [t’ʊŋ5]; HL [t’ʊŋ6]; SX [t’ʊŋ5]; LF [t’ʊŋ5]; LZ [thʊŋ5]; SHT [t’ʊŋ5]
HY [t’oŋ5]; XY [t’oŋ5]; DB [t’ʊŋ5]; YL [t’ʊŋ5]; XC [t’ʊŋ5]
CT [t’oŋ5]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tʰəŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [t’əŋ5]; AY [t’əŋ5]; SY [t’əŋ5]; XS [t’əŋ5]; QN [t’ʊŋ5]; ND1 [t’ʊŋ5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [t’ʊŋ5]
[OPH *t’ʊŋ5] CNH *t’ʊŋ5

tóu 偷 QYS thâu CDC *theu1/EC *’tho
BMH [theu]; MX [t’eu1]; HL [t’eu1]; SX [t’eu1]; LF [t’eu1]; LZ [tʰeu1]; SHT [—]
HY [t’uai1]; XY [t’eu1]; DB [t’ei1]; YL [t’ai1]; XC [t’əu1]
CT [t’eu1]; WP [thɛ1]; YD [t’eu1]; SH [tʰə1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [t’s1]; AY [t’u]; SY [t’io1]; XS [t’əu1]; QN [t’eu1]; ND1 [t’eu1]; ND2 [t’iəu1]; ND3 [t’iu1]
[OPH *t’eu1] CNH *t’eu1
tóu 頭 QYS ūdu CDC *deu/EC *’do
BMH [thêu]; MX [t'eu2]; HL [t'eu2]; SX [t'eu2]; LF [t'eu2]; LZ [thêu2]; SHT [t'iuu2 ~ t'eu2]
HY [t'uai2]; XY [t'uu2]; DB [t'ei2]; YL [t'ai2]; XC [t'eu2]
CT [t'eu2]; WP [thê2]; YD [t'eu2]; SH [tho2]; LC1 [t'eu2]; LC2 [t'eu2]
NK [t's2]; AY [t'u2]; SY [t'io2]; XS [t'œu2]; QN [t'eu2]; ND1 [t'eu2]; ND2 [t'au2 ~ t'io2];
ND3 [t'i'uu2]
OPH *t'eu2    CNH *t'eu2

tú 徒 QYS duo CDC *du2/EC *’da
BMH [thû]; MX [t'u2]; HL [t'u2]; SX [t'u2]; LF [t'u2]; LZ [thu2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [t'u2]; XC [t'u2]
CT [t'u2]; WP [thu2]; YD [—]; SH [thu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [t'u2]; AY [t'u2]; SY [t'u2]; XS [t'u2]; QN [t'u2]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [t'u2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *t'u2]    CNH *t'u2

tuán 團 QYS duân CDC *don2/EC *’don
BMH [thôn]; MX [t'on2]; HL [t'on2]; SX [t'on2]; LF [t'on2]; LZ [thôn2]; SHT [t’on2]
HY [t’uan2]; XY [t’uan2]; DB [t’on2]; YL [t’on2]; XC [t’uan2]
CT [t’un2]; WP [thuə2]; YD [t’on2]; SH [thuə2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [t’un2]
NK [t’oẽ2]; AY [t’o2]; SY [t’uə2]; XS [t’on2]; QN [t’on2]; ND1 [t’oən2]; ND2 [—]; ND3
[OPH *t’on2]    CNH *t’ouon2
tuì 退 QYS thuài- CDC *thuoi5/EC *’thuth
BMH [thùi]; MX [t’ui5]; HL [t’ui5]; SX [t’ui5]; LF [t’ui5]; LZ [thùi5]; SHT [—]
HY [t’ui5]; XY [t’ui5]; DB [t’ei5]; YL [t’uei5]; XC [t’uei5]
CT [t’ue5]; WP [thi5]; YD [t’ei3]; SH [thei5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [t’ue5]; AY [t’ue5]; SY [t’e2]; XS [t’i5]; QN [t’ui5]; ND1 [t’ui5]; ND2 [t’uei5 ∼ t’ui5];
   ND3 [t’ui5]
[OPH *t’ui5]  CNH *t’ui5

thun 吞 QYS thoan CDC *then1 ∼ *thuen1/’thun
BMH [thun]; MX [t’un1]; HL [t’un1]; SX [t’un1]; LF [t’un1]; LZ [thun1]; SHT [t’un1]
HY [t’un1]; XY [t’un1]; DB [t’an1]; YL [t’un1]; XC [t’an1]
CT [t’en1]; WP [thɵ1]; YD [t’un1]; SH [thei1]; LC1 [t’ai1]; LC2 [—]
NK [t’ê1]; AY [t’an1]; SY [t’ê1]; XS [t’an1]; QN [t’un1]; ND1 [t’un1]; ND2 [t’un1]; ND3
   [t’un1]
[OPH *t’un1]  CNH *t’un1

tuō 脱 QYS thâk CDC *thok7/EC *’thak
BMH [thok]; MX [t’ok7]; HL [t’ok7]; SX [t’ok7]; LF [t’ok7]; LZ [thok7]; SHT [t’ok8]
HY [t’ok7]; XY [t’ok7]; DB [t’ok7]; YL [t’oʔ7]; XC [t’oʔ7]
CT [t’o2]; WP [thoʔ7]; YD [t’oʔ7]; SH [thoʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [t’u6]
NK [t’o8]; AY [t’o6]; SY [t’o5]; XS [t’ok7]; QN [t’oʔ7]; ND1 [t’ok7]; ND2 [t’ok7]; ND3 [t’ok7]
[OPH *t’ok7]  CNH *t’ok7

tuō 脫 QYS thuât CDC *thot7/EC *’thot
BMH [thot]; MX [t’ôt7]; HL [t’ôt7]; SX [t’ôt7]; LF [t’ôt7]; LZ [thôt7]; SHT [t’ôt7]
HY [t’uat7]; XY [t’uat7]; DB [t’ôt7]; YL [t’oʔ8 ∼ t’ôt7]; XC [t’oʔ7]
CT [t’ue2]; WP [thueʔ7]; YD [t’oʔ7 ∼ t’ôt7]; SH [thueʔ7]; LC1 [t’ue6]; LC2 [—]
NK [t’œ7]; AY [t’æ3]; SY [t’uo1]; XS [t’œt7]; QN [t’œiʔ7]; ND1 [t’œt7]; ND2 [t’œt7]; ND3
   [t’uat7]
[OPH *t’œt7]  CNH *t(u)ot7
Common Neo-Hakka:
A Comparative Reconstruction

W

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

wà 襩 QYS mjwot CDC *ʰmvat8/EC *mot
BMH [mat]; MX [mat7]; HL [mat7]; SX [mat7]; LF [mat7]; LZ [mat7]; SHT —
HY [mat8]; XY [mat7]; DB [mat7]; YL [maʔ7]; XC [maʔ7]
CT [maï2]; WP [maʔ7]; YD [maʔ7]; SH [maʔ8]; LC1 [ma6]; LC2 [ma5]
NK [ma8]; AY [ma5]; SY [ma5]; XS [maʔ7]; QN [maʔ7]; ND1 [maʔ7 ~ moet7]; ND2 [muot7];
ND3 [muat7]
OPH *mat7   CNH *mat7
The Níngdū data point to an earlier *mot7, which in Níngdū-1 is in competition with more
general Hakka *mat7.

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

wài 外 QYS ngwâi- CDC *ŋuo6/EC *ŋwath
BMH [ngòi]; MX [ŋoi5]; HL [ŋoi6]; SX [ŋoi5]; LF [ŋoi6]; LZ [ŋoi5]; SHT [ŋoi5]
HY [ŋai6]; XY [ŋuai3]; DB [ŋoi3]; YL [uoi3]; XC [ vai5]
CT [ŋue6]; WP [ŋue3]; YD [ŋai5]; SH [ŋa3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ŋua6]
Appendix: Data

NK [ŋæ5 ~ væ5]; AY [mue6]; SY [væ5 ~ ve3 ~ ve2]; XS [ŋɔi5]; QN [ŋɔi6]; ND1 [ŋœ6]; ND2 [ŋœi5 ~ ŋœi6]; ND3 [ŋuai6]

OPH *ngoi6   CNH *ngoi6/vai5

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

wān 彎 QYS ʔwan  CDC *uan1/EC *’wron

BMH [van]; MX [van1]; HL [van1]; SX [van1]; LF [van1]; LZ [van1]; SHT [—]
HY [van1]; XY [van1]; DB [van1]; YL [uan1]; XC [van1]
CT [van1]; WP [van1]; YD [van1]; SH [vā1]; LC1 [va1]; LC2 [—]
NK [vā1]; AY [vā1]; SY [vā1]; XS [van1]; QN [van1]; ND1 [van1]; ND2 [van1]; ND3 [van1]

OPH *van1   CNH *van1

The second Nánkāng, Shàngyóu, and Níngdū-3 forms reflect earlier huan2, which must be a rather late loan. The Ānyuǎn form, on the other hand, must derive from a *huon2 for which we have no other comparative evidence. The Xînyí and Dìanbái forms perhaps derive from earlier vion2, as also reconstructed in the following set.

wán 完 QYS űrǎn  CDC *huon2/EC *’gon

BMH [vàn ~ vôn]; MX [van2]; HL [van2]; SX [van2]; LF [van2]; LZ [van2]; SHT [van2]
HY [vuan2 ~ van2]; XY [ian2]; DB [zan2]; YL [uan2]; XC [van2]
CT [vun2]; WP [—]; YD [van2]; SH [vā2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [vā2 ~ huā2]; AY [hō2]; SY [vā2 ~ huā2]; XS [vɔn2]; QN [vɔn2]; ND1 [vœn2]; ND2 [vɔn2]; ND3 [vuan2 ~ fan2]

OPH *van2   CNH *vοn2/*van2/huan2/*vion2 ?

The second Nánkāng, Shàngyóu, and Níngdū-3 forms reflect earlier huan2, which must be a rather late loan. The Ānyuǎn form, on the other hand, must derive from a *huon2 for which we have no other comparative evidence. The Xînχí and Dìanbái forms perhaps derive from earlier vion2, as also reconstructed in the following set.

wán 丸 QYS ųuǎn  CDC *huon2 ~ *yon2/EC *’gon

BMH [yên]; MX [ian2]; HL [ʒan2]; SX [ian2]; LF [—]; LZ [ʒen2]; SHT [—]
HY [ian2]; XY [ian2]; DB [zan2]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [viŋ2]; WP [viɛŋ2]; YD [viɛn2]; SH [viɛ̃2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [vâ2]; AY [—]; SY [jyẽ2]; XS [iɛн2]; QN [iuən2]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ian2]
Common Neo-Hakka:  
A Comparative Reconstruction

[OPH *ian2]   CNH *vion2

wán 玩  QYS  nguăn-  CDC *nguon6/EC *’gonh  
BMH [ŋən];  MX [ŋan5];  HL [—];  SX [—];  LF [ŋən5];  LZ [van3];  SHT [—]  
HY [—];  XY [—];  DB [—];  YL [uan2];  XC [van2]  
CT [—];  WP [—];  YD [—];  SH [və3w ~ ŋə3];  LC1 [—];  LC2 [—]  
NK [—];  AY [və̌2];  SY [və̌2];  XS [van2];  QN [van2];  ND1 [—];  ND2 [—];  ND3 [—]  
[OPH *?]   CNH *ŋuan5/L *van2

The Ānyuǎn form appears to derive from earlier *von2. This is also true of the first Ānyuǎn 
form in the following set.

wán 頑  QYS  ngwăn  CDC *nguan2/EC *ngron

BMH [ŋən];  MX [ŋan2];  HL [—];  SX [—];  LF [—];  LZ [ŋən2];  SHT [—]  
HY [ŋən2];  XY [ŋən2];  DB [ŋən2];  YL [uan2];  XC [van2]  
CT [ŋuan2];  WP [ŋuan2];  YD [—];  SH [ŋə2];  LC1 [—];  LC2 [—]  
NK [və̌2 ~ ŋə2];  AY [və̌2 ~ ŋə2];  SY [ŋə2];  XS [ŋan2];  QN [—];  ND1 [ŋən2];  ND2 [ŋən2];  
ND3 [ŋən2]  
[OPH *ŋan2]   CNH *ŋuan5/*van2

wǎn 碗  QYS  ?uâːn:  CDC *uon3/EC *’wonx

BMH [vən];  MX [vən3];  HL [vən3];  SX [vən3];  LF [vən3];  LZ [vən3];  SHT [—]  
HY [vuan3];  XY [vən3];  DB [vən3];  YL [uən3];  XC [vən3]  
CT [vən3];  WP [uən3];  YD [vən3];  SH [və3];  LC1 [va3];  LC2 [—]  
NK [oə3 ~ və̌3];  AY [və̌3];  SY [və̌3];  XS [vən3];  QN [vən3];  ND1 [vən3];  ND2 [uan3];  ND3  
[vuan3]  
OPH *vон3   CNH *vон3

wǎn 晚  QYS  mjwəːn:  CDC *mvan4/EC *monx

BMH [man ~ van ~ ván];  MX [van3w ~ man1b];  HL [van1];  SX [van3];  LF [van1];  LZ [vən3];  
SHT [—]
Appendix: Data

HY [—]; XY [man3]; DB [man5]; YL [uan3]; XC [van3]
CT [van3]; WP [—]; YD [van3]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [vã3]; AY [võ3]; SY [vã3]; XS [van3]; QN [van3]; ND1 [van3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *man1 ?]   CNH *man1/*man3/*van3/L *van3

wan 萬  QYS mjwɒn-   CDC *mvan6/EC *monh
BMH [vân]; MX [van5]; HL [van5]; SX [van5]; LF [van6]; LZ [mban5b ~ van5w]; SHT [van5]
HY [man6]; XY [man3]; DB [man3]; YL [uan3]; XC [van5]
CT [van6]; WP [—]; YD [van5]; SH [vã3]; LC1 [va6]; LC2 [—]
NK [vã5]; AY [vã6]; SY [vã5]; XS [van5]; QN [van6]; ND1 [van6]; ND2 [van6]; ND3 [van6]
[OPH * van6]   CNH *man6/*van6

wáng 王  QYS jwang   CDC *mvong2/EC *mang
BMH [mõng]; MX [mõ2]; HL [mõ2]; SX [mõ2]; LF [mõ2]; LZ [mõθ2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [uõ2]; XC [võ2]
CT [võ2]; WP [mõ2]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [mã2]; AY [mõ2]; SY [mã2]; XS [mõ2]; QN [mõ2]; ND1 [mõ2]; ND2 [võ2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *mong2]   CNH *mõ2

wáng 王  QYS jwang   CDC *wong2/EC *wang
BMH [võng]; MX [võ2]; HL [võ2]; SX [võ2]; LF [võ2]; LZ [võ2]; SHT [võ2]
HY [võ2]; XY [võ2]; DB [võ2]; YL [võ2]; XC [võ2]
CT [võ2]; WP [võ2]; YD [võ2]; SH [võ2]; LC1 [võ2]; LC2 [—]
NK [vã2]; AY [vã2]; SY [vã2]; XS [vã2]; QN [vã2]; ND1 [vã2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [vã2]
[OPH *vong2]   CNH *võ2

wang 網  QYS mjwang:   CDC *mvong4/EC *mangx
BMH [miõng]; MX [miõ3]; HL [miõ3]; SX [miõ3]; LF [miõ3]; LZ [mõθiõ3]; SHT [—]
HY [miõ3]; XY [miõ3]; DB [miõ3]; YL [uõ3]; XC [võ5]
CT [ɔŋ3]; WP [mioŋ3]; YD [mioŋ3]; SH [mioŋ3]; LC1 [mioŋ3]; LC2 [—]
NK [mɔŋ3]; AY [mioŋ3]; SY [mioŋ3]; XS [mioŋ3]; QN [mioŋ3]; ND1 [mioŋ3]; ND2 [mioŋ3]; ND3 [mioŋ3]

OPH *mioŋ3   CNH *mioŋ3/voŋ3

wǎng 往  QYS  jwang:   CDC *wong4/EC *wangx
BMH [vong ~ vöŋ]; MX [vɔŋ1]; HL [vɔŋ1]; SX [vɔŋ1]; LF [vɔŋ1]; LZ [vɔŋ1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [vɔŋ3]; XC [vɔŋ5]
CT [vɔŋ3]; WP [—]; YD [mioŋ3]; SH [vɔŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [vɔŋ3]; AY [vɔŋ3]; SY [vɔŋ3]; XS [vɔŋ3]; QN [vɔŋ3]; ND1 [vɔŋ3]; ND2 [vɔŋ1]; ND3 [vɔŋ3]

[OPH *vong1]   CNH *vong1/*vɔŋ3

The Yǒngdìng initial is anomalous.


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

[OPH *mang6]   CNH *mang6/L voŋ6

wéi 为  QYS  jwe    CDC *wi2/EC *woy
BMH [vûi]; MX [vi2]; HL [vui2]; SX [vui2]; LF [vui2]; LZ [vui2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [vui1]; DB [—]; YL [uei2]; XC [vei2]
CT [ve2]; WP [vi2]; YD [—]; SH [vi2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [vi2]; AY [ve2]; SY [ve2]; XS [vi2]; QN [vui2]; ND1 [vi2]; ND2 [vi2]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *vui2]    CNH *vui2
Appendix: Data

wéi 唯、惟  QYS jiwi  CDC *yui2/EC *yuy
BMH [vûi]; MX [vi2]; HL [vui2]; SX [vui2]; LF [vui2]; LZ [vui2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [uei2]; XC [vei2]
CT [ve2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [vi2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [vi2]; AY [ve2]; SY [ve2]; XS [vi2]; QN [vui2]; ND1 [vi2]; ND2 [vi2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *vui2]  CNH *vui2

wéi 微  QYS mjwei  CDC *mvui2/EC *muy
BMH [mi]; MX [mi2]; HL [mi2]; SX [mi2]; LF [mi2]; LZ [mi2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [vui1]; DB [vi1]; YL [uei2]; XC [vei2]
CT [ve1]; WP [vi1]; YD [vi1]; SH [vi1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [ve1]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [vui2]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [vi2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *mi2]  CNH *mi2/*vui2

wěi 尾  QYS mjwei:  CDC *mvui4/EC *muyx
BMH [mui]; MX [mi2]; HL [mui1]; SX [mui1]; LF [mui1]; LZ [mui1]; SHT [mui1]
HY [mi5]; XY [vui1]; DB [mei1]; YL [mei1]; XC [mei3]
CT [me1]; WP [mi1]; YD [mei1]; SH [mi1]; LC1 [mo1]; LC2 [mu1]
NK [mi1]; AY [me1]; SY [mi1]; XS [mi1]; QN [mu1]; ND1 [mei1]; ND2 [mei1]; ND3 [mei1]
OPH *mui1  CNH *mui1

wèi 衛  QYS jwái-  CDC *woi6/EC *wath
BMH [vûi]; MX [vi5]; HL [vui6 ~ vui3]; SX [vui5]; LF [vui6]; LZ [vui5]; SHT [—]
HY [vie6]; XY [vui3]; DB [vei3]; YL [—]; XC [vei5]
CT [ve6]; WP [vi5]; YD [vei3]; SH [vi5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [vi6]
NK [vi5]; AY [ve1]; SY [ve3]; XS [vi5]; QN [vui6]; ND1 [vei6]; ND2 [i6]; ND3 [vei6]
[OPH *vui6]  CNH *vui6

wèi 為  QYS jwe-  CDC *wi6/EC *woyh
BMH [vûi]; MX [vi5]; HL [vui6]; SX [vui5]; LF [vui5]; LZ [vui5 ~ vui2]; SHT [vui5]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [uei3]; XC [vei5]
CT [vei6]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [vi3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [vi5]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [vi5]; QN [vui3]; ND1 [vi6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *vui5]    CNH *vui6/*vui5

wèi 位 QYS jwi-       CDC *wi6/EC *wuth
BMH [vui]; MX [vi5]; HL [vui6]; SX [vui5]; LF [vui6]; LZ [vui5]; SHT [—]
HY [vui6]; XY [vui3]; DB [vei3]; YL [uei3]; XC [vei5]
CT [vi6]; WP [vi3]; YD [vi5 ~ vei5]; SH [vi3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [vi5]; AY [ve6]; SY [ve5]; XS [vi5]; QN [vui6]; ND1 [vi6]; ND2 [i6]; ND3 [vei6]
[OPH *vui6]    CNH *vui6

wèi 味 QYS mjwei-      CDC *mvui6/EC *muth
BMH [mui ~ mi]; MX [mi5]; HL [mui6]; SX [mui5]; LF [mui6]; LZ [vui5]; SHT [mi5]
HY [mi6]; XY [mui3]; DB [mei5]; YL [mei3]; XC [mei5]
CT [vi6]; WP [mi3]; YD [mei5]; SH [mei3]; LC1 [vi6]; LC2 [—]
NK [vi5]; AY [ve6]; SY [vi5]; XS [vi5]; QN [mui6]; ND1 [vi6 ~ vei6 ~ mei6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [mei6]
[OPH *mui6]   CNH *mui6/*vui6

wèi 未来 QYS mjwei-    CDC *mvui6/EC *muth
BMH [vui]; MX [vi5]; HL [vui6]; SX [vui5]; LF [mui6]; LZ [vui5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [mei5]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [vi3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [ve6]; SY [ve5]; XS [vi5]; QN [vui6]; ND1 [vi6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH ?]    CNH *mui6/*vui6

wèi 慰 QYS ?jwei-     CDC *ui5/EC *uth
BMH [vui]; MX [vi3]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [vui3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [vei5]
Appendix: Data

CT [—]; WP [vi5]; YD [—]; SH [vi5w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [vi5]; AY [ve5]; SY [ve3]; XS [vi5]; QN [vui3]; ND1 [vi5]; ND2 [i5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH ?] CNH *vui5

wēn 瘟 QYS ʔuən   CDC *un1/EC *ˈun
BMH [vun]; MX [vun1]; HL [vun1]; SX [vun1]; LF [vun1]; LZ [vun1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [un1]; XC [—]
CT [veŋ1]; WP [veŋ1]; YD [vun1]; SH [veiŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [vẽ1]; AY [vəŋ1]; SY [vẽ1]; XS [vəŋ1]; QN [—]; ND1 [vəŋ1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *vun1] CNH *vun1

wēn 溫 QYS ʔuən   CDC *un1/EC *ˈun
BMH [vun]; MX [vun1]; HL [vun1]; SX [vun1]; LF [vun1]; LZ [vun1]; SHT [—]
HY [un1]; XY [vun1]; DB [vəŋ1]; YL [un1]; XC [vəŋ1]
CT [veŋ1]; WP [veŋ1]; YD [vun1]; SH [veiŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [vẽ1]; AY [vəŋ1]; SY [vẽ1]; XS [vəŋ1]; QN [vun1]; ND1 [vəŋ1]; ND2 [vəŋ1]; ND3 [vəŋ1]
[OPH *vun1] CNH *vun1

wēn 文 QYS mjuən   CDC *mvun2/EC *mun
BMH [vùn]; MX [vun2]; HL [vun2]; SX [vun2]; LF [vun2]; LZ [vun2]; SHT [vun2]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [un2]; XC [vəŋ2w ~ məŋ2b]
CT [veŋ2]; WP [veŋ2]; YD [vun2]; SH [veiŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [veŋ2]
NK [vẽ2]; AY [vəŋ2]; SY [vẽ2]; XS [vəŋ2]; QN [vun2]; ND1 [vəŋ2]; ND2 [vəŋ2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *vun2] CNH *vun2

Xīchāng data indicate that this form is actually a literary word. The corresponding popular form must have been *mun2, for which we do not have corroborating comparative evidence.

wēn 蚊 QYS mjuən   CDC *mvun2/EC *mun
BMH [mùn]; MX [mun2]; HL [mun1]; SX [mun1]; LF [mun1]; LZ [m̩=bun1]; SHT [mun1 ~ min1]

737
The second reconstruction is based on the Xìnyí and Diànbái forms and is uncertain, especially since the syllable type is unique. Cf. §2.1.5 of Chapter II.
Appendix: Data

The final of the Héyuán form is irregular. It is theoretically possible that it derives from an earlier *ŋoi5, but in the absence of apposite comparative data from other points, this cannot be confirmed.

The Lìzhīzhuāng and Xīchāng forms are not directly comparable either to each other or to the remaining forms in the set.

The Lízhīzhuāng and Xīchāng forms are not directly comparable either to each other or to the remaining forms in the set.

Appendix: Data
The Ānyuǎn form is not directly comparable to other forms in the set.
The first reconstructed form is the native Hakka existential negative. The literary form is the reading for the graph 無.

wù 五 QYS nguo: CDC *ŋu4/EC *'ngax
BMH [ŋ]; MX [ŋ]; HL [ŋ]; SX [ŋ]; LF [ŋ]; LZ [ŋ]; SHT [ŋ]
HY [ŋ]; XY [ŋ]; DB [ŋ]; YL [ŋ]; XC [ŋ]
CT [ŋ]; WP [ŋ ~ m]; YD [ŋ]; SH [ŋ]; LC1 [ŋ]; LC2 [—]
NK [ŋ ~ vu]; AY [ŋ ~ vu]; SY [ŋ ~ vu]; XS [ŋ]; QN [ŋ ~ vu]; ND1 [ŋ]; ND2 [ŋ]; ND3 [ŋ]

OPH *ŋ3 CNH *ŋ3/vu3

wù 誤 QYS nguo- CDC *ŋu6/EC *'ngah
BMH [ŋu]; MX [ŋu]; HL [ŋu]; SX [ŋu]; LF [ŋu]; LZ [ŋu]; SHT [—]
HY [ŋ]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ŋ]; XC [ŋ]
CT [ŋu ~ ŋ]; WP [ŋu ~ vu]; YD [ŋou]; SH [ŋu]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ŋu]; AY [ŋu]; SY [ŋu]; XS [—]; QN [ŋu]; ND1 [ŋu]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

OPH *ŋu5 CNH *ŋu5/vu6

wù 悟 QYS nguo- CDC *ŋu6/EC *'ngah
BMH [ŋu]; MX [ŋu]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ŋ]; XC [ŋ]
CT [ŋu]; WP [ŋu]; YD [ŋou]; SH [ŋ]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ŋu]; AY [ŋu]; SY [ŋu]; XS [—]; QN [ŋu]; ND1 [ŋu]; ND2 [ŋu]; ND3 [—]

OPH ? CNH *ŋu6/vu6
wù 物 QYS mjuət CDC *mvut8/EC *mut
BMH [vút]; MX [vut8]; HL [vut8]; SX [vut8]; LF [vut8]; LZ [vut8]; SHT [vut8]
HY [muat7]; XY [mut8]; DB [vat8]; YL [uɛʔ8]; XC [uʔ8]
CT [vu2]; WP [—]; YD [vut8]; SH [veiʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [oæ7 ~ vo5]; AY [v3]; SY [vo5]; XS [vat8]; QN [væʔ7]; ND1 [vat7 ~ vat8]; ND2 [vat7];
ND3 [vat7]
OPH *vut8 CNH *vut8/*vut7

The finals of Héyuán and Xìnyí forms do not show a regular correspondence pattern. The Xìnyí
form appears to derive from earlier *mut8.

wù 勿 QYS mjuət CDC *mvut8/EC *mut
BMH [vút]; MX [vut8]; HL [vut8]; SX [fut8]; LF [vut8]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [uʔ8]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [vat8]; QN [—]; ND1 [fat8]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *vut8] CNH *vut8

wù 惡 QYS ?uo- CDC *u5/EC *’akh
BMH [vu]; MX [vu5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [vu5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [u5]; XC [vu5]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [vu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [vu5]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [vu5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *vu5] CNH *vu5

X

xì 西 QYS siei CDC *siai1/EC *’siy
BMH [si]; MX [si1]; HL [si1]; SX [si1]; LF [si1]; LZ [jì1]; SHT [si1]
HY [si1]; XY [si1]; DB [li1]; YL [ei1]; XC [ei1]
CT [si1]; WP [s1]; YD [si1]; SH [s1]; LC1 [si1]; LC2 [—]
Appendix: Data

NK [ei1]; AY [si1]; SY [ei1]; XS [si1]; QN [ei1]; ND1 [ei1 ~ eie1]; ND2 [eie1]; ND3 [siai1]

OPH *si1  CNH *siai1/*si1

The finals of the Xìnyí and Diànbái forms do not show a recognizable correspondence pattern. They may be Yuè dialect loans. The Níngdū forms appear to derive from an earlier *siap (Tone 7 or 8), which is of obscure origin.

NK [ei1]; AY [si1]; SY [ei1]; XS [si1]; QN [ei1]; ND1 [ei1 ~ eie1]; ND2 [eie1]; ND3 [siai1]

OPH *si1  CNH *siai1/*si1

The finals of the Xìnyí and Diànbái forms do not show a recognizable correspondence pattern. They may be Yuè dialect loans. The Níngdū forms appear to derive from an earlier *siap (Tone 7 or 8), which is of obscure origin.
The Xìnyì and second Héyuán forms show no recognizable correspondence pattern and are of uncertain origin.

The Liánchéng forms represent a variant reading in *si3. The Nánkāng final is, on the contrary, the regular modern reflex of CNH *-iai.
The tone of the second Basil Mission form is unaccountably of upper register.
xià 下 QYS ya: “down, below” CDC *ha4/EC *grax
BMH [ha ~ hà]†; MX [ha5w ~ ha1b]; HL [ha5w ~ ha1b]; SX [ha5w ~ ha1b]; LF [ha6]; LZ
[ha1]; SHT [ha5]
HY [ha5 ~ ha1]; XY [ha1]; DB [ha3]; YL [ha5]; XC [ha5 ~ ha2]
CT [ha1]; WP [xa1]; YD [ha1]; SH [ha1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ho6 ~ ho5 ~ ho1]
NK [ha1 ~ ha3]; AY [ha3]; SY [ha1]; XS [ha1]; QN [ha5]; ND1 [ha6 ~ ha1]; ND2 [—]; ND3
[ha1]
[OPH *ha1 ~ ha5 ?] CNH *ha1/*ha6/L ha5
† The second form, hà, is said to be the “proper” (i.e., character reading) pronunciation of this
etymon, thereby indicated that upper ha was the actual spoken form in standard Hakka of the
nineteenth century. It is possible that both *ha6, as well as *ha5, is ultimately of literary origin.

xià 廈 QYS ya: “descend” CDC *ha6/*grah
BMH [ha]; MX [ha5 ~ ha1b]; HL [ha5w ~ ha1b]; SX [ha5w ~ ha1b]; LF [ha6w ~ ha1b]; LZ
[ha5]; SHT [—]
HY [ha1]; XY [ha3]; DB [ha1]; YL [ha3]; XC [ha5]
CT [ha6]; WP [xa3]; YD [ha5]; SH [ha3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ha5]; AY [ha5]; SY [ha3]; XS [ha3]; QN [ha3]; ND1 [ha1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ha6]
[OPH ?] CNH *ha1/L *ha6
In most Hakka dialects, the sense “descend” is colloquially some form of luò 落. The present
syllable is probably basically of literary register.
### xià 嚇 QYS xباك CDC *xak7/EC *hrak
BMH [hak]; MX [hak7]; HL [hak7]; SX [hak7]; LF [—]; LZ [hak7]; SHT [hak7]  
HY [hak7]; XY [hak7]; DB [hak7]; YL [haʔ7]; XC [haʔ7]  
CT [—]; WP [xaʔ7]; YD [haʔ7]; SH [haʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]  
NK [ha8]; AY [ha6]; SY [ha5]; XS [hak7]; QN [haʔ7]; ND1 [hak7]; ND2 [hak7]; ND3 [hak7]  
[OPH *hak7] CNH *hak7

### xiān 先 QYS sien CDC *sian1/EC *’sun ~ *’sin
BMH [sien]; MX [sien1w ~ sin1b]; HL [sian1]; SX [sian1]; LF [sian1]; LZ [ʃɛn1]; SHT [sɛn1]  
HY [sian1]; XY [sian1]; DB [liɛn1]; YL [ɕiɛn1]; XC [ɕiɛn1]  
CT [ɕiŋ1]; WP [ɕiɛŋ1]; YD [sian1]; SH [ɕiɛ1]; LC1 [se1]; LC2 [ʃɛn1]  
NK [ɕiɛ1]; AY [si1]; SY [ɕiɛ1]; XS [ɕiɛn1]; QN [ɕiɛn1]; ND1 [ɕiɛn1]; ND2 [ɕiɛ1n1]; ND3 [sian1]  
[OPH *sian1] CNH *sian1

### xiān 仙 QYS sjän CDC *sian1/EC *sen
BMH [sien]; MX [sien1]; HL [sian1]; SX [sian1]; LF [sian1]; LZ [ʃɛn1]; SHT [—]  
HY [sian1]; XY [sian1]; DB [liɛn1]; YL [ɕiɛn1]; XC [ɕiɛn1]  
CT [ɕiŋ1]; WP [ɕiɛŋ1]; YD [sian1]; SH [ɕiɛ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ʃɛn1 ~ se1]  
NK [ɕiɛ1]; AY [si1]; SY [ɕiɛ1]; XS [ɕiɛn1]; QN [ɕiɛn1]; ND1 [ɕiɛn1]; ND2 [ɕiɛ1n1]; ND3 [sian1]  
[OPH *sian1] CNH *sian1

### xiān 鮮 QYS sjän CDC *sian1/EC *san
BMH [sien]; MX [sien1]; HL [sian3]; SX [sian3]; LF [sian1]; LZ [ʃɛn1]; SHT [—]  
HY [sian1]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ɕiɛn1]; XC [ɕiɛn1]  
CT [ɕiŋ1]; WP [ɕiɛŋ1]; YD [sian1]; SH [ɕiɛ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [se1]  
NK [ɕiɛ1]; AY [si1]; SY [ɕiɛ1]; XS [ɕiɛn1]; QN [ɕiɛn1]; ND1 [ɕiɛn1]; ND2 [ɕiɛ1n1]; ND3 [—]  
[OPH *sian1] CNH *sian1

### xián 閒 QYS ɣăn CDC *han2/EC *gren
BMH [hán]; MX [han2]; HL [han2]; SX [han2]; LF [han2]; LZ [han2]; SHT [—]
HY [han2]; XY [han2]; DB [han2]; YL [ɕiɛn2]; XC [ɕiɛn2]
CT [haŋ2]; WP [xaŋ2]; YD [han2]; SH [hã2]; LC1 [ʃe2]; LC2 [ʃɛ2]
NK [hã2]; AY [hã2]; SY [hã2]; XS [han2]; QN [han2]; ND1 [han2]; ND2 [han2]; ND3 [han2]

OPH *han2   CNH *han2/*hian2

xián 嫌 QYS yiem  CDC *hiam2/*ˈgem
BMH [hiám]; MX [hiam2]; HL [hiam2]; SX [hiam2]; LF [hiam2]; LZ [hiam2]; SHT [—] HY [hiam2]; XY [sam2]; DB [hiam2]; YL [ɕiɛn2]; XC [ɕiɛn2]
CT [ʃiŋ2]; WP [siaŋ2]; YD [saŋ2]; SH [ɕiɛŋ2]; LC1 [ʃe2]; LC2 [ʃɛ2]
NK [ɕiɛŋ2]; AY [ɕiɛŋ2]; SY [ɕiɛŋ2]; XS [ɕiɛn2]; QN [ɕiɛn2]; ND1 [sam2]; ND2 [sam2]; ND3 [sam2]

[OPH *hiam2]   CNH *hiam2

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

[OPH *ham2]   CNH *ham2

xián 衝 QYS yam  CDC *ham/EC —
BMH [hâm]; MX [ham2]; HL [ham2]; SX [ham2]; LF [ham2]; LZ [ham2]; SHT [—] HY [ham2]; XY [ham2]; DB [ham2]; YL [—]; XC [han2]
CT [haŋ2]; WP [xaŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [haŋ2]
NK [hã2]; AY [hã2]; SY [hã2]; XS [han2]; QN [ham2]; ND1 [ham2]; ND2 [ham2]; ND3 [ham2]

[OPH *ham2]   CNH *ham2

xián 險 QYS xjäm:3  CDC *xiam3/EC *hamx
BMH [hiám]; MX [hiam3]; HL [hiam3]; SX [hiam3]; LF [hiam3]; LZ [hiam3]; SHT [hiam3]
HY [hiam3]; XY [hiam3]; DB [hiam3]; YL [ɕiɛn3]; XC [ɕiɛn3]
CT [ʃiŋ3]; WP [siaŋ3]; YD [saŋ3]; SH [ɕiæ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɕiẽ3]; AY [ɕiæ3]; SY [ɕiæ3]; XS [ɕien3]; QN [ɕiam3]; ND1 [sam3]; ND2 [sam3]; ND3 [sam3]
OPH *hian3    CNH *hian3

xiàn 縣  QYS  yiwen-    CDC *hion6/EC *gwenh
BMH [yèn ~ hièn]; MX [ian5]; HL [ʒan5]; SX [ian5]; LF [jan6]; LZ [ʃen5]; SHT [—]
HY [yan6]; XY [iæn3]; DB [zan3]; YL [ɕien5w ~ ien3b]; XC [ɕien5]
CT [iŋ6]; WP [vien3]; YD [vien5]; SH [viẽ3]; LC1 [ve6]; LC2 [ve6]
NK [iẽ5]; AY [jiɷ̃6]; SY [yẽ2]; XS [ɕien5]; QN [iuωn6]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ian6]; ND3 [iɛn6]
[OPH *ian5]    CNH *vion6/L *hian5

xiàn 隈  QYS  yām-    CDC *ham6/EC *gramh
BMH [hàm ~ hám]; MX [ham5]; HL [ham5]; SX [ham5]; LF [ham5]; LZ [ham5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [han5]
CT [iŋ6]; WP [xian3]; YD [—]; SH [hã5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [hã5]; AY [hã6]; SY [hã5]; XS [han5]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ham6]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ham5]    CNH *ham5/*ham6

xiàn 線  QYS  sjän-    CDC *sian5/EC *sanh
BMH [sièn]; MX [sien5]; HL [sian5]; SX [sian5]; LF [sian5]; LZ [ʃien5]; SHT [ʃen5]
HY [sian5]; XY [sian5]; DB [liɛŋ]; YL [ɕien5]; XC [ɕien5]
CT [ʃiŋ5]; WP [ɕien5]; YD [ɕien3]; SH [ɕiɛ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ʃen5]
NK [ɕiẽ5]; AY [ɕi5]; SY [ɕiɛ2]; XS [ɕien5]; QN [ɕien5]; ND1 [ɕien5]; ND2 [ɕien5]; ND3 [ɕian5]
[OPH *sian5]    CNH *sian5

xiāng 相  QYS  sjang    CDC *siong1/EC *sang
BMH [ɕiong]; MX [ɕion1]; HL [ɕion1]; SX [ɕion1]; LF [ɕion1]; LZ [ʃiŋ1]; SHT [ʃiŋ1]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ɕion1]; XC [ɕion1]
CT [ɕion1]; WP [ɕion1]; YD [ɕion1]; SH [ɕion1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
xiāng 香 QYS xiang  CDC *xiong1/EC *hang
BMH [hiong]; MX [hiɔŋ1]; HL [hioŋ1]; SX [hioŋ1]; LF [hioŋ1]; LZ [hioŋ1]; SHT [hioŋ1]
HY [hyoŋ1 ~ hioŋ1]; XY [hioŋ1]; DB [hioŋ1]; YL [eiŋ1]; XC [eiŋ1]
CT [fiŋ1]; WP [sioŋ1]; SH [sioŋ1]; LC1 [ʃoŋ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [eiŋ1]; AY [eiŋ1]; SY [eiŋ1]; XS [eiŋ1]; QN [eiŋ1]; ND1 [sɔŋ1]; ND2 [sɔŋ1]; ND3 [sɔŋ1]
[OPH *hiong1]  CNH *hiong1

xiāng 詳 QYS zhang  CDC *ziong2/EC *zang
BMH [siong2]; MX [sioŋ2]; HL [sioŋ2]; SX [sioŋ2]; LF [sioŋ2]; LZ [fiŋ2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [eiŋ2]; XC [eiŋ2]
CT [sioŋ2]; WP [sioŋ2]; YD [sioŋ2]; SH [sioŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [eiŋ2]; AY [eiŋ2]; SY [eiŋ2]; XS [sioŋ2]; QN [eiŋ2]; ND1 [eiŋ2]; ND2 [eiŋ2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *siong2]  CNH *siong2

xiāng 想 QYS sjang:  CDC *siong3/EC *sang
BMH [siong3]; MX [sioŋ3]; HL [sioŋ3]; SX [sioŋ3]; LF [sioŋ3]; LZ [fiŋ3]; SHT [sioŋ3]
HY [syoŋ3]; XY [sioŋ3]; DB [liŋ3]; YL [eiŋ3]; XC [eiŋ3]
CT [sioŋ3]; WP [sioŋ3]; YD [sioŋ5]; SH [sioŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [eiŋ3]; AY [sioŋ3]; SY [eiŋ3]; XS [sioŋ3]; QN [sioŋ3]; ND1 [sioŋ3]; ND2 [sioŋ3]; ND3 [sioŋ3]
[OPH *siong3]  CNH *siong3

xiāng 響 QYS xjang:  CDC *xiong3/EC *hangx
BMH [hiŋ3]; MX [hiŋ3]; HL [hiŋ3]; SX [hiŋ3]; LF [hiŋ3]; LZ [hiŋ3]; SHT [—]
HY [hyõŋ3]; XY [hiõŋ3]; DB [hiõŋ3]; YL [ɕioŋ3]; XC [ɕioŋ5]
CT [ʃiõŋ3]; WP [ɕiõŋ3]; YD [ɕoŋ3]; SH [ɕioŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɕi33]; AY [ɕi33]; SY [ɕi33]; XS [ɕi33]; QN [ɕioŋ3]; ND1 [søŋ3]; ND2 [søŋ3]; ND3 [søŋ3]
[OPH *hiong3] CNH *hiong3

xiàng 享 QYS xjang: CDC *xiong3/EC *hangx
BMH [hióng]; MX [hiõŋ3]; HL [—]; SX [hiõŋ3]; LF [hiõŋ3]; LZ [hiõŋ3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ɕioŋ3]; XC [ɕioŋ5]
CT [ʃiõŋ3]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [ɕioŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɕi33]; AY [—]; SY [ɕi33]; XS [ɕi33]; QN [ɕioŋ3]; ND1 [søŋ3]; ND2 [søŋ3]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *hiong3] CNH *hiong3

xiàng 像 QYS zjang: CDC *ziong4/EC *zangx
BMH [siòng]; MX [ɕi5w ~ ts’ıοŋ5b]; HL [ɕi5w ~ ts’ıοŋ5]; SX [ɕi5w ~ ts’iɔŋ5]; LF [ɕi5]; LZ [ʈʃiɔŋ5b ~ ʃiɔŋ5]; SHT [ts’ıοŋ5]
HY [—]; XY [ts’ıɔŋ5]; DB [liəŋ5]; YL [ɕiõŋ5]; XC [te’iəŋ5]
CT [ts’iɔŋ6]; WP [ɕi5 ~ ts’ıοŋ3]; YD [ɕi53]; SH [ɕi5 ~ ts’hioŋ5]; LC1 [ts’iòŋ6]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɕi5 ~ ts’iɔŋ5b]; AY [ts’iɔŋ5]; SY [ɕi52 ~ ts’iɔŋ5b]; XS [ts’ıοŋ5]; QN [te’ıɔŋ6]; ND1 [te’ıɔŋ6];
ND2 [te’iəŋ6]; ND3 [ts’ıοŋ6]
[OPH *ts’iong5] CNH *ts’iοŋ6/L *siong5

xiàng 向 QYS xjang- CDC *xiong5/EC *hangh
BMH [hiɔŋ5]; MX [hi5]; HL [hi5]; SX [hi5]; LF [hi5]; LZ [hi5]; SHT [—]
HY [hyŋ5]; XY [hi5]; DB [hi5]; YL [ɕi5]; XC [ɕi5]
CT [ʃi5]; WP [ɕi5]; YD [ɕoŋ3]; SH [ɕioŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɕi55]; AY [ɕi5]; SY [ɕi52]; XS [ɕi5]; QN [ɕi55]; ND1 [søŋ5]; ND2 [søŋ5]; ND3 [søŋ5]
[OPH *hiong5] CNH *hiong5
The Yîlǒng and Xîchāng forms are of probable Mandarin origin.
The second reconstruction is supported by the Yǒngdìng and Liánchéng forms.
Where both affricate and fricative forms are present, and the distinction is explained, the fricative initial form is usually the word for “thank” and “fade (of flowers)”, while the affricate form is a surname.
Several points in this set show divergent tones, but they do not form a recognizable correspondence pattern.

xin 心 QYS sjəm CDC *sim1/EC *sim
BMH [sim]; MX [sim1]; HL [sim1]; SX [sim1]; LF [sim1]; LZ [sim1]; SHT [sim1]
HY [sim1]; XY [sim1]; DB [ləm1]; YL [cin1]; XC [cin1]
CT [seŋ1]; WP [siŋ1]; YD [siŋ1]; SH [cin1]; LC1 [seŋ1]; LC2 [seŋ1]
NK [cin1]; AY [sin1]; SY [cin1]; XS [sin1]; QN [cin1]; ND1 [cin1]; ND2 [cin1]; ND3 [sim1]
[OPH *sin1] CNH *sim1

xin 辛 QYS sjən CDC *sin1/EC *sin
BMH [sin]; MX [sin1]; HL [sin1]; SX [sin1]; LF [sin1]; LZ [ʃin1]; SHT [—]
HY [sin1]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [cin1]; XC [cin1]
CT [seŋ1]; WP [siŋ1]; YD [—]; SH [cin1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [cin1]; AY [sin1]; SY [cin1]; XS [sin1]; QN [cin1]; ND1 [cin1]; ND2 [cin1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *sin1] CNH *sin1

xin 新 QYS sjen CDC *sin1/EC *sinh
BMH [sin]; MX [sin1]; HL [sin1]; SX [sin1]; LF [sin1]; LZ [ʃin1]; SHT [sin1]
HY [sin1]; XY [sin1]; DB [lən1]; YL [cin1]; XC [cin1]
CT [seŋ1]; WP [siŋ1]; YD [sin1]; SH [cin1]; LC1 [seŋ1]; LC2 [seŋ1]
NK [cin1]; AY [sin1]; SY [cin1]; XS [sin1]; QN [cin1]; ND1 [cin1]; ND2 [cin1]; ND3 [sim1]
OPH *sin1 CNH *sin1

xin 信 QYS sjen- CDC *sin5/EC *sinh
BMH [sin]; MX [sin5]; HL [sin5]; SX [sin5]; LF [sin5]; LZ [ʃin5]; SHT [sin5]
HY [sin5]; XY [sin5]; DB [lən5]; YL [cin5]; XC [cin5]
CT [seŋ5]; WP [siŋ5]; YD [sin3]; SH [cin5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [cin5]; AY [sin5]; SY [cin2]; XS [sin5]; QN [cin5]; ND1 [cin5]; ND2 [cin5]; ND3 [sin5]
[OPH *sin5]   CNH *sin5

xīng 星  QYS  sieng  CDC *siang1/EC *seng
BMH [sin ~ siang ~ sen]; MX [sen1]; HL [sen1w ~ siaŋ1b]; SX [sen1]; LF [sen1]; LZ [fin1]; SHT [sin1]
HY [siaŋ1 ~ sin1]; XY [sen1]; DB [len1]; YL [ein1w ~ san1b]; XC [ein1w ~ ciaŋ1b]
CT [sen1]; WP [—]; YD [sen1]; SH [sê1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [sæŋ1]
NK [ciŋ1 ~ ciâ1]; AY [sin1 ~ ciâ1]; SY [cèŋ1 ~ ciâ1]; XS [sin1 ~ siaŋ1]; QN [cin1 ~ cian1]; ND1 [cin1 ~ cian1]; ND2 [cian1]; ND3 [sin1 ~ cian1]

[OPH *siang1]   CNH *siaŋ1/L *siŋ1

xīng 形  QYS  yieng  CDC *hiang2/EC *geng
BMH [hin]; MX [hin2]; HL [hin2]; SX [hin2]; LF [hin2]; LZ [hin2]; SHT [—]
HY [hin1]; XY [sin2]; DB [hau2]; YL [cien2]; XC [cien2]
CT [yinh2]; WP [sin2]; YD [sin2]; SH [cê1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [cîŋ2]; AY [ciâŋ2]; SY [cîŋ2]; XS [cîŋ2]; QN [cîŋ2]; ND1 [sê1]; ND2 [sê1]; ND3 [sê1]

[OPH *hin2]   CNH *hiŋ2

xīng 行  QYS  yòng  CDC *hang2/EC *grang
BMH [hâng]; MX [haŋ2]; HL [haŋ2]; SX [haŋ2]; LF [haŋ2]; LZ [haŋ2]; SHT [haŋ2]
HY [haŋ1]; XY [haŋ2]; DB [haŋ2]; YL [cien2]; XC [cien2]
CT [haŋ2]; WP [xâu2 ~ sin2]; YD [haŋ2]; SH [cîŋ2 ~ haŋ2]; LC1 [haŋ2]; LC2 [haŋ2]
NK [hâ2]; AY [hau2 ~ ciŋ2]; SY [cîŋ2]; XS [haŋ2 ~ cîŋ2]; QN [haŋ2 ~ cîŋ2]; ND1 [haŋ2 ~ cîŋ2]; ND2 [haŋ2b ~ haŋ2w]; ND3 [haŋ2]

[OPH *hang2]   CNH *haŋ2/L hiŋ2

xīng 醒  QYS  sieng:  CDC *siang3/EC *sengx
BMH [siâŋ]; MX [siaŋ3]; HL [siaŋ3]; SX [siaŋ3]; LF [siaŋ3]; LZ [fiaŋ3]; SHT [diaŋ3]
HY [siaŋ3]; XY [siaŋ3]; DB [liaŋ3]; YL [—]; XC [ciâŋ3]
CT [sê1]; WP [siaŋ3]; YD [ts’iâŋ3]; SH [tehiaŋ3 ~ ciaŋ3]; LC1 [ts’iaŋ3]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɕiɚ3]; AY [siə3]; SY [ɕiɛŋ3 ~ ɕiə3]; XS [siəŋ3]; QN [ɕiəŋ3]; ND1 [ɕiəŋ3]; ND2 [ɕiəŋ3]; ND3 [ɕiŋ3 ~ siəŋ3]
[OPH *siang3] CNH *siəŋ3/*siŋ3

xing 姓 QYS sjäng- CDC *siəŋ5/EC *senɡ
BMH [siəŋ]; MX [siəŋ]; HL [siəŋ]; SX [siəŋ]; LF [siəŋ]; LZ [fiaŋ]; SHT [—]
HY [siŋ]; XY [siəŋ]; DB [liaŋ]; YL [ɕiəŋ]; XC [ɕiəŋ]
CT [seŋ]; WP [siəŋ]; YD [ɕiəŋ]; SH [ɕiəŋ]; LC1 [ɕiəŋ]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɕiəŋ]; AY [siəŋ]; SY [ɕiəŋ]; XS [ɕiəŋ]; QN [ɕiəŋ]; ND1 [ɕiəŋ]; ND2 [ɕiəŋ]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *siəŋ5] CNH *siəŋ5/*siŋ5
The Héyuán tone is irregular.

xing 幸 QYS ɣɛ: CDC *həŋ4/EC *greŋx
BMH [həŋ]; MX [həŋ]; HL [həŋ]; SX [həŋ]; LF [həŋ]; LZ [həŋ]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ɕin5]; XC [ɕin5]
CT [seŋ]; WP [ɕin3]; YD [həŋ]; SH [ɕin5]; LC1 [ɕin]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɕin5]; AY [ɕiŋ6]; SY [ɕin5]; XS [ɕin5]; QN [ɕin6]; ND1 [ɕin6]; ND2 [həŋ6]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *həŋ5] CNH *həŋ6/*hiŋ6 ?
The coda of the second reconstruction is conjectural.

xiông 兄 QYS xjwɔŋ CDC *xiaŋ1 ~ *xiang1/EC *hwɔŋ
BMH [hiuŋ]; MX [hiuŋ]; HL [hiuŋ]; SX [hiuŋ]; LF [hiuŋ]; LZ [hiuŋ]; SHT [hiuŋ]
HY [hin1]; XY [soŋ1]; DB [həŋ1 ~ həŋ1]; YL [ɕiəŋ]; XC [ɕiəŋ]
CT [ʃiaŋ1 ~ ʃiŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [ɕuŋ1 ~ ɕaŋ1]; SH [ɕiəŋ1 ~ ɕiəŋ1]; LC1 [ʃiŋ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɕiəŋ1]; AY [ɕiəŋ1]; SY [ɕiəŋ1 ~ ɕiəŋ1]; XS [ɕiəŋ1]; QN [ɕiəŋ1]; ND1 [ɕiəŋ1]; ND2 [ɕiəŋ1]; ND3 [ɕiəŋ1]
[OPH *hiuŋ1] CNH *huiaŋ1/L *hiuŋ1

xiông 熊 QYS jung CDC *yung2 ~ *hiung2/EC *wing
BMH [yʊŋ]; MX [ʒuŋ2]; HL [iŋ2]; SX [iŋ2]; LF [jun2]; LZ [ʒuŋ2]; SHT [jun2]
HY [jion2]; XY [ion2]; DB [zun2]; YL [ciou2]; XC [ciou2]
CT [jion2]; WP [siun2]; YD [iu2]; SH [ciou2]; LC1 [——]; LC2 [——]
NK [ciun2]; AY [ciou2]; SY [cyou2]; XS [ciou2]; QN [——]; ND1 [sun2]; ND2 [sun2]; ND3 [sun2]
[OPH *iu2]   CNH *iu2/*hiou2

xīu 修 QYS sjou  CDC *sieu1/EC *siw
BMH [siu]; MX [siu1]; HL [siu1]; SX [siu1]; LF [siu1]; LZ [jiu1]; SHT [——]
HY [siu1]; XY [——]; DB [——]; YL [ciou1]; XC [ciou1]
CT [sieu1]; WP [siu1]; YD [siu1]; SH [ciu1]; LC1 [——]; LC2 [——]
NK [ciu1]; AY [siu1]; SY [ciu1]; XS [siu1]; QN [ciu1]; ND1 [ciou1]; ND2 [ciou1]; ND3 [siu1]
[OPH *sieu1]   CNH *sieu1

xīù袖 QYS zjou-  CDC *sieu6/EC *zou
BMH [ts’iu]; MX [ts’iu5]; HL [ts’iu6]; SX [ts’iu5]; LF [ts’iu6]; LZ [ts’iu5]; SHT [ts’iu5]
HY [ts’iu6]; XY [ts’iu3]; DB [ts’iu3]; YL [te’iou5]; XC [te’iou5 ~ ciou5]
CT [ts’ieu6]; WP [ts’iu3 ~ siu3]; YD [ts’iu5]; SH [ciu3]; LC1 [——]; LC2 [ts’iu6]
NK [te’iu1]; AY [ts’iu6]; SY [te’iu5]; XS [ts’iu5]; QN [ciu6]; ND1 [te’iou6]; ND2 [te’iou6];
   ND3 [ts’iu6]
[OPH *ts’iu5]   CNH *ts’ieu6/*sieu6

xīù秀 QYS sjou-  CDC *sieu5/EC *—
BMH [siu]; MX [siu5]; HL [siu5]; SX [siu5]; LF [siu5]; LZ [jiu5]; SHT [——]
HY [——]; XY [——]; DB [——]; YL [ciou5]; XC [ciou5]
CT [sieu5]; WP [siu5]; YD [siu3]; SH [ciu5]; LC1 [——]; LC2 [——]
NK [ciu5]; AY [siu5]; SY [ciu5]; XS [siu5]; QN [ciu5]; ND1 [ciou5]; ND2 [ciou5]; ND3 [——]
[OPH *sieu5]   CNH *sieu5

xū须 QYS sjou  CDC *sieu1/EC *so
BMH [si]; MX [si1]; HL [si1]; SX [si1]; LF [si1 ~ se1]; LZ [——]; SHT [——]
HY [——]; XY [——]; DB [——]; YL [ey1]; XC [ei1]
Appendix: Data

CT [si1]; WP [si1]; YD [si1]; SH [ei1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ey1 ~ ei1]; AY [si1]; SY [si1]; XS [si1]; QN [ei1]; ND1 [ei1]; ND2 [ei1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *si1]    CNH *siu1

xū 鬚  QYS  sjú       CDC *siu1/EC *so
BMH [si]; MX [si1]; HL [si1]; SX [si1]; LF [si1]; LZ [jí1]; SHT [—]
HY [su1]; XY [su1]; DB [lu1]; YL [ey1]; XC [ci1]
CT [si1]; WP [—]; YD [si1]; SH [ei1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ei1]; AY [si1]; SY [ei1]; XS [si1]; QN [ei]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ei1]; ND3 [siu1]
[OPH *si1]    CNH *siu1

xū 虚  QYS  xjwo       CDC *xie1 (~ *xiu1)/EC *ha
BMH [hi]; MX [hi1]; HL [hi1]; SX [hi1]; LF [hi1]; LZ [hi1]; SHT [—]
HY [hy1]; XY [hy1]; DB [hi1]; YL [ey1]; XC [ci1]
CT [jí1]; WP [si1]; YD [si1]; SH [ei1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [hoi1]†
NK [ey1]; AY [ei1]; SY [ey1]; XS [ei1]; QN [ei1]; ND1 [su1]; ND2 [su1]; ND3 [su1]
[OPH * hi1]   CNH *hiu1
†FJFYZ: [jye1].

xū 徐  QYS  zjwo       CDC *zie2 (~ *ziu2)/EC *za
BMH [tshí]; MX [ts’i2]; HL [ts’i2]; SX [ts’i2]; LF [ts’i2]; LZ [tʃjí2]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’y2]; XY [ts’y2]; DB [ts’i2]; YL [ey2]; XC [ci2]
CT [si2]; WP [—]; YD [ts’i2]; SH [ei2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [te’i2]; AY [ts’i2]; SY [te’i2]; XS [ts’i2]; QN [te’i2]; ND1 [ciu2]; ND2 [ciu2]; ND3 [sie2]
[OPH *ts’i2]    CNH *ts’iu2/*siu2

xū 譲  QYS  xjwo:       CDC *xie3 (~ *xiu3)/EC *hax
BMH [hi]; MX [hi3]; HL [hi3]; SX [hi3]; LF [hi3]; LZ [hi3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [hy3]; DB [hi3]; YL [ey3]; XC [ci2]
CT [ʃjí3]; WP [si3w ~ tshi3b]; YD [—]; SH [si3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
NK [ɕy3]; AY [ɕi3]; SY [ɕy3]; XS [—]; QN [ɕi3]; ND1 [su3]; ND2 [su3]; ND3 [su3]

[OPH *hi3] CNH *hiu3
†Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [ʃye3].

The final of the Níngdū-1 form is irregular. We would expect final -iu here.

NK [ɕi5]; AY [si6]; SY [ɕi5]; XS [ɕi5]; QN [ɕi6]; ND1 [ɕi6]; ND2 [ɕi6]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *si5] CNH *siu6

The final of the Níngdū-1 form is irregular. We would expect final -iu here.
The Yîlǒng and Xīchāng triphthongal forms are possibly Yuè dialect loan forms.

The second Quánnán form appears to reflect a variant in *hiok8 which is not reconstructable comparatively.

The second Quánnán form appears to reflect a variant in *hiok8 which is not reconstructable comparatively.
The second reconstruction is supported by the first Nánkāng form and the Liánchéng-2 form. The tone of the first Nánkāng form is irregular. O’Connor (1976: 47) expresses doubt regarding the final of his Proto-Hakka form. Cf. jué 決 above.

xuě 血 QYS xiwet CDC *xiot7/EC *’hwet
BMH [hiet]; MX [hiat7]; HL [hiet7]; SX [hiet7]; LF [hiat7]; LZ [hæt7]; SHT [hæt7]
HY [hyat7]; XY [sat7]; DB [hiet7]; YL [eieʔ7]; XC [eieʔ7]
CT [fe2]; WP [fieʔ7]; YD [fieʔ7]; SH [fieʔ7]; LC1 [fi6]; LC2 [—]
NK [eıyæ7]; AY [eı3]; SY [eye5]; XS [eıet7]; QN [eıeʔ7]; ND1 [fıet7]; ND2 [fıat7]; ND3 [fıat7]
OPH *hiat7 CNH *huiot7

We would expect Quánnán rounded final -iouʔ here. However, compare the nearby and closely related dialect, Lǒngnán 隴南, for which BJYJ gives competing variants, [eieʔ7] and [eıuıʔ7]. We assume that the latter best reflects the CNH form. Quánnán perhaps originally also had such a rounded final form, which it has replaced with a loan from some other Hakka variety where rounding has been lost.

xūn 熏 QYS xjuən CDC *xiun1/EC *hun
BMH [hiun]; MX [hiun1]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [hiun1]; SHT [—]
HY [hun1]; XY [fuŋ1 ~ hin1]; DB [fən1]; YL [eyn1]; XC [eın1]
CT [—]; WP [siŋ1]; YD [sun1]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [eıŋ2]; AY [eıŋ1]; SY [eṃ1]; XS [eın1]; QN [eıun1]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [fıŋ1]; ND3 [sən1]
OPH *hiun1 CNH *huiot7

xūn 旬 QYS ziuen CDC *ziun2/EC *zun
BMH [sûn]; MX [sun2]; HL [sun2]; SX [sun2]; LF [sun2]; LZ [jun2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [eyn2]; XC [eın2]
CT [—]; WP [siŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [eıŋ2 ~ eıŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [eyn2]; AY [siŋ2]; SY [eyn2]; XS [—]; QN [eın2 ~ eıun2]; ND1 [eın2]; ND2 [eın2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *sun2] CNH *siun2
xún 巡 QYS zjwen CDC *ziun2/EC *zun
BMH [sun]; MX [sun2]; HL [sun2]; SX [sun2]; LF [sun2]; LZ [fun2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [sin2]; XC [sin2]
CT [—]; WP [sin2]; YD [—]; SH [eig2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [eig2]; AY [eig2]; SY [eig2]; XS [—]; QN [eig2 ~ eiun2]; ND1 [eig2]; ND2 [eig2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *sun2] CNH *siun2

†Tone confirmed apud Chappell & Lamarre (2005) and Zhuāng & Huáng (2014). The second Wúpíng form and the Xīchāng form probably reflect an earlier *sim2, but the coda of this syllable cannot be confirmed comparatively.

xùn 訓 QYS xjwən- CDC *xiun5/EC *hunh
BMH [hi’un]; MX [hiun5]; HL [hiun5]; SX [hiun5]; LF [hiun5]; LZ [fun5]; SHT [—]
HY [hiun5]; XY [fun5]; DB [fon5]; YL [ein5]; XC [ein5]
CT [—]; WP [sin5]; YD [sun3]; SH [seig5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [eig5]; AY [eig5]; SY [eig5]; XS [ein5]; QN [eig5]; ND1 [fin5]; ND2 [fin5]; ND3 [fin5]
[OPH *hiun5] CNH *hiun5
The coda of the Héyuán form is irregular.
The tone of the Sìxiàn form is unexpected.

The tone of the Sìxiàn form is unexpected.

The tone of the Sìxiàn form is unexpected.
### 1. yán 言

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The Héyuán form does not correspond regularly to other forms in this set. It appears to derive from an earlier *ňion2, which is not reflected elsewhere.

### 2. yán 盐

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### 3. yán 嚴

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The tone of the Níngdū-2 form is irregular.

### 4. yǎn 眼

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The tone of the Ningdū-2 form is irregular.
Appendix: Data

NK [ŋã3]; AY [ŋã3]; SY [ŋã3]; XS [ŋan3]; QN [ŋan3]; ND1 [ŋan3]; ND2 [ŋan3]; ND3 [ŋan3]  
[OPH *ngan3]  CNH *ŋan3/L *ňian3

The Héyuán tone is irregular.

yàn 雁  QYS ngan-  CDC *ngan6/EC *ngranh
BMH [nyèn]; MX [ńian5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [ŋan5]; SHT [—]  
HY [ŋan6]; XY [—]; DB [ŋan5]; YL [ŋan5]; XC [ŋan5]  
CT [ŋan6 ~ iŋ6]; WP [ŋan5]; YD [ŋan5]; SH [ŋã3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ŋa6]  
NK [ŋã5]; AY [ŋã6]; SY [ŋæ5]; XS [ŋan5]; QN [ŋan6]; ND1 [ien6]; ND2 [ŋan5]; ND3 [—]  
[OPH ?]  CNH *ŋan5/*ŋan6/*ňian5

yàn 燕  QYS ?ien-  CDC *ian5/EC *’enh
BMH [yèn]; MX [ian5]; HL [ʒan5]; SX [ian5]; LF [ian5]; LZ [ʒan5]; SHT [ien5]  
HY [jian5]; XY [ian5]; DB [zian5]; YL [ien5]; XC [ien5]  
CT [iŋ5]; WP [ien5]; YD [ien5]; SH [iɛ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]  
NK [iẽ5]; AY [ji5]; SY [iɛ5]; XS [ien5]; QN [ien5]; ND1 [ien5]; ND2 [ian5]; ND3 [ian5]  
[OPH *ian5]  CNH *ian5

yāng 央  QYS ?jang  CDC *iong1/EC *ang
BMH [yong]; MX [iɔŋ1]; HL [ʒɔŋ1]; SX [ioŋ1]; LF [jioŋ1]; LZ [ʒɔŋ1]; SHT [—]  
HY [iɔŋ1]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [iɔŋ1]; XC [iɔŋ1]  
CT [iɔŋ1]; WP [iɔŋ1]; YD [iɔŋ1 ~ iɔŋ1]; SH [iɔŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]  
NK [iɔŋ1]; AY [jiɔŋ1]; SY [jįi1]; XS [—]; QN [iɔŋ1]; ND1 [iɔŋ1]; ND2 [iɔŋ1]; ND3 [—]  
[OPH *iɔŋ1]  CNH *iɔŋ1

yāng 秧  QYS ?jang  CDC *iong1/EC *ang
BMH [yong]; MX [iɔŋ1]; HL [ʒɔŋ1]; SX [ioŋ1]; LF [jioŋ1]; LZ [ʒɔŋ1]; SHT [iɔŋ1]  
HY [iɔŋ1]; XY [iɔŋ1]; DB [zioŋ1]; YL [iɔŋ1]; XC [iɔŋ1]  
CT [iɔŋ1]; WP [iɔŋ1]; YD [iɔŋ1]; SH [iɔŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]  
NK [iɔŋ1]; AY [jiɔŋ1]; SY [jįi1]; XS [—]; QN [iɔŋ1]; ND1 [iɔŋ1]; ND2 [iɔŋ1]; ND3 [iɔŋ1]
yàng 羊 QYS jiàng CDC *yong2/EC *yang
BMH [yòng]; MX [iɔŋ2]; HL [ʒoŋ2]; SX [ioŋ2]; LF [joŋ2]; LZ [ʒoŋ2]; SHT [iɔŋ2]
HY [jyɔŋ2]; XY [iɔŋ2]; DB [ʒoŋ2]; YL [iɔŋ2]; XC [iɔŋ2]
CT [iɔŋ2]; WP [iɔŋ2]; YD [iɔŋ2]; SH [iɔŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iɔŋ2]; AY [jiɔŋ2]; SY [jiɔŋ2]; XS [iɔŋ2]; QN [iɔŋ2]; ND1 [iɔŋ2]; ND2 [iɔŋ2]; ND3 [iɔŋ2]

yàng 仰 QYS ngjang: CDC *ngiong4/EC *ngangx
BMH [nyong ~ nyʊŋg]; MX [niɔŋ3]; HL [niɔŋ3]; SX [niɔŋ3]; LF [niɔŋ3]; LZ [ŋiɔŋ3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [niɔŋ3]; XC [niɔŋ1]
CT [niɔŋ3]; WP [—]; YD [niɔŋ3 ~ niɔŋ1]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [niɔŋ3]; AY [niɔŋ3]; SY [niɔŋ3]; XS [niɔŋ3]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [niɔŋ3]; ND3 [—]

yāo 腰 QYS ?jiäu CDC *iau1/EC *ew
BMH [yau]; MX [iau1]; HL [ʒau1]; SX [ieu1]; LF [jau1]; LZ [ʒau1]; SHT [jau1]
HY [jau1]; XY [iau1]; DB [zaʊ1]; YL [iau1]; XC [iau1]
CT [iau1]; WP [iau1]; YD [iau1]; SH [iə1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
Appendix: Data

NK [iɔ1]; AY [jiɔ1]; SY [jiɔ1]; XS [iau1]; QN [iau1]; ND1 [iau1]; ND2 [–]; ND3 [iau1]

OPH *iau1   CNH *iau1

yáo 搖 QYS jiäu   CDC *yau2/EC *yaw
BMH [yáu]; MX [iau2]; HL [zau2]; SX [ieu2]; LF [jau2]; LZ [zau2]; SHT [—]
HY [jiau2]; XY [iau2]; DB [zau2]; YL [iau2]; XC [iau2]
CT [iɔ2]; WP [iɔ2]; YD [iau2]; SH [iɔ2]; LC1 [iɔ2]; LC2 [—]
NK [iɔ2]; AY [jio2]; SY [jio2]; XS [iau2]; QN [iau2]; ND1 [iau2]; ND2 [iau2]; ND3 [iau2]

OPH *iau2   CNH *iau2

yào 要 QYS ?jiäu:   CDC *yau4/EC *yawx
BMH [yáu]; MX [iau3]; HL [3au3]; SX [ieu3]; LF [jau3]; LZ [3au3]; SHT [—]
HY [iau3]; XY [iau3]; DB [zau3]; YL [iau3]; XC [iau3]
CT [iɔ3]; WP [iɔ3]; YD [iau3]; SH [iɔ3]; LC1 [iɔ3]; LC2 [—]
NK [iɔ3]; AY [jio3]; SY [jio3]; XS [iau3]; QN [iau3]; ND1 [iau3]; ND2 [iau3]; ND3 [iau3]

[OPH *iau3]   CNH *iau3

The Héyuán tone is irregular.

yáo 藥 QYS jiak   CDC *yok8/EC *yaw
BMH [yók]; MX [iɔk8]; HL [3ok8]; SX [iok8]; LF [jok8]; LZ [3ok8]; SHT [iok8]
HY [—]; XY [iok8]; DB [zok8]; YL [ioʔ8]; XC [ioʔ8]
CT [io6]; WP [ioʔ8]; YD [ioʔ8]; SH [ioʔ8]; LC1 [ieu5]; LC2 [iəu6]
NK [io1]; AY [jio6]; SY [jio5]; XS [iok8]; QN [ioʔ8]; ND1 [iok8]; ND2 [iok8]; ND3 [iok8]

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Common Neo-Hakka: A Comparative Reconstruction

**OPH** *iok8   **CNH** *iok8

耶爺 **QYS** jia     **CDC** *ya2/EC *ya
BMH [yà]; MX [ia2]; HL [3a2]; SX [ia2]; LF [ja2]; LZ [3a2]; SHT [ja2]
HY [ia2]; XY [ia2]; DB [za2]; YL [ia2]; XC [ia2]
CT [ia2]; WP [ia2]; YD [ia2]; SH [ia2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [io2]
NK [ia2]; AY [jia2]; SY [jia2]; XS [ia2]; QN [ia2]; ND1 [ia2]; ND2 [ia2]; ND3 [ia2]
[OPH *ia2]   **CNH** *ia2

耶也 **QYS** jia:     **CDC** *ya4/EC *yayx
BMH [ya]; MX [ia1]; HL [3a1]; SX [ia1]; LF [ja1]; LZ [—]; SHT [ja1]
HY [——]; XY [——]; DB [——]; YL [ia3]; XC [ia2]
CT [ia3]; WP [ia1]; YD [ia3]; SH [ia3]; LC1 [——]; LC2 [——]
NK [ia3]; AY [jia3]; SY [jia1]; XS [ia1]; QN [ia3]; ND1 [ia3]; ND2 [ia3]; ND3 [——]
[OPH *ia1]   **CNH** *ia1/*ia3

耶夜 **QYS** jia-     **CDC** *ya6/yakh
BMH [yà]†; MX [ia5]; HL [3a6]; SX [ia5]; LF [ja6]; LZ [3a5]; SHT [ja5]
HY [ia6]; XY [ia3]; DB [ia3]; YL [ia3]; XC [ia5]
CT [ia6]; WP [ia3]; YD [ia5]; SH [ia3]; LC1 [io6]; LC2 [io6]
NK [ia5]; AY [jia6]; SY [jia5]; XS [ia5]; QN [ia6]; ND1 [ia6]; ND2 [ia6]; ND3 [ia6]
[OPH *ia6]   **CNH** *ia6
†Tone after Chappell & Lamarre (2005) and Zhuāng & Huáng (2014).

耶葉 **QYS** jiäp     **CDC** *yap8/EC *yap
BMH [yáp]; MX [iap8]; HL [iap8]; SX [iap8]; LF [iap8]; LZ [iap8]; SHT [iap8]
HY [jiap8]; XY [iap8]; DB [zap8]; YL [ieʔ8]; XC [ieʔ8]
CT [ie6]; WP [iaʔ8]; YD [iaʔ8]; SH [iaʔ8]; LC1 [ι5]; LC2 [——]
NK [ia5 ~ ie5]; AY [ji31]; SY [jie5]; XS [ieʔ8]; QN [——]; ND1 [iap8]; ND2 [iap]; ND3 [iap8]
[OPH *iap8]   **CNH** *iap8
Appendix: Data

yè 業 QYS ngiap CDC *ngiap8/EC *ngop

BMH [nyáp]; MX [niap8]; HL [niap8]; SX [niap8]; LF [niap8]; LZ [ŋiap8]; SHT [—]
HY [niap8]; XY [niap8]; DB [niap8]; YL [nieʔ8]; XC [nieʔ7]
CT [ne6]; WP [niaʔ8]; YD [niapia8]; SH [niapia8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
NK [nie5]; AY [ni31]; SY [nie5]; XS [nieʔ8]; QN [nieʔ7]; ND1 [niap8]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [nap8]
OPH *n2niap8 CNH *niap8
†FJFYZ: [nie5].

yī 衣 QYS ?jięt4 CDC *i7/EC *i1

BMH [yit]; MX [i7]; HL [ziʔ7]; SX [i7]; LF [jii7]; LZ [jiʔ7]; SHT [—]
HY [iʔ7]; XY [iʔ7]; DB [zaʔ7]; YL [iʔ7]; XC [ieʔ7]
CT [i2]; WP [iʔ7]; YD [iʔ7]; SH [iʔ7]; LC1 [i6]; LC2 [i6]
NK [ieʔ7]; AY [jii3]; SY [jii5]; XS [iʔ7]; QN [iʔ7]; ND1 [iʔ7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [iʔ7]
[OPH *iʔ7] CNH *iʔ7

yī 衣 QYS ?jię CNH *i1

BMH [yi]; MX [i1]; HL [zi1]; SX [i1]; LF [ji1]; LZ [ji1]; SHT [—]
HY [i1]; XY [i1]; DB [zi1]; YL [i1]; XC [i1]
CT [i1]; WP [i1]; YD [i1 ~ zi1]; SH [i1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [i1]; AY [ji1]; SY [ji1]; XS [i1]; QN [i1]; ND1 [i1]; ND2 [i1]; ND3 [i1]
OPH *i1 CNH *i1

yī 依 QYS ?jię CDC *i1/EC *uy, *iy

BMH [yi]; MX [i3]; HL [zi1]; SX [i1]; LF [ji1]; LZ [ji1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [i1]; XC [i1]
CT [—]; WP [i1]; YD [zi1]; SH [i1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [i1]; AY [ji1]; SY [ji1]; XS [i1]; QN [i1]; ND1 [i1]; ND2 [i1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *i1] CNH *i1
†This reading is unetymological and has actually been borrowed from the word yī 倚 (MX [i3]).
The Lufeng form appears to derive from CNH *ni2. The Yilong form is ambiguous in this regard. It could reflect either *ni2 or *ni2.
### yi 疑
 QYS ngi³ 
CDC *ngi²/EC *ngi

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<td>[ni²]</td>
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<tr>
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<td>[—]</td>
<td>YD</td>
<td>[hŋ2b ~ ŋi²w]</td>
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<tr>
<td>OPH</td>
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<td>CNH</td>
<td>*ŋi²</td>
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†FJFY: [ŋi²].

In Yǒngdìng the second form cited here is identified as being of literary register, while the corresponding bái form is the syllabic nasal. In Shàngháng we find another form, probably derivable from earlier *i². Comparing the sets for yi 儀, yi 義, and yi 藝 below, we can then discern in the present set three lexical layers, for which the reconstructed forms for this etymon would be *ŋ²/*ŋi²/*i², with the first probably being the oldest and the third the latest.

### yi 儀
 QYS ngje³ 
CDC *ngi²/EC *ngay

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<td>*i²</td>
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### yi 遺
 QYS jiwi 
CDC *ying/EC *yuy

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<td>[—]</td>
<td>YL</td>
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<td>CT</td>
<td>[—]</td>
<td>WP</td>
<td>[vi²]</td>
<td>YD</td>
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<td>[—]</td>
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<td>[—]</td>
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<tr>
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<td>CNH</td>
<td>*vui²</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Ningdū forms reflect a variant reading in *i².

### yi 以
 QYS ji³: 
CDC *yi⁴/EC *—

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<th>LZ</th>
<th>SHT</th>
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<td>[ʒi²]</td>
<td>[sí¹]</td>
<td>[li¹]</td>
<td>[zi³]</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

773
HY [i3]; XY [i2]; DB [i5]; YL [i3]; XC [i5]
CT [i3]; WP [i5]; YD [—]; SH [i3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [i3]; AY [ji3]; SY [ji3]; XS [i3]; QN [i3]; ND1 [i3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [i3]

[OPH ?]  CNH *i3/*i2/*i5

yi 椅  QYS ?je:3  CDC *i3/EC *yayx
BMH [yi]; MX [i3]; HL [zi3]; SX [i3]; LF [ji3]; LZ [zi3]; SHT [—]
HY [i3]; XY [i3]; DB [zi3]; YL [i3]; XC [i3]
CT [i3]; WP [i3]; YD [i3]; SH [i3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [i3]; AY [ji3]; SY [ji3]; XS [i3]; QN [i3]; ND1 [i3]; ND2 [i3]; ND3 [i3]

[OPH *i3]  CNH *i3

yi 乙  QYS ?jet3  CDC *it7/EC *—
BMH [yet]; MX [iat7]; HL [zat7]; SX [iet7]; LF [jat7]; LZ [zet7]; SHT [jet7 ~ jit7]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [i77]; XC [ie?7]
CT [ie2]; WP [—]; YD [vie?7]; SH [vie?7]; LC1 [i6]; LC2 [—]
NK [ie7]; AY [ji3]; SY [jiec5]; XS [iet7]; QN [—]; ND1 [iet2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *iat7]  CNH *viar7

yi 己  QYS jii:  CDC *yi4/EC *—
BMH [yi]; MX [i3 ~ ki5s]; HL [zi2]; SX [i2]; LF [—]; LZ [zi3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [i3]; XC [i5]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [i3]
NK [i3]; AY [ji3]; SY [ji3]; XS [i3]; QN [i3]; ND1 [i3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH ?]  CNH *i3

yi 蟻  QYS ngje:3  CDC *ngi4 ~ *ngi4/EC *ngayx
BMH [ni]†; MX [ni5w ~ ni1b]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [ne5]; LZ [li1]; SHT [li1]
HY [nie3]; XY [nei5]; DB [ne5]; YL [nei5]; XC [i2]
CT [ne3]; WP [ne5]; YD [nei3]; SH [nei5]; LC1 [nei5]; LC2 [ni5]
The material in this complex set is heavily layered. Forms with initial *ŋ- bear a striking resemblance to Norman’s Proto-Mǐn *ŋhi-a “ant” (Jerry Norman, p.c.). The latest layer probably comprises our CNH *ňi1 and *ňi5.

yi 義 QYS ʔjï- CDC *yi6/EC *yekh
BMH [yi]; MX [i5]; HL [zi5]; SX [i5]; LF [ji5]; LZ [zi5]; SHT [ji5]
HY [i5]; XY [i5]; DB [zi5]; YL [i5]; XC [i5]
CT [i6]; WP [i3]; YD [zi3]; SH [i5]; LC1 [i5]; LC2 [i5]
NK [i5]; AY [ji6]; SY [ji5]; XS [i5]; QN [i6]; ND1 [i6]; ND2 [ni6]; ND3 [i6]  
[OPH *i5] CNH *i6/*i5

The initial of the Níngdū-2 initial is irregular.
Common Neo-Hakka:
A Comparative Reconstruction

yi 毅 QYS ngjei- CDC *ngi6/EC *nguyh, *ngiyh
BMH [nyi]; MX [—]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [ŋi5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ni6]; ND3 [—]
[OPH ?] CNH *ńi6

yi 藝 QYS ngjiäi- CDC *ngiai6/EC *ngeth
BMH [nyi]; MX [ni5]; HL [ni6]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [ŋi5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ni5]; XC [i5]
CT [ni6]; WP [—]; YD [ŋ5b ~ ŋi5w]; SH [i ~ ŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ni5]; AY [ni6]; SY [ni5]; XS [ni5]; QN [—]; ND1 [ni6]; ND2 [ni6]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ni, i6] CNH *ń/ L *ńi6/*i6

yi 惟 QYS jiï- CDC *yi6/EC *yih
BMH [yi]; MX [i5]; HL [zi5]; SX [i5]; LF [ji5]; LZ [zi5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [i5]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [i5]; AY [ji6]; SY [ji5]; XS [i5]; QN [i6]; ND1 [i6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *i5] CNH *i5

yi 役 QYS jiwäk CDC *yuak8/EC *yek
BMH [yit]; MX [it8]; HL [zi8]; SX [it8]; LF [jį8]; LZ [zi8]; SHT [—]
HY [jį8]; XY [it8]; DB [zat8]; YL [—]; XC [iʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [i8]; AY [ji6]; SY [ji5]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [i8]; ND2 [ik7]; ND3 [ik7]
[OPH *i8] CNH *ik8/*ik7

yǐn 因 QYS ʔjien4 CDC *in1/EC *in
BMH [yin]; MX [in1]; HL [zi1]; SX [in1]; LF [jin1]; LZ [zi1]; SHT [jin1]
In this rather complex set, the first reconstruction is unambiguously supported by all dialects in the first line, by the Liánchéng-1 and Quánnán forms, and by the first Liánchéng variant. The Chángtīng, Ānyuǎn, Xiūshuǐ, and Níngdū points are ambiguous but could arguably derive from the first reconstruction. The Héyuán, Xìnyí, Wǔpíng, Yǒngdìng, and Shàngháng forms, together with the second Liánchéng variant, support the second reconstruction. This form is a possible Yuè borrowing. The Nánkāng and Shàngyóu forms support the third reconstruction. The Diànbái form must derive from earlier *ŋian2, which cannot be reconstructed comparatively for this set. Reflexes of CNH *-ian are attested variants of CNH *-en after gutturals in this dialect. The Yílǒng and first Xichāng forms derive from earlier *in2, a probable Mandarinizing loan form. The Xīchāng bái reading is of uncertain origin.
Common Neo-Hakka:
A Comparative Reconstruction

yín 淫  QYS jiam  CDC *yim2/EC *yim
BMH [yîm]; MX [im2]; HL [ʒem2]; SX [im2]; LF [jim2]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [in2]; XC [in2]
CT [—]; WP [in2]; YD [—]; SH [in2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [in2]; AY [jin1]; SY [—]; XS [in2]; QN [in2]; ND1 [im2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [in1]
[OPH *im2]   CNH *im2

yín 引  QYS jien:  CDC *yin4/EC *yinx
BMH [yin ~ yín]; MX [in3]; HL [ʒen1]; SX [in1]; LF [jin3]; LZ [ʒin3]; SHT [—]
HY [in5]; XY [in3]; DB [ʒan3]; YL [in3]; XC [—]
CT [ieŋ3]; WP [in3]; YD [in3]; SH [in3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [in3]; AY [jin3]; SY [jin3]; XS [in3]; QN [in3]; ND1 [in3]; ND2 [in1]; ND3 [in3]
[OPH *in1 ~ *in3 ?]   CNH *in1/*in3

yǐn 飲  QYS ʔjam:3  CDC *im3/EC *umx
BMH [yím]; MX [im3]; HL [ʒem3]; SX [im3]; LF [jim3]; LZ [ʒim3]; SHT [jim3]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [ieŋ3]; WP [—]; YD [in3]; SH [in3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [jin3]; SY [jin3]; XS [in3]; QN [in3]; ND1 [im3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *im3]   CNH *im3

yīng 英  QYS ʔjiong  CDC *iang1/EC *ang
BMH [yin]; MX [in1]; HL [ʒen1]; SX [in1]; LF [jin1]; LZ [ʒin1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [in1]; XC [in1]
CT [ieŋ1]; WP [in1]; YD [—]; SH [in1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ieŋ1]
NK [in1]; AY [jin1]; SY [jin1]; XS [in1]; QN [in1]; ND1 [in1]; ND2 [in1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH * in1]   CNH *iŋ1

yīng 應  QYS ʔjang “ought”  CDC *ing1/EC *ing
BMH [yin]; MX [in1]; HL [ʒen5]; SX [in5]; LF [jin5]; LZ [ʒin1]; SHT [jin5]
Appendix: Data

HY [in5]; XY [in1]; DB [zən1]; YL [in1]; XC [in5]
CT [eŋ5 ~ iŋ5]; WP [—]; YD [en3]; SH [iŋ5]; LC1 [āi5]; LC2 [—]
NK [iŋ1]; AY [jiŋ1]; SY [jiŋ1]; XS [in1]; QN [in1]; ND1 [in1]; ND2 [iŋ1]; ND3 [iŋ5]
OPH *in5   CNH *iŋ1/*iŋ5
Both forms mean “ought” in their respective dialects.

yīng 鷹  QYS ʔjəŋ  CDC *ing1/EC *ing
BMH [yin]; MX [in1]; HL [ʒen2]; SX [in2]; LF [jin1]; LZ [ʒin1]; SHT [jin1]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [in1]; XC [—]
CT [iŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [iŋ1]; SH [iŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [æŋ1]
NK [iŋ1]; AY [jiŋ1]; SY [jiŋ1]; XS [in1]; QN [iŋ1]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [iŋ1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *in1]   CNH *iŋ1

yíng 迎  QYS njŋbng  CDC *ngiang2/EC *ngang
BMH [nyâng]; MX [niaŋ2]; HL [niaŋ2]; SX [niaŋ2]; LF [niaŋ2]; LZ [ŋiaŋ2]; SHT [niaŋ2]
HY [niaŋ2]; XY [niaŋ2]; DB [niaŋ2]; YL [in2]; XC [in2]
CT [iŋ2]; WP [—]; YD [niaŋ2]; SH [niaŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
NK [niã2]; AY [niã2]; SY [niã2]; XS [—]; QN [niaŋ2]; ND1 [naŋ2]; ND2 [naŋ2]; ND3 [naŋ2]
OPH *niaŋ2   CNH *niaŋ2/*iŋ2
The coda of the second form is conjectural.
†FJFYX: [niaŋ2].

yīng 贏  QYS jiâng  CDC *yang2/EC *yeng
BMH [yâng ~ yin]; MX [in2w ~ ian2b]; HL [ʒen2w ~ ʒan2b]; SX [in2w ~ ian2b]; LF [jin2 ~ ʒan2]; LZ [ʒan2b ~ ʒin2w]; SHT [—]
HY [jian2]; XY [iən2]; DB [zaŋ2]; YL [ian2]; XC [ian2]
CT [ian2]; WP [ian2]; YD [ian2]; SH [ian2]; LC1 [ian2]; LC2 [—]
NK [iã2]; AY [jiã2]; SY [jiã2]; XS [ian2]; QN [ian2]; ND1 [ian2]; ND2 [ian2]; ND3 [ian2]
OPH *iang2   CNH *ian2/L *iŋ2
The coda of the second form is conjectural.
yíng 營 QYS jiwäng CDC *yuang2 ~ *yung2/EC *yeng
BMH [yâng]; MX [in2 ~ ian2b]; HL [ʒen2 ~ ʒan2b]; SX [in2 ~ ian2]; LF [jin2 ~ ian2]; LZ
[ʒan2w ~ ʒin2w]; SHT [—]
HY [jian2]; XY [ian2]; DB [zan2]; YL [yn2]; XC [in2]
CT [ian2]; WP [ian2]; YD [—]; SH [ian2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iâ2]; AY [jiâ2]; SY [jiâ2]; XS [in2]; QN [in2]; ND1 [in2]; ND2 [iŋ2]; ND3 [iŋ2]
[OPH *iæŋ2] CNH *iæŋ2/L *iŋ2

yǐng 影 QYS jiɔng CDC *iang3/EC *angx
BMH [yâŋ]; MX [ian3]; HL [ʒan3]; SX [ian3]; LF [ian3]; LZ [ʒan3]; SHT [iæŋ3]
HY [jian3]; XY [ian3]; DB [zan3]; YL [in3w ~ ian3b]; XC [in3w ~ ian3b]
CT [ian3]; WP [ian3]; YD [ian3]; SH [iæŋ3]; LC1 [ian3]; LC2 [—]
NK [iâ3]; AY [jiâ3]; SY [jiâ3]; XS [ian3]; QN [ian3]; ND1 [ian3]; ND2 [ian3]; ND3 [iæŋ1]
[OPH *iæŋ3] CNH *iæŋ3/L *iŋ3

yìng 硬 QYS ngɛŋ- CDC *ngang6/EC *ngrangh
BMH [ngâng]; MX [ŋan5]; HL [ŋan5]; SX [ŋan5]; LF [ŋan6]; LZ [ŋan5]; SHT [ŋan5]
HY [ŋan6]; XY [ŋan5]; DB [ŋan3]; YL [ŋan5]; XC [ŋan5]
CT [ŋen6]; WP [ŋan5]; YD [ŋan5]; SH [ŋan5]; LC1 [ŋan3]; LC2 [—]†
NK [ŋã5]; AY [ŋâ6]; SY [ŋã5]; XS [ŋan5]; QN [ŋan6]; ND1 [ŋan6]; ND2 [ŋan6]; ND3 [ŋan6]
[OPH *ngang6] CNH *ŋan6
†FJFYZ: [ŋan5].

yǒng 勇 QYS jiworm: CDC *yung4/EC *yongx
BMH [yûŋ]; MX [iøŋ3]; HL [ʒuŋ3]; SX [iøŋ3]; LF [iøŋ3]; LZ [ʒuŋ3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [iøŋ3]; XC [iøŋ3]
CT [ioŋ3]; WP [iøŋ3]; YD [iøŋ3]; SH [iøŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iŋ3]; AY [jiŋ3]; SY [jiŋ3]; XS [iøŋ3]; QN [iøŋ3]; ND1 [iøŋ3]; ND2 [iøŋ3]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *iøŋ3] CNH *iøŋ3
Appendix: Data

yǒng 永 QYS jwong: CDC *wing4 ~ *wiung4/EC *wangx
BMH [yûn]; MX [iun3]; HL [ʒun3]; SX [iun3]; LF [jun3]; LZ [ʒun3]; SHT [—]
HY [vin5]; XY [vin2]; DB [zan3]; YL [yn3]; XC [iun1]
CT [iɵn3]; WP [iun3]; YD [iun3]; SH [iun3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iŋ3]; AY [iŋ3]; SY [iŋ3]; XS [iŋ3]; QN [iŋ3]; ND1 [iŋ3]; ND2 [iŋ3]; ND3 [iŋŋ1]
[OPH *iun3] CNH *viuŋ3/*viuŋ1

yōng 用 QYS jiwong- CDC *yung6/EC *yongh
BMH [yûŋ]; MX [iun5 ~ niuŋ5]; HL [ʒun5]; SX [iun5]; LF [jun6]; LZ [ʒun5]; SHT [jun5]
HY [joŋ6]; XY [iɵn3]; DB [zent]; YL [iun3]; XC [iun5]
CT [iŋn6]; WP [iun3]; YD [iun5]; SH [iŋ3]; LC1 [iŋn6]; LC2 [—]
NK [iŋ5]; AY [iŋ5]; SY [iŋ5]; XS [iŋ5]; QN [iŋ6]; ND1 [iŋ6]; ND2 [iŋ6]; ND3 [iŋ6]
OPH *iŋ6 CNH *iŋ6

yōu 憂 QYS ʔjœu CDC *ieu1/EC *u
BMH [yû]; MX [iu2]; HL [ʒu2]; SX [iu2]; LF [iœu2]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [iœu1]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [iœu1]; XC [iœu1]
CT [iœu1]; WP [iœu1]; YD [iœu1]; SH [iœu1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iœu1]; AY [iœu1]; SY [iœu1]; XS [iœu1]; QN [iœu1]; ND1 [iœu1]; ND2 [iœu1]; ND3 [iœu1]
[OPH *iœu] CNH *ieu1/*ieu2

yóu 由 QYS jiu CDC *yeu2/EC *yu
BMH [yũ]; MX [iu2]; HL [ʒu2]; SX [iu2]; LF [iœu2]; LZ [ʒiu2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [iœu2]; XC [iœu2]
CT [iœu2]; WP [iœu2]; YD [iœu2]; SH [iœu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iœu2]; AY [iœu2]; SY [iœu2]; XS [iœu2]; QN [iœu2]; ND1 [iœu2]; ND2 [iœu2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *iœu2] CNH *ieu2

yóu 油 QYS jiu CDC *yeu2/EC *yu
BMH [yû]; MX [iu2]; HL [ʒu2]; SX [iu2]; LF [iœu2]; LZ [ʒiu2]; SHT [iœu2]
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HY [jiu2]; XY [iu2]; DB [iu2]; YL [iəu2]; XC [iəu2]
CT [ieu2]; WP [iu2]; YD [iu2]; SH [iu2]; LC1 [ieu2]; LC2 [—]
NK [iu2]; AY [ja2]; SY [jiu2]; XS [iu2]; QN [iu2]; ND1 [iəu2]; ND2 [iəu2]; ND3 [iəu2]
OPH *iu2   CNH *ieu2

yóu 猶 QYS jiəu CDC *yeu2/EC *yu
BMH [yû]; MX [iu2]; HL [ʒu2]; SX [iu2]; LF [jiu2]; LZ [ʒiu2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [iəu2]; XC [iəu2]
CT [—]; WP [iu2]; YD [—]; SH [iu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iu2]; AY [ja2]; SY [jiu2]; XS [iu2]; QN [iu2]; ND1 [iəu2]; ND2 [iəu2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *iu2]   CNH *ieu2

yóu 遊~遊 QYS jiəu CDC *yeu2/EC *yu
BMH [yu]; MX [iu1]; HL [ʒu1]; SX [iu1]; LF [jiu1]; LZ [ʒiu1]; SHT [jiu1]
HY [jiu5]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [iəu3]; XC [iəu2]
CT [ieu1]; WP [iu1]; YD [iu1]; SH [iu1]; LC1 [ieu1 ]; LC2 [—]
NK [iu1 ]; AY [ju3 ]; SY [jiu3 ]; XS [iu3 ]; QN [iu1 ]; ND1 [iəu1 ]; ND2 [iəu1 ~ iəu3 ]; ND3 [iʊ1 ~ iəu3]
[OPH *iu1 ]   CNH *ieu1/*ieu3

yóu 又 QYS jəu- CDC *yeu6/EC *wih
BMH [yù]; MX [iu5]; HL [ʒu5]; SX [iu5]; LF [jiu6]; LZ [ʒiu5]; SHT [jiu5]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [iəu3]; XC [iəu5]
Appendix: Data

CT [ieu6]; WP [iu3]; YD [—]; SH [iu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [ju6]; SY [jiu5]; XS [iu5]; QN [iu6]; ND1 [iəu6]; ND2 [iəu6]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *iu6] CNH *ieu6

yòu 右 QYS jœu- CDC *yeu6/EC *wih
BMH [yu]; MX [iu5]; HL [ʒu5]; SX [iu5]; LF [jiu6]; LZ [ʒiu5]; SHT [jiu5]
HY [jiu6]; XY [iu3]; DB [iu3]; YL [iəu3]; XC [iəu5]
CT [ieu5]; WP [iu3]; YD [iu5]; SH [iu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iu5]; AY [ju6]; SY [jiu5]; XS [iu5]; QN [iu6]; ND1 [iəu6]; ND2 [iəu6]; ND3 [iəu6]
[OPH *iu6] CNH *ieu6

yòu 幼 QYS ?jiœu-4 CDC *ieu5/EC *iwh
BMH [yu]; MX [iu5]; HL [ʒu5]; SX [iu5]; LF [jiu5]; LZ [ʒiu5]; SHT [jiu5]
HY [jiu5]; XY [iu5]; DB [iu5]; YL [iəu5]; XC [iəu5]
CT [ieu5]; WP [iu5]; YD [iu3]; SH [iu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iu5]; AY [ju5]; SY [jiu1]; XS [iu5]; QN [iu5]; ND1 [iəu5]; ND2 [iəu5]; ND3 [iəu5]
[OPH *iu5] CNH *ieu5

yù 於 QYS ju CDC *yu2/EC *wa
BMH [yi]; MX [i1]; HL [ʒi2]; SX [i2]; LF [ji1 ~ ʒi2]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [i2]
CT [i2]; WP [i2]; YD [—]; SH [i2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [i2]; AY [ji2]; SY [jiy1]; XS [vi2]; QN [i2]; ND1 [iu2]; ND2 [iu2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *i2] CNH *iu2

yù 魚 QYS ngjwo CDC *ngie2 (~ *ngi2)/EC *nga
BMH [ŋg]; MX [ŋ2]; HL [ŋ2]; SX [ŋ2]; LF [ŋ2]; LZ [ŋ2]; SHT [ŋ2]
HY [ŋy2 ~ ny2]; XY [ny2]; DB [ni2]; YL [ny2]; XC [i2 ~ m̩2b]
CT [ŋe2]; WP [ŋe2]; YD [ŋei2]; SH [ŋei2]; LC1 [ŋui2]; LC2 [ŋoi2]†
The form *ŋie2 is Gàn-like in appearance (cf. Common Gàn *ŋie2 “fish”) and perhaps reflects contact with that dialect group. The literary reading is probably a northern koine intrusion into this rather complex set. The Liánchéng forms are regular derivatives of CNH *ňiu2.

**Prediction:**

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2. The form *ŋie2 is Gàn-like in appearance (cf. Common Gàn *ŋie2 “fish”) and perhaps reflects contact with that dialect group.

3. The literary reading is probably a northern koine intrusion into this rather complex set. The Liánchéng forms are regular derivatives of CNH *ňiu2.
Appendix: Data

HY [yy5]; XY [y3]; DB [zi3]; YL [yu3]; XC [—]
CT [i3]; WP [i3]; YD [zi3 ~ vi3]; SH [i3]; LC1 [iue3]; LC2 [ye3]
NK [iu3]; AY [ji3]; SY [ji3]; XS [vi3]; QN [i3]; ND1 [iu3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [vu3 ~ iu3]
[OPH *i3]   CNH *iu3

yǔ 與  QYS jiwo:  CDC *ye4 (~ *yu4)/EC *yax
BMH [yi]; MX [i1]; HL [zi2]; SX [i2]; LF [ji2 ~ ji3]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [i3]; AY [ji2]; SY [ji3]; XS [vi3]; QN [i3]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH ?]   CNH *iu3

yǔ 羽  QYS ju:  CDC *yu4/EC *wax
BMH [yi]; MX [i1]; HL [zi1]; SX [—]; LF [ji1]; LZ [zi3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [i3]; WP [i3]; YD [—]; SH [i3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [i3]; AY [ji2]; SY [ji3]; XS [vi3]; QN [—]; ND1 [iu3]; ND2 [iu3]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *i1]   CNH *iu3

yǔ 字  QYS ju:  CDC *yu4/EC *wax
BMH [yi]; MX [—]; HL [zi2]; SX [i3]; LF [ji1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [i3]; WP [—]; YD [zi3]; SH [i3w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [i3]; AY [ji3]; SY [ji3]; XS [vi3]; QN [i3]; ND1 [iu3]; ND2 [iu3]; ND3 [—]
[OPH ?]   CNH *iu3

yǔ 欲  QYS jiwo:  CDC *yuk8/EC *yok
BMH [yûk]; MX [iuk8]; HL [zuk8]; SX [iuk8]; LF [juk8]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [yuk8]; XY [iou8]; DB [zuk8]; YL [—]; XC [iu?7]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
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NK [io1]; AY [—]; SY [jio5]; XS [—]; QN [iuʔ8]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [iuk8]

YP *iuk8  CNH *iuk8

The Yílǒng and Shàngyóu forms reflect borrowing of a form from a modern or early modern
northern koine. The Xīchāng form is also a loan, perhaps from the Míng-Qīng southern
Guānhuà koine.

YP *ngiu6  CNH *niu8

The Yílǒng and Shàngyóu forms reflect borrowing of a form from a modern or early modern
northern koine. The Xīchāng form is also a loan, perhaps from the Míng-Qīng southern
Guānhuà koine.
Appendix: Data

CT [i6]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [i3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [i5]; AY [—]; SY [jy3]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [nu7]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ni6] CNH *ňiu6/*iu6

Yǒngdìng has a bái form apparently derived from earlier *ŋ ̩ 6, while the first reconstruction above is a wén form there. The second reconstruction is identified in Shàngháng as a wén form and is clearly of external and probably northern origin.

yù 遇 QYS  ngju- CDC *ngiu6/EC *ngoh
BMH [nyi]; MX [ni5]; HL [ni6]; SX [ni5]; LF [ni6]; LZ [ŋi5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [i5]
CT [i6]; WP [—]; YD [ň5b ~ ɲi5w]; SH [i3w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ni5]; AY [ni6]; SY [ni5]; XS [ni5]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ni6] CNH *ňiu6/*iu6

Yuān 冤 QYS ʔjwɔn CDC *ion1/EC *won
BMH [yen]; MX [ian1]; HL [ʒan1]; SX [ian1]; LF [jan1]; LZ [ʒən1]; SHT [ʃən1]
HY [jan1]; XY [ian1]; DB [zan1]; YL [yən1]; XC [ien1]
CT [viŋ]; WP [viŋ1]; YD [vien1]; SH [viŋ]; LC1 [ve1]; LC2 [—]
NK [iɛŋ1]; AY [jiŋ1]; SY [jyəŋ1]; XS [ien1]; QN [iuən1]; ND1 [ien1]; ND2 [ian1]; ND3 [ien1]
[OPH *ian1] CNH *vion1

Yuán 圆 QYS  jwɔn CDC *yon2/EC *won
BMH [yên]; MX [ian2]; HL [ʒan2]; SX [ian2]; LF [jan2]; LZ [ʒən2]; SHT [ʃən2]
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HY [yan2]; XY [ian2]; DB [zan2]; YL [yen2]; XC [ien2]
CT [viŋ2]; WP [viɛŋ2]; YD [viɛn2]; SH [viɛ̃2]; LC1 [ve2]; LC2 [ve2]
NK [iẽ2]; AY [jiɷ̃2]; SY [jyẽ2]; XS [iɛn2]; QN [iuɔn2]; ND1 [ien2]; ND2 [ian2]; ND3 [ien2 ~ vian2]
[OPH *ian2] CNH *vion2

yuán 援 QYS jwön CDC *yon2/EC *won
BMH [yen]; MX [ian1]; HL [ʒan1]; SX [ian1]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [yen2]; XC [ien2]
CT [inŋ2]; WP [viŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [viɛ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iẽ1]; AY [jiɷ̃2]; SY [jyẽ1]; XS [iɛn2]; QN [ian2]; ND1 [ien2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ian1] CNH *vion2

yuán 元 QYS ngjwön CDC *ngion2/EC *ngwon
BMH [nyẽn]; MX [nian2]; HL [ʒan2]; SX [nian2]; LF [nian2]; LZ [ʒen2]; SHT [—]
HY [yan2]; XY [nian2]; DB [zan2]; YL [yen2]; XC [ien2]
CT [inŋ2]; WP [nien2]; YD [nien2]; SH [niɛ̃2 ~ viɛ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
NK [iẽ2]; AY [niɷ̃2]; SY [jyẽ2]; XS [nien2]; QN [iuɔn]; ND1 [nan2]; ND2 [nan2]; ND3 [nan2]
[OPH *nẽian2] CNH *ńion2
†FJFYZ: [nje2].

yuán 緣 QYS jiwān CDC *yon2/EC *—
BMH [yẽn]; MX [ian2]; HL [ʒan2]; SX [ian2]; LF [jan2]; LZ [ʒεn2]; SHT [—]
HY [yan2]; XY [nian2]; DB [zan2]; YL [yen2]; XC [ien2]
CT [inŋ2]; WP [viŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [viɛ2]; LC1 [ve2]; LC2 [—]
NK [iẽ2]; AY [jiɷ̃2]; SY [jyẽ2]; XS [ien2]; QN [iuɔn2]; ND1 [ien2]; ND2 [ian2]; ND3 [ien2 ~ vian2]
[OPH *ian2] CNH *vion2

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Appendix: Data

yuǎn 遠 QYS jwɔn: CDC *yon4/EC *wonx
BMH [yển]; MX [ian3]; HL [ʒan3]; SX [ian3]; LF [jan3]; LZ [ʒan3]; SHT [jen3]
HY [yan3]; XY [ian3]; DB [zan3]; YL [yen3]; XC [ien3]
CT [viŋ3]; WP [viŋ3]; YD [viŋ3]; SH [viɛ3]; LC1 [ve3]; LC2 [—]
NK [iə3]; AY [jiə3]; SY [jyɛ3]; XS [iɛn3]; QN [iuɔn3]; ND1 [iɛn3]; ND2 [ian3]; ND3 [ien3]
OPH *ian3 CNH *vion3

yuàn 願 QYS ngjwɔn- CDC *ngion6/EC *ngwonh
BMH [nyễn]; MX [nian5]; HL [nian6]; SX [nian5]; LF [nian6]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [yen3]; XC [ien5]
CT [niŋ6]; WP [nien3]; YD [—]; SH [niɛ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iə5]; AY [niə5]; SY [jyɛ5]; XS [nien5]; QN [niuɔn6]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [nan6]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *nɨjən6] CNH *ɲion6

yuē 約 QYS ʔjak CDC *iok7/EC *awk
BMH [iɔk]; MX [iok7]; HL [ʒok7]; SX [iok7]; LF [jok7]; LZ [ʒok7]; SHT [—]
HY [yok7]; XY [iok7]; DB [zɔk7]; YL [ioʔ7 ~ ioʔ8]; XC [ioʔ7]
CT [io6]; WP [ioʔ7]; YD [ioʔ7]; SH [ioʔ8 ~ ioʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [io8]; AY [jio6]; SY [jio5]; XS [iok7]; QN [ioʔ7]; ND1 [iok7]; ND2 [iək7]; ND3 [iək7]
OPH *iok7 CNH *iok7 ~ *iok8

yuè 越 QYS jwɔt CDC *yot8/EC *wot
BMH [yêt]; MX [iat8]; HL [ʒat8]; SX [iət8]; LF [jat8]; LZ [ʒet8]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [ieʔ8]
CT [ie8]; WP [vieʔ8]; YD [—]; SH [vieʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ie5]; AY [jiss1]; SY [ye5]; XS [iɛt8]; QN [iuɔiʔ8]; ND1 [iɛt8]; ND2 [iət8]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *iat8?] CNH *vio8

yuè 月 QYS ngjwɔt CDC *ngiot8/EC *ngwot
BMH [nyêt]; MX [niat8]; HL [niɛt8]; SX [niɛt8]; LF [niat8]; LZ [ŋet8]; SHT [ŋet8]
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HY [ŋyat8]; XY [niat8]; DB [niat8]; YL [nieʔ8]; XC [nieʔ8]
CT [ne6 ~ iε6]; WP [nieʔ8]; YD [nieʔ8]; SH [nieʔ8]; LC1 [ŋui5]; LC2 [ŋvi6]
NK [nie5]; AY [niε1]; SY [nie5]; XS [niεʔ8]; QN [niuoiʔ8]; ND1 [nait8]; ND2 [nai8]; ND3 [nat8]; ND3 [nat8]

YPH *n₂iat8  CNH *ŋiot8

yun 雲 QYS juən  CDC *yun2/EC *wun
BMH [yun]; MX [iun2]; HL [ʒun2]; SX [iun2]; LF [iun2]; LZ [ʒun2]; SHT [ijin2]
HY [vun2]; XY [vun2]; DB [ʒən2]; YL [yn2]; XC [iεn2]
CT [veŋ2]; WP [viŋ2]; YD [viŋ2]; SH [viŋ2]; LC1 [veŋ2]; LC2 [veŋ2]
NK [iŋ2 ~ yŋ2]; AY [jiŋ2]; SY [jyŋ2]; XS [iŋ2]; QN [iun2]; ND1 [iŋ2]; ND2 [iŋ2]; ND3 [iŋ2]

YPH *iun2  CNH *viun2

yun 允 QYS juən:  CDC *yun4/EC *—
BMH [yun]; MX [iun1]; HL [ʒun3]; SX [iun1]; LF [iun3]; LZ [ʒun3]; SHT [—]
HY [yn3]; XY [vun3]; DB [ʒən3]; YL [yn3]; XC [—]
CT [—]; WP [viŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [viŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iŋ3 ~ yŋ3]; AY [jiŋ3]; SY [jyŋ3]; XS [iŋ3]; QN [iŋ3]; ND1 [iŋ3]; ND2 [iŋ3]; ND3 [iŋ1]

YPH *iun3  CNH *viun3

The Héyuán and Quánnán forms are irregular.

yun 暄 QYS juən-  CDC *yun6/EC *wunh
BMH [yun]; MX [iun1]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [vun2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [jen1]; XC [—]
CT [ven6]; WP [iŋ1]; YD [iŋ1]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iŋ1 ~ yŋ2]; AY [jiŋ1]; SY [jyŋ1]; XS [iŋ1]; QN [iun1]; ND1 [iŋ1]; ND2 [iŋ6]; ND3 [iŋ1]

YPH ?  CNH *viun1

The Lìzhīzhuāng form is irregular and, oddly, more similar to the reconstructed form than expected as regards its segmental shape. The tone of the Chángtīng form is irregular.
Appendix: Data

yùn 運 QYS juän- CDC *yun6/EC *wunh
BMH [yùn]; MX [iun5]; HL [yun6]; SX [iun5]; LF [jun6]; LZ [yun5]; SHT [—]
HY [yun6]; XY [yun3 ~ yn3]; DB [zan5]; YL [yn3]; XC [in5]
CT [ven6]; WP [viŋ3]; YD [viŋ3]; SH [viŋ3]; LC1 [ven6]; LC2 [—]
NK [yn5]; AY [jiŋ5]; SY [jyŋ5]; XS [—]; QN [iun6]; ND1 [in6]; ND2 [in6]; ND3 [in6]
OPH *iun6 CNH *viun6

Z

zá 雜 QYS dzáp CDC *dzop8/EC *’dzup
BMH [tsháp]; MX [ts’ap8]; HL [ts’ap8]; SX [ts’ap8]; LF [ts’ap8]; LZ [tshap8]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’ap8]; XY [ts’ap8]; DB [ts’ap8]; YL [ts’a?8]; XC [ts’a?8]
CT [ts’a6]; WP [tsaʔ8]; YD [ts’aʔ8]; SH [tsaʔ8]; LC1 [ts’o5]; LC2 [ts’o5]
NK [ts’a5]; AY [ts’ɔ1]; SY [ts’a5]; XS [ts’aɪ8]; QN [ts’aɪ8]; ND1 [ts’aɪp8]; ND2 [ts’ap8];
   ND3 [ts’ap8]
[OPH *ts’ap8] CNH *ts’ap8

zāi 栽 QYS tsài CDC *tsoi1/EC *tsi
BMH [tsai]; MX [tsai1]; HL [tsai1]; SX [tsai1]; LF [—]; LZ [tsai1]; SHT [—]
HY [tsai1]; XY [tsai1]; DB [tsai1]; YL [—]; XC [tsai1]
CT [tsai1]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tsai1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsa1]; AY [tsai]; SY [tsai]; XS [tsai]; QN [tsai]; ND1 [tsai]; ND2 [tsai]; ND3 [tsai]
[OPH *tsai1] CNH *tsai1/*tsai

zài 在 QYS dzài; dzài- CDC *dzoi4/EC *’dzix
BMH [tshoi ~ tshài]; MX [ts’ai5 ~ ts’ai1]; HL [ts’ai6w ~ ts’ai1b]; SX [ts’ai5w ~ ts’ai1b]; LF
   [ts’ai6w ~ ts’ai1b]; LZ [tʃai1 ~ tʃai1]; SHT [ts’ai1]
HY [—]; XY [ts’ai1]; DB [ts’ai3]; YL [ts’ai1]; XC [tsai5w ~ ts’ai5b]
CT [ts’ai1]; WP [tsue1 ~ sue5]; YD [ts’ai1 ~ ts’ai5]; SH [tsai3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
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NK [ts’e1]; AY [ts’ue6]; SY [ts’e1]; XS [ts’œi1]; QN [ts’œi1]; ND1 [ts’œi1]; ND2 [ts’œi6];
ND3 [—]

[OPH *ts’œi1]  CNH *ts’œi1/*ts’œi6/L *ts’ai6

再  QYS  ts’ai-  CDC *ts’ai5/EC *’tsih
BMH [ts’ai]; MX [ts’ai5]; HL [ts’ai5]; SX [ts’ai5]; LF [ts’ai5]; LZ [tʃai5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts’ai5]; XC [ts’ai5]
CT [ts’ai5]; WP [ts’ai5]; YD [ts’ai5]; SH [ts’ai5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [ts’ai5]; SY [ts’ai2]; XS [ts’ai5 ~ ts’œi5]; QN [ts’œi5]; ND1 [ts’ai5]; ND2 [ts’ai5]; ND3
[—]

[OPH *ts’ai5]  CNH *ts’ai5/*ts’ai5

载  QYS  ts’ai-  CDC *ts’ai5/EC *’tsih
BMH [ts’œi]; MX [ts’œi5]; HL [—]; SX [ts’œi5]; LF [ts’ai5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts’ai5]; XC [ts’ai5]
CT [ts’ai5]; WP [—]; YD [ts’ai3]; SH [ts’ai5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’ai5]; AY [ts’ai5]; SY [ts’ai3]; XS [ts’ai5]; QN [ts’œi5]; ND1 [ts’œi5]; ND2 [ts’ai5]; ND3
[ts’ai5]

[OPH *ts’ai5]  CNH *ts’ai5/*ts’ai5

簪  QYS  ts’ai-  CDC *ts’ai5/EC *’tsim
BMH [ts’ai]; MX [ts’ai1]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [ts’ai1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts’ai1]; XC [ts’ai1]
CT [ts’ai1]; WP [ts’ai1]; YD [ts’ai1]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’œi1]; AY [ts’œi1]; SY [ts’œi1]; XS [ts’ai1]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ts’ai1]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *ts’ai1]  CNH *ts’ai1

糟  QYS  ts’ai-  CDC *ts’ai1/EC *’tsam
BMH [ts’ai]; MX [ts’ai1]; HL [tʃai1]; SX [ts’ai1]; LF [tʃai1]; LZ [ʃai1]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’ai1]; XY [ts’ai1]; DB [ts’ai1]; YL [ts’ai1]; XC [ts’ai1]

[OPH *ts’ai1]  CNH *ts’ai1

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CT [tsɔ1]; WP [tsɔ1]; YD [tsou1]; SH [tsu1]; LC1 [tsɔ1]; LC2 [ts’ɔ1]
NK [tsɔ1]; AY [tsɔ1]; SY [tsɔ1]; XS [tsau1]; QN [tsau1]; ND1 [tsau1]; ND2 [tsau1]; ND3 [tsau1]
[OPH *tsou1]  CNH *tsou1

zǎo 聰 QYS  dzâk  CDC *dzok8/EC *’dzawk
BMH [tshók]; MX [ts’ɔk8]; HL [ts’ok8]; SX [ts’ok8]; LF [ts’ok8]; LZ [tʃhɔk8]; SHT [——]
HY [ts’ɔk8]; XY [ts’ok8]; DB [ts’ɔk8]; YL [ts’au5]; XC [ts’ɔʔ8]
CT [——]; WP [tsʰɔʔ8]; YD [ts’ɔʔ8]; SH [tʃhoʔ8]; LC1 [——]; LC2 [——]
NK [ts’o1]; AY [ts’o6]; SY [ts’o5]; XS [ts’ɔk8]; QN [ts’ɔʔ8]; ND1 [ts’ok8]; ND2 [ts’ɔk8];
ND3 [ts’ɔk8]
[OPH *ts’ok8]  CNH *ts’ok8

zǎo 早 QYS  tsâu:  CDC *tsou3/EC *’tsux
BMH [tsáu]; MX [tsau3]; HL [tsɔ3]; SX [tsɔ3]; LF [tsɔ3]; LZ [tʃau3]; SHT [tsau3]
HY [tsau3]; XY [tsɔ3]; DB [tsɔ3]; YL [tsɔu3]; XC [tsau3]
CT [tsɔ3]; WP [tsɔ3]; YD [——]; SH [tsu3]; LC1 [——]; LC2 [——]
NK [tsɔ3]; AY [tsɔ3]; SY [tsɔ3]; XS [tsau3]; QN [tsau3]; ND1 [tsau3]; ND2 [tsau3]; ND3 [tsau3]
[OPH *tsau3]  CNH *tsau3

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

zǎo 棗 QYS  sàng; sàng-  CDC *tsou5 ~ sou5/EC *tsawx
BMH [tshàu]; MX [ts’au5 ~ tsau1s]; HL [tsau1]; SX [tsau1]; LF [ts’au5]; LZ [——]; SHT [——]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tsau5]; XC [—]
CT [—]; WP [ts01]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ts01]
NK [ts01]; AY [ts01]; SY [ts01]; XS [—]; QN [tsau1]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH ?] CNH *tsou1/*ts’au5

zào 灶 QYS tsâu- CDC *tsou5/EC *tsawkh
BMH [tsau]; MX [tsau5]; HL [ts05]; SX [ts05]; LF [ts05]; LZ [fau5]; SHT [—]
HY [tsau5]; XY [ts05]; DB [ts05]; YL [tsau5]; XC [tsau5]
CT [—]; WP [ts03]; YD [ts03]; SH [tsu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ts05]
NK [ts05]; AY [ts05]; SY [ts02]; XS [tsau5]; QN [tsau5]; ND1 [tsau5]; ND2 [tsau5]; ND3 [tsau5]
[OPH *tsau5] CNH *tsou5

zé 則 QYS tsèk CDC *tsek7/EC *’tsik
BMH [tset]; MX [tset7]; HL [tset7]; SX [tset7]; LF [tset7]; LZ [fet7]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tse77]
CT [ts02]; WP [tse77]; YD [—]; SH [tse77]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts08]; AY [tse6]; SY [tse5]; XS [tset7]; QN [tse77]; ND1 [tsak7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tset7] CNH *tsek7

zé 擇 QYS dòk CDC *jak7/EC *drak
BMH [tshe7 ~ tsák ~ tho7]; MX [ts’e78w ~ t’ok8b]; HL [ts’et8 ~ t’ok8]; SX [t’ok8]; LF [ts’e78];
LZ [tjha8]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [t’a77]; XC [t’e78]
CT [—]; WP [tshe8w ~ tho7]; YD [—]; SH [tshe8w ~ tho7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [t’u5]
NK [—]; AY [t’o6]; SY [ts’e5]; XS [ts’e8]; QN [ts’e77]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ts’ak7]
[OPH *t’ok8] CNH *t’ok8/*ts’ak8/L *ts’ek8

The coda of the third reconstructed form is conjectural and is posited by analogy.
zéi 贼 QYS dzak CDC *dzek8/EC *’dzik
BMH [tshët]; MX [ts’et8]; HL [ts’et8]; SX [ts’et8]; LF [ts’et8]; LZ [tʃet8]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’a8]; XY [ts’et8]; DB [ts’et8]; YL [ts’e8]; XC [ts’e8]
CT [ts’e6]; WP [tʃet8]; YD [ts’e8]; SH [tʃet8]; LC1 [ts’u5]; LC2 [ts’u5]
NK [ts’a1]; AY [ts’e6]; SY [ts’e5]; XS [ts’et8]; QN [ts’e8]; ND1 [ts’a8]; ND2 [ts’a8]; ND3 [ts’a8]
OPH *ts’et8 CNH *ts’ek8

zēng 曾 QYS tsāŋ CDC *tseng1/EC *’tsing
BMH [tsen]; MX [tsen1]; HL [tsen1]; SX [tsen1]; LF [tsen1]; LZ [tʃen1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tsan1]; XC [tsan1]
CT [tsen1]; WP [tsen1]; YD [—]; SH [tsē1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [tsaŋ1]; SY [tsē1]; XS [tsen1]; QN [tsen1]; ND1 [tsaŋ1]; ND2 [tsaŋ1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tsen1] CNH *tsen1

zēng 增 QYS tsāŋ CDC *tseng1/EC *’tsing
BMH [tsen]; MX [tsen5]; HL [tsen5]; SX [tsen5]; LF [tsen1]; LZ [tʃen1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tsan1]; XC [tsan1]
CT [tsen1]; WP [tsen5]; YD [—]; SH [tsē1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsē1]; AY [tsaŋ1]; SY [tsē1]; XS [tsen1]; QN [—]; ND1 [tsaŋ1]; ND2 [tsaŋ1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tsen1] CNH *tsen1

zèng 赠 QYS dzāŋ- CDC *dzeng6/EC *’zing
BMH [tsên]; MX [tsen5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [tsen5]; LZ [tʃen5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tsan5]
CT [—]; WP [tʃen3]; YD [tsen3]; SH [tʃen3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsê1]; AY [tsaŋ1]; SY [tsê1]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ts’aŋ6]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tsen5] CNH *ts’eŋ6/*tsen5
zhā 汲 QYS tsa CDC *ca1/EC *tsra
BMH [tsa]; MX [tsa1]; HL [tsa1]; SX [tsa1]; LF [—]; LZ [tʃa1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tsa1]; XC [tʃa1]
CT [tsa1]; WP [tsa1]; YD [tsa1]; SH [tsa1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsa1]; AY [tsa1]; SY [tsa1]; XS [tsa1]; QN [tsa1]; ND1 [tsa1]; ND2 [tsa1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tsa1] CNH *tsa1

zhá 扎 QYS (tʃat) CDC —/EC —
BMH [tsap]; MX [tsap7]; HL [tsap7]; SX [tsap7]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [tsat]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tsaʔ7]; XC [tʃaʔ7]
CT [tsa2]; WP [tsaʔ7]; YD [tsaʔ7 ~ tsat7]; SH [tsaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tsa6]
NK [tsa2]; AY [tsa3]; SY [tsa5]; XS [tsaʔ7]; QN [tsaʔ7]; ND1 [tsaʔ7]; ND2 [tsaʔ7]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tsap7] CNH *tsap7 ~ *tsat

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

zhà 炸 QYS — CDC *ca5/EC *—
BMH [tsà]; MX [tsa5 ~ sap8]; HL [tsa5]; SX [tsa5]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [tsa5]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tsa5 ~ tsaʔ7]; XC [tsa5]
CT [—]; WP [tsa5]; YD [tsa3]; SH [tsa5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsa5]; AY [tsa5]; SY [tsa2]; XS [tsa5]; QN [tsa5]; ND1 [tsa5]; ND2 [tsa5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tsa5] CNH *tsa5

zhāi 斋 QYS tʃai CDC *cai1/EC *tsriy
BMH [tsai]; MX [tsai1]; HL [tsai1]; SX [tsai1]; LF [tsai1]; LZ [tʃai1]; SHT [—]
Appendix: Data

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tsai1]
CT [tsai1]; WP [—]; YD [tsai1]; SH [tsai1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsæ1]; AY [tsæ1]; SY [tsæ1]; XS [tsai1]; QN [tsai1]; ND1 [tsai1]; ND2 [tsai1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tsai1]   CNH *tsai1

zhái 宅 QYS ㄑok CDC *jak7/EC *drak
BMH [ts’ét]; MX [ts’et8]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [ts’et8]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʂ’aʔ7]; XC [tʂ’ɛʔ8]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tshaʔ8w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [tʂ’ak8]; QN [ts’eʔ8]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ts’et8]   CNH *ts’ek8/*tʂ’ak8 ?
The coda of the first reconstructed form is conjectural. The vowel of the Shànháŋg form is irregular. We would expect [ʌ] here. The form is specifically said by the source to be a wén reading.

zhài 债 QYS tʂai- CDC *cai5/EC *tsrek
BMH [tsăi]; MX [tsai5]; HL [tsai5]; SX [tsai5]; LF [tʃai5]; LZ [tʃai5]; SHT [—]
HY [tsai5]; XY [tsai5]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tʃai5]
CT [tsai5]; WP [—]; YD [tsai3]; SH [tsai5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsæ5]; AY [tsæ5]; SY [tsæ2]; XS [tsai5]; QN [tsai5]; ND1 [tsai5]; ND2 [tsai5]; ND3 [tsai5]
[OPH *tsai5 ?]   CNH *tsai5
The initial of the Lùfēng form is irregular.

zhān 占 QYS tʂjäm “to divine” CDC *ciam1/EC *tem
BMH [cham]; MX [tsam1]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [tʃam1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tʃan1]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsă1]; AY [—]; SY [tsē1]; XS [tʂɛn1]; QN [—]; ND1 [tsam1]; ND2 [tsam1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tʃam1]   CNH *tʃiam1
zhān 沾 | QYS tjäm | CDC *ciam1/EC *tram
BMH [cham]; MX [tsam1]; HL [tʃam1]; SX [tʃam1]; LF [tʃam1]; LZ [tʃam1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʃan1]; XC [tʃan1]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tsâ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [tsâ1]; SY [tsê1]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
OPH *tʃam1 CNH *tʃiam1

zhǎn 展 | QYS tjän: | CDC *cian3/EC *tranx
BMH [chén]; MX [tsan3]; HL [tʃan3]; SX [tʃan3]; LF [—]; LZ [tʃen3]; SHT [—]
HY [tsian3]; XY [tsan3]; DB [tsan3]; YL [tʃan3]; XC [tʃan3]
CT [tʃiŋ3]; WP [tʃeŋ3]; YD [tʃen3]; SH [tʃê3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tʃê3]; AY [tsi3]; SY [tʃê3]; XS [tʃen3]; QN [tʃen3]; ND1 [tsan3]; ND2 [tsan3]; ND3 [tsan3]
[OPH *tʃan3] CNH *tʃian3

zhǎn 盞 | QYS tsăn: | CDC *can3/EC *tsanx
BMH [tsán]; MX [tsan3]; HL [tʃan3]; SX [tsan3]; LF [tsan3]; LZ [tʃan3]; SHT [tsan3]
HY [tsan3]; XY [tsan3]; DB [tsan3]; YL [tsan3]; XC [tʃan3]
CT [tʃaŋ3]; WP [tʃaŋ3]; YD [tsan3]; SH [tsâ3]; LC1 [tsa3]; LC2 [tsa3]
NK [tsa3]; AY [tsa3]; SY [tsâ3]; XS [tsan3]; QN [tsan3]; ND1 [tsan3]; ND2 [tsan3]; ND3 [tsan3]
[OPH *tsan3] CNH *tsan3

zhàn 战 | QYS tjän- | CDC *cian5/EC *tranh
BMH [chèn]; MX [tsan5]; HL [tʃan5]; SX [tʃan5]; LF [tʃan5]; LZ [tʃen5]; SHT [—]
HY [tsian5]; XY [tsan5]; DB [tsan5]; YL [tʃan5]; XC [tʃan5]
CT [tʃiŋ5]; WP [tʃeŋ5]; YD [tʃen5]; SH [tʃê5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
NK [tʃê5]; AY [tsi5]; SY [tʃê2]; XS [tʃen5]; QN [tʃen5]; ND1 [tsan5]; ND2 [tsan5]; ND3 [tsan5]
[OPH *tʃan5] CNH *tʃian5
†FJFYZ: [tʃiē5].
zhàn 站 QYS ṭäm- “to stand”  CDC *cam5/EC *tremh
BMH [chäm]; MX [tsam5]; HL [tʃam5]; SX [tʃam5]; LF [tsan5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʃan5]; XC [tʃan5]
CT [tsan5]; WP [tsan3]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsâ3]; AY [tsâ5]; SY [tsâ2]; XS [tsan5]; QN [tsan5]; ND1 [tsam5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tšam5]  CNH *tšam5
The initial of the Xiūshuì form is irregular and seems to reflect an earlier *tsam5.

zhàn 占、佔 QYS ṭjäm- “to occupy”  CDC *ciam5/EC *temh
BMH [châm]; MX [tsam5]; HL [tʃam5]; SX [tʃam5]; LF [tʃam5]; LZ [tʃam5]; SHT [—]
HY [tsiam5]; XY [tsam5]; DB [tsam5]; YL [tʃan5]; XC [tʃan5]
CT [—]; WP [tsan5]; YD [—]; SH [tsâ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsâ3]; AY [tsâ5]; SY [tsê2]; XS [tʃen5]; QN [tsan5]; ND1 [tsam5]; ND2 [tsam5]; ND3 [tsam5]
[OPH *tšam5]  CNH *tšiam5

zhāng 張 QYS ṭjang  CDC *ciong1/EC *trang
BMH [chong]; MX [tsɔŋ1]; HL [tʃɔŋ1]; SX [tʃɔŋ1]; LF [tʃɔŋ1]; LZ [tʃɔŋ1]; SHT [—]
HY [tsɔŋ1]; XY [tsɔŋ1]; DB [tsɔŋ1]; YL [tʃɔŋ1]; XC [tʃɔŋ1]
CT [tʃɔŋ1]; WP [tsɔŋ1]; YD [tsɔŋ1]; SH [tsɔŋ1]; LC1 [tʃɔŋ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsɔŋ1]; AY [tsɔŋ1]; SY [tsɔŋ1]; XS [tʃɔŋ1]; QN [tsɔŋ1]; ND1 [tsɔŋ1]; ND2 [tsɔŋ1]; ND3 [tsɔŋ1]
[OPH *tšong1]  CNH *tšiong1
Cf. Qīngliú: [tʃiɔŋ1].

zhǎng 長 QYS ṭjang:  CDC *ciong3/EC *trangx
BMH [chóng]; MX [tsɔŋ3]; HL [tʃɔŋ3]; SX [tʃɔŋ3]; LF [tʃɔŋ3]; LZ [tʃɔŋ3]; SHT [—]
HY [tsɔŋ3]; XY [tsɔŋ3]; DB [tsɔŋ3]; YL [tʃɔŋ3]; XC [tʃɔŋ3]
CT [tʃɔŋ3]; WP [tsɔŋ3]; YD [tsɔŋ3]; SH [tsɔŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsɔ̃3]; AY [tsɔŋ3]; SY [tsɔŋ3]; XS [tʂɔŋ3]; QN [tsɔŋ3]; ND1 [tsɔŋ3]; ND2 [tsɔŋ3]; ND3 [tsɔŋ3];

[OPH *tšong3] CNH *tšion3

Cf. Qīngliú: [tʃiɔ̃3].

zhāng 掌 QYS tšjang: CDC *ciong3/EC *təngx

BMH [chhông]; MX [ts’ɔŋ5]; HL [tʃ’ɔŋ3]; SX [tʃ’ɔŋ3]; LF [tʃ’ɔŋ6]; LZ [tʃhɔŋ5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʂɔŋ5]; XC [tʃ’ɔŋ5]
CT [tʃ’ɔŋ6]; WP [—]; YD [ts’ɔŋ3]; SH [tʃhɔŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsɔ¨5]; AY [tsɔ’ex]; SY [tsɔ¨5]; XS [tʂɔ¨5]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *tš’ong3 ~ *tš’ong6 ?] CNH *tš’ion3/*tš’ion6

Cf. Qīngliú: [tʃ’iɔ̃6].

zhàng 杖 QYS djangː, djang- CDC *jiong4/EC *drangx

BMH [chhông]; MX [ts’ɔŋ5 ~ ts’ɔŋ1b]; HL [tʃ’ɔŋ6]; SX [tʃ’ɔŋ5]; LF [tʃ’ɔŋ3]; LZ [tʃhɔŋ1b ~ tʃhɔŋ5w]; SHT [ts’ɔŋ1]
HY [ts’ɔŋ6]; XY [ts’ɔŋ3]; DB [ts’ɔŋ3]; YL [tʂɔŋ5 ~ tʂ’ɔŋ3]; XC [tʃ’ɔŋ3]
CT [tʃ’ɔŋ6]; WP [tʃhɔŋ3 ~ tʃhɔŋ1]; YD [ts’ɔŋ1 ~ ts’ɔŋ3 ~ ts’ɔŋ5]; SH [tʃhɔŋ1 ~ tʃhɔŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tʃ’ɔŋ1]
NK [ts’ɔ¨5]; AY [ts’ɔ’ex]; SY [ts’ɔ¨5]; XS [tʂ’ɔ¨5]; QN [ts’ɔ¨5 ~ ts’ɔ¨6]; ND1 [ts’ɔ¨5 ~ ts’ɔ¨6]; ND2 [ts’ɔ¨1]; ND3 [ts’ɔ¨1 ~ ts’ɔ¨6]
[OPH *tš’ong6]  CNH *tš’ioŋ1/L *tš’ioŋ6
Cf. Qīngliú: [tʃ’i36].

zhàng 瘖 QYS tšjang- CDC *ciong5/EC *tangh
BMH [chòng]; MX [—]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [tʃoŋ5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʂoŋ5]; XC [tʂoŋ5]
CT [—]; WP [tson5]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts51]; AY [tsəŋ5]; SY [ts51]; XS [tʃəŋ1]; QN [—]; ND1 [tsəŋ1]; ND2 [tsəŋ5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tšong5]  CNH *tšion5
No Qīngliú form is available for this set. The final must be reconstructed by analogy.

zhàng 帳 QYS — CDC *ciong5/EC *trangh
BMH [chòng]; MX [tsəŋ5]; HL [tʃəŋ5]; SX [tʃəŋ5]; LF [tʃəŋ5]; LZ [tʃəŋ5]; SHT [tsəŋ5]
HY [tsəŋ5]; XY [tsəŋ5]; DB [tsəŋ5]; YL [tʂəŋ5]; XC [tʂəŋ5]
CT [tʃəŋ5]; WP [tsəŋ5]; YD [tsəŋ3]; SH [tsəŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts55]; AY [tsəŋ5]; SY [ts52]; XS [tʂəŋ5]; QN [tsəŋ5]; ND1 [tsəŋ5]; ND2 [tsəŋ5]; ND3 [tsəŋ5]
[OPH *tšong5]  CNH *tšion5
Cf. Qīngliú: [tʃi35].

zhǎo 爪 QYS tʂau: CDC *cau3/EC *tsrawx
BMH [tsáu]; MX [tsau3]; HL [tsau3]; SX [tsau3]; LF [tsau3]; LZ [tʃau3]; SHT [tsau3]
HY [tsau3]; XY [tsau3]; DB [tsau3]; YL [tsau3]; XC [tʃau3]
CT [tsɔ3]; WP [tsɔ3]; YD [tsau3]; SH [tsɔ3]; LC1 [tsɔ3]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsɔ3]; AY [tsɔ3]; SY [tsɔ3]; XS [tsau3]; QN [tsau3]; ND1 [tsau3]; ND2 [tsau3]; ND3 [tsau3]
OPH *tsau3  CNH *tsau3
The initial of the Lìzhīzhuāng form is irregularly a fricative rather than an affricate.
common Neo-Hakka:
A Comparative Reconstruction

zhào 兆 QYS ḍjāu: CDC *jiau5/EC *drewx
BMH [chhāu ~ chhèu]; MX [sau5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [tʃau5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʃau5]; XC [tʃau5]
CT [—]; WP [tʃa3]; YD [—]; SH [tʃa3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’ɔ5]; AY [ts’ɔ6]; SY [ts’ɔ5]; XS [tʃ’ɔ5]; QN [ts’au6]; ND1 [ts’au6]; ND2 [ts’au6]; ND3 [—]
[OPH ?] CNH *tʃiau6
The final is reconstructable as *-iau, rather than *-au, on the basis of the Shàngháng and second
Basil Mission forms. The Yílǒng and Xīchāng forms, which irregularly lack aspiration, are
probable Mandarin loans. The initial of the Méixiàn form is irregularly a fricative rather than
an affricate.

zhào 照 QYS tʃjāu- CDC *ciau5/EC *tewh
BMH [chèu ~ châu]; MX [tsau5]; HL [tʃau5]; SX [tʃeau5]; LF [tʃau5]; LZ [tʃau5]; SHT [tsau5]
HY [tsiau5]; XY [tsau5]; DB [tsau5]; YL [tʃau5]; XC [tʃau5]
CT [tʃa5]; WP [tsa5]; YD [tʃeau3]; SH [tʃa5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsɔ5]; AY [tsɔ5]; SY [tsɔ2]; XS [tʃɔ5]; QN [tsau5]; ND1 [tsau5]; ND2 [tsau5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tʃau5] CNH *tʃiau5

zhē 遮 QYS tʃja CDC *cia1/EC *tə
BMH [cha]; MX [tsa1]; HL [tʃa1]; SX [tʃa1]; LF [tʃa1]; LZ [tʃa1]; SHT [tsə1]
HY [tsa1]; XY [tsa1]; DB [tsa1]; YL [tsa1]; XC [tʃa1]
CT [tʃa1]; WP [tsa1]; YD [tsa1]; SH [tsa1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsa1]; AY [tsa1]; SY [tsa1]; XS [tʃa1]; QN [tsa1]; ND1 [tsa1]; ND2 [tsa1]; ND3 [tsa1]
[OPH *tʃia1] CNH *tʃia1
Reconstruction of final *-ia is supported indirectly by the initial/final correspondence pattern
of the set as a whole.

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

zhé 摺 QYS tśjäp   CDC *ciap/EC *tap
BMH [chap ~ tsap]; MX [—]; HL [tʃap7]; SX [tʃap7]; LF [tʃap7]; LZ [tʃap7]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tʃɛʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [tsaʔ7]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tse8]; AY [—]; SY [tsa5]; XS [tʃɛt7]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [tsap7]; ND3 [tsap7]
OPH *tšap7  CNH *tšiap7
The correspondence profile in this set shows clearly that the proto-final patterns with *-iap
rather than *-ap, even though we have in the data no actual form with medial *-i-.

zhě 者 QYS tśja:   CDC *cia3/EC *tax
BMH [chá]; MX [tsa3]; HL [tʃa3]; SX [tʃa3]; LF [tʃa3]; LZ [tʃa3]; SHT [tsa3]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tʃɛ3]
CT [tʃa3]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tsaʔw]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsa3]; AY [tsa3]; SY [tsa3]; XS [tʃa3]; QN [tsa3]; ND1 [tsa3]; ND2 [tsa3]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tša3]  CNH *tšia3

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

zhēn 鈈 QYS tśjam   CDC *cim1/EC *cim (kyim)
BMH [chim]; MX [tsəm1]; HL [tʃem1]; SX [tʃem1]; LF [tʃim1]; LZ [tʃim1]; SHT [—]
HY [tsim1]; XY [tsim1]; DB [tsəm1]; YL [tʂən1]; XC [tʂən1]
CT [tʃen1]; WP [tseı̯1]; YD [tsiŋ1]; SH [tseı̯1]; LC1 [tʃen1]; LC2 [—]
NK [təi̯1]; AY [tsəı̯1]; SY [təi̯1]; XS [tʂən1]; QN [təi̯1]; ND1 [tsəm1]; ND2 [tsəm1]; ND3 [tsəm1]
[OPH *tʃim1]  CNH *tʃim1

zhēn 珍 QYS ṭjen CDC *cin1/EC *trin ? trun
BMH [chin]; MX [tsən1]; HL [tʃen1]; SX [tʃen1]; LF [tʃin1]; LZ [tʃin1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʂən1]; XC [tʂən1]
CT [tʃen1]; WP [—]; YD [tsiŋ1]; SH [tseı̯1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [təi̯1]; AY [tsəı̯1]; SY [təi̯1]; XS [tʂən1]; QN [—]; ND1 [tsən1]; ND2 [tsən1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tʃin1]  CNH *tʃin1

zhēn 真 QYS tʃjen CDC *cin1/EC *tin
BMH [chin]; MX [tsən1]; HL [tʃen1]; SX [tʃen1]; LF [tʃin1]; LZ [tʃin1]; SHT [tsin1]
HY [tsin1]; XY [tsin1]; DB [tsən1]; YL [tʂən1]; XC [tʂən1]
CT [tʃen5]; WP [tsən5]; YD [tsiŋ1]; SH [tseı̯1]; LC1 [tʃen1]; LC2 [tʃen1]
NK [təi̯5]; AY [tsəı̯5]; SY [təi̯3]; XS [tʂən5]; QN [təi̯1]; ND1 [tsən5]; ND2 [tsən5]; ND3 [tsən5]
[OPH *tʃin5 ?]  CNH *tʃin5/*tʃin3

The tone of the Lūfēng form is anomalous.
zhēng 争  QYS  tʂɛŋ:  CDC *cang1/EC *tsreng
BMH [tsang ~ tsen]; MX [tsən1w ~ tsəŋ1b]; HL [tʃən1w ~ tʃaŋ3b]; SX [tʃən1w ~ tʃaŋ3b]; LF [tʃən1 ~ tʃaŋ1]; LZ [tʃaŋ1]; SHT [tʃaŋ1]
HY [tsaŋ1]; XY [tsaŋ1]; DB [tsaŋ1 ~ tsən1]; YL [tsən1w ~ tsəŋ1b]; XC [tʃaŋ1]
CT [tsəŋ1]; WP [tsaŋ1 ~ tsəŋ1]; YD [tsaŋ1]; SH [tsəŋ1]; LC1 [tsaŋ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsəŋ1 ~ tsəŋ1]; AY [tsəŋ1 ~ tsəŋ1]; SY [tʃəŋ1 ~ tʃəŋ1]; XS [tsəŋ1 ~ tsəŋ1]; QN [tʃən1 ~ tsəŋ1];
ND1 [tsaŋ1 ~ tsəŋ1]; ND2 [tsaŋ1]; ND3 [tsaŋ1 ~ tsəŋ1]
[OPH *tsaŋ1]  CNH *tsaŋ1/L *tʃəŋ1

zhēng 蒸  QYS  tɕi̯ɔŋ:  CDC *cing1/EC *ting
BMH [chin]; MX [tsən1]; HL [tʃən1]; SX [tʃən1]; LF [tʃən1]; LZ [tʃən1]; SHT [tʃən1]
HY [tsin1]; XY [tsin1]; DB [tsən1]; YL [tʃən1]; XC [tʃən1]
CT [tʃəŋ5]; WP [tsaŋ1]; YD [tsəŋ1]; SH [tʃən1]; LC1 [tʃəŋ5]; LC2 [—]
NK [tʃəŋ1]; AY [tsəŋ1]; SY [tʃəŋ1]; XS [tʃən1]; QN [tʃən1]; ND1 [tsaŋ1]; ND2 [tsaŋ1]; ND3 [tsaŋ1]
[OPH *tʃin1]  CNH *tʃiŋ1

zhēng 整  QYS  tʃəŋ:  CDC *ciang3/EC *tɛŋx
BMH [chin]; MX [tsən3w ~ tsəŋ3b]; HL [tʃən3w ~ tʃaŋ3b]; SX [tʃən3w ~ tʃaŋ3b]; LF [tʃən3];
LZ [tʃən3]; SHT [—]
HY [tsəŋ3 ~ tsən3]; XY [tsən3]; DB [tsaŋ3]; YL [tʃən3]; XC [tʃən3]
CT [tʃəŋ3]; WP [tsəŋ3]; YD [tsəŋ3]; SH [tʃəŋ3 ~ tsəŋ3]; LC1 [tʃəŋ3]; LC2 [tʃəŋ3]
NK [tsəŋ3 ~ tsəŋ3]; AY [tʃəŋ3 ~ tsəŋ3]; SY [tʃəŋ3 ~ tsəŋ3]; XS [tʃəŋ3 ~ tsəŋ3]; QN [—]; ND1 [—];
ND2 [tsaŋ1b ~ tsəŋ1w]; ND3 [tsaŋ3]
[OPH *ʃaŋ3 ?]  CNH *ʃaŋ3/L *tʃiŋ3

The initial of the second Héyuán form is irregularly aspirated.
Cf. Qingliú: [tʃəŋ3].
zhèng/zhēng 正 QYS tśjäng, tśjäng- CDC *ciang5/EC *teng
BMH [chin]; MX [tsəŋ5 ~ tsəŋ5b]; HL [tʃəŋ5w ~ tʃəŋ1b]; SX [tʃəŋ5w ~ tʃəŋ5b]; LF [tʃin5 ~ tʃəŋ1]; LZ [tʃəŋ1/tʃəŋ5 ~ tʃin5]; SHT [tsin5]
HY [tsin5 ~ tsəŋ5]; XY [tsin5]; DB [tsəŋ5]; YL [tʂəŋ5]; XC [tʂəŋ5]
CT [tʃəŋ5]; WP [tʃəŋ5 ~ tsəŋ1]; YD [tʃin5 ~ tsəŋ1]; SH [tʃəŋ5 ~ tsəŋ5 ~ tsəŋ1]; LC1 [tʃəŋ5]; LC2 [—]
NK [tʃəŋ5 ~ tsəŋ5]; AY [tʃəŋ5 ~ tsəŋ5 ~ tsəŋ1]; SY [tʃəŋ2 ~ tsəŋ2 ~ tsəŋ1]; XS [tʂəŋ5 ~ tʂəŋ5];
QN [tʃəŋ5 ~ tsəŋ1]; ND1 [tsəŋ1 ~ tsəŋ5 ~ tsəŋ5]; ND2 [tsəŋ1 ~ tsəŋ5 ~ tsəŋ5 ~ tsəŋ1]; ND3 [tsəŋ5 ~ tsəŋ1 ~ tsəŋ5]
[OPH *tʃəŋ5 ~ *tʃəŋ1/ *tʃiŋ1/*tʃəŋ5/L *tʃiŋ5
Tone 1 forms refer specifically to the name of the first Lunar month. Tone 5 forms take the more general senses of “correct, upright, etc.”
Cf. Qingliú: [tʃəŋ5].

zhèng 政 QYS tśjəng- CDC *cieng5/EC *tingh
BMH [chin]; MX [tsəŋ5]; HL [tʃəŋ5]; SX [tʃəŋ5]; LF [tʃin5]; LZ [tʃin5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʂəŋ5]; XC [tʂəŋ5]
CT [tʃəŋ5]; WP [tʃəŋ5]; YD [—]; SH [tʃəŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tʃəŋ5]; AY [tʃəŋ5]; SY [tʃəŋ2]; XS [tʂəŋ5]; QN [tʃəŋ5]; ND1 [tʃəŋ5]; ND2 [tʃəŋ5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tʃiŋ5] CNH *tʃiŋ5
The Ningdū-1 form appears to represent an extraneous apical vowel final borrowing.

The second form is a classifier and is written 支 in the Basil Mission source. In modern sources it is normally written 枝. The Wǔping literary form, which has an apical vowel final, can theoretically be compared with the Mandarinized Yìlǒng and Xīchāng forms to reconstruct an extraneous literary reading in *tšɨ1.

The Ningdū-1 and 3 forms appear to represent apical vowel final loans.
Common Neo-Hakka:  
A Comparative Reconstruction

CT [tʃi2]; WP [tsiʔ7 ~ tsheʔ7]; YD [tsiʔ7]; SH [tseiʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tʃi6]
NK [tse8]; AY [ts33]; SY [tse5]; XS [tʃiʔ7]; QN [taiʔ7]; ND1 [tæp7]; ND2 [tæp7]; ND3 [tæp7]
OPH *tʃip7    CNH *tʃip7

zhí 值  QYS  (dʒək), dǐ-    CDC *jik8/EC *drik
BMH [chhit]; MX [ts’aʔ8]; HL [tʃ’it8]; SX [tʃ’it8]; LF [tʃ’it8]; LZ [tʃhit8]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’iʔ8]; XY [ts’iʔ8]; DB [ts’aʔ8]; YL [tʃ’eiʔ8]; XC [tʃ’eʔ8]
CT [tʃ’i6]; WP [tʃiʔ8]; YD [—]; SH [tʃheiʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’a1]; AY [—]; SY [ts’e5]; XS [tʃ’iʔ8]; QN [ts’iʔ8]; ND1 [ts’ak8]; ND2 [ts’ak8]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tʃ’i8]    CNH *tʃ’ik8

zhí 直  QYS  dʒək    CDC *jik8/EC *drik
BMH [chhit]; MX [ts’aʔ8]; HL [tʃ’it8]; SX [tʃ’it8]; LF [tʃ’it8]; LZ [tʃhit8]; SHT [ts’i8]
HY [—]; XY [ts’iʔ8]; DB [ts’iʔ8]; YL [tʃ’eiʔ8]; XC [tʃ’eʔ8]
CT [tʃ’i6]; WP [tʃiʔ8 ~ tsheʔ8]; YD [ts’iʔ8]; SH [tʃheiʔ8]; LC1 [tʃ’i5]; LC2 [tʃi5]
NK [ts’a1]; AY [ts’e6]; SY [ts’e5]; XS [tʃ’iʔ8]; QN [ts’iʔ8]; ND1 [ts’ak8]; ND2 [ts’ak8]; ND3 [ts’ak8]
OPH *tʃ’i8]    CNH *tʃ’ik8

zhǐ 指  QYS  tʃi:    CDC *ci3/EC *ciyx (kyix)
BMH [chǐ]; MX [tʃi3]; HL [tʃi3]; SX [tʃi3]; LF [tʃi3]; LZ [tʃi3]; SHT [tʃi3]
HY [tʃi3 ~ tɕi3]; XY [tʃi3]; DB [tʃi3]; YL [tʃi3]; XC [tʃi3]
CT [tʃi3]; WP [tʃi5 ~ tʃi3]; YD [tʃi3]; SH [tʃi3]; LC1 [tʃi3]; LC2 [tʃi3]
NK [tʃi3]; AY [tʃi3]; SY [tʃi3]; XS [tʃi3]; QN [tʃi3]; ND1 [tʃi3]; ND2 [tʃi1]; ND3 [tʃi3 ~ tʃi3]
OPH *tʃi3]    CNH *tʃi3

zhǐ 旨  QYS  tʃi:    CDC *ci3/EC *ciyx (kyix)
BMH [chǐ]; MX [tʃi3]; HL [—]; SX [tʃi3]; LF [tʃi3]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʃi3]; XC [tʃi3]
Appendix: Data

CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tsʅ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsʅ3]; AY [tsʅ3]; SY [tsʅ3]; XS [tʂʅ3]; QN [tsʅ3]; ND1 [tei3]; ND2 [tei1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tʃi3]    CNH *tʃi3

zhǐ 紙 QYS tʃje:    CDC *ci3/EC *tex
BMH [chi]; MX [tsʅ3]; HL [tʃi3]; SX [tʃi3]; LF [tʃi3]; LZ [tʃi3]; SHT [tʃi3]
HY [tsʅ3]; XY [tsi3]; DB [tsi3]; YL [tʂʅ3]; XC [tʂʅ3]
CT [tʃi3]; WP [tsʅ3]; YD [tsi3]; SH [tsʅ3]; LC1 [tʃi3]; LC2 [tʃi3]
NK [tsʅ3]; AY [tsʅ3]; SY [tsʅ3]; XS [—]; QN [tsʅ3]; ND1 [tei3]; ND2 [tei1]; ND3 [tei3]
[OPH *tʃi3]    CNH *tʃi3

zhì 至 QYS tʃi-    CDC *ci5/EC *tith
BMH [chi]; MX [tsʅ5]; HL [tʃi5]; SX [tʃi5]; LF [tʃi5]; LZ [tʃi5]; SHT [tsi5]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʂʅ5]; XC [tʂʅ5]
CT [tʃi5]; WP [tsʅ5]; YD [—]; SH [tsʅ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsʅ5]; AY [tsʅ5]; SY [tsi2]; XS [tʂʅ5]; QN [tsʅ5]; ND1 [tei5]; ND2 [tei5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tʃi5]    CNH *tʃi5

zhì 痽 QYS ʒi:    CDC *ji4/EC *drix
BMH [chhi]; MX [—]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [tʃhi5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʂʅ5]; XC [tʂʅ5]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [tʃi5]; SH [tʃsi3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tʃsi5]; AY [—]; SY [tʃsi5]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [te’i6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH ?]    CNH *tʃ’i6

zhì 致 QYS tʃi-    CDC *ci5/EC *trith
BMH [chi]; MX [tsʅ5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [tʃi5]; LZ [tʃi5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʂʅ5]; XC [tʂʅ5]
CT [tʃi5]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tsʅ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsʅ5]; AY [—]; SY [tsi2]; XS [tʂʅ5]; QN [—]; ND1 [tei5]; ND2 [tei5]; ND3 [tei5]
zhì 制 QYS tšjài- CDC *ciai5/EC *tath
BMH [chi]; MX [ts¡5]; HL [tfi5]; SX [tfi5]; LF [tfi5]; LZ [tfai5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tši5]; XC [tši5]
CT [tfi5]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tsi5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsi5]; AY [tsi5]; SY [tsi2]; XS [—]; QN [tsi5]; ND1 [tei5]; ND2 [tei5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tši5] CNH *tši5

zhì 製 QYS tšjài- CDC *ciai5/EC *tath
BMH [chi]; MX [ts¡5]; HL [tfi5]; SX [tfi5]; LF [tfi5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tši5]; XC [tši5]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tši5] CNH *tši5

zhì 智 QYS tje- CDC *ci5/EC *treh
BMH [chi]; MX [ts¡5]; HL [tfi5]; SX [tfi5]; LF [tfi5]; LZ [tfi5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tši5]; XC [tši5]
CT [tfi5]; WP [tsi5]; YD [—]; SH [tsi5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsi5]; AY [tsi5]; SY [tsi1]; XS [tsi5]; QN [tsi5]; ND1 [tei5]; ND2 [tei5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tši5] CNH *tši5

zhì 誌 QYS tši- CDC *ci5/EC *tih ?cîh
BMH [chi]; MX [tsi5]; HL [—]; SX [tfi5]; LF [tfi5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tši5]; XC [tši5]
CT [tfi5]; WP [tsi5]; YD [—]; SH [tsi5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsi5]; AY [tsi5]; SY [tsi2]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [tei5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tši5] CNH *tši5
The Tone 2 reading of this syllable is used in the special sense “to slaughter (sc. animals)”. 

The final of this form is reconstructed analogically on the basis of the correspondence profile of the set.

Both MX and HL forms mean “center”.

†FJFYZ: [tʃəŋ1].
zhōng 终 QYS tśjung CDC *ciung1/EC *tung
BMH [chung]; MX [tsuŋ1]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [tʃuŋ1]; LZ [tʃuŋ1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʂuŋ1]; XC [tʂuŋ1]
CT [tʃuŋ1]; WP [tsuŋ1]; YD [—]; SH [ʦoŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
NK [ʦoŋ1]; AY [ʦoŋ1]; SY [ʦoŋ1]; XS [tʂoŋ1]; QN [ʦuŋ1]; ND1 [ʦuŋ1]; ND2 [ʦuŋ1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tšuŋ1]   CNH *tʃuŋ1
†FJFYZ: [tʃiəŋ1].

zhǒng 种 QYS tǐjwong CDC *ciung1/EC *tong
BMH [chúng]; MX [tsuŋ1]; HL [tʃuŋ3]; SX [tʃuŋ3]; LF [tʃuŋ3]; LZ [tʃuŋ3]; SHT [ʦuŋ5]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʂuŋ5]; XC [ʦuŋ5]
CT [tʃoŋ3]; WP [ʦoŋ3]; YD [ʦoŋ3]; SH [ʦəŋ3]; LC1 [tʃoŋ5]; LC2 [ˈtʃəŋ1]
NK [ʦoŋ3]; AY [ʦoŋ3]; SY [ʦoŋ3]; XS [tʂoŋ3]; QN [ʦuŋ3]; ND1 [ʦuŋ3]; ND2 [ʦuŋ3]; ND3 [ʦuŋ3]
[OPH *tʃuŋ3]   CNH *ʦiŋ3

zhǒng 种 QYS tǐjwong: CDC *ciung3/EC *tongx
BMH [chúng]; MX [ʦoŋ3]; HL [tʃuŋ3]; SX [tʃuŋ3]; LF [tʃuŋ3]; LZ [tʃuŋ3]; SHT [ʦuŋ5]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʂuŋ5]; XC [ʦuŋ5]
CT [tʃoŋ3]; WP [ʦoŋ3]; YD [ʦoŋ3]; SH [ʦəŋ3]; LC1 [tʃoŋ5]; LC2 [—]
NK [ʦoŋ3]; AY [ʦoŋ3]; SY [ʦoŋ3]; XS [tʂoŋ3]; QN [ʦuŋ3]; ND1 [ʦuŋ3]; ND2 [ʦuŋ3]; ND3 [ʦuŋ3]
[OPH *tʃuŋ3]   CNH *ʦiŋ3
The reconstructed medial is based on the correspondence pattern of the set as a whole. The tone of the Xīchāng form is irregular.

zhòng 种 QYS tʃjwong- CDC *ciung5/EC *tongh
BMH [chúng]; MX [ʦuŋ5]; HL [tʃuŋ5]; SX [tʃuŋ5]; LF [tʃuŋ5]; LZ [tʃuŋ5]; SHT [ʦuŋ5]
Appendix: Data

HY [tsɔŋ5]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tsuŋ5]; XC [tʂuŋ5]

CT [tʃɔŋ5]; WP [tsuŋ5]; YD [tsuŋ3]; SH [tʂəŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [tsəŋ5]; AY [tʂəŋ5]; SY [—]; XS [tʂəŋ5]; QN [tsuŋ5]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

OPH *tʃʊŋ5  CNH *tʃiuŋ5

†This form is from the glossary of the source and consequently lacks retroflection.

Cf. Wēngyuán: tsiuŋ5.

zhòng 重 QYS djwong: CDC *jiung4/EC *drongx

BMH [chhun]; MX [ts’uŋ5 ~ ts’uŋ1b]; HL [tʃ’uŋ5 ~ tʃ’uŋ1b]; SX [tʃ’uŋ5 ~ tʃ’uŋ1]; LF [tʃ’uŋ5w ~ tʃ’uŋ1b]; LZ [tʃhuŋ1]; SHT [ts’uŋ1]

HY [ts’oŋ5]; XY [ts’oŋ1]; DB [ts’uŋ1]; YL [tʂ’uŋ5]; XC [tʂ’uŋ5]

CT [tʃ’oŋ1 ~ tʃ’oŋ6]; WP [tʃuŋ3]; YD [ts’uŋ1]; SH [tʃəŋ3]; LC1 [tʃ’oŋ1]; LC2 [—]

NK [ts’əŋ1]; AY [ts’əŋ5]; SY [ts’əŋ5]; XS [tʂ’əŋ1]; QN [ts’uŋ1 ~ ts’uŋ5]; ND1 [ts’uŋ1]; ND2 [ts’uŋ1]; ND3 [ts’uŋ6]

[OPH *tʃ’ung1]  CNH *tʃ’uŋ1/L *tʃ’iun6

Cf. Wēngyuán: ts’iun1; Qīngliú: tʃ’iəŋ1.

zhòng 粥 QYS tjung- CDC *ciung5/EC *tungh

BMH [chung]; MX [tsuŋ5]; HL [tʃuŋ5]; SX [tʃuŋ5]; LF [tʃuŋ5]; LZ [tʃuŋ5]; SHT [—]

HY [tsɔŋ5]; XY [tsɔŋ5]; DB [tsuŋ5]; YL [tʂuŋ5]; XC [tʂuŋ5]

CT [tʃɔŋ5]; WP [tsuŋ5]; YD [tsuŋ3]; SH [tʂəŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [tsəŋ5]; AY [tʂəŋ5]; SY [tsəŋ2]; XS [tʂəŋ5]; QN [tsuŋ5]; ND1 [tsuŋ5]; ND2 [tsuŋ5]; ND3 [tsuŋ5]

[OPH *tʃuŋ5]  CNH *tʃiũŋ5

Cf. Wēngyuán: tsiuŋ5.

zhōu 粥 QYS tjuk CDC *ciuk7/EC *tuk

BMH [chuk]; MX [tsuk7]; HL [tʃuk7]; SX [tʃuk7]; LF [tʃuk7]; LZ [tʃuk7]; SHT [—]

HY [tsok7 ~ tʂək7]; XY [tʂouʔ]; DB [tsuk1]; YL [tʂəuʔ]; XC [tʂuʔ]

CT [tʃu2]; WP [tsuʔ]; YD [tsuʔ]; SH [tʂəʔ]; LC1 [tʃeu6]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsu8]; AY [ts1]; SY [tsu5]; XS [tʂuk7]; QN [tsuʔ7]; ND1 [tsu5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [tsu5]

[OPH *tʂuk7]   CNH *tʂiu7

Cf. Wēngyuán: tsiuk7; Qīngliú: tʃy3.

zhōu 周 QYS ʨjau  CDC *cieu/EC *tiw
BMH [chiu]; MX [tsu1]; HL [tʃiu]; SX [tʃiu ~ tʃiu]; LF [tʃiu1]; LZ [tʃiu1]; SHT [—]
HY [tʃiu1]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʂəu1]; XC [tʂəu1]
CT [tʃeu1]; WP [tʃe1]; YD [tʃiu1]; SH [tʃeu1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tʃiu1]; AY [tʃeu1]; SY [tʃeu1]; XS [tʃu1]; QN [tʃeu1]; ND1 [tʃeu1]; ND2 [tʃəu1]; ND3 [tʃəu1]

[OPH *tʃiu1]   CNH *tʃieu1

zhōu 州 QYS ʨjau  CDC *cieu/EC *tiw
BMH [chiu ~ chu]; MX [tsu1]; HL [tʃiu1]; SX [tʃiu1]; LF [tʃiu1]; LZ [tʃiu1]; SHT [—]
HY [tʃiu1]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʂəu1]; XC [tʂəu1]
CT [tʃeu1]; WP [tʃe1]; YD [tʃiu1]; SH [tʃeu1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tʃiu1]; AY [tʃeu1]; SY [tʃeu1]; XS [—]; QN [tʃeu1]; ND1 [tʃeu1]; ND2 [tʃəu1]; ND3 [tʃəu1]

[OPH *tʃiu1]   CNH *tʃieu1

zhōu 晝 QYS ʨjau-  CDC *cieu5/EC *truh
BMH [chiù]; MX [tsu5]; HL [tʃu5]; SX [tʃu5]; LF [tʃu5]; LZ [tʃu5]; SHT [tsiu5]
HY [tsiu5]; XY [tsiu5]; DB [tsiu5]; YL [tʂəu5]; XC [tʂəu5]
CT [tʃeu5]; WP [tʃe5]; YD [tsiu3]; SH [tʃeu5]; LC1 [tʃeu5]; LC2 [tʃu5]
NK [tsiu5]; AY [tʃeu5]; SY [tʃeu2]; XS [tʂu5]; QN [tʃeu5]; ND1 [tʃeu5]; ND2 [tʃəu5]; ND3 [tʃəu5]

[OPH *tʃiu5]   CNH *tʃieu5

zhōu 驟 QYS ʥjau-  CDC *jeu6/EC *dzroh
BMH [tʃhù]; MX [ts’eu3]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [ts’əu5]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]  
NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [ts’io3]; XS [ts’u5]; QN [—]; ND1 [ts’e6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]  
[OPH *ts’e5]  CNH *ts’e5

zhū 猪 QYS tjwo  CDC *cie1 (~ *ciu1)/EC *tra  
BMH [chu]; MX [tsu1]; HL [tʃu1]; SX [tʃu1]; LF [tʃu1]; LZ [tʃu1]; SHT [tsu1]  
HY [tsy1]; XY [tsy1]; DB [tsi1]; YL [tʃu1]; XC [tʃu1]  
CT [tʃu1]; WP [tu1]; YD [tsi1]; SH [tsu1]; LC1 [tiflue1]; LC2 [tʃye1]†  
NK [tse1]; AY [tsel1]; SY [tʃel1]; XS [tʃu1]; QN [tsu1]; ND1 [tei1]; ND2 [tei1]; ND3 [tsie1]  
[OPH *tʃu1]  CNH *tʃiu1/*tʃiel  
†Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [tʃye1].

zhū 珠 QYS tʃju  CDC *ciu1/EC *to  
BMH [chu]; MX [tsu1]; HL [tʃu1]; SX [tʃu1]; LF [tʃu1]; LZ [tʃu1]; SHT [—]  
HY [tsy1]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʃu1]; XC [tʃu1]  
CT [tʃu1]; WP [tu1]; YD [tsi1]; SH [tsu1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tʃye1 ~ tʃve1]†  
NK [tsu1]; AY [tsel1]; SY [tʃel1]; XS [tʃu1]; QN [tsu1]; ND1 [tsu1]; ND2 [tsu1]; ND3 [—]  
OPH *tʃu1  CNH *tʃiu1  
†Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [tʃye1].

zhú 逐 QYS djuk  CDC *jiuk8/EC *druk  
BMH [chhúk]; MX [ts’uk8]; HL [tʃ’uk8]; SX [tʃ’uk8]; LF [tʃ’uk8]; LZ [tʃhuk8]; SHT [—]  
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tʃu7]  
CT [—]; WP [tsiuʔ7]; YD [—]; SH [tʃio8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]  
NK [ts’o8]; AY [ts’o6]; SY [ts’o5]; XS [tʃ’uk8]; QN [ts’uʔ8]; ND1 [ts’uk8]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]  
[OPH *tʃ’uk8]  CNH ?  
This set as a whole does not show a recognizable correspondence pattern. A possibility is that  
it is a late literary loan with the non-canonical syllable form *tʃ’uk8. But even this expedient  
will not account for the Fújiàn line forms, which have medial -i-. Compare zhú 祝 below.
zhú 竹 QYS tjuk CDC *ciuk7/EC *truk
BMH [chuk]; MX [tsuk7]; HL [tʃuk7]; SX [tʃuk7]; LF [tʃuk7]; LZ [tʃuk7]; SHT [tsuk1]
HY [tsok7]; XY [tsouʔ]; DB [tsuk7]; YL [tʃouʔ]; XC [tʃuʔ]
CT [tʃu2]; WP [tsuʔ]; YD [tsuʔ]; SH [tʃeʔ]; LC1 [tʃeʔ]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsu8]; AY [tʃ5]; SY [tsu5]; XS [tʃuk7]; QN [tsuʔ7]; ND1 [tsuk7]; ND2 [tsuk7]; ND3 [tsuk7]

[OPH *tšuk7] CNH *tšiuk7
Cf. Wēngyuán: tsiuk7; Qīngliú: tʃy3.

zhú 燭 QYS tʃjwok CDC *ciuk7/EC *tok
BMH [chuk]; MX [tsuk7]; HL [tʃuk7]; SX [tʃuk7]; LF [tʃuk7]; LZ [tʃuk7]; SHT [—]
HY [tsok7]; XY [tsouʔ]; DB [tsuk7]; YL [—]; XC [tʃuʔ]
CT [tʃu2]; WP [tsuʔ]; YD [tsuʔ]; SH [tʃeʔ]; LC1 [tʃeʔ]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsu8]; AY [tʃ5]; SY [tsu5]; XS [tʃuk7]; QN [tsuʔ7]; ND1 [tsuk7]; ND2 [tsuk7]; ND3 [tsuk7]

[OPH *tšuk7] CNH *tšiuk7
Cf. Wēngyuán: tsiuk7; Qīngliú: tʃy3.

zhǔ 主 QYS tʃju: CDC *ciu3/EC *tɔx
BMH [chú]; MX [tsu3]; HL [tʃu3]; SX [tʃu3]; LF [tʃu3]; LZ [tʃu3]; SHT [—]
HY [tsy3]; XY [tsy3]; DB [tʃi3]; YL [tʃu3]; XC [tʃu3]
CT [tʃu3]; WP [tu3]; YD [tʃi3]; SH [tsu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tʃe3]
NK [tsu3]; AY [tʃ3]; SY [tʃe3]; XS [tʃu3]; QN [tsu3]; ND1 [tsu3]; ND2 [tsu3]; ND3 [tsu3]

[OPH *tʃu3] CNH *tʃi3

zhǔ 煮 QYS tʃjwo: CDC *cie3 (~ *ciu3)/EC *tax
BMH [chú]; MX [tsu3]; HL [tʃu3]; SX [tʃu3]; LF [tʃu3]; LZ [tʃu3]; SHT [tsu]
HY [tsy3]; XY [tsy3]; DB [tʃi3]; YL [tʃu3]; XC [tʃu3]
CT [tʃu3]; WP [tu3]; YD [tʃi3]; SH [tsu3]; LC1 [tʃe3]; LC2 [tʃe3]
NK [tʃ3]; AY [tʃ3]; SY [tʃ3]; XS [tʃu3]; QN [tsu3]; ND1 [tʃe3]; ND2 [tʃe3]; ND3 [tʃe3]
The reconstruction comprises a syllabic shape which is not usual for the CNH system as a whole. It is possible that the word, which is of high literary register, is borrowed from some other form of Chinese. Cf. zhù 逐 above.

The Héyuán form irregularly lacks aspiration. This is perhaps a typographical error in the source.
zhù 助 QYS dzjwo- CDC *je6 (~ *ju6)/EC *dzrah
BMH [tshù]; MX [ts’u5]; HL [ts’u6]; SX [ts’u5]; LF [ts’e5]; LZ [tʃə5]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’u6]; XY [ts’a3]; DB [ts’u3]; YL [ts’i5]; XC [tsù5]
CT [ts’u6]; WP [tshə3]; YD [—]; SH [tʃə]; LC 1 [—]; LC 2 [—]
NK [ts’u5]; AY [ts’u6]; SY [ts’u5]; XS [ts’u5]; QN [ts’u5]; ND1 [ts’u6]; ND2 [ts’u6]; ND3 [ts’u6]
[OPH *ts’u6] CNH *ts’uo6
†Tone indeterminate in the source.

zhù 著 QYS tjwo- CDC *cie5 (~ *ciu5)/EC *tah, *takh
BMH [chù]; MX [tsu5]; HL [tʃu5]; SX [tʃu5]; LF [tʃu6]; LZ [tʃu5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tʃu5]
CT [tʃu5]; WP [tu5]; YD [—]; SH [tsu5]; LC 1 [—]; LC 2 [tʃye5]
NK [tsu5]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [tʃu5]; QN [—]; ND1 [tsu5]; ND2 [tsu5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tʃu5] CNH *tʃiu5
The Lúfēng tone is irregular.

zhù 竹 QYS djwo- CDC *jie6 (~ *jiu6)/EC *drah
BMH [chhù]; MX [ts’u5]; HL [tʃ’u6]; SX [tʃ’u5]; LF [—]; LZ [tʃhu5]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’y6]; XY [—]; DB [ts’i3]; YL [tsu5]; XC [tʃu5]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [ts’i5]; SH [—]; LC 1 [—]; LC 2 [tʃye5]
NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [te’ie6]*; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tʃ’u5] CNH *tʃ’iu6
The Ningdū-2 form is said to be used for “chopstick” only by elderly speakers. It is clearly
derived from a CNH *tʃ’ie6, which we are unable to reconstruct comparatively.

zhuān 專 QYS tʃjwän CDC *cion1/EC *ton
BMH [chon]; MX [tsɔn1]; HL [tʃon1]; SX [tʃon1]; LF [tʃon1]; LZ [tʃɔn1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʃon1]; XC [tʃuan1]
CT [tʃuŋ1]; WP [tsuɛŋ1]; YD [—]; SH [tsuɛ1]; LC 1 [—]; LC 2 [kue1]
Appendix: Data

NK [tsoẽ1]; AY [tsō1]; SY [tsuω1]; XS [tɕɔn1]; QN [tson1]; ND1 [tsoen1]; ND2 [tsuon1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tšon1]   CNH *tšuon1

zhuān 磚 QYS tšjwän   CDC *cion1/EC *ton
BMH [chon]; MX [tsɔn1]; HL [tʃon1]; SX [tʃon1]; LF [tʃon1]; LZ [tʃɔn1]; SHT [tson1]
HY [tsuan1]; XY [tsuan1]; DB [tsɔn1]; YL [tʃɔn1]; XC [tʃuan1]
CT [tʃuŋ1]; WP [tsuen1 ~ tseŋ1]; YD [tsεn1]; SH [tşuɛ1]; LC1 [kue1]; LC2 [kue1]
NK [tsoẽ1]; AY [tsō1]; SY [tsuɔ1]; XS [tɕɔn1]; QN [tson1]; ND1 [tsoen1]; ND2 [tsuon1]; ND3 [tsuan1]
[OPH *tšon1]   CNH *tšuon1

zhuān 轉 QYS tjwän:   CDC *cion3/EC *tronx
BMH [chón]; MX [tsɔn3]; HL [tʃon3]; SX [tʃon3]; LF [tʃon3]; LZ [tʃɔn3]; SHT [tson3]
HY [tsuan3]; XY [tsuan3]; DB [tsɔn3]; YL [tʃɔn3]; XC [tʃuan3]
CT [tʃuŋ3]; WP [tsueŋ3 ~ tseŋ3]; YD [tsεn3]; SH [tşuɛ3]; LC1 [kue3]; LC2 [kue3]
NK [tsoẽ3]; AY [tsō3]; SY [tsuɔ3]; XS [tɕɔn3]; QN [tson3]; ND1 [tsoen3]; ND2 [tsuon3]; ND3 [tsuan3]
[OPH *tšon3]   CNH *tšuon3

zhuān 賺 QYS ʒām-   CDC *dzan6 ~ *dzuæn6/EC *dremh
BMH [tsɔn]; MX [tsɔn5]; HL [tsɔn6]; SX [tsɔn5]; LF [tsɔn6]; LZ [tʃin]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’an6]; XY [ts’an3]; DB [ts’an3]; YL [tson1]; XC [tʃuən5]
CT [—]; WP [tʃaŋ3]; YD [ts’an5]; SH [tʃaŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’ã5]; AY [ts’ã6]; SY [ts’ã5]; XS [ts’an5]; QN [ts’an5]; ND1 [ts’an6]; ND2 [ts’an6]; ND3 [ts’am6]
[OPH *ts’on5]   CNH *ts’om6

zhuāng 妝 糧 QYS tʃjang   CDC *cong1/EC *—
BMH [tsong]; MX [—]; HL [tson1]; SX [tson1]; LF [tson1]; LZ [—]; SHT [tson1]
Common Neo-Hakka: A Comparative Reconstruction

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tsʰəŋ1]; XC [tʂəŋ1]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tsɔŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [tsʰəŋ1]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tsong1] CNH *tsəŋ1

zhuāng 裝 QYS tsjjang CDC *cong1/EC *tsrang
BMH [tsong]; MX [tsʰəŋ1]; HL [tsəŋ1]; SX [tsəŋ1]; LF [tsəŋ1]; LZ [tʃəŋ1]; SHT [tsʰəŋ1]
HY [tsəŋ1]; XY [tsəŋ1]; DB [tsəŋ1]; YL [tsəŋ1]; XC [tʂəŋ1]
CT [tsəŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [tsəŋ1]; SH [tsəŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tʃəŋ1]
NK [tsɔŋ1]; AY [tsəŋ1]; SY [tsɔŋ1]; XS [tsəŋ1]; QN [tsəŋ1]; ND1 [tsəŋ1]; ND2 [tsəŋ1]; ND3 [tsəŋ1]
[OPH *tsong1] CNH *tsəŋ1

The initial of the Song Him Tong form is irregularly aspirated.

zhuàng 裳 QYS tsjjang CDC *cong5/EC *tsrang
BMH [tsong]; MX [tsəŋ5]; HL [tsəŋ5]; SX [tsəŋ5]; LF [tsəŋ5]; LZ [tʃəŋ5]; SHT [tsəŋ5]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tsəŋ5]; XC [tʂəŋ5]
CT [tsəŋ5]; WP [tsəŋ5]; YD [tsəŋ3]; SH [tsəŋ5]; LC1 [tsəŋ5]; LC2 [tsəŋ5]
NK [tsɔŋ5]; AY [tsəŋ5]; SY [tsɔŋ5]; XS [tsəŋ5]; QN [tsəŋ5]; ND1 [tsəŋ5]; ND2 [tsəŋ5]; ND3 [tsəŋ5]
[OPH *tsong5] CNH *tsəŋ5

zhuàng 狀 QYS dzjjang- CDC *jong6/EC *dzrangh
BMH [tʂhòng]; MX [tsʰəŋ5]; HL [tsʰəŋ6]; SX [tsʰəŋ5]; LF [tʃəŋ6]; LZ [tʃʰəŋ5]; SHT [—]
The Qīngliú form is anomalous in that its initial is not commensurate with those of the other forms in the set. How and where it arose is unclear.
[OPH *tšui1]  CNH *tšiui1

The final of this form is reconstructed on the basis of the correspondence profile of the set as a whole.

zhǔn 准 QYS tʒjwen: CDC *ciun3/EC *tunx
BMH [chún]; MX [tsun3]; HL [tʃun3]; SX [tʃun3]; LF [tʃun3]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [tsun3]; XY [tsun3]; DB [tʃən3]; YL [tʃun3]; XC [tʃuən3]
CT [tʃen3]; WP [tʃen3]; YD [—]; SH [tʃen3]; LC1 [kueŋ3]; LC2 [kueŋ3]
NK [tʃen3]; AY [tʃen3]; SY [tʃeŋ3]; XS [tʃən3]; QN [tsun3]; ND1 [tsun3]; ND2 [tsun3]; ND3 [tsun3]

[OPH *tšun3]  CNH *tʃiun3
Cf. Wêngyuán [tsiun3].

zhuō 桌 QYS (tāk) CDC —/EC —
BMH [tsok]; MX [tsok7]; HL [tsok7]; SX [tsok7]; LF [tsok7]; LZ [tsok7]; SHT [—]
HY [tsok7]; XY [ts’ok7]; DB [ts’ok7]; YL [tʃoʔ7]; XC [tʃoʔ7]
CT [tsɔʔ7]; WP [tsɔʔ7]; YD [tsɔʔ7]; SH [tsɔʔ7]; LC1 [tsu6]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsɔ8]; AY [tsɔ6]; SY [tsɔ5]; XS [tsɔk7]; QN [tsɔʔ7]; ND1 [tsok7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [tsok7]

[OPH *tsok7]  CNH *tsok7

zhuō 捉 QYS tsāk CDC *cok1/EC *tsrok
BMH [tsok]; MX [tsok7]; HL [—]; SX [tsok7b]; LF [tsok7]; LZ [tʃok7]; SHT [tsuk7]
HY [tsok7]; XY [tsok7]; DB [tsok7]; YL [—]; XC [tʃoʔ7]
CT [tsɔʔ7]; WP [tsɔʔ7]; YD [tsɔʔ7]; SH [tsɔʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsɔ8]; AY [tsɔ6]; SY [tsɔ5]; XS [tsɔk7]; QN [tsɔʔ7]; ND1 [tsok7]; ND2 [tsok7]; ND3 [tsɔk7]

[OPH *tsok7]  CNH *tsok7

zhuó 著 QYS ʈjak “to put on, wear (sc. clothing)” CDC *ciok8/EC *trak
BMH [chok]; MX [tsok7]; HL [tʃok7]; SX [tʃok7]; LF [tʃok7]; LZ [tʃək7]; SHT [tsək7]
Appendix: Data

HY [tsɔʔ7]; XY [tsɔʔ7]; DB [tsɔk8]; YL [tʃɔʔ7]; XC [tʃoʔ7]
CT [tʃo2]; WP [tsɔʔ7]; YD [tsɔʔ7]; SH [tʃoʔ7]; LC1 [tʃu6]; LC2 [tʃu6]
NK [tʃo8]; AY [tʃo6]; SY [tʃo5]; XS [tʃɔʔ7]; QN [tʃoʔ7]; ND1 [tsɔʔ7]; ND2 [tsɔʔ7]; ND3 [tsɔʔ7]

[OPH *tʃoʔ7] CNH *tʃoʔ7

zi 子 QYS tsı: CDC *tsi3/EC *tsi6
BMH [tsı]; MX [tsı3]; HL [tsı3]; SX [tsı3]; LF [tsɛ3]; LZ [tʃu3]; SHT [tsı3]
HY [tsı3]; XY [tsı3]; DB [tsı3]; YL [tsı3]; XC [tsı3]
CT [tsı3]; WP [tsı3]; YD [tsı3]; SH [tsı3]; LC1 [tsı3]; LC2 [tsı3]
NK [tsı3]; AY [tsı3]; SY [tsı3]; XS [tsı3]; QN [tsı3]; ND1 [tsa3]; ND2 [tsa3]; ND3 [tsa3]

[OPH *tsı3] CNH *tsı3

zi 姊 QYS tsi: CDC *tsi3/EC *tsi6
BMH [tsı]; MX [tsı3]; HL [tsı3]; SX [tsı3]; LF [tsɛ3]; LZ [—]; SHT [tsı3]
HY [tsı3]; XY [tsı3]; DB [tsı3]; YL [tsı3]; XC [tsı3]
CT [tsı3]; WP [tsı3]; YD [tsı3]; SH [tsı3]; LC1 [tsı3]; LC2 [tsı3]
NK [tsı3]; AY [tsı3]; SY [tsı3]; XS [tsı3]; QN [tsı3]; ND1 [tsı3]; ND2 [tsı3]; ND3 [tsı3]

[OPH *tsı3] CNH *tsı3/*tsi6

zi 自 QYS dzi- CDC *dzi6/EC *dzi6
BMH [tʃu]; MX [ts’ʃ5 ~ ts’ʃ2]; HL [ts’ʃ6]; SX [ts’ʃ5]; LF [ts’e6]; LZ [tʃu5]; SHT [ts’ʃu5]
HY [ts’ʃ6]; XY [ts’ʃu3]; DB [t’e3]; YL [ts’ʃ5]; XC [ts’ʃ5]
CT [ts’ʃ6]; WP [tʃu3]; YD [ts’ʃ5]; SH [tʃu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’ʃ5 ~ ts’a5]; AY [ts’ʃ6]; SY [ʃ5]; XS [ts’ʃ5]; QN [ts’ʃ6]; ND1 [ts’a6 ~ tʃ’ʃ6]; ND2 [ts’a6]; ND3 [ts’ʃ6]

[OPH *ts’ʃ6] CNH *ts’ʃ6

zi 字 QYS dzi- CDC *dzi6/EC *dzi6
BMH [tʃu ~ sɨ]; MX [ʃ5]; HL [ʃ5]; SX [ʃ5]; LF [ʃ6]; LZ [ʃu5]; SHT [ʃu5]
HY [ts’i6]; XY [su3]; DB [le3]; YL [sɿ3]; XC [sɿ5]
CT [ts’i6]; WP [tshɿ3 ~ sɿ3]; YD [ts’i5]; SH [tshɿ3]; LC1 [ts’i6]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’ɿ5]; AY [sɿ3]; SY [ts’ɿ5]; XS [sɿ5]; QN [sɿ6]; ND1 [ts’ə6]; ND2 [ts’ə6]; ND3 [ts’ə6]
[OPH *si6] CNH *si6/*ts’i6

zōng 宗 QYS tsuong CDC *tsung1/EC *’tsung
BMH [tsung]; MX [tsuŋ1]; HL [tsuŋ1]; SX [tsuŋ1]; LF [tsuŋ1]; LZ [tʃuŋ1]; SHT [—]
HY [tsəŋ1]; XY [tsəŋ1]; DB [tsuŋ1]; YL [tsuŋ1]; XC [tsuŋ1]
CT [tsuŋ1]; WP [tsuŋ1]; YD [—]; SH [tsəŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tsəŋ1]
NK [tsəŋ1]; AY [tsəŋ1]; SY [tsəŋ1]; XS [tsəŋ1]; QN [tsuŋ1]; ND1 [tsuŋ1]; ND2 [tsuŋ1]; ND3 [tsuŋ1]
[OPH *tsung1] CNH *tsuŋ1

zǒu 走 QYS tsau: CDC *tseu3/EC *’tsox
BMH [tséu]; MX [tʃe3]; HL [tʃe3]; SX [tʃe3]; LF [tʃe3]; LZ [tʃe3]; SHT [tsi3]
HY [tʃuai3]; XY [tʃeu3]; DB [tʃei3]; YL [tʃai3]; XC [tʃai3]
CT [tʃeu3]; WP [tʃe3]; YD [tʃeu3]; SH [tʃai3]; LC1 [tʃeu3]; LC2 [—]
NK [tʃai3]; AY [tʃai3]; SY [tʃai3]; XS [tʃai3]; QN [tʃai3]; ND1 [tʃai3]; ND2 [tʃai3]; ND3 [tʃai3]
OPH *tseu3 CNH *tseu3

zū 租 QYS tsuo CDC *tsu1/EC *’tsa
BMH [tsu]; MX [tsɿ1]; HL [tsɿ1]; SX [tsɿ1]; LF [tʃe1]; LZ [tʃu1]; SHT [tsu1]
HY [tsu1]; XY [tsu1]; DB [tsɿ1]; YL [tsu1]; XC [tsu1]
CT [tsu1]; WP [—]; YD [tsɿ1]; SH [tsɿ1b]; LC1 [tʃi1]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsu1]; AY [tsu1]; SY [tsu1]; XS [tsu1]; QN [tsu1]; ND1 [tsu1]; ND2 [tsu1]; ND3 [tsu1]
[OPH *tsu1] CNH *tsu1
zú 足 QYS tsiwok  CDC *tsiu7/EC *tsok
BMH [tsiu]; MX [tsiu7]; HL [tsiu7]; SX [tsiu7]; LF [tsiu7]; LZ [tsiu7]; SHT [tsiu7]
HY [tsok7]; XY [tsou7?]; DB [tsuk7]; YL [tey7?]; XC [teiu7?]
CT [tsi2]; WP [tsiu7?]; YD [tsiu7?]; SH [tei7?]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tsi6]
NK [teiu8]; AY [tsi6]; SY [teiu5]; XS [—]; QN [teiu7?]; ND1 [teiu7]; ND2 [teiu7]; ND3 [tsiu7]
[OPH *tsiu7] CNH *tsiu7

zú 卒 QYS tsiwət  CDC *tsut7/EC *tsut
BMH [tsut]; MX [tsut7]; HL [tsut7]; SX [tsut7]; LF [tsut7]; LZ [tsut7]; SHT [tsut7]
HY [tsut7]; XY [tsut7]; DB [tsat7]; YL [—]; XC [teiu7?]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [tsut7]; SH [tei7?]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsoa7?]; AY [ts33]; SY [tsuo5]; XS [tsat7]; QN [tsiu7?]; ND1 [tsut7]; ND2 [tsut7]; ND3 [tsut7]
[OPH *tsut7] CNH *tsut7

zú 众 QYS tsuk  CDC *dzuk8/EC *’dzok
BMH [tshúk]; MX [ts’uk8]; HL [ts’uk8]; SX [ts’uk8]; LF [ts’uk8]; LZ [tʃhuk8]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts’u8?]; XC [te’iu7?]
CT [ts’u6]; WP [tʃhu8?]; YD [ts’u8?]; SH [tʃa8?]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [ts’u6]; SY [ts’o5]; XS [ts’uk8]; QN [—]; ND1 [ts’uk8]; ND2 [ts’uk8]; ND3 [—]
OPH *ts’uk8 CNH *ts’uk8
The final of the Xīchāng form is irregular.

zú 祖 QYS tsuo:  CDC *tsu3/EC *tsax
BMH [tsú]; MX [ts3]; HL [tsu3]; SX [tsu3]; LF [ts3 ~ tsu3]; LZ [tʃu3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [tsu3]; DB [tsu3]; YL [tsu3]; XC [tsu3]
CT [tsu3]; WP [—]; YD [tsi3]; SH [ts’3b ~ tsu3w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ts3]
NK [tsu3]; AY [tsu3]; SY [tsu3]; XS [ts3]; QN [tsu3]; ND1 [tsu3]; ND2 [tsu3]; ND3 [tsu3]
Two entirely different etyma for “mouth” are represented in this set. The first, which has variants in Tones 5 and 3, is the popular, authochthonous word. Only the second which is literary in origin, is validly to be associated with the graph 嘴.

Cf. Wēngyuán: [tsiui5].

Cf. Wēngyuán: [tsiui5].
Appendix: Data

zuì 罪 QYS dzuǎi: CDC *dzoi4/EC *’dzuyx
BMH [tshuí]; MX [ts’ai5w ~ ts’ai1b]; HL [ts’ai6]; SX [ts’ai5]; LF [ts’ai6]; LZ [tfui5]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’ai6]; XY [ts’ai3]; DB [ts’e1]; YL [ts’e1]; XC [ts’ai5]
CT [ts’e6]; WP [tshe3]; YD [—]; SH [tshe3]; LC1 [ts’ai6]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’e5]; AY [ts’e1]; SY [tsue2]; XS [ts’i5]; QN [ts’ai6]; ND1 [ts’ai6]; ND2 [ts’ai6]; ND3 [ts’ai6]
OPH *ts’ai6 CNH *ts’oi6/L *ts’ai6
Cf. Wēngyuán: [ts’ai6].
The Wēngyuán form is a probable back formation from a borrowed *ts’ai5.

zūn 尊 QYS tsuən CDC *tsun1/EC *tsun
BMH [tsun]; MX [tsun1]; HL [tsun1]; SX [tsun1]; LF [tsun1]; LZ [tfun1]; SHT [tsun1]
HY [tsun1]; XY [tsun1]; DB [tsən1]; YL [tsun1]; XC [tsən1]
CT [tsən1]; WP [tsən1]; YD [tsun1]; SH [tsən1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsən1]; AY [tsən1]; SY [tsən1]; XS [tsən1]; QN [tsun1]; ND1 [tsun1]; ND2 [tsun1]; ND3 [tsun1]
[OPH *tsun1] CNH *tsun1

zuó 昨 QYS dzâk CDC *dzok8/EC *’dzak
BMH [tshok]; MX [ts’ok8]; HL [ts’ok8]; SX [ts’ok8]; LF [ts’ok7]; LZ [tfok7]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts’a1]; XC [ts’a8]
CT [—]; WP [tsa7 ~ tshia2]; YD [ts’a1]; SH [tsi2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tsha6]
NK [ts’o1]; AY [ts’o6]; SY [ts’o5]; XS [ts’ok8]; QN [—]; ND1 [ts’ok8]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ts’ok8]
[OPH *ts’ok8] CNH *ts’ok8/*ts’ia2
The second reconstructed form is curious and may represent an etymologically different word
from the first. The Yǒngdìng and Liánchéng-2 forms may be related to this *ts’ia2 in some way.
The Lizhizhuāng form is irregular in both initial and tone. It may be a loan from some other
dialect. The Lùfēng form is also tonally irregular.
zuǒ 左 QYS tsâ: CDC *tsɔ3/EC *—
BMH [tsó]; MX [tsɔ3]; HL [tsɔ3]; SX [tsɔ3]; LF [tsɔ3]; LZ [tfɔ3]; SHT [tsɔ3]
HY [tsuɔ3]; XY [tsɔ3]; DB [tsɔ3]; YL [tsau3]; XC [tsɔ3]
CT [tsɔ3]; WP [tsɔ3]; YD [tsuɔ3]; SH [tsu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsɔ3]; AY [tsɔ3]; SY [tsɔ3]; XS [tsɔ3]; QN [tsɔ3]; ND1 [tsɔ3]; ND2 [tsɔ3]; ND3 [tsɔ3]
[OPH *tsɔ3] CNH *tsɔ3

zuò 坐 QYS dzuâ:, dzuâ- CDC *dzɔ4/EC *dzoyx
BMH [tsho ~ tshô]; MX [ts’ɔ5w ~ ts’ɔ1b]; HL [ts’ɔ1]; SX [ts’ɔ1]; LF [ts’ɔ1 ~ ts’ɔ6]; LZ [tʃho1];
SHT [ts’ɔ1]
HY [ts’uɔ5]; XY [ts’ɔ1]; DB [ts’ɔ1]; YL [ts’au1 ~ ts’au3 ~ ts’au5]; XC [ts’ɔ5]
CT [ts’ɔ1 ~ ts’ɔ6]; WP [tsho1]; YD [ts’ou1]; SH [tshu1]; LC1 [ts’u1]; LC2 [ts’u1]
NK [ts’ɔ1]; AY [ts’ɔ3]; SY [ts’ɔ1]; XS [ts’ɔ1]; QN [ts’ɔ1]; ND1 [ts’ɔ1]; ND2 [ts’ɔ1]; ND3
[ts’ɔ1]
OPH *ts’ɔ1 CNH *ts’ɔ1/*ts’ɔ6

zuò 座 QYS dzuâ- CDC *dzɔ6/EC *dzoyh
BMH [tshò]; MX [ts’ɔ5]; HL [ts’ɔ6]; SX [ts’ɔ5]; LF [ts’ɔ6]; LZ [tʃho5]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’uɔ5]; XY [ts’ɔ3]; DB [ts’ɔ3]; YL [ts’au3]; XC [tsɔ5]
CT [ts’ɔ6]; WP [tsho3]; YD [ts’ou5]; SH [tshu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts’ɔ1]; AY [ts’ɔ6]; SY [ts’ɔ1]; XS [ts’ɔ5]; QN [ts’ɔ1]; ND1 [ts’ɔ6]; ND2 [ts’ɔ6]; ND3
[ts’ɔ6]
[OPH *ts’ɔ6] CNH *ts’ɔ6/*ts’ɔ1

zuò 作 QYS tsâk CDC *tsɔk7/EC *tsak
BMH [tsok]; MX [tsɔk7]; HL [tsok7]; SX [tsok7]; LF [tsok7]; LZ [tʃɔk7]; SHT [tsɔk7]
HY [tsɔk7]; XY [tsɔk7]; DB [tsɔk7]; YL [—]; XC [tsɔʔ7]
CT [tsɔ2]; WP [tsaʔ7]; YD [tsaʔ7]; SH [tsaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tsaʔ2 ~ tsaʔ6]
NK [tsa8]; AY [tsa6]; SY [tsa5]; XS [tsa7]; QN [tsaʔ7]; ND1 [tsa7]; ND2 [tsaʔ7]; ND3
[tsaʔ7]
zuò 作  QYS (tsuo-, tsâ-)  CDC *tsuo5/EC *tsakh
BMH [tsô];  MX [—];  HL [tsô5];  SX [tsô5];  LF [tsô5];  LZ [tʃu5];  SHT [tsô5]
HY [tsu5];  XY [tsô5];  DB [tsô5];  YL [tsəu5];  XC [tsôʔ]
CT [tsô5];  WP [tsô5 ~ tsô5];  YD [tsou3];  SH [tsu5];  LC1 [tsu5];  LC2 [tsu5]
NK [tsô5];  AY [tsô5];  SY [tsô1];  XS [tsô5];  QN [tsô5];  ND1 [tsô5];  ND2 [—];  ND3 [tsô5]
OPH *tsô5   CNH *tsô5
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