

Two Variations of Stress in the Wu 吳 and Gan 贛 Dialects

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Abstract In linguistics, stress is a relative emphasis that may be given to certain syllables in a word. In general, stressed syllables express strong intensity. But in Chinese languages, stress is not just defined by one criterion infallibly; the list of criteria could be extended with register, duration, and contour. Chinese is not a typical stress language. In this article, we will discuss two variations of stress in the Wu 吳 and Gan 贛 dialects.

The Gan dialect is spoken chiefly in Jiangxi 江西 province and in the eastern part of Hunan 湖南. One distinguishing characteristic of the Gan dialect is discontinuous tone (不連續調型). For example, the finals -t and -k in Yugan 余干 are followed by a short pause and then are added nasals at the same place of articulation: -n and -ng. The contour of *yinru* 陰入 tone is like low-short—short pause—middle-high and short. The contour of *yangru* 陽入 tone is like low-short—short pause—low-short.

The Wu dialect is spoken chiefly in Jiangsu 江蘇 province. In some southern Wu dialects, there is a special characteristic: nasal-ending diminutive suffix. In the last word of a sentence or phrase, a nasal-ending diminutive suffix is added. This nasal-ending diminutive suffix makes the duration of the last syllable longer and the rhyme a heavy syllable. (The vowel of rhyme changes to be a high or long vowel.) The high or upper tones are the primary tones of nasal-ending diminutive suffix.

If we say that the adding of a nasal-ending in Wu dialect makes the syllable a heavy syllable (longer duration, high or long vowel, high or upper tone) due to the nasal-ending diminutive suffix, we can also say that the Gan dialect is the counter of the Wu dialect. The duration at the end of the last word becomes longer so it will add a nasal-ending at the same place of articulation.

Keywords discontinuous tone, Wu dialect, Gan dialect, nasal-ending diminutive suffix

1. Introduction

The Gan dialect of Jiangxi province is clearly distinctive with its discontinuous tone. If a word is at the end of a sentence or phrase, the length of tone will sound longer. And if this word ends in a stop-ending, it will add a nasal-ending at the same place of articulation. Although discontinuous tone differs from the main phonetic tendency of Chinese dialects, we still can deduce that the phonetic motivation of discontinuous tone is stress. Because when the Gan dialect makes the duration of the last word become longer, it also lets the last word become a heavy syllable. As to other follow-up changes, we all can confirm that they are relative to stress.

Discontinuous tone in the Gan dialect contrasts sharply with nasal-ending diminutive suffix in the Wu dialect. The former (Gan) becomes longer because of the duration of the last word so that it develops into a kind of nasal-ending. The latter (Wu) adds a nasal-ending owing to a kind of morphological process. The nasal-ending of the Wu dialect becomes a heavy syllable containing lots of noteworthy features of stress. In brief, the Gan and the Wu dialects are two variations of stress; in other word, stress develops these two types in Chinese dialects.

In the research, we will talk about other scholars' relative articles first to illustrate some typical traits of stress in Chinese dialects. And then we will discuss different behaviors of stress in the Gan and Wu dialects. Last but not least, we will discuss why a stop-ending can change to be a nasal-ending and what the peculiar character of stop-ending is? Other phenomena about discontinuous tone of the Gan dialect will be also attached.

2. Literature

A. Discontinuous Tone of The Gan Dialect in Jiangxi Province

One special feature of the Gan dialect in Jiangxi province is discontinuous tone and it was proposed for the first time in *An outline of the Gan dialect* (贛方言概要) by Chen (陳昌儀) in 1991. Discontinuous tone of the Gan dialect can be observed in Yugan (余干), Jian wenpo (吉安文陂) and Yugan Pingshang (余干坪上).

a. Ru Tone (入聲) in Yugan

Yugan contains two stop-endings: -t and -k. They are followed by a kind of short pause and then are added nasal consonants at the same place of articulation: -n and -ng. The contour of yin ru is like: low-short, short pause, middle high and short. The contour of yang ru is like: low-short, short pause, low short.

b. Qu Tone (去聲) in Jian Wenpo

Qu tone in Jian Wenpo is divided into two parts by short pause. The former contour is low which is followed by a glottal stop -ʔ and the latter contour is low-upper. For instance, the qu tone sounds like: ʔɿ21—ɿ12.

c. Ru Tone in Yugan Pingshang

Ru tone in Yugan Pingshang has two sorts of stop-endings: -ʔ and -t. They have a kind of short pause. Any words ending with -t will produce a nasal-ending (-n) at the same place of articulation. And after -ʔ, this segment will repeat the vowel before -ʔ, such as 惡(It meat bad) ɲoʔloʔ.

B. Nasal-ending Diminutive Suffix in The Wu Dialect

The Wu dialect is famous for its nasal-ending diminutive suffix. Figure 1 illustrates the development of nasal-ending diminutive suffix in the Wu dialect.

Quasi- diminutive suffix [ɲie / ɲi / ɲi / n / ɲ]

(準小稱儿綴)

↓

Diminutive suffix [ɲie / ɲi / ɲi / n / ɲ]

(小稱儿綴)

↓

Nasal-ending [ɲ / n] (+diminutive tone sandhi)

(鼻尾)

(+小稱調)

↓

Diminutive tone sandhi

(小稱調)



Diminutive tone sandhi with a characteristic glottal stop

(緊喉小稱調)

Figure 1: The development of nasal-ending diminutive suffix in the Wu dialect was created by Cao (曹志耘 2001).

Quasi-diminutive suffix and diminutive suffix in Cao's article don't have a very strict phonetic distinction. The difference is that quasi-diminutive suffix means small, tiny or young and doesn't have other meanings like lovely or hypocoristic. Figure 1 illustrates the development of diminutive suffix in the Wu dialect. Besides, nasal-ending diminutive suffix also can let the vowel before nasal-ending become longer.

磐安、義烏、浦江等地方言的鼻尾型小稱，有些小稱韻的元音讀得比較長，實際上是兒綴向鼻尾過渡過程當中的一種現象。例如磐安：詩儿 ʃi-i:n^{445} | 盤儿 bɿ-ɿ:n^{213} | 魚儿 ny-y:n^{213} (曹志耘：2001, p39)。

In this study, Cao also pointed out the mainstream tone of diminutive tone sandhi in southern Wu dialects was high pitch (Cao: 2001, p42). The Wu dialect has a peculiar developmental pattern of diminutive suffix. The Gan dialect is characterized by its discontinuous tone. Although two Chinese dialects (Wu and Gan) are distant relatives in Chinese dialect's family. Based on those features of stress, we consider that stress is the phonetic motivation behind these two Chinese dialects.

C. The Stress in Chinese Dialects

a. Neutral tone (light tone)

According to Lin and Wang (林燾、王理嘉: 1992), the neutral tone in Mandarin sometimes will let onset with the neutral tone become voiced consonant from voiceless consonant. Some voiceless non-aspirated stops and affricates (p, t, k, tɕ, tʂ, ts) will convert themselves uniformly into the corresponding voiced non-aspirated stops and affricates. (b, d, g, dz, dz) For example:

好 • 吧 $[\text{pa} \rightarrow \text{ba} \cdot]$ 他 • 的 $[\text{tə} \rightarrow \text{də} \cdot]$
兩 • 個 $[\text{kə} \rightarrow \text{gə} \cdot]$
看 • 見 $[\text{tɕiɛn} \rightarrow \text{dzjɛn} \cdot]$ 說 • 著 $[\text{tʂə} \rightarrow \text{dzə} \cdot]$
日 • 子 $[\text{tsɿ} \rightarrow \text{dzɿ} \cdot]$

In Lin and Wang (1992), they don't explain the phonetic reason why voiceless consonants with the neutral tone can change to be the corresponding voiced consonants. A syllable with the neutral tone means the syllable become a weak stress. In order to preserve the intact stress of this word, the stress will transfer itself to the former onset. Voiced consonants also have louder sonority hierarchy than the corresponding voiceless consonants. So stress is easy to be expressed by voiced consonants.

b. The Tonal Rule of English Lexical Borrowing And Transliteration of The Yue (粵) Dialect in Hong Kong (香港)

The Yue (粵) dialect in Hong Kong uses a lot of English lexical borrowings and then transliterates those English words in its own trait. In Zhang (張日昇 1986), he describe that:

英語詞的重音與廣州話借詞的聲調對應最主要的規律是主重音(primary stress)和次重音(second stress)都變成[˥]55 調。舉例如下，例詞後頭先標注英語的讀音，再標注香港廣州話借詞的讀音。

ball	[bɔ:l]	[pɔ˥]	球	lift	[lift]	[lip˥]	電梯
band	[bænd]	[pen˥]	樂隊	mark	[mɑ:k]	[mek˥]	記號
card	[kɑ:d]	[kat˥]	卡片	pair	[peə]	[p'e˥]	一對

In Zhang's description, we found when the Yue dialect in Hong Kong wants to transliterate English words, the high pitch (55) is often considered a typical tonal trait.

c. An Experiment About Stress in Disyllabic Phrases of Mandarin

In Lin, Yan and Sun (林茂燊 顏景助 孫國華), they selected 103 disyllabic phrases to observe their stresses. In this experiment, they found the duration of disyllabic phrases can be used as a diagnostic criterion for stress and the intensity is not a diagnostic device. And the latter word of disyllabic phrases comparing with the former word always is a heavy syllable and also has stress (69~79%). Those 103 disyllabic phrases don't have any contrasting stresses or neutral tones (weak stress) and also include five basic kinds of compound nouns (subject-verb, verb-object, verb-result, structure of predication, coordinate construction).

d. The Front And High Vowel of Rime of Jin Hua (金華) in The Wu Dialect

In Chiang (江敏華), she re-adjusted a series of vowels changing of rime from Cao (曹志耘). The research represents a series of vowels changing system free of other dialects' influences. And Chiang got two rules of vowels changing with diminutive suffix in Jin hua: vowels will become front and high.

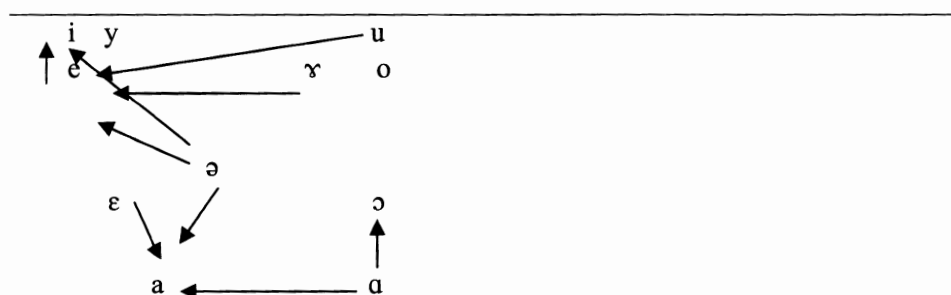


Figure 2: The development of vowels changing of Jin hua (金華) in the Wu dialect is created by Cao.(Chiang, 2006)

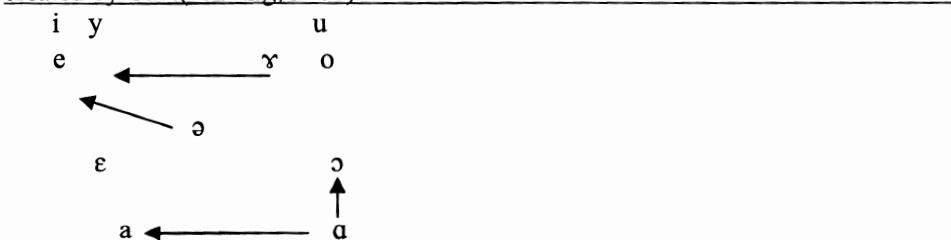


Figure 3: The development of vowels changing of Jin hua (金華) in the Wu dialect is re-adjusted by Chiang (2006)

e. Diminutive Tone Sandhi

In Hsu (許慧娟 2006), she mentioned that the segment of diminutive suffix is a heavy syllable based on the following three criteria:

- (a) The duration of diminutive suffix becomes longer.
- (b) Diminutive suffix shows up at the end of a word or a polysyllable.
- (c) Diminutive suffix prefers high pitch or long tone.

According to those heterogeneous situations above, we can generalize some behaviors of stress from a collection of those instances.

3. Method - Some Noteworthy Features of Stress

A. Onset - Voiced And Nasalized

Noam Chomsky and Morris Halle's SPE (The Sound Pattern of English) already mentioned the connection of stress and [+ nasal] [+ sonorant]. The segment with stress will become voiced and nasalized. The neutral tone is weak stress so this syllable will let the onset take the responsibility of stress. The onset becomes voiced consonant from voiceless consonant because of stress transferring. Voiced consonant has much louder sonority hierarchy.

B. Rime - Long, Front And High Vowel

Strong intensity is not the main form to express stress for Chinese dialects. Chinese dialects usually use longer duration to express a heavy syllable. The duration becomes longer and lets the vowel of rime become a long vowel. A long vowel has two moras and a short vowel only has one mora. So a long vowel is better than a short vowel to represent a heavy syllable. For example, Pan an, Yi wu and Pu jiang (磐安 義烏 浦江) have long vowels because of nasal-ending diminutive suffixes.

Nasal is a kind of sonorant. When the Wu dialect adds a nasal-ending diminutive suffix, it is adding all features of nasal. A nasal consonant is produced with a lowered velum in the mouth, allowing the air to escape freely through the nose.

We use this criterion which makes the air escape from the nose to define "nasal." We also can observe when we pronounce a nasal consonant, the oral opening is becoming small. It's easy to perceive the contrast between the oral opening and high vowel. The oral opening is bigger and the vowel is much lower. So when we pronounce a nasal, it's easy to be accompanied with a lowered velum in the mouth. In conclusion, nasal and high vowel match pretty well. In *The syllabic nasals in Chinese dialects* (漢語方言中的成音節鼻音) by Cheng (鄭曉峰, 2001), he made a aerial view of syllabic nasals of south Chinese dialects. He found that high vowels and syllabic nasals always showed up at the same time and also revealed this high degree of correlation among the various south Chinese dialects. The following four rules are about high vowels and syllabic nasals that Cheng offered in his article.

- (1a) $\eta u > \eta$
- (1b) $\mu u > m$
- (2a) $\eta i > \eta \sim h\eta$
- (2b) $ni > n$ (Cheng, 2001)

Although the sonority hierarchy of front vowel is louder than back vowel at the same degree of sonority hierarchy, front vowel is more suitable to express stress. In the preceding passages, nasal-ending diminutive suffix of the Wu dialect in Jin hua would let the vowel of rime become front vowel attributing to the influence of the proto type of suffixes ($\eta n \eta$).

C. Tone - High Pitch, Upper Contour And Clear - cut Contour

Lots of scholars¹ mentioned that stress and high pitch as well as weak stress and low pitch respectively have high connection between each other. In Hsu (2006), she took Chinese dialects as examples to illustrate the relationship between stress and tone. In her article, AAA reduplication, diminutive tone sandhi, hypocoristic words and names' giving all have heavy syllables and in order to express their stresses, they will use some useful devices by high pitch, simple upper contour or complex tone. The nasal-ending diminutive suffix in the Wu dialect develops to cancel the original nasal-ending and then changes its form to be a diminutive tone. The most typical tone of diminutive tone is the high ping (平) tone (55). Nasal-ending diminutive suffix is characterized by stress. When the nasal-ending diminutive suffix disappears, stress will use other ways to perform itself. For example, the long vowels of Pan an, Yi wu, Pu jiang and high ping tone of southern Wu dialects are all different variations of stress in tones.

4. Results

A. Stress in The Wu And Gan Dialects

To sum up, if we totally understand those behaviors of stress in onset, rime and tone, we will know some local phonetic peculiarities are influenced by stress. The examples which the vowel becomes longer or higher and the tone tends to have high pitch would however seem to be particular to the Wu dialect. In Yugan and Yugan Pingshang, because the duration of syllables becomes longer, the final stop consonant will add a nasal at the same place of articulation. Also, the vowel of rime before stop-ending will repeat itself again or become long vowel. In addition, the tone of the last word will tend to be longer: low-upper or upper tone. The above features are all those performances of stress in the Wu and Gan dialects. This shows that nasal-ending diminutive suffix and discontinuous tone are different traits which are caused by stress in different Chinese dialects. They are two variations of stress.

The author will use the mentioned three features of stress to analyze the Wu and Gan dialects, as shown in the following two figures.

Adding nasal-ending diminutive suffix by semantic (Nasal is a kind of sonorant so it's sonority hierarchy much louder than other consonants. It can let a normal syllable become a heavy syllable.)

↓

Nasal-ending (louder sonority hierarchy) + Diminutive tone sandhi (The mainstream of diminutive tone sandhi in the Wu dialect is high pitch. High pitch is easy to be heard and has louder sonority hierarchy and stress will let the vowel in front of nasal-ending become longer or higher.)

↓

Nasalized vowel + diminutive suffix

↓

diminutive tone sandhi (High tone 55 is a typical tone trait in the Wu dialect.)

Figure 4: The nasal-ending diminutive suffix of the Wu dialect is a kind of trait produced by stress.

¹ It quoted from 許慧娟(2006) high pitch and stress: Goldsmith, John. 1987. Tone, accent and getting them together. *BLS* 13: 88-104. Berkeley: Berkeley Linguistics Society.; Rivera-Castillo, Yolanda. 1998. Tone and stress in Papiamentu: the contribution of a constraint-based analysis to the problem of creole genesis. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole* 13.2: 297-334.; weak stress and low pitch: de Lacy, Paul 2002 The interaction of tone and stress in Optimality Theory. *Phonology* 19.1: 1-32.

At the end of a phrase or sentence, the Gan dialect likes to make the intrinsic duration of the last segment become longer. (The duration becomes longer is a kind of phenomenon of stress.)



The tone becomes low-upper tone or longer tone. (It's also a kind of phenomenon of stress)



The stop-endings in Yugan become nasal-endings at the same place of articulation.

(The sonority hierarchy of nasal is louder than other consonants. The nasal-ending can be extended.)



The vowel of rime in qu tone will become longer.

(The vowel becomes longer is a kind of phenomenon of stress.)

Figure 5: Discontinuous tone is one of those performances produced by stress in the Gan dialect.

B. The Primary Quality of Stop-ending And Other Related Performances About “longer sound” in The Gan Dialect

a. The Primary Quality of Stop-ending

From the passages mentioned above, we contrasted two variations of stress in the Wu and Gan dialects. And one question that naturally arises concerning those performances of stress in the Gan dialect. Why can stop-endings of Yugan add the corresponding nasal-endings? A phonetic distinction between long and short vowels in Yue dialect can give us some inspirations. The split of the upper ru tone into two subtypes because of phonetic vowel length however is the very important trait to the Yue dialect (粵語, Cantonese 廣東話). But we know this phonetic distinction between long [a] and short vowel [ɐ] is not only happening in stop-ending, but also in vowel-ending and nasal-ending. Nevertheless, vowel-ending and nasal-ending don't have tonal distinction because of the long / short vowel and only stop-ending has this distinction. Now, we can assume two words with stop-endings: AB:P and ABP. As we know, if stop-ending doesn't have vowels behind itself, it will only delay the air and then let the air out of the mouth very fast. On the basis of this quality of stop-ending, when we hear one word with stop-ending, it would sound very short. So two words with stop-endings in our instances can be replaced by 0 (zero)-ending. AB:P: ABP is equal to AB:0: AB0 and also equal to AB:: AB. Naturally, when vowel B: (long vowel) with 0(zero)-ending compares with vowel B (short vowel) with 0(zero)-ending, vowel B would sound shorter and prefer high pitch. If the final consonant is not stop-ending but nasal-ending, it's hard to reveal this distinction affected by the length of vowels because the phonetic duration of nasal-ending we can extend. The stop-endings of Yugan and Yugan Pingshang can convert uniformly into the corresponding nasal-endings just because those nasal-endings can be extended while stop-endings can't. And the extended duration is one characteristic of stress. The duration of the last segment becoming longer result in that stop-ending (zero-ending) tends to change to other types with non-zero ending. And the nasal-ending at the same place of articulation is the best choice.

b. Other Relative Performances About “longer sound” in The Gan dialect

The researcher had presented one article. *The brand-new vowel i produced by final consonants of the Gan dialect in Jiangxi* (江西客贛方言裏由韻尾所增生的-i-元音所導致的韻母變化) (2007) In that article, I found that adding one i vowel before final consonants (-p, -t, -ʔ, -n) and enabling the rime to have a rich inventory of diphthongs and triphthongs are easy to be found in the Gan and Kejia (Hakka) dialects in Jiangxi province. For example, the Gan dialect has

this phonetic innovation which also can be seen in Wan zai, Xin yu, Lin chuan, Nan feng, Yi huang, Yong feng and Tai he.(萬載 新餘 臨川 南豐 宜黃 永豐 泰和) The Kejia dialect which has this phonetic change can be discovered in Long nan, Quan nan, Ding nan, Tong gu, Zao xi, Jing gang shan, Ning du and Shi cheng (龍南 全南 定南 銅鼓 澡溪 井岡山 寧都 石城) The phonetic motivation of adding a brand-new i vowel is the final consonants of front place of articulation. The reason why this brand-new i vowel can occur before glottal ending (-ʔ) is because any words ending with -p and -t were already added with added i vowel right before they became -ʔ. But the occurrence of this new vowel (i) before finals -p, -t and -n is restricted to some back and low vowels (u, ɔ and a).

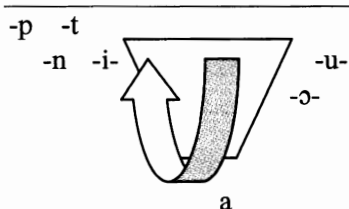


Figure 6 : It shows this interaction between final consonants (-p, -t and -n) with front place of articulation and those back and low vowel (u, ɔ and a).

From figure 6, we can see i vowel is on the way from back and low vowels to front final consonants (-p, -t and -n). This peculiar local innovation still has different conditioned diversity in stop-endings of -p and -t and nasal-ending of -n.

In stop-endings (-p and -t) :

$V(-p, -t) \rightarrow Vi(-p, -t) / u, \text{ɔ}, a$
[+ back] [+ low]

In nasal-ending (-n) :

$V(-n) \rightarrow Vi(-n) / \text{ɔ}$
[+ back]

This local innovation adding a brand-new i vowel before final consonants (-p, -t and -n) also can prove that the last word of a sentence or phrase in the Gan dialect tends to become longer. And because the duration of the last segment becomes longer brings about a series of phonetic changes. (i.e., A brand-new i vowel, discontinuous tone...)

Conclusion

Although the Wu dialect differs from the Gan dialect, we still can observe that they have undergone some similar phonetic changes. Discontinuous tone, nasal-ending diminutive suffix and other relative phenomena are all different variations of stress. Nasal-ending diminutive suffix of the Wu dialect is also a kind of morphological process so it's easy for scholars to observe it. Discontinuous tone of the Gan dialect isn't marked by "morphological process" so that this noteworthy phonetic feature of the Gan dialect is easy to be ignored for other researchers. From this study, we can see stress is the source of those relative phonetic changes (discontinuous tone and nasal-ending diminutive suffix). Stress creates increasingly greater differences in the local varieties of the language. From those dialectal diversities, we can get a clear-cut understanding of stress.

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兩種重音的變體——吳語與贛語為例

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提要 在語言學裡，重音可以用來加強音節裡某些需要強調的字音。我們總是說重音表現了較強的音強，但重音不只可以以音強這個標準來衡量，衡量的標準不妨可以放寬，例如調域、音長、調型都是衡量重音的指標。漢語不是典型的重音語言，但重音也在漢語方言裡起了很大的作用。此篇文章，我們將討論吳語與贛語對重音的不同表現。

贛語主要的分佈地點在江西省及湖南東部，其中贛語有一項迥異於其他漢語的語音特色就是「不連續調型」。舉例來說，江西余干入聲尾有-t尾與-k尾，在-t尾與-k尾之後有一短暫間隔，並增生相同部位的鼻音，如[t—n]、[k—ŋ]，前後兩段都有調值，陰入為低促—半高促，陽入為低促—低促。

吳語主要的分佈地點是江蘇省。在南部的吳語裡，有一個特別發達的語音特徵，那就是鼻尾小稱。在某些字的後面，吳語加上表示小稱意義的鼻音尾，這個鼻音尾會使得音節的時長變長具有重音節。韻母的主要元音也因此變長或變高元音，而高調與升調則是鼻尾小稱演變中最喜歡選用的聲調。

如果我們說，吳語附加了鼻尾小稱使得音節變為重音的音節。重音表現在較長的音長、較長或較高的元音或是升調或高調。那麼我們可以發現贛語實際上是走了和吳語相反的演變道路。因為字尾的時長增長，使得音節變為重音節，也因此附加上相對部位的鼻音尾。

關鍵詞 不連續調型、吳語、贛語、鼻尾小稱