

Two Divergent Southern Min Dialects of the Sanxiang District, Zhongshan, Guangdong

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In this paper a comparison is made of the phonology and lexicon of two villages, Pha-O (平湖 Mandarin Ping-hu) and Tio-Pou (大布 Mandarin Da-bu). The two places are only about one kilometer apart, and both belong to Southern Min, yet they differ considerably in voacalism and somewhat in lexicon. Their tonal systems are virtually identical. The dialect of Pha-O and the other villages shown in the sketch map (Figure 2) are very similar but the dialect of Tio-Pou stands apart. Mutual comprehension is almost perfect. All speakers of the Southern Min varieties likewise speak the Zhongshan Cantonese dialect which is very close to Standard Cantonese. The paper shows that the Min dialects have borrowed extensively from this type of Cantonese, especially in the modern Pan-Chinese technical vocabulary. Borrowing has taken place as well in many ordinary and homely spheres, and the influence of Cantonese syntax is also apparent.

It is an honor to contribute this short study to the volume commemorating Professor Li Fang-kuei, the outstanding scholar in many areas of linguistics. We are saddened by his recent passing but now is the time for remembrance. I shall continue to be stimulated by his work, to remember him as my teacher in 1948 and 1949, and to regard him as a model of scholarship and my respected friend ever since.

The version of this paper presented at the Ohio State Conference was a much shorter one, which for most listeners consisted of a single sheet

* Originally titled 'Sketch of Southern Min Dialects of the Sanxiang (Zhongshan) Area and their Position in Southern Min' and presented at the 19th Annual International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics held October 12th to 14th 1986 at the Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

handout typed on both sides accompanied by a recorded tape of the material — this is here presented as Table 1. For those in the audience who were familiar with the Fukienese dialects of Chinese I prepared an amplified handout containing much of the data now included in Tables 2 to 6.

Figure 1 is a sketch map of the Zhongshan 中山 District. The prefectural city Shekki 石岐 (Mandarin Shiqi) speaks a variety of Cantonese like much of the area. (See bibliography on Marjorie Chan and Ruǎn Héng huī). On this map we also find Longdu and Namlong which I place historically in the Eastern (Mindong 閩東) grouping. (See bibliography for Egerod 1956 and Bodman 1982). The Sanxiang Area 三鄉 (Cantonese Samheung), called Sa-hiu by its natives lies roughly halfway between Shekki and Macao. The name means 'three villages' but it now consists of ten or so communities. (See the sketch map Figure 2 which is a very imprecise freehand drawing of the villages as told me by one of my informants).

The Sanxiang dialects of these villages is for the most part homogeneous with only slight differences in pronunciation except for the community of 大布 Tio-pou, by the other villages called Tua-po (Mandarin Dabu). I have chosen to compare the dialect of Pha-O 平湖 (Mandarin Pinghu) which is typical of the Sanxiang villages and that of Tio-pou. The two communities are about one kilometer apart — a 15 minute walk.

The spelling of Sanxiang words is not entirely consistent here. I have generally adopted a spelling that accords with the local pronunciation. The villages are all represented in a phonemic rendering of the Sanxiang dialect, but I have used pinyin for the larger areas like Zhongshan and Sanxiang itself. The names of my linguistic informants follow their own usage which was mostly Cantonese. I have hyphenated the name Pha-O so as not to confuse it with 'phao'. The other village names follow this pattern. Aspirated initials are written as *ph-*, *th-*, *kh*, *ch-*. *c*, *ch* and *z* are slightly palatalized affricates.

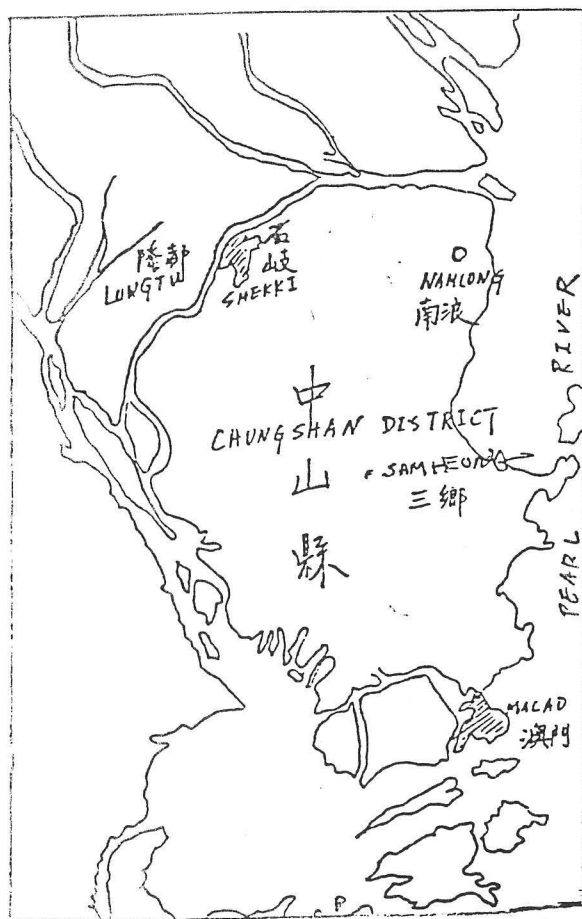


Figure 1

Na-Giu 那洲
 Tio-Pou (Tua-Po) 大布
 Pha-O 平湖
 Sua-Kau 沙崗
 Pha-Na 平嵐
 Ciu-ciu? 烏石
 Kiu-Thu 橋頭
 âu-Mai 雍陌
 塘敢
 鴉崗

Figure 2

Note that the pronunciation of two of these villages is omitted since I have no reliable information; the characters for these two places was furnished in a letter from one of my informants, adding them to an earlier version of the map. The ten places on the map show that Sanxiang, literally 'three villages' has increased in size over time. A few words here on the village names is of interest. Both Pha-O and Pha-Na are rendered by characters meaning 'Flat Lake' and 'Flat Misty Hillside'. Pha-O is now dry but there is a tradition of there having been a lake there earlier. It seems senseless that a lake should be called 'flat'; the same might apply even more to a hillside or elevated area. Furthermore the syllable *pha* is *not* the word in the local dialects for 'flat'. The word 'flat, level' is *pai*². In the word *sa*¹ *kau*¹, literally 'sandy ridge', we should rather expect *sua*¹ for 'sand, sandy'. In *au*¹-*ciu*² 'black stone', one would expect *o*¹ 'black'. The strangest example is *Au-mai*², Cantonese *Yung-mak*. In all these cases, it is the first syllable that is peculiar, unexpected. There is no ready explanation for these anomalies; perhaps a pre-Southern Min stratum has left traces here—it may even be due to a very old non-Chinese influence.¹ Possibly the influence is from Austroasiatic. There is a word for 'mountain', 'hill' or even a small 'anthill' in various Mon-Khmer languages which might be ancestral to the place name Pha-Na. Modern Khmer is *phnum*, Proto Mon-Khmer is **b-n-əm* where *-n-* is probably a nominalizing infix. This element is familiar in the place name *Phnompenh*, the capital of *Kampuchea* (Cambodia). I am very much indebted to Prof. Gérard Diffloth, a colleague at Cornell, for these data.

My work on the Sanxiang dialects began in 1968 with a Pha-O speaker at Cornell, Mr. Wong. Later in Hong Kong I worked with three other speakers, Mr. Kwok, Mr. Yiu and Mr. Chui in the winter of 1968-9. Mr. Wong and Mr. Yiu were from Pha-O. Mr. Kwok from Pha-Na, the market town, and Mr. Chui from Tio-pou, a divergent dialect. In 1972-3 I worked

1 The influence may be from a Tai dialect. See Xu Songshi in References.

with Mr. Cheng in Honolulu. He spoke the Au-ciu² variety of Sanxiang. It was not until after my presentation at Ohio State in 1986 that I became aware of Mr. Zhāng Zhènxīng's study 'Guangdongsheng Zhongshanshi Sanxiang Minyu' which appeared in the journal *Fang Yan* in February, 1987. His article which I find very interesting and competent has influenced me somewhat to change the emphasis of my own presentation. Although he mentions that various Zhongshan varieties of Cantonese and Hakka are also spoken in the area, and cites similarities to Sanxiang Min in the Min dialects of Fuzhou and Xiamen (Amoy) he does not deal with more than one Min dialect spoken in Sanxiang, stating in footnote 1, page 35, that he did his analysis in the village Ciu-ciu³ 鳥石, as in my Figure 2 but unfamiliar to me. ³ He also worked in Pha-Na on the Hakka spoken there. Mr. Zhāng cites the rather divergent Min forms of Fuzhou and Xiamen as well as examples of Namlong where I would assign Fuzhou, Longdu and Namlong to Mindong

2 All these speakers also spoke Zhongshan Cantonese fluently. I wish to thank them all for their assistance. The first inkling that Mr. Chui had that Tio-Pou was a Min dialect came from a colleague who overheard Mr. Chui speaking on the telephone! K. M. Wong was particularly helpful in skimming through the gazetteers and finding evidence of settlement in the eleventh century Song dynasty. He acted as my first Pha-O informant in 1968. Most speakers were aware of their families' long history in the area. There is a problem in that most records indicate a point of origin as Putian which place nowadays is one of two xian speaking the Xinghua dialect. This Min subgroup is transitional between Mindong (Eastern Min including Fuzhou) and Southern Min, and although I am inclined to link Xinghua more closely with Southern Min rather than Mindong it may be barely possible that enough linguistic changes have occurred in 900 years for Putian speech to be regarded as ancestral to Sanxiang dialects. Possibly relevant is the fact that Putian like Sanxiang and Leizhou dialects has lost nasalized vowels. My arguments on subgrouping may be found in the References, Bodman 1982a, 1982b and 1985.

3 My rendering of the place as Ciu-ciu³ is based on its characters meaning 'Bird Stone', but I have not heard it pronounced.

and put Xiamen and Sanxiang in the Southern Min subroup.⁴

Despite the differences between the dialects of Pha-O and Tio-pou, the two subdialects are mutually intelligible. In Table 1 I compare some words and phrases in a broad phonetic transcription, and later discuss various phonemic solutions. I communicated with Mr. Yiu in Mandarin and English (with an occasional word or two in Cantonese), but Mr. Chui spoke only his dialect and Shekki Cantonese. In this rather unnatural speech situation, Mr. Chui occasionally misunderstood what Mr. Yiu had said in the Pha-O dialect. These rare misunderstandings are noted in the table. In ordinary contexts no problems arose, as when Mr. Chui was not immediately following an utterance in Pha-O dialect.⁵ The mutual intelligibility of the two dialects

4 Mr. Ruan Henghui's article of 1983 (References) deals with the Shekki dialect as spoken in the Namlong area—Namlong loanwords from Zhongshan Cantonese are dealt with here. We have corresponded on the point that Namlong was supposedly settled also from Putian. Also in a visit of two days to Namlong and Sanxiang in 1983 I saw *jiāpǔ* for the two places that were almost identical. While Putian is by a stretch of the imagination a possible starting point for Sanxiang, Namlong and Longdu are very definitely derivable from Mindong dialects. Mr. Ruan thought they had diverged from each other in the Ming dynasty in Zhongshan. This is not impossible, perhaps, but I regard it as very unlikely—these two dialects sometimes have different lexical items which accord with other Mindong dialects rather than with each other. It may come as a shock to sinologists that family records and perhaps gazetteers would be incorrect historically. Falsification of such records in other cultures is not unheard of! —I did find out while in Sanxiang that the story I presented at the end of the article was not in typical Namlong but overloaded with Shekki vocabulary. No doubt my informant remembered a Cantonese version of this story from his early childhood schooling.

5 There can be no doubt that both PO and TP are closely related, but it is TP that diverges notably from the other Sanxiang dialects. Mr. Zhāng Zhènxīng has also written on the Leizhou dialects in Fangyan 1986.3. On pages 214 and 218 we find examples of the Diancheng dialect that in one feature greatly resembles TP. For instance 'tea' and similar words which have -ia in TP have them also in Diancheng.

is largely due to frequency of communication, since of course when speaking to each other, each used his native dialect. It also happens that the tonal systems are virtually identical—other Sanxiang dialects may have minor phonetic tonal differences. Another reason for easy comprehension is the fact that all Sanxiang varieties have borrowed extensively from Zhongshan Cantonese which they can all speak fluently. These Cantonese loanwords are numerous and occur largely, but by no means exclusively, in modern Pan-Chinese technical vocabulary. The phonology of the Cantonese element has also strongly influenced the Min-derived core of the language. Examples of this will be given later. A question yet to be resolved is whether the two dialects were once more similar, diverging through time, or perhaps they were earlier more diverse and their present resemblances are instead due to convergence. The linguistic differences one finds correlate largely with educational and social level with obviously the better educated having a larger proportion of Cantonese-influenced lexicon and phonology.

There is a common tradition that the speakers can trace their families back to the Song dynasty, and this is supported by local family histories and provincial gazetteers⁶. A time depth of 900 or so years is ample to account for the linguistic peculiarities of the Sanxiang dialects. Sanxiang differs from most of Southern Min in not having a contrast of oral and nasalized vowels—the original nasalized vowels having merged with the oral vowels. This is also true of some kinds of Bangkok Chaozhou, but this is recent and due to Thai influence. This is also true of Min dialects of the Leizhou peninsula (of which Mr. Zhāng Zhènxīng has also written, Fang Yan 1986.3, and true also of the more distantly related Min dialects of Hainan.) Leizhou and Sanxiang share a possible archaism in three common words with coda -p, Sanxiang hip ‘meat’ 肉, tip ‘bamboo’ 竹 and cip ‘father’s younger brother’ 叔. Min normally has word final -k here: one is inclined

6 See also Zhang, Fangyan 1987.1 bottom of p. 35 before his Note 1 on family traditions.

to reconstruct *-kw (or *-wk). Another example of such a conservative relic areas is 'year' 年: Sanxiang, Leizhou and Hainan all have ni² and Chaozhou has ni² besides the doublet hiN². However, in most features, Sanxiang and Leizhou are not especially alike.

	Pha-O	Sanxiang (Samheung)	Tio-pou	
1. eat rice		食飯 <i>cia² ɿ̌ pui</i> ɿ̌	<i>ciɛ² ɿ̌ pui</i> ɿ̌	(TP lax -uɿ)
2. walk road		行路 <i>kia</i> ɿ̌ ɿ̌	<i>kiɛ</i> ɿ̌ ɿ̌	
3. ride horse		騎馬 <i>khia</i> ɿ̌ ɿ̌ <i>mai</i> ɿ̌	<i>khie</i> ɿ̌ ɿ̌ <i>mia</i> ɿ̌	(TP -ia alternates with -ea)
4. family		家 <i>kai</i> ɿ̌	<i>kɛi</i> ɿ̌	(TP wrongly says 'chicken', Cant. <i>kai</i> ¹)
5. monkey		馬 <i>mai</i> ɿ̌ ɿ̌ <i>lau</i> ɿ̌	<i>mia</i> ɿ̌ ɿ̌ <i>lau</i> ɿ̌	(Cant. <i>ma</i> ³ <i>lau</i> *)
6. cat		貓 <i>mai</i> ɿ̌ <i>ci</i> ɿ̌	<i>mia</i> ɿ̌ <i>ci</i> ɿ̌	(Influenced by above?)
7. speak words		講話 <i>kau</i> ɿ̌ ɿ̌ <i>hai</i> ɿ̌	<i>kɔ</i> ɿ̌ ɿ̌ <i>hia</i> ɿ̌	(Doubtful connection with 話; one would expect SM <i>ua</i> . TP ɿ̌. Tone 6.)
8. student		學生 <i>au</i> ² ɿ̌ ɿ̌ <i>sai</i> ɿ̌	<i>ɔ</i> ² ɿ̌ ɿ̌ <i>sia</i> ɿ̌	
9. tooth		牙齒 <i>ɳai</i> ɿ̌ ɿ̌ <i>chi</i> ɿ̌	<i>ɳia</i> ɿ̌	(Cant. <i>ɳa</i> ²)
10. very good		好好 <i>hau</i> ɿ̌ ɿ̌ <i>hau</i> ɿ̌	<i>hɔ</i> ɿ̌ ɿ̌ <i>hɔ</i> ɿ̌	
11. drink soup		飲湯 <i>ɳim</i> ɿ̌ ɿ̌ <i>thau</i> ɿ̌	<i>ɳim</i> ɿ̌ ɿ̌ <i>thɔ</i> ɿ̌	(TP initial in 'drink' is fronted)
12. eat sugar		食糖 <i>cia</i> ² ɿ̌ ɿ̌ <i>thau</i> ɿ̌	<i>ciɛ</i> ² ɿ̌ ɿ̌ <i>thɔ</i> ɿ̌	
13. talk		講嘢 <i>kau</i> ɿ̌ ɿ̌ <i>nia</i> ɿ̌	<i>kɔ</i> ɿ̌ ɿ̌ <i>niɛ</i> ɿ̌	(cf Cant. <i>ye</i> ⁴ 'thing' in <i>kong</i> ³ <i>ye</i> ⁴)
14. 2 chàng		兩丈 <i>nau</i> ɿ̌ ɿ̌ <i>tau</i> ɿ̌	<i>nɔ</i> ɿ̌ ɿ̌ <i>tɔ</i> ɿ̌	(1 zhàng = 3.3 metres)
15. sheep		羊 <i>iu</i> ɿ̌	<i>iu</i> ɿ̌	(TP lax-ɿ̌ but mistakes for 'oil' should be <i>io</i> ɿ̌)
16. oil		油 <i>iu</i> ɿ̌	<i>iu</i> ɿ̌	

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|--|------------|--|---|---|
| 17. the same | 一樣 | tit ˩ iu ˩ | tit ˩ io ˩ | (SMin has it ˩ in 'eleven', etc. 'one' is mostly cit ⁸) |
| 18. chicken | 雞 | kɛ ˩ | kei ˩ | (ace note on 'family' above) |
| 19. wash clothes | 洗衫 | se ˩ sa ˩ | sei ˩ sa ˩ | |
| 20. look at things | 睇嘢 | the ˩ nia ˩ | thei ˩ nia ˩ | (Cant. thai ³ 'look'; Chaozhou thoiN ³) |
| 21. brothers | 兄弟 | hia ˩ ti ˩ | hio ˩ ti ˩ | (TP not <u>hiɔ</u> ˩ as expected) |
| 22. very pretty | 好靚 | hau ˩ nia ˩ | hɔ ˩ niə ˩ | (cf Cant. leng ⁵ 'pretty, attractive') |
| 23. 8 people | 八個儂 | pai ² ˩ kə naŋ ˩ | piɔ ² ˩ kə naŋ ˩ | (stressed kai ² , classifier) |
| 24. white paper | 白紙 | pai ² ˩ ɕua ˩ | pia ² ˩ ɕio ˩ | (Affricates <u>c</u> & <u>ch</u> as in Cant.) |
| 25. 800 | 八百 | pai ² ˩ pai ² ˩ | pia ² ˩ pia ² ˩ | |
| 26. white | 白 | pai ² ˩ | tit ˩ pia ² ˩ | (TP misheard for '100') |
| 27. Let's climb the mountain. | 我儂爬山 | SX: nəŋ ˩ nəŋ ˩ pai ² ˩ sua ˩ . (-ua and -oa alternate) | TP: nəŋ ˩ nəŋ ˩ lan ˩ sio ˩ . (Cant. 𨋖 <u>lan</u> ¹ 'climb') | |
| 28. Look! There's a snake on the road. | 你睇! 路上有一條蛇 | SX: ni ˩ the ˩ /tit ˩ lɔ ˩ u ˩ ; ˩ ɕua ˩ tu ˩ ai . | TP: ni ˩ thei ˩ /tit ˩ lou ˩ u ˩ tio ˩ ciɔ ˩ tu . . . | (fades) |
| 29. The yellow color is nice, but the red is better. | 黃色好好, 紅色更好 | SX: ui ˩ sek ˩ hau ˩ hau ˩ /aŋ ˩ sek ˩ kan ˩ hau ˩ | TP: ui ˩ sek ˩ hɔ ˩ hɔ ˩ /aŋ ˩ sek ˩ a ˩ hɔ ˩ . | |
| 30. Where did you go yesterday? | 昨昏你去哪裏? | SX: ca ˩ mui ˩ ni ˩ khu ˩ tai ˩ a? (<u>hui</u> ˩ not <u>mui</u> ˩ expected) | TP: ni ˩ ca ˩ hui ˩ khu ˩ tai ˩ a? | |
| 31. Have a cup of tea. | 飲杯茶 | SX: ŋim ˩ poi ˩ tai ˩ . | TP: ŋim ˩ pui ˩ tia ˩ . | |

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| 32. My son is ten years old.
我的兒子十歲 | SX: wa ¹ ə kia ¹ ciəp ¹ hoi ¹
TP: wa ¹ ə ki ¹ ciəp ¹ hui ¹ |
| 33. A bowl of rice.
一碗飯 | SX: tit ¹ ə oə ¹ pui ¹ . (wa ¹ 'I' and oə ¹ (or uə ¹) 'bowl' contrast)
TP: tit ¹ ə pui ¹ . (SH -oə/uə TP after zero, velars & labials; otherwise TP has -io) |
| 34. Let's sing a song.
我儂唱歌 | SX: nəŋ ¹ nəŋ ¹ chiu ¹ kua ¹ lə ¹ .
TP: nəŋ ¹ nəŋ ¹ chio ¹ koə ¹ la ¹ . |
| 35. It's very hot in hot weather.
天時熱好熱 | SX: thi ¹ si ¹ žua ² hau ¹ žua ² .
TP: thi ¹ si ¹ žiə ² ho ¹ žiə ² la. |
| 36. There's a tiger in the forest.
樹林有一個老虎 | SX: chiu ¹ nə ¹ phai ¹ u ¹ e lau ¹ hə ¹ .
TP: chiu ¹ nə ¹ phia ¹ u ¹ e lau ¹ hou ¹ a. |
| 37. There are no leaves on the tree.
樹上沒有葉子 | SX: phau ¹ chiu ¹ mau ¹ tha ¹ chiu ¹ hip ¹ .
(Cf. Cant. yip ⁸ 'leaf')
TP: phə ¹ chiu ¹ mə ¹ thia ¹ chiu ¹ hio ² .
(Usual SMin for 'leaf'.) |

Table 1

Some of the examples in Table 1 already have brief comments. Occasionally Mr. Chui misheard Mr. Yiu as in Ex. 4, 15, 26; also as in Ex. 15 and 16 the TP (Tio-pou) cognate has a more lax coda, but only a slight unimportant phonetic difference is involved. For Ex. 17, however, there is a vowel contrast, Sanxiang (SX) -iu but TP -io. Starting with Ex. 27, the utterances are complete sentences, the context is clear, and we have no lack of full understanding.

For the most part the SX and TP forms are direct cognates whether the forms are originally Min or Cantonese borrowings. The latter are seen to be not unimportant. Ex. 27 has different words for 'climb' and Ex. 37 has different forms for 'leaf'. Ex. 10 'very good' uses a typical Cantonese form where 'very' and 'good' are homophones.

Both Pha-O (PO) and TP have features that differ from the better known Southern Min types like Xiamen (Amoy) and Chaozhou, and, as we have seen, PO and TP differ considerably from each other in vocalism. Final *-e* in Xiamen and many other Southern Min dialects as in the word *te*² 茶 'tea' has its PO cognate as *tai*² where *a* is a low front vowel, quite tense; the TP counterpart is *tea*² which can be phonemecized as /*tea*²/. The same final occurs in 'sit' 坐 PO *cai*⁴, TP *cea*⁴, Chaozhou is excluded as an ancestor since there 'sit' is *co*⁴. The final that in Southern Min is usually *-ua* has this shape in PO, although phonetically it is sometimes *-oa*, whereas TP has the low back vowel *-ɔ* after velar and labial initials and elsewhere *-iɔ* as in 'hill'. PO/sua¹/and TP /sio¹/. PO *-ua* varies with *-oa* as in *oa*³ 碗 'bowl' contrasting with *wa*³ 'I' 我.

Orthographic and phonemic solutions have been attempted in the remaining examples of this study. For both dialects, *ɛ*, *ɔ* and *ŋ* are easily rewritten as *e*, *o* and *ng*. I have kept final glottal stop as *ʔ*, but *q* would serve as well. *-ai* as in 'tea' above is hereafter written /*əi*/ and PO *o* written as /*əu*/. The tense *a* also contrasts with lax *a*; rewritten here as /*ə*/ and /*a*/; this is similar to analyzing a contrast in Cantonese in this way rather than as short *a* and long *a*: (or *aa*). Thus we write tense and lax contrasts in PO as /*kəi*³ 假 'false' and /*kai*³/ 改 'to correct', and /*thəu*²/ 糖 'sugar' and /*thau*²/ 頭 'head'; this procedure shows that our finals PO /*-au*/ and /*-ai*/ are written and analyzed like the common Southern Min finals in such words.

The tone contrasts in both PO and TP are mid level, high level, high rising, low falling and low level. There is no contrast between the historical categories *yin ping* and *yang shang*: both are mid level; there is also no contrast between *yin ru* and *yang ru* in words of Min origin, there is one *ru* tone, most commonly it has a mid level value. However, *ru sheng* words borrowed from Cantonese may show a contrast of higher and lower level. The isolation tones are listed below according to historical categories and are

then compared with isolation tones of Chaoyang.

PO & TP	ping	shang	qu	ru	Chaoyang	ping	shang	qu	ru
yin	┐ ¹	┐ ³	┐ ⁵	┐ ⁷		┐ ⁻¹	┐ ³	┐ ⁵	┐ ⁷
yang	┐ ²	┐ ⁴	┐ ⁶	┐ ⁸		┐ ²	┐ ⁴	┐ ⁶	┐ ⁸

Table 2

The Chaoyang values are taken from Zhang Shengyu 1981, p. 39. Tone 5 (yin qu) is ˥ in Mr. Zhāng Zhènxīng's description of Sanxiang.

There are some minor phonetic differences in isolation tone according to locality. Instead of mid-level Mr. Wong often had a low rising tone; Instead of high level, Mr. Cheng often had a high, slightly falling tone.

Tone sandhi is simpler than in most kinds of Southern Min: in combination, tone 2 becomes low level and tone 5 mid-level. Historical tones 1 and 4 are identical and do not change in sandhi conditions. One result is that a phonetic mid-level tone is extremely common. The changed tone of *yang shang* is also mid-level. Mr. Cheng's changed tone 2 is a falling tone from high to mid-level. Tone 3 words if stressed, as in verb-object constructions, do not usually change, but if unstressed may have a high to mid falling tone.

Table 3 below shows ru sheng words; if they are loans from Cantonese, there may be contrast. Native Min forms show no contrast between historical tones 7 and 8.

rusheng tones: marked (Cant.)			unmarked (SX)
stocking	襪	mat┐	
bowl	碗	put┐	Buddha 佛 put
squirt	□	pit┐	pen 筆 pit
father's younger brother	阿叔	a┐ suk┐	(same as left column)
be spoiled	□	suk┐	cip
to belch	拍呃	phaʔak┐	to water 沃渥 ak
tickle	□	cit┐	day 日 zit
father's elder brother	阿伯	a┐ pak┐	north 北 pak

Table 3

Sanxiang initials

Pha-O					Tio-Pou				
k	汗	kua ⁵	ko ⁵	sweat	t	茶	tɔi ²	tea ²	tea
kh	胶	kha ¹	kha ¹	leg	th	糖	thəu ²	tho ²	sugar
ng	牛	ngu ²	ngu ²	ox	n	灑	nua ⁵	niɔ ⁵	saliva
h	年	hi ²	hi ²	year	l	六	lak	lak	six
ø	烏	o ¹	ou ¹	black	c	鳥	ciu ³	ciu ³	bird
p	飯	pui ⁶	pui ⁶	rice	ch	手	chiu ³	chiu ³	hand
ph	拍	pha ²	pha ²	strike	s	梳	se ¹	sei ¹	comb
m	無	məu ²	mo ²	not have	z	入	zip	zip	enter

Table 4

Table 4 shows that the initials in both dialects are the same. These initials also differ phonetically in that *b-*, *d-* and *g-* of most kinds of Southern Min do not occur⁷. In Sanxiang instead the nasals *m-*, *n-* and *ng-* are unchanged from an earlier stage of the language. The differences in vocalism between Pha-O and Tio-pou are obvious however, as already pointed out in connection with the examples in Table 2.

The following Table 5 shows vowel correspondences in Pha-O and Tio-pou. The examples are listed in three columns according to vowel, nasal and stop finals.

vowel finals			nasal finals			(undifferentiated rusheng)		
ox	牛	ngu ²	drink	飲	ngim ¹	six	六	lak
have	有	u ⁴	heart	心	sim ¹	enter	入	zip
be at	在	tu ⁴	wind	風	hong ¹	one	一	tit
go	去	khu ⁵	cloud	雲	hun ²	bamboo	竹	tip
house	厝	chu ⁵	believe	信	sin ⁵	seven	七	chit
pig	豬	tu ¹	field	田	chan ²	beg	乞	khit

7 In the Sanxiang dialect Mr. Zhang has described he includes an initial *b-*. This does not occur in my data.

head	頭	thau ²	person	人儂	nang ²	day	日	zit
rice	飯	pui ⁶	so much	□□	hng ³ cu ³	drop	落	lok
fish	魚	hu ²	cold	凍	tang ⁶	wing	翼	sit
year	年	hi ²	husband	翁	ang ¹	thief	賊	chat
you	你	ni ³	so much	□□	hng ³ cu ³	strike	拍	pha [?]
be, exist	是	si ⁴	middle	中	tng ¹	eye	目	mak
he, she	伊	i ¹	net	網	mong ³	duck	鴨	a [?] /nga [?]

Table 5

The next group of correspondences show vowel differences between Pha-O and Tio-Pou. It will be noticed that the initials correspond as well except that in Tio-Pou the word 'flower' has the initial *f*- which has not been specified for the Sanxiang dialects as yet. This is an instance of influence from Cantonese. In fact, whenever *f*- occurs in either dialect, we regard it as a borrowing from Cantonese. In the fourth column from the left below some TP forms with *-ia* and *ia*[?] are followed by a superscript *x* which indicates that the forms may be analyzed phonemically as *-ia* but are phonetically rather different: [i^ε] where *i* is slightly stressed and *ε* is an offglide.

In the right-hand columns there may be contrast between colloquial and literary forms as in *sun* grandchild which is literary for PO but the only form elicited for TP. The word for 'leaf' is colloquial *hiu*[?] and *hio*[?] and the form *hip* influenced by the *h*- but in its final derived from Cantonese *yip*⁹.

Correspondences where dialects differ:

		PO etc.	TP
blood	血	hoi [?]	hui [?]
fowl	雞	ke ¹	kei ¹
spicy	辣	lua [?]	lio [?]

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blind	盲	məi ²	mea ²
goose	鵞	ngəu ²	ngo ²
tile	瓦	hia ⁴	hia ^{4x}
flower	花	hua ¹	fo ¹
shoe	鞋	e ²	(i)ei ^{2x}
comb	梳	se ¹	sei ¹
sheep	羊	iu ²	io ²
soup	湯	tho ¹	tho ¹
hall	堂	thəu ²	tho ²
eggplant	茄	kiu ²	kio ²
fire	火	hoi ³	hui ³
son	囡	kia ³	kia ^{3x}
eat	食	cia [?]	cia ^{?x}

Differences of colloquial, literary or lexical

grandchild	孫	sui ¹ /sun ¹	sun ¹
nail	釘	tan ¹	teng ¹
soldier	兵	pai ¹ /piang ¹	peng ¹
wait	等	tan ³	tang ³
fruit	果	koi ³	ko ³ (Lit.)
better	更好	kang ³ həu ³	a ho ³
street	路囡	lu ⁶ kia ³	kei 街
leaf	箬	hiu [?] /hip	hio [?] /hip
centipede	□□	chung ² pi ²	□□kəm ² mei ²
narrow	狹	khiap (Lit. ?)	(i)ei [?] (Possible doublets?)

Apparent synonyms, both dialects:

meat	肉	hip and	□ngau ²
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Table 6

It has already been pointed out that all the Sanxiang dialects (including

TP) lack the contrast of nasalized and oral vowels that is characteristic of other Southern Min dialects. This holds true also for the Leizhou Min dialects and the more distantly related Min dialects of Hainan. It seems reasonable to assume that Hainan was settled from the Leizhou area. These areas are all geographically peripheral to the main body of Southern Min Fujian and adjacent Guangdong.

Homophones, Pha²o²dialect, where one member of pair corresponds to original nasalized vowel:

<u>Oral</u>			<u>*Nasalized</u>	
sand	沙	sua ¹	hill	山 sua ¹
you	你	ni ³	dye	染 ni ³
mother's sister	姨	i ²	round	圓 i ²
oil	油	iu ²	sheep	羊 iu ²
long life	壽	siu ⁴	think	想 siu ⁴
laugh	笑	chiu ⁵	sing	唱 chiu ⁵
how many; ghost	幾	kui ³	to roll	捲 kui ³
elder brother	哥	kəu ¹	ridge	崗 kəu ¹
trousers	袂	khau ⁵	to hide	園 khəu ⁵
stir, turn	攪	ka ³	dare	敢 ka ³
sack	袋	təi ⁶	surname Cheng	鄭 təi ⁶
West	西	sai ¹	first	先 sai ¹
ordinal	第	tai ⁶	hard	□ tai ⁶
ant	蟻	hia ⁴	moxa	艾 hia ⁴
mail, post	寄	kia ⁵	mirror	鏡 kia ⁵
melon	瓜	kua ¹	shut	關 kua ¹
song	歌	kua ¹	official	官 kua ¹
hang	掛	khua ⁵	broad	廣 khua ⁵
wear hat	戴	ti ⁵	full	填 ti ⁵
drunk	醉	cui ⁵	drill hole	鑽 cui ⁵

Table 7

A similar table could of course be drawn up with examples from TP. However, from now on, all examples come from the Pha-O dialect where most of my work was done.

The following table lists examples of borrowings from Zhongshan Cantonese in the Pha-O dialect. Those listed in the right-hand columns include blends where the items are partly native and partly borrowed. The Zhongshan lexical items occur only there.

General borrowings from Zhongshan Cantonese:

Chungshan hsian	中山縣	cung ¹ san ¹ in ⁶
market	街市	ke ¹ si ³
sieve	篩	si ¹
because	因爲	iən ¹ uai ⁵
this time	□陣時	həi ³ cen ⁶ si ²
step over (doorsill)	檻	lam ³
crooked, slanting	□	mia ³
to salt, pickle	腌	iap
I'm going <i>too</i>	我都去	wa ³ təu ¹ khu ⁵
fight with, quarrel	拍交	pha [?] khai ¹
chicken liver	雞腎	ke ¹ sən ³
or	或者	uak ⁸ cia ³
farmer	農民	nung ² mən ²
once	一遍	tit phin ⁵
pretty, nice	靚	nia ⁶
lotus root	藕	lin ² ngau ³

Blends:

in addition	另外	ləng ⁶ ngua ⁶
daughter-in-law	新抱	sam ¹ pu ⁴
go hunting	拍獵	pha [?] lip
Honolulu	檀香山	than ² hiong ¹ sua ¹

Samheung	三鄉	sa ¹ hiong ¹
fish pond	魚池	hu ² chi ²
alligator	鱷魚	ngok ⁸ hu ²
good morning!	早晨	ca ³ sin ⁶ (sin ⁶ for Cant. tone)

Chungshan lexical items:

tired (Chungshan naai 22)	□	nai ⁶ (PTai *hnaai B1 tone)
take off clothes	(剝)	məu [?] sa ¹
Chungsaan mok ⁸ 'peel'		
straight, direct	拈	tiam ⁴ ; Chungshan ti:m ⁴
father	老爺(?)	lau ⁴ kia ⁶

Table 8

Note that at the end of the above list, we have Zhongshan Cantonese forms that are said to be unique, not being common throughout the Cantonese speech area. One is, I believe, a borrowing from a Tai dialect, the word 'tired' which Prof. Li Fangkuei reconstructs as *hnaai, Tone B1.

A feature that occurs in native Min words may show influence from Cantonese. It is a vowel change, or 'shortening'. A similar process is also evident in the Namlong dialect spoken nearby; Namlong, however, is analyzed as being a Mindong dialect, not Southern Min and in other features not at all like Sanxiang⁸. Note that the ə value occurs with weaker stressed first syllables. In compound words a somewhat weaker stress occurs initially, and a louder stress at phrase-end or before pause.

8 See Bodman 1982 on Namlong, pps 12 and 13. I should mention another feature (Bodman 1982 p. 11) where I compare TP and SX where 'big' 大 is tua⁶ in the conservative dialect, but is tia⁶ in an innovating dialect. The latter somewhat resembles TP tio⁶. Perhaps it is such resemblances that have led some to believe in a closer connection of Namlong and Southern Min including Sanxiang.

'Shortening' or ə/a alternation

red	紅	ang ²	sweet potato	紅薯	əng ² cu ²
go through	通	thang ¹	everywhere	通地	thəng ¹ tai ⁶
person	儂	nang ²	guest	儂客	nəng ² khəi [?]
thief	賊	chat	id.	賊佬	chət ləu ³
copper	銅	tang ¹	a cash (copper coin)	銅子	təng ¹ ci ³
east	東	tang ¹	east and west	東西	təng ¹ sai ¹

Table 8 continued

We resume with doublets contrasting the colloquial with more learned borrowings from Cantonese:

<u>'colloquial' Southern Min</u>			<u>'literary'</u>		
soldier	兵	pai ¹	id.		peng ¹
black	烏	o ¹	blackbird	烏鴉	u ¹ a ¹
round persimmon	□□柿	hap-lua ² khi ⁴	persimmon	□□柿	təng ¹ chi ³
rat	鼠	lau ⁴ chu ³	squirrel	松鼠	chung ² si ³
pillow	枕頭	cim ³ thau ²	back of neck	後枕	au ⁶ cəm ³
100	百	pəi ² -	'100 surnames'	百姓	pak-səng ⁵
ladder	梯	thui ¹	elevator	電梯	tin ⁶ thoi ¹
meat filling	餡	a [?]	id. (irregular)		ham ⁶

Table 8 continued

There are also examples of Cantonese morphology and syntax. Among verb affixes is *kin*⁵, Cantonese *kân* (with 'short *a* pronounced ə'); the TP equivalent is *ng*³, probably unrelated. The Cantonese resultative verb suffix is borrowed as *təu*³. The *-ləu*³ suffix for agent nouns derived from verbs is common.

Typical Cantonese verb suffixes:

Where is it hidden?	園緊在地	khəu ⁵ kin ⁵ tu ⁴ tai ⁶
I can't find it.	我搵唔到	wa ³ wən ³ m ⁴ təu ³
Not yet come near.	埋得唔□啦	-ua ² tit m ⁴ cin ² la

Nouns with ləu³ suffix:

spendthrift	闊佬	khuat-ləu ³
cobbler	補鞋佬	po ³ e ² ləu ³
thief	賊佬	chət-ləu ³

Table 8 continued

Cantonese *ü* (high front rounded) is rendered as *i* in Sanxiang:

SH *i* replaces Cant. *ü*

snow	雪	sit, ice cream	雪糕	sit	kəu ¹
verb suffix -in ² :	finished studying	讀完	thak-in ²		
fist	拳頭	khin ²	thau ²		
hotel	旅館	li ³	kun ³		
decide	決定	khit	təng ⁶		

Table 8 continued

It was mentioned earlier that *f-* was introduced from Cantonese:

Presence of *f* in Cant. borrowings:

Every town	各埠	kok	fau ⁵
Chinatown	唐儂埠	thong ²	nəng ² fau ⁵
Anhui Province	安徽省	on ¹	fai ⁵ sang ³
a place	地方	ti ⁶	fong ¹
airplane	飛機	fi ¹	ki ¹
coffee	咖啡	ka ¹	fe ¹

Table 8 continued

It is a general rule that the tones of words borrowed from Cantonese are converted to the corresponding historical tone categories of Min. Illustrations of this abound in the lists. There are, however, exceptions as in the list that follows where the tones of the loanwords are not historically cognate, but are as close an approximation in the borrowing dialect to the actual pitch and contour values of Zhongshan Cantonese.

Zhongshan tones

and	及之 (?)	kap ⁷ ci ¹
tree branch	樹枝	chiu ⁶ ci ¹
(contrast): save money	貯錢	chiu ¹ ci ²
afterwards	之後	ci ¹ au ⁶
and then. . .	然之後	in ² ci ¹ au ⁶
sleep	眠覺	mi ¹ kau ⁵
miserly	孤寒	ku ¹ hon ²
company	公司	kung ¹ si ¹
zoo	動物園	tong ⁶ wət ⁸ in ²
be retired	退休	thui ⁵ iau ¹
academy	書院	si ¹ in ⁶
spanish onion	洋葱	iong ² chung ¹

Table 8 completed

I now end this short tribute to to our great teacher and his scholarly accomplishments.

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摘 要

本文比較平湖和大布這兩個村子的音韻和詞彙。這兩個地方相距一千米左右，都屬於閩南語，但元音頗不相同，詞彙也略有差別。聲調系統幾乎完全一樣。平湖方言和簡圖（第二圖）裏的其他村子相似，大布方言卻自成一系。用這兩種方言來互相交談毫無困難。說各種閩南方言都會說和標準粵語極相近的中山粵語。本文說明閩語大量從中山粵語借入，尤其是現代漢語一般通用的詞彙，還有日常生活所用的語詞。粵語語法的影響也相當明顯。