

THE NAMLONG DIALECT, A NORTHEASTERN MIN
OUTLIER IN ZHONGSHAN XIAN AND THE
INFLUENCE OF CANTONESE ON ITS
LEXICON AND PHONOLOGY*

NICHOLAS C. BODMAN

In the summer of 1948 I took Professor Li's course in Cantonese Phonology. It was as much a pleasure then being his student as it is now to submit this paper to the volume honoring his eightieth birthday.

Among the Min dialects spoken in Zhongshan Xian 中山縣, Guangdong Province, are Lungtu 隆都 (pinyin Longdu, hereafter LD), which has been so well and thoroughly described in Egerod 1956, and Namlong, variously written as 南朗, 南壘, and most recently 南蒞, (pinyin Nanlang, hereafter NL).⁽¹⁾ As far as I am aware, this is the first presentation of NL, although I am informed that Egerod has also worked on this dialect.⁽²⁾ The map shows that LT and NL are geographically separated and it is likely that the two areas were settled separately; still LD and NL are rather closely related, both belonging historically to the Northeastern Min subgroup of which the dialect of Fuzhou, the provincial capital, is the prestige

* An earlier draft of this paper entitled "A Sketch of Two Min Dialects of Zhongshan Xian and the Influence of Cantonese on their Lexicon and Phonology" was presented at the XIVth International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, October 30-November 1, 1981.

- (1) I first worked on the Namlong dialect when I discovered a speaker of it in my Mandarin class at Cornell; in the spring of 1972 this student, Mr. Leung, acted as linguistic informant in a seminar on Min dialects. A graduate student, Yu-hwei E. Lü, wrote a term paper on Namlong phonology which I have made use of in addition to my own notes, since she had some individual sessions with Mr. Leung. During the winter of 1972-3, while a Visiting Professor at the University of Hawaii, Honolulu, I worked with a number of other Namlong speakers living in Honolulu, Mr. D. Chong, Mr. F. Ching and his aunt, Mrs. Wong. These latter belonged to 程 Ching surname villages, whereas Mr. Leung came from Chungkhau 涌口. In the meantime, I received an interesting tape recording of another Chungkhau speaker from Mr. Miao Chin-an, a linguistics student then in Hong Kong. In 1974 I had the opportunity to work once more with Mr. Leung on this recording. I am most grateful to all these people for their help and interest. I also wish to thank Marjorie Kit Man Chan for letting me see her M.A. Thesis, *Zhong-Shan Phonology* and for providing me with the detailed map of the Namlong region which is appended to this paper. It shows what is the Eastern part, or roughly one third of District IV, where this dialect is spoken.
- (2) This information is derived from *Lianguang Language Bulletin*, No. 1 dated September, 1979, in which Prof. Egerod states that he worked on this dialect in 1978. He says '...it is evident that Long Du and Nan Long, while both belonging to Min, belong to different Fukienese strains and have had quite a different history.' Mr. D. Chong told me recently a little of what he knew about the settlement of the Ching villages. It seems that up to about 1850 villagers still visited the ancestral place in Fujian. He

form. Several of the dialects now spoken in the northeastern part of Fujian have been briefly described in Norman 1977-8. He refers to this group as Mintung (Mindong) 閩東. In his article, Norman gives a comparative listing of over 450 forms, many of which occur only in Min dialects, and some of which occur only in the Northeastern subgroup. In another study that I hope to publish soon, I shall make use of Norman's data and the material on the LD and NL dialects to present a reconstruction of Northeastern Min.⁽³⁾

It is said that speakers of LD and NL can communicate by each speaking his own dialect; this is a linguistic situation like that in the Scandinavian countries. In an experiment I conducted in Honolulu, I tried to see how well a speaker of LD and NL actually could understand each other, neither of them having previ-

gives the name of this place as 南康 *NL nəm² hong¹*; I have not been able to locate such a place in Fujian, although there are villages of that name elsewhere. At any rate, perhaps one can assume original settlement in the Namlong region about one hundred years before 1850—this is of course merely a guess. See Egerod (1956) p. 6 for a LD tradition of their settlement. The fact that they are located inland (although near a watercourse) may indicate a relatively longer occupation of their territory.

- (3) Professor Norman and I have corresponded for many years on the Min dialects, including his Mintung group, and I acknowledge his helpful information with gratitude. The forthcoming study I plan for the reconstruction of this Min subgroup will include data gathered by A. Ronald Walton on 太順 Taishun which belongs to this group although just over the border of Zhejiang. His study is expected to appear shortly. Norman's writings on Min (see References) are well known; in addition to the Mintung study (a preliminary version of which appeared as early as 1972) he has pioneered in the dialects of Western Min and has contributed an overall reconstruction of Proto-Min. My own approach on working in more detail on Min subgroups does in no way gainsay his conclusions: I merely attempt to emphasize the usefulness of providing more information on phonology and lexicon that a more microscopic examination can reveal; leaving the Western Min dialects in Norman's hands, I concentrate on the rest of Min, a more closely related group which I call Coastal Min (Eastern Min is a somewhat ambiguous term). Coastal Min includes the very cohesive subgroup, the Northeastern (NEM) group, which apparently presents the least number of problems in reconstruction 興化 Hinghua (Xinghua) is a small group of dialects often called transitional between NEM and Southern Min (SM). I find that Hinghua (III) and SM form a close and natural historical grouping, Southern Min-Hinghua (SMIII). This large subgroup is somewhat more difficult to reconstruct than is NEM since it comprises more dialects, some of which are rather distantly related. The last step in reconstituting this group is to compare NEM with SMHH. Chang Yü-hung has concentrated on the HH analysis (see References) and for a while he and I worked together on the SMHH and Coastal Min problems. His contributions are acknowledged thankfully. My own work has mostly been on the SM dialects.

One or two examples are added here of the help that knowledge of a conservative form of NEM like NL or LD can provide to the overall reconstruction. In SM there is a widespread term for 'door sill, threshold' (no character for the second syllable) as in Amoy *mng² tiəng⁶*, Dongshandao *mui² təng⁶*, Chaozhou *mng² toiN⁴* (N is the nasalization feature) and other forms, all of which point to Proto-SM **aiN⁴* for a later stage and *eiN⁴* for an earlier stage. When compared with NEM, the related finals are either **en* or **em*; here NL *muən² ten⁶* (and a corresponding LD form, not in Egerod 1956) both support a Proto-Coastal Min reconstruction with *-n*. Analogously a comparison of forms for 笠 'splint sunhat', NL *lep⁶* reveals Proto-Coastal Min **-p* (where the SM forms in *-p* are not sufficient to pinpoint the final as *-t* or *-p*.)

ously been exposed to the other dialect. The understanding was quite minimal; it shows that some degree of learning involving a good number of such contacts is probably required. The greatest difference between the two dialects is, I think, in the tonal systems; otherwise their phonologies are pretty much in agreement. The fact that each dialect has borrowed so heavily from Shekki Cantonese is a factor for easier comprehension. The lexicons of the two dialects, however, differ considerably.

Since the Min speakers of each group all apparently become bilingual in Shekki (Shiji) 石岐, the speech of the prefectural city, many words relating to government, education, modern technology and the like are almost completely borrowed from Shekki. These words are very largely compounds of two or more syllables. Aside from these learned or semi-learned imports, however, there exists a large body of forms, many of only one syllable, of perfectly ordinary words that must also be attributed to Shekki influence because of their phonology; as a consequence, numerous doublets occur. It is well known that the dialects of Southeastern China, and particularly the Min dialects, have many lexical doublets (occasionally more than two variant forms); the basic dichotomy can be characterized as popular or colloquial versus learned or literary. The colloquial Min forms go back to a proto-language of ca. Late Han or post-Han date, and the learned forms (which provide the character 'readings') are attributable to the official standard language of mid-Tang. I assume that the learned stratum which must have been present in the ancestor of Namlong while its speakers were still in Northeastern Fujian has mostly been replaced by more recent borrowings from Cantonese. This would be especially likely to occur when the level of literacy of the migrating population was low; I think it is possible, even probable, that the learned stratum would be mostly replaced by Cantonese forms in as short a time as two generations. Cantonese influence on the Min dialects in Zhongshan is not limited to lexical items—there is much in the syntax and use of particles that shows the strong impact of Cantonese on the sentence structure of the various Min dialects.

The Min speaking groups may differ considerably in the length of time they have occupied their territories; many probably go back several hundred years. The manner of original settlement may also have varied, but most must have arrived by sea. The settlers were very largely seafarers, fishermen and traders and possibly also pirates in some cases.⁽⁴⁾ It is likely that many settlers were males who did not come accompanied by their families since the strong Shekki influence can be attributed to a probable large-scale intermarriage of the settlers with an original Cantonese speaking population in the early stages of contact.

(4) See Egerod 1956.6. The greatest number of Min enclaves are in coastal areas; there are many of these settled by SM speakers especially.

NAMLONG PHONOLOGY

Like all kinds of Chinese, the structure of the syllable can be analyzed in terms of initials, finals and tones. Namlong unlike Standard Cantonese, but like Shekki and the typical Chinese dialect has medials which may occur between the initial and the final. In the following list of initials, voiceless aspirated stops are represented as digraphs of voiceless unaspirated stops plus *h*.

p	ph	m		(f)
t	th	n	l	
k	kh	ŋ	(∅)	h
c	ch			s

The symbols *c* and *ch* represent dental affricates varying between [ts, tsh] and somewhat palatal [tʃ, tʃh], but there is a contrast when medial *i* follows the sibilants, thus /cha²/ 柴 'firewood' and /chia¹/ 車 'wheeled vehicle'. Nasal initials in both Shekki and Longdu are often realized as clusters of nasal plus homorganic voiced stop offglide, but in Namlong this only seems to be prominent before *i*, thus [ŋgi-] 魚 for /ngi²/ 'fish' and [mbiŋ] 米 for /mi²/ 'rice'. I write /ng/ for the velar nasal.⁽⁵⁾ The initial *f* is in free variation with [ɸ] in some speakers' pronunciations of native Min forms like [ɸuəi²] for /huəi²/ 火 'fire'; in loanwords a true labiodental /f/ is frequently heard as in /fai⁶/ 快 'fast, rapid' and /fi¹ ki¹/ 飛機 'airplane'. The 'zero initial' slot is represented by no symbol. Its allophones are a phonetic glide [j] before a high front vowel as in /iŋg²/ 羊 'sheep', or before a high back vowel a glide [w] as in /uə⁶/ 芋 'taro', or it may be realized as glottal stop [ʔ] before other vowels as in /en²/ 閑 'leisure'. In corresponding positions, Egerod represents it in Longdu by *y*, *w* and *ʔ*. The difference in treatment is partly due to the analyst's predisposition, and in the case of glottal stop in Longdu, taking it as an initial is more justified since glottal stop also occurs as a final in Longdu, whereas Namlong cognates lack it here. Of the consonants and semivowels that occur as initials in Namlong, *m*, *n*, *ng*, *p*, *t*, *k* and *i*, *u* also occur as syllable endings. I find no need to regard the medial or the final *i* and *u* as different entities from the nuclear vowels *i* and *u*.

Namlong has six nuclear vowels: two front vowels /i/ and /e/, two mid vowels /ə/ and /a/, and two back (rounded) vowels /u/ and /o/; two of these are relatively high and four relatively low:

i		u
e	ə	o
	a	

(5) Egerod used *q* as a symbol for the velar nasal which I here change to *ng*.

The finals:

	-i	-u	-m	-p	-n	-t	-ng	-k
/i/	i	iu	im	ip	in	it		
/e/	e	eu	em	ep	en	et		
/ə/	əi	əu	əm	əp	ən	ət	əng	ək
	iəu	iəm	iəp	iən	iət	iəng	(iək)	
	uəi			uən	uət			
/a/	a	ai	au	am	ap	an	at	ang
	ia							ak
	ua	uai				uan	(uat)	iang
								iak
/u/	u	ui				un	ut	ung
	iu*							uk
								iung
								iuk
/o/	o	oi			on	ot	ong	ok
	io	ioi			ion	iot	iong	iok (phonetically [i̯ə])
	uo						uong	uok
Zero			m				ng	

The final *-iu* is marked with an asterisk to call attention to its first listing in the line following /i/. In the second listing, *-iung* and *-iuk* only occur with zero initial. The few cases of finals within parentheses indicate that although I have not recorded such examples, I would expect to find them in a larger corpus. With the exception of *-ua* itself, the other finals in the *-ua-* line seem to be limited to borrowings from Shekki. Perhaps the most important remark to be made about the finals concerns the contrast between /ə/ and /a/ which is a characteristic very typical of Yue dialects, but not usually of Min. /ə/ itself only occurs in a limited number of unstressed classifiers and particles, thus *tə* may occur as an allomorph of /tiə⁸/ 着 'to be at', and *kə* as an allomorph of /ke²/ 个 the general classifier and the homonymous modification particle 嘅, a Cantonese borrowing. The phonetic contrasts that are usually given as [ɛn] versus [A:n] or [a:n] in accounts of Cantonese phonology, which emphasize length as a contrastive feature, are here instead assigned to different vowel phonemes with length regarded as an incidental feature of the vowel.⁽⁶⁾ For Longdu, Egerod symbolizes the same kind of contrast by /a/ and /aa/. As it happens, /ə/ when it is the only vowel in Namlong is (unless unstressed) a sure indication of a borrowing from Cantonese: e.g. /iəng² mən²/ 英文 'English language'. This is not necessarily true when this vowel is preceded by a medial, thus /tiəp⁸/ 碟 'dish, saucer', /thiən¹/ 天 'sky', /pəi¹/ 飛 'to fly', /pəu⁶/ 飯 'cooked rice'. Before *n* and *t*, /ə/ is fronted when preceded by *i*, thus /ciət⁷/ 節 'festival' is phonetically [t̪siEt̪], ([E] is higher than /e/[ɛ/æ]), and in /phuəi⁶/ 被 'bedding, blanket', the nucleus varies between mid central [ə]

(6) Professor Li, in his course on Cantonese Phonology, given in the summer of 1948, discussed the various views and favored the one I have followed here. For a later comprehensive discussion, see Hashimoto 1972, 152-8.

and back rounded [ɔ̠]. The same allophones occur in the /-uən/ and /-uət/ finals. The two syllabic nasals are not preceded by a vowel and have 'zero initial'; they function as finals in taking various tones.

In the phonemicized examples given above, I have assigned superscript numerals to represent the tonal categories; this is really a morphophonemic system which at the same time shows the historical classification (and chosen to be most useful for comparative purposes). Descriptively there are five tones: high, mid, low, rising and falling; the allophones before stop endings go along with a shorter syllable. As in some other⁽⁷⁾ dialects, we must here distinguish between the citation values (as of forms said in isolation) or uttered with emphatic or contrastive stress, or appearing phrase or sentence finally. These have the 'isolation' value. Elsewhere, the tones have the 'combination' value (as when non-final in compounds or phrases). The only tones that do not change are tones 2 and 3.⁽⁸⁾ Tone 4 does not occur in any known Northeastern Min dialect; this historical category has merged into tone 6.

	平	上	去	入	
				Retains -p, -t, -k	Loses earlier -ʔ
yin	/1/	/3/	/5/	/7a/	/7b/
陰	ɿ 21	ɿ, ɿ 42, 53	ɿ, ɿ 35, 24	ɿ 54	ɿ 55
yang	/2/		/6/	/8a/	/8b/
陽	ɿ 33		ɿ 21	ɿ 32	ɿ 42

Note that the rusheng category has split in Namlong. Tones 7a and 8a retain final stops as in Longdu and some other Northeastern Min dialects. Tones 8a and 8b correspond to rusheng with glottal stop ending in Longdu and Northeastern Min generally. Note that tones 1 and 6 and tones 3 and 8b are descriptively identical in their isolation form—they have merged. The categories can be distinguished because of different allomorphs in the corresponding combination tones, and of course by comparison with Longdu or other Northeastern Min forms, where merger has not taken place.

In the following examples illustrating the isolation and combination tone values, the same morphemes occur singly and in sequences. All examples are considered to be native Min forms.

(7) Contrasting 'isolation' and 'combination' values of tone morphemes is more typical of SM than NEM. The tonal complexities of Fuzhou dialect are well known and quite formidable!

(8) Tone 3 does not change in slowish to 'citation form' speed. As noted later in faster speech it changes to a high level pitch as do tones 5 and 6.

/1/	/3/	/5/
iɿ 'he, she' 伊	cuiɿ 'water' 水	chiɿ 'look at' 覷, 覷
iɿ nongɿ 'they' 伊(人)	cuiɿ cangɿ 'well' 水井	chiɿ iongɿ 'watch sheep' 覷羊
/2/		/6/
ngiɿ 'fish' 魚		moɿ 'hat' 帽
ngiɿ linɿ 'fish scales' 魚鱗		moɿ kiəŋɿ 'little hat' 帽仔
/7a/		/7b/
petɿ 'know, recognize' 伙		oɿ 'evil, bad' 惡
petɿ ciɿ 'know characters, be literate' 伙字		oɿ nongɿ 'bad guys, hoodlums' 惡(人)
/8a/		/8b/
ngipɿ 'enter' 入		phuɿ 'to sun, dry in sun' 曝
ngipɿ liɿ 'come in' 入來		phuɿɿ chioɿ 'to dry grain in the sun' 曝粟

The phonetic values for tones in combination in the examples above are not without exception; contrastive stress often prevents the tone change, as in:

'tong¹-pen² ti⁵ nong² co⁵ 'tong¹-thau² ti⁵ chen²
 東 邊 的 (人) 做 東 頭 的 田
 east side those people work eastern those fields
 'The people on the eastern side work the eastern fields.'

In this example, both instances of *tong¹* 東 'east' bear the mark indicating unchanged tone. A similar example is *'kia¹-niəŋ²* 雞年 'year of the chicken'. Exaggerated range of pitch and excessive loudness sometimes accompany very emotion-laden utterances, as in the following where underlining indicates these features:

i¹ tio⁸ ni^H khau⁵
 伊 着 呢 哭⁽⁹⁾
 she at there cried
 'She burst into tears there.'

(Sometimes when dealing with a bound form like *ni* above that never occurs alone, and which may also not be identifiable with a written character, I simply write *H* meaning 'high' to indicate the pitch; similarly *M* can be used for 'mid' and *L* for 'low'. I believe the superscript numeral or capital letter as in my usage here

(9) This character for 'to cry' has a traditional rusheng pronunciation as Middle Chinese **khuk*. It is used in Amoy to write *khau*,⁵ a form like NL; we might assume a related Middle Chinese form **khau* with qusheng standing in a word family relationship to **khuk* which occurs in both NEM and SM. Note that LD has the same phonological form.

is simpler than using accent marks or tone letters. It is also less subject to errors and easier to proofread. Tone letters are of course still needed for the phonetics).

Further tone changes occur in connected utterances at fast or normal speed; the shang tone (/3/) which otherwise does not change may be replaced by a high pitch, thus falling together with the combination value of tones 5 and 6. The high tones may vary with mid and the mid with low such that the three pitch levels are reduced to two levels in fast speech; I regret not being able at present to make a more precise formulation.

Some seemingly abnormal tone values are due to the influence of Cantonese, usually Shekki. In most cases, the tone categories of loanwords from Cantonese are converted into the corresponding Namlong categories, thus the Min term for 'bear' has been replaced by the Cantonese term which literally means 'bear man' 熊人 *hung² yan²*, NL *hung² nong²* where *nong²* is the native NL term for 'person'. This then is also in part a calque since the second element has been translated. Another borrowing is NL *tuk⁸ si¹* 讀, 书, literally 'read books' which has a wider usage 'study, be a student'. Here the Cantonese tonal categories are transferred without change to the borrowing with the phonetic change of unrounding the *ü* in the word for 'book'. In the borrowing *sai⁶ lau⁶ ko¹* 細佬哥 'small boy' the NL tonal pattern is MLM (mid, low, mid) rather than HHH which one would expect. Compare here the Shekki tone values of 22-13-55. In *nung² mən¹* 'farmers' 農民, one would expect tone 2 in NL *mən*, the mid pitch, but instead we have the low falling tone 1.

For comparison the tonal categories and pitch values of tones in single syllables are listed here:

	Standard		Shekki of		Northeastern Min		
	Cantonese		Zhongshan		Longdu	Namlong	Fuan
yinping	55/53	yinping	55	yinping	55	21	43
yangping	21/22	yangping	51	yangping	33	33	11
yinshang	35			yinshang	24	42	41
yangshang	24	shang	13	(yangshang)	lacking	lacking	lacking
yinqu	44			yinqu	11	35	35
yangqu	33	qu	22	yangqu	42	21	13
shang yinru	5	shang yinru	5				
zhong yinru	4			yinru	4	54	54
yangru	3	ru	2	yangru	2	42	21

Historically, Cantonese has split the yinru category into two; Shekki maintains a distinction between yinping and yangping and shang yinru and ru, but has merged the shang and qu categories and much of the ru; the three Northeastern Min dialects all have the same number of categories, lacking yangshang. Fuan is one of the dialects described by Norman in his 1977-8 paper. The phonetic differences

between Longdu and Namlong tones are about comparable with the differences of either of them with Fuan. The Cantonese group of dialects is well known for its lack of stress contrasts; in Namlong, at least, stress assumes some importance.

The remarks regarding Namlong initials point out a few differences in treatment between the Namlong analysis presented here and Egerod's for Longdu. One small distributional matter is worth mentioning: while Longdu *ng-* may appear before the glide *-u-*, the Namlong equivalent is zero initial: for 'month' 月 Longdu has *ngual*⁸ while Namlong has *uəl*⁸. Where we would expect **ngu*, both dialects have the syllabic velar nasal, as in *ng*⁶ 五 'five', which is true also for Cantonese (and Hakka). Both NL and LD also have the anomalous form *nun*² 銀 'silver'; Namlong has *nuk*⁸ 'jade' 玉 (one would expect initial *ng-*). Longdu and Namlong both have *ng-* initially (as does also Zhongshan Hakka) in items where one assumes an earlier palatal nasal, e.g. Namlong *ngit*⁸ 日 'day', *ngi*⁶ 二 'two' (combining form); in the word for 'meat' 肉 however, Longdu and Namlong both have *nuk*⁸.

In general, one can say that the system of initials is the same or very similar in Shekki, Longdu, Namlong and the other Northeastern Min forms. The initials of Zhongshan Hakka also conform to this general pattern. (See Egerod, 1959).

It is the case in most closely related Min dialects that the finals usually show the most divergence; between Longdu and Namlong it is the tones that are most unlike phonetically, and the corresponding finals mostly show no phonological difference. Those differences that do exist can easily be described in terms of divergences from the table of Namlong finals, given on page 5.

As mentioned on p. 4 I use *i* and *u* whether for glides or nuclear values for Namlong whereas Egerod uses *-j* and *-w* for offglides in Longdu; he uses *a* where I use *ə* for a similar phone in Namlong; so far these differences merely involve transcription symbols. Where he writes *aa* for Longdu, I use *a* for Namlong; this points to a difference in analysis from that generally followed for Cantonese by most linguists. No one doubts, however, that the contrast of the symbols *a* and *aa* is a very convenient method of transcription.

In both dialects there are corresponding finals *-ia* and *-ua*. In Longdu the phonetic values are [ẽ] and other variants and [õ] etc. with little change in tongue position (Egerod 1956, 49); it is interesting that the Namlong equivalents are phonetically identical with the Longdu phonemicized finals. Examples for both dialects are *ngia*⁶ 'outside' 外 and *kua*¹ melon' 瓜. The final *-ua* in Namlong is distributed after all initials in what I call the 'conservative' dialect; in the innovating dialect, *-ua* occurs only after velars (including 'zero'); after all other initials, even labials, it is replaced by *-ia*. Here it has merged with 'original' *-ia*.

	Conservative	Innovating
to write	sia ³ 寫	idem
inside	tia ³ (冥)	idem
to eat	sia ⁶ 食	idem
sand	sua ¹ 沙	sia ¹
big ⁽¹⁰⁾	tua ⁶ 大	tia ⁶
paper	cua ³ 紙	cia ³
hemp, sesame	mua ² 麻	mia ²
break	phua ⁵ 破	phia ⁵

There are many more such examples. The Longdu cognates agree with the conservative Namlong forms. There are other forms that I have collected without checking with speakers of the conservative dialect since almost all my data comes from speakers of the innovative type. Thus the typical Min word for 'house' is Longdu *chua*⁵ 戌 but Namlong *chio*⁵—here, however, Northeastern Min also varies as in Fuding *ts'uo*⁵ and Fuzhou *tɕ'io*⁵ (Norman 1977-8: 344). In the word for 'road' 路 where Northeastern Min has the unexpected initial *t-*, Fuding and Zhejiang have *tuo*⁶, Longdu has *tua*^{7,8}, irregular in having the final ru tone, and Namlong has *lio*⁶ where the final resembles Fuzhou *tio*⁶ but in having initial *l-* agrees with Southern Min and Chinese dialects generally. The Hinghua dialects have *tou*⁶ for this word, but Hinghua *t-* with a yang tone here is a regular reflex of earlier **l-*.

Similarly we have a small number of Namlong forms with the final *-ioi* which one can tell from other dialects would be *-uoi* in the conservative dialect: NL *chioi*² 'stick', Fuzhou *chui*² 'bamboo rod', Hinghua *chue*² 'club, stick', and Amoy *che*² 'rod, stick'; Fuzhou and Amoy write this as 筴. The Guangyun form of this agrees except that it has a voiceless initial whereas the Min forms require a voiced prototype. This final occurs also in LT *sua*⁵, NL *sioi*⁵ 歲 'year' where the *s-* initial is on the analogy of Cantonese—the related Min forms have initial *h-*, departing here from the other varieties of Chinese. NL also has the word *ku*³ *cioi*¹ 'penis', no characters, where the tone of the second syllable is probably /1/ since I would like to link this with Proto-Min **tsoi* (yinping tone) that has reflexes in Western Min dialects (Norman, personal communication). NL also has the final *-ion* as in

(10) It is interesting that this word has two distinctive allomorphs in Mr. Leung's Chungkhau dialect. The citation form is *tia*⁶; in attributive position it may also have the form *ta*⁶. In his story at the end of this paper he is consistent in saying *tia*⁶ *ua*⁶ 'big talk=lie' and in saying *ta*⁶ *siang*¹ 'big voice=loudly'. (One cannot reasonably say that *ta*⁶ is a borrowing from Mandarin). One would need a detailed geographical survey to locate the areas of the *ua* and *ia* variants. Chungkhau is a few li to the north of Namlong; so far the examples of the *ua* variety seem to come from Khangmuai (Shekki Hangmei) 亨坑 and nearby villages of the Ching clan, which cluster somewhat to the south of Namlong. Mr. D. Chong, whose ancestors come from this area, has a somewhat retroflex affricate in this word and others like *tia*, approximately [tɕa] or [tɕa].

*tion*³ 轉 'return'. Note that LT has *tian*³ here; NL *-iən* and *-ion* both correspond to LT *-ian*.

The alternation of NL *ua/ia* and the presumed *uoi/ioi* where a back rounded glide is replaced by a front glide can perhaps be partly explained by the higher frequency of occurrence of the front glide. There are parallels of a sort in other dialects. The speech of the 三鄉 Samheung (Sanxiang) group in Area 5 of Zhongshan is fairly uniform except for the dialect of 大布, pronounced by its natives as *tio*→*pou*↓ and by the typical Samheung people as *tua*→*po*↓. Words that have the final *-ua* in Min generally and here in this group of Southern Min origin, in Tiopou have a low rounded vowel after velars, zero and labial initials, but *io* after all others (i.e. dentals and sibilants). /o/, /io/ are phonetically [ɔ], [üɔ]:

	Tiopou		Samheung	
sweat	ko ⁶	汗	kua ⁶	
half	po ⁵	半	pua ⁵	
hill	sio ¹	山	sua ¹	
big	tio ⁶	大	tua ⁶	

There is a somewhat similar phenomenon in Cantonese where *-un/-ut* occur only after velars and labials as in /kun¹/ 官 'official', /pun⁵/ 半 'half', but *-yn/-yt* occur after dentals as in /tyn³/ 短 'short', the high front articulation of the dentals here affecting the vowel quality; Middle Chinese here is *-uən*.

It is obvious that the Cantonese vowel system has to some extent restructured the typical Northeastern Min system. Because of borrowings from Cantonese with the /ə/ vowel, one is obliged to treat [iEn] and [uən] and their rusheng counterparts as phonemically /iən/ and /uən/ etc. In the Northeastern Min group, Zheyang cognates have /ien/ and /uon/ which are analyzed here as belonging with the nuclear vowels /e/ and /o/ in that dialect. Indeed I think these finals can be reconstructed for Proto-Northeastern Min as **-ien* and **-uon*.

Where NL has the finals *ong/ok*, LD has either *ong/ok* or *eng/ek*; here NL has merged two originally distinct categories. NL, LD and NEM (Northeastern Min) all have a form similar to NL and LD *tong*² 長 'long' (with the typical Min initial *t-* here) and this is reconstructed as PNEM (Proto-Northeastern Min) **tong*². On the other hand, NL *nong*² 人 'person' is cognate to LD *neng*² and NEM forms such as Fuan *noeng*² and Fuzhou *nɸing*² which point to PNEM **nɸng*²; the Min forms for 'man, person' are all derivable from the word 農 'farmer, husbandman'.

On p. 6 it was indicated that NL had lost the glottal stop in a portion of the rusheng category. In such cases, not only LD, but also the NEM dialects all preserve a glottal stop final, and this occurs as well in dialects which distinguish *-p*, *-t* and *-k* within the NEM group like Fuan and Ningde. This glottal stop is in complementation with *-k* which does not occur after the low vowels which are

PNEM **a* and **ə*. -ʔ here is an allophone of -*k*. The few cases of NL -*ak* and -*ok* type finals must be recent borrowings from Cantonese.

The same dialects that preserve the final stop distinctions also preserve the distinctions of the final nasals -*m*, -*n* and -*ng*. Until Norman's Mindong dialect study was first published, it was thought that all the dialects of the NEM region were like Fuzhou in merging the nasals to -*ng* and the stops to -ʔ. It is not surprising then that since LD had the full inventory of final stops and nasals that Egerod attributed these features to Southern Min strata, mainly a Southern Min literary stratum. I certainly agree with Egerod, however, that the so-called literary influences in Min (excluding Zhongshan) resulted from successive waves of Northern influence and that the notion of two strata, colloquial and literary, is an oversimplification. (Egerod 1976: 108-9) The fact that NL and LD are conservative in these finals has been reinforced by similar finals occurring in Zhongshan Cantonese.

There is an important group of lexical items that occur in NL, LD or both of them that also point to these dialects having originated from the NEM region. Some of these are widespread in many Min areas but can be identified as NEM forms from phonological evidence, e.g. 'leaf' LD *nua*²⁸, NL *nio*⁸, Fuzhou *nio*²⁸, but *hio*²⁸ as in Southern Min (Amoy). Typically Min is 'short' 短, NL *toi*³; Amoy *te*³. Another Min word very widely distributed is 'much, many', no common character, which is NL *se*⁶ with similar forms in NEM. In Southern Min all dialects have initial *c*-. The Fuzhou word *na*² (no common character) meaning 'defecate, urinate' has a cognate in NL *na*².

I shall conclude the remarks on phonology with the observation that NL seems to have a unique alternation between *ə* and *a* that is probably conditioned by stress. As was mentioned earlier, *ə* was introduced into the NL vowel system through Cantonese loans. These two vowels are definitely in contrast as in *səŋ*¹ 星 'star' and *səŋ*¹ 生 'give birth'; *ŋəu*⁶ 藕 'lotus root' and *ŋəu*⁶ 咬 'to bite'; *nəm*² 唸 'soft' and *nam*² 南 'south'. In compounds and phrases there is a very strong tendency for *a* to be replaced by *ə*, and this has no connection with whether the item is native or borrowed. Contrast *san*¹ 山 'hill' with *sən*¹ *təŋ*³ 山頂 'hilltop', *sən*¹ *kha*¹ 山脚 'foot of hill', *sən*¹ *tia*³ 山裏 'countryside' and *sən*¹ *kau*³ 山狗 'mountain = wild dog'. Contrast 'south' 南 *nam*² with the name of the market town *nəm*² *long*³ *hi*¹ 南朗墟 'Namlong Market'. Compare also *kim*¹ *san*¹ 金山 'gold mountain = California, America' with *kim*¹ *sən*¹ *kha*^{7b} 'gold mountain guest = Chinese-American' 金山客.⁽¹¹⁾ This kind of vowel alternation associated with stress is also found in the Samheung dialects (which are Southern Min in origin), but not in Longdu nor in Cantonese. Cantonese of course has no phonological stress, nor does it have a

(11) I have a note of a possible contrast in two sequences, but am not sure that the informant was giving a natural pronunciation here, or exaggerating it, e.g. *təm*¹ *cha*² 擔柴 'carry wood (on shoulder)' and *təm*² *cha*² 冚柴 'wet wood'. In isolation, both first words are *təm* in different tones.

comparable vowel alternation or shortening apart from some rare literary-colloquial doublets in the *əy/ay* and the *ək/ak* categories only (Hashimoto 1972: 209-210). However, since both Namlong and Samheung have such alternation, and both are spoken in Zhongshan Xian, one is led to attribute the phenomenon to some kind of interference from Cantonese.

Although much basic Min vocabulary has been replaced by Zhongshan Cantonese, NL and LD often share very common words that probably have a NEM origin but which do not appear in word lists or phonological studies. NL and LD *pung⁵* 放 'let go, release' also mean 'give', and as is the case in so much of Chinese, the same form is used as a passive marker. NL has *cung⁵* 'so, to that degree', as does LD; both dialects have *hang⁵* 'to say' of unknown origin; LD has *naahaj* 'how', NL has the probably related *cung⁵ hai¹* 'this way, then'; NL has *'lau⁶ cu³* 'father', probably 老主; NL *khuo⁵* 去 'to go' occurs in *khuo⁵ ngiən³* 'to return, go home', perhaps 去原 ('return to origin?'). Some common Chinese words may acquire special meanings, as in NL *kau¹* 'stream' from 溝 'ditch'. Much more could be written about such matters—in the story text that concludes this paper I have attempted to indicate how much is Min and how much is Cantonese.

Influence on NL in learned words borrowed from Cantonese is very obvious; most of these are part of the general modern Chinese lexicon. Some examples follow: *cung¹ kuok¹* 中國 'China'; *tong¹ pang¹* 當兵 'do military service'; *in⁶ 縣* 'xian, county'; *in¹* 烟 'cigarette'; *lin⁶ long¹ tam³* 電燈膽 'electric light bulb'; *ho⁵ ci³* 毫子 'ten cents (paper money)'; *sin¹ sang¹* 先生 'teacher'; *sin¹ mən² ci³* 新聞紙 'newspaper'; *pat¹ ip⁸* 畢業 'to graduate (from school)'; *song³ siang²* 省城 'provincial capital=Guangzhou, Canton'; some are loan translations in part, such as *pha¹ tin⁶* 打電 'to telephone' where *pha¹* 'to strike' is Min or *iu² cui³ chi²* 游泳池 'swimming pool' where only *chi²* is a loan from Cantonese.

Borrowing has created many doublets. A NEM influence is likely in *aⁿ* 'a, one' which has a LD parallel in *ʔo*, compare the possibly related Fuzhou *sio²⁸*; as a bound form *it¹* 'one' occurs in 11, 21, etc., frequently the Cantonese loan *iət¹* varies with *aⁿ* when preceding classifiers and measures. Phonetic change can sometimes obscure related items as in the extreme case of native NL *khe⁵* 快 'soon' (also in LD) and *fai⁵* from Cantonese in the sense of 'fast, rapid'. A few more examples follow where the related forms have been italicized:

Min forms		Cantonese forms	
蟲	thong ² 'insect'	蠶蟲	cham ² chung ² 'silkworm'
工	kong ¹ 'work'	功課	kung ¹ fuo ⁶ 'homework, assignment' ⁽¹²⁾
重	tong ⁶ 'heavy'	嚴重	ngim ³ cung ⁶ 'important'
學	o ⁸ 'learn, study'	大學	tai ⁶ hok ⁸ 'university'

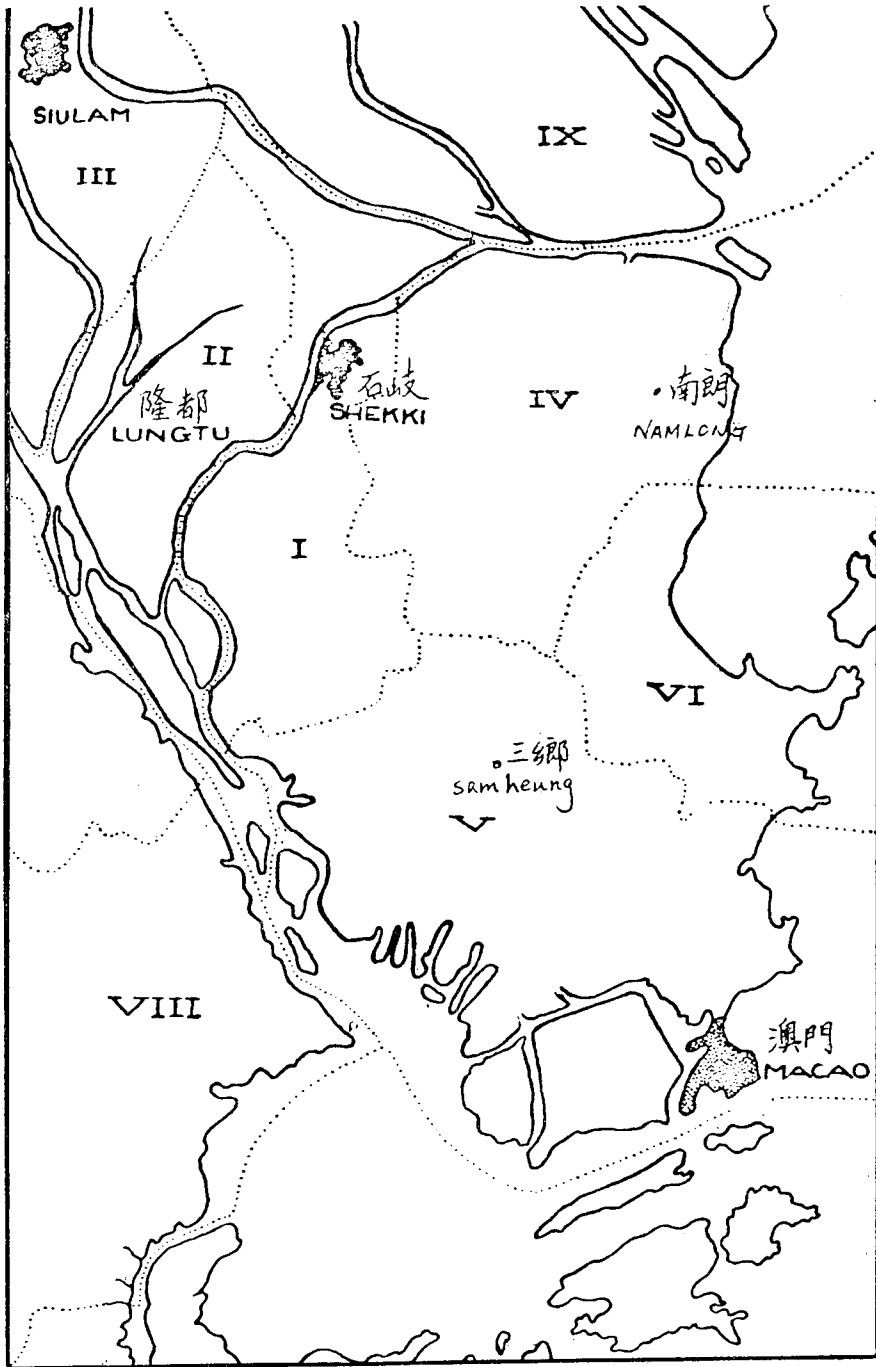
(12) The characters 工 and 功 are related, the second merely being an extension in meaning of the first. Being homophones in all dialects, they are probably regarded by many as the same word.

- liked very much to play tricks on people. Therefore he often called out in a loud voice, "A wolf is coming, a wolf is coming!"
2. Some farmers who were at the foot of the hill heard the boy shouting "A wolf is coming!" So everybody picked up sticks and hoes and immediately chased up that hill there. When they had climbed up to the top of the hill, the farmers heard the boy laughing loudly. Also they didn't see any wolves amongst the sheep. Then they realized that the boy had played a trick on them.
 3. This boy often shouted out suddenly in this way so that when the farmers at the foot of the hill heard him, they assumed it was the boy telling a tall tale.
 4. Once a wolf really did come, and the boy again called out "A wolf is coming!" When the farm workers heard this, they thought it wasn't true; so, the sheep were all eaten up by the wolves.⁽¹⁵⁾

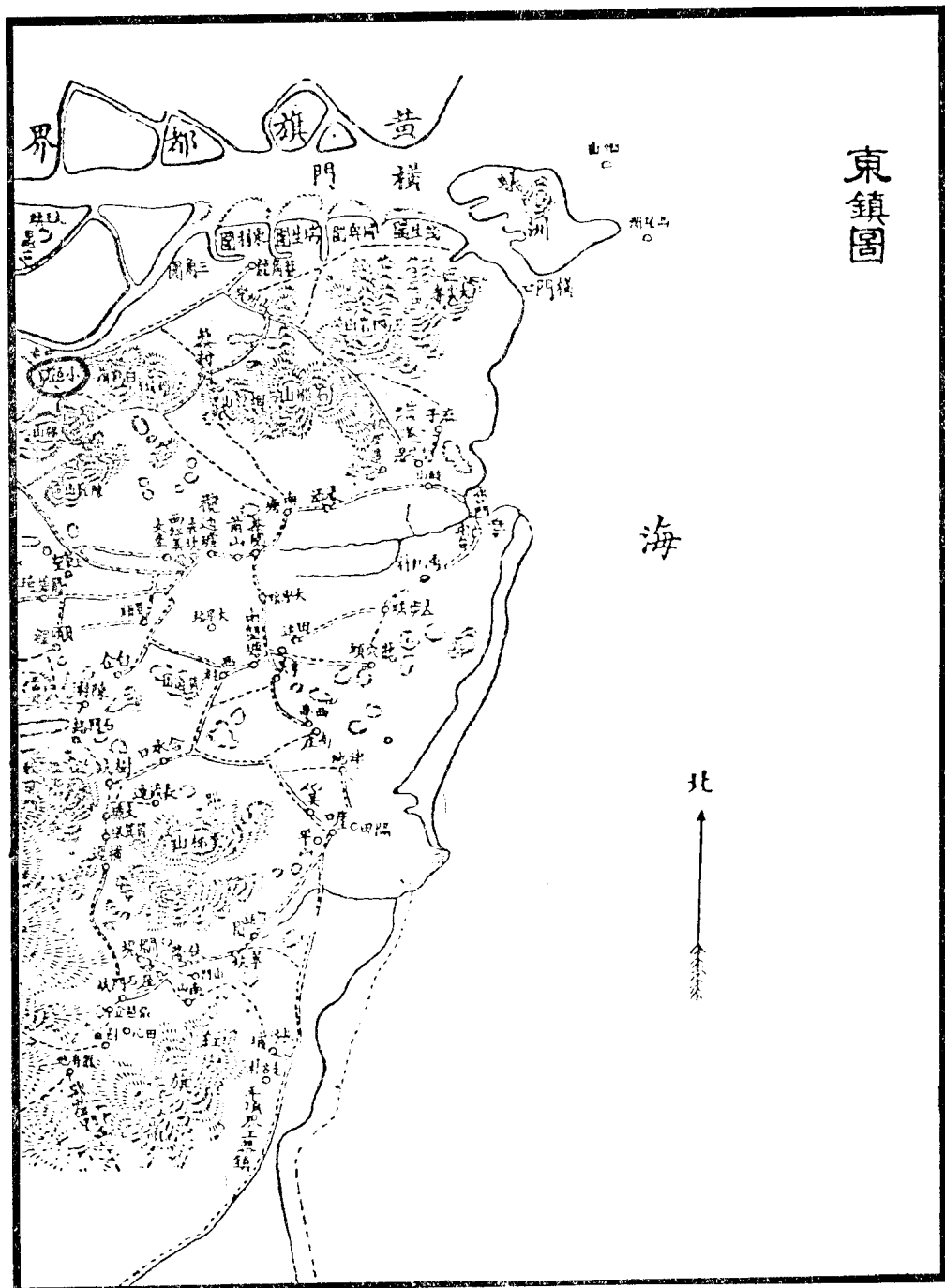
REFERENCES

- Chan, Marjorie Kit Man, 1980. *Zhong-Shan Phonology, a Synchronic and Diachronic Analysis of a Yue (Cantonese) Dialect*. MA Thesis, the University of British Columbia.
- Chang, Yü-hung, 1972. *The Hinghua Dialects of Fukien, a Descriptive Linguistic Study*. Ph. D. Thesis, Cornell University.
- Egerod, Søren, 1956. *The Lungtu Dialect, a Descriptive and Historical Study of a South China Idiom*, Copenhagen.
- Egerod, Søren, 1959. "A Sampling of Chungshan Hakka," pp. 36-54 in *Studia Serica, Bernhard Karlgren Dedicata*, Copenhagen.
- Egerod, Søren, 1976. "Tonal Splits in Min". *JCL* 4.1:108-11.
- Hashimoto, Oi-kan Yuc, 1972. *Studies in Yüe Dialects 1: Phonology of Cantonese*, Cambridge.
- Norman, Jerry, 1973. "Tonal Development in Min." *JCL* 1.2: 222-38
- Norman, Jerry, 1974. "The Initials of Proto-Min." *JCL* 2.1: 27-36
- Norman, Jerry, 1977-8. "A Preliminary Report on the Dialects of Mintung." *Monumenta Serica* 33: 326-48.

(15) It is only in the last sentence that the wolves are made specifically plural by use of *zi³*; this may merely be a lapse on the story teller's part. An interesting and surprising feature of this narrative is the relative lack of phrase-final particles including the type of particle so common in Cantonese that has an emotive as well as a grammatical meaning. There are several repetitions of *pi³* which functions like Mandarin *le* as a marker of completed action and anticipated completion. Anecdotes and conversations from other speakers which may represent more natural speech do have a larger number of phrase-final particles.



中山縣
Zhongshan Xian



The Namlong Dialect Region
(approximate limits)

中山縣的一個閩東方言：南朗話—— 兼論粵語對其音韻和詞匯的影響

包 擬 古

本文簡介廣東中山縣南朗話的音系，並且和易家樂 (S. Egerod), *The Lungtu Dialect* (隆都方言) 所描寫的隆都話稍作比較。作者指出這兩個方言和羅杰瑞 (Jerry Norman), A preliminary report of the dialects of Mintung (閩東方言初探) 裏所描寫的福建東北部的方言最接近，同時也討論中山縣石岐話對南朗話的影響。主要結論是在粵語的影響下，南朗話的音系結構略有變化，詞匯裏也有大量粵語借詞，其中包括虛詞和動詞後綴。