The Affiliation of Cantonese at the Sino-Vietnamese Border in the Late 19th Century

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Abstract

This paper takes a French Cantonese textbook published in Hanoi in 1900, *Éléments de Langue Chinoise Dialecte Cantonais*, as the material, revisits its phonology and provides new insights on the affiliation of this variety by comprehensively studying phonology, grammar and vocabulary, showing that the then Cantonese at the Sino-Vietnamese border described in the material belongs to Qin-Lian Yue, especially resembling modern Baakwaa in area Qinzhou-Fangchenggang (欽州 - 防城港地區白話), with possible influences from Vietnamese and other Yue varieties including Goulou (勾漏), Yuehai (粵海) and Yongxun (邕潯) Cantonese, etc. This reflects the trading and migration exchanges in the Sino-Vietnamese border areas, especially among the Qinzhou-Lianzhou (欽州 - 廉州 , short as Qin-Lian 欽廉) region and the former provinces of Guangdong and Guangxi.

Keywords

Éléments de Langue Chinoise Dialecte Cantonais, late Qing Cantonese, Qin-Lian Yue, Cantonese in Vietnam, language contact

This paper transcripts[1] and analyses a late 19th century Cantonese variety in the Gulf of Tonkin (GoT) region recorded in a textbook written by a French military officer called Lagarrue. This paper also compares it to relevant Cantonese in GoT, i.e. modern Baakwaa varieties in area Qinzhou-Fangchenggang (欽州 - 防城港地區白話 , hereafter as Qin-Fang or Fang-Qin) and others including Hakka and Guangzhou Cantonese in the late 19th century and nowadays. After comparing phonology, grammar and lexicon, we seek to determine the affiliation of the Cantonese variety to one of the early modern Fang-Qin Baakwaa varieties.

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[1] The database can be accessed via https://got.jyutdict.org/.

1. Background

GoT is a linguistically diverse area, with inhabitants in two countries, speaking different varieties of Yue, Hakka, Min, Zhuang, Vietnamese, etc. Unlike in Pearl River Delta, the lack of materials makes the study of late Qing Yue in GoT difficult. The textbook published in Hanoi in 1900, *Eléments de Langue Chinoise: Dialecte Cantonais, notation Quốc Ngu, à l'usage des officiers, fonctionnaires et colons* is a good entry point. The book was written in Latin alphabet, including Vietnamese alphabet, i.e. Chữ Quốc ngữ, for Vietnamese and Cantonese in the material. The author, Lagarrue, was a French military officer who served as a magistrate in Hải Ninh (海寧), an area near the border, specifically in Hà Cối (河檜 , or 下居), the harbour involved in the book. The book consists of an introduction, intonation and pronunciation, lessons (including trilingual vocabulary and bilingual dialogues), lengthy pleadings, proverbs, grammar and comparison to Guangzhou Cantonese.

Previous studies, mainly by Chiang Chia-Lu, include a phonological system based on the lexical items and a contemporaneous French-Cantonese dictionary (Chiang 2004), as well as some phonological changes reflected in the dialogues (Chiang 2009), concluding that Lagarrue's variety is close to Yuehai Cantonese, while the lack of not only phonological but more of grammatical and lexical studies on modern Cantonese in GoT leads to difficulties in comprehensively comparing all those three aspects of them. Today, more than a decade later, numerous works have emerged, e.g. the archival recordings of Vietnamese in Hanoi in 1900, studies on Fangcheng (防城) Cantonese, on Móng Cái Cantonese and on the lexicon of urban Cantonese in GoT, whereby the revisit on the Cantonese variety described in the Lagarrue's and its possible affiliation is again possible.

2. Local situation

In the introduction, groups of people are described living in Hải Ninh. *Hặc nhần* 客人 , as called by the locals, was a dominant ethnic group in Guangdong, Guangxi and Yunnan, which we believe is referring to Cantonese people. In contrast, *Hặc cá nhần* 客家人 'Hakka' were the main group in Hà Cối, with other mentioned as *Ngái nhần* 倻人 'Ngai' in Na-Luong 那良 'Naliang', *Ốn Nàm nhần* 安南人 'Annamese' along the coast and *Xín nhần* 村人 'villagers' and *Thủ nhần* 土人 'indigenous', etc.

Lagarrue compares the situation of Cantonese varieties to the dialects of Vietnamese, noting the pronunciation and lexical differences and the mutual intelligibility between the border Cantonese and Hanoi Cantonese. In 1920, Robert also stated in his *Éléments de Dialecte Yunnanais* a common thought that the Cantonese for exams is not understandable in Móng Cái, while Robert disagreed by saying that only tuning on pronunciation and vocabulary was needed instead of learning a new language. Therefore, then Móng Cái

Cantonese would have been different enough to be recognised but also still similar to Guangzhou Cantonese.

The modern studies of overseas Chinese and their languages in Hải Ninh (now part of Quảng Ninh) also provide clues to the affiliation. Modern research suggests that the majority of immigrants in Quảng Ninh came from the Qin-Lian area (Wu 2008). Both Cantonese varieties of the modern Móng Cái and of the returnees from Cô Tô Islands to Qiaogang (僑港), Beihai (北海) belong to Qin-Lian Yue (粵語欽廉片) (Luo 2015, Xu 2016). These facts suggest a high probability of the affiliation of then Hà Cối Cantonese as one of the overseas varieties of then Qin-Lian Yue.

The material of Cantonese in the Qin-Lian area near Móng Cái is predominantly Qinzhou Cantonese due to limitations of records. In an 1884 material, *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* by Société de Géographie, the pronunciation of Qinzhou in Cantonese was "Houang-Tchao", inconsistent with then Guangzhou Cantonese. More Chinese materials in the early 20th century are available. *The Ch'in-Hsien Semi-Weekly* (欽縣半週報) was a local newspaper where a certain number of words and phrases were recorded and where the then lingua franca in Qinzhou was called 白話 'Baakwaa' or 廣東話 'Gwongdungwaa'.[2] *The Chronicle of Ch'in-Hsien in R.O.C.* (民國欽縣誌) recorded various local languages, among which Baakwaa and 正音 'Zhengyin' (a variety of Mandarin) are often used as transliteration – sometimes together in one single word – for others, indicating a lack of some syllables in this Baakwaa, while then Guangzhou Cantonese had similar syllables: 穀雨 with Baakwaa 郭 *kɔk + Zhengyin 晦 *hui; /kɔk24 hui22/ (Huang 2011: 144) as reference.

The proportion of the co-occurrence of phonological features also suggests that Fang-Qin varieties are the lingua franca in GoT and may also help determine affiliation. Modern Qin-Lian Yue, especially Fang-Qin varieties, share many general phonological features with non-Yuehai Yue (Lu 2006: 46–47, Huang 2017: 132), which makes it difficult to distinguish from non-Yuehai Yue when considered individually. Features similar to non-Yuehai Yue include /ŋ//ɬ/, less vowel diphthongization, no /y/, merged *light level* tone (古濁平) and *light departing* tone (古濁去), merged /ɛ//œ/ and the initial 匣 *ɣ and 溪 *h pronounced as /h/ before *division 3*, e.g. 欽 hɐm45, 丘 hɐu45, 弦 hin21. However, most Qin-Lian Yue also share features that are rare in non-Qin-Lian Yue internally. These features that distinguish Qin-Lian Yue from the other non-Yuehai Yue include merged rhyme 豪 *ɑu and 侯 *əu, rhyme 諄 *juen pronounced as 山三合 (*rounding division 3* of *rhyme Shan* 山) (also in Longmen-Zhenghua[3] (Huang 2008)), merged *rising* tones (古清上 and 古濁上), etc.

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[2]　Between 1376 and 1952, Qinzhou was under the administration of Guangdong.
[3]　正音 'Zhengyin' and 正話 'Zhenghua' refer to the same variety of Mandarin in Qinzhou, nowadays represented by Longmen-Zhenghua in Longmengang, Qinzhou.

These and other grammatical or lexical traits may be traced back to special and complex language contact environments and migration history of the Qin-Lian area. Apart from the non-Sinitic substratum (Ban 2006: 55–56) and continuous contact to Kra-Dai languages in history and recently, Hakka-speaking migrants during the Ming Dynasty and internally displaced Hakka in the late Qing dynasty (Xiong 1996) may also have influenced Qin-Lian Yue. Moreover, in the 16th century, Vietnamese Kinh people also immigrated from Từ Sơn and Hải Phòng to what is called *the Three Islands of Kinh People* in Dongxing (東興) today.

The above arguments illustrate the possible status of Qin-Fang Baakwaa as the lingua franca in Qin-Fang, which was also probably used by Qin-Lian people who immigrated to Hải Ninh and represented local Chinese in French materials.

3. Data processing and transcription

We faithfully transcribe the material into a digital database by multiple automatic and manual means. Chữ Quốc ngữ is transliterated in a way that can be mapped to the original material without loss with Jyutping++ (presented at WOC-21), a system fully compatible with Jyutping with extensions, originally inspired by *Telex* for Vietnamese with designs from Tày-Nùng orthography by Hoàng et al. (1971: 7–9). The detailed transliteration correspondences are in the appendices.

4. Phonology

In general, the phonology is still close to Chiang's system based on Guangzhou Cantonese, in the sense that Qin-Fang and Guangzhou do share many similarities (Lu 2006: 16), while a more faithful re-examination of the descriptions by Lagarrue reveals a system more probably originally derived from Qin-Fang.

4.1 Discussion of sound values

1. *x*: In the original, Lagarrue describes this phoneme as being close to the English *th*; for comparison, in French records, Vietnamese *x* /s/ is described directly identical to French *s* as in *Phonétique Annamite (Dialecte du Haut-Annam)* by Cadière, 1901. Thus *x* may indicate a lateral *ɬ with a possible allophone *s. In some French materials, characters that ought to have aspirated affricate are also recorded as *s*:

   (1)   Ko tik mai yan sha **soi** noi (Il y a du sable dans le riz) from *La Chine Méri-dionale de Canton à Mandalay* by Colquhoun, 1884; 嗰的米有沙在內 'There is sand in the rice'

However, the possibility that Lagarrue's own language has /tsʰ/ and Hà Cối Cantonese itself lacks /tsʰ/ cannot be ruled out simply, since in many surrounding Tày-Nùng and Zhuang varieties *tɕʰ>/ɕ/ occurs in native words (Li 1977: 146) and old borrowed words of initials 徹 清穿 (Zhang et al. 1999: 257–258): "thousand" Lungzhou /ɕiːn1/, Shangsi /siːn1/.[4]

2. *v*: According to the original description and modern related Cantonese, the sound value is considered to be *ʋ.

3. *e* and *ê* can be taken as *ɛ, *e. Chiang (2004) takes *êu*, *êm*, *ên*, *êp*, etc. as allophones of *iu*, *im*, *in*, *ip*, mentioning "even Lagarrue himself thinks they can be substituted". However, the examples used by Lagarrue are only *bến tí* and *bín tí* and the *iê* with, as stated by Lagarrue, "almost inaudible ê", are listed as separate phonemes by Chiang (2004). The unignorable need for *êu*, *êm*, *ên*, *êp* as sound values and phonemes is discussed in 4.3.3.

4. *ơ* in *uơ* is described as sometimes close to *ô*, mostly close to French *œu*. Considering modern values and the original description, *uơ* should be *yo~*yœ in *-uơng*, *-uơc*.

4.2 Tones

Basically, the tone value can be derived from the original description. The discrepancy is that the first tone is described as *le ton supérieur* 'the upper tone' in the original text, but in the section of comparison to Guangzhou Cantonese, the same tone symbol is given for both the Yinping tone (陰平) in Hà Cối Cantonese and the high rising tone (the variant of the Yinshang tone 陰上) in Guangzhou:

(2)　lồi cô tí. (Hà Cối Cantonese, transcribed as " 來嗰啲 ")
(3)　lài cô xứ. (Guangzhou Cantonese, transcribed as " 來嗰處 ")

The recording in 1900 of the tones in Hanoi Vietnamese (Azoulay 1900) also shows that the tone Sắc is close to a high rising tone. In modern Qin-Lian Baakwaa, a high rising tone 45 is also used for Yinping. Considering all evidence above, it is likely that then Hà Cối Cantonese also had such a high rising tone 45 for Yinping.

Another noteworthy tone is 5*, described as close to 341, while in the 1900 recordings of Hanoi Vietnamese, the tone Ngã is close to 21ʔ5. Considering that most of the characters in this toneme belong to the *light rising* tone (古濁上), especially 次濁上 (the *rising* tone with sonorant initials, see 4.3.4.), 21ʔ5 is more likely, but it is still difficult to ascertain the tone value.

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[4]　A similar case would be *tɕʰ of both high and low classes in Lanna and Lao-Isan merge into /ɕ/ or /s/.

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Table 1 The transcriptions of toneme and tone values

á	ǎ	a	à	ạ	?ã	áP	?aP	ạP	?àP
陰平	陰上	陰去	陽平	陽上	? 陽上 -B	上陰入	? 下陰入	下陰入 - 陽入	? 陽入
Yinping	Yinshang	Yinqu	Yangping	Yangshang	?Yangshang-B	Shangyinru	?Xiayinru	Xiayinru-yangru	?Yangru
1	2	3	4	5	?5*	1	?3	5	?4
45	24	33	21	23	?341	5	?3	2	1

? - rare, # - only one occurrence

4.3 Phonological analysis

The phonology of Lagarrue's material is essentially the same as Qin-Fang and is consistent with the modern Qin-Fang characteristics mentioned above:

Table 2 General characteristics and comparison with Qin-Fang Cantonese

Features	Material	Characters	Móng Cái	Qiaogang Cô Tô	Fang.	Qin.	Maoming 茂名	Qiaogang Cát Bà
/ŋ/ as initial	nhị	魚	ŋi21	ŋi21	ŋi21	ŋi21	ŋi21	ji21
Main vowel is not /y/								
/ɬ/ as initial	xi	四	ɬi33	ɬi33	ɬi33	ɬi33	ɬei33	sei33
/i/ is not diphthongized into /ei/								
Distinguish Rhyme 模 from 豪	bù	部	pu21	pu21	pu21	pu21	pou22	pu21/pɐu21
	bầu	保	pɐu23	pɐu13	pɐu23	pɐu23	pou35	pɐu13

However, there seem to be more phonemes than in Qin-Fang, and some are neglected in previous studies. The following is the analysis of those phonemes.

4.3.1 Merging rhymes 豪 and 侯

The modern Cantonese varieties in Qin-Fang area mostly merge rhymes 豪 and 侯 as /ɐu/, but the Cantonese in Lagarrue's material has two notations: *âu* and *au*.

Table 3 Analysis of rhyme 豪 and 侯

Recorded as		âu (%)	au (%)	ǎu/ǎo (%)	ao (%)
Rhyme 豪	45	75.56	8.89	11.11	4.44
Class 流	126	47.62	22.22	23.02	7.14
Rhyme 侯	61	50.82	16.39	24.59	8.20

It can be seen that the rhyme 豪 basically corresponds to *âu* and the phoneme is close to that in Lingcheng (靈城), Fangcheng or Dongxing Cantonese, if the distinction between rhymes 豪 and 侯 is considered. Meanwhile, a lot of characters in class 流 and rhyme 豪 are merged into *âu*, i.e. the class 流 is merged into rhyme 豪 .

Huang (2013: 42) mentions that in Fangcheng Cantonese, rhyme 侯 with initials 幫 , 端 or 泥 and rhyme 尤 with the initial 來 are /ou/, while in the material:

Table 4 Comparisons of rhyme 侯 and 尤 combined with initials

Recorded as		âu (%)	au (%)	ău/ăo (%)	ao (%)
Rhyme 侯 + Initials 幫端泥	23	43.48	17.39	21.74	17.39
Rhyme 侯 + Initials non- 幫端泥	38	55.26	15.79	26.32	2.63
Rhyme 尤 + Initial 來	10	60.00	30.00	0.00	10.00
Rhyme 尤 + Initial non- 來	55	41.82	27.27	25.45	5.45

It can be concluded that there is basically no difference which phoneme they belong to, with around 40% to 50% of the characters going to *âu*; the only high proportion (60%) is due to the small total number (10) of characters, which is therefore not statistically significant.

4.3.2 Merging rhyme 陽 and the colloquial reading of class 梗

Since many modern dialects in the Qin-Lian area have varying degrees of merging rhyme 陽 and the *colloquial reading of class* 梗 (梗攝白讀), but there is a distinction in Fangcheng dialect, we look at whether it is the same in the material.

Table 5 Comparison of spread rhyme 陽 and the colloquial reading of class 梗

Recorded As		iêng (%)	iêc (%)	eng (%)	ec (%)	êng (%)	êc (%)
Spread Rhyme 陽	28	**64.29**	17.86	7.14	0.00	10.71	0.00
Colloquial Reading of Class 梗	24	12.50	0.00	**62.50**	4.80	4.17	3.20

The two rhymes (spread rhyme 陽 and the colloquial 梗) are clearly separated, with most of the characters of rhyme 陽 (57 *-ương* and 12 *-ươc*) recorded rounded.

4.3.3 Colloquial reading of rhymes 效山咸

As mentioned above, when considering rhymes with endings, Chiang (2004) regards *i* and *ê* as the same phoneme but *iê* as separate. However, by comparing to Qin-Lian including from Luo (2015) and Gaoyang (高陽) Yue collated by Weng (2012) and Shao (2016), it can be shown that about 66% of *êu êm ên êt êp* have corresponding phonemes in at least one of the modern western varieties while *iê* hardly do. Some of the words are listed below:

Table 6 Colloquial reading of rhymes 效山咸 corresponding modern varieties

Material	Char.	Móng.	Qiaogang Cô Tô	Fang.	Qin.	Beihai	Mao.	Gaozhou 高州	Xinyi 信宜	Dianbai 電白	Huazhou 化州	Qiaogang Cát Bà
méo	貓	miɛu	miɛu	miɛu	mɐu	mɛu	miau	miau	mɛu	mɛu	miau	mau/mɛu
kêp	夾	kiɐp		kiɐp	keɐp	kɛp	keɐp	kɛp	keɐp	kiɐp	kiɐp	
phên	片	pʰiɛn	pʰiɛn	pʰiɛn	pʰɛn		pʰeɐn	pʰiɛn	pʰɛn	pʰiɛn	pʰiɛn	
chển	剪	tsiɛn	tsiɛn	tsiɛn	tɕɛn							
nến	胖	niɛn	niɛn	niɛn	nɛn	nɛn	neɐn	niɛn				lɛn
têm	點		tiɛm	tiɛm	teɐm	tɛm	teɐm	teɐm	teɐm	tiɛm		
thểm	墊	tʰiɛm	tʰiɛm	tʰiɛm	tʰeɐm							tʰɛm
xiển	鱔	siɛn		siɛn								
chiêp	接											
liều	料											

However, modern varieties do not correspond to Lagarrue's description of the clarity of *ê* in *iêu* since in this circumstance no colloquial reading /eu/ is recorded.

4.3.4 The *rising* tones 古上聲

There is no difference between *dark*（陰）and *light*（陽）*risings* in the modern Qin-Lian Baakwaa, but Lagarrue suspiciously records three tones (T2, T5, T5*):

Table 7 Distribution and sources of the ancient *rising* tones 古上聲

Distribution (%)	全清	次清	次濁	全濁
T2	**96.50**	**96.67**	**50.00**	86.49
T5	**2.80**	3.33	**31.25**	5.41
T5*	**0.70**	0.00	18.75	8.11
Total	143	30	96	37

Sources (%)	全清	次清	次濁	全濁	Total
T2	**44.81**	9.42	15.58	10.39	308
T5	8.16	2.04	**61.22**	4.08	49
T5*	3.85	0.00	**69.23**	11.54	26

It can be seen that the *rising* tones with unvoiced initials（全清上 and 次清上）and voiced obstruents（全濁上）are basically in the T2; *rising* tones with sonorant initials（次濁上）are already half in the T2, but partly in the T5 or 5*; the main source of T5 and T5* tones is the *rising* tones with sonorant initials. Given the nature of the approximant/nasal initials, the recorded T5 as well as T5* should be seen as a conditional variant of the *rising* tones caused mainly by the sonorant consonants, which is supported by the fact that character 影 *ying* is read as the initial 以 *yi* with T5. We can therefore conclude that the distinction of *rising* is mostly conditional and does not make it closer to Guangzhou Cantonese.

4.4 Special word pronunciations

As mentioned above, a few characters are pronounced differently in Qin-Fang and even in Qin-Lian from most other Cantonese, which are reflected in the material:

Table 8 Special words that resemble Qin-Lian

Material	Char.	Fangcheng	Qinzhou	Beihai	Maoming
phí	揮	**fi45**	**fi45**	**fei45**	fai553
xìn	純	**łin21**	**łin21**	**łin21**	sɐn21
hấu	丘	**hɐu45**	**hɐu45**	**hɐu45**	**hɐu45/jɐu45**
hìn	弦	**hin21**	**hin21**	**hin21**	jin21
phù	胡	**fu21**	**fu21**	**fu21**	**fu21**
khổng	孔	**kʰʊŋ23/hʊŋ23**	**kʰʊŋ23/hʊŋ23**	**kʰʊŋ23**	**kʰʊŋ35/hʊŋ35**
ngì	疑	**ŋi21 (old)**	**ŋi21 (old)**	ji21	**ŋi21**

Bold - correspond to the material

Also, some words seem to be outside of the range of Qin-Lian:

Table 9 Special words that do not resemble Qin-Lian

Material	Char.	Fangcheng	Qinzhou	Beihai	Other Cantonese
giừng	蠅	jɪŋ	jɪŋ	jɪŋ	**nœŋ** (Yulin 玉林) (Li 1993: 1183)
giực	翼	jɪk	jɪk	jɪk	**œk** (Yulin) (Li 1993: 1168)
phạm	犯	fan	fan	fan	**fɔm** (Yulin) (Li, 1993: 1163) (Liang 2010)
phạp/phạt	法	fat	fat	fat	**fap** (Bobai 博白) (Nanning 南寧)
quóng/cóng	光	kɔŋ	kɔŋ	kɔŋ	**kʷɔŋ** (Guangzhou)
khuông	礦	kʰɔŋ	kʰɔŋ	kʰɔŋ	**kʷʰɔŋ** (Guangzhou)
sừ	事	łi	łi	si	**sɿ** (Nanning), 士 **sy** (Daliang) (Tang 2011)
hộp	合	hɐp	hɐp	hɐp	**hop** (late Qing Guangzhou) (Luo 2013)

Bold - correspond to the material

Some of the phonetic sounds may reflect early features (*hộp*, *quóng*) or influences from Hakka or other Cantonese in the vicinity (*phạm*, *phạp*, *sừ*), etc. while *quóng* cannot be ruled out as being influenced by Vietnamese orthography when Lagarrue tries to adapt it to Cantonese (e.g. *xủy* 水 , *xùy* 槌 , Sino-Viet. *thủy*, *chùy*; while others are *ui*). Pronunciation of another small group of characters is considered to be borrowed through the Từ Hán-Việt (Sino-Vietnamese vocabulary), which will be discussed in detail in the part of lexical items.

4.5 Conclusion for phonology

After the analysis above, we can compare the main phonological features as:

Table 10 Phonological comparison

Features	L.	Móng.	Qiao. Cô Tô	Fang.	Qin.	Ling.	Beihai	Mao.	Gao.	Nanning	Wuzhou	Qiao. Cát Bà	Guang zhou	Yulin
/ŋ/ as initial	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	old	-	-	+
No main /y/	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	old	+	-	-	+	-	-
/ɬ/ as initial	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+
No *i* diphthongization	+	+	+	+	+	…	-	-	-	+	+	…	-	+
No *u* diphthongization	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+
Rounding 匣 /f/	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-
Div.3 匣溪 as /h/	+	?	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	?	-	-
Distinguish rhymes 模 豪	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
Merged rhymes 豪 侯	…	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
Merged 陽 & colloquial 梗	…	-	+	-	±	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rhyme 諄 as *div. 3* rhyme 山	+	?	?	+	+	?	+	-	-	old	-	?	-	-
Systematic colloquial 效山咸	+	+	+	+	+	…	…	…	…	+	-	-	-	…
One *rising*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
Rising Yinping	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

± - coexistence of users; … - exist, but less; old - aged speakers; ? - lack of data

We can see that the features that can identify Fang-Qin are almost totally met by this variety. Therefore, we can say that from a phonological point of view, this variety is quite close to the modern Fang-Qin Baakwaa and should be affiliated with the early modern Fang-Qin considering the traces of then undergoing sound changes.

5. Grammar

Grammar can be found in Lagarrue's summary and in the dialogues, which is highly consistent with the grammatical features of Fang-Qin as follows, some of which are also shared with other (mainly western) varieties of Cantonese:

1. Simple negation and *mậu* 冇 (at the end in yes-no-question as "……冇 ?");

2. Negative existential *mậu giậu* 冇有 ;

3. Perfect negation and question *mì* 未 , *mầng* 斸 ;

4. Which *xín* (Fang-Qin /ɕin45/, Gaozhou /ʃi55/ (Zhang 2019), Yulin /ʃi/ (Liang 2010), Dongguan /sy35/ and Zengcheng /sin55/ (Zhan et al. 1988));

5. Who-question *mắn nhần* 乜人 ;

6. Why-question *chu mắn nhẻ* 做乜嘢 ;

7. Equative *thồng* 同 without "……一樣 ";

8. Comparative *cô* 過 in "X+A+ 過 +Y"; short comparative "X+A+ 過 ";

9. Demonstrative: proximal *cô* 嗰 / 箇 , distal *nu* 呶 ⁼ (derived from " 哪 ");

10. General classifier *chiếc* 隻 ; indefinite classifier *xắc* 噬 ;

11. Directional complements *lọc* 落 , *xắt* 出 , *giặp* 入 , *vùi* 回 , *hi* 去 (Viet. *đi*), *lồi* 來 , often structured as "V+O+C". 來 can be also used as auxiliaries to express invocations like in Lianjiang 廉江 (Lin & Guo 2010);

12. Potential complement *tắc* 得 , several forms for negation: " 冇得＋ V" " 冇＋ V ＋得 " " 冇＋ V ＋ result complement";

13. Adverbs " 還 ": *hằn, ắn* and *hàn, àn* 閒 ⁼, Zhuang *hanz*;

14. Adverbs " 才 ": *chắng* 正 ;

15. *lịu* 了 as phase complement, perfective and perfect;

16. Continuous *tẩu* 到 and *chược* 着 ; …etc.

Also grammatical features influenced or reinforced by other languages including Vietnamese can be found as follows:

1. Superlatives *giắt* 一 or *tài giắt* 大一 comparing Viet. *nhất* 一 ;

2. Progressive *tóng* resembles the Sino-Vietnamese *đang* 當 in Viet. and *đảng/đang slí* in Tày;

3. Head-initial (HI) word orders; …etc.

Due to space constraints, it is not possible to show each of the above grammatical expressions, so examples that are sufficiently specific to reflect the grammar are selected. The examples in modern Cantonese are based on the author's sense of the mother tongue, Qinzhou Baakwaa, and also verified by respondents from Fangcheng.[5]

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[5]　Respondent 1: Hailin Liang (梁海林) (19), male, a high school graduate and a student, speaks Fangcheng Baakwaa as the mother tongue, also speaks Hakka. Respondent 2: Mr. Hou (侯先生) (23), male, bachelor graduate in banking, prefers not to reveal his name, speaking Fangcheng Baakwaa as the mother tongue.

5.1 Relative clauses

Lagarrue argues that Cantonese does not have pronouns, but uses other forms to express the same meaning. The example given by Lagarrue is *ǎ* 啞 ⁼:

(4) **Ǎ**　　chiệc　nhần　lỗi　　cắm mặn　hi　　vuì.
　　啞 ⁼　隻　　人　　來　　今晚　　去　　回。
　　REL　　CLF　person　come　tonight　　go　　back
　　L'homme qui vient repartira ce soir.
　　'The man who comes will leave tonight.'

(5) Ngộ　mái　**ǎ**　chiệc　mẫu　tịt　tều.
　　我　　買　　**啞** ⁼　隻　　貓　　跌　　掉。
　　1SG　buy　REL　CLF　　cat　　lost　PFV.PRF
　　Le chat que j'ai acheté est perdu.
　　'The cat that I bought is lost.'

啞 ⁼ should be a weakening of 個 in pronunciation and turns into an anaphora and/or definite demonstrative, functioning as a marker of relational clauses. The weakening of 個 should be similar to the development of demonstratives in Foshan Cantonese (Huang 2007). Modern Qinzhou Baakwaa may have expanded the word 啞 ⁼ as a medial demonstrative from the anaphora and/or definite demonstrative.

(6) (modern Qin-Fang)
　　ni23　a33/ɐʔ3　ti45　　　ɕi45　ts45　jiu33　mɐu23　　　　　　(Qin. accent)
　　你　　啊 [6]　　　啲　　　　書　　仲　　要　　冇？
　　2SG　DEM2　　CLF.PL.DEF　book　still　need　NEG
　　'Do you still need those books?' [7]

Unmarked HI clauses are also recorded (**bold** - head; underline - clause):

(7) Ngộ　bỉ　　ạ cống　thảy　xám phu　quai hi　ngộ　mãi　bỉ　　ngộ　chể mùi.
　　我　　畀　　阿公　　睇　　**衫褲**　　貴氣　　我　　買　　畀　　我　　姐妹。
　　1SG　give　grandpa　see　clothes　noble　　1SG　buy　give　1SG　sisters
　　Je vous montrerai les vêtements somptueux que j'ai achetés pour ma sœur.
　　'I will show you the sumptuous clothes I bought for my sister.'

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[6]　啊 /a33/ in Fang-Qin has a different tone than the tone of *ǎ* 啞 ⁼ (/a24/).
[7]　Modern Qinzhou Baakwaa, not in Fangcheng.

Modern Nanning (Lin & Qin 2008: 361–362) and Fang-Qin can also have HI clauses but with markers:

(8)　(Lin & Qin 2008: 362)

我　都　識-得　　隻　賣-菜-婆，
1SG　also　know-RCMP　CLF　sell-vegetable-granny,

佢　隻　仔　捱　公安-局　　捉　去　哂　三-次　　嘅。
3SG　CLF　child　PASS　police-station　catch　go　PFV　three-time　REL.GEN

'I know a granny selling vegetables whose son has been arrested three times by the police.'

(9)　(modern Qin-Fang)

ŋɔ23　ŋai33　ʋɐn23　ɐt5-tit5　　　　kɔ45
我　　噯　　搵　　一-/**tit5**/　　歌
1SG　like　find　one-CLF.PL.NDEF　song

ŋɔ23　mi21　tʰeɐ̯ŋ45　kɔ33　kɔ33/kɐ33　lɔi21　tʰeɐ̯ŋ45　　(Qin. accent)
我　　未　　聽　　過　個　　　　來　　聽。
1SG　NEG.PRF　hear　EXP　REL.GEN　come.to　hear

'I like to find some songs that I have not heard before to listen to.'

5.2 Classifier-noun structure

Lagarrue states that "articles" are absent in Cantonese and the classifiers are combined with demonstratives closely or even classifiers can be absent but only a demonstrative exists as in (10) and (11), while we find sentences like (12) that may indicate an exception which is similar to Fang-Qin:

(10)　Cô　　chiệc　cẩu　phì.
　　　嗰　　隻　　狗　　吠。
　　　DEM1　CLF　dog　bark
　　　Le chien aboie.
　　　'The dog barks.'

(11)　Ngộ　hi xạ　cô　xìn.
　　　我　　去耍˭　嗰　船。
　　　1SG　go play　DEM1　boat
　　　Je vais me promener en bateau.
　　　'I'm going for a boat ride.'

中國語文通訊

CURRENT RESEARCH IN CHINESE LINGUISTICS

(12) Ngộ   lỗ   phong   xổ   chưống-thồi.
　　 我   攞   放   所   張 - 臺。
     1SG   take   place   LOC   CLF-table
     Je les mets sur la table.
     'I put them on the table.'

5.3 Aspects

5.3.1 Habitual

The word *hẳng* or *hăng* 肯, often correspond to Vietnamese *hay* in the material, is equivalent to "tend to" with three meanings. The first means 'easily' in 肯着 'inflammable' etc. and in the sentence:

(13) Mậu   **hẳng**   phạt-bèng   phai   tố.
　　 冇   肯   發 - 病   快   多。
     NEG   easily   onset-sickness quick   much
     Sinon on tombe malade rapidement.
     'Otherwise you get sick quickly.'

The second meaning denotes a hobby or a preference, e.g. 肯想 'suspicious', 肯斬殺 'bloodthirsty' and 肯食 'voracious'. The third meaning is considered expressing the habitual aspect as in 肯爛 'often get torn' and 肯怕 'fearful' (but may also mean 'easily') and more clearly, in sentences like:

(14) Tài-giẳt   tống-xẳn   **hẳng**   giậu   xịt-mù.
　　 大 - 一   冬 - 春   肯   有   雪 - 霧。
     great-most   winter-season.spring HAB   have   snow-mist
     Surtout pendant l'hiver ou le crachin est très fréquent.
     'Especially during the winter when the drizzle is very frequent.'

(15) Tài-xìu   xồi- chỉ   ốc   múi-chảy **hẳng**   báo-kiệc...
　　 大 - 朝   財 - 主   屋   妹 - 仔   肯   包 - 腳⋯⋯
     great-dynasty rich-lord   family.house   girl-DIM HAB   bound-foot
     En Chine, les fillettes des maisons de la haute société ont généralement les pieds
     enfermés dans des bandelettes...
     'In China, girls in upper-class homes usually have their feet encased in bandages...'

Negative form " 少 + 肯 " as in *xỉu hăng cổng* 少肯講 (silencieux) 'silent' supports the third meaning. The first and the third meanings are identical to 肯 in Fang-Qin and Beihai; the second one is mostly replaced by " 癮 ".

5.3.2 Preparative

Bìn 便 appears only in the word *chẻnh bìn* 整便 (se préparer à) 'prepare for', which can be compared to not only modern Fang-Qin and Beihai Baakwaa, but also early varieties from the database like Cantonese from Cheung et al. (2012) and Hakka from Yiu et al. (2018):

(16) 預先　　　買　便。
　　 advance　buy　Preparative
　　 'Previously bought and ready.'[8]

(17) 厓　打發　嚹　嘅　差、　　在　嗻　面前、
　　 1SG　send　1SPOSS　GEN　emissary,　LOC　2SPOSS　front,
　　 佢　嚕　整 - 便　　　嗻　嘅　路道……
　　 3SG　FUT　set-Preparative　2SPOSS　GEN　way…
　　 'I will send my messenger in your presence, and he will make your way straight…'[9]

5.3.3 *Tều* as perfective and perfect

Tều can be perfective and perfect at the end of sentences as in (19)–(22) and can also co-occur with perfective *lịu* as in (22):

(18) Nị　å bá　ǐk[10]-tố　xui? Ngọ　å bá　xi-**tều**.
　　 你　亞爸　幾 - 多　歲？ 我　亞爸　死 - **掉**。
　　 2SG　father　how-many　age? 1SG　father　die-PFV.PRF
　　 Quel âge a votre père? Mon père est mort.
　　 'How old is your father? My father is dead.'

(19) Å cống　chu　lịu　sừ　mầng? Hầy　lịu-**tều**-lô.
　　 亞公　做　了　事　嚸？ 係　了 - **掉** - 囉。
　　 grandpa　do　CMPL　matter　NEG.PRF?　EMP　CMPL-PFV–SFP.PRF
　　 Avez-vous fini votre ouvrage? Oui, je l'ai terminé.
　　 'Have you finished your work? Yes, I have finished it.'

(20) Cô　chiệc　cáy　phà　nầy　vǎn　xồng,
　　 嗰　隻　雞　扒　泥　搵　蟲，
　　 DEM1　CLF　chicken　scratch　mug　find　worm,

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[8]　*Vocabulary of the Canton Dialect*《廣東省土話字彙》by Morrison, 1828.
[9]　*The Gospel of Mark (Hakka)*, 1883.
[10]　Sic.

vǎn-tẩu   xồng **tều** khỉ ham   chảy lồi.
搵 - 到   蟲   掉   佢   喊   仔   來。
find-RCMP worm PFV 3SG call child come
La poule gratte le sol pour y chercher des vers quand elle en trouve elle glousse pour appeler ses poussins.
'The hen scratches the ground for worms, when she finds some she clucks to call her chicks.'

(21) Thịt-**lịu** phóng-lỉ, ten-chũi,   mỏng, tiu-xộc,   lưởng ca   chào **tều**.
脫 - 了   風 - 俚、 □(ten)- 嘴、 網、 吊 - 索、 兩   架   櫂   掉。
shed-PFV wind-sail, anchor-mouth, net,   hang-rope, two   CLF oar   PRF
Elle avait perdu sa voile, son ancre, ses filets, ses lignes et deux avirons.
'She had lost her sail, her anchor, her nets, her lines and two oars.'

5.4 Prepositions

5.4.1 Locative

For locative *xổ* 所 ⸗ is used; not used in time phrases; transcripted as 坐 by Chiang (2009). Modern Fang-Qin use /tsʰɔi23/ 在 or weakened forms of 在. The AdvP is outside of VP structure, which is acceptable also in Fang-Qin:

(22) Giắt chiệc má-chảy tóng-thảy giắt quằn   ạp   **xổ** hà táy thìn-tồng.
一   隻   媽 - 仔   當 - 睇   一   羣   鴨   所   下低   田 - 垌。
one CLF mom-DIM PRG-see one   CLF.PL duck LOC under farm-field
Une vieille femme conduisait une bande de canards dans les rizieres.
'An old woman was leading a bunch of ducks through the rice fields.'

5.4.2 Dative/Benefactive

Bỉ 畀 is for dative and benefactive. In dative "V+(Od+)D+Oi" is used:

(23) Ngộ tì   nìn-nìn   nạp-xui **bỉ** bóng-chưởng.
我哋   年 - 年   納 - 稅   畀   邦 - 長。
1PL   year-year pay-tax, DAT country-leader
Nous avons toujours régulièrement payé l'impôt au bong chuong.
'We have always regularly paid tax to the bong chuong.'

Benefactive are "VP+B+Oi" "B+Oi+VP". Three kinds of benefactives are concluded by van Valin and LaPolla (1997): recipient benefactive (RB), plain benefactive (PB) and deputative benefactive (DB); Wang (2017) reinterpret DB as the benefactive of substitution:

(24) Xắn xếch chược tả lì **bǐ** chảy xảy-mìn, xố-thầu kểu-cay.
　　 親戚　　着　打理　畀　仔　洗 - 面，　梳 - 頭　絞 - 髻。
　　 relatives should take_care BEN child wash-face, comb-hair twist-updo
　　 Les parents doivent penser à leurs enfants, les débarbouiller, les coiffer.
　　 'Parents have to think about their children, wash them and comb and bun their
　　 hair.' (B+Oi+VP, DB)

(25) Xíu phổ-làu hong xám phu **bǐ** nị tì nỉn.
　　 燒　火 - □　炕　衫褲　畀　你哋　暖。
　　 burn fire-stove parch clothes BEN 2PL warm
　　 Vous y ferez du feu pour sécher vos vêtements et vous réchauffer.
　　 'You can make fire to dry your clothes and keep you warm.' (VP+B+Oi, PB)

In modern Fang-Qin "VP+B+Oi" is preferred, which is consistent with dative, while DB can
also be expressed by " 幫 +Oi+VP", similar to " 畀 +Oi+VP" in Hà Cối.

(26) kau23-tim21　tan45-ŋɛ23　pi45　ŋɔ23.　　　　　　　　(Qin. accent)
　　 搞 - 掂　　　單 - 嘢　　畀　我。
　　 set-CMPL　　CLF-thing　BEN　1SG
　　 'Get this done for me.' (VP+B+Oi, DB)

(27) pɔŋ45　ŋɔ23　kau23-tim21　tan45-ŋɛ23.　　　　　　　(Qin. accent)
　　 幫　　我　搞 - 掂　　單 - 嘢。
　　 help　1SG　set-CMPL　CLF-thing
　　 'Help me to get this done.' (B+Oi+VP, DB)

The word *bǐ* 畀 also has meanings 'to make sth. from' and 'to play', which may be considered
factitive or goal:

(28) Cô chiệc mặt-phóng **bǐ** lạp phóng thòng.
　　 嗰　隻　蜜 - 蜂　畀　蠟　蜂糖。
　　 DEM1 CLF honey-bee give.make wax honey
　　 L'abeille donne de la cire et du miel.
　　 'The bee gives wax and honey.'

(29) Lổ làm **bǐ** làm-xếc-xếnh hẩu.
　　 攞　藍　畀　藍 - 色 - 青　好。
　　 take indigo.blue give.make blue-colour-blue_green good
　　 L'indigo donne une belle couleur bleue.
　　 'Indigo gives a beautiful blue colour.'

Some words may be influenced by Vietnamese *cho*:

(30) chu-bĭ-xầm.

做 - 畀 - 沉

do-give-sink

submerger

'to submerge'

Viet. *làm cho chìm* 'to flood'.

5.4.3 Comitative, instrumental and ablative/source

Lấu 撈 appears only in the word list with Fr. *avec*, while in sentences *cồng* 共 or *cắn* 跟 are frequently used to express comitative, instrumental and possible ablative or source case; *cố* 過 in T1 is the same as the Vietnamese word *qua*, which possibly express an ablative or source case.

(31) xỏ   lị thầu pắc-khì   **cồng** nu-pìn   Tài-Xiù

所   裏頭 北 - 圻   共   呶 - 便   大 - 朝

LOC inside north-part COM   DEM3-side   great-dynasty

...du Tonkin **et** en Chine.

'... in Tonkin and in (there) China.'

(32) Xỏ   cô-tí   **cắn**   ngộ   sệc.

坐   嗰 - 啲   跟   我   食。

sit   DEM1-place   COM   1SG   eat

Asseyez-vous et mangez **avec** moi.

'Sit down and eat **with** me.' (**COM**)

(33) …**cồng** phổ-thồng khỉ   hồn   gì   cọc   cắm-hi.

……共   火 - 筒   佢   焊   易   各   金 - 器。

…INS   fire-tube   3SG   weld   easy CLF.PL gold.metal-ware

...**grâce à** son chalumeau il soude aisément les métaux.

'...**thanks to** his torch he can easily weld the metals.' (**INS**)

(34) **Cắn**   ngầu-phì   chu   ín-phì.

跟   牛 - 皮   做   煙 - 皮。

INS.ABL cow-skin   make   smoke-skin

Avec la peau on fait du cuir.

'**With** the skin we make leather.' (**INS** and/or possible **ABL**)

(35) **Cắn**   ngầu cọc   chu-xắt   tấu-peng.

跟   牛角   做 - 出   刀 - 柄。

ABL.INS cow-horn   make-out   knife-handle

Avec les cornes de buffle on fabrique des manches de couteaux.

'**With** buffalo horns we make knife handles.' (**ABL** and/or possible **INS**)

(36) Cô　　chiệc nhần　chọc-tắc　lưởng mìn khì **cố** ngăc-nhần.
　　　嗰　　隻　　人　　捉 - 得　　兩　　面　旗　**過**　逆 - 人。
　　　DEM1　CLF　person　catch-RCMP　two　CLF　flag　ABL　against-person
　　　Cet homme a enlevé deux drapeaux à l'ennemi.
　　　'This man took two flags from the enemy.' (**ABL/Source**)

In Lingshan, comitative is 共, locative and ablative is 跟; in Qinzhou, comitative is 撈 (along with also but less 跟), ablative is 撈 and 跟 . In early Cantonese bibles from the database by Kataoka et al. (2020), only 共 can be found as comitative, dative or benefactive:

(37) 你　老 - 母　　共　你　兄弟　企　喺倒　外 - 邊，想　　見　你　呀。[11]
　　　2SG old-mother COM 2SG brother CLF LOC　out-side, want see 2SG SFP
　　　'Your mother **and** brother are out there and want to see you.'
(38) 搣　　呢 - 的　　共　你　做　　憑據。[12]
　　　take　DEM1-CLF.PL COM 2SG make　evidence
　　　'These will be given **to** you as evidence.'
(39) 等　　我　共　你　擸 - 出 - 嚟　　喇。[13]
　　　wait 1SG help 2SG pull-out-come SFP
　　　'I'll **help** you pull it out.'

5.5 Passive voice

In Fang-Qin Cantonese, the word 着 [14]/tɕøɔk2//tɕeɐ̯k2/ is to indicate passive voice or 'have to'; the perpetrator may not appear at all:

(40) ŋɔ23　tɕøɔk2/tɕeɐ̯k2　ta23　　　　　　　　　　　　(Qin. accent)
　　　我　　着　　　　　　打。
　　　1SG　PASS　　　　　beat
　　　'I'm beat**en**.'

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[11]　*Gospel of Luke* by Louis, 1867.
[12]　*A Summary of the Life of Jesus* 《耶穌言行撮要》by Preston, 1863.
[13]　*Gospel of Luke* by Louis, 1867.
[14]　Besides 着 , 捱 /ŋai21/ is also used to express the two meanings. Some consider it to be more negative (Wei et al. 2019). Some Fangcheng people only use 捱 /ŋai21/ instead of 着 ; In this case, when meaning 'have to', only 捱加班 /ŋai21 ka45 pan45/ 'have to work overtime' is considered acceptable while 捱做工 /ŋai21 tsu33 kʊŋ45/ 'have to work' is not.

(41) ŋɔ23   tɕøɔk2/tɕeɐ̯k2   tsu33-kʊ̯ŋ55   tsan21-tsʰin21   (Qin. accent)
     我   着   做 - 工   賺 - 錢。
     1SG   have_to   do-work   earn-money
     'I **have to** work to earn money.'

Lagarrue records four words for passive voice, i.e. *xầu* 受 , *bì* 被 , *chược* 着 and *hầy* 係 . *Hầy* 係 may simply mean an emphasis on the following verb. *Xầu* 受 and *bì* 被 occur in written Chinese, while *chược* 着 is a colloquial word with multiple meanings, including 'encounter', 'have to' and continuous aspect:

(42) Xông-**chược**   giắt   ca   phóng-bâu.
     撞 - 着   一   架   風 - 暴。
     bump-CMP   one   CLF   wind-fierce
     Subir un rude coup de vent.
     'Suffer from a strong wind.'

(43) Ả cống   **chược**   hịt   xệc-kì hẩu.
     亞公   着   歇   食 - 忌口。
     grandpa   have_to   rest   eat-diet
     Il vous faut du repos et une nourriture légère.
     'You need rest and light food.'

(44) Giắt   chủng   nhần   ọc；   mậu   ki-**chược**   xì-nhặt   xỉ.
     一   種   人   惡 ，   冇   記 - 着   遲 - 日   死。
     one   CLF.type   person evil,   NEG   remember-CMP   later-day   die
     Les hommes sont méchants; ils oublient qu'ils mourront tous un jour.
     'Men are wicked; they forget that they will all die one day.'

By grammaticalisation, *chược* 着 can gradually change from 'encounter' to 'get into trouble with', 'being forced' and finally indicating the passive voice:

(45) Khỉ   **chườc**   phạt-xổng.
     佢   着   罰 - 重。
     3SG   PASS   punish-heavy
     Il sera sévèrement puni.
     'He will be severely punished.'

(46) bệt   chiệc **chược** phao tả-xổng   luởng nắp gìn-mả   xổ   xắn.
     別   隻   着   炮   打 - 中   兩   粒 圓 - 碼   所   身。
     other CLF   PASS   gun   hit-to_target two   CLF round-bullet LOC body
     …un autre était grièvement blessé de deux balles en plein corps.
     '…another was seriously wounded by two bullets in the body.'

Tắc 得 means 'to get', whether it expresses a positive passive voice remains doubtful:

(47) Xám-vạc-cún　　　 chẩu chì giắt chiệc pếnh　giậu　tảm-tố　**tắc** xưởng.
　　 三 - 劃 - 官　　　 走 ͏ 字 ͏ 一 隻 兵　　 有 膽 - 多　得 賞。
　　 three-stroke-officer nominate one CLF soldier have gall-many get reward
　　 Le capitaine a proposé un soldat très brave pour une récompense.
　　 'The captain nominated a very brave soldier for a reward.'

5.6 Word orders

"VP+AdvP" dominates:

(48) vùi　mậu-cẳm　xắt-hàng　giề cán.
　　 會　行 - 敢　　 出 - 行　夜間。
　　 FUT NEG-dare out-walk night
　　 ...n'osent sortir la nuit.
　　 '...dare not go out at night.'

(49) mậu-tắc　　 thảy vồ　xổ　lị-thầu　ốc.
　　 行 - 得　　 睇 禾 所 裏 - 頭 屋。
　　 NEG-PCMP.can see crop LOC in-side house
　　 ...ne pourrait pas garder ses récoltes.
　　 '...could not keep his crops.'

(50) xà　　bặc-phẩn　　lưởng　bìn　　 mìn.
　　 搽　　白 - 粉　　 兩　　便　　　面。
　　 smear white-powder two CLF.side face
　　 ...de la poudre blanche sur les joues.
　　 '...putting…white powder on cheeks.'

(51) Sệc　cắn　　ngộ　thiếm.
　　 食　跟　　我　添。
　　 eat COM 1SG again
　　 Mangez encore avec moi.
　　 'Eat with me again.'

"A+N" mostly for adjectives closely combined while "N+A" for those not:

(52) Chiệc　　 chảm　co　　thiù　**tài-mộc**.
　　 直　　　斬　　咽　　條　大 - 木。
　　 direct.just chop DEM1 CLF huge-tree
　　 Il faut abattre ce gros arbre.
　　 'This big tree has to be cut down.' (A+N)

(53) Ngô   bỉ   ạ cống   thảy   **xám phu   quai hi**.
     我   畀   亞公   睇   衫褲   貴氣。
     1SG   give   grandpa   see   clothes   noble
     Je vous montrerai les vêtements somptueux.
     'I will show you the sumptuous clothes.' (N+A)

(54) Ngô   sốc phù   giậu   **thồng-thìn   tài-giắt-phụt   tài-giắt-hẩu**.
     我   叔父   有   垌-田   大-一-闊   大-一-好。
     1SG   uncle   have   field-farm   great-most-broad   great-most-good
     Mon oncle possède les plus grandes rizières du pays et des meilleures.
     'My uncle has the biggest and best rice fields in the country.' (N+A)

Compounds can also be head-final (HF) or head-initial (HI). The latter occurs more in proper nouns, probably due to the influence of Vietnamese, while the location phrases and time phrases are HI:

(55) Ngô   xếch   cọc- nhần   xắt-vạc   bầu ki   **vùi thồng   hảo xi**.
     我   識   各-人   七-劃   保記   會同   考試。
     1SG   know   CLF.PL-person   seven-stroke   appoint   committee   exam
     ...je sais ceux que le Général en chef a désignés comme membres de la commission d'examen.
     '...I know who the General-in-Chief has appointed as members of the examination committee.' (HI)

(56) tài-xìu   xồi-chỉ   ốc   múi-chảy
     大-朝   財-主   屋   妹-仔
     great-dynasty   rich-lord   family.house   girl-DIM
     les fillettes des maisons de la haute société
     'girls from high society houses' (HF)

(57) Xẩu-cáy   xổ   **lị-thầu   ốc**   tú   thồng   phàng giậu.
     草-雞   所   裏-頭   屋   都   同   朋友。
     straw-chicken   LOC   in-side   house   also   same   friend
     Le grillon est l'ami du foyer.
     'The cricket is a friend of the home.' (HI)

(58) Xổ   **lị thầu   pắc khì**   cồng   **nu-pìn   Tài-Xiù**
     所   裏頭   北圻   共   呶-便   大-朝
     LOC   in-side   north-part   COM   DEM3-side   great-dynasty
     au Tonkin et en Chine
     'in Tonkin and in China' (HI)

(59) …giǎt　chiêc　muí-chảy　thảy　giǎt　quǎn　xủy-ngầu　khỉ　**xường cấu pui-chệc**.
……一　隻　　妹-仔　　睇　一　羣　　水-牛　　企　<u>上高　　　背-脊</u>。
…one　CLF　girl-DIM　see　one　CLF.PL　water-cow　stand　upside　　rear-spine
…un gros troupeau de buffles conduit seulement par une petite fille, juchée <u>sur un</u>
<u>de ces animaux</u>.
'…a large herd of buffalo led by a little girl, perched <u>on one of them</u>.' (HI)

(60) Lổ　xếnh-gip　tập-giông　　ắp　**xường cấu xẩu cặp**　giề-cáng　hẩu.
攞　青-葉　　碴-融　　署　<u>上高　　　手甲</u>　　夜-更　　好。
take　green-leaf　smash-mashed　apply　upside　　hand-armour　night-hour　good
Elles se teignent les ongles en rouge par une application, pendant la nuit de
préférence, de certaines feuilles vertes écrasées.
'They dye their nails red by applying, preferably during the night, some crushed
green leaves.'

(61) Xổ　**thầm chin**　**cô**　**ngán**　**ốc**
所　<u>趨轉</u>　　　個　　間 [15]　屋
LOC　surrounding　GEN　CLF　　house
<u>autour de la maison</u>
'<u>around the house</u>' (HI)

(62) **Thầu xín khì-mả**,　hi　thảy　chóng-ốn　hẩu　mậu.
<u>頭先　　　騎-馬</u>，　去　睇　裝-鞍　　好　冇。
beginning　ride-horse,　go　see　set-saddle　good　NEG
<u>Avant de monter cheval</u>, il faut toujours s'assurer qu'il est bien sellé.
'<u>Before riding a horse</u>, always make sure it is properly saddled.' (HI)

Modern Fang-Qin basically uses "A+N" and HF compounds. Only some situations are
similar to "N+A" and HI compounds, which may be also homonymic structures:

(63) ni23　lɔ23　ɐt5-tit5　　　　　tɕi55 liu21　tsʊŋ45-mɐn21　kɔ33
你　　攞　<u>一 -/tit5/</u>　　　資料　　　中 - 文　　　個
2SG　take　one-CLF.PL.NDEF　material　Chinese-script　REL.GEN
tsɔk33-ʋɐi21　pu23 tshʊŋ45　tu45　tɐk5.　　　　　　　　　(Qin. accent)
作 - 為　　補充　　　都　得。
operate-as　supplement　also　possible.able
'You can also use some Chinese material as a supplement.' (HI)

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[15]　Transcribed as " 間 " according to modern practice in Fang-Qin (/ŋaːn45/ when used as a CLF).

(64) kʰi23-ɕøɔŋ23   ɕøɔŋ21 kɐu45   pui33-tɕeɐ̯k33.   (Qin. accent)

企 - 上   上高   背 - 脊。[16]

stand-onto   upside   rear-spine

'Step onto the back.' (HI)

(65) haŋ21-lɔk2   ha21 tɐi45   kʰiu21-tɐi23.   (Qin. accent)

行 - 落   下低   橋 - 底。

walk-down_to   underside   bridge-under

'Go down under the bridge.' (HI)

(66) tui33-min21 kai45 ŋam45-ŋam45 hɔi45 liu23 ɐk5-ŋan45 tim33.   (Qin. accent)

對 - 面   街 嗒 - 嗒   開 了 一 - 間[17] 店。

opposite   street just-just   open PFV one-CLF shop

'A store has just opened across the street.' (HI)

6. Lexical items

Considering 83.5% of the core words in modern Qinzhou Baakwaa are identical or similar to those in Guangzhou and 62.85% of the basic 1,200 words are identical or similar to Nanning Baakwaa (Li 2019: 119–120), 41% of the 1,036 words in Gaozhou Baakwaa are identical to Guangzhou Cantonese (Zhang 2019: 30), we only compare words that are not the same as in Guangzhou. Only a handful of words are similar to Guangzhou but not Fang-Qin such as *tím giếng* 點樣 and *xi* 處 , the proportion of which is negligible. In the following section, modern words are also collected from Wei et al. (2019), Luo (2015), Xian (2018), Zhang (2019) and from respondents.

6.1 Common words

Many basic or everyday words are not the same as in Guangzhou Cantonese or different in phonology, but the same as in Fang-Qin and Beihai; some of them are also the same as in Gaozhou (Gao.). Here are some examples:

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[16]   Some Fangcheng people prefer " 企到後背 /ki23 tɐu33 hɐu21 pui33/".

[17]   " 間 " is frequently pronounced as /ŋa:n45/ when used as a CLF (Wei 2019: 219, Li 2019: 88–89).

Table 11　Selected basic words different from Guangzhou, most resemble Fang-Qin

Material	Char.	Fr. Meanings	En. Meanings	Fang-Qin	Guangzhou[18]	Other occurrence
mì hi	味氣	flairer	to sniff	味 mi21	{ 聞 man4}	Putian, Nanping Min
bốt chủi	哱嘴	baiser un enfant	to kiss a child	哱 pɔt5	啜 zhyut1	
nắc	搤	griffer, pincer	to scratch/pinch	搤 nɐk5; mɐk5[19]	捏 nip6, 搣 mit1	nɐk35 in Gao.
lín	蜎	se glisser	to slip in	蜎 lin45	蜎 gyun1	
lắn	爧		to be infected with	爧 lɐn23	{ 傳染 cyun4 jim5}	
xạ	耍	jouer	to play	耍 sa23	頑耍 waan4 shaa2	
xín	穿	habiller	to dress	穿 tɕʰin45	着 zhoek3	tɕʰin55 in Gao.
tầu	烋	attiser	to stir up	烋 tɐu21; tɐu33[20]	透 (火) tau3	tɐu31 in Gao.
ngai	噯	aimer, préférer	to love/prefer	噯 ŋai33	愛 oi3	
kéng khòng	驚狂	l'inquiétude	anxiety	狂 kʰɔŋ21	恐怕 hung2 paa3, { 驚 geng1}	kʰɔŋ11 in Gao.
nướng má	娘媽	femme (mariée)	woman (married)	娘媽 nøŋ45 ma45	婦女 fu5 neoi5	
bùi chỉ	痱子	bourbouille	sludge	痱子 pui21 tɕi23	[熱痱 jit6 fai2]	
báo thủ	�肚	estomac	stomach	肚General tʰu23 pɐu45	stomach: 脾胃 pei4 wai6 belly: 肚 tou5, 腹 fuk1	"belly"; tʰou23 pou55 in Gao.; Zhuang baeu
xắn	春	saison	season	春 tsʰɐn45	時 shi4	
chí cháo	蜘蛁	araignéne	spider	蜘蛁 tɕi45 tsau45	螆蟧 kam4 lou4, 蜘蛛 zhi1 zhyu1	
xộc	索	corde	rope	索 ɬɔk3	繩 shing2, 纜 laam6	in Goulou & Hakka
cháo	焦	sec	dry	焦 tsau45	乾 gon1	in Dongguan & Hakka
híu	嚻	insolent	insolent	嚻 hiu45	傲慢 ngou6 maan6	
hến kền	慳儉	la sobriété	sobriety	慳儉 hen45 ken21	[慳儉 haan1 gim6]	
cẩm xì	噉時	maintenant	now	噉時 kɐm23 ɕi21	而家 ji4 gaa1	
ham	喊	appeler; crier	to call; to shout	喊 ham33	叫 giu3, 呼 fu1, 喊 haam3	
giăm	涫	conduire l'eau	to drive the water	涫 (to seep) jam33	{ 滲 (水) sam3}	

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[18]　In Jyutping. Without brackets - John Chalmers. 1891. An English and Cantonese Dictionary. Kelly & Walsh Limited. [] - Li and Bai (1998). {} - Other words occur in modern dialect Guangzhou.

[19]　/mɐk5/ in modern Qiaogang Cát Bà Yue in Beihai.

[20]　/tɐu33/ in modern Qiaogang Cát Bà Yue and Cô Tô Yue in Beihai.

phô gióng	破殃	dévaster	to devastate	殃 (*unstable*) jong45 (Qin.)	{ 破壞 po3 waai6}	
xùi	睡	dormir; 睡落 se coucher	to sleep; 睡落 to lie down	睡 sui21	瞓 fan3, 睡 sheoi6	ʃʊi31 in Gao.
lảu	嫽		to play	(耍 sa23)	頑耍 waan4 shaa2	嫽 lau23 in Beihai; liu31 in Gao.
phọc/phộc	縛	attacher	to tie up	縛 fɔk2	綁 bong2	Teochew, Hanan Min
thểu	倒	verser	to pour	倒 tʰɐu23	倒 dou2	Lianjiang, Binyang
thông	痛	aimer (êtres animés)	to love (animate beings)	痛 tʊŋ33	錫 sek3, [痛 tung3]	
múi chảy	妹仔	fille	girl, daughter	妹仔 mui45 tsɐi23	girl: 女仔 neoi5 zai2, (servant) 妹仔 mui1 zai2 daughter: 女 neoi5	mʊi55 tsɐi35 in Gao.
lìn pháo	卵脬	bourses	bursa	卵脬 lin23 pʰau45	[春袋 ceon1 doi2]	
xọt	𡲬	verge	penis	𡲬 tsʰɔt2	閪 cat6	
chỉ xuỷ	子水	la marée	the tide	子水 tɕi23 sui23	潮水 chiu4 sheoi2	
khầm xì	蟚蛇	crapaud	toad	蟚蛇 kʰɐm21 ɕi21	蟚蟆 kam4 keoi2	Gao., Yangjiang etc.
bục chỉ	樸子	pamplemousse	grapefruit	樸子 pʊk2 tɕi23	{ 西柚 sai1 jau2}	姑卜 ku55 pok21 in Gao.
nhạp	炠	démanger	to itchy	炠 ŋap3	{ 㨴 zit1}	*nyap* in Zhuang
nhăng	絟	coriace	tough	絟 ŋɐŋ33	{ 靭 ngan6}	*nyangq* in Zhuang; in Zhaoqing, Wuzhou, etc.
kéng xẩu	驚醜	la pudeur; avoir honte	modesty; to be ashamed	驚醜 kɐŋ45 tsʰɐu23	怕醜 paa3 chau2	
màn phì	蠻皮	impudent	impudent	蠻皮 man21 piʰ21	頑皮 waan4 pei4	Lianzhou
cẳn xắn	緊趁	avec ardeur	with eagerness	緊趁 (*hurriedly*) kɐn23 tsʰɐn33	緊急 gan2 gap1	

6.2 Characteristic words

Characteristic words are usually used for animals, plants, food, etc. as well as for customs that are unique to one place and often reflect the local culture (Li 2019: 115–116). Many terms used in the material resemble those used in Fang-Qin:

Table 12　Characteristic words

Material	Char.	Meanings	Fang-Qin	Material	Char.	Meanings	Fang-Qin
phù nhì	鮒魚	ray	鮒魚 pʰu21 ŋi21	hài thạc nhì	鞋撻魚	sole	鞋撻魚 hai21 tʰat33 ŋi21
nhì chẳm	魚醬	fish paste	魚醬 ŋi21 tsɐm23	nấm chắp	齻汁	fish sauce	齻汁 nɐm45 tsɐp5²¹
nám phẳn	南粉	thin rice noodles	南粉 nam21 fɐn23 (Fang.)	há chầu	蝦皂 ⁼	shrimp paste	蝦醬 ha45 tsɐm23
chu phặt lạy	做佛禮	Buddhist ceremony	做佛 tsu33 fɐt2	khố xíu	炯燒	braised pork	炯燒 kʰɔ45 ɕiu45

6.3 Vietnamese influence

Vietnamese is one of the native languages in Vietnam and also in Hà Cối. Many words may have come into or influenced Hà Cối Cantonese.

Table 13　Vietnamese impacts on pronunciation

Material	Char.	Vietnamese	Fang-Qin	Guangzhou	French	English
mộc thùng	木桶	thùng（桶）	mɔk2 tʰʊŋ23	muk6 tung2	tonneau	barrel
hi thầm	去尋	tầm（尋, Sino-Viet)	hi33 tsʰɐm21	heoi3 cam4	visiter	to visit
tán sồ	單疏	đơn sơ（單疏, Sino-Viet)	#tan45 sɔ45	#daan1 sho1	simple	simple
hồn khán	汗巾	khăn（巾）mũi	hɔn21 kɐn45	#hon6 gan1	mouchoir	handkerchief
thùng chêng	銅鉦	chiêng	#tʰʊŋ21 tsɪŋ45	#tung4 zhing1	gong	gong
bín lồi	編來	biên lai（編來, Sino-Viet)	#pʰin45 lɔi21	#pin1 loi4	acquit	receipt

- correspondence of readings of the characters, not present in the variety's vocabulary

Table 14　Some other words with the same or close forms

Material	Characters	Vietnamese	French	English	Notes
mùi xáy xôi	茉茜菜	rau mùi（茉）	persil	parsley	loan word *mùi*
chồi phao tả	罪炮打	tội phải bắn	fusiller	to shoot	lit. *sins that must be shot with a gun* Viet. lit. *sins that must be shot*
ngẩu mỉ thàn	鉤尾彈	đàn bầu	violon, monocorde	violin, monochord	using *thàn - đàn* for string instruments

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²¹　May be from Viet. *nước mắm*.

thảy xế xí phù	睇車師傅	thợ coi máy	le mécanicien	the mechanic	lit. *master that watch the cars/machines* Viet. lit. *master that watch the machine*
xủy xắn	水津	nước bọc	salive	saliva	modern Viet: *nước bọt* 水 'water' corresponding *nước* occurs at the head followed by 津 'saliva'
khố ốc	庫屋	nhà kho	magasin	shop	matching the words reversely
vằng vẻ	𪕣𪕠	vắng vẻ	solitaire	lonely	
thông iu	痛忪	thương xót	plaindre	pity	Viet. synonym *thương yêu*
giậu phạp	有法	có phép	poli, civil	polite, civil	lit. *to have laws*, Viet. lit. *to have laws*, matching the words in sequence
hi xìn	去船	đi taù	naviguer	to navigate	lit. *to go ship*, Viet. lit. *to go ship*, matching the words in sequence
mù kỉ xì	無幾時	không bao giờ	jamais	never	lit. *no when*, Viet. lit. *no when*, matching negations, question words and the words for *time* in sequence
hắt phạp	乞法	xin phép	demander la permission	to ask permission	lit. to *beg for laws*, Viet. lit. *to beg for permission*, matching in sequence, with the meaning of 法 influenced by Viet.
cắp phiu	口票	cắp phái	passeport	passport	
vụt vụt	�존蹠	vụt vụt	impétueux, violent	impetuous, violent	

7. Conclusion

In conclusion, our analysis reveals that despite the presence of Vietnamese influence and influences from other varieties, the Cantonese variety recorded by Lagarrue spoken at the Sino-Vietnamese border showcases remarkable resemblances to modern Fang-Qin Cantonese in its phonology, grammar and vocabulary. This finding suggests its affiliation with the early modern Fang-Qin Cantonese, which served as a lingua franca during that era. As such, it provides invaluable historical material for studying Qin-Lian Yue and other western Yue varieties. Furthermore, by leveraging the dataset along with other digital resources, we can foster additional comparative investigations at the lexical level, enabling a deeper understanding of the linguistic dynamics in this region.

Appendices

Appendix 1　Transcription table for consonants

	Labial	Labiodental	Dental-alveolar	Alveolo-palatal	Velar	Labialised velar			Glottal
Nasal	*m*		*n*	*nh*	*ng/ngh*				
	m		n	nj	ng				
Unaspirated voiced plosive	*b*								
	bb								
Unaspirated voiceless plosive or affricates	*p*		*t*	*ch*	*k/c*	*qu*	*quo*	*ko*	
	b		d	z	g	gv	gvw	gw	
Aspirated plosive or affricates	*#ph*		*th*	*(x)*	*kh*			*kho*	
	*		t	(c)	k			kw	
Voiceless fricative		*ph*	*x (lateral)*	*?s*					*h*
		f	sl	?s					h
Voiced fricative		*v*			*#g*				
		v			#gh				
Approximant			*l (lateral)*	*gi/d*					
			l	j					

? - rare, # - only one occurrence, * - only in the guidance part of pronunciation

Appendix 2　Transcription table for rhymes

	-i	-i^	-u	-o	-o/u^	-m	-n	-ng	-nh	-p	-t	-c	-ch
a	*ai*	*#ai*		*ao*	*?ao*	*am*	*an*	*ang*		*ap*	*at*	*ac*	*#ach*
aa	aai	#aaij		aau	?aao	aam	aan	aang		aap	aat	aak	#aakj
	ay		*au*										
	ai		au										
(ă)	*?ăy #ăi*		*ău*	*?ăo*		*ăm*	*ăn*	*ăng*		*ăp*	*ăt*	*ăc*	
	?ari #arj		aru	?aro		am	an	ang		ap	at	ak	
(â)	*ây #âi*		*âu*	*?âo*	*?âu*	*âm*	*ân*	*?âng*		*?âp*	*?ât*		
	eai #eaj		eau	#eao	#eauw	eam	ean	?eang		?eap	?eat		
(σ)	*#oĭ*									*#op*			
	#ori									#orp			
#o	*#oĭ*					*?on*	*ong*			*#op*	*?ot*	*oc*	
#o	#oi					?on	ong			#op	?ot	ok	
ô	*ôĭ*	*?ôĭ*				*ôn*	*ông*			*?ôp*	*?ôt*	*ôc*	
oo	ooi	?ooij				oon	oong			?oop	?oot	ook	
u	*uĭ ?uy*	*?uĭ ?uy*				*un #uyn*	*ung*				*ut*	*uc*	
u	ui ?wi	?uij ?wij				un #yun	ung				ut	uk	
?u						*#(C)ưng*						*?uc*	
?yu						#(C)yng						?yk	
(uσ)						*ương #uông*						*uơc*	
						oeng #yoeng						oek	
i		*iu*		*im*	*in*	*?ing*	*inh*		*ip*	*it*	*#ic*	*?ich*	
i		iu		im	in	?ijng	inj		ip	it	#ijk	?ikj	
ê		*êu*		*êm*	*ên*	*êng*	*ênh*		*êp*	*êt*	*?êc*	*êch*	
ee		eeu		eem	een	eeng	ing		#eep	eet	?eek	ik	
		#iêu		*#iêm*	*?iên*	*iêng*	*#iênh*		*?iêp*	*#iêt*	*?iêc*		
		#ieeu		#ieem	?ieen	ieeng	#ieenj		?ieep	#ieet	?ieek		
?e		*#eu*			*?en*	*eng #ieng*	*?enh*			*#et*	*ec #iec*	*?ech*	
?e		#eu			?en	eng #ieng	?enj			#et	ek #iek	?ekj	
#ua						*#uông*				*#uăt*	*#uôc*		
#uaa						#uoong				#uat	#uook		
						ưng							
						ng							

? - rare, # - only one occurrence, ^ - tone occurs at the end, () - single vowels
Phonemes formed by similar spellings are represented by different frames.

中國語文通訊
CURRENT RESEARCH IN CHINESE LINGUISTICS

Appendix 3 Transcription table for tones

á	å	a	à	ạ	ʔã	áP	ʔaP	ạP	ʔàP
1	2	3	4	5	ʔ5*	1	ʔ3	5	ʔ4

ʔ - rare, # - only one occurrence, P - plosive

Acknowledgments

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19 世紀末中越邊境廣東話嘅歸屬

黎陽哲 [i]、黃鵬 [ii]、黃俊鑫 [iii]、吳家安 [iv]

慕尼黑工業大學 [i]、廣西大學行健文理學院 [ii]、香港浸會大學 [iii]、廣西師範學院 [iv]

提要

本文以 1900 年在河內出版的法國粵語教科書 *Éléments de Langue Chinoise Dialecte Cantonais* 為材料，通過對語音、語法和詞彙的全面研究，重新審視其語音，並對該變體的歸屬提出了新的見解。表明材料中描述的當時中越邊境的粵語屬於粵語欽廉片，特別是與現代欽州 - 防城港白話（簡稱"欽防白話"）相似，並可能受到越南語和其他粵語變體的影響，包括勾漏、粵海和邕潯粵語等。這反映了中越邊境地區特別是欽州 - 廉州（簡稱欽廉）地區和原廣東、廣西兩省之間的貿易和移民交流。

關鍵詞

Éléments de Langue Chinoise Dialecte Cantonais，晚清粵語，粵語欽廉片，越南粵語，語言接觸