

The Chinese borrowings into Hainan Cham  
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Hainan Cham, also known in the literature by the anglicization Tsat (< /tsã:n<sup>233</sup>/ ‘Cham’), is now spoken in two small villages Huihui and Huixin on the outskirts of Sanya, Hainan. The language itself is in the Chamic subgroup of Austronesian. However, a close examination of the phonology, the lexicon, and the syntax clearly reveals at least two earlier obvious major layers of contact. The first major influence was Mon-Khmer speakers, long before the Hainan Cham arrived on Hainan. The second early layer was from a Chinese source.

The Chinese source is what we will term Sanya Chinese. Zheng (1997) in her pioneering work on Hainan Cham and her husband Ouyang (p.c.) have stated that the so-called military speech, the official language of the southwest, one of the northern Chinese dialects, was spoken in vicinity of Yacheng city as well as several dozen miles west of Huihui and Huixin. One of the characteristics distinguishing this dialect from other Southwest Mandarin dialects is that this Sanya Chinese variant was the variant used by speakers of Hainan Cham; this is particularly evident with cardinal numerals, which are Chamic, not Chinese. The only extant source for this Sanya Chinese dialect is a pair of texts found in the back of Zheng’s 1997 book. Zheng and Ouyang had a Sanya Chinese speaker read two brief articles from a Chinese newspaper. The result of the elicitation is simply a wordlist since the syntax is the syntax of the newspaper.

Our analysis begins with the general finding that, until more recent times, this dialect provided the primary source of Chinese borrowings into Hainan Cham. Other local dialects have made modest contributions to the lexicon, but not in enough quantity to provide much of a data base for analysis. More recently, of course, Sanya Chinese has been supplanted by the national language. Overall the loanwords in Hainan Cham can be divided into three sets of borrowings: 1) those from Sanya Chinese, 2) a modest number from other Chinese sources, and 3) an ever growing number from modern Mandarin.

The methodological bases for the conclusions come not from the existence of typological similarities, but are from the existence of sound-meaning correspondences (used for historical analyses), that is, the correspondence sets are extracted from sets of words that correspond in sound and meaning. For this talk the tonal correspondences and selected initial correspondences will be presented.

	Hainan Cham	Sanya Chinese	Mandarin (tokens)
tones:	21	21	1 (4); 2 (60); 3 (27); 4 (13)
	24c	24c	1 (5); 2 (24); 4 (24)
	33	33	1 (72); 2 (4); 3 (33); 4 (90)
	43c	43c	3 (4); 4 + ? (10)
initials:	k-	k-	g [k], j [tɕ]
	k <sup>h</sup> -	k <sup>h</sup> -	k- [k <sup>h</sup> ], q- [tɕ <sup>h</sup> ]
	p <sup>h</sup> -	p <sup>h</sup> -	f- [f], p- [p <sup>h</sup> ]
	ts-	ts-	j- [tɕ], z- [ts], zh- [tʂ]
	s-	s-	ch- [tʂ <sup>h</sup> ], s- [s], sh- [ʃ]
	z-	z-	r- [ʃ~ʒ], y- [j]

For both the tonal and initial correspondences, the match between Hainan Cham and Sanya Chinese is perfect, while they both have multiple matches with Mandarin. The only reasonable explanation is that the Hainan Cham forms were borrowed from Sanya Chinese.

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