Miin Animal Body Parts

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1. Introduction

The present note is an exploration of a small set of the Miin lexicon—animal body parts. Some of these terms are phonologically quite straightforward; others present interesting semantic and phonological problems. This study will be principally based on the following documented dialects: Fwujou 福州 (Feng 1998), Shiahmen 廈門 (Jou 1993, Douglas 1899), Chaurjou 潮州 (Tsay 1976—Tsay’s work is based on the dialect of Jieyang 揭陽), Jangpyong 漳平 (Jang 1992), Jiann’ou 建甌 (Li and Pan 1998), Jiannyang 建陽 (Norman 1969, supplemented by the author’s field notes), Jennchy an (Norman 1996, supplemented by the author’s field notes); in addition forms from Miindong 閩東 dialect of Muhyang 穆陽 are cited from personal field notes made in 1971 in Taibei; Muhyang is very similar to the Fwuan 福安 material found in the Spanish-Fwuan dictionary of Ibañez (1941-1943).

There is much overlap among human body parts and those of animals. For the most part I limit myself to body parts associated only with animals—mammals, birds and fish. The exceptions are FUR/FEATHER and MEAT. Both are as commonly associated with animals as with humans and both illustrate interesting phonological traits.

Miin dialects can broadly be divided into Eastern Miin (EM) and Western Miin (WM). Eastern Miin can be further divided into Northeastern Miin (NEM) and Southern Miin (SM).


2. Mammal body parts

2.1 FUR/FEATHER

Common Miin (CM) *mho^n [毛]

As in many Chinese dialects, the words for FUR and FEATHER are not
distinguished. The same form is also used for human body hair and in some cases for hair on the head as well (e.g. Chaurjou \textit{thaŋ} mɔɔ² ‘hair of the head’).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEM</th>
<th>Muhyang mɔɔ², Fwujou mɔɔ², Fwuching mɔɔ²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SM</td>
<td>Shiahmen mŋ², Jangpyng mua², Chaurjou mɔɔ²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WM</td>
<td>Jiann’ou mua², Jiannyang mua², Jennchyan mɔɔ²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Several comments can be made about the phonology of this word. In Norman (1973) I proposed that Common Miin had two series of nasals and two laterals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Series I</th>
<th>m n l ƞ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Series II</td>
<td>mh nh lh ƞh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This distinction is based on two kinds of evidence. In some far western Miin dialects like Shawwuu 邵武 and Jiangleh 將樂 series two words have upper register tones. The two series also leave traces in SM dialects like Shiahmen and Chaurjou; in these dialects initial nasals devoice before oral finals: CM *mə² \textit{HORSE} > Shiahmen be³. If, however, the initial was a CM series II initial, there is a tendency, strongest in the Chaurjou dialects, for nasalization to be retained: CM *mha² ‘sesame’ > Chaurjou mua². In case of CM *nh and *ŋh SM dialects regularly have ƞ before high front vowels: CM *ŋh ‘ant’ > Shiahmen hi⁶, Chaurjou hi⁶⁴. In the case of CM *lh, the WM dialects have initial s- where EM dialects have l.

The word for FUR/FEATHER has a CM initial *mh. This is indicated by tonal reflexes in Shawwuu mui¹ and Jiangleh mo⁹. (Note that Jiangleh tonal category nine contains many \textit{inruh} 隱入 words as well as words from other categories.) Meishiann 梅縣 mui (Hwang 1995) also exhibits an upper-register nasal. SM dialects also show apparently irregular nasalization.

The evidence for series two initials contains an apparent contradiction. Tones in the far western Miin dialects, as well as Hakka dialects like Meishiann, suggest a voiceless nasal, the other Miin dialects have lower register tones in the relevant forms. That two series of nasals are required for Common Miin is clear, but the exact nature of the distinction is not so clear. The first task of comparison is to establish what contrasts exist in the protolanguage; the question of the phonological nature of the contrasting elements, while significant, is secondary. My own guess in this case is that the series two sonorants were in some sense voiceless (or at least contained a voiceless component). This interpretation is supported by evidence in Hakka dialects (Norman 1991).
2.2 TAIL  CM *mue³ [尾]

NEM  Muhyang mue³, Fwu jou mue³, Fwuching mue³
SM  Shiah men be³, Jangpyng be³, Chaur jou be³
WM  Jiann’ou mye³, Jiannyang mue³, Jennchyan mue³

TAIL provides a good example of CM *m. Since Common Miin distinguishes an upper and lower shanq 上 tone, why isn’t TAIL assigned to CM *mh? The behavior of the two sonorant series in the shanq tonal category is very interesting. In the far western dialect of Herpyng 和平, which is very similar to Shawwuu, there is a clear distinction between the upper and lower shanq tones (Norman 1995). Below the Herpyng reflexes for the four CM tones are shown, here designated A (平), B (上), C (去) and D (入).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Series I</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Series II</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The two tonal series are separated very regularly. Note that in Shawwuu there is no tonal distinction in tone B; both become tone three. Based on the Herpyng form mue³, TAIL should belong to series one. Meishiann meu³ confirms this claim since in Hakka dialects lower shanq words become tone one (Norman 1991).

2.3 HORN  CM *kok⁷ [角]

NEM  Muhyang kak⁷, Fwu jou koj⁷, Fwuching koj⁷
SM  Shiah men kak⁷, Jangpyng kak⁷, Chaur jou kak⁷
WM  Jiann’ou ku⁷, Jiannyang ko⁷, Jennchyan ku⁷

HORN is a good example of the Miin treatment of words in the 江/覺 rimes of the Chieh yun 切韻. Whereas in other Chinese dialect groups such words formed a special category that ultimately merged either with 唐/鐸 or 阳/藥, in Miin dialects they preserve a distribution like that of Old Chinese in which most 江/覺 words are linked to words in 東/屋.

2.4 FAT/LARD  CM *gɔ¹ [膏]

EM dialects for the most part use you in the sense of ‘animal fat’. WM dialects have forms related to 膏 gau ‘animal fat, lard’. In a few Miin dialects we have forms
with initial l-: Yeongan 永安 līt’$, Jiangleh lo’$; while these two forms seem to be related, the finals do not reflect a regular pattern. The relevant WM forms are as follows:

WM Jiann’ou kau$^3$Jan, Jian nyang au$^9$; cf. Shyrbei 石陂 go$^9$, Herpyng ho?$^4$

2.5 FLESH/MEAT     CM *nhuk [肉]

NEM Muhyang nok$^8$, Fwujou ny$^2$., Fwuching ny$^8$
SM Chaurjou nɛk$^8$; cf. Haekang 海康 hip$^8$ (Lin and Chern 1996; Douglas 1899 gives a Chin-chew form hek$^8$.)
WM Jiann’ou ny$^5$, Jian nyang ny$^8$, Jennchyan ny$^5$

The far western Miin dialects show upper register tones for FLESH/MEAT: Shawwuu ny$^7$, Herpyng ny$^7$. The series two initial is also indicated by the Chaurjou, Haekang and Chin-chew forms cited above. Cf. also Meishiann ŋiuk$^7$.

3. Bird body parts

3.1 WING     CM *sit$^8$ [翼] ~ *siap$^8$ [?]?

There are two possibly related forms. For *sit$^8$ we can cite the following forms:

Fwujou si$^2$, Fwuching si$^2$, Shiahmen si$^8$, Jangpyng si$^8$, Chaurjou sek$^8$

CM *siap$^8$ are based on the following; note that in some WM dialects the corresponding forms mean FIN and not WING

Muhyang si$^p$, Jiann’ou sie$^6$ (WING, FIN), Jian nyang sia$^8$ (FIN), Jennchyan sie$^6$ (WING, FIN)

Many WM dialects have another word for WING: Jian nyang khe$^7$, Shawwuu khe$^7$, Herpyng khe$^7$; cf. also Chormgan 崇安 khe$^7$, Shyrbei khe$^7$. These forms may be related to Chiehönn 虚 (虚切) ‘flank, side of the body’.

1 Haekang is another dialect of the Chaurjou region. Shiahmen and Jangpyng use another word for MEAT/FLESH.
3.2 EGG  CM *lhɔn⁴ [卵]

The series two lateral is indicated by the WM forms having initial s-. Herpyng has tone three in this word, showing also that the initial belongs to series two.

NEM  Muhyang laŋ⁶, Fwujou laŋ⁶, Fwuching loŋ⁶
SM  Shiahmen ng⁶, Jangpyng loŋ⁶, Chaurjou ng⁶
WM  Jian’n’ou soŋ⁶, Jiannyang suŋ⁵, Jennchyan sueŋ⁶

3.3 CRAW  CM *k(u)øi¹ [?]  

The NEM dialects have kai koou 開口 forms where the other dialects all have herkoou 合口 forms.

NEM  Muhyang kai¹ (Ibañez), Fwujou kai¹, Fwuching koi¹
SM  Shiahmen kui¹, Chaurjou kui¹
WM  Jian’n’ou ko¹, Jiannyang kui¹; cf. Shyrbei ko¹

The etymology of these forms is obscure.

3.4 CREST/COMB  CM *kɔi⁵ [冠]

The etymology of this word has hitherto been unresolved. Some dialectologists have attempted to link it to髻, but this seems quite unlikely from a phonological point of view. Another possibility will be discussed below.

NEM  Muhyang kui⁵, Fwujou kui⁵, Fwuching koi⁵
SM  Shiahmen ke⁵, Chaurjou kue⁵
WM  Jian’n’ou ko⁵, Jiannyang kui⁵, Jennchyan kue⁵

CM *kɔi⁵ belongs to the same final correspondent set as 火 *xɔi³:

Fwujou  Shiahmen  Chaurjou  Jian’n’ou  
*čɔi³  hui³  he³  hue³  xo³  
*kɔi⁵  kui⁵  ke⁵  kue⁵  ko⁵

Most words having this final come from the Old Chinese gebuh 歌部. What I would like to propose is that the Miin word for CREST/COMB should be linked to 冠
HAT/COCK’S-COMB. An obvious objection is that 冠 ends in -n whereas the Miin forms do not, but there is another example of a similar loss of final -n that is very similar; this is word for SHORT, CM *tɔi that in Early Chinese must have been something like *'ton? We may suppose that in some cases words having an earlier final -n lost their final nasal and moved into gebuh. Compare the reflexes of SHORT with those of CREST/COMB:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Fwujou</th>
<th>Shiahmen</th>
<th>Chaurjou</th>
<th>Jiann’ou</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*tɔi</td>
<td>tɔy³</td>
<td>te³</td>
<td>to³</td>
<td>to³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kɔi</td>
<td>kui⁵</td>
<td>ke⁵</td>
<td>kue⁵</td>
<td>ko⁵</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here the Fwujou and Chaurjou discrepancies in final are due to the influence of different types of initials. A further problem is tone. Although the Chiehynnu records both a pyng 平 and chůuh 去 tone for 冠, the latter reading is usually associated with a verbal sense. However, the tonal variants in rime books do not always correspond precisely with dialect forms. For example, the character 乞 chii has two readings in the Jyihynn 集韻, 丘既切 (khjəi-) and 期訖切 (khjət). For the chůuh tone reading the gloss is 與 ‘give’; the gloss for the ruh 入 tone reading is 取 ‘take, accept’. Yet in the Fwujou dialect it is the ruh tone reading that means ‘give’: kʰoyʔ. Perhaps we have a similar tonal discrepancy in the case of 冠.

3.5 GIZZARD  CM *gin⁴ [?]

Most Miin dialects point to a final *n for this word; only Muhyang and Fwuan (Ibañez) have final -m.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Muhyang</th>
<th>Fwujou</th>
<th>Fwuching</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NEM</td>
<td>kem⁶</td>
<td>keŋ⁶</td>
<td>keŋ⁶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SM</td>
<td>kian⁶</td>
<td>kin⁴</td>
<td>ken⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WM</td>
<td>eŋ⁴</td>
<td>iŋ⁵</td>
<td>heŋ⁶</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This word is etymologically obscure. Comparable forms occur in many Southern dialects: Lichuan 黎川 kʰin (Yan 1993), Meishiann kʰin’ (Hwang 1995), Nanchang 南昌 tɕhin⁶ (Shyong 1994), Yao 瑶 tɕen⁴ (Mau 1992) is also related.

4. Fish body parts

4.1 SCALE  CM *Ihan~* Ihin [鱗]
NEM dialects reflect a CM *lhin; the other dialects go back to *lhon.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NEM</th>
<th>SM</th>
<th>WM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Muhyang <em>lej</em>, Fwujou <em>lyj</em>, Fwuching <em>lyj</em></td>
<td><em>lan</em> (note tone!), Chaurjou <em>laŋ</em></td>
<td><em>saij</em>, Jianyang <em>saij</em>, Jennchyan * siaj*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The final of the Jennchyan form is irregular.

### 4.2 GILL CM *tshi*¹ [鰓]

This form is limited to the NEM and SM dialects:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NEM</th>
<th>SM</th>
<th>WM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Muhyang <em>tsie¹</em>, Fwujou <em>tshí</em>, Fwuching <em>tshí</em></td>
<td><em>tshí</em>¹</td>
<td><em>tshí</em>¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shiahmen <em>tshí</em>¹, Jangpyng <em>tshí</em>¹, Chaurjou <em>tshí</em>¹</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

WM forms elicited for this word have initial s- with rounded finals and are not directly comparable with the other Miin forms; Jian’ou *sò*, Jianyang *sù¹*. I suspect these WM forms are of learned origin.

Assuming that CM *tshí*¹ is cognate to 鰓 (sò), it provides a good example of Miin affricate corresponding to a Chieh yunn fricative. Some additional examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Muhyang</th>
<th>Fwujou</th>
<th>Shiahmen</th>
<th>Jianyang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>鰭 (sju)</td>
<td>tshë¹</td>
<td>tshiu¹</td>
<td>tshiu¹</td>
<td>tshiu¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>膀 (sâu)</td>
<td>tsho¹</td>
<td>tsho¹</td>
<td>tsho¹</td>
<td>thau¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>瘐 (sjuän:)</td>
<td>tshìrn³</td>
<td>tshìŋ³</td>
<td>tshìn³</td>
<td>tshëŋ³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>醒 (sieng:)</td>
<td>tshar³</td>
<td>tshar³</td>
<td>tshar³</td>
<td>than³</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In these forms Jianyang th- comes from an earlier *tsh*.

### 4.3 FIN

Different dialects employ different designations for FIN.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NEM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Muhyang <em>tshí</em>⁵, Fwujou <em>tshie⁵</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the basis of these two forms we can reconstruct CM *tshie⁵*.

In SM dialects FIN and WING are the same word: Shiahmen *sì⁸*. In the WM
dialects of Jiann’ou sia⁶ means both FIN and WING; Jiaannyang sia⁷⁸ means only FIN. As noted above both of these forms are related to Muhyang siep⁸ which means only WING.

In general, Miin dialects, like other Chinese dialects, do not have a sharp distinction between animal and human body parts. We see this in the case of FUR/FEATHER which is equivalent to the term for human body hair. In a number of the cases examined here, the Miin forms exhibit archaic phonological traits not widely found in other dialect groups.
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閩方言的動物身體部位詞語

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本文考察了福州、廈門、潮州、漳平、建甌、建陽、穆陽等閩方言裡的一組指涉動物身體部位的詞語，包括「毛」、「尾」、「膏」、「肉」、「翼」、「卵」、「冠」、「鱗」、「鳃」及其它幾個本字未明的詞語，著重探討這些詞語的語源、語音形式及其與共同閩語音系的歷史關聯。其中大部分詞語體現了在其他方言區裡並不常見的上古音韻特徵。

關鍵詞：閩方言，共同閩，動物身體部位詞語，歷史音韻