Southern Pinghua and its Noun Phrase Structure — an Introduction
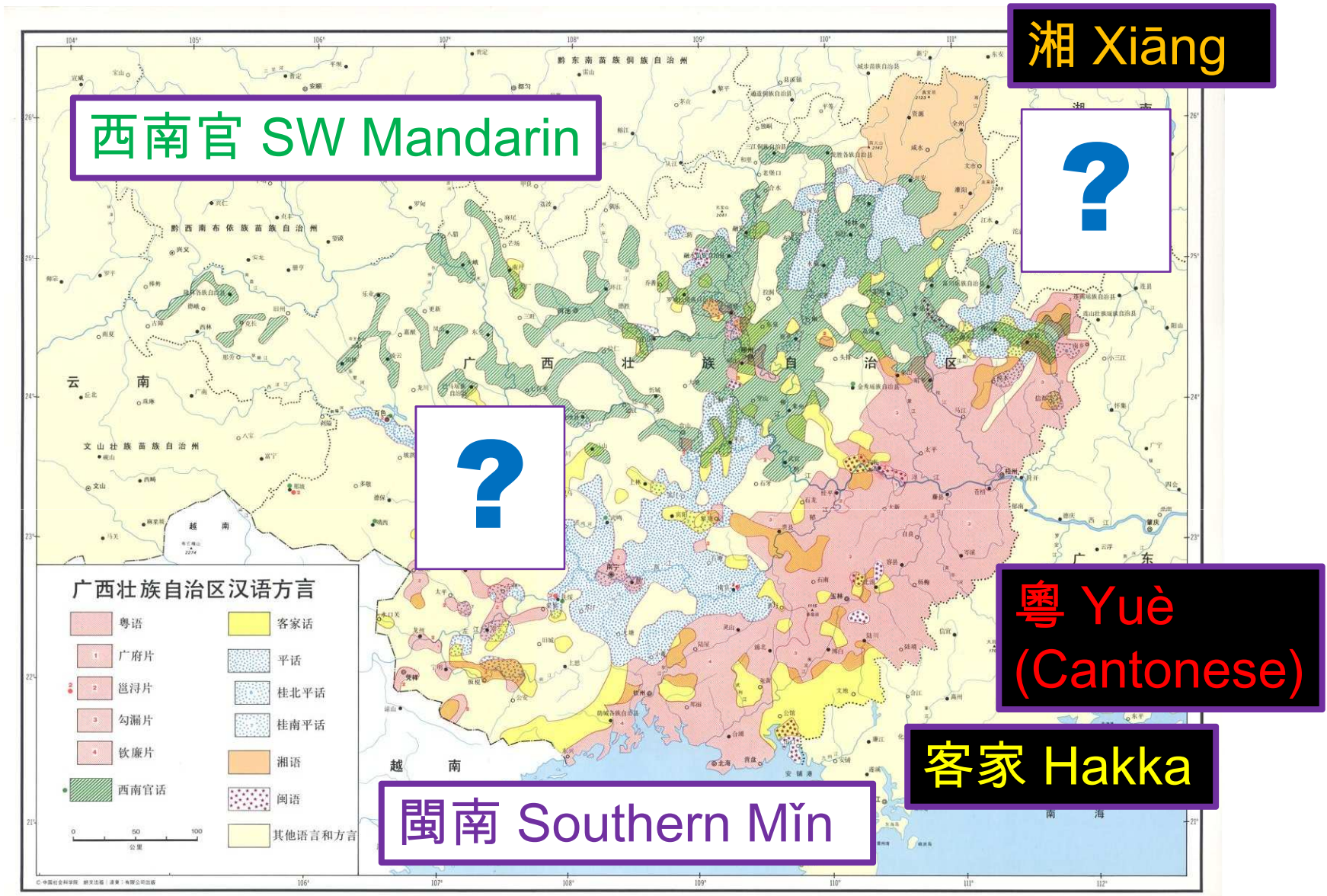
Hilário de Sousa

EHESS – CRLAO

hilario.de-sousa@ehess.fr

湘 Xiāng

西南官 SW Mandarin

?

?

粤 Yuè
(Cantonese)

客家 Hakka

閩南 Southern Mǐn

廣西壯族自治區 Guǎngxī Zhuàng AR...

Patois in Guangxi

An assortment of names:

- 百姓話 báixìng huà 'commoners' language';
- 土拐話 túguǎi huà
- 本地話 běndì huà 'local language';
- 蔗園話 zhèyuán huà 'sugarcane plant. lang.';
- 講伝/講伢 (伝 [wen^{21}]/ 伢 [ŋa^{24}] is 1SG);
- 七/八/九都話 qī/bā/jiǔdū huà '7th/8th/9th *dū* lang.';
- '客'話 kè huà 'guest language' (≠ Hakka)…
- <u>placename</u> huà, e.g. 賓陽話 Bīnyáng huà

平話 Pínghuà

Around 南寧 Nánníng and 桂林 Guìlín:

- 平話 Pínghuà

桂林 Guìlín-type:

- 桂北平話 Guìběi Pínghuà/ Nth. Pinghua

南寧 Nánníng-type:
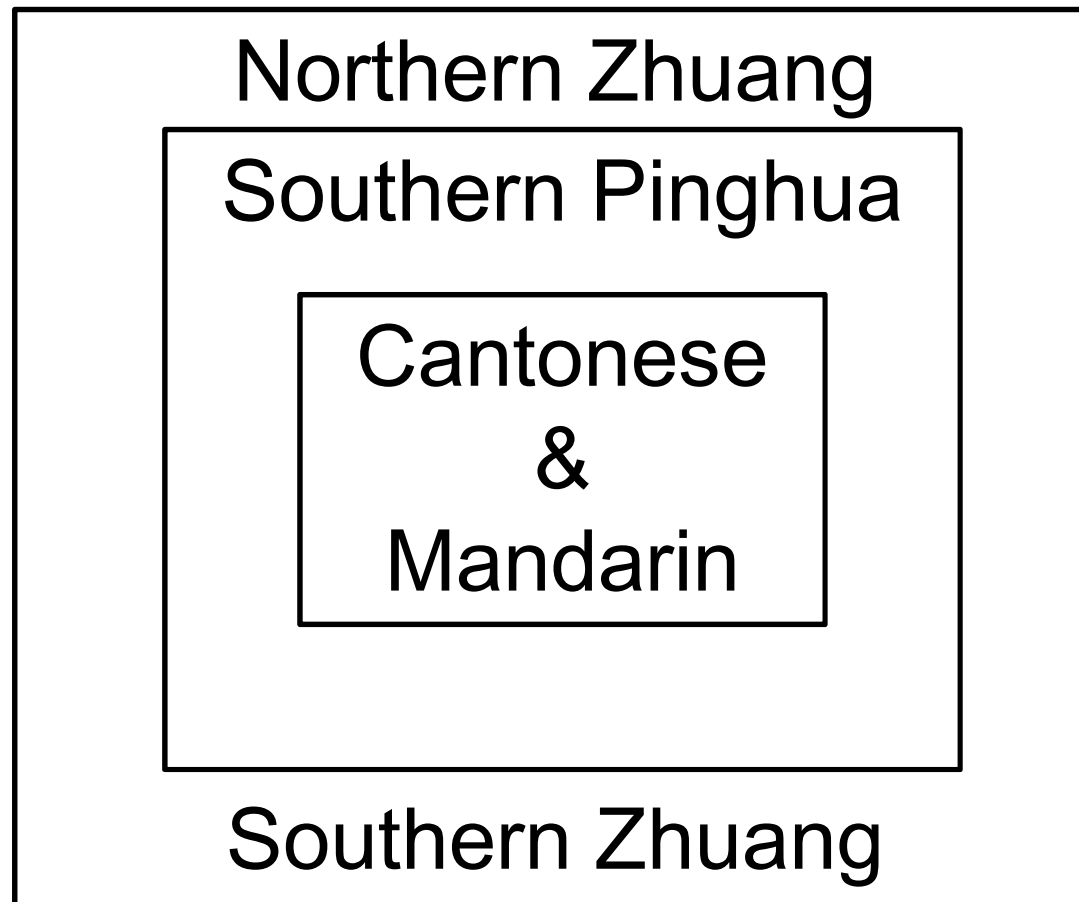
- 桂南平話 Guìnán Pínghuà/ Sth. Pinghua

平話 Pínghuà

In 南寧 Nanning:

"官平土白 Guān Píng Tǔ Bái":

- 官話 Guānhuà 'Mandarin';
- 平話 Pínghuà;
- 土話 Tǔhuà 'Zhuang'; and
- 白話 Báihuà 'Cantonese'

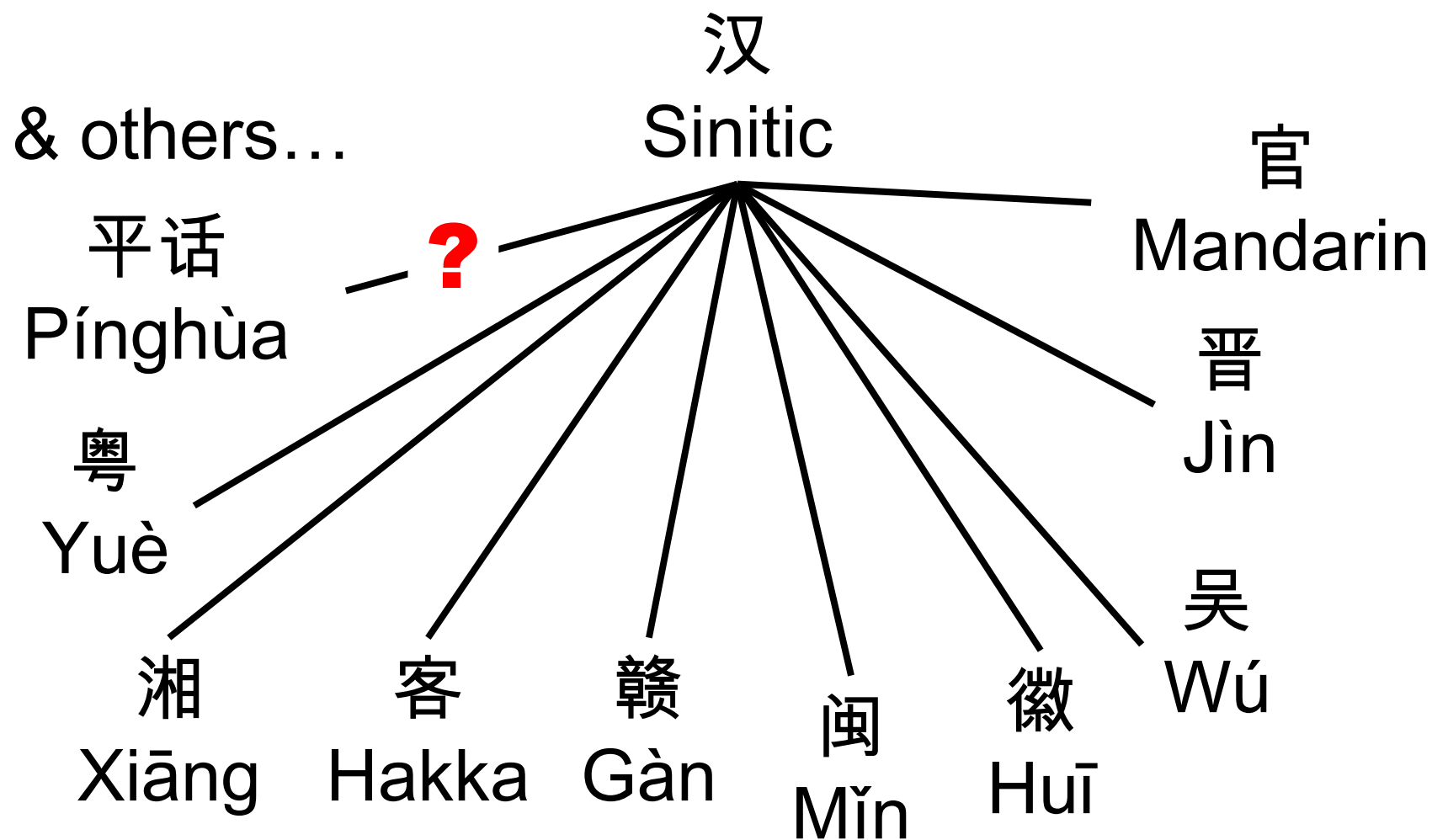# 平話 Pínghuà

In 南寧 Nanning:

Northern Zhuang
Southern Pinghua
Cantonese
&
Mandarin
Southern Zhuang

Language Atlas of China
中国语言地图集

汉
Sinitic

& others…

平话
Pínghùa

?

官
Mandarin

晋
Jìn

粤
Yuè

吴
Wú

湘
Xiāng

客
Hakka

赣
Gàn

闽
Mǐn

徽
Huī

Some opinions…

李连进 Lǐ (2005):　　　汉
　　　　　　　　　　　Sinitic

平话　　　　　　　　　　　　粤Yuè
Pínghùa　　　　　　　　　　• other Yuè…

- Northern Pinghua
- Southern Pinghua
- Patois of S Hunan
- Patois of N Guangdong
- 勾漏 Gòulòu Yuè

Some opinions…

梁金荣 Liăng (1997): Pinghua = branches of Yue
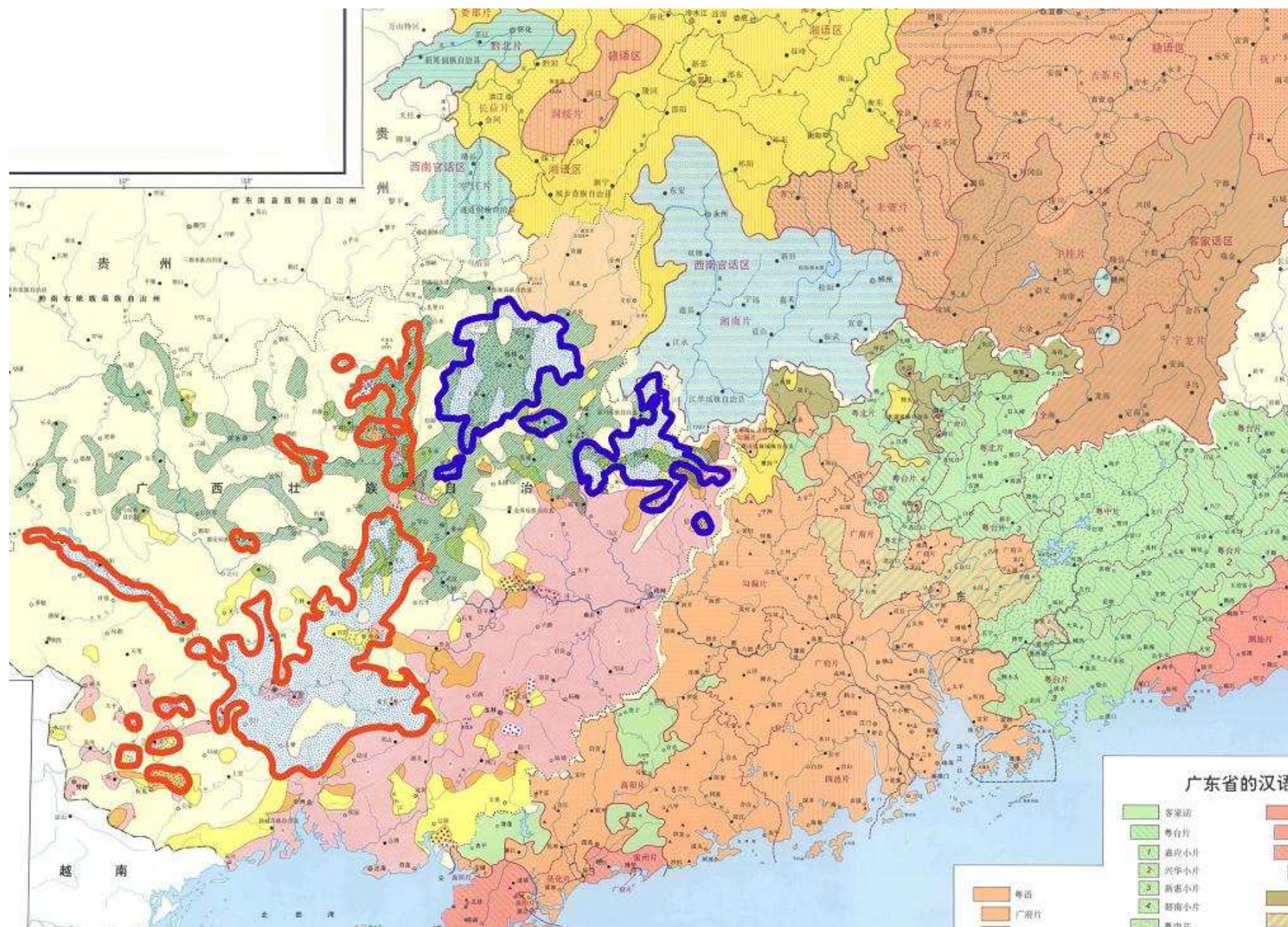
陈小燕 Chén (2007):

粤
Yuè

老粤
Old Yuè
- Northern Pinghua
- Southern Pinghua
- 勾漏 Gòulòu Yuè

新粤
New Yuè
- Cantonese
- 四邑 Sìyī Yuè
- other Yuè …

广东省的汉语

Mainstream opinion

e.g. 覃远雄 Qín (2000, 2007)
伍巍 Wǔ (2001)
谢建猷 Xiè (2007)

汉
Sinitic
|

粤 Yuè

- Southern Pinghua
- Cantonese
- other Yue…

(together with Patois of Sth Hunan and Nth Guangdong)

- First order Sinitic dialect group; or Northern Pinghua ?

- Transition zone between neighbouring groups
(Gan-Hakka, Xiang, SW Mandarin, Yue)

Northern and Southern Pinghua as a group?

(On the surface:)

- Nth Pinghua is internally diverse enough; arguing Nth Pinghua as a group is difficult, let alone Nth and Sth Pinghua together as a group;

- Their phonologies:
  - Nth Pinghua — 'Mandarin-like': simple or no plosive codas, no -m, fewer tones;
  - Sth Pinghua — 'Cantonese-like': -p -t -k -m -n -ŋ, 3 or 4 entering tones.

Example of **Northern Pinghua** phonology:

朝阳 Cháoyáng, 桂林 Guìlín (Xiè 2007: 118-119)

				∅
p pʰ		t tʰ	k kʰ	ʔ
m		n	ŋ	
	f	s		h
		ts tsʰ		
		l		

Nth Pinghua: 朝阳 Cháoyáng, 桂林 Guìlín

		i	集	u	鸽	y	剧
a	纳	ia	甲	ua	塔		
o		iuo	乐	uo			
		iɛ	聂 贬			yɛ	薛 汗
ə							
ʐ̩	入						
ai	肋 灯			uai	兄		
ɔi							
ɛi				uɛi			
		iu	疫				
au		iau	削				
ɔu	东	iɔu	肉				
ŋ̍		iŋ		uŋ		yŋ	
		iuŋ					
aŋ		iaŋ		uaŋ			
əŋ				uəŋ			

Examples of coda-dropping/vocalising in Sth Hunan:
江永 Jiāngyǒng (from LAC)

东风 *-ŋ -ŋ
lai⁴⁴ pai⁴⁴

冷冰 *-ŋ -ŋ
lai²¹ pai⁴⁴

入门 *-p -m
na³³ mai³¹

蚕丝 *-m -0
tsai³¹ sɯə⁴⁴

简单 *-n -n
kuoɯ⁴⁴ luoɯ⁴⁴

弹琴 *-n -m
tuoɯ³¹ tɕie³¹

心烦 *-m -n
sai⁴⁴ tuoɯ³¹

Nth Pinghua: 朝阳 Cháoyáng, 桂林 Guìlín

	*level	*rising	*departing	*entering
yin	43	23	35	55
yang	22		21	

Example of **Southern Pinghua** phonology:
亭子 Tíngzǐ, 南宁 Nánníng (Qín et.al. 1997: 6)

p pʰ		t tʰ		k kʰ	kʷ kʷʰ	Ø
m		n	ɲ	ŋ		
	f	s				h
β						
		ts tsʰ				
		l				
		ɬ				
		j				

Sth Pinghua: 亭子 Tíngzǐ, 南宁 Nánníng

a		e	i	o	u	ø	y	
ai	əi				ui			
au	əu	eu	iu					
ap	əp	ep	ip					
at	ət	et	it	ot	ut		yt	
ak	ək	ek	iɐk			øk		
am	əm	em	im					
an	ən	en	in	on	un		yn	
aŋ	əŋ	eŋ	iɐŋ			øŋ		ŋ̩

Sth Pinghua: 亭子 Tíngzǐ, 南宁 Nánníng

	*level	*rising	*departing	*entering
yin	53	33	55	5
				3
yang	21	24	22	23
				3

汉语方言地图集
Phonology

Hakka

Gan

Hakka incl.Nanxiong

some NG Tu

Gan

Yue

S Ping

Yue (west)

N Ping west

N Ping/SH Tu south

Xiang

SH Tu east/
Gan Leiyang-type

Xiang Loudi-type

N Ping/SH Tu north

N Ping/SH Tu centre

汉语方言地图集
Grammar

Gan

Hakka
plus Nanxiong & Lechang

Yue
(east)

N Ping
west

Yue
(west)

S Ping

N Ping
east

SH Tu Yongzhou-type
N Ping Quanzhou-type

Xiang/
SH Tu Chenzhou-type/
Gan Hunan some

Rucheng
area

Hakka Guangxi

Hakka NG/
NG Tu some
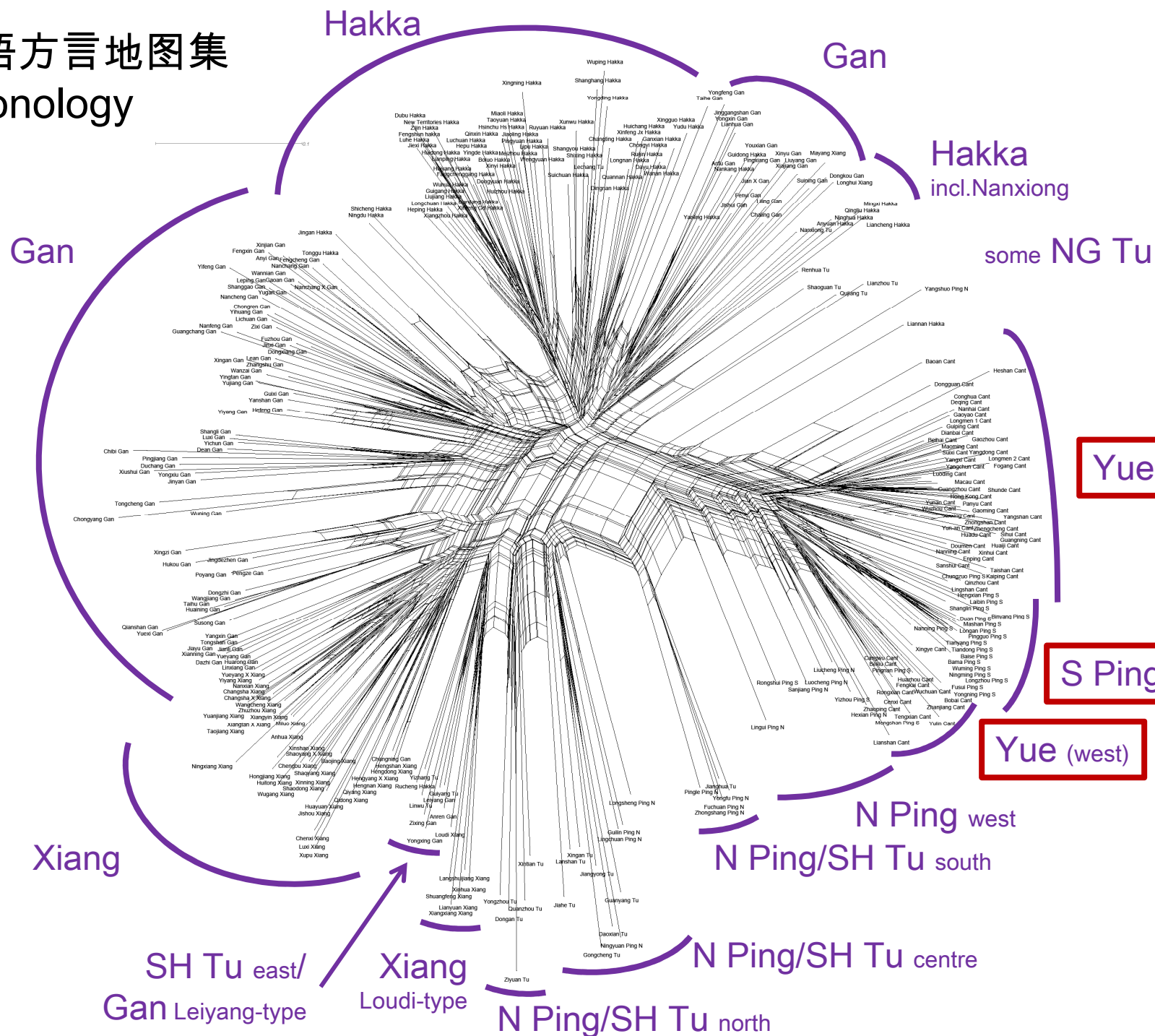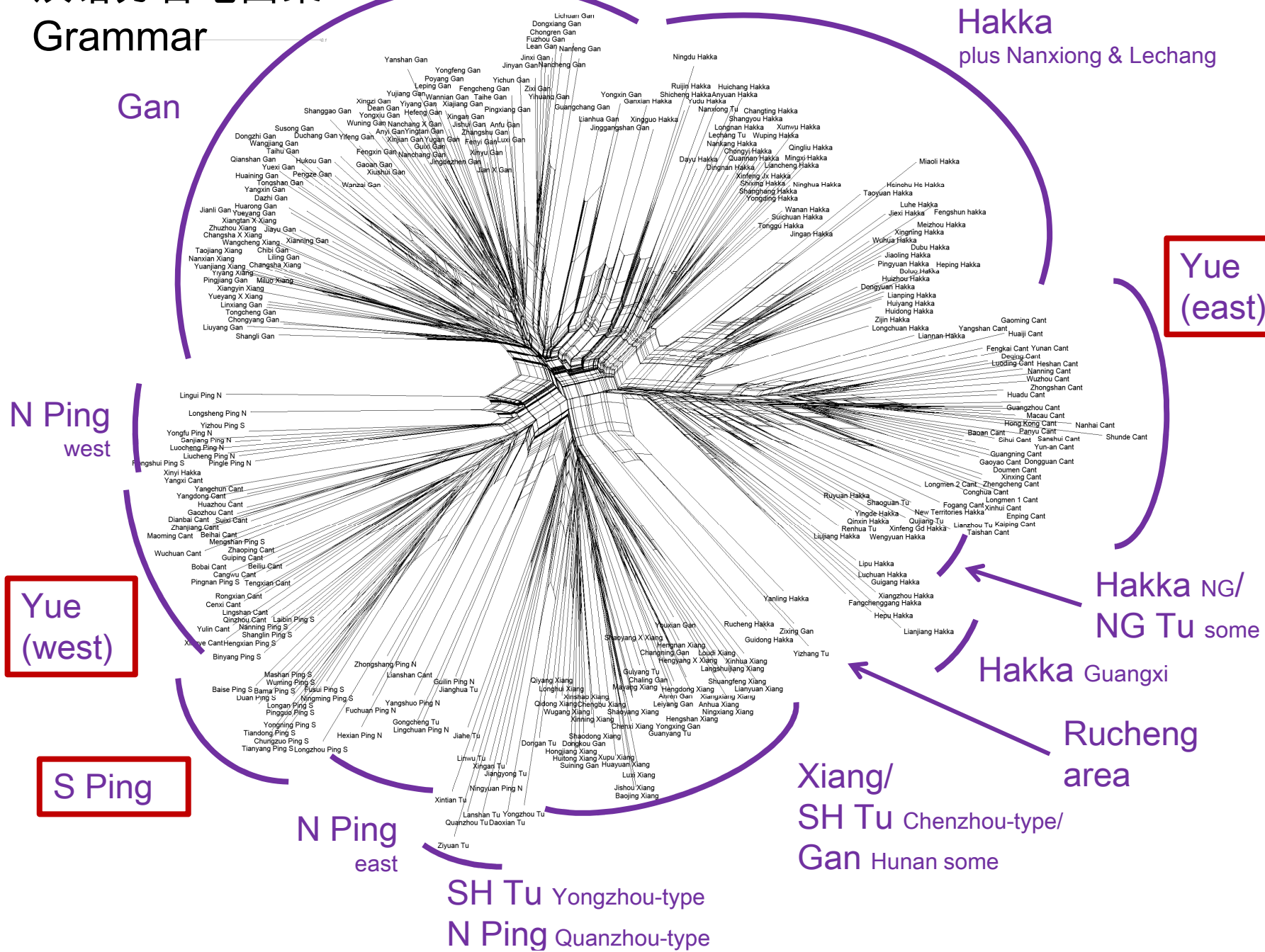
Southern Pinghua and Standard Cantonese — phonological similarities

- -p -t -k -m -n -ŋ;
- 2 each of level, rising and departing tones;
- at least 3 entering tones;
- no voiced plosives;
- only one series of affricate (/ts/ /tsʰ/);
- no 'medials';
- 'long' versus 'short' vowels.

Southern Pinghua phonologically closer to Standard Cantonese than many Yue dialects…

- Just some examples without going into details:

	Nanning Pinghua	Guangzhou Cantonese	東莞 Dōngguǎn (Guánbǎo Y.)	台山 Táishān (Sìyī Y.)
粒 'grain'	nəp^5	n/lɐp^5	ŋɔk^4	lip^5
海 'sea'	hai^{33}	hɔi^{35}	fi^{35}	hɔi^{55}
添 'add'	tʰim^{53}	tʰim^{53}	tʰin^{213}	hiam^{33}
圓 'round'	yn^{21}	jyn^{21}	zøn^{21}	zɔn^{22}
月 'moon'	ɲyt^{23}	jyt^{22}	zøt^{22}	ŋgut^{22}
七 'seven'	tsʰət^{33}	tsʰɐt^{55}	tsʰɐk^{44}	tʰit^{55}

Phonological differences between Southern Pinghua and Cantonese

- Southern Pinghua /s/ versus /ɬ/ or /θ/, Standard Cantonese only /s/:

  > Nanning Pinghua
  > > 深 /səm^{53}/ 'deep' ≠ 心 /ɬəm^{53}/ 'heart';
  >
  > Guangzhou Cantonese
  > > 深 /sɐm^{53}/ = 心 /sɐm^{53}/.

  (Actually many Yue dialects also have a /ɬ/ or /θ/ distinct from /s/, e.g. Sìyī Yue; a lot of communities of Cantonese, Hakka and Min immigrants into Guangxi have also adopted this distinction);

- /ɔ/ in Cantonese often corresponds with /a/ in Nanning Pinghua:

  > Cantonese 落 /lɔk^{22}/ 'descend',
  > > Nanning Pinghua 落 /lak^{23}/;
  >
  > Cantonese 彩 /tsʰɔi^{35}/ 'multicolour' ≠ 踩 /tsʰai^{35}/ 'step (v.)',
  > > Nanning Pinghua 彩 /tsʰai^{33}/ = 踩 /tsʰai^{33}/;

Phonological differences between Southern Pinghua and Cantonese

	Nanning Pinghua	Cantonese
upper *yin* entering	˥ 5	˥ 5
lower *yin* entering	˧ 3	˧ 3
upper *yang* entering	˧ 23	˧ 2
lower *yang* entering	˧ 2	

However:

– Yue generally has vowel length/ tense-lax-ness as the conditioning factor, e.g. Cantonese:

咳 [kʰɐt⁵] 'cough' vs □ [kʰaːt³] '';

職 [tsɪk⁵] 'job' vs 節 [tsiːt³] 'festival'

(exceptions: 咭 [kʰaːt⁵] 'card', □ [tsiːt⁵] 'tickle'/ "squirt")

Phonological differences between Southern Pinghua and Cantonese

	Nanning Pinghua	Cantonese
upper *yin* entering	˥ 5	˥ 5
lower *yin* entering	˧ 3	˧ 3
upper *yang* entering	˩ 23	˧ 2
lower *yang* entering	˧ 2	

However:

– Southern Pinghua generally one *yin* entering tone, or two *yin* entering tones which are randomly assigned;

– As for the two *yang* entering tones, the conditioning factor is usually whether the onset is a sonorant or an obstruent, e.g.:

密 [mət^{23}] 'dense' vs 鼻 [pət^2] 'nose';

(exceptions: 物 [fət^{23}] 'thing', □ /met^5/ 'smallest',

□ /net^2/ 'press downward to make something denser')

Phonological differences between Southern Pinghua and Cantonese

Voiced onset in middle Chinese devoiced in both Yue and S Pinghua:

- Southern Pinghua (and Gòulòu Yuè): unaspirated;
- Yue (other than Gòulòu-type and Wúhuà-type):

  aspirated for level and rising tones,

  unaspirated for departing and entering tones.

(Qín 2007: 183)	Nanning Pinghua	Guangzhou Cantonese
婆*level 'old woman'	pu^{21}	p^{h}ɔ^{21}
窮*level 'poor'	køŋ^{21}	k^{h}ʊŋ^{21}
茶*level 'tea'	tsa^{21}	ts^{h}a^{21}
坐*rising 'sit'	tsu^{24}	ts^{h}ɔ^{24}　（白讀）
近*rising 'near'	kɐn^{24}	k^{h}ɐn^{24}　（白讀）
代*departing 'replace'	tai^{22}	tɔi^{22}
自*departing 'self'	tsi^{22}	tsi^{22}
助*departing 'help'	tso^{22}	tsɔ^{22}
白*entering 'white'	piɛk^{22}	pak^{22}

Some lexical differences between Southern Pinghua and Cantonese

	Nanning Pinghua	Guangzhou Cantonese
'wok'	鐺 tsʰieŋ⁵³	鑊 wɔk²²
'be'	是 si²²	係 hei²²
'give'	許 həi⁵⁵	畀 pei³⁵
'eat'	喫 hek³³	食 sɪk²²
'look'	看 han⁵⁵	睇 tʰei³⁵
'find'	覼 ləi⁵⁵	搵 wen³⁵
'what'	哪門 na³³ mon²¹	乜 met⁵⁵
'nose'	鼻 pət²²	鼻 pei²²
completive	了 liu	咗 tsɔ³⁵
passive	捱 ŋai²¹	畀 pei³⁵

Grammar and the Southern Pinghua–Yue continuum

- The isoglosses tend not to fall on the Southern Pinghua–Yue boundary;

- The isoglosses tend not to bundle, and they tend to fall somewhere to the east of the Southern Pinghua–Yue boundary, i.e. within Yue territory.

Grammar and the Southern Pinghua–Yue continuum

- Diminutives (Chén 2005):

兒 → Ṇ$^{55/35}$ → -N$^{(55/35/↗)}$ → $^{55/35/↗}$

≈ [ɲi^{55}]

(roughly) West ⟵⟶ East

仔 (<崽)

[tsɐi^{35}]

(仔 and $^{55/35/↗}$ rapidly spreading to the West)

Grammar and the Southern Pinghua–Yue continuum

- Reduplicated monosyllabic verbs can be followed by a complement in the west and not in the east

  (e.g. 你 看 看 清楚 (you look look clear));

- 'Look' (e.g. 看 /han^{55}/ in Nanning Pinghua and 睇 /t^{h}ɐi^{35}/ in Nanning Cantonese) as a verbal particle = 'attempt' in the west, and not in the east

  (this isogloss corresponds roughly to the Guangxi–Guangdong boundary);

- Negator:

West:
- (冇 /me^{24}/)

East:
- Non-perft. (唔 /m^{21}/)
- Neg exist. V + perft. (冇 /mou^{13}/)

- Neg imp. (咪 /mɐi^{13}/)
  - ~ (唔好 /m^{21} hou^{35}/)