A Preliminary Investigation into
*Southwestern Middle Chinese

International Workshop on the History of Colloquial Chinese —Written and Spoken

白話和官話的歷史以及方言的歷史文獻國際研討會
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John D. Phan	Hilário de Sousa
Rutgers University Dept of Asian languages & Cultures	Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics
john.phan@rutgers.edu	hilario@bambooradical.com hilario.desousa@mpi.nl

Rutgers University
Department of Asian Languages & Cultures
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东南地区的汉语方言

吴语
1 太湖片
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3 瓯江片
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6 宣州片

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方言区界线
方言片界线

CANTONESE

HAKKA

SOUTHERN MIN

Chaozhou (Teochew) and Shantou

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The Medieval
Southwest

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Map of Vietic Languages
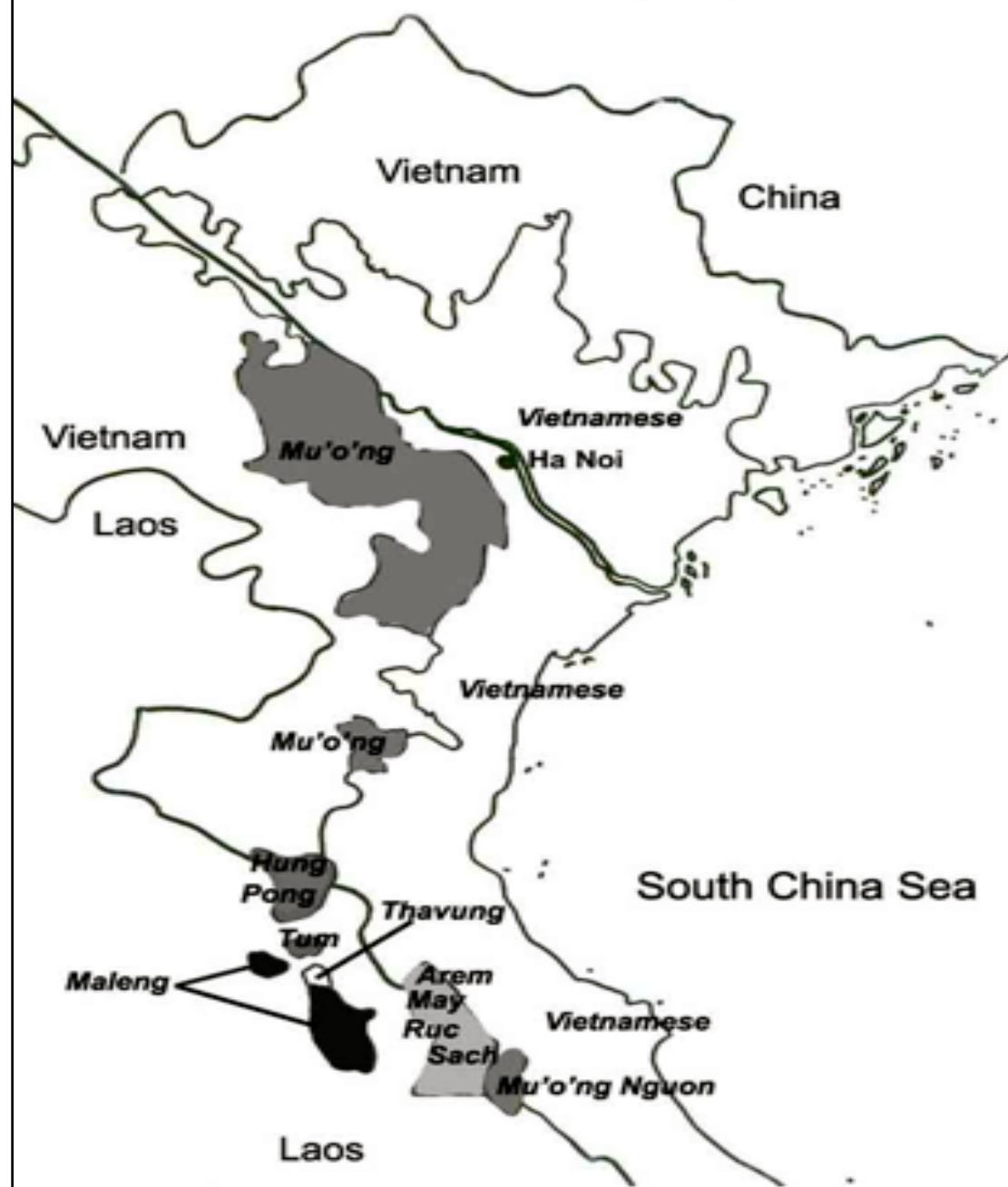
The Viet-Muong languages

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The Hypothesis:

A regional variety of Middle Chinese was spoken in the area of "Annam" 安南 (i.e. modern northern Vietnam) through the fall of the Tang Dynasty, whose phonology distinguish it from literary Middle Chinese and other northern and mid-Yangzi varieties. This **"Annamese Middle Chinese" (AMC)** belonged to a broader medieval **Southwestern dialect continuum**, which diversified into a number of varieties spoken throughout southwestern China today.

The Prediction:

If this hypothesis is correct, we expect that some AMC innovations evidenced in Late Sino-Vietnamese phonology and not attributable to internal Viet-Muong change, will be shared with varieties of Chinese still spoken in Hunan, Guangxi, and possibly western Guangdong (allowing for internal change in those languages).

Today, we will present initial findings from an exploratory investigation into testing that prediction.

Methodology:

We took six "litmus" phonological innovations evidenced in Late Sino-Vietnamese words (and thus reconstructable to Annamese Middle Chinese) not shared in the main northern or eastern Chinese languages, and examined a range of Southwestern Chinese varieties in search of evidence for those innovations.

No new fieldwork was conducted for this project. Our SW Chinese data was drawn from: De Sousa, 2000-2013 (Nanning Pinghua 南寧平話); Li Lianjin, 2000 (Pinghua & Sino-Vietnamese), Wu Yunji & Shen Ruiqing 2010 (Waxiang 瓦鄉); Coblin, 2011 and Chen Hui 2006 (Xiangxiang 湘鄉, Luxi 瀘溪, Qidong 祁東); and the Academia Sinica *Xiaoxue tang* 小學堂 database. Our Sino-Vietnamese, Viet-Muong and Vietic data was drawn from: Phan, 2010 (Mường), Ferlus, 1988 (Rục), and Trần, 2000 (Sino-Viet.).

What we'll present today

- Sino-Vietnamese (loan)words 漢越（借）詞 and the idea of an Annamese Middle Chinese
- **Six phonological innovations of Late Sino-Vietnamese**
  - **Evidence that they do not result from internal Viet-Muong evolution**
  - **What these look like in the Southwestern Chinese languages**
- Conclusions and next questions
- There are **30** slides total.

Sino-Vietnamese evidence

- Between 60%-80% of modern Vietnamese vocabulary is of Chinese origin

- Three broad layers (see Phan, 2013):

  - **Early Sino-Vietnamese (ESV)**

    - Han Dynasty Layer (around 1st century CE)

    - Jin Dynasty Layer (around 4th century CE)

  - **Late Sino-Vietnamese (LSV)**

    - Tang Dynasty (ca. 10th century)

  - **Recent Sino-Vietnamese (RSV)**

    - Mostly Ming and post-Ming diverse borrowings

(A SPOKEN) Annamese Middle Chinese

SW Mandarin
西南官話

Waxiang/Xianghua
瓦鄉話/鄉話

Xiang
湘語

Nanling Patois
南嶺土話

(N Pinghua)
(桂北平話)

Pinghua
平話

Yue
粵語

(Roughly)
(大概)

Gan
贛語

Hakka
客家話

Min
閩語
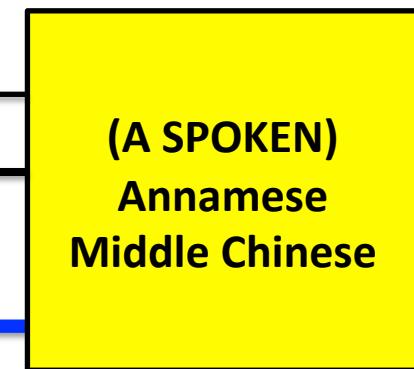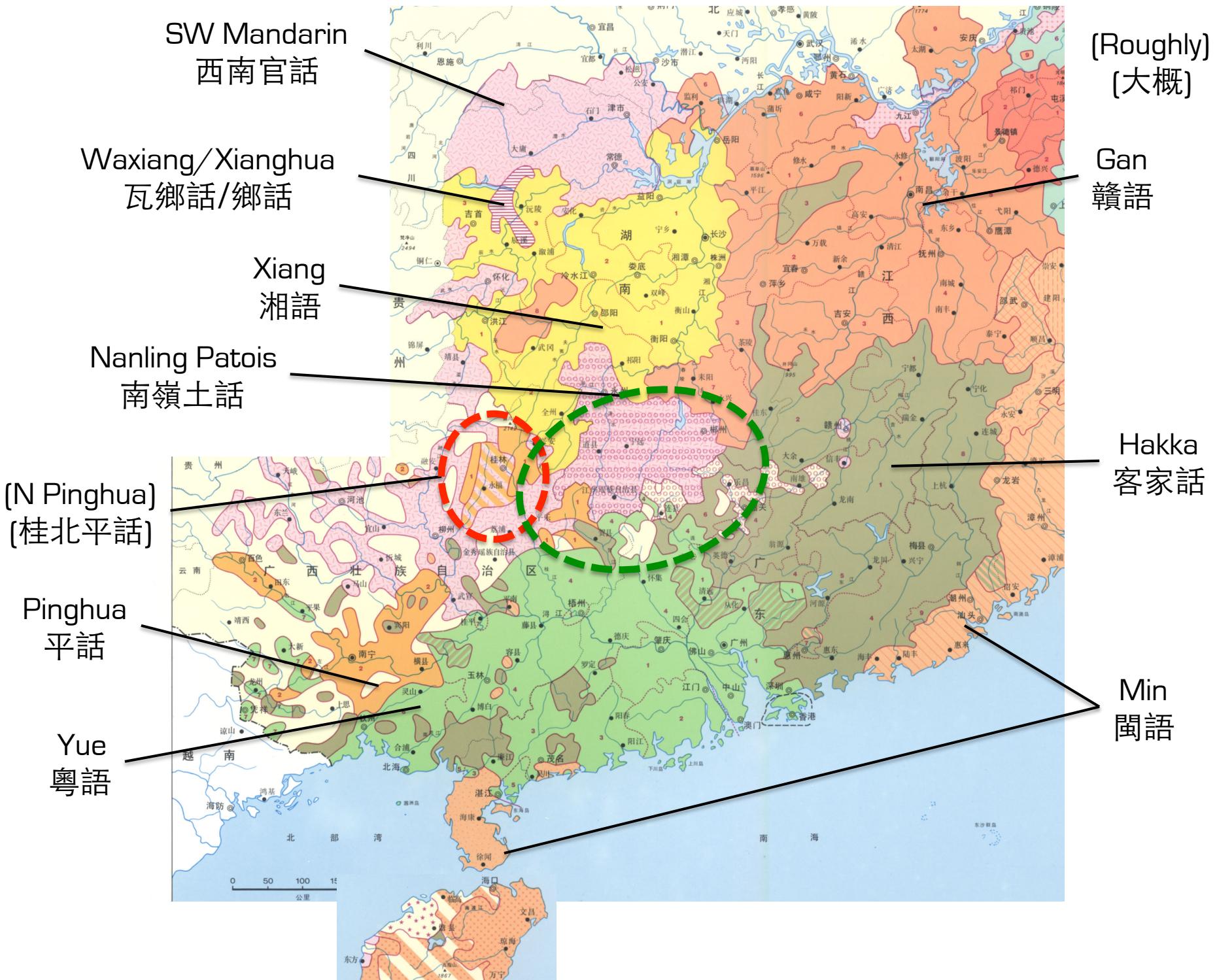
Six sound changes to note:

- Palatalization of labials in *Chongniu IV* (重紐四等) syllables
- Centralization & diphthongization of high/front- and low/back- vowels
- Palatalization of velar onsets in Grade II *kaikou* 二等開口 syllables (i.e. "velar softening")
1. Plain stops & non-modal phonation reflexes for MC voicing
2. High-series tone in low-register syllables with sonorant 次濁 initials
3. An h- vs. v- reflex for *hj- (云母) initials according to frontness vs. backness in the vowel

1. Plain stops & non-modal reflexes for MC voicing

QING 清	*__voiceless initial__ (e.g. *__t__am 單)	→ **voiceless initial** (*__t__an 單)	**YIN** 陰
ZHUO 濁	*__voiced initial__ (e.g. *__d__am 談)	→ **voiceless initial** (*__t__an 談)	**YANG** 陽

Late Sino-Vietnamese: *ɗan21 (A2) 談

In LSV, MC *voiced onsets always correspond to **plain (implosivized) stops**
In LSV, all yang-series tones maintain some form of **non-modal phonation** (e.g. breathiness in low-level tones)
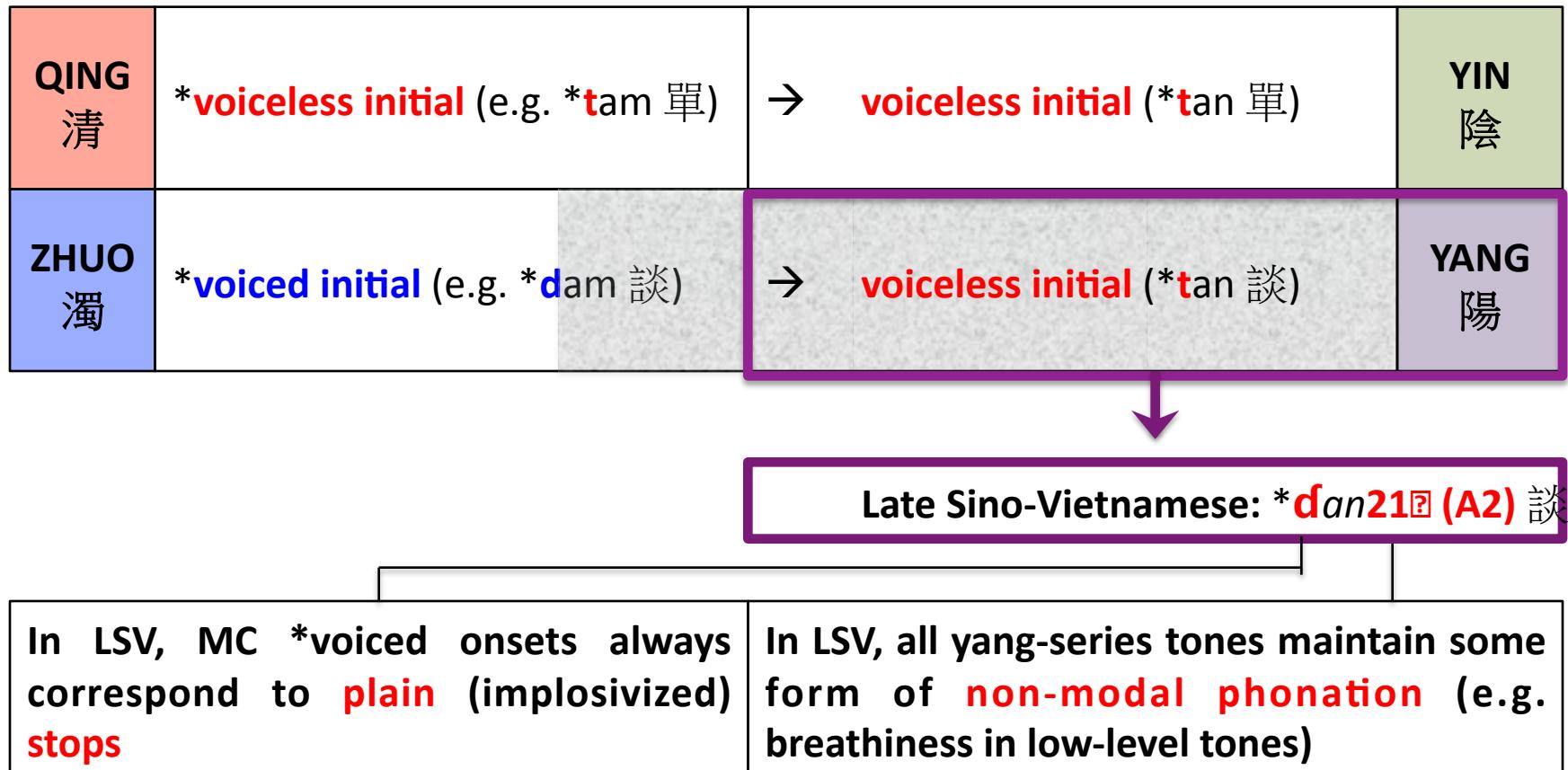
1. Plain stops & non-modal reflexes for MC voicing

		EMC	Mandarin	Cantonese	Lianzhou Yue
1	談	*d (A)	tʰanˊ (A2)	tʰamˎ (A2)	tʰan˥˥ (A2)
2	平	*b (A)	pʰiŋˊ (A2)	pʰɛŋˎ (A2)	
3	田	*d (A)	tʰianˊ (A2)	tʰinˎ (A2)	tʰin˥˥ (A2)
4	停	*d (A)	tʰiŋˊ (A2)	tʰɪŋˎ (A2)	
5	狂	*g (A)	kʰwaŋˊ (A2)	kʰuoŋˎ (A2)	kwʰoŋ˥˥ (A2)
6	近	*g (B)	tɕinˇ (C)	kʰɐnˎ (B2)	kʰɐnˎ (C)
7	辨	*b (B)	pianˇ (C)	pin˧˧ (C2)	pin˥˥ (A2)
8	電	*d (C)	tianˇ (C)	tin˧˧ (C2)	tʰinˎ (C)
9	病	*b (C)	piŋˇ (C)	pɛŋ˧˧ (C2)	
10	白	*b (D)	paiˊ (A2)	pakˎ (D2)	
11	達	*d (D)	taˊ (A2)	tat˧ (D2)	tʰaʔˎ (D2)
12	及	*g (D)	tɕiˊ (A2)	k/kʰɐp˧ (D2)	kʰɐpˎ (D2)

1. Non-modal reflexes for MC voicing

		EMC	Guangning Yue	Hezhou 9du Patois	Nanning Pinghua	HV	Changsha Xiang	Quanzhou Xiang	Waxiang*
1	談	*d (A)	tam˨ (A2)	tɔ˦˩ (A2)	tam˨ (A2)	ɗam˨ (A2)	tan˩ (A2)	dãŋ˩ (A2)	痰 doŋ˩ (A2)
2	平	*b (A)	piɛŋ˨ (A2)	piɔ˦˩ (A2)	pən˨ (A2)	ɓiŋ˨ (A2)	pin˩ (A2)	biŋ˩ (A2)	foŋ˩ (A2)
3	田	*d (A)	ten˨ (A2)	tɛ˦˩ (A2)	tin˨ (A2)	ɗiən˨ (A2)	tiẽ˩ (A2)	diẽ˩ (A2)	lai˩ (A2)
4	停	*d (A)	tiɛŋ˨ (A2)	tuə˦˩ (A2)	tɪŋ˨ (A2)	ɗiŋ˨ (A2)	tin˩ (A2)	diŋ˩ (A2)	
5	狂	*g (A)	kuoŋ˨ (A2)	kuəŋ˦˩ (A2)	kuaŋ˨ (A2)	kuəŋ˨ (A2)	kuan˩ (A2)	guãŋ˩ (A2)	
6	近	*g (B)	kɐn˦˩ (C2)	kiŋ˩ (B2)	kɐn˩ (B2)	kən˩ʔ (B2)	tɕin˥ (C1)	dziŋ˥ (C)	
7	辨	*b (B)	pin˦˩ (C2)	piɛ˦˩ (C2)	pin˦˩ (C2)	ɓiən˩ʔ (B2)	piẽ˥ (C1)	piẽ˥ (C)	tɕʰiɛ˥ (B)
8	電	*d (C)	ten˦˩ (C2)	tɛ˦˩ (C2)	tin˦˩ (C2)	ɗiən˩ʔ (B2)	tiẽ˥ (C1)	diẽ˥ (C)	墊 tʰai˥ (B)
9	病	*b (C)	piɛŋ˦˩ (C2)	piɔ˦˩ (C2)	pən˦˩ (C2)	ɓiŋ˩ʔ (B2)	pin˥ (C1)	biŋ˥ (C)	
10	白	*b (D)	pak˦˩ (D2b)	pa˨ (D2)	pɛk˨ (D2b)	ɓajk˩ʔ (D2)	pɤ˥ (D)	bə˩ (A2)	pʰo˩˩ (A1)
11	達	*d (D)	tat˦˩ (D2b)	ta˨ (D2)	tat˨ (D2b)	ɗat˩ʔ (D2)	ta˥ (D)	da˩ (A2)	
12	及	*g (D)	kɐp˦˩ (D2a)	kia˨ (D2)	kɐp˨ (D2b)	ɣăp˩ʔ (D2)	tɕi˥ (D)	tɕɤ˦˩ (A1)	

*B : B or *B : P
e.g.
Xiang 湘
Pinghua 平
Goulou Yue 勾漏粵

*B : Bʱ
/breathiness/murmur
e.g.
Xiangxiang 湘鄉
Xinhua 新化
Qiyang 祁陽
Qidong 祁東

*B : Bʱ
e.g.
Yulin_old 玉林舊派
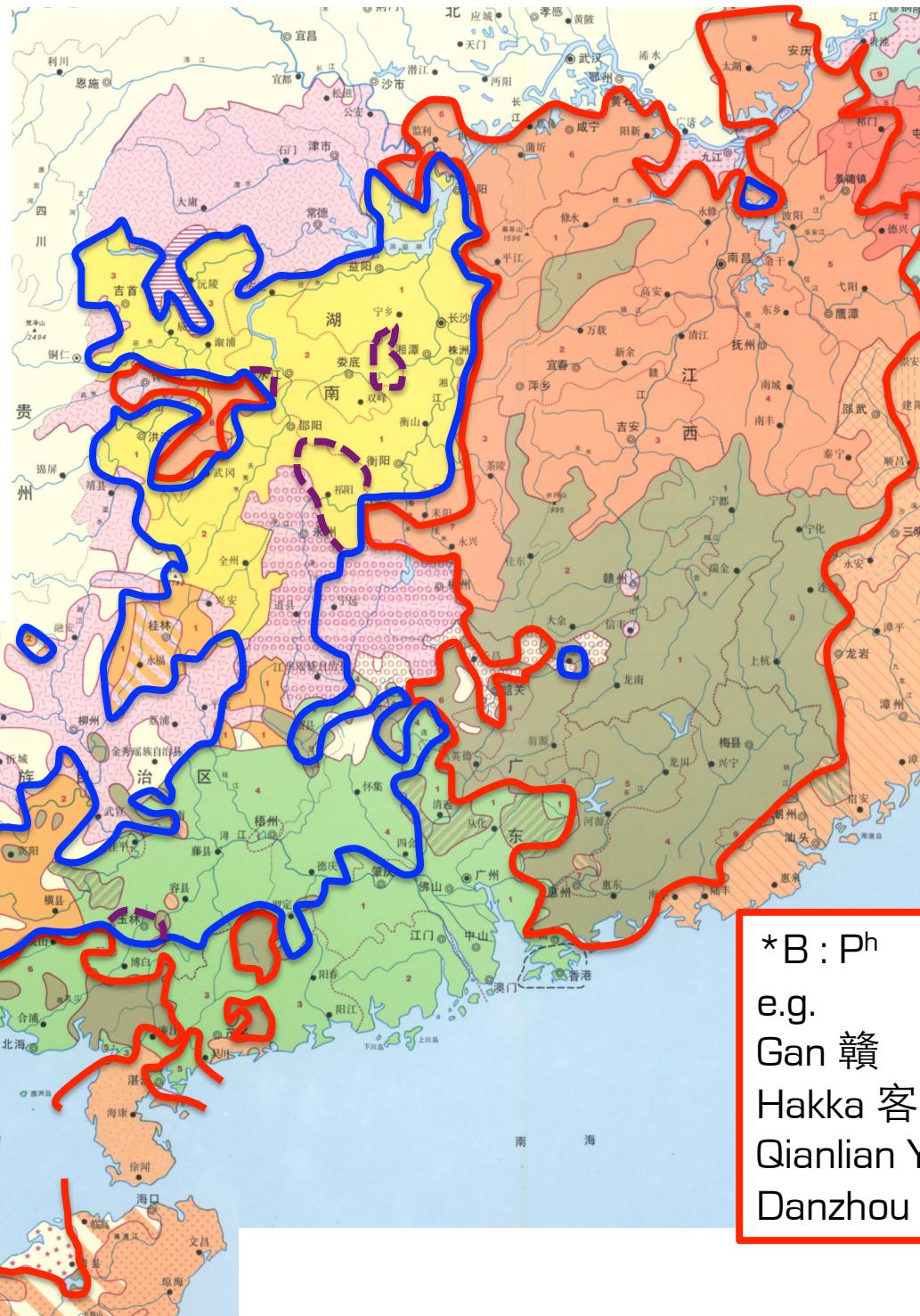
(Roughly)
[大概]

*B : Pʰ
e.g.
Gan 贛
Hakka 客家
Qianlian Yue 欽廉粵
Danzhou 儋州 (白讀)

3. Sonorant-initial level tones

QING 清	*voiceless initial (e.g. *tam 單)	→ voiceless initial (*tan 單)	YIN 陰
ZHUO 濁	**Sonorant**	→ voiceless initial (*tan 談)	YANG 陽

*MC (Baxter & Sagart, 2014)	LSV (Trần, 2000)
*mwon 門	<môn> **(44/A1)** 門 *not* <mồn> (21 /A2)

3. Sonorant-initial level tones

- Does this happen in Viet-Muong?
- A subset of modern Vietnamese nasals *do* demonstrate high-level 陰平 tones, but this is because they descend from a series of pVM egressives, which were underspecified for voicing
- Meanwhile, pVM nasals and all non-nasal pVM sonorants demonstrate predictable low-level 陽平 tones

3. Sonorant-initial level tones

*Proto-Viet-Muong	Mường Muốt (Phan, 2010)	Vietnamese
*p'aŋ33 (A1) "to carry, bring"	ɓaŋ33 (A1) "to carry, bring"	maŋ44 (A1) "to carry, bring"
*meɲ453 (A2) "self, body"	meɲ453 (A2) "self, body	miɲ21 (A2) "self, body"
*la453 (A2) "is"	la453 (A2) "is"	la21 (A2) "is"

3. Sonorant-initial level tones

	MC	Mandarin	Cantonese	Nanning Pinghua	Changsha Xiang	Quanzhou Xiang	HV	Waxiang
20 顛	*t	tian˥˥ (A1)	tin˥ (A1)	tin˥ (A1)	tiẽ˦ (A1)	tiẽ˦ (A1)	ɗiən˥˥ (A1)	tai˥˥ (A1)
21 天	*tʰ	tʰian˥˥ (A1)	tʰin˥ (A1)	tʰin˥ (A1)	tʰiẽ˦ (A1)	tʰiẽ˦ (A1)	tʰiən˥˥ (A1)	tʰai˥˥ (A1)
22 忙	*m	maŋ˧˥ (A2)	moŋ˨˩ (A2)	maŋ˨˩ (A2)	man˩˧ (A2)	mãŋ˨˦ (A2)	maŋ˥˥ (A1)	maŋ˥˥ (A1)
23 聞	*m̥	wən˧˥ (A2)	mɐn˨˩ (A2)	mɐn˨˩ (A2)	uən˩˧ (A2)	uẽŋ˨˦ (A2)	văn˥˥ (A1)	vai˥˥ (A1)
24 人	*ɲ	zən˧˥ (A2)	jɐn˨˩ (A2)	ɲɐn˨˩ (A2)	zən˩˧ (A2)	ziŋ˨˦ (A2)	ɲən˥˥ (A1)	ɣŋ˥˥ (A1)
25 牛	*ŋ	niu˧˥ (A2)	ŋɐu˨˩ (A2)	ɲəu˨˩ (A2)	ɲiəu˩˧ (A2)	liu˨˦ (A2)	ŋuu˥˥ (A1)	ŋəɯ˥˥ (A1)
26 龍	*l	loŋ˧˥ (A2)	lʊŋ˨˩ (A2)	lʊŋ˨˩ (A2)	lən˩˧ (A2)	loŋ˨˦ (A2)	lɔwŋ˥˥ (A1)	liau˥˥ (A1)
27 年	*n	nian˧˥ (A2)	nin˨˩ (A2)	nin˨˩ (A2)	ɲiẽ˩˧ (A2)	liẽ˨˦ (A2)	niən˥˥ (A1)	lai˥˥ (A1)
28 田	*d	tʰian˧˥ (A2)	tʰin˨˩ (A2)	tin˨˩ (A2)	tiẽ˩˧ (A2)	diẽ˨˦ (A2)	ɗiən˨˩ (A2)	lai˩˧ (A2)

3. Sonorant-initial level tones

	MC	Mandarin	Cantonese	Nanning Pinghua	Changsha Xiang	Quanzhou Xiang	HV	Waxiang
30 馬	*m	maꜜ꜓ (B)	ma꜔ (B2)	ma꜔ (B2)	maꜚ (B)	ma꜒꜒ (B)	ma꜔꜓ (C2)	mo꜕ (B)
31 舞	*m̥	wuꜜ꜓ (B)	mou꜔ (B2)	mu꜔ (B2)	uꜚ (B)	u꜒꜒ (B)	vu꜔꜓ (C2)	u꜕ (B)
32 右	*ɦj	jouꜚ (C)	jɐu꜔ (C2)	jəu꜔ (C2)	iəu꜒ (C1)	iu꜕ (C)	huɯ꜔꜓ (C2)	dza꜓꜓ (C)
33 亂	*l	luanꜚ (C)	lyn꜔ (C2)	lun꜔ (C2)	lõ꜒ (C1)	luã꜕ (C)	lɔanꜚˀ (B2)	dzʐŋ꜕ (A2)
34 月	*ŋ	ɥyɛꜚ (C)	jyt꜔ (D2)	wit꜔ (D2a)	ye꜕ (D)	yɛ꜓꜓ (A1)	ŋwiətꜚˀ (B2)	ŋyɛꜚ (D)
35 肉	*ɲ	ʐouꜚ (C)	jʊk꜔ (D2)	ɲʊk꜔ (D2a)	zəu꜕ (D)	zu꜔ (A1)	ɲukꜚˀ (B2)	ŋiəuꜚ (D)

3. Sonorant-initial level tones

Xiangxiang 湘鄉

	*A 平	*B 上	*C 去	*D 入
*Voiceless unaspirated	抓 tso˦	醒 ɕiõ˥	鑽 tsyæ̃˦	(various)
*Voiceless aspirated		且 tɕʰiã˥	看 kʰuã˦	
*Voiced sonorant	崖 ŋã˧	買 mã˥	利 li˦	
*Voiced obstruent	葵 gʱui˧		狀 dzʱaŋ˦	

4. *h-* vs. *v-* reflexes for MC *hj- (云-) initials

- In LSV, MC ***hj- 云-** initial syllables in the –oŋ 通 rime group, and in non-level syllables of the –u 流 rime group, consistently demonstrate **h-** onsets

- The reconstructed –j- appears to delete in 通 rime groups, and to diphthongize the vowel in the 流 rime group, leaving h- as the initial

4. *h-* reflexes for MC *hj- before back vowels

*MC (Baxter & Sagart, 2014)	LSV (Trần, 2000)
*ɦjwung 雄	\<hùng\>雄
*ɦjwuX 有	\<hữu\> 有
*ɦjwe 為	\<vi\> 為

4. *h-* reflexes for MC *hj- before back vowels

				HV	Hezhou 9du Patois	Nanning Pinghua	Cantonese	Changsha Xiang	Quanzhou Xiang	Mandarin	Waxiang
60	尤	ɦjuw (A)	流開三平	vuu˩˩ (A1)	y˦ (A2)	jəu˨ (A2)	jɐu˨ (A2)	iəu˨ (A2)	iu˨ (A2)	jou˧˥ (A2)	
61	郵	ɦjuw (A)	流開三平	ɓuu˩˩ (A1)	y˦ (A2)	jəu˨ (A2)	jɐu˨ (A2)	iəu˨ (A2)	iu˨ (A2)	jou˧˥ (A2)	
62	有	ɦjuw (B)	流開三上	huu˦ˀ˥ (C2)	xau˦˦ (B2)	jəu˥ (B2)	jɐu˥ (B2)	iəu˥ (B)	iu˩˩ (B)	jou˨˩˦ (B)	va˦ (B)
63	友	ɦjuw (B)	流開三上	huu˦ˀ˥ (C2)	y˦ (A2)	jəu˥ (B2)	jɐu˥ (B2)	iəu˥ (B)	iu˩˩ (B)	jou˨˩˦ (B)	
64	右	ɦjuw (C)	流開三去	huu˦ˀ˥ (C2)		jəu˦ (C2)	jɐu˦ (C2)	iəu˧˥ (C1)	iu˧˥ (C)	jou˥˩ (C)	dza˦ (C)
65	又	ɦjuw (C)	流開三去	huu˥ˀ (B2)	iəu˥ (D2)	jəu˦˦ (C2)	jɐu˦˦ (C2)	iəu˧˥ (C1)	iu˧˥ (C)	jou˥˩ (C)	(iəɯ˥)
others:											
66	熊	ɦjuwŋ (A)	通合三平	huŋ˥ (A2)	xiəŋ˦ (A2)	jʊŋ˥ (A2)	hʊŋ˥ (A2)	ɕin˥ (A2)	zioŋ˥ (A2)	ɕioŋ˧˥ (A2)	vʌ˥ (A2)
67	雨	ɦju (B)	遇合三上	vu˦ˀ˥ (C2)	y˦˦ (B2)	həi˥ (B2)	jy˥ (B2)	y˥ (B)	y˩˩ (B)	ɥy˨˩˦ (B)	va˦ (B)
68	為	ɦjwe (A)	止合三平	vi˩˩ (A1)	ui˦ (A2)	wəi˥ (A2)	wɐi˥ (A2)	uei˥ (A2)	uɛi˥ (A2)	wei˧˥ (A2)	y˥ (A2)

Summary

	Plain, non-modal reflex for *voice	"Velar softening"	Sonorant high-level tone	"h- for MC *hj-"
LSV:	(yes)	(yes)	(yes)	(yes)
"Central Xiang"	yes	no	yes	no?
Waxiang	yes?	no	yes	no
Hezhou jiudu	no	no	no	yes?
Nanning Pinghua	no	yes?	no	maybe
Quanzhou Xiang	maybe	no	no	no
Changsha Xiang	no	no	no	no
Cantonese	no	no	no	no
Mandarin	no	no	no	no

Next steps

- Revisit Sino-Vietnamese to refine our understanding of AMC innovations, and identify new ones

- Regarding SW Chinese varieties: a huge empirical problem
  - New fieldwork on "voiced" onsets (and aspirates) in Central Xiang and other varieties
  - More documentation on patois and other poorly/un-described varieties in the SW corridor

- Collect these new data into a comparative database, for confirmation and reconstruction of **Southwestern Middle Chinese.**

Thank you.