

Nanning Cantonese and Nanning Pinghua — *their Tai-ness and non-Tai-ness*

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ERC SINOTYPE project

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Setting: Sinitic Languages



(Lang atlas of China)

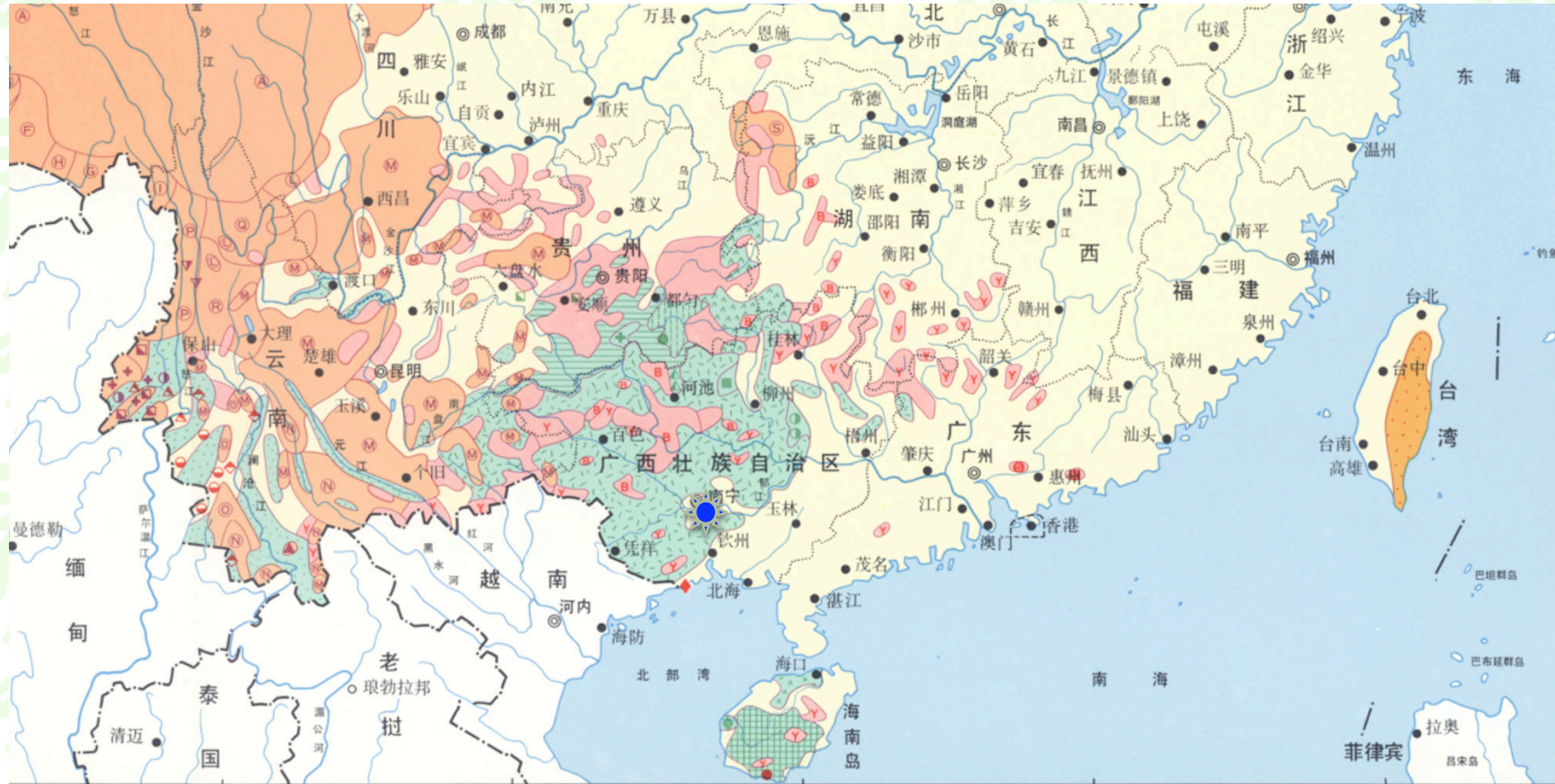


Nanning
南寧

Pinghua
平話

Yue (e.g. Cantonese)
粵語

Setting: Non-Sinitic languages



Kra-dai
languages

In 南寧 Nanning, schematically:

Northern Zhuang
(inigenous)

Southern Pinghua
(≈ 1000 years)

Cantonese
(≈ 100 years)

Yong River
邕江

Southern Zhuang
(inigenous)

In this talk:

How Nanning Cantonese and
Nanning Pinghua resemble and
not resemble Tai languages.

Not in this talk:

How the Zhuang languages resemble Sinitic languages.

(see, e.g., Wang (1962), Dai (1992), Qin (2004),
Sybesma (2008), Zhao (2008))

Source of Tai-ness

Nanning Pinghua:
their Zhuang neighbours

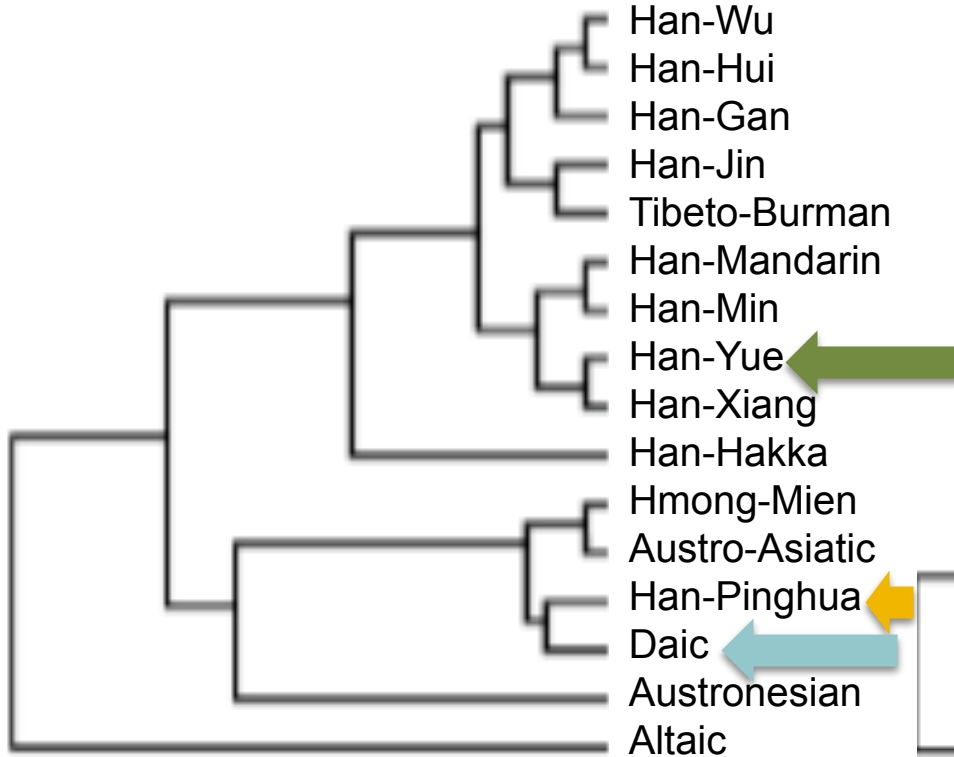
Nanning Cantonese:

1. they already had strong Tai-substratum before their move into Nanning (e.g. Bauer 1996)

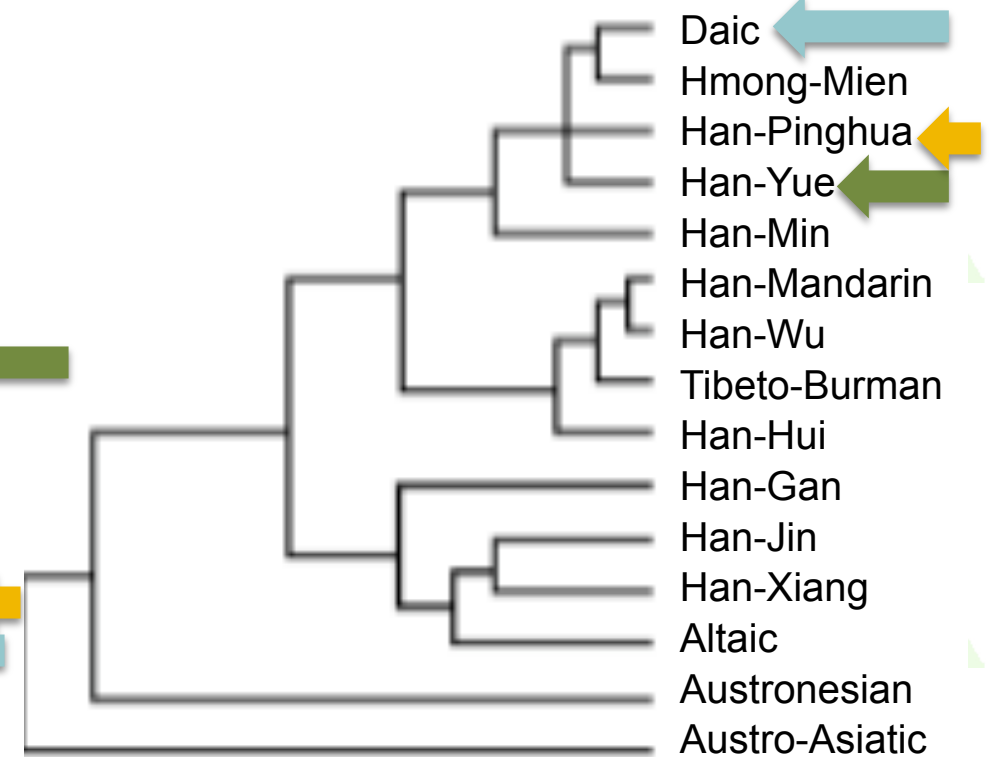
Genetics

- Gan, Pan et al. 2008 dendrogram clustering of Han Chinese branches and other East Asian phyla:

A Dendrogram of Y chromosome haplogroups



B Dendrogram of mtDNA haplogroups



Note: 'Han-Pinghua' = Northern Pinghua

Source of Tai-ness

Nanning Pinghua: • • •
their Zhuang neighbours

had strong taboo of
intermarriage with
Zhuang

Nanning Cantonese:

1. they already had strong Tai-substratum before their move into Nanning (e.g. Bauer 1996)
2. language shift of Zhuang into Nanning Cantonese (e.g. Qin & Wu 2009, Kwok 2010)

Onsets

Wuming N Zhuang

p		t		k	ʔ	pl	kj	kw
ɓ		ɗ						
m		n		ŋ		ml		
	f	θ		ɛ	ɣ	h		
		l		j	w			
				ʔj	ʔw			

Yongning S Zhuang

p		t		k	ʔ	pl	kl	kw
p ^h		t ^h		k ^h		p ^h l	k ^h l	k ^h w
m		n		ŋ		ml		
	f				h	hl		
				tʃ				
				tʃ ^h				
	v	l		j				
				ɬ				

Zhuang phonological data from Zhang et al. (1999)

Nanning Pinghua				
p	t		k	kw
p ^h	t ^h		k ^h	k ^h w
m	n		ɲ ɳ	
	f		ʃ	h
			tʃ	
			tʃ ^h	
	l		j w	
	ɬ			

Nanning Cantonese				
p	t		k	kw
p ^h	t ^h		k ^h	k ^h w
m	n		ŋ	
	f		ʃ	h
			tʃ	
			tʃ ^h	
	l		j w	
	ɬ			

- poor in sibilants (Sinitic languages typically have at least sibilants at two places of articulations);
- The CG|VC syllable structure resembles CC|VC in Tai rather than the usual C|GVC in Sinitic languages.

(c.f. the C|GVC phonotactics of, e.g. Mandarin)

				i	u	ü	
				a	ia	ua	
				o		uo	
				e	ie	üe	
				ai		uai	
				ei		uei	
				ao	iao		
				ou	iou		
				an	ian	uan	üan
				en	in	uen	ün
				ang	iang	uang	
				eng	ing	ueng	
				ong	iong		
				er			
b	p	m	f				
d	t	n	l				
g	k	h					
j	q	x					
z	c	s					
zh	ch	sh	r				

Rhymes

Wuming N Zhuang										
a		u		i		u		ɛ		ɔ
a:j	aj	uəj				uəj				ɔ:j
a:w	aw			iəw				ɛ:w		
	aɥ									
a:p	ap			iəp	ip	uəp	up	ɛ:p	ɔ:p	op
a:m	am			iəm	im	uəm	um	ɛ:m	ɔ:m	om
a:t	at	uət	ut	iət	it	uət	ut	ɛ:t	ɔ:t	ot
a:n	an	uən	un	iən	in	uən	un	ɛ:n	ɔ:n	on
a:k	ak		uk	iək	ik	uək	uk	ɛ:k	ɔ:k	ok
a:ŋ	aŋ		uŋ	iəŋ	iŋ	uəŋ	uŋ	ɛ:ŋ	ɔ:ŋ	oŋ

Rhymes

Yongning S Zhuang											
a		ə		i		u		ɛ		ɔ	
a:j	aj	ə:j				u:j			ej	ɔ:j	
a:w	aw			i:w				ɛ:w		ow	
a:p	ap		əp	i:p	ip			ɛ:p		ɔ:p	
a:m	am	ə:m	əm	i:m	im			ɛ:m		ɔ:m	
a:t	at		ət	i:t		u:t	ut	ɛ:t		ɔ:t	ot
a:n	an		ən	i:n		u:n	un	ɛ:n		ɔ:n	on
a:k	ak	ə:k	ək		ik	u:k	uk	ɛ:k		ɔ:k	ok
a:ŋ	aŋ	ə:ŋ	əŋ		iŋ	u:ŋ	uŋ	ɛ:ŋ		ɔ:ŋ	oŋ

Nanning Shangyao Pinghua						
a		ə	i	u	ɛ	ɔ
aj	ǎj	əj		uj		ɔj
aw	ǎw	əw	iw		ɛw	
ap	ǎp		ip			
am	ǎm		im			
at	ǎt	ət	it	ut	ɛt	ɔt
an	ǎn	ən	in	un	ɛn	ɔn
ak	ǎk		ǎk	ǔk	ɛk	
aŋ	ǎŋ		ǎŋ	ǔŋ	ɛŋ	

Nanning Cantonese							
a		i	u	ɛ	ɔ	œ	y
aj	ǎj		uj		ɔj		
aw	ǎw	iw		ɛw			
ap	ǎp	ip		ɛp			
am	ǎm	im		ɛm			m̚
at	ǎt	it	ut	ɛt	ɔt	œt	yt
an	ǎn	in	un	ɛn	ɔn		yn
ak	ǎk	ǎk	ǔk	ɛk	ɔk	œk	
aŋ	ǎŋ	ǎŋ	ǔŋ	ɛŋ	ɔŋ	œŋ	ŋ̚

- some vowel length contrasts (very rare in other Sinitic lngs);
- conservative with –p –t –k –m –n –ŋ codas;
- most Southern Pinghua dialects have /ə/ and/or /ɯ/;
- not many Yue dialects have front rounded vowels.

Tones

Wuming N Zhuang tones					
	*A	*B	*C	*DS	*DL
*VOICELESS	↗	↗	↘	↘	↗
*VOICED	↘	↖	↘	↖	↘

Yongning S Zhuang tones					
	*A	*B	*C	*DS	*DL
*ASPIRATED, *GLOTTALISED	↖	↘	↗	↘	↘
*UNASPIRATED	↘	↗	↗		↗
*VOICED	↘	↘	↘?	↖	↘

Tones

Nanning/ Standard Cantonese tones					
	*level (*A)	*rising (*C)	*departing (*B)	*entering (*D)	
*VOICELESS	˥	˨˨	˥˨	˥˩˩	˥˩
*VOICED	˩	˨˨	˥˨	˥˩	

- vowel length contrast for the entering tone in vast majority of Yue dialects and some Southern Pinghua dialects (unique in Sinitic languages);

Tones

Nanning (Xinxu/Shangyao) Pinghua tones				
	*level (*A)	*rising (*C)	*departing (*B)	*entering (*D)
*ASPIRATED	∨	┆	↗	┆
*UNASPIRATED			┘	
*NASAL	┘	↗	┆	↗
*VOICED ORAL				┆

- by contrast, Pinghua dialects typically does not have vowel length contrast in the entering tone;
- the other conditioning factors—aspiration and nasal/oral of the onset—are not uncommon in Sinitic languages.

Lexicon

Southern Pinghua lexicon often resembles Cantonese. However, when they differ, Southern Pinghua often has a Tai-loan or a Mandarin-sounding word instead.

(Cantonese already has many Tai words; Pinghua has even more.)

A few examples:

Lexicon

Nanning Pinghua	Northern Zhuang	c.f. Standard Cantonese
wənɿ (-tɕiɿ 隊) 1PL.INCL	wunɿ ‘(other) people’	(no clusivity distinction)
həiɿ (ɿ) ‘give’	həuɿ ‘give’	畀 peiɿ
jənɿ ‘cold’	P-Tai *ʔjen ^A ‘cool’ (Li 1977)	凍 tɕŋɿ ‘cold’
həŋɿ ‘too non-tact. hot’	huŋɿ ‘hot weather’	?
ɬəkɿ ‘a few’	θakɿ ‘a few’	幾 keiɿ ‘a few’
nəmɿ ‘stupid’	namɿ ‘slow’	蠢 ts ^h ənɿ ‘stupid’
ɬənɿ ‘shiver’	θanɿ ‘shiver’	震 tsənɿ ‘shake’
hənɿ ‘play’	fanɿ ‘play’	玩 wanɿ ‘play’
pɔkɿ (-tsiɿ 子) ‘pomelo’	(mak-) pukɿ ‘pomelo’	碌柚 lɔkɿjɔuɿ ‘pomelo’

Lexicon

Nanning Pinghua	Mandarin	c.f. Standard Cantonese
是 li˩ ‘be’	是 ʂz˩ ‘be’	係 hɛi˩ ‘be’
喫 hət˩ ‘eat’	喫 tʂʰz˩ ‘eat’	食 sɪk˩ ‘eat’
看 han˩ ‘look’	看 kʰan˩ ‘look’	睇 tʰɛi˩ ‘look’
鼻 pət˩(Entering) ‘nose’	鼻 pi˩(<*Entering) ‘nose’	鼻 pei˩(Departing) ‘nose’
了 liu˩ PERFECIVE	了 lə PERFECIVE	咗 tsɔ˩ PERFECIVE
捱 ɲai˩ PASSIVE (‘suffer’) (<i>can be agentless</i>)	SW Mand. 捱 ɲæ˩ PASSIVE (<i>can be agentless</i>)	畀 pei˩ PASSIVE (‘give’) (<i>must be agented</i>)

Grammar

- Morphologically ‘isolating’;
- Word order in Sinitic languages: generally SVO, but [MOD N], [ADV V] ([REL N] and [ADV V] extremely rare for SVO languages; Dryer 2003)

Nanning Pinghua

1. [佢 老弟 欠 我] 個 一 大 單 錢
kəi¹³ lau¹³ tɕi¹³ him²⁵ ŋa¹³ kə⁵⁵ ət³ tai²² tan⁵³ tɕin¹¹
3SG 1.brother owe 1SG LIG one big CL money
‘the big sum of money that his/her little brother owe me’
2. 佢 自日 還 了 個 單 錢 系 我。
kəi¹³ tɕi²²-nət¹³ wan¹¹ liu¹³ kə⁵⁵ tan⁵³ tɕin¹¹ hei²⁵ ŋa¹³
3SG yester-day return PFV DEM CL money give 1SG
‘S/he returned that sum of money to me yesterday.’

Morphological differences between Southern Pinghua and Cantonese

	Mandarin <u>MOD</u> N	Nanning Pinghua <u>MOD</u> N	Northern Zhuang N <u>MOD</u>	Cantonese N <u>MOD</u>
'cock'	公雞 <u>kun</u> ⁵⁵ <u>tʃi</u> ⁵⁵	公雞 <u>kɔŋ</u> ⁵³ <u>kəi</u> ⁵³	kai ³⁵ <u>pau</u> ⁴²	雞公 <u>kəi</u> ⁵⁵ <u>kɔŋ</u> ⁵⁵
'hen'	母雞 <u>mu</u> ²¹ <u>tʃi</u> ⁵⁵	母雞 <u>mu</u> ¹³ <u>kəi</u> ⁵³	kai ³⁵ <u>me</u> ³³	雞姆 <u>kəi</u> ⁵⁵ <u>na</u> ³⁵
'pre-ovulating hen/ pullet'	?	項雞 <u>haŋ</u> ²² <u>kəi</u> ⁵³	kai ³⁵ <u>ha:ŋ</u> ³³	雞項 <u>kəi</u> ⁵⁵ <u>hɔŋ</u> ³⁵

Noun marker 子 tʃi³³

孝子
hau²⁵ tʃi³³
filial son
'filial son'

瓜子
k^wa⁵³ tʃi³³
melon child
'seed'

扣子
k^hœu²⁵-tʃi³³
fasten-NMLZ
'button'

鑿子
tʃak²-tʃi³³
chisel-NMLZ
'chisel'

車子
tʃ^hɛ⁵³-tʃi³³
car-NM
'car'

蝦子
ha⁵³-tʃi³³
shrimp-NM
'shrimp'

鬍子
hu¹¹-tʃi³³
beard-NM
'beard'

亭子
tən¹¹-tʃi³³
pavilion-NM
'pavilion'

果子
ku³³-tʃi³³
fruit-NM
'fruit'

星子
ləŋ⁵³-tʃi³³
star-NM
'star'

椅子
əi³³-tʃi³³
chair-NM
'chair'

骰子
lək³-tʃi³³
dice-NM
'dice'

蕉子
tʃiu⁵³-tʃi³³
banana-NM
'banana'

薄子
pək²-tʃi³³
grapefruit-NM
'grapefruit'

窗子
tʃ^həŋ⁵³-tʃi³³
window-NM
window

(Noun markers are ubiquitous in Mandarin, but much less prevalent in Cantonese; Cantonese have a lot more monosyllabic nouns.)

Syntactic differences between Southern Pinghua and Cantonese

‘first’ []_{VP}:

Nanning Pinghua:

1. 我 先 [行]_{VP}
ŋa²⁴ ɦin⁵³ haŋ¹¹
1SG first go
‘I (shall) go first.’

Standard Mandarin:

2. 我 先 [走]_{VP}
wǒ xiān zǒu
1SG first go
‘I (shall) go first.’

[]_{VP} ‘first’:

Cantonese:

1. 我 [行]_{VP} 先
ngo5 haang4 sin1
1SG go first
‘I (shall) go first.’

Northern Zhuang:

2. mwngz [bae]_{VP} gonq
2SG go first
‘You go first.’

Comparative construction:

Nanning Pinghua *surpass* construction:

1. 我 高 過 你
 ŋa²⁴ kau⁵³ ku⁵⁵ nɛi¹³
 1SG tall SURPASS 2SG
 ‘I am taller than you.’

Cantonese *surpass* construction:

1. 我 高 過 你
 ŋo⁵ gou² gwo³ nei⁵
 1SG tall SURPASS 2SG
 ‘I am taller than you.’

Northern Zhuang:

1. gou sang gvaq mwngz
 1SG tall SURPASS 2SG
 ‘I am taller than you.’

See Ansaldo (2010) for more on *surpass*.

Nanning Pinghua *compare* construction:

1. 我 比 你 高
 ŋa²⁴ pɛi³³ nɛi¹³ kau⁵³
 1SG COMPARE 2SG tall
 ‘I am taller than you.’

Standard Mandarin *compare* construction:

1. 我 比 你 高
 wǒ bǐ nǐ gāo
 1SG COMPARE 2SG tall
 ‘I am taller than you.’

Pre-verbal [CL N]:

Northern Zhuang:

1. **duz mbaj** gyaep duz gyau (idiom)
CL **butterfly** chase.away CL spider
'Butterfly chases spider.' (implies: *ra dai* (seek death))

Cantonese:

2. 啲 果 一 紅 就 摘 得 嘞
di1 gwo2 jat1 hung4 zau6 zaak6 dak1 laak3
CL:MASS **fruit** once red then pick can CRRNT.RLVNCE:FINAL
'The fruits can be picked once they become red.'

In Southern Pinghua, pre-verbal position [CL N] is ungrammatical.

1. *(個) 隻 仔 好 刁
ə⁵⁵ tʃət³ tʃai³³ hau³³ tiu⁵³
DEM CL boy very clever
'The boy is very clever.'

Ligature 個kə⁵⁵

Nanning Pinghua:

1. 我 個 衫 爛 喇
ŋa²⁴ **kə**⁵⁵ **lam**⁵³ **lan**²² **la**³³
1SG **LIG** clothes torn ASP
'My clothes are torn.'

Standard Mandarin:

2. 我 的 衣服
wǒ **de** **yīfu**
1SG **LIG** clothes
'My clothes'

Cantonese:

1. 我 件 衫
ngo5 kin6saam1
1SG **CL** clothes
'My clothes'

2. 我 本 書
ngo5 bun2 syu1
1SG **CL** book
'My book'

Northern Zhuang:

3. **bonj** saw **gou**
CL book **1SG**
'My book'

How Nanning Cantonese resembles Zhuang even further

X ‘many’ = too X

Northern Zhuang:

1. aen neix bit lai
CL this spicy.hot many
‘This is too spicy hot.’

Nanning Cantonese:

1. 飽 多 唔 食 嘞
beu2 do1 m4 sik6 laa3
full many NEG eat CRRNT.RLVNCE
‘I am too full I will not eat it anymore.’

‘too’ X:

Nanning Pinghua:

1. 太飽 (多) 冇 喫 嘞
t^{hai}25 bau²⁵ (t^o53) mi¹³ hət³ la³³
too full (too) NEG eat CRRNT.RLVNCE
‘I am too full I will not eat it anymore.’

Standard Cantonese:

1. 太飽 唔 食 嘞
tai3 bau2 m4 sik6 laa3
too full NEG eat CRRNT.RLVNCE
‘I am too full I will not eat it anymore.’

Standard Mandarin:

2. 我 太飽 了
wǒ tài bǎo le
1SG too full CRRNT.RLVNCE
‘I am too full.’

Anaphoric use of [CL]

Nanning Cantonese

1. 啲 狗 我 中意 只, 冇 中意 只, 只 难睇 多。
ti⁵⁵ kəu³⁵ ŋɔ²⁴ tʃuŋ⁵⁵·ji³³ tʃɛk³ mu²⁴ tʃuŋ⁵⁵·ji³³ tʃɛk³ tʃɛk³ nan²¹ tʰɛi³⁵ tɔ⁵⁵
CL dog 1SG like CL NEG like CL CL ugly too
'(Out of) the dogs I like this one, I do not like that one, that one is too ugly.' (Lin & Qin 2008:277)

Northern Zhuang

2. mwngz bi bi ndaem faex, go baenzlawz ha?
2SG year year plant tree CL how FP
'You plant trees every year, how are they doing?' (Sio & Sybesma 2008:191, quoting Qin 1995:83)
3. mwngz dawz duz ma de daeuj hawj gou, gou cawz duz.
2SG take CL dog that come give 1SG 1SG buy CL
'You bring that dog to me, I'll buy it.'
(Sio & Sybesma 2008:191, quoting Qin 1995:85)

Nanning Cantonese

ADJ + CL + N

1. 黄 色 支 笔 冇 写 得 晒, 黑 色 支 重 得。
wɔŋ²¹ sek⁵ tʃi⁵⁵ pət⁵ mu²⁴ lɛ³⁵ tək⁵ lai³³ hək⁵ sek⁵ tʃi⁵⁵ tʃuŋ²² tək⁵
yellow colour CL pen NEG write can PFV black colour CL still can
'The yellow pen does not work, the black one still works.' (Lin & Qin 2008:278)
2. 妈 糊 高 只 男 崽 好 咧 嘅。
ma⁵⁵ wu²¹ ku⁵⁵ tʃək³ nam²¹ tʃɛi³⁵ hu³⁵ lək⁵ kɛ³³
quite tall CL male child very capable MOD
'The quite-tall boy is very capable.' (Lin & Qin 2008:277)

Northern Zhuang

CL + N + ADJ

3. gou ndaenj haeuj aen ranz laep-saengsaeng bae.
1SG squeeze entre CL house dark-IDEO FP
'I went into that very dark house.' (Wei & Qin 2006:226)

In Standard Cantonese, Nanning Pinghua etc.

Nanning Pinghua

ADJ + DEM + CL + N

1. 细的 个 间 房 我 住,
ləi⁵⁵-tik⁵ kə⁵⁵ kan⁵³ fən¹¹ ŋa¹³ tʃəi²²
small-COMP MOD DEM CL room 1SG live
'I stay in the smaller room here.'

CL + ADJ (+ MOD) + N

2. 佢 脱 去 件 齙齙 (个) 衫。
kəi¹³ t^hut³ həi²⁵ kin²² ʊk³ tʃ^hʊk³ (kə⁵⁵) lam⁵³
3SG remove away CL dirty MOD shirt
'S/he took off the dirty shirt.'

Conclusion

- abdafdasf



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