

The Grammar of Southern Pinghua

— ‘biased’ diffusion in a complex contact situation

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Syntax of the World's Languages IV, Lyon

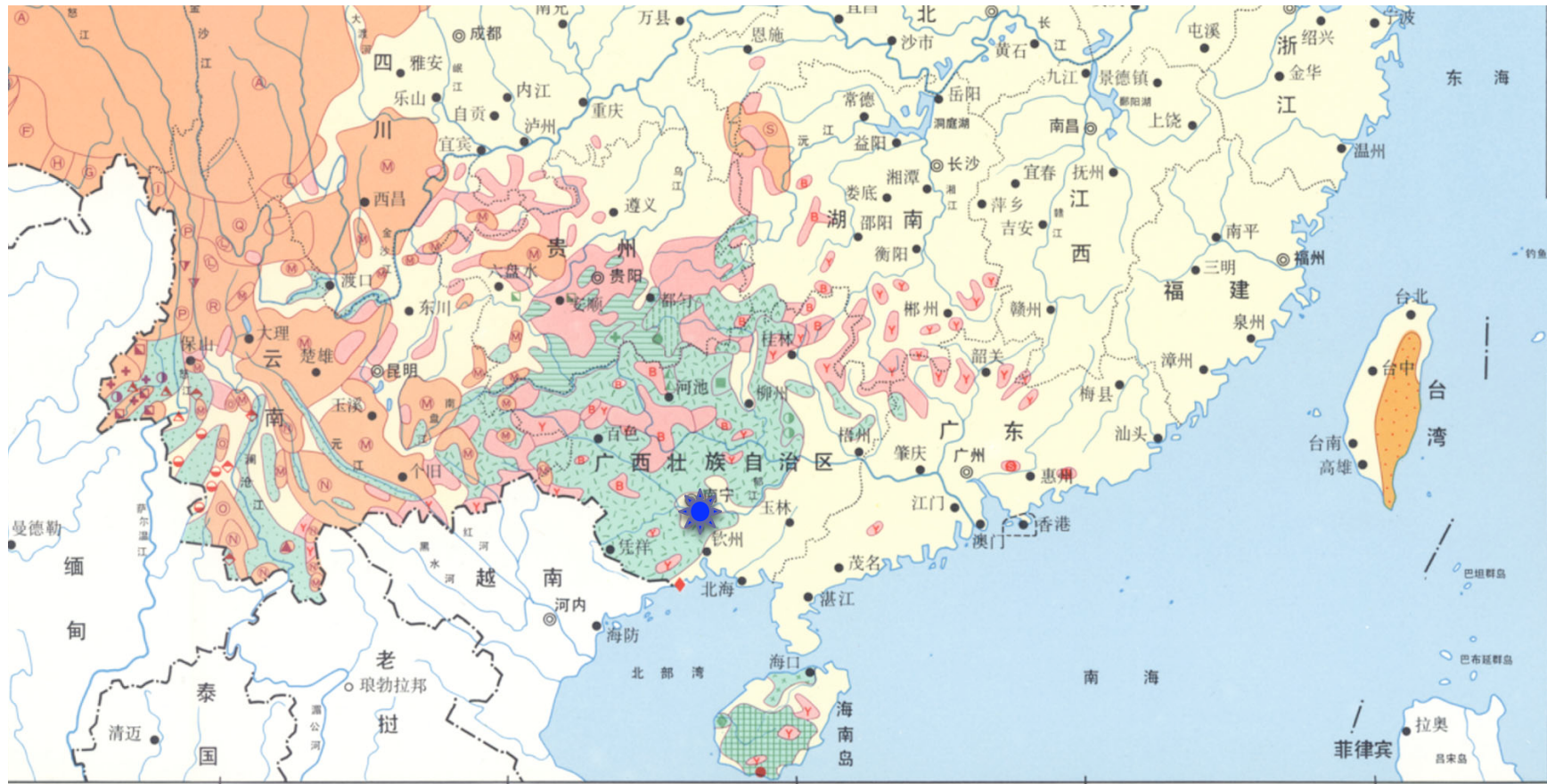


Nanning
南寧

Pinghua
平話

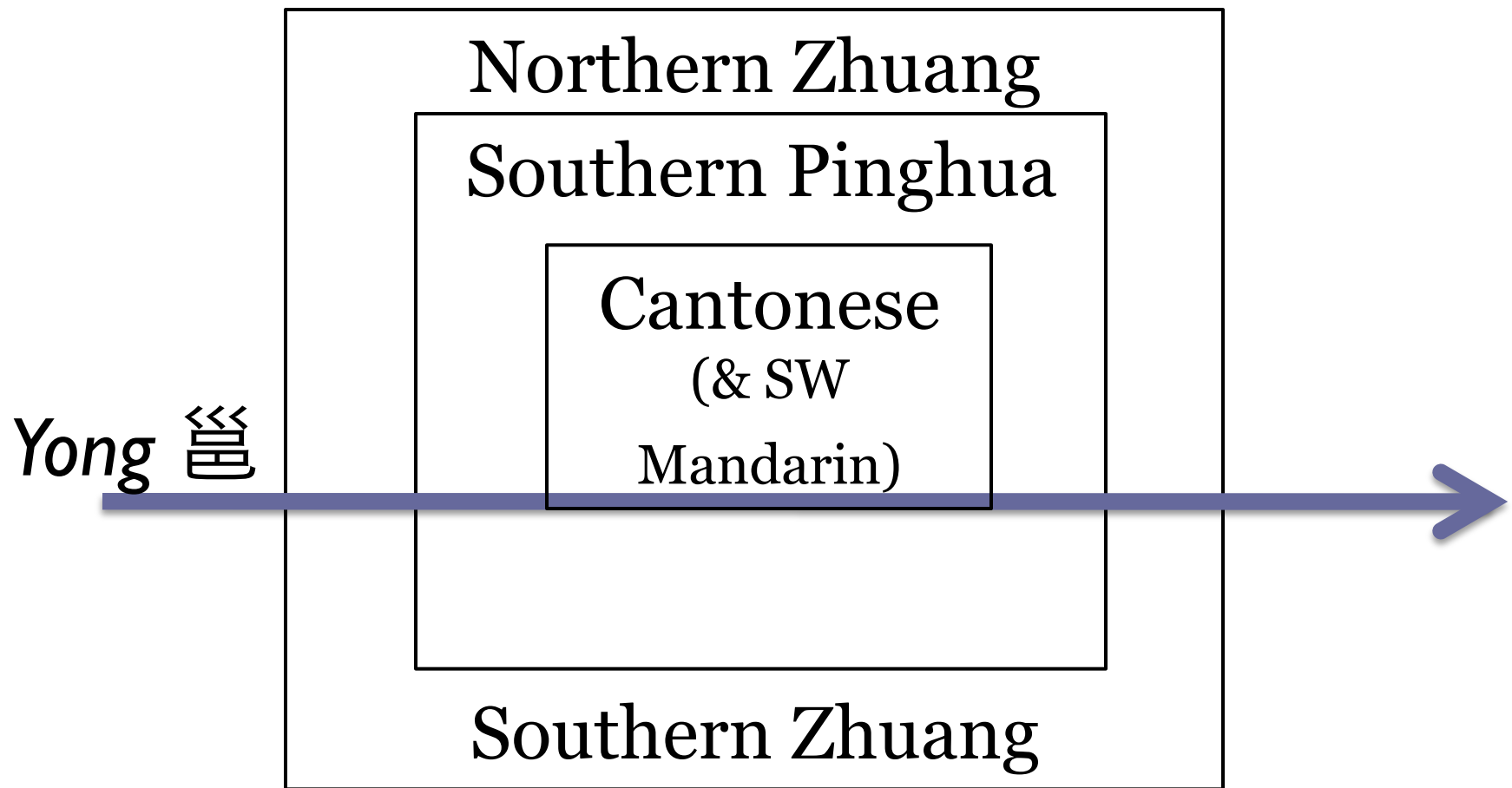
Yue (Cantonese)
粵語

(Lang atlas of China)



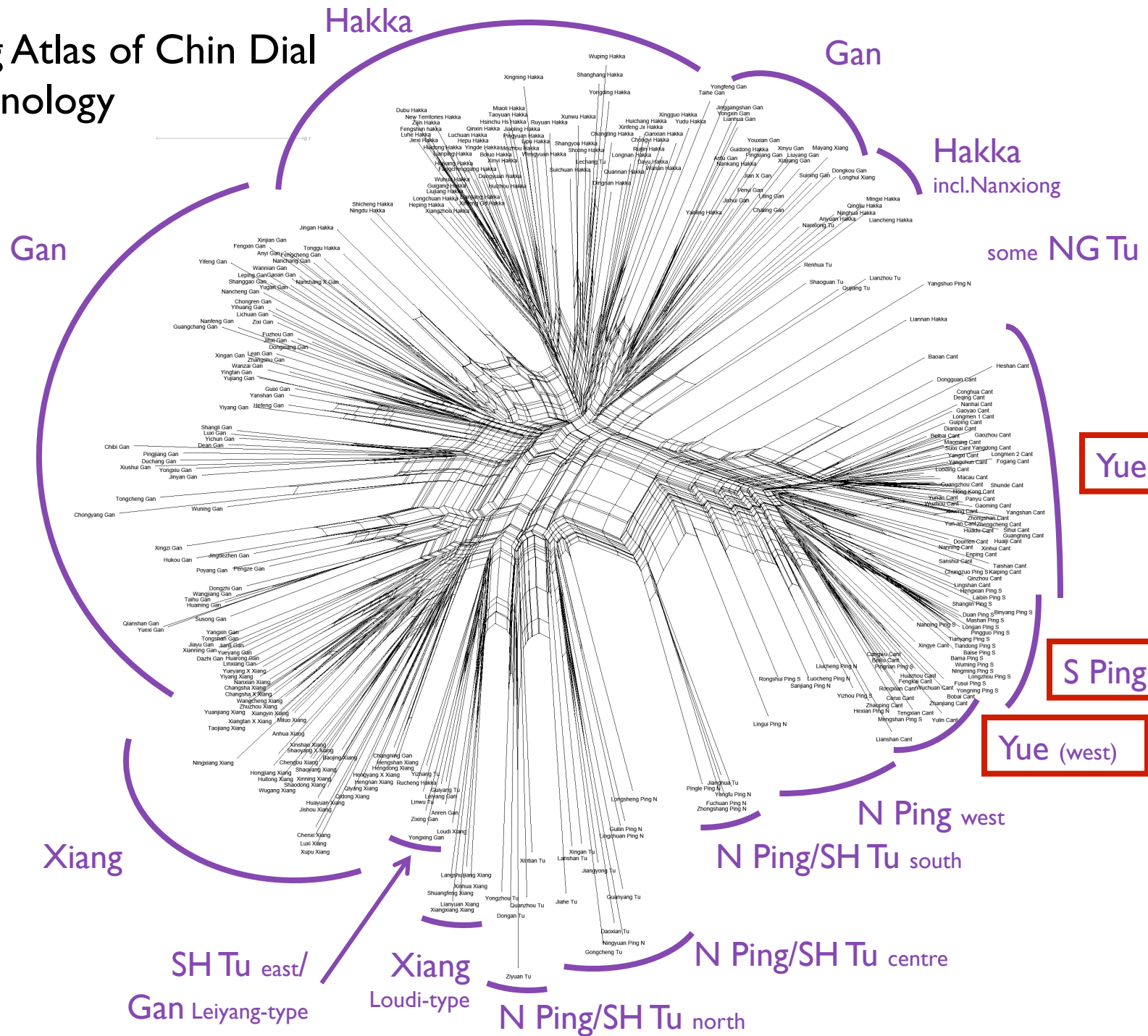
Tai-Kadai
languages

In 南寧 Nanning:



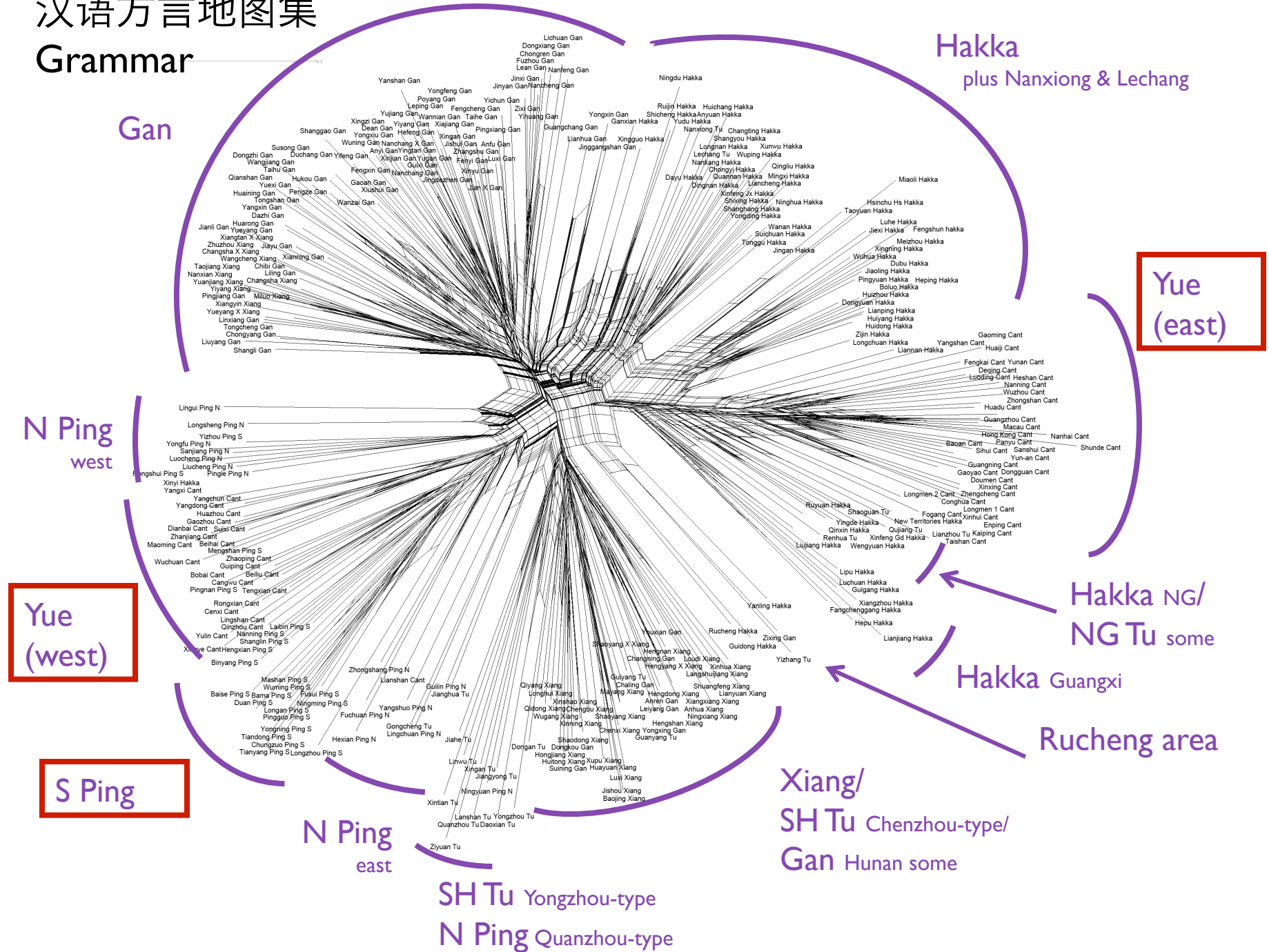
Ling Atlas of Chin Dial Phonology

5



汉语方言地图集

Grammar



- Example of Southern Pinghua phonology:

- 堯頭/窯頭 Yáotóu, 南寧 Nánning

ONSETS

p		t			k	k ^w
p ^h		t ^h			k ^h	k ^{wh}
m		n		ɲ	ŋ	
	f					
			tʃ			
			tʃ ^h			
		l		j	w	
		ɬ				

(Most Yue and S. Pinghua dialects: /s/ ≠ /ʃ/; Yaotou Pinghua only has /ʃ/ and Standard Cantonese only has /s/ or /ʃ/.)

- Example of Southern Pinghua phonology:

- 堯頭/窯頭 Yáotóu, 南宁 Nánning

RIMES

a		ə	i	u	ɛ	ɔ
ai	ɛi	əi		ui		ɔi
au	ɛu	əu	iu		ɛu	
ap	ɛp		ip			
am	ɛm		im			
at	ɛt	ət	it	ut	?	ɔt
an	ɛn	ən	in	un	ɛn	ɔn
ak	ɛk		ik	ʊk	ɛk	
aŋ	ɛŋ		iŋ	ʊŋ	ɛŋ	

(Standard Cantonese does not have /ə/, but it has /œ/ [œ/ə], /y/, and syllabic /m/ and /ŋ/.)

- Example of Southern Pinghua phonology:

- 堯頭/窯頭 Yáotóu, 南寧 Nánning

TONES

	*Level	*Rising	*Departing	*Entering
*voiceless onset	52	33	55 / 25	3
*voiced onset	11	13	22	23 / 2
		usually: 25/ {h/C ^h }	23/ sonorant onset	(5) usually: loanwords, ideophones

(Different from a few Pinghua dialects, all Yue dialects, and most Tai-Kadai languages where an entering tone/ tone D is split based on vowel length.)

- Some lexical differences between Nanning Pinghua and Cantonese:

	Nanning Pinghua	cf. Cantonese
	(Mandarin-like:)	
'be'	是 ɬi ²²	係 hei ²² / hai ²
'eat'	喫 hət ³³	食 sɪk ²² / sik ⁶
'look'	看 han ²⁵	睇 t ^h ei ²⁵ / tai ²
'nose'	鼻 pət ²²	鼻 pei ²² / pei ⁶
completive	了 liu ¹³	咗 tso ²⁵ / zo ²
passive	捱 ɲai ¹¹	畀 pei ²⁵ / bei ²
	(Tai-Kadai:)	
'give'	許 hei ²⁵	畀 pei ²⁵ / bei ²
'some'	色 ɬek ³	幾 kei ²⁵ / kei ²
'cold'	匀 jen ⁵³	凍 tɯŋ ³³ / tung ³

Grammar of Southern Pinghua

Basics:

Topic–Comment:

1. 個 個 人 錢 多
 $kə^{55}$ $kə^{55}$ $ɲən^{11}$ $tʃin^{11}$ $tɔ^{53}$
 DEM CL person money many
 ‘That person has lots of money.’
lit. ‘As for that person, money is plenty.’

‘Default’ word order: S (adverbial) V O:

2. 你 自日 去 了 哪的?
 $nəi^{13}$ $tʃi^{22}$ $ɲet^{23}$ $həi^{25}$ liu^{13} na^{33} $tɪk^5$
 2SG yesterday go PFV where
 ‘Where did you go yesterday?’

SVO, but usually MODIFIER N

3. [佢 老弟 欠 我] 個 一 大 單 錢
 kəi¹³ lau¹³ tɛi¹³ him²⁵ ŋa¹³ kə⁵⁵ ət³ tai²² tan⁵³ tʃin¹¹
 3SG 1.brother owe 1SG LIG one big CL money
 ‘the big sum of money that his/her little brother owe me’

Poor in inflection, rich in derivation, e.g.:

Nanning Pinghua:

4. ? ? 佬
 k^{wh}a¹¹ la⁵⁵-lau²⁵
 ONMTP-bloke
 ‘Mandarin-speaking man’

5. 扣子
 k^heu²⁵-tʃi³³
 fasten-NMLZ
 ‘button’

Differences with Cantonese

Gender(-related) affixes:

6. Nanning Pinghua Northern Zhuang Cantonese

'cock' 'hen' 'pre-ovulating hen/ pullet'	公雞 <u>kɔŋ</u> ⁵³ <u>kəi</u> ⁵³	kai ³⁵ <u>pau</u> ⁴² / gaeq <u>baeux</u>	雞公 <u>kɛi</u> ⁵⁵ <u>kɔŋ</u> ⁵⁵ / gai1 <u>gung</u> 1
	母雞 <u>mu</u> ¹³ <u>kəi</u> ⁵³	kai ³⁵ <u>me</u> ³³ / gaeq <u>meh</u>	雞乸 <u>kɛi</u> ⁵⁵ <u>na</u> ³⁵ / gai1 <u>naa</u> 2
	頂雞 <u>haŋ</u> ²² <u>kəi</u> ⁵³	kai ³⁵ <u>ha:ŋ</u> ³³ / gaeq <u>hangh</u>	雞頂 <u>kɛi</u> ⁵⁵ <u>hɔŋ</u> ³⁵ / gai1 <u>hong</u> 2

Noun marker 子 tʃi³³

7. 孝子
hau²⁵ tʃi³³
filial son
'filial son'

瓜子
k^wa⁵³ tʃi³³
melon child
'seed'

8. 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
lən⁵³-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^haŋ⁵³-tʃi³³
window-NM
window

- | | | |
|-----|---|--|
| 9. | 卵子
lun ¹³ -tʃi ³³
egg-NM
'testicle' | 救化子
kœu ⁵⁵ wa ⁵⁵ -tʃi ³³
salvation-NM
'beggar' |
| 10. | 扣子
k ^h œu ²⁵ -tʃi ³³
fasten-NMLZ
'button' | 鑿子
tʃak ² -tʃi ³³
chisel-NMLZ
'chisel' |

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

Pre-verbal [CL N]:

Northern Zhuang:

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

Cantonese:

12. 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, common in post-verbal positions:

13. 系 本 書 系 我
 hei²⁵ pən³³ ləi⁵³ hei²⁵ ŋa¹³
 give CL book give 1SG
 ‘Give the book to me.’

Pre-verbal position [CL N] is ungrammatical.

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

Ligature 個 $kə^{55}$

Nanning Pinghua:

15. 我 個 衫 爛 喇
 ηa^{24} $kə^{55}$ lam^{53} lan^{22} la^{33}
 1SG LIG clothes torn ASP
 ‘My clothes are torn.’

Standard Mandarin:

16. 我 的 衣服
 $wǒ$ de $yīfu$
 1SG LIG clothes
 ‘My clothes’

Cantonese:

17. 我 件 衫
 $ngo5$ $kin6saam1$
 1SG CL clothes
 ‘My clothes’

18. 我 本 書
 $ngo5$ $bun2$ $syu1$
 1SG CL book
 ‘My book’

Northern Zhuang:

19. **bonj** saw **gou**
 CL book 1SG
 ‘My book’

‘first’ []_{VP}:

Nanning Pinghua:

20. 我 先 [行]_{VP}
 ŋa²⁴ ɿn⁵³ haŋ¹¹
 1SG first go
 ‘I (shall) go first.’

Standard Mandarin:

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

[]_{VP} ‘first’:

Cantonese:

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

Northern Zhuang:

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

V ACQUIRE (e.g. Sybesma 2008)

ACQUIRE V = can V

Cantonese:

24. 食 得
sik6 dak1
eat can
'can eat/ edible'

Nanning Pinghua:

26. 得 飲
tek³ jem³³
can drink
'can drink'

Northern Zhuang:

25. bae ndaej
go can
'can go'

(c.f. Standard Mandarin:

27. 可以 喝
kéyǐ hē
can drink
'can drink')

X ‘many’ = too X

Northern Zhuang:

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

Nanning Cantonese:

29. 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:

30. 太 飽 冇 喫 嘞
 thai²⁵ bau²⁵ mi¹³ het³ la³³
 too full NEG eat CRRNT.RLVNCE
 ‘I am too full I will not eat it anymore.’

Standard Cantonese:

31. 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:

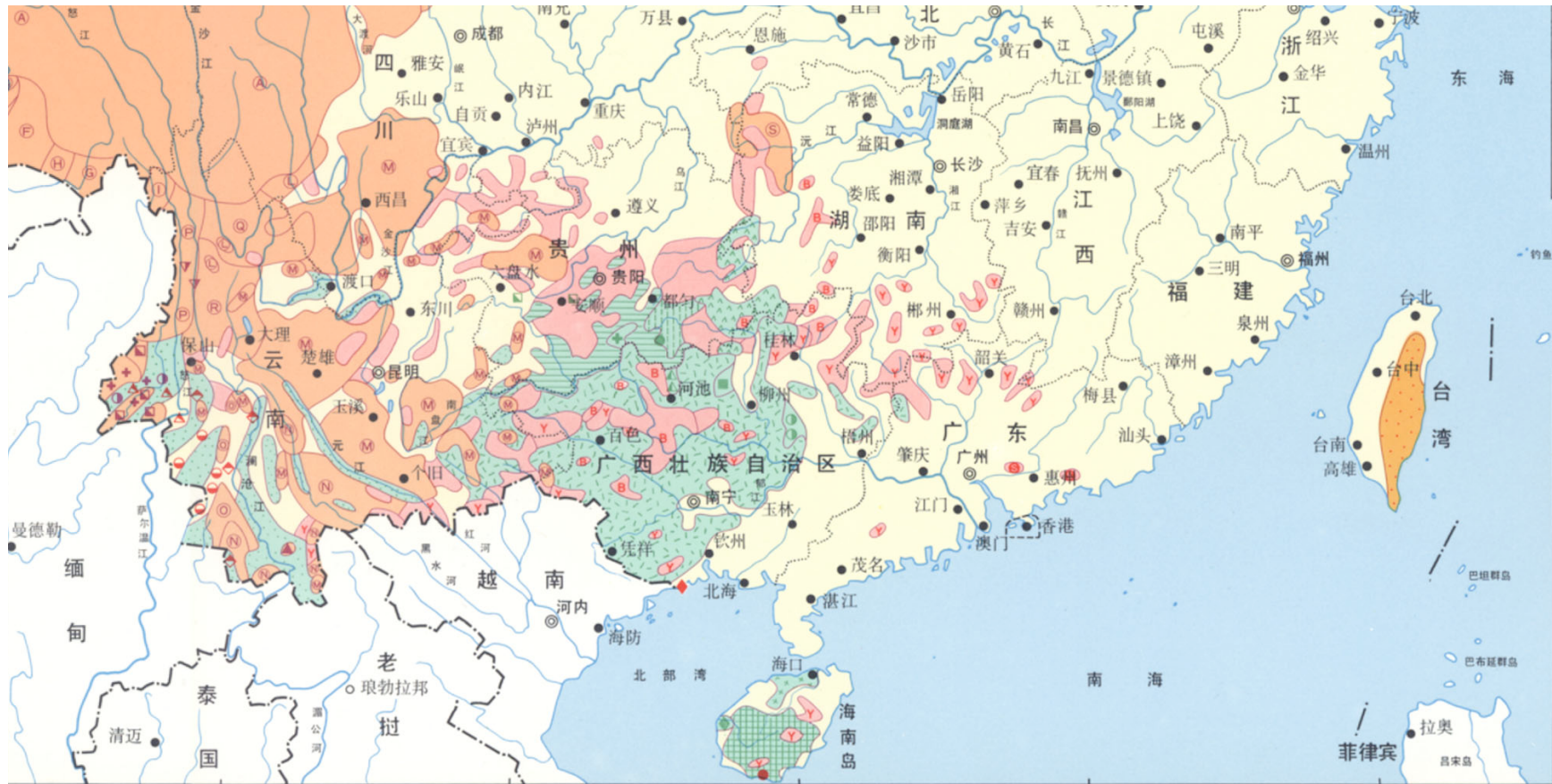
32. 我 太 飽 了
 wǒ tài bǎo le
 1SG too full CRRNT.RLVNCE
 ‘I am too full.’



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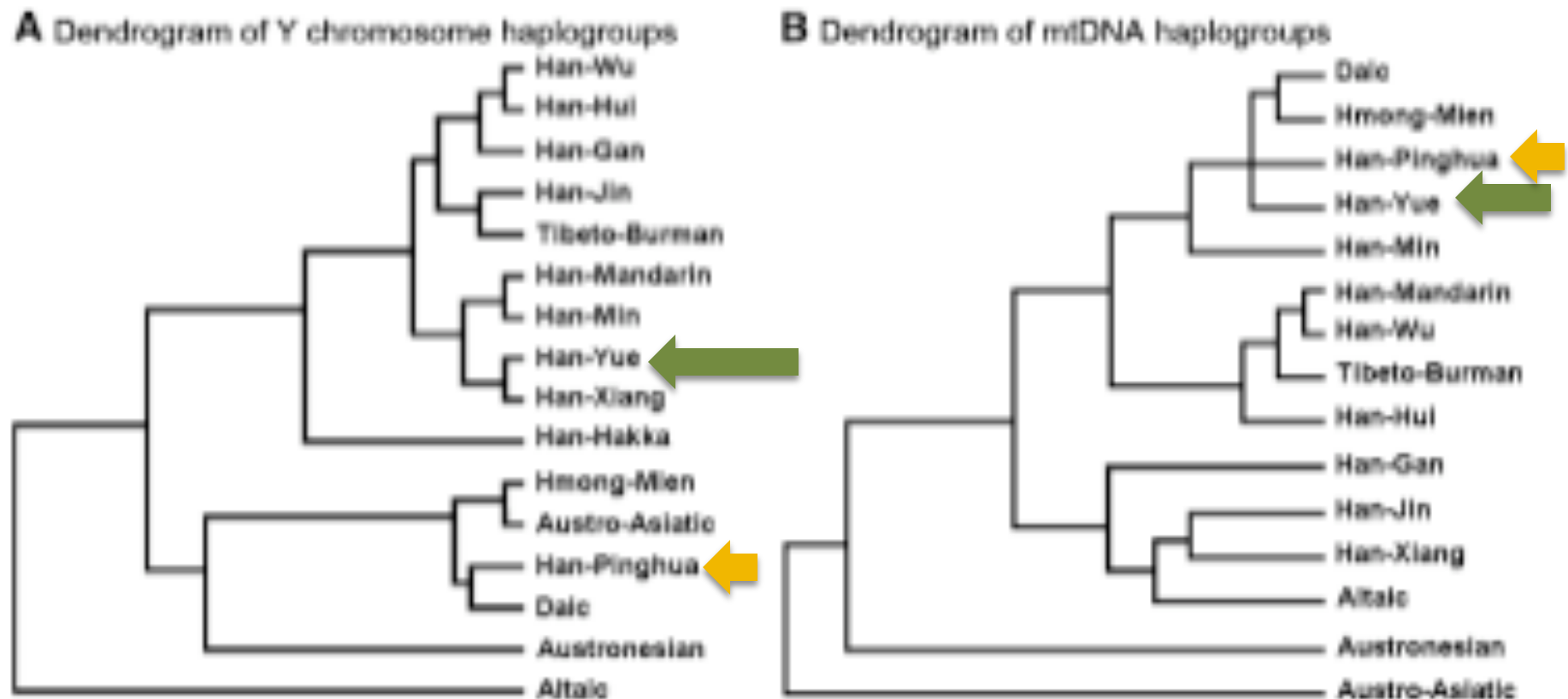
Genetics

- Wen et al. 2004 ‘admixture coefficient’:

Population	Y Chromosome		mtDNA	
	$M_{BE} (\pm s.e.m)$	M_{RH}	$M_{BE} (\pm s.e.m)$	M_{RH}
Guangdong1	0.677 ± 0.121	0.669	0.149 ± 0.181	0.068
Guangdong2	ND	ND	0.298 ± 0.247	0.312
Guangxi	0.543 ± 0.174	0.608	0.451 ± 0.263	0.249
Southern Han Average	0.819	0.819	0.560	0.500

(M = proportion of northern Han contribution)

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



Note: 'Han-Pinghua' = Northern Pinghua

Conclusions

- Southern Pinghua is in contact with Zhuang, Yue (Cantonese) and SW Mandarin;
- (My hypothesis:) Pinghua represents a mix of Western Yue and an earlier stage of Northern Chinese;
- Due to social restrictions, (‘Core’) Southern Pinghua has largely retained Northern Chinese-like syntactic patterns, and resisted assimilation by Zhuang (in comparison with Cantonese).

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Acknowledgements

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Similarities with Cantonese

Nanning Pinghua *surpass* construction:

1. 我 高 過 你
 ηa^{24} kau^{53} ku^{55} $n\ddot{a}i^{13}$
 1SG tall SURPASS you
 'I am taller than you.'

Cantonese *surpass* construction:

1. 我 高 過 你
 $ngo5$ $gou2$ $gwo3$ $nei5$
 1SG tall SURPASS you
 'I am taller than you.'

Standard Mandarin *compare* construction:

1. 我 比 你 高
 $w\ddot{o}$ $b\ddot{i}$ $n\ddot{i}$ $g\ddot{a}o$
 1SG COMPARE you tall
 'I (shall) go first.'

Demonstratives

- ▶ 個 (k)ə⁵⁵
- ▶ 二 ɲi²² CONTRASTIVE DISTAL (rarely used)
- ▶ must be followed by a classifier

1. 個 *(隻) (雞兒) 是 我 個 二 *(隻) 冇 是 我 個
 kə⁵⁵ *(tʃət³) (kɕi⁵³ ɲi¹¹) ɿ²² ɲa¹³ kə⁵⁵ ɲi²² *(tʃət³) mi¹³ ɿ²² ɲa¹³ kə⁵⁵
 DEM CL chicken be 1SG LIG DEM CL NEG be 1SG LIG
 'This (chicken) is mine, that is not mine.'

- ▶ Even when 個 kə⁵⁵ is not overtly used, the distal 二 ɲi²² still convey a sense of contrast.

1. 我 愛 二 隻 狗兒
 ɲa¹³ ai⁵⁵ ɲi²² tʃət³ kəu³³ ɲi¹¹
 1SG like DEM CL puppy
 'I like **that** puppy.'

Demonstratives

- 耿 $k\epsilon\eta^{33}$ ‘like this/ like that’ or ‘so’:

1. 就 是 耿
 $t\text{ʃ}\epsilon u^{22}$ fi^{22} $k\epsilon\eta^{33}$
 then be like.so
 ‘It is like so.’

2. 你 耿 做 有 那門 根據？
 $n\epsilon i^{13}$ $k\epsilon\eta^{33}$ $t\text{ʃ}\epsilon^{55}$ $j\epsilon u^{13}$ na^{33} mun^{11} $k\epsilon n^{53}$ $k\epsilon i^{55}$
 2SG like.so do exist what basis
 ‘What basis do you have for doing it like this?’

Classifiers

► Most common: 隻 *tʃət*³

1. 佢 有 兩 隻 仔, 一 隻 女
*kəi*¹³ *jəu*¹³ *leŋ*¹³ *tʃət*³ *tʃai*³³, *ət*³ *tʃət*³ *nəi*¹³
 3SG have two CL son one CL daughter
 ‘S/he has two sons and one daughter.’

2. 佢 去過 好多 隻 國家
*kəi*¹³ *həi*²⁵-*kə*⁵⁵ *hau*³³ *tu*⁵³ *tʃət*³ *kək*³ *ka*⁵³
 3SG go-EXPR many CL country
 ‘S/he has been to many countries.’

- 個 *kə*⁵⁵, 間 *kan*⁵³, 件 *kin*²², 張 *tʃɛŋ*⁵³, 條 *tiu*¹¹, 本 *pən*³³, 督 *tək*², 封 *fɔŋ*⁵³, 兜 *təu*⁵³, 把 *pa*⁵⁵, 轆 *lɔk*⁵, 支?, 塊 *wai*⁵⁵...
- 回 *wəi*¹¹, 次 *tʃ^hi*²⁵, 場 *tʃɛŋ*¹¹, 斤 *kən*⁵³, 瓶 *pən*¹¹, 碗 *un*³³, 班 *pan*⁵³, 對 *tɔi*⁵⁵...

Classifiers

- Mass classifier: 的 tik⁵

- 個 的 水 勻扎扎
kə⁵⁵ tik⁵ lui³³ jən⁵³-tʃat⁵ tʃat⁵
DEM CL:MASS water cold-IDEO
'The water is cold.'

- 一 的 婦女 生 細攞仔
ət³ tik⁵ fu²² nɔi¹³ lɛŋ⁵³ lɛi⁵³ mən⁵³ tʃai³³
one CL:MASS woman give.birth child
'Some women give birth to babies.'

Personal pronouns

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 ST EXCL	我 ŋa ¹³	我隊 ŋa ¹³ tɔi ²²
1 ST INCL		佢隊 wən ¹¹ tɔi ²²
2 ND	你 nɔi ¹³	你隊 nɔi ¹³ tɔi ²²
3 RD	佢 kɔi ¹³	佢隊 kɔi ¹³ tɔi ²²