On Pinghua, and Yue: some historical and linguistic perspectives

Pinghua 平話 is a Sinitic dialect group spoken in Guangxi in Far Southern China. Within Chinese linguistics, there have been many debates on the affiliation of Pinghua ever since its elevation by the Language Atlas of China to a first-order dialect group within the Sinitic family, on par with other first-order dialect groups like Yue 粵, Hakka 客家, and Min 閩. Historically, Pinghua is associated with the earliest Han Chinese migrants in Guangxi, but they have been overtaken – in terms of number of speakers in Guangxi – by Yue, Southwestern Mandarin, and Hakka. Pinghua is primarily associated with the Han Chinese migrants that entered Guangxi through Hunan, whereas Yue is primarily associated with the Han Chinese migrants that entered Guangdong through Jiangxi. Yue speakers have subsequently spread westward in large numbers from Guangdong to Guangxi. Linguistically, the Northern Pinghua dialects are Mandarinised, while the Southern Pinghua dialects sit on a dialect continuum with the non-Cantonese Yue dialects in Guangxi; the dialect continuum continues eastward as the Yue dialects in Guangdong. The Cantonese enclaves in Guangxi are the results of Cantonese people moving directly from the Pearl River Delta in the east to Guangxi in the west within the last 150 years or so.

On Pinghua, and Yue: some historical and linguistic perspectives

Pinghua 平話, in Chinese linguistics, refers to a Sinitic dialect group[1] found in Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region 廣西壯族自治區 in Far Southern China.[2, 3] Going clockwise, Guangxi is surrounded by the Gulf of Tonkin (*Beibu Wan* 北部灣, south), Vietnam 越南 (southwest), Yunnan 雲南 (west), Guizhou 貴州 (northwest), Hunan 湖南 (northeast), and Guangdong 廣東 (east). Guangxi is rich in ethnolinguistic diversity. The population of Guangxi is 38.4% non-Han Chinese, and 61.6% Han Chinese.[4] The west is majority non-Han, while the east is majority Han. The largest non-Sinitic languages are Northern and Southern Zhuang, with 13.8 million speakers in total. The Zhuang languages are indigenous, and they are members of the Tai branch of the Kra-Dai language family. Other than Zhuang, there are also many other non-Sinitic languages spoken in Guangxi. Most of them are from the other branches of the Kra-Dai language family (e.g. Kam-Sui, Kra), or from the Hmong-Mien language family.[5] As for the Sinitic languages, six dialect groups – out of the ten main dialect groups in the *Language Atlas of China* [LAC] – are represented in Guangxi. In descending order of number of speakers, they are Yue 粵 (Cantonese and other Yue dialects; 16.86 million),[6] Southwestern Mandarin 西南官話 (a branch of Mandarin; 5.43 million), Hakka 客家 (4.9 million), Pinghua 平話 (4.13 million), Xiang 湘 ("Hunanese"; 1.31 million), and Southern Min 閩南 (a branch of Min; 0.14 million).

Pinghua is perhaps the least-known amongst these six dialect groups. Amongst the Sinitic dialect groups in Guangxi, Pinghua has the longest history in Guangxi, and Pinghua is largely

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[1] The Western linguistic concept of *language* versus *dialect*, and the Chinese linguistic concept of *yuyan* 語言 versus *fangyan* 方言, do not match. It is thus suboptimal that *dialect* is often thought of – and used – as the translational equivalent of *fangyan*. A good English translation for *fangyan* is Mair (1991)'s *topolect*; see discussions therein. Essentially, *fangyan* is a regional speech variety; different *fangyan*'s of a *yuyan* can be dialects or languages in a Western linguistic sense. Both the Western and Chinese approaches have their merits and problems. It is not the aim of this paper to explicate these linguistic issues, and the reader need not be concerned if the use of *language* or *dialect* in this article is incongruent with their ideas of what these terms mean. (Linguists often use less-committal terms like *speech variety*.) Following English linguistic traditions, the family that includes Old Chinese and its descendents (i.e. the *fangyan* of *Hanyu*) is called the Sinitic language family. Speech varieties within this family are commonly divided into dialect groups like Min, Gan, and Mandarin. These dialect groups are not *languages* in a Western sense: each dialect group can contain multiple languages within it, based on the level of mutual intelligibility between them.

[2] There are other uses of the term *Pinghua* 平話 in Chinese language and literature studies. The following are some uses of *Pinghua* that this paper is *not* about: a) many Eastern Min dialects also have the endonym *Pinghua* 平話, e.g. [paŋ³³ ŋuɑ²²] in Fuqing (Ngai Sing Sing p.c.), *Bàng-uâ* [paŋ²¹ ŋuɑ²⁴²] in Fuzhou; b) the vernacular literature genre *Pinghua* 平話 / 評話 that reached its peak of popularity around the Song Dynasty (960–1279).

[3] *Pinghua* is the name that linguists and other researchers use for that dialect group in Guangxi. Pinghua is the endonym of only a subset of them, e.g. in the suburbs of Nanning and Guilin. There is a plethora of other endonyms, and not all Pinghua speakers are aware of the practice of them, their language, and their culture being referred as *Pinghua* by researchers.

[4] Population figures in this paragraph are from Deng Yurong 邓玉荣 (2008).

[5] Kra-Dai is also known as Tai-Kadai. The Kra-Dai language family has various names in Chinese; amongst them are *Zhuang-Dong* 壯侗, *Dong-Tai* 侗台, and *Ge-Tai* 仡台. Hmong-Mien is *Miao-Yao* 苗瑤 in Chinese.

[6] 'Yue' in this article is the Sinitic dialect group Yue 粵 Chinese and its speakers, not the historical indigienous population collectively known as Yue 越 or Baiyue 百越. Nonetheless, the names Yue 粵 and Yue 越 themselves are historically often used interchangeably, and are homophonous (e.g. Cantonese *jyut⁶*, Sino-Vietnamese *Việt*, Middle Chinese *ɣywot*, Old Chinese **[ɢ]ʷat*). The vast majority of Sinitic Yue 粵 people have some indigenous Yue 越 ancestry (as suggested by genetic studes; see also footnote 30). For the historical indigenous Yue 越, see Wang Wenguang 王文光 & Li Xiaobin 李晓斌 2007, Brindley 2015, Churchman 2016, amongst others.

endemic to Guangxi. Yet it is difficult to describe Pinghua as the representative speech variety of Guangxi; people usually associate Guangxi with the larger languages of Zhuang, Yue, and Southwestern Mandarin. At the same time, Pinghua is also not too small: Pinghua is much larger than a single 'blob' on a language map. Pinghua is also not left unclassified in a way that the *tuhua* 土話 [patois] in neighbouring southern Hunan and northern Guangdong are in the LAC.[7]

This article begins with a summary of the migration history of the Sinitic groups in Guangxi. In the first section, Pinghua and Southwestern Mandarin's arrival in Guangxi via Hunan is discussed. In the second section, Yue's arrival in Guangdong via Jiangxi, and the subsequent spread of Yue from Guangdong to Guangxi are discussed. (The other three groups are very briefly discussed in footnotes; Xiang in the first section, and Hakka and Min in the second section.)

Afterwards are discussions on the linguistic classification of the Sinitic speech varieties in general, and the situation with Pinghua more specifically. Since the publication of the first edition of the LAC (1987/1989)[8] there have been many debates on the affiliation of Pinghua. Some argue that Pinghua – in its entirety or a portion thereof – should be subsumed under Yue, while others argue that Pinghua and Yue are two separate entities. With the former camp, opinions vary as to how Pinghua fit within the Yue group. With the latter camp, opinions vary as to where the boundary between Pinghua and Yue lies.

Thereafter, some basic discussions on the linguistic features of the various Pinghua and Yue varieties are presented. Southern Pinghua and the non-Cantonese Yue dialects in Guangxi form a dialect continuum.[9] From Guangxi, the continuum continues eastward into Guangdong, with Standard Cantonese, i.e. the language of Canton / Guangzhou, nearly at the eastern end of the dialect continuum. Given that we are dealing with a dialect continuum, the questions of whether this constitutes one or two languages, and where the boundary lies if they are two separate languages, have multiple valid answers, depending on one's perspectives.

Map 1 is a map of the Pinghua and Yue speaking areas in Guangxi and Guangdong as per the first edition of the LAC (see also footnote 10).

[Insert map]

Map 1   Pinghua and Yue in Guangxi and Guangdong as per Wurm & Li et al. (1987/1989)
(Not shown here are: a) bilingual areas with, e.g., Hakka, Min, Southwestern Mandarin, Zhuang; b) small Yue-speaking communities indicated by single dots in Wurm & Li et al. (1987/1989))

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[7] In ordinary usage, *tuhua* 土話 just means a non-standard local language or dialect. In Chinese linguistics, *tuhua* often refers to local speech variety (often unclassified) that is different from the better-known *lingua franca* of the area. In the vicinity of Guangxi, there is a plethora of small and highly divergent Sinitic *tuhua*'s in neighbouring southern Hunan and northern Guangdong. (In fact, there are many speech varieties within Guangxi that are ambiguously called *tuhua* or *Pinghua*.) In this article, *tuhua* is either translated as 'patois', or left untranslated, in lack of a better translation. In southern Hunan, *tuhua* speakers speak Southwestern Mandarin with outsiders. In northern Guangdong, *tuhua* speakers speak Hakka and/or Yue with outsiders, with knowledge of Southwestern Mandarin also prevalent along the border.

[8] Wurm & Li et al. (1987/1989); two volumes published in different years.

[9] Dialect continuum: for instance, the speech variety at locality A is slightly different from locality B, and B is slightly different from C, and so on. Speech variety A is still mutually intelligible with D or E, and one would call them dialects of the same language. However, by the time one gets to, say, P or Q, A is no longer mutually intelligible with P or Q, and (in Western linguistics) one would consider A and P/Q separate languages. The problem is that, given that the linguistic changes from A to Q, and perhaps further to Z, are gradual, it would be very difficult to determine the exact number of languages between A to Z, and where the boundaries lie between them.

Pinghua, Southwestern Mandarin, and the Hunan–Guangxi corridor

The Nanling Mountains 南嶺 run roughly along the northern border of Guangxi and Guangdong, separating the Yangtze River Basin to the north, and the Pearl River Basin to the south. The Pearl River Basin, the Red River Region in a historical Chinese context (during periods when Vietnam was part of China), and the small river basins in between (the small rivers between Macau and the Vietnamese border), are commonly referred as *Lingnan* 嶺南, i.e. *nan* [south] of the *ling* [mountain range].[10] (In this article, 'the North' does not mean only Northern China; it means China north of the ranges, i.e. the Yangtze River Basin and further north, cf. the *Bak¹ Fong¹* 北方 [the North] in a stereotypical Cantonese world view.)

Chinese administration was first set up in Lingnan during the Qin Dynasty (221–206 BCE), after the opening of the Lingqu Canal 靈渠 in 214 BCE, in the modern day Xing'an 興安 County in northeastern Guangxi. The Lingqu Canal links the Xiang River 湘江, a tributary of the Yangtze primarily in Hunan, with the Li River 灕江, a tributary of the Pearl in Guangxi.[11] For the next millennium or so, this Xiang–Li riverine route, which I call the *Hunan–Guangxi Corridor*, was the main route that Chinese settlers from the North took to reach Lingnan.[12] During this period, most migrants settled in what is now northeastern Guangxi. From northeastern and eastern Guangxi, some Chinese settlers moved further downriver / east towards the Pearl River Delta in Guangdong. Others moved southwest towards the Guangxi coast. To reach the coast, most went up the Beiliu River 北流江 (a tributary of the Pearl), at modern day Beiliu 北流 City crossed the portage through the Ghost Gate Pass [*Guimen Guan* 鬼門關] to Yulin 玉林 (historically Yulin 鬱林), followed the Nanliu River 南流江 south to Hepu 合浦 on the Guangxi coast. From there, many went by boat along the coast to the Red River Region.[13] Looking at historical Chinese census records, before the eighth century CE, Guangxi-plus-Vietnam had more Chinese population than Guangdong: the Hunan–Guangxi Corridor took Northern Chinese migrants first to Guangxi, and there were important maritime trading hubs on the Guangxi coast and the Red River Delta. The

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[10] Unfortunately, despite being part of Lingnan, the Leizhou Peninsula and Hainan Island are beyond the scope of this study. Leizhou and Hainan are primarily Min-speaking. In Leizhou, there are many small Yue-speaking communities. Looking at the Sinitic languages in Hainan (Zhang Huiying 张惠英 2006) in the second edition of the LAC [LAC-2] versus the first edition [LAC-1]: a) the Danzhou language 儋州話 is left unclassified in LAC-2; in LAC-1, Danzhou is listed as unclassified in the 'overview' maps A-2 and B-8, but map B-12 on Min classifies Danzhou as Yue; b) the Mai language 邁話 is classified as Yue in LAC-2, and also in LAC-1 (in map B-12); and c) in Sanya 三亞 there are Tanka / fisherfolks (*Danjia* 蜑家) speaking Tanka Cantonese. The Yue map in LAC-2 (map B1-18) makes no mention on Hainan.

[11] Brindley (2015, 95). More specifically, the Lingqu Canal connects the Xiang River 湘江 and the Big Rong River 大溶江. The Big Rong River is a tributary of the Li River 灕江. Further downstream at Pingle 平樂 to the south, the Li River is joined by two other tributaries and changes its name to Gui River 桂江. The Gui River flows south, and joins the West River 西江 at Wuzhou 梧州. The West River flows east to the Pearl River Delta.

[12] Lin Yi 林亦 (2004, 153). A variation of the Hunan–Guangxi route is as follow: up / south the Xiao River 瀟水, a tributary of the Xiang River in Hunan, then follow the various tributaries south, cross the Mengzhu Range 萌渚嶺, reaching Zhongshan 鐘山 and Hezhou 賀州 in Guangxi, and then sailing down the He River 賀江. Both the Li River 灕江 and the He River 賀江 flow south, and join the West River near the Guangxi–Guangdong border. Close to this point was the historical Guangxin 廣信, the political centre of Lingnan during the first three centuries of Chinese rule.

[13] See also Churchman (2016, 59–64) for this and other routes that Chinese migrants took to reach the Pearl and the Red River Regions. From Northern China, up the Red River was also the easiest route to Yunnan, and from there overland to Sichuan (Li Tana 2011, 40).

Guangxi Coast and the Red River Delta were commercially much more important than the Pearl River Delta during Han Dynasty (202 BCE–9 CE; 25–220 CE).[14] Based on the population figures of the commandaries listed in the *Hanshu* 漢書 (2nd century CE), the population of the different parts of Lingnan was as follow (*Hanshu* volume 28b):

- Jiaozhi 交趾, Jiuzhen 九真, Rinan 日南 (≈ Vietnam): 143,643 hearths, 981,735 heads
- Yulin 鬱林, Cangwu 蒼梧, Hepu 合浦 (≈ Guangxi + far western Guangdong): 52,192 hearths, 296,302 heads
- Nanhai 南海 (≈ rest of Guangdong): 19,613 hearths, 94,253 heads

Based on the 606 CE population figures of the commandaries listed in the *Suishu* 隋書 (636 CE), the population of the different parts of Lingnan was as follow (*Suishu* volume 31/*zhi* 志 26:)

- Jiaozhi 交趾, Jiuzhen 九真, Rinan 日南, Bijing 比景, Haiyin 海陰, Linyi 林邑 (≈ Vietnam): 60,241 hearths
- Cangwu 蒼梧, Shi'an 始安, Yongping 永平, Yulin 郁林, Hepu 合浦, Ningyue 宵越 (≈ Guangxi): 193,704 hearths
- Nanhai 南海, Longchuan 龍川, Yi'an 義安, Gaoliang 高涼, Xin'an 信安, Yongxi 永熙 (≈ Guangdong): 87,991 hearths
- Zhuya 珠崖 (Hainan): 19,500 hearths

In this period, the Han Chinese population was the minority in Lingnan, and there were still many mentions of non-Sinitic people in the region. The Han Chinese population concentrated in the cities and towns, surrounded by land mostly inhabited by indigenous people.[15] This is currently still the case in central and western Guangxi. (On the other hand, Guangdong and eastern Guangxi are now overwhelmingly Han Chinese, with nearly all indigenous people having been Sinicised.[16] In Vietnam; the medieval Sinitic population in the Red River Region gradually merged into the surrounding Viet-Muong population after Vietnam's independence in the tenth century CE.)[17]

The migration of Han Chinese people from the North to Guangxi was often driven by military reasons. Chinese people from the North often viewed Lingnan as an uncivilised place filled with tropical diseases, unsuitable for habitation for 'normal people'. For example, the Tang Dynasty poet Li Shen 李紳 (772–846), in his poem *Yu Lingqiao Zhi Huangzou Di Gaoyao* 逾嶺嶠止荒陬抵高要, described Gaoyao and Lingnan in general as *yan zheng jiezuo chonghui du* 炎蒸結作蟲虺毒 [the heat and steam breed venomous insects and snakes]. Chinese settlers in Guangxi were often people who were exiled, or soldiers who were settled in the area after they were sent to invade, to suppress revolts by indigenous people, and/or to secure this border region in general. For instance, there were Western Han (202 BCE – 9 CE)'s invasion of Nanyue/ Nam Việt 南越 (204–111 BCE, an independent kingdom in Lingnan based in modern day Guangzhou),[18] and Eastern Han (25–220 CE)'s crushing of the rebellion by the Trưng sisters (Trưng Trắc 徵側 and Trưng Nhị 徵貳; ?–43 CE).[19] After the defeat of the Trưng sisters, a group of the Northern Chinese soldiers were stationed in Lingnan, and their descendent are called the *Maliuren* 馬留人, i.e. *ren* [people] *liu* [left behind] by General Ma Yuan 馬援 (Mã Viện; 14 BCE–49 CE).[20] During Tang

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[14] E.g. Li Tana (2011), Xiong Zhaoming (2014), Demandt (2019).
[15] Xu Jieshun 徐杰舜 (1999, 104).
[16] See also footnote 48.
[17] Phan (2013, 296–302).
[18] Brindley (2015, 215–218).
[19] Brindley (2015, 233–238).
[20] Xu Jieshun 徐杰舜 (1999, 103).

Dynasty (618–907 CE), revolts by indigenous people in Guangxi occurred at least during the years of 687, 756, 777, and 794.[21] Some Pinghua speakers claim that their ancestors arrived in Guangxi during the Tang Dynasty, often from Shandong.[22]

In the history of Pinghua, the most significant military event happened during the Song Dynasty (960–1279). Between 1029 and 1055, around the modern day Guangxi–Vietnam border, indigenous Tai[23] leaders Nong Quanfu 儂全福 (*Nungz Cienzfuk* / *Nùng Tồn Phúc*, recorded as 儂存福 in Vietnamese texts; ?–1035) and his son Nong Zhigao 儂智高 (*Nungz Ciqgau* / *Nùng Trí Cao*; 1025–1055) at various times claimed independence, sought vessel status with Lý Dynasty (1009–1225) of Vietnam, or with Song Dynasty (960–1279) of China.[24] In 1052, Nong Zhigao captured Nanning (then Yongzhou 邕州) and many cities to the east, and ended up besieging Guangzhou for nearly two months. In the end, Song China sent in Northern Chinese solders, lead by vice-head of military (*shumi fu-shi* 樞密副使) general Di Qing 狄青 (1008–1057; *shumi fu-shi* 1052–1053), defeating Nong Zhigao in 1053 at the Kunlun Pass 昆侖關 northeast of Nanning.[25] Many Pinghua speakers claim that their ancestors were these Song Dynasty soldiers from Northern China, mostly Shandong.[26]

Traces of this military history are not difficult to find. For instance, Zhuang[27] calls Han Chinese *Gun* 軍 [military].[28] For instance, a 'Han Chinese person' is *boux Gun* 佈軍, 'speaking Chinese' is *gangj Gun* 講軍, 'Chinese language' is *vah Gun* 話軍. As for Pinghua, one (folk) theory on the origin of the name *Pinghua* 平話 is that *Ping* 平 refers to *Pingnan Jun* 平南軍 [Pacify South Army], the name of the Song Dynasty army lead by general Di Qing.[29] Looking at the Sinitic language map of Guangxi in the first edition of LAC (map B-14), one could see that the distribution of Pinghua is somewhat linear; Pinghua appears as many small and medium-sized blobs along certain axes. The axis that links all the other axes is the land route between Guilin 桂林, Liuzhou 柳州, and Nanning 南寧, nowadays the three largest cities in Guangxi. There was a military-grade road linking these three cities, and this was the route that Di Qing's army took: the army arrived through Hunan, passing Guilin and Liuzhou, and finally met Nong Zhigao's army at Kunlun Pass 昆侖關 to the northeast of Nanning. After Nong was defeated, the Northern Chinese soldiers were settled in Guilin, Liuzhou, Nanning, and other places in Guangxi. They gradually merged with the

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[21] Lin Yi 林亦 (2004, 170).

[22] E.g. Bi Kechao 閉克朝 (1985).

[23] China classifies the Nong clan as the Zhuang ethnic group, and Vietnam classifies them as the Nùng ethnic group.

[24] E.g. Anderson (2007).

[25] Thereafter, Nong Zhigao and his followers fled to Dali; Nong Zhigao was later executed by the Dali authorities in 1055. Di Qing was promoted to head of military (*shumi shi* 樞密使: 1053–1056); he died in 1057.

[26] Xu Jieshun 徐杰舜 (1999). More specifically, many claim that their ancestors came from Baima 白馬 County in Shandong. The historical Baima County of Shandong is now within the Hua County 滑縣 of Henan. (Historically, 'Shandong' commonly referred to any place to the east of Shanxi, and hence 'Shandong' covered parts of what are now Henan and Hebei Provinces.) Baima was probably the location where General Di Qing's army was assembled before departure, rather than the true origin of all the soldiers.

[27] Word forms from Standard Zhuang are given. Standard Zhuang is largely based on the variety of Northern Zhuang spoken in the Wuming 武鳴 District of Nanning, to the north of Nanning proper.

[28] Different from *guen* 官 [official].

[29] And/or *Pingnan Cun* 平南村 [Pacify South Village], a village set up by those soldiers across the river south of Nanning city centre, i.e. the modern day suburb of Tingzi 亭子. Another possibility is that *Ping* 平 in *Pinghua* 平話 just refers to it being the *ping* 平 [flat / plain] language of ordinary people, similar to how Cantonese is called *Baihua* 白話, with *bai* 白 [white] having extended meanings like 'plain', 'clear', or 'simple'. These contrast with *Guanhua* 官話, the language of the *guan* 官 [officials], i.e. Mandarin.

(small) pre-existing Han Chinese population into one linguistic community. Their descendents spread along the Guilin–Liuzhou–Nanning route, and along the rivers that dissected this route. The rivers were important to the Pinghua people; the rivers were their primary trade routes, and also their primary escape routes when attacked (due to, e.g., disputes with indigenous people, who out-numbered them in most places).

It has been around one millennium since the arrival of the Song Dynasty soldiers; there have been linguistic, cultural, and genetic[30] exchanges between Pinghua and Zhuang peoples. However, up until recently (sometime after the foundation of the People's Republic of China in 1949), there were some psychological distance between Pinghua and Zhuang peoples. Intermarriage used to be rare in regions where the population of Han Chinese was higher, and they kept each other from their respective industrial domains.[31] For instance, members of many Pinghua communities in and upriver from Nanning are called *Zheyuan ren* / *tʃì⁵⁵ win²¹ ɲɐn²¹* 蔗園人 [sugar-cane plantation people] (and their language *Zheyuan hua* / *tʃì⁵⁵ win²¹ wa²²* 蔗園話), as their primary industry was sugar-cane farming. They excluded Zhuang people, and also other Sinitic people, from their sugar-cane industry.[32] There is a derogatory term *Hengtang dage* / *wɛŋ²¹ taŋ²¹ tai²² kɔ⁵³* 橫塘大哥 [horizontal pond big brother], which Pinghua speakers sometimes use to refer to other Pinghua speakers whom they consider to be culturally Zhuang-ised (i.e. culturally less Han, hence less "sophisticated").[33] In another example, Sitang 四塘 Town (now merged into Santang 三塘 Town) in Xingning 興寧 District of Nanning (northeast of the city centre) was about 90% Zhuang and 10% Pinghua Han in population. The Zhuang people were mostly bilingual in Zhuang and Pinghua, and some also spoke Cantonese. On the other hand, the Pinghua people generally understood Zhuang, but most older people did not speak Zhuang. Older Pinghua women who married into Zhuang families 至没齿不说壮话 [till no teeth no speak Zhuang language], i.e. they could not, or refused, to speak Zhuang after all these years living in Zhuang families, from the point of marriage till they were so old that all their teeth had fallen off. (Young people no longer have this prejudice and speak both Zhuang and Chinese.)[34]

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[30] There are Gan et al. (2008) that look at the genetics of the Pinghua population in Northern Guangxi, and Lu et al. (2013) that look at the genetics of the Pinghua population in Southern Guangxi. The Pinghua population is similar to other Southern Han Chinese populations in that the frequency of "Southeast Asian-type" mitochondrial haplogroups (i.e. mitochondrial haplogroups that are frequent with Kra-Dai and Hmong-Mien populations) is over 90%. In other words, the vast majority of Southern Han Chinese people are indigenous on their female line of descent. As for Y-haplogroups, while the frequency of "Northern Chinese-type" haplogroups is over 50% in Guangdong, that frequency is on average about 30% with the Pinghua population in Guangxi. (However, there is a huge variation depending on the locality.) These results indicate roughly that, while some Pinghua people have Northern Chinese ancestors on their male line of descent, there are also many Pinghua speakers with no Northern Chinese ancestry on both their male and female lines of descent. (Nevertheless, the direct male and female lines of descent are just two out of many lines of descent.) In other words, there were indigenous people with no or little Han Chinese ancestry who shifted to Pinghua both in language and ethnic identities. There are also indigenous people who shifted to Pinghua in language, but not in ethnic identity, e.g. some Pinghua-speaking Zhuang groups and Yao groups (Xie Jianyou 谢建猷 2007, 91–113).

[31] Xu Jieshun 徐杰舜 (1999).

[32] Xu Jieshun 徐杰舜 (1999), Matsumoto Kōtarō 松本光太郎 (1993).

[33] Li Lianjin 李連進 (2000a, 29). The Pinghua term *hengtang* / *wɛŋ²¹ taŋ²¹* 橫塘 probably came from Zhuang *vunz dangz* 伝唐 [Tang person], in reference to the Tang Dynasty (618–907). Perhaps the pre-established Han Chinese population in Nanning called themselves *vunz dangz* 伝唐, and the Song Dynasty soldiers found them less "sophisticated" as they were culturally nativised to a degree.

[34] Lin Yi 林亦 & Yu Jin 余瑾 (2009, 257).

Probably due to this psychological distance between Pinghua and Zhuang people, there have not been large-scale language shifts (abandoning of one language in favour of another) between Pinghua and Zhuang. (There have certainly been some, in both directions, i.e. Pinghua speakers who claim that they were Zhuang ancestrally and Zhuang speakers who claim that they were Han ancestrally. Nonetheless, Pinghua and Zhuang have maintained an equilibrium. Bilingualism is also quite prevalent.) Adding that to the relative small number of Northern Chinese ancestors that came through the Hunan-Guangxi corridor, Pinghua is a minority, surrounded by the indigenous Zhuang majority. Not only is Pinghua a minority in relation to Zhuang, Pinghua has also been overtaken in speaker numbers by three other Sinitic groups that arrived in Guangxi later: Mandarin from the north, and Yue and Hakka from the east. Not only is Pinghua overtaken in terms of number of speakers, Pinghua is also overtaken in terms of power. In Guangxi, Pinghua is the majority only in Hengzhou 橫洲 (ex-Heng County / *Hengxian* 橫縣) and Binyang 賓陽 (east of Nanning, within Nanning Prefecture), and Binyang is the only place throughout Guangxi where Pinghua is the *lingua franca* of the county. (Other than the Pinghua majority, there are also substantial Hakka and Zhuang minorities in Binyang.) All other counties and cities in Guangxi have city centres that are dominant in Zhuang, Southwestern Mandarin, Yue, and/or Hakka. (The language used in the city centre acts as the *lingua franca* for the county or city.) For instance, in Nanning, the capital of Guangxi, Nanning Cantonese is spoken in the city centre, Pinghua is spoken in the suburbs and nearby rural areas, and Zhuang is spoken mainly in the rural areas. The Pinghua dialects spoken in the various suburbs of Nanning are divergent enough that sometimes Pinghua speakers from different suburbs have to rely on Nanning Cantonese to communicate with each other. (This is the situation at least two decades ago; nowadays the entire Nanning is dominated by New Nanning Mandarin, or *Nanning Putonghua* 南寧普通話 / *Nan-Pu* 南普, Nanning's strongly localised version of Modern Standard Mandarin.) With basically all the cities dominated by other languages, there is no standard variety of Pinghua that Pinghua speakers gravitate towards when they communicate with other Pinghua speakers.

Another language that entered Guangxi via Hunan is Southwestern Mandarin. Southwestern Mandarin entered Guangxi centuries later than Pinghua. Large numbers of Southwestern Mandarin speakers arrived during the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644).[35] Again, many were soldiers and officials sent by the central government to solidify China's hold on this border region. Through its political and economic dominance, Southwestern Mandarin quickly replaced Pinghua as the *lingua franca* in northern Guangxi.[36] The Southwestern Mandarin spoken in northern Guangxi is commonly called *Gui-Liu hua* 桂柳話 [Guilin-Liuzhou speech].[37]

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[35] Xie Jianyou 谢建猷 (2007, 290). See also, e.g., Herman (2007), on the Chinese colonisation of Guizhou in the thirteenth to seventeeth centuries. Mandarin was brought into Guizhou and Yunnan under similar militaristic circumstances as Guangxi.

[36] Southwestern Mandarin has also made small inroads in southern Guangxi. For instance, before the arrival of Cantonese in Nanning, the city centre of Nanning used to be dominated by Old Nanning Mandarin (*Yongzhou Guanhua* 邕州官話; Zhou Benliang 周本良 et al. 2006). Although Old Nanning Mandarin is now moribund (or perhaps extinct) in Nanning city centre, similar types of Southwestern Mandarin are still spoken in some villages around Nanning. Conversely, Cantonese has made some footholds in northern Guangxi. For instance, Liuzhou Mandarin is strongly influenced by Cantonese (Liu Cunhan 劉村漢 1995), due to the economic dominance of the Cantonese community there. (However, by now the Cantonese community in Liuzhou has largely switched to Mandarin.)

[37] In Li Lan 李蓝 (2009)'s classification of the Southwestern Mandarin dialects, the Mandarin dialects in most counties of Guangxi are of the Northern Guangxi (*Guibei* 桂北) type. There are only some exceptions along the northwestern border, where their Mandarin dialects are more affiliated with neighbouring Guizhou or Yunnan instead. The

Conforming to the general trend of more-Han in eastern Guangxi and more-Zhuang in western Guangxi, Southwestern Mandarin is numerically stronger in northeastern Guangxi than in northwestern Guangxi.[38] The stronger dominance of Southwestern Mandarin in Guilin and Hezhou Prefectures in northeastern Guangxi is also reflected in how much stronger the Pinghua dialects there are influenced by Mandarin. The LAC classifies Pinghua into Northern Pinghua and Southern Pinghua (*Guibei Pinghua* 桂北平話 and *Guinan Pinghua* 桂南平話 respectively). Northern Pinghua includes the Pinghua dialects in Guilin and Hezhou Prefectures, while Southern Pinghua includes all other Pinghua dialects, including the ones in Liuzhou and Hechi Prefectures, which are geographically in northern Guangxi. The Northern Pinghua dialects are strongly Mandarinised, while the Southern Pinghua dialects are conservative. Linguistic examples are demonstrated later in this article; the important point here is the distinction between Northern Pinghua (northeastern Guangxi) and Southern Pinghua (southern Guangxi and north-central / northwestern Guangxi).

The number of Southwestern Mandarin speakers in Guangxi is 5.43 million; this is not substantially larger than Pinghua's figure of 4.13 million.[39] Non-Sinitic languages are usually spoken in reasonable numbers in the vicinity of Pinghua and Southwestern Mandarin speakers. The number of Han Chinese settlers that arrived via Hunan has not been large enough to substantially impact the number of indigenous speakers. The situation is very different in the Yue-dominated eastern and southern parts of Guangxi.

Yue, and the Jiangxi–Guangdong corridor

Yue 粵 is the largest Sinitic dialect group in Guangxi. Unlike Pinghua and Southwestern Mandarin, whose Han Chinese ancestors entered Guangxi via Hunan to the north, Yue (and Hakka) speakers entered Guangxi from Guangdong to the east.

During the Tang Dynasty (618–907 CE), a military-grade road was completed in 716 across the Plum Pass (*Meiguan* 梅關), on the border between the modern day Nanxiong 南雄 City in northern Guangdong and Dayu 大余 County (historically Dayu 大庾) in southwestern Jiangxi. North of the Plum Pass is the Zhang River 章江 in Jiangxi, a tributary of the Gan River 贛江, which flows north into the Yangtze. South of the Plum Pass is the Zhen River 湞江 in Guangdong, which becomes the North (*Bei*) River 北江 downstream at Shaoguan 韶關, and the North River continues south to the Pearl River Delta. The distance between the Plum Pass and the Pearl River Delta is relatively short. This Gan–Bei riverine route, which I call the *Jiangxi–Guangdong Corridor*, rapidly overtook the Hunan–Guangxi Corridor as the most important route for Northern Chinese settlers

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Southwestern Mandarin dialects of northern Guangxi, south-central Guizhou, and southern Hunan are relatively close to each other, while those in southeastern Guizhou, southwestern Guizhou, and Yunnan belong to other types.

[38] In terms of (government-recognised) ethnicity, across northern Guangxi, from east to west, the percentage of Han Chinese is 83% in Hezhou 賀州, 85% in Guilin 桂林, 49% in Liuzhou 柳州, 16% in Hechi 河池, and 15% in Baise 百色 Prefectures (China national census 2010). Zhuang is still spoken in large numbers in Liuzhou, Hechi, and Baise Prefectures. There are also many other non-Sinitic languages spoken throughout northern Guangxi (Deng Yurong 邓玉荣 2008).

[39] Another Sinitic language that entered via Hunan is Xiang. The 1.31 million Xiang speakers in Guangxi are primarily found in the counties of Quanzhou 全州, Guanyang 灌陽, Xing'an 興安, and Ziyuan 資源 in northern Guilin Prefecture. Most of this area lies in the Xiang / Yangtze River Basin, and used to belong to Hunan Province. The Xiang-speaking area in Guangxi is a natural extension of the Xiang speaking area in Hunan.

into Lingnan.[40] Contrasting Guangxi and Guangdong, the number of Northern Chinese migrant that went through the Hunan–Guangxi Corridor (Chinese ancestors of Pinghua, Southwestern Mandarin, and Xiang speakers) was relatively small; their numbers have not been large enough to overwhelm the non-Sinitic populations in most parts of Guangxi. On the other hand, in Guangdong, the number of Northern Chinese migrants that went through the Jiangxi–Guangdong Corridor was so huge that, by the second half of the Tang Dynasty (approximately eighth and ninth century CE), there were already not many reports of indigenous people in the Pearl River Delta (in contrast to, e.g., the frequent reports of uprisings by indigenous people in western Guangdong and in Guangxi).[41] Already by the 754 census (middle of Tang Dynasty; year 13 of Tianbao 天寶), the population of Guangdong had surpassed that of Guangxi-plus-Vietnam: "Vietnam": 221,999 heads, "Guangxi": 400,777 heads, "Guangdong": 753,534 heads, Hainan: 39,639 heads.[42] The bulk of the "Guangdong" population was in Guangzhou and northern Guangdong: Guangzhou 廣州 221,500 heads, Shaozhou 韶州 to the northeast (south of the Plum Pass) 168,948 heads, Lianzhou 連州 to the northwest 143,533 heads, a total of 533,981 heads, out of the 753,534 figure for "Guangdong". Comparing the Guangxi–Guangdong population ratio in this 754 (Tang Dynasty) census (≈ 3.5 : 6.5), versus the ratio in the 606 (Sui Dynasty) census (≈ 7 : 3), one could get a sense of the explosion of Han Chinese population that the Plum Pass Road brought to Guangdong.

Northern Chinese migrants continued to enter Lingnan through the Jiangxi–Guangdong Corridor in huge numbers. Yue people, especially Cantonese people, often claim that their ancestors came from or through Zhujixiang 珠璣巷, a town located between Nanxiong city centre and the Plum Pass.[43] Yue Chinese formed in the Pearl River Delta, primarily from two layers of Northern Chinese linguistic elements: Middle Chinese in the tenth century during the latter years of the Tang Dynasty (618–907) and the Five Dynasties period (907–979)),[44] and Early Mandarin in the thirteenth century during the latter years of the Song Dynasty (960–1279).[45] There are also

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[40] Zhan Bohui 詹伯慧 et al. (2002, 3), Li Tana (2011, 40).

[41] See, e.g., Wu Songdi 吴松弟 (1997).

[42] Prefectural population data from Yang Yüan 楊遠 (1979), compiled primarily from data in *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (1060). During the Tang Dynasty (618–901), these places were all part of the Lingnan Circuit 嶺南道. The prefectures are here grouped into "Vietnam", "Guangxi", "Guangdong", and Hainan based on modern boundaries. In particular, the concept of separating Guangnan into an east (Guangnan dong > Guangdong) and a west (Guangnan xi > Guangxi) did not exist until 997 CE (3rd year of Zhidao 至道 of Song). Some of these Tang Dynasty prefectures straddle the modern Guangdong–Guangxi border or the Guangxi–Vietnam border; these prefectures are here counted only once. "Vietnam" includes the following prefectures (numbering based on Yang's map): 306 Jiao 交 (i.e. Annan Duhufu 安南都護府), 307 Wu'e 武峨, 310 Ai 愛, 311 Fulu 福祿, 312 Chang 長, 313 Huan 驩, 314 Feng 峯, 315 Lu 陸, 320 Tang 湯. "Guangxi" includes the following prefectures: 265 He 賀, 267 Teng 藤, 272 Yi 義, 276 Gui 桂, 277 Zhao 昭, 278 Meng 蒙, 279 Fu 富, 280 Wu 梧, 281 Xun 潯, 282 Gong 龔, 283 Yulin 鬱林, 284 Pingqin 平琴, 285 Bin 賓, 286 Cheng 澄, 287 Xiu 繡, 288 Xiang 象, 289 Liu 柳, 290 Rong 融, 291 Yong 邕, 292 Gui 貴, 293 Dang 黨, 294 Heng 橫, 295 Tian 田, 296 Yan 嚴, 297 Shan 山, 298 Luan 巒, 301 Rong 容, 303 Bai 白, 304 Lau 牢, 305 Qin 欽, 308 Yue 粵, 309 Zhi 芝, 316 Lian 廉, 317 Yan 巖, 319 Yu 禺, 321 Rang 瀼, 322 Long 籠, 323 Huan 環. "Guangdong" includes the following prefectures: 225 Chao 潮, 242 Lian 連, 259 Guang 廣, 260 Shao 韶, 261 Gang 岡, 262 Xun 循, 263 En 恩, 264 Chun 春, 266 Duan 端, 268 Kang 康, 269 Feng 封, 270 Shuang 瀧, 271 Gao 高, 273 Xin 新, 274 Qin 勤, 275 Dou 竇, 299 Luo 羅, 300 Pan 潘, 302 Bian 辯, 318 Lei 雷. Hainan includes 325 Ya 崖, 326 Dan 儋, 327 Zhen 振, 328 Qiong 瓊, 329 Wan'an 萬安. Data for 324 Gu 古 Prefecture is not included as it is in the modern day Guizhou Province.

[43] For instance, http://www.gdsqyg.com/agdfyzg/mingluinfo?mlproid=2018040359378161 (accessed 15 July 2021). Nowadays Zhujixiang speaks Hakka.

[44] Wang Hongjun 王洪君 (2009).

[45] Lau Chun-Fat 刘镇发 (2001).

remnants from the pre-existing Sinitic speech varieties in the area,[46] and a strong substrate from the indigenous languages, primarily Kra-Dai languages. [47] Later on, Yue speakers gradually expanded out from the Pearl River Delta, overwhelmingly in a westward direction, as the west was relatively lightly populated. (Northern Guangdong was already heavily populated by Han Chinese people. Later on, the Pearl River Basin to the north and east of the delta became primarily Hakka-speaking, while the coastal area to the east became primarily Min-speaking. The Leizhou Peninsula and Hainan Island to the southwest also became primarily Min-speaking.) During their gradual westward expansion, the pockets of pre-existing Han Chinese people (many probably speaking Pinghua-like languages), and nearly all indigenous people (mostly speakers of Kra-Dai languages), were absorbed into the Yue-speaking community.[48] During Song (960–1279) and Yuan (1271–1368) Dynasties, Yue gradually filled western Guangdong. Between Ming Dynasty (1368–1644) and the middle of Qing Dyansty (1644–1912), Yue filled eastern and southeastern Guangxi.[49] In Guangxi, the western boundary of the Yue-speaking area is roughly the eastern boundary of the Zhuang-speaking area;[50] as Yue spread westward, Zhuang and other indigenous people shifted to Yue.

Amongst the Yue dialects in Guangxi, two types need to be distinguished: 'native' Guangxi Yue, versus Guangxi Cantonese. The LAC classifies the Yue dialects in Guangxi into four types: Goulou 勾漏, Qinlian 欽廉,[51] Guangfu 廣府, and Yongxun 邕潯. Goulou Yue in the Pearl River Basin and Qinlian Yue on the Guangxi coast and hiterlands are 'native' Guangxi Yue varieties: they are Yue dialects that are spoken in large areas, and are associated with the Yue dialects that gradually spread from east to west during the Ming Dynasty and early Qing Dynasty.[52] On the other

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[46] For instance, there are very early dialectal words in Cantonese like t^hej^{35} 睇 [look/read] which were recorded in Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53 BCE–18 CE)'s *Fangyan* 方言 (volume 2) as being a dialectal word in *Nan Chu zhi wai* 南楚之外 [further than Southern Chu] (Chu ≈ Hunan). There are also isolated linguistic traits in Yue that are from Southern Middle Chinese which have travelled down the coast via Fujian, or later again via the Jiangxi–Guangdong corridor (Kwok Bit-Chee 郭必之 2004).

[47] E.g. Ouyang Jueya 欧阳觉亚 (1989), Li Jingzhong 李敬忠 (1994), Bauer (1996), Huang Yuanwei (1997); Li Jinfang 李锦芳 (2002, 100-141). Even Standard Cantonese, which is geographically furthest away from modern Zhuang influence, has a strong Kra-Dai substrate. See also, e.g., Alves (2018) on linguistic convergence in Southern China, de Sousa (2015b) on the Far Southern Sinitic languages from a Mainland Southeast Asian linguistic point of view.

[48] Within the core Yue-speaking area in Guangdong and Guangxi, the only indigenous Kra-Dai languages left are the Biao 標 Language (e.g. Liang Min 梁敏 & Zhang Junru 张均如 2002) in Huaiji and Fengkai in Guangdong, and Hezhou in Guangxi, and the Jizhao 吉兆 language (e.g. Ostapirat 1998, Catherine Churchman p.c.) in Wuchuan 吳川 on the southwestern coast of Guangdong. (In both cases, younger speakers are shifting to Yue.) On the western edge of the core Yue-speaking area in Guangxi are Zhuang speakers, and also some Mienic speakers. Zhuang speakers in northern Guangdong were migrants from Guangxi. Mien speakers in northern Guangdong were migrants from Hunan, some of whom migrated further to the southwestern quarter of Guangdong. Also within Guangdong, very close to Yue-territory to the east is the Ho Ne language (ethnically classed as She 畬, linguistically Hmongic; e.g. Ratliff 2010) in Zengcheng 增城, Boluo 博羅, Huidong 惠東, and Haifeng 海豐. On the Yue-speaking coast of Guangxi, there are communities of Jing speakers, i.e. *Kinh* 京 / Vietnamese of China, concentrating in an area that used to be an exclave of Vietnam.

[49] See Li Jinfang 李锦芳 (2002, 126–134) on the westward expansion of Yue Chinese.

[50] See, e.g., map B-14 on Sinitic Guangxi and map C-12 on non-Sinitic Guangxi in the first edition of the LAC.

[51] One has to be very careful with the term Qinlian 欽廉 Yue. Looking at, e.g., Chen Xiaojin 陈晓锦 & Chen Tao 陈滔 (2005), it is clear that the "Qinlian Yue" in the LAC includes two very different types of Yue dialects: Yue in Beihai 北海 city is clearly Cantonese (somewhat close to Nanning Cantonese), while Yue in Hepu 合浦 (*Lianzhou hua* 廉州話) is a very different language. In this article, only the latter 'native' type of Yue is considered Qinlian Yue.

[52] Underneath the westward-spreading Yue dialects are linguistic elements from the pre-existing Pinghua-like Sinitic language(s) and the indigenous language(s). In some areas, they have received later Cantonese influences to some degree, but not enough to cause them to be considered Yongxun Yue or Guangfu Yue. Goulou Yue is associated with

hand, Guangfu Yue and Yongxun Yue dialects are Cantonese. There are many enclaves of Cantonese speakers in Guangxi, and they appear as many small blobs on a map. The Guangfu Yue dialects in Guangxi are minimally different from Standard Cantonese. The largest Guangfu Yue communities in Guangxi are Wuzhou 梧州 and Hezhou 賀州, near the Guangdong border. (They are in fact geographically closer to Guangzhou than Nanning.) Yongxun Yue enclaves are found futher away from the Guangdong border. The ancestors of these Yongxun Yue speakers are Cantonese people who migrated upriver directly from the Pearl River Delta after the maritime prohibitions (*haijin* 海禁) were lifted at the end of the First Opium War (1839–1842). Many more arrived during later calamities, e.g. the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945). The Yongxun Yue varieties, while still recognisably Cantonese in its phonology (e.g. the tones are the largely same, the segments are not very different), have received a noticeable amount of Zhuang influences.[53] The largest Yongxun Yue community is in Nanning, the capital of Guangxi. From Nanning, speakers of Nanning Cantonese travelled in many directions, most notably upriver / west from Nanning, forming many Yongxun-type Cantonese enclaves in western Guangxi. Guangxi Cantonese has gone further west than Guangxi Pinghua has: Pinghua has spread just across the border to Bo'ai 剝隘 Town of Funing 富寧 County in Yunnan;[54] Cantonese, on the other hand, has gone to Hekou 河口 in Yunnan on the Red River (across from Lào Cai 老街 of Vietnam), nearly the same distance west of the Yunnan–Guangxi border as Nanning is to the east of the border.[55, 56]

In summary, the Jiangxi–Guangdong Corridor has contributed substantially more growth to the Sinitic-speaking population in Lingnan than the Hunan–Guangxi Corridor has. (This includes both the Han Chinese migrant population, and the indigenous population that shifted to Sinitic languages.) The Sinitic dialect groups that are primarily associated with the Jiangxi–Guangdong Corridor have the following population figures: Yue 68 million worldwide,[57] Hakka 44 million worldwide,[58] and Gan 48 million.[59] Contrast this with the Sinitic dialect groups that are primarily associated with the Hunan–Guangxi Corridor to the west: Pinghua 4 million,[60] Xiang 36.5 million,[61] and the Gui-Liu-type of Southwestern Mandarin around 15 million (in northern Guangxi,

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riverine migration, and somewhat more influenced by the indigenous languages, while Qinlian Yue is associated with coastal migration, and somewhat less influenced by the indigenous languages (Deng Yurong 邓玉荣 2008).

[53] See, e.g., de Sousa (2015a), Kwok Bit-Chee 郭必之 (2019), on the influence that Zhuang has on Nanning Cantonese and Nanning Pinghua. See also, e.g., Huang Yang & Wu Fuxiang (2018) on the convergence of grammar amongst the languages in the Central Southern Guangxi region.

[54] Li Lianjin 李連進 (2000a, 3).

[55] Li Jinfang 李锦芳 (2002, 132–133).

[56] Two other languages entered Guangxi via Guangdong: Hakka and Southern Min. There are 4.9 million speakers of Hakka in Guangxi. Hakka first entered Guangxi from Guangdong at the turn of the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1636–1912) Dynasties (Liu Cunhan 刘村汉 2011, 29). There are Hakka enclaves throughout Guangxi, with the larger ones in the east and the south. Bobai 博白 and neighbouring Luchuan 陸川 Counties have a Hakka majority (Liu Cunhan 刘村汉 2011, 23). The Southern Min community in Guangxi is small, with 0.14 million speakers. They first entered Guangxi at around the same period as Hakka, and they entered Guangxi from or via Guangdong. The Southern Min dialects in Guangxi are generally closer to the Zhangzhou type than the Quanzhou or Chaozhou types. See, e.g., Xie Jianyou 谢建猷 (2007, 278–289), Zhang Yanfen 张燕芬 & Lin Yi 林亦 (2009).

[57] Wu Wei 伍巍 (2007).

[58] Xie Liuwen 谢留文 & Huang Xuezhen 黄雪贞 (2007).

[59] Xie Liuwen 谢留文 (2006).

[60] Deng Yurong 邓玉荣 (2008) gives a figure of 4.13 million; Qin Yuanxiong 覃远雄 (2007) gives a figure of 3.95 million (Southern Pinghua 2.19 million, Northern Pinghua 1.76 million).

[61] Chen Hui 陈晖 & Bao Houxing 鲍厚星 (2007) for Xiang in Hunan, Deng Yurong 邓玉荣 (2008) for Xiang in Guangxi, Li Lan 李蓝 (2009) for Xiang in Sichuan.

southern Hunan, and south-central Guizhou).[62] Xiang has 'lost territory' due to the expansion of Gan from the east,[63] and Mandarin from the north, west, and south. Pinghua has never been very big; Pinghua has always been surrounded by a large indigenous population, and Pinghua has also 'lost territory' due to the expansion of Mandarin from the north, and Yue from the east. Also associated with the Hunan–Guangxi Corridor is Annamese Middle Chinese, a Sinitic speech variety that was argued by Phan (2013) to have been spoken in the Red River Region alongside Proto-Việt-Mường in the Middle Ages. Following the general theme of relatively weak Sinitic input along the Hunan–Guangxi Corridor, Annamese Middle Chinese stopped being spoken as a living language sometime after the independence of Vietnam in the tenth century CE; the Chinese community there shifted to (a Sinicised) Vietnamese language.[64] (But it has left behind a huge superstrate on the Vietnamese language, and Chinese continued to be learnt as a literary language in Vietnam long after independence. See also Phan (2013) and Phan & de Sousa (forthcoming).)

How Pinghua came to be known to linguists, and their opinions

Language classification is a tricky matter; often there are no sharp boundaries that clearly demarcate different languages or dialects. This situation occurs frequently with the Sinitic languages, especially given that, for most of their history, there have not been many prolonged political borders within the Sinitic-speaking realm which would foster sharper linguistic boundaries between the Sinitic languages. Neighbouring varieties often influence each other a great deal, and sometimes hybrid varieties arise, blurring the boundary between them. In addition, throughout the ages, there have been the various national and regional standards, which exert influences over their spheres of influence.

The classification of the Sintic languages has evolved over time. One commonly encountered scheme is Zhan Bohui 詹伯慧 (1981)'s scheme of dividing the Sinitic languages into seven dialect groups: Yue 粵, Hakka [Kejia 客家], Min 閩, Wu 吳, Gan 贛, Xiang 湘, and Northern 北方 (i.e. Mandarin 官話).[65] The publication of the first edition of the LAC (1987/1989)[66] is a major milestone in Chinese linguistics. While not everyone agrees with its classification of the Sinitic languages, its classification scheme of ten first-order dialect groups (plus other unclassified varieties) has functioned as the basis of discussion ever since. Beyond the traditional seven, one new addition is Pinghua 平話 of Guangxi.[67] In addition, to the east is a plethora of unclassified small Sinitic varieties in the mountainous regions of southern Hunan and northern Guangdong;

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[62] There are 5.43 mllion speakers of Southwestern Mandarin in Guangxi (Deng Yurong 邓玉荣 2008), and 6.54 million in Yongzhou 永州 and Chenzhou 郴州 Prefectures in southern Hunan (Chen Hui 陈晖 & Bao Houxing 鲍厚星 2007). The total population of south-central Guizhou (Qiannan Prefecture 黔南州) is 3.23 million (China national census 2010).

[63] Cao Shuji 曹树基 (1990).

[64] Phan (2013, 296–302). This bears similarities to how the Norman French ruling class in England shifted from Norman French to (a Frenchified) English language.

[65] A 'dialect group' is not necessarily a single clade in a phylogenetic sense. Not all dialect groups are defined by innovative linguistic features (which prove that the dialects share a common ancestor to the exclusion of dialects not within their group). Each dialect group is also not a single language; within each dialect group, there are multiple varieties that are not mutually intelligible.

[66] Wurm & Li et al. (1987/1989); two volumes published separately.

[67] The other new groups are Hui 徽 in the Anhui-Zhejiang-Jiangxi border region, and Jin 晋 in and around Shanxi. There are similarly many debates on their elevation in status.

these are collectively known as *tuhua* 土話 [patois]. The publication of the LAC has majorily raised the profile of Pinghua and Tuhua within the Chinese linguistics community. Accompanying this improved awareness of Pinghua are many debates on the decision to elevate Pinghua to a first-order dialect group.

Traditionally, the saying in Nanning is that the range of local languages consists of *Guan Ping Tu Bai* 官平土白: *guan* [official] is Mandarin, *ping* [flat] is Pinghua, *tu* [earth] is Zhuang, and *bai* [white] is Cantonese. Zhang Junru 张均如 (1982) compares the phonology of the Chinese loanwords in Zhuang with Pinghua and Nanning Cantonese, and concludes that the Chinese loanwords in Zhuang were borrowed from Pinghua and not from Nanning Cantonese. As Cantonese is Yue, Pinghua is therefore not Yue. (However, note the fallacy here: that Cantonese is Yue does not infer whether Pinghua is Yue or not.) Wei Shuguan 韦树关 (1996), and Liang Min 梁敏 & Zhang Junru 张均如 (1999) hold similar views that Pinghua and Yue are separate entities.

There is also the view of Li Lianjin 李連進 (2000a) / 李连进 (2000b, 2003) that the Goulou 勾漏 branch of Yue should be detached from Yue and subsumed under Pinghua. (Geographically Goulou Yue makes up more than 40% of the Yue-speaking area.) Li Xiaofan 李小凡 (2012) takes a similar view that Goulou Yue is a type of Pinghua. Li Lianjin 李连进 (2005) further argues that the *tuhua* of southern Hunan and northern Guangdong should also be subsumed under Pinghua. Putting *tuhua* and Northern Pinghua aside first, we have already mentioned above that Southern Pinghua in Guangxi and Cantonese in the Pearl River Delta are parts of the same dialect continuum (more discussions on that below); ignoring the Cantonese enclaves in Guangxi, Goulou Yue sits between Southern Pinghua to the west and Guangfu 廣府 Yue (which includes Cantonese) to the east. So if one is to argue that Pinghua is separate from Yue, then whether Goulou Yue is Pinghua or Yue is really just a matter of where to dissect this dialect continuum. In other words, it depends on what commonalities and differences that Goulou Yue has with its neighbours one chooses to give more weight to.[68] (How similar the Yue dialects subsumbed under the label of 'Goulou Yue' actually are to each other is another topic of debate.)[69]

While linguists like the ones mentioned above focus more on the differences between Pinghua and Yue, others focus more on their commonalities, and subsume Pinghua, or at least Southern Pinghua, back within Yue. Subsuming Southern Pinghua within Yue is the more common position in Chinese linguistics these days. Examples of this view include Qin Yuanxiong 覃远雄 (2000), Wu Wei 伍巍 (2001), Xie Jianyou 谢建猷 (2007), and Zhan Bohui 詹伯慧 (2007).

While many linguists find Northern Pinghua too dissimilar, Liang Jinrong 梁金荣 (1997) takes a relatively 'lumpist' view and subsume both Northern and Southern Pinghua under Yue. Chen Xiaoyan 陈小燕 (2007, 362) gives a 'tentative' model where "Old Yue" (*Lao Yueyu* 老粵語)

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[68] Zhang Min 张敏 & Zhou Lieting 周烈婷 (2003) is a rebuttal of Li Lianjin 李连进 (2003); Zhang & Zhou (2003) argue against grouping Yulin Yue and the wider Goulou Yue with Pinghua, and that Goulou Yue is indeed Yue and not Pinghua. Both Zhang & Zhou (2003) and Li (2003) provide valuable linguistic data for the speech varieties involved.

[69] In LAC-1, Goulou Yue is distinguished from the other Yue sub-groups by just one feature: voiced plosive and affricate intials in Middle Chinese become voiceless unaspirated, a trait that is older in the Pearl River Basin (i.e. in a sense retentive), and a trait that is also shared with Pinghua to the west. Also, not all Yue dialects designated as Goulou Yue in the LAC share this trait, e.g. Bobai 博白 (Wang Li 1932, Xie Jianyou 谢建猷 2007, 178–188), Guigang 貴港 (Chen Xiaojin 陈晓锦 & Weng Zewen 翁泽文 2010, 21–22). There is also Zhuang Chusheng 庄初升 & Zhang Ling 张凌 (2010)'s report that Goulou Yue at Hezhou Pumen 賀州鋪門 has not totally devoiced the Middle Chinese *b- d- g-* initials. In LAC-2, Bobai and Guigang Yue are reclassified as Yongxun Yue. However, they are not similar to the Yongxun Yue of, e.g., Nanning and Guiping, which are largely intelligible to speakers of Standard Cantonese. The entire notion of 'Goulou Yue' needs reworking.

includes Northern Pinghua, Southern Pinghua, and Goulou Yue, while "New Yue" (*Xin Yueyu* 新粤語) includes other branches of Yue.

There are also linguists who express uncommitted views on the affiliation of Pinghua. Wang Futang 王福堂 (2001) is an example. Zhan Bohui 詹伯慧 (2007) is uncommitted for Northern Pinghua. The second edition of LAC (2012)[70] is in a sense also uncommitted. LAC-2 has maintained the ten-dialect-group classification for Sinitic, and it has a dedicated map (B1–22) for *Pinghua he Tuhua* 平话和土话 [Pinghua and Tuhua]. Nonetheless, the accompanying text[71] states that having a dedicated map 并不是要给平话土话的分区作出结论 [is not to give a conclusion on the classification of Pinghua and Tuhua].

Given that Southern Pinghua and Yue basically lie on a dialect continuum, whether they should be considered one or two entities, and where the boundary lies if they are two separate entities, is just a matter of perspectives, with both camps having many arguments that are simultaneously valid. The argument over the affiliation of Pinghua is reminiscent of another (even-longer-running) debate to the east: whether Hakka and Gan should be one or two dialect groups.[72]

Despite their different origins, the following are some factors that caused Pinghua and Yue to form a dialect continuum. Firstly, all the Sinitic languages in Lingnan have received Kra-Dai influences. Secondly, the languages spoken by these various groups of Northern Chinese migrants during the Middle Chinese era were not overly different from each other. Later on, a strong stream of Old Mandarin influence entered the Pearl River Delta towards the end of the Song Dynasty (13th century), and these Cantonese features spread to the Yue dialects to the west in various strengths.

As for Northern Pinghua, the LAC uses 'Northern Pinghua' as a cover term for all Sinitic speech varieties in Guilin and Hezhou Prefectures in northeastern Guangxi that are not considered Southern Pinghua, Southwestern Mandarin, Yue, Hakka, Xiang, and Southern Min. The Pinghua dialects around Guilin are still recognisably like Southern Pinghua, with just its phonology and some lexicon Mandarinised (see examples below). The Northern Pinghua dialects in this core-Guilin zone are undiputably Northern Pinghua. On the other hand, the (non-Xiang / non-Mandarin) Sinitic speech varieites in northern Guilin Prefecture, and all such dialects in Hezhou Prefecture to the east, are better understood as a continuation of the Tuhua zone from neighbouring southern Hunan and northern Guangdong,[73] cf. Chen Hailun 陈海伦 & Liu Cunhan 刘村汉 (2009, 1)'s terms *Guibei Tuhua* 桂北土話 [Northern Guangxi Patois] and *Guidong Tuhua* 桂東土話 [Eastern Guangxi Patois] respectively. (LAC-1 also mentions in its text for map B8 that the Pinghua area drawn in its Sinitic Guangxi map (map B14) 留待以后核实 [awaits future verification].) The formation of the *tuhua*'s is to various degrees related to the expansion of Gan and Hakka speakers from the east,[74] and the Tuhua zone is a huge and diverse transition zone between Xiang, Gan, Hakka, Yue, Pinghua, plus influences from the Southwestern Mandarin spoken within, and the indigenous languages (primarily Mienic). Similar to Pinghua, they have been overwhelmed by later arrivals. In southern Hunan and northeastern Guangxi, the dominant language is Southwestern Mandarin. In northern Guangdong, the dominant language is Hakka, with Yue also spoken in some city centres. In Guangdong and Guangxi near the Hunan tripoint,

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[70] Xiong Zhenghui 熊正辉 & Zhang Zhenxing 张振兴 et al. 2012.

[71] First presented as Qin Yuanxiong 覃远雄 (2007).

[72] See, e.g., Wang Futang 王福堂 (1998), Sagart (2002), Xie Liuwen 谢留文 (2003, 116–126).

[73] Unfortunately, qualifying concretely which Guilin Pinghua varieties and how they are 'still recognisably like Southern Pinghua', or not, have to be deferred to future research.

[74] E.g. Cao Shuji 曹树基 (1990), Zhuang Chusheng 庄初升 (2004, 311–327).

there are various Goulou Yue varieties, Cantonese, Hakka, Southwestern Mandarin, multiple *tuhua* varieties, Xiang, Min, Zhuang, Mien, and Hmong; people there are often fluent in quite a number of these.[75]

Some linguistic commonalities between (Southern) Pinghua and Yue

In the rest of this article, some linguistic features of Pinghua and the surrounding speech varieties will be demonstrated, correlating with some of the themes discussed above. In this section, some commonalities between Pinghua and Yue, and some differences between Southern Pinghua and Northern Pinghua, are demonstrated. In the next two sections, some linguistic differences along the Southern Pinghua – Yue dialect continuum will be demonstrated. It is beyond the scope of this article to present a detailed dialectology study; only a few linguistic features will be discussed.

Some preliminaries: a) for comparability, all pronunciations of the modern languages are rendered in International Phonetic Alphabet [IPA],[76] instead of the various romanisation schemes like Mandarin Pinyin or Cantonese Jyutping; b) Middle Chinese [MC] is rendered using Baxter (1992)'s transcription of MC.[77] If needed, a distinction between Early Middle Chinese [EMC] and Late Middle Chinese [LMC] is made.[78] The Middle Chinese tones of Level (*Ping* 平), Rising (*Shang* 上), Departing (*Qu* 去), and Entering (*Ru* 入) are notated here as A, B, C, and D, respectively; c) 'Sino-Vietnamese' [SV] is the system of Chinese pronunciation in Vietnamese, pronunciations associated with Sinitic words borrowed at any stage of history. 'Early SV' and 'Late SV' are two different layers of Chinese pronunciation used in the *modern* Vietnamese language; Early SV entered Vietnamese before Middle Chinese, while Late SV entered Vietnamese around the time of

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[75] See, e.g., Chen Xiaoyan 陈小燕 (2007) for Hezhou 賀州 in Guangxi, Chang Song-Hing 张双庆 (2004) on Lianzhou 連州 in Guangdong.

[76] With the exception that the tone values are rendered with tone numbers, commonly used by East Asian linguists: 5 is the highest pitch and 1 is the lowest pitch. For instance, the four tones of Standard Mandarin are [55], [35], [214], and [51] respectively. (There are often variations in how linguists use these numbers to describe tones in the same language.) The symbol [ˀ] is a glottal constriction, e.g. the mid-glottalised tone (*ngã* tone) in Northern Vietnamese is [3ˀ5]. Non-standard usage of IPA in the resources is changed here to standard IPA usage.

[77] Baxter (1992, 27–85). Deviations here are: a) *ng-* and *h-* are rendered here ŋ- and ɣ-; b) *-ng* and *-wng* are rendered here -ŋ and -ʷŋ; c) *-εi* is rendered here -ɛ, inspired by Baxter & Sagart (2014, 14)'s notation of the same final as *ea* without a following '+' (which is the equivalent of Baxter (1992)'s *ɨ.*); d) the four tones are rendered here A, B, C, and D. (D is not necessarily notated, as it can be inferred in MC by a *-p -t -k* coda.) Baxter stresses that the transcription is not a reconstruction of MC; his system is a transcription of the phonological system as deduced from the rime book *Qieyun* 切韻 (601 CE). See also footnote 78.

[78] EMC refers to the phonological system deduced from the rime book *Qieyun* 切韻 (601 CE). Rime books organise characters based on their tones, rimes/finals, and onsets/initials. The *Qieyun* phonological system is not the phonological system of a single spoken variety of Chinese; it describes what the eight consultants, from various parts of Northern and Southern China, determined to be the best pronunciation of the characters described. In many cases, Qieyun kept pronunciation distinctions that only some of the consultants made, and the consulatants had different sets of pronunciation distinctions. Due to *Qieyun*'s prescriptive nature, it reflects very little of the dialectal variations that existed then. All modern Sinitic languages have at least some linguistic material that descended from dialectal forms that were not recorded by the *Qieyun*.

LMC refers to the phonological system of the rime tables *Yunjing* 韻鏡 (earliest surviving edition: 1161 CE) and *Qiyinlüe* 七音略 (before 1161). Rime tables organise possible syllables in a tabular form. Each possible syllable is exemplified by a character with that pronunciation.

LMC;[79] d) with Sino-Zhuang, the newer loans from Southwestern Mandarin are ignored, leaving only the older loans from Pinghua (the age of borrowing can be judged by tone correspondences); and e) data from the Min languages are labelled for the layer borrowed from MC versus linguistic material inherited from a pre-MC era.

MC has the following consonantal codas:[80] *-p, -t, -k, -m, -n, -ŋ*. (MC sources make further distinctions of *-ʷk -ʷŋ*, but for our purpose here they are considered the same as *-k -ŋ*). Southern Pinghua is like Sino-Vietnamese, Sino-Zhuang, most Yue dialects (e.g. Cantonese), and the MC layer in Southern Min in having a medium-high to high level of conservatism with these consonantal codas. (Also similar are Guangdong Hakka and Sino-Korean.) Table 1 exemplifies Southern Pinghua and some other languages being mostly conservative with the *-p -t -k -m -n -ŋ* codas. Most Sinitic languages to the north have lost *-p, -t, -k*, and *-m* in different ways. Northern Pinghua, under the influence of Southwestern Mandarin, has also lost *-p, -t, -k*, and *-m*. (On the other hand, the frequent losing of *-n* and/or *-ŋ* in Northern Pinghua is an areal influence shared with southern Hunan.) Table 2 examplifies Northern Pinghua and some other languages not being conservative with the codas.

Table 1   Examples of conservatism of MC consonantal codas in Southern Pinghua and other languages

			EMC	S Pinghua	Sino-Zhuang	Sino-Viet	Cantonese	S Min (MC layer)
1.	十	[ten]	*dzyip* [D]	*ɬɐp²*	*ɕip³*	*tʰəp³¹ʔ*	*sɐp²*	*sip⁵*
2.	八	[eight]	*pɛt* [D]	*pat³*	*peːt²⁴*	*ɓat³⁵*	*pat³*	*pat³²*
3.	六	[six]	*ljuʷk* [D]	*lʊk²³*	*lok³*	*lŭk͡p³¹ʔ*	*lʊk²*	*liok⁵*
4.	三	[three]	*sam* [A]	*ɬam⁵³*	*ϑaːm²⁴*	*tam⁴⁴*	*sam⁵⁵*	*sam⁵⁵*
5.	千	[1,000]	*tshen* [A]	*tʃʰin⁵³*	*ɕiɛn²⁴*	*tʰiən⁴⁴*	*tsʰin⁵⁵*	*tsʰiɛn⁵⁵*
6.	零	[zero]	*leŋ* [A]	*lən²¹*	*liŋ²¹*	*lɪŋ⁴⁴*	*lɪŋ²¹*	*lɪŋ²⁴*

Table 2   Examples of non-conservatism of MC consonantal codas in Northern Pinghua and other languages

			EMC	N Pinghua	Mandarin	Shanghainese	E Min (MC layer)
7.	十	[ten]	*dzyip* [D]	*siɛ²²*	*ʂʐ̩³⁵*	*zɐʔ¹²*	*sei⁷⁴*
8.	八	[eight]	*pɛt* [D]	*puo⁵⁵*	*pa⁵⁵*	*pɐʔ⁵*	*pai⁷²³*
9.	六	[six]	*ljuʷk* [D]	*liu⁵⁵*	*liu⁵¹*	*loʔ¹²*	*ly⁷⁴*

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[79] Following Phan (2013). In more general usage, 'Sino-Vietnamese' often refers to something that laregely corresponds with what Phan refers to as Late SV. There are yet other Chinese loans, e.g. recent loans from Cantonese and Teochew, and neologisms created using Late SV pronunciation.

[80] Chinese versus Western linguistic models on syllable structure: for a Mandarin syllable like 怪 [strange], a Chinese-inspired linguist might transcribe 怪 as *kuai⁵¹*; *k-* is the 'initial' (*shengmu* 聲母), and *-uai⁵¹* is the 'final' (*yunmu* 韻母). A Western-inspired linguist might transcribe 怪 as *kwaj⁵¹*; in Western linguistics, *kw-* is the 'onset', and *-aj⁵¹* is the 'rime'. Both sets of terminologies are used here as appropriate. Other terms: the *-u-* / *-w-* is a 'medial' or 'medial glide' (*jieyin* 介音 / *yuntou* 韻頭), the *-a-* is a 'nucleus' (*yunfu* 韻腹), the *-i* / *-j* at the end is a 'coda' (*yunwei* 韻尾). Many Southern Pinghua and Yue dialects are poor in medial glides, and they are often described in a way that is reminiscent of descriptions of Kra-Dai languages where the medial glide is dealt together with the consonant in front of it, i.e. the Western onset–rime model. For instance, Cantonese is often described as having the onsets of *kʷ- kʷʰ- w- j-*, where the glide would be considered part of the final in a traditional Chinese model.

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10.	三	[three]	*sam*[A]	*suaŋ⁴³*	*san⁵⁵*	*sɛ⁵²*	*saŋ⁴⁴*
11.	千	[1,000]	*tshen*[A]	*tsʰiɛ⁴³*	*tɕʰiɛn⁵⁵*	*tɕʰi⁵²*	*tsʰieŋ⁴⁴*
12.	零	[zero]	*leŋ*[A]	*lai²²*	*liŋ³⁵*	*lɿŋ²³*	*liŋ⁵²*

EMC has the bilabial initials of *p- ph- b- m-* (traditional names: 幫滂並明). By LMC, they became labiodental *f- f- fɦ- v-* (非敷奉微) when followed immediately by *-jo, -ju,* or *-jw* (e.g. 風 [wind] EMC *pjuʷŋ*[A] > LMC *fɦjuʷŋ*[A]; cf. Cantonese *foŋ⁵⁵*, Mandarin *fəŋ⁵⁵*, vs. Sino-Korean *pʰuŋ*). However, these changes did not occur at the same time: *p- ph- b- > f- f- fɦ-* took place earlier than *m- > v-*. Pinghua is like Yue in having most instances of EMC *p- ph- b-* in those environments already turned into *f- f- fɦ-* (and later *fɦ- > f-*), but *m-* has not yet turned into *v-*. This feature in between EMC and LMC can be traced to Northern Chinese in about the ninth to tenth century CE, towards the end of the Tang Dynasty (618–907) and the Five Dynasties period (907–979).[81] Some Southern Pinghua dialects, under Mandarin influence, have slightly more cases of *m-* having turned into something like *v-, ʋ-, w-,* or *f-*. Northern Pinghua has many more such cases, due to the much stronger Mandarin influence in the region, but they have typically retained some cases of *m-*. Table 3 exemplifies languages that have retained a bilabial (e.g. *b- p-*) type of pronunciation, versus languages that have turned these into a labiodental fricative *f-* or similar. Table 4 exemplifies languages that have retained a bilabial (e.g. *m-*) type of pronunciation, versus languages that have turned these into *f- v-* or the like.

Table 3   Examples of conservation of EMC *p- b-* versus innovations

			EMC	Early Sino-Viet	S Min (pre-MC layer)	Hakka	Sino-Zhuang
13.	斧	[axe]	*pju*[B]	*ɓuə³⁵*	*pɔ⁵¹*	*pu³¹*	*fou⁵⁵*
14.	佛	[Buddha]	*bjut*[D]	*ɓut³¹ʔ*	*put⁵*	*fut⁵*	*pat³*

			EMC	S Pinghua	N Pinghua	Canto.	Late SV	S Min (MC layer)	Mand.
13.	斧	[axe]	*pju*[B]	*fu³³*	*fu²³*	*fu³⁵*	*fu³²⁴*	*hu⁵¹*	*fu²¹⁴*
14.	佛	[Buddha]	*bjut*[D]	*fɐt²*	*fu²³*	*fɐt²*	*fət³¹ʔ*	*hut⁵*	*fuo³⁵*

Table 4   Examples of conservation of EMC *m-* versus innovations

			EMC	Early Sino-Viet	S Min (MC Layer)	Cantonese	S Pinghua
15.	味	[smell/taste][82]	*mjwij*[C]	*mui²¹*	*bi⁵¹*	*mei²²*	*məi²²*
16.	萬	[10,000]	*mjwon*[C]	*muən⁴⁴*	*buan⁵¹*	*man²²*	*man²²*
17.	文	[writing]	*mjun*[A]		*bun²⁴*	*mɐn²¹*	*mɐn²¹*

	EMC	N Pinghua	Hakka	Sino-Zhuang[83]	Late Sino-Viet	Mandarin

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[81] Wang Hongjun 王洪君 (2009).

[82] In Vietnamese, *mui²¹* is 'smell', *vi³¹ʔ* is 'taste'. In the other languages, the same word means both 'smell' and 'taste'.

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15.	味 [smell/taste]	*mjwij* [C]	*mɛi²¹*	*mi⁵²*	*fai³³*	*vi³¹ˀ*	*vei⁵¹*
16.	萬 [10,000]	*mjwon* [C]	*uaŋ²¹*	*van⁵²*	*fa:n³³*	*van³¹ˀ*	*van⁵¹*
17.	文 [writing]	*mjun* [A]	*fən²¹*	*vun¹¹*	*man²¹*	*vǎn⁴⁴*	*vən³⁵*

We can infer from certain linguistic traces that Northern Pinghua was like Southern Pinghua before the Mandarinisation. The non-Sinitic languages that are in contact with Northern Pinghua have many Chinese loanwords that resemble Southern Pinghua. For example, in the Lingui 臨桂 District of Guilin (west of Guilin city centre), there is the Chadong 茶洞 language, which belongs to the Kam-Sui (*Dong-Shui* 侗水) branch of the Kra-Dai family. It has Chinese loanwords like 疊 *tjep²¹* [pile], 熱 *ɲi:t²³* [hot (weather)], and 白 *pek²¹* [white].[84] These clearly resemble Southern Pinghua, e.g. Nanning Pinghua 疊 *tip²* [pile], 熱 *ɲit²³* [hot (weather)], and 白 *pɛk²* [white]. This is not to say that Chadong borrowed them from a geographically distant Southern Pinghua variety; rather, the nearby Northern Pinghua varieties were like Southern Pinghua not too long ago. Northeast of Chadong is Wutong 五通, and the Pinghua of Wutong is one of the very few Northern Pinghua dialects that have kept some plosive codas, in the form of a glottal stop [ʔ] (i.e. historical *-p -t -k* have merged into a modern *-ʔ*): 疊 *tiʔ²²* [pile], 熱 *ɲiʔ²²* [hot], 白 *pieʔ²²* [white].[85] This represents an intermediate state of development between Southern Pinghua dialects, which have largely kept the plosive codas of *-p -t -k*, and the vast majority of Northern Pinghua dialects, which have lost all their plosive codas. For instance, to the southeast of Chadong and south of Wutong is the Pinghua of Liangjiang 兩江 (near where Guilin airport is), which is typical of Northern Pinghua dialects in not having plosive codas: 疊 *tʰi⁵⁵* [pile], 熱 *ɲi³⁵* [hot], 白 *pʰei³¹* [white].

Some west–east linguistic differences along the Southern Pinghua – Yue dialect continuum

In the preceding section, we have seen two phonological traits that are common between Southern Pinghua and Yue (there are many more commonalities), and that Northern Pinghua is Pinghua that has been Mandarinised. Below we will see some linguistic isoglosses that dissect the Southern Pinghua – Yue dialect continuum in a west–east manner. These west–east differences correlate somewhat with whether these linguistic influences came through the Hunan–Guangxi corridor in the west, or the Jiangxi–Guangdong corridor in the east.

This section is presented in the following way: an "eastern" feature and a "western" feature are summarised as a heading, and then discussions on them follow, demonstrating where the isogloss (geographical boundary of linguistic features) might lie. In most cases, the "eastern"

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[83] Zhuang here is Standard Zhuang as spoken in Wuming 武鳴 District of Nanning, where the dominant Sinitic language is Southwestern Mandarin. (Although strongly Zhuang-ised and Cantones-ised, the Mandarin of Wuming is clearly the Gui-Liu type of Mandarin (Huang Yuanwei 1997, Li Lan 李蓝 2009, 86).) Although the *f-* initial of 味 *fai³³* and 萬 *fa:n³³* (and many others) does not resemble the *m-* initial in Pinghua or Cantonese, the tone of 味 *fai³³* and 萬 *fa:n³³* (Tai lower tone B) indicates that they are MC-era Chinese loans, and not recent Mandarin loans. (If they were recent Southwestern Mandarin loans, the tone would be ²⁴, corresponding with the Gui-Liu Mandarin tone C / 'fourth tone'). The *m- > f-* sound change in Zhuang is not related to the *m- > v-* sound change in LMC (Lin Yi 林亦 2016, 133–134). Wuming Zhuang is a type of Northern Zhuang; Southern Zhuang seems to be similar in having some *f-* and some *m-* reflexes amongst EMC *m-* loanwords, e.g. in Longzhou 龍州 Zhuang, 萬 *fa:n¹¹* [10,000], 襪 *fa:t²¹* [sock] (EMC *mjwot*), but 文 *mən³³* [coin] (Li Fang-Kuei 李方桂 1940, 229/256).

[84] Li Jinfang (2008, 602).

[85] Zhou Benliang 周本良 (2005, 71-72).

feature is demonstrated first with examples from Standard Cantonese, and the "western" feature is demonstrated first with examples from Nanning Pinghua. Examples from other Pinghua (mostly Southern Pinghua) and Yue varieties are also shown. "East" and "west" are in double quotation marks because they are simply features that are more prevalent in areas towards the east and the west respectively. Some "western" features are only found in the western extreme, while some extend to quite far east; most are somewhere between these two extremes. Sometimes there are exclaves of a "western" feature in the east amongst dialects which have an "eastern" feature. The reverse of all these is also true for the "eastern" features. Occasionally, an "eastern" and a "western" feature have two separate isoglosses, with some dialects in between having both features. Whether a dialect is considered Pinghua or Yue by linguists does not predict whether they have a "western" or an "eastern" feature. There is perhaps just one isogloss that falls on the Southern Pinghua – Yue boundary as indicated in the LAC.[86] It is simply that, on average, a dialect geographically located in the west has more "western" features, and a dialect geographically located in the east have more "eastern" features.

The standard variety of Yue, Standard Cantonese, the language of Canton / Guangzhou, is spoken near the eastern end of the Yue language area. What many people think of as typical features of Yue are in fact features of Cantonese; these Cantonese features have spread westward, and have replaced the older "western" features to various degrees. (In other words, linguistic features of Standard Cantonese are not necessarily prevalent amongst Yue dialects. Some are in fact not typical of Yue dialects.) Some linguists use the terms "Old Yue" (*Lao Yue* 老粤) versus "New Yue" (*Xin Yue* 新粤) when referring to the older "western" features versus the newer Cantonese-like features from the east.[87]

In this section, the many Cantonese enclaves in the west are excluded by default; they are Yue dialects that have primarily "eastern" features, but geographically in the west (their history in the west is short, less than 150 years or so). The enclave Cantonese varieties in Guangxi are usually only mentioned if they have acquired a "western" feature. Within Southern Pinghua, when a "west" versus "east" distinction is made, the Southern Pinghua dialects geographically in northern Guangxi side with the "east" (at least amongst the features that I am aware of). Data from Sino-Vietnamese and Sino-Zhuang are also included; Sino-Zhuang sides with the "western" features, while Sino-Vietnamese have "western" or "central" features (see the next section for the "central" features).

A.   *"East": MC first vs. second division distinction commonly maintained in the vowel*
        "West": MC first vs. second division distinction rarely maintained in the vowel

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[86] Southern Pinghua dialects in southern Guangxi have a clusivity distinction in its first person plural pronouns, i.e. a distinction between a pronoun "we" which includes the addressee "you", versus a pronoun "we" which excludes "you". The neighbouring Yue dialects do not have such a distinction. With some minor exceptions, Southern Pinghua is spoken in Hengzhou 橫洲 (ex-Hengxian 橫縣), Binyang 賓陽, and further west; these Pinghua dialects have a clusivity distinction, e.g. Hengzhou Pinghua 我队 [we, excluding you] versus 齐家 / 坐众 / 凑家 [we, including you] (Bi Siming 闭思明 1999, 99), Nanning Pinghua 我隊 *ŋa¹³ tɔi²²* [we, excluding you] versus 伝隊 *wɐn²¹ tɔi²²* [we, including you]. Yue, spoken to the east and south, do not have a clusivity distinction e.g. Guigang 貴港 Yue immediately downriver from / east of Hengzhou: 侬队 *nuŋ⁵⁵ tœy²¹* [we] (Chen Xiaojin 陈晓锦 & Weng Zewen 翁泽文 2010, 373), Hepu 合浦 Yue to the south: 俺 *wɐn³⁵* [we] (Chen Xiaojin 陈晓锦 & Chen Tao 陈滔 2005, 400). Note however that Southern Pinghua dialects in northern Guangxi, and Northern Pinghua dialects, do not have a clusivity distinction (Qin Fengyu 覃凤余, Qin Dongsheng 覃东生, and Tian Chunlai 田春来 2016, 340–341).

[87] E.g. Zhang Min 張敏 (2005), Chen Weiqiang 陈卫强 & Hou Xingquan 侯兴泉 (2016).

In the LMC rime tables (the earliest ones are *Yunjing* 韻鏡 (earlierst surviving edition: 1161 CE) and *Qiyinlüe* 七音略 (before 1161)), the finals are classified into four 'divisions' (*deng* 等). (There have been many debates on what these 'divisions' actually indicate; the 'divisions' have to do with some distinction in the middle of a syllable between the initial and the coda.) We will have a look at just the first and second division finals, and only the 'open mouth' (*kaikou* 開口) finals amongst them, i.e. ones that do not involve lip-rounding. In MC, (the usual understanding is that) first division finals involve a vowel that is somewhat low and back in tongue position, while second division finals involve a vowel that is somewhat low and front in tongue position. In Baxter (1992)'s transcription of MC, open mouth first division finals have an *a* or *o* in it,[88] while open mouth second division finals have an *æ* (æ) or *ɛ* in it. Both first and second division finals lack a preceding glide *-j-* (which is a defining feature of the third division).

With open mouth finals, Sino-Vietnamese has not maintained the MC first versus second division distinction on its vowels (but see below on how the distinction is maintained by the preceding initial in some cases). Sino-Zhuang has also largely not maintained this distinction. Also in the Hunan–Guangxi Corridor, Xiang is also poor in maintaining this distinction.[89] In the Jiangxi–Guangdong Corridor, Yue has usually maintained the distinction about half of the time.[90] Yue has maintained the distinction better than Hakka, and Hakka better than Gan.[91] With Southern Pinghua, the distinction is often kept, like most Yue dialects, except from about Nanning westward, where the distinction is not well kept.

With MC *-a* (果開一) vs. *-æ* (假開二), Late Sino-Vietnamese has both pronounced as *-a*. (Sino-Korean and Sino-Japanese are mostly similar.) Sino-Zhuang sometimes makes a distinction, and sometimes not. (But Zhuang of Wuming is spoken not very far from the Nanning urban area; cases where the distinction is made could easily be Cantonese or Mandarin loans.) With Yue and Pinghua, it seems that the vast majority of them have kept this distinction, except that the more-westerly Pinghua and Yue dialects have more cases of them being pronounced alike. In the following examples, Funing Pinghua in Yunnan is the western-most Pinghua variety, and there they are consistently *-a*. The Yue of Shatian 沙田 in Hepu County is also mostly like this (with minor exceptions, e.g. 蛾 *ŋo⁵⁵* [moth]). For MC *-a*, the Pinghua in the suburb of Weizilu 位子渌 northwest of Nanning city centre has *-a* less than half of the time, and *-ɔ* more than half of the time. The Pinghua in the suburb of Tingzi 亭子 south of Nanning city centre makes a clear first versus second division distinction in its vowel. (Tingzi Pinghua is also relatively Cantones-ised, being right across from the city centre.) Binyang Pinghua to the east, Hepu Yue to the south on the coast, Rongshui Pinghua in far northern Guangxi, and Cantonese also make a clear first versus second division distinction.

Table 5   Examples of maintenance vs. non-maintenance of the MC {*-a*} vs. {*-æ*} distinction on the vowel

	EMC	Late SV	Funing Pinghua	Hepu Shatian Yue	Sino-Zhuang	Nanning Ping (Weizilu)

[88] The *o* in Baxter's transcription was perhaps not rounded (i.e. has no lip-rounding) in MC; perhaps something like [ʌ].
[89] Chen Hui 陈晖 (2006, 112–126).
[90] The following MC first/second division distinctions are generally kept in Yue: {*-a*} vs. {*-æ*}; {*-aj -oj*} vs. {*-æj -ɛj -ɛ*}; {*-aw*} vs. {*-æw*}; {*-am -om*} vs. {*-æm -ɛm*} with velar initials; {*-an*} vs. {*-æn -ɛn*} with velar initials.
[91] See, e.g., Xie Liuwen 谢留文 (2003, 39–46) for Hakka, Sun Yizhi 孙宜志 (2007, 156–157) for Gan.

		EMC					
18.	鑼 [gong]	*la*^{A}	*la*⁴⁴	*la*³¹	*la*⁵⁵	*la*²¹	*la*²¹
19.	羅 [net]	*la*^{A}	*la*⁴⁴	*la*³¹	*la*⁵⁵	*la*²¹ *lo*²¹	*lɔ*²¹
20.	我 [I]	*ŋa*^{B}	*ŋa*³ʔ⁵	*ŋa*²¹	*ŋa*¹¹		*ŋa*¹³
21.	鵝 [goose]	*ŋa*^{A}	*ŋa*⁴⁴	*ŋa*³¹	*ŋa*⁵⁵	*ŋo*²¹	*ŋɔ*²¹
22.	茶 [tea]	*dræ*^{A}	*ca*²¹	*tsa*³¹	*tsʰa*⁵⁵	*ɕa*²¹	*tʃa*²¹
23.	家 [home]	*kæ*^{A}	*za*⁴⁴	*ka*⁴⁴	*ka*²¹³	*kia*²⁴	*ka*⁵³

		EMC	Nanning Ping (Tingzi)	Binyang Pinghua	Hepu Yue	Rongshui Pinghua	Cantonese
18.	鑼 [gong]	*la*^{A}	*lɔ*²¹	*lœ*²¹³	*lo*⁴⁴	*lɔ*²¹	*lɔ*²¹
19.	羅 [net]	*la*^{A}	*lɔ*²¹	*lœ*²¹³	*lo*⁴⁴	*lɔ*²¹	*lɔ*²¹
20.	我 [I]	*ŋa*^{B}	*ŋɔ*¹³	*ŋœ*²²	*ŋo*³⁵	*ŋu*⁴⁵	*ŋɔ*¹³
21.	鵝 [goose]	*ŋa*^{A}	*ŋɔ*²¹	*ŋœ*²¹³	*ŋo*⁴⁴	*ŋɔ*²¹	*ŋɔ*²¹
22.	茶 [tea]	*dræ*^{A}	*tɕa*²¹	*tʃa*²¹³	*tsʰa*⁴⁴	*tʃia*²¹	*tsʰa*²¹
23.	家 [home]	*kæ*^{A}	*ka*⁴¹	*tʃa*³⁵	*ka*⁴⁵	*ka*⁵²	*ka*⁵⁵

With MC *-aj -oj* (蟹開一) vs. *-æj -ɛj -ɛ* (蟹開二), and *-aw* (效開一) vs. *-æw* (效開二), the isoglosses lie further to the east. The first versus second division distinction is not maintained in the vowel with Late Sino-Vietnamese, Sino-Zhuang, Hepu Shatian Yue, and Nanning Pinghua. In Binyang Pinghua, Guigang Yue and Hepu Yue, the distinction is kept when the MC initial is velar (e.g. *k-*); with other initials, the situation varies. The distinction is well kept in most other Pinghua and Yue dialects to the east (but see the end of this sub-section). Another phenomenon demonstrated in this table is the fronting of the *k-* onset by the MC second division vowel: MC *k-* becomes *z-* in Sino-Vietnamese, *ki-* (*kj-*) in Sino-Zhuang, and *ts- / tʃ-* in Binyang Pinghua.[92] Thus, in Late Sino-Vietnamese and Sino-Zhuang, although the first versus second division distinction is not kept by the vowel, the distinction is kept by a difference in the initial.

Table 6   Examples of maintenance vs. non-maintenance of the MC {*-aj -oj*} vs. {*-æj -ɛj -ɛ*}, and {*-aw*} vs. {*-æw*} distinction on the vowel

		EMC	Late SV	Sino-Zhuang	Hepu Shatian Yue	Nanning Pinghua
24.	該 [should]	*koj*^{A}	*kaj*⁴⁴	*kaːi*²⁴	*kai*²¹³	*kai*⁵³
25.	高 [high]	*kaw*^{A}	*kaw*⁴⁴	*kaːu*²⁴	*kau*²¹³	*kau*⁵³
26.	再 [again]	*tsoj*^{C}	*taj*³⁵	*ɕaːi*³⁵	*tsai*¹¹	*tʃai*⁵⁵
27.	寶 [precious]	*paw*^{B}	*paw*³²⁴	*paːu*⁵⁵	*pau*¹¹	*pau*³³
28.	階 [stair]	*kɛj*^{A}	*zaj*⁴⁴		*kai*²¹³	*kai*⁵³
29.	交 [cross]	*kæw*^{A}	*zaw*⁴⁴	*kiaːu*²⁴	*kau*²¹³	*kau*⁵³
30.	債 [debt]	*tsrɛ*^{C}	*cai*³⁵	*ɕaːi*³⁵	*tsai*¹¹	*tʃai*⁵⁵
31.	飽 [full]	*pæw*^{B}	*paw*³ʔ⁵		*pau*¹¹	*pau*³³

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[92] See also footnote 135.

			EMC	Binyang Luxu Pinghua	Binyang Xinqiao Pinghua	Guigang Nanjiang Yue	Hepu Yue	Rongshui Pinghua	Canto.
24.	該	[should]	*koj* [A]	*kø³⁴*	*kæ³⁵*	*kui⁴⁴*	*kui⁴⁵*	*kɐi⁵²*	*kɔi⁵⁵*
25.	高	[high]	*kaw* [A]	*kɛu³⁴*	*kœu³⁵*	*kɐu⁴⁴*	*kɐu⁴⁵*	*ku⁵²*	*kou⁵⁵*
26.	再	[again]	*tsoj* [C]	*tsai⁵⁵*	*tʃai³⁵*	*tʃɔi⁵²*	*tsui⁴⁴*	*tʃɐi⁴⁵*	*tsɔi³³*
27.	寶	[precious]	*paw* [B]	*pɛu³³*	*pœ³³*	*pɐu³⁴*	*pau³⁵*	*pou⁵⁵*	*pou³⁵*
28.	階	[stair]	*kɛj* [A]	*tsai⁵⁵*	*tʃai³⁵*	*kɔi⁴⁴*	*kai⁴⁵*	*kai⁵²*	*kai⁵⁵*
29.	交	[cross]	*kæw* [A]	*tsau³⁴*	*tʃau³⁵*	*kiɛu⁴⁴*	*kau⁴⁵*	*kau⁵²*	*kau⁵⁵*
30.	債	[debt]	*tsrɛ* [C]	*tsai⁵⁵*	*tʃai⁵⁵*	*tʃɔi⁵²*	*tsai⁴⁴*	*tʃai⁴⁵*	*tsai³³*
31.	飽	[full]	*pæw* [B]	*pɛu³³*	*pœu³³*	*piɛu³⁴*	*pau³⁵*	*pau⁵⁵*	*pau³⁵*

With MC *-am -om* (咸開一) vs. *-æm -ɛm* (咸開二), and *-an* (山開一) vs. *-æn -ɛn* (山開二), the first versus second division distinction is universally (?) lost when the initial is non-velar in Pinghua and Yue dialects, and hence only velar (e.g. *k- ŋ-*) examples are shown here. (The distinction is also lost with all finals ending in *-ŋ.*) Other than this caveat, the situation in this table is similar to the preceding table, with Late Sino-Vietnamese, Sino-Zhuang, Hepu Shatian Yue, and Nanning Pinghua not maintaining the distinction in their vowels, Binyang Xinqiao Pinghua being mixed, and the other Pinghua and Yue dialects maintaining this distinction when the initial is velar. Here, the fronting of *ŋ-* by the MC second division vowel is also shown: in Late Sino-Vietnamese, Binyang Pinghua, and also in Nanning Pinghua (but not Sino-Zhuang), MC *ŋ-* is fronted to *ɲ-* by the second division vowel.[93] Thus, in Late Sino-Vietnamese and Nanning Pinghua, although the distinction is not kept by the vowel, the distinction is kept by the *ŋ-* vs. *ɲ-* initials.

Table 7 Examples of maintenance vs. non-maintenance of the MC {*-am -om*} vs. {*-æm -ɛm*}, and {*-an*} vs. {*-æn -ɛn*} distinction on the vowel

			EMC	Late SV	Sino-Zhuang	Hepu Shatian Yue	Nanning Pinghua	Binyang Xinqiao Pinghua
32.	柑	[tangerine]	*kam* [A]	*kam⁴⁴*	*kaːm²⁴*	*kam²¹³*	*kam⁵³*	*kam³⁵*
33.	岸	[shore]	*ŋan* [C]	*ŋan³¹ʔ*		*ŋan⁵⁵*	*ŋan²²*	*ŋœn⁵²*
34.	監	[control]	*kæm* [A]	*zam⁴⁴*	*kaːm²⁴*	*kam²¹³*	*kam⁵³*	*tʃam³⁵*
35.	眼	[eye]	*ŋɛn* [B]	*ɲan³⁷⁵*	*ŋaːn⁴²*	*ŋan¹¹*	*ɲan¹³*	*ɲan²²*

			EMC	Binyang Luxu Pinghua	Hepu Yue	Guigang Nanjiang Yue	Rongshui Pinghua	Cantonese
32.	柑	[tangerine]	*kam* [A]	*køm³⁴*	*kɐm⁴⁵*	*køm⁴⁴*	*kum⁵²*	*kɐm⁵⁵*
33.	岸	[shore]	*ŋan* [C]	*ŋøn⁴²*	*ŋun²¹*	*hon²¹*	*ŋon²⁴*	*ŋɔn²²*

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[93] See also footnote 135.

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34.	監 [control]	*kæm ^A*	*tʃam³⁴*	*kan⁴⁵*	*kɔm⁴⁴*	*kam⁵²*	*kam⁵⁵*
35.	眼 [eye]	*ŋɛn ^B*	*ɲan²²*	*ŋan³⁵*	*ŋɔn²³*	*ŋan⁴⁵*	*ŋan¹³*

It is worth noting that this first versus second division distinction is not a simple "east-vs.-west" feature. There are also some (but not many) Yue dialects in the east where this distinction is often not made, e.g. in Taishan 台山, both 高 'high' and 交 'cross' (MC *kaw^A* vs. *kæw^A*) are *kau³³*; in Qingyuan 清遠, both are *kau⁵⁵* (Qingyuan Cantonese is otherwise not very different from Standard Cantonese).

B.   *"East": tone D is split by vowel length*
         "West": lower tone D is split by sonority of the MC initial

MC has four tones: A, B, C, and D. Syllables that end in a sonorant (vowel, glide *-j -w*, nasal *-m -n -ŋ*) can have tone A, B, or C, while syllables that end in an obstruent (*-p -t -k*) have tone D. (An over-simplified account is that:) Sometime later, as the voicing distinction of the obstruent initials (e.g. *p-* vs. *b-*, *ts-* vs. *dz-*) was lost, each of the tones split into two in many Sinitic languages. For instance, in MC, 相 *sjaŋ^A* [each other] and 詳 *zjaŋ^A* [detailed] are both in tone A; as the *s-* (voiceless) vs. *z-* (voiced) distinction was lost, the distinction was compensated by the tones developing two variants, e.g. Mandarin 相 *ɕjaŋ⁵⁵* [each other] and 詳 *ɕjaŋ³⁵* [detailed] ('tone 1' and 'tone 2' in Mandarin). There are various nomenclatures for the two sets of tones; here they are called 'upper' versus 'lower', with 'upper' associated with the historical voiceless initials (e.g. *p-*, *ts-*, *s-*), and 'lower' associated with the historical voiced initials (e.g. *b-*, *dz-*, *z-*).

Instead of just two tone D's, Southern Pinghua shares with Yue the prominent trait of having three or more tone D's.[94] This entails that there is yet another factor that split tone D further. Along the Southern Pinghua – Yue dialect continuum, the two ends have different behaviours, and there is also an overlapping zone, which lies more to the west. We shall begin with Cantonese in the east.

In Cantonese, upper tone D is further split by vowel length in the modern language.[95] (Cantonese short vowels correspond with MC vowels that are on average higher in tongue height, and Cantonese long vowels with MC vowels that are on average lower in tongue height.)[96] For example, MC 濕 *syip* [wet] and 霎 *srɛp* [instant] both have voiceless initials (*sy- sr-*), but in Cantonese they have two different tones: 濕 *sɐp⁵* [wet] and 霎 *sap³* [instant], because *sɐp⁵* has a short vowel, and *sap³* has a long vowel. (On the other hand, the lower tone D is not split futher: MC

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[94] There are a few exceptional Pinghua and Yue dialects with only two tone D's, e.g. Pinghua of Rongshui 融水 in northern Guangxi (Xie Jianyou 谢建猷 2007, 245), Yue of Zhongshan 中山 in the Pearl River Delta (Zhan Bohui 詹伯慧 et al. 2002, 294). Even the Yue dialect with the least number of tonemes, Hepu Shatian 合浦沙田 Yue, which has three tonemes, has three tone D's (Chen Xiaojin 陈晓锦 & Chen Tao 陈滔 2005, 79).

[95] In this article, the vowel length contrast in Cantonese has not been overtly indicated by length symbols like [ˇ] (short) or [ː] (long). Nonetheless, vowel length in Cantonese is enhanced by a difference in vowel quality: the long vowels are *a i ɛ u ɔ œ*, and the short vowels are *ɐ ɪ~e ʊ~o ɵ*. (The long vowel *y* has no short counterpart.)

[96] Cantonese syllables have short vowels when the MC syllables belong to rime groups that have a coda but no second division rimes, with complications in the 蟹 *ɣɛ^B* and 梗 *kæŋ^B* rime groups. The following MC rime groups have short vowels in Cantonese: 流 *ljuw^A*, 深 *syim^A*, 臻 *tsrin^A*, 曾 *tsoŋ^A*, 通 *thuʷŋ^A*, and parts of 蟹 *ɣɛ^B* and 梗 *kæŋ^B*. The nineteenth century breaking of *i > ej*, *u > ow*, and *y > ɵɥ* in Standard Cantonese also created more short vowels.

十 *dzyip* [ten] and 焓 *ɣɐp* [boil], Cantonese 十 *sɐp²* [ten] and 焓 *sap²* [boil].)[97] The other Yue dialects may or may not be as neat as Cantonese in having a clear vowel length distinction, but they also divide their vowels into two sets somehow, and the two sets of vowels split the upper and/or lower tone D's in the same way, making three or four tone D's.

The splitting of tone D based on vowel length in Yue (and some Pinghua dialects) is unknown in other Sinitic languages. Splitting tone D based on vowel length is a common features amongst the Tai and Kam-Sui languages in the Kra-Dai language family. This trait in Yue (and some Pinghua dialects) is a substrate influence from these languages. As an illustration from Tai languages, Standard Northern Zhuang also has two upper tone D's (short [5] and long [35]), and one lower tone D [3], e.g. *pak⁵* [stab], *pa:k³⁵* [mouth], *pak³* [tired], *pa:k³* [hack]. Thai has one upper tone D [21], and two lower tone D's (short [45] and long [51]), e.g. ผัก *pʰak²¹* [vegetable], ผาก *pʰa:k²¹* [forehead], พัก *pʰak⁴⁵* [rest], พากย์ *pʰa:k⁵¹* [voiceover].

The splitting of tone D based on vowel length is also found in the more easterly Southern Pinghua dialects. For instance, Pinghua of Sanjiang 三江 (Liujia dialect 六甲話) in far northern Guangxi / upriver from Liuzhou has four tone D's: short upper D [55], long upper D [44], short lower D [13], long lower D [21];[98] Pinghua of Baihe 百合 in Hengzhou 橫州 (ex-Hengxian 橫縣) east of / downriver from Nanning also has four tone D's: short upper D [4], long upper D [3], short lower D [2], long lower D [42].[99]

On the other hand, Pinghua dialects in and west of / upriver from Nanning have a different pattern. Their lower tone D is split by whether the initial is sonorant or obstruent in MC. (The upper tone D is not split further.) For instance, in MC, 域 *ɣwik* [area] has a voiced sonorant initial *ɣ-*,[100] and 活 *ɣwat* [live] has a voiced obstruent initial *ɣ-*. Both have voiced initials, but Nanning Pinghua has two different lower tone D's: 域 *wɐt²³* [area], 活 *wɐt²* [live]. (Both contrast with the upper tone D: 屈 MC *khjut* > Nanning Pinghua *wɐt³* [bend].)[101]

Close to Nanning are some Pinghua varieties where both factors play a part in the splitting of tone D, therefore representing an overlapping zone of the two features. In the Pinghua of Sitang 四塘 in Xingning 興寧 District (24 km northeast of Nanning city centre), the upper tone D is split into [55] for short vowels and [33] for long vowels, same as in Cantonese, while the lower tone D is split into [24] for MC sonorant initials, and [22] for MC obstruent initials, similar to other Nanning Pinghua varieties.[102] In the Pinghua of 'Macun 馬村 in Yongning 邕寧 County', they have five tone D's: short upper D [5], long upper D [35], short lower D [32], and two long lower D's: sonorant initial [33], and obstruent initial [54].[103]

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[97] However, through irregularities, e.g. borrowings and ideophones, the three tone D's contrast with each other, e.g. 截 *tsit²* [section], 節 *tsit³* [festival], *tsit⁵* [tickle] or [squeeze s.t. out through a small hole].

[98] Wei Caizhen 韦彩珍 & Zhou Benliang 周本良 (2006).

[99] Huang Haiyao 黄海瑶 (2008).

[100] The LMC initial *y-* (喻). In EMC, the syllable 域 has the *ɣy-* (云) initial. However, no Pinghua and Yue dialect makes a distinction between the EMC *ɣy-* (云) and *y-* (以) initials, which later merged into the LMC *y-* (喻) initial.

[101] There is yet another tone D [5]. However, very few words / syllables have this tone, and most are borrowings or ideophones. One example is the Cantonese borrowing 粒 *nɐp⁵* (the classifier for small round objects).

[102] Lin Yi 林亦 & Yu Jin 余瑾 (2009, 258). In addition, there is yet another tone D [35], but very few syllables have this tone. These words 可能都是外来词 [are probably all borrowings].

[103] Bi Kechao 闭克朝 (1985). The exact location of this 'Macun 馬村 in Yongning 邕寧 County' is not entirely clear to me at this point. The historical Yongning County covered large parts of which are now the six central districts of Nanning.

C.   *In the Pearl River Basin:*
   "East": MC voiced plosive and affricate initials become voiceless aspirated in tones AB, and
       voiceless unaspirated in tones CD
   "West": MC voiced plosive and affricate initials become voiceless unaspirated

In EMC, (except for the glottal stop [ʔ-]) there are three series of plosive and affricate initials: voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated, and voiced. The following are the EMC plosive and affricate initials in Baxter's notation.

Table 8   Plosive and affricate initials in EMC (Baxter (1992)'s notation)

voiceless unaspirated	p-	t-	tr-	ts-	tsr-	tsy-	k-	ʔ-
voiceless aspirated	ph-	th-	trh-	tsh-	tsrh-	tsyh-	kh-	
voiced	b-	d-	dr-	dz-	dzr-	dzy-	g-	

In most Sinitic languages, the voiced plosive and affricate initials became voiceless. Whether they become voiceless aspirated or voiceless unaspirated varies. In the Hunan–Guangxi corridor, Xiang dialects have either retained the voiced initials (e.g. Quanzhou 全州 in Guangxi), or they have become voiceless unaspirated (e.g. Changsha 長沙, the capital of Hunan), or somewhere in between (i.e. some voiced initials kept, some became voiceless unaspirated).[104] Sino-Vietnamese is also voiceless unaspirated. (Except that in Vietnamese there is a later sound change that changed *p- t-* to implosives *ɓ- ɗ-*.)[105] Sino-Zhuang examples are not given below. Northern Zhuang, which Standard Zhuang is based on, has no aspirated initials, i.e. they are always unaspirated anyway. As for Southern Zhuang, Southern Zhuang has both aspirated and unaspirated initials, but similar to the other languages in the Hunan–Guangxi corridor, the Chinese loanwords with voiced initials in Middle Chinese are most usually voiceless unaspirated.[106] On the other hand, in the Jiangxi–Guangdong corridor to the east, Gan and Hakka are mostly voiceless aspirated.

Table 9   Development of MC voiced plosive initials in Xiang, Sino-Vietnamese, Hakka, and Gan

		EMC	Changsha Xiang	Quanzhou Xiang	Late Sino-Viet	Hakka	Nanchang Gan
36.	平 [flat]	*bjæŋ* ^{A}	*pin¹³*	*biŋ²³*	*ɓiŋ²¹*	*pʰin¹¹*	*pʰiaŋ²⁴*
37.	田 [field]	*den* ^{A}	*tiẽ¹³*	*diɛ̃²³*	*diən²¹*	*tʰiɛn¹¹*	*tʰiɛn²⁴*
38.	狂 [mad]	*gjwaŋ* ^{A}	*kuan¹³*	*guãŋ²³*	*kuəŋ²¹*	*kʰɔŋ¹¹*	*kʰuɔŋ²⁴*
39.	被 [cover]	*bje* ^{B}	*pei²¹*	*bi³⁵*	*ɓi³¹ʔ*	*pʰi⁴⁴*	*pʰi²¹*
40.	淡 [bland]	*dam* ^{B}	*tan²¹*	*daŋ³⁵*	*dam³¹ʔ*	*tʰam⁴⁴*	*tʰan²¹*
41.	艇 [dugout]	*deng* ^{B}	*tʰin⁴¹*	*tʰiŋ⁵⁵*	*diŋ³ʔ⁵*	*tʰin³¹*	*tʰin²¹³*

[104] Although there is a high percentage of them becoming voiceless aspirated in tone D in most Xiang dialects (Chen Hui 陈晖 2006, 25–48). Voicing of the obstruent initials tends to be lost with tone D syllables first, and tone A last.
[105] Phan (2013, 318). See also the following section.
[106] For instance, Longzhou 龍州 Zhuang (Li Fang-Kuei 李方桂 1940, 26).

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42.	近 [near]	*gjin* ᴮ	*tɕin²¹*	*dziŋ³⁵*	*kən³¹ʔ*	*kʰiun⁴⁴*	*tɕʰin²¹*
43.	病 [sick]	*bjæŋ* ᶜ	*pin²¹*	*biŋ³⁵*	*ɓiŋ³¹ʔ*	*pʰiaŋ⁵²*	*pʰiaŋ²¹*
44.	電 [electric]	*den* ᶜ	*tiẽ⁴⁵*	*diẽ³⁵*	*diən³¹ʔ*	*tʰiɛn⁵²*	*tʰiɛn²¹*
45.	白 [white]	*bæk* ᴰ	*pɤ²⁴*	*bə²³*	*ɓajk³¹ʔ*	*pʰak⁵*	*pʰak²¹*
46.	達 [reach]	*dat* ᴰ	*ta²⁴*	*da²³*	*dat³¹ʔ*	*tʰat⁵*	*tʰat²¹*
47.	及 [reach]	*gip* ᴰ	*tɕi²⁴*	*tɕʐ̩³³*	*ɣăp³¹ʔ*	*kʰip⁵*	*tɕʰit²¹*

With Southern Pinghua and Yue, two axes need to be distinguished: the Pearl River Basin, and the coast and hinterlands to the south (i.e. the little river basins between the Pearl and the Red Rivers). In the Pearl River Basin, in the west, it is like the general trend along the Hunan–Guangxi corridor: voiced plosive and affricate initials became voiceless unaspirated. This covers Southern Pinghua and most of Goulou Yue (i.e. this isogloss reaches quite far east, e.g. Guangning 廣寧 in the examples below is only about 130km away from Guangzhou). In the east, it is like a mix of the patterns found in the Hunan–Guangxi and Jiangxi–Guangdong Corridors: they are aspirated in tones AB, and unaspirated in tones CD. This covers Guangfu Yue (as per LAC), a large part of which is Cantonese. This mixed pattern in Guangfu Yue is attributed to the wave of Northern Chinese migrants who arrived in Guangdong via Jiangxi during the latter years of the Song Dynasty (960–1279).[107] This twelfth/thirteenth century Northern Chinese is Early Mandarin; most Mandarin dialects also have a similar mixed pattern of aspirated in tone A vs. unaspirated in tones CD.[108]

Table 10 Development of MC voiced plosive initials in Pinghua and Yue dialects in the Pearl River Basin

		EMC	Nanning Pinghua	Rongshui Pinghua	Mengshan Yue	Guangning Yue	Cantonese
48.	平 [flat]	*bjæŋ* ᴬ	*pən²¹*	*pɐŋ²¹*	*piŋ²¹*	*piɐŋ²¹*	*pʰɐŋ²¹*
49.	田 [field]	*den* ᴬ	*tin²¹*	*tin²¹*	*tin²¹*	*ten²¹*	*tʰin²¹*
50.	狂 [mad]	*gjwaŋ* ᴬ	*kʷaŋ²¹*	*kuŋ²¹*	*kuəŋ²¹*	*kuɔŋ²¹*	*kʷʰɔŋ²¹*
51.	被 [cover]	*bje* ᴮ	*pai¹³*		*pi³⁵*	*pɐi²¹⁴*	*pʰei¹³*
52.	淡 [bland]	*dam* ᴮ	*tam¹³*	*tam²⁴*	*tam³⁵*	*tam²¹⁴*	*tʰam¹³*
53.	艇 [dugout]	*deng* ᴮ	*tʰɛŋ¹³*	*tʰɛŋ⁵⁵*	*tiŋ³⁵*	*tiɐŋ²¹⁴*	*tʰɛŋ¹³*
54.	近 [near]	*gjin* ᴮ	*kɐn¹³*	*kɛn²⁴*	*kɛn³⁵*	*kɐn²¹⁴*	*kʰɐn¹³*
55.	病 [sick]	*bjæŋ* ᶜ	*pən²²*	*pɐŋ²⁴*	*piŋ²¹⁴*	*piɐŋ²¹⁴*	*pɛŋ²²*
56.	電 [electric]	*den* ᶜ	*tin²²*	*tin²⁴*	*tin²¹⁴*	*ten²¹⁴*	*tin²²*

[107] Lau Chun-Fat 刘镇发 (2001).
[108] In Mandarin, all MC tone B syllables (Mandarin 'third tone') with voiced obstruent initials became tone C (Mandarin 'fourth tone'; with minor exceptions like 艇 *tʰiŋ²¹⁴* [small boat] which are still in the 'third tone'). This shift to tone C also occurres in Pinghua and Yue dialects, but a significant number of such syllables has remained in tone B. Which syllables remained on Tone B and which shifted to tone C do not quite match across the various Pinghua and Yue dialects; usually, more-commonly used words are more likely to remain in tone B, while less-commonly used words are more likely to shift to tone C. In Cantonese and other Yue dialects with a tone AB vs. CD split, the MC tone B syllables that shifted to tone C also have unaspirated initials.

57.	白 [white]	*bæk* [D]	*pɛk²*	*pɛk³⁵*	*piak²²*	*pak²¹⁴*	*pak²*
58.	達 [reach]	*dat* [D]	*tat²*	*tat³⁵*	*tat²²*	*tat²¹⁴*	*tat²*
59.	及 [reach]	*gip* [D]	*kɐp²*	*kiɐp³⁵*	*tʃɐp⁵⁵*	*kɐp²²*	*kʰɐp²*

The "western" unaspirated pattern is older, and remnants of it are found even in the Pearl River Delta (and there is no evidence that these Yue dialects have received influences from Goulou Yue). For instance, in Shunde 順德, about 50km south of Guangzhou, they have the Cantonese pattern, except that some commonly used words have kept the older unaspirated pattern: e.g. in tone A 婆 *pɔ⁴²* [old woman], 茶 *tsa⁴²* [tea], 甜 *tim⁴²* [sweet], and in tone B 淡 *tam¹³* [bland],[109] cf. Standard Cantonese 婆 *pʰɔ²¹* [old woman], 茶 *tsʰa²¹* [tea], 甜 *tʰim²¹* [sweet], and tone B 淡 *tʰam¹³* [bland] (MC 婆 *bwa* [A], 茶 *dræ* [A], 甜 *dem* [A], 淡 *dam* [B]).

Along the Guangxi–Guangdong coastal area and hinterlands, the "western" pattern is voiceless aspirated, and the "eastern" pattern is the Cantonese pattern of aspirated in tones AB, and unaspirated in tones CD. The "eastern" pattern stretches quite far west along this axis, up until the Wuhua 吳化 type of Yue in far western Guangdong, and the Qinlian 欽廉 type of Yue in Southern Guangxi, which have the "western" aspirated pattern.[110] (Enclave Cantonese varieties in the west like the Cantonese in Beihai 北海 and Qinzhou 欽州 city centres have the "eastern" pattern.)[111] It is unclear whether the western aspirated pattern is an early influence from Jiangxi, later influence from Hakka migrants, and/or a local innovation.

Table 11 Development of MC voiced plosive initials in Yue dialects not in the Pearl River Basin plus Cantonese

		EMC	Hepu Yue	Hepu Shatian Yue	Beihai Canto.	Yangjiang Yue	Taishan Yue	Canto.
60.	平 [flat]	*bjæŋ* [A]	*pʰɐŋ⁴⁴*	*pʰɛŋ⁵⁵*	*pʰiŋ²¹*	*pʰɪŋ⁴³*	*pʰen²²*	*pʰeŋ²¹*
61.	田 [field]	*den* [A]	*tʰin⁴⁴*	*tʰin⁵⁵*	*tʰin²¹*	*tʰin⁴³*	*hen²²*	*tʰin²¹*
62.	狂 [mad]	*gjwaŋ* [A]	*kwʰoŋ⁴⁴*	*kʰuŋ⁵⁵*	*kʰɔŋ²¹*	*kʰɔŋ⁴³*	*kʰɔŋ²²*	*kʷʰɔŋ²¹*
63.	近 [near]	*gjin* [B]	*kʰɐn²¹*	*kʰɐn⁵⁵*	*kʰɐn¹³*	*kʰɐn²¹*	*kin³¹*	*kʰɐn¹³*
64.	艇 [dugout]	*deng* [B]	*tʰɛŋ³⁵*	*tʰɛŋ¹¹*	*tʰɛŋ¹³*	*tʰiɛŋ²¹*	*pʰiaŋ²¹*	*tʰɛŋ¹³*
65.	淡 [bland]	*dam* [B]	*tʰan²¹*	*tʰam⁵⁵*	*tʰam¹³*	*tʰam²¹*	*am²¹*	*tʰam¹³*
66.	被 [cover]	*bje* [B]	*pʰi²¹*	*pʰɐi⁵⁵*	*pʰei¹³*	*pʰei²¹*	*pʰi²¹*	*pʰei¹³*
67.	電 [electric]	*den* [C]	*tʰin²¹*	*tʰin⁵⁵*	*tin²²*	*tin⁵⁴*	*en³¹*	*tin²²*
68.	病 [sick]	*bjæŋ* [C]	*pʰɛŋ²¹*	*pʰɛŋ⁵⁵*	*pɛŋ²²*	*pɪŋ⁵⁴*	*piaŋ³¹*	*pɛŋ²²*
69.	白 [white]	*bæk* [D]	*pʰɛk²¹*	*pʰɛt³¹*	*pak²*	*pak⁵⁴*	*pak²¹*	*pak²*

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[109] Chen Weiqiang 陈卫强 & Hou Xingquan 侯兴泉 (2016).

[110] As for this western coastal aspirated pattern, it is unclear to me whether this is related to the migration from or through Jiangxi in the middle ages, and/or the more recent Hakka migrants (there are huge Hakka enclaves in western Guangdong and southern Guangxi), or whether this is an unrelated independent development.

[111] Xie Jianyou 谢建猷 (2007).

70.	達 [reach]	*dat* ^{D}	*tʰaʔ²¹*	*tʰat³¹*	*tat²*	*tat⁵⁴*	*at²¹*	*tat²*
71.	及 [reach]	*gip* ^{D}	*kʰɐp²¹*	*kɐp²¹³*	*kɐp²*	*kiɛp⁵⁴*	*kiap²¹*	*kʰɐp²*

D.   Vocabulary difference

There are vocabulary differences amongst the Pinghua and Yue dialects; most of the time there are no simple east-vs.-west isoglosses for these vocabulary items. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that, most vocabulary items that are often thought of as 'typical of Yue' are actually Cantonese words that have spread various distances from the Pearl River Delta westward and replaced earlier words used in the west. In other words, most of these 'typically Yue' words are not universal amongst Yue dialects. Roughly speaking, the further west one goes, the less often one encounter these eastern words. Only a few examples are demonstrated here.

The Cantonese word for 'read' (e.g. book) / 'watch' (e.g. TV) is 睇 *tʰɐi³⁵* (MC *tʰej^A*). This word is near universal amongst Yue dialects,[112] e.g. in eastern Guangxi, Yulin *tʰai³³*, Guigang *tʰɔi³⁵*. However, in Yue dialects further west and in Pinghua, the cognate of Mandarin 看 *kʰan⁵¹* (MC *khan^C*) is used: Hepu Yue 看 *hun⁴⁴*, Nanning Pinghua 看 *han³⁵*.

The copula 係 (MC *kej^C*) [to be] is often considered emblematic of Yue and Hakka,[113] e.g. Cantonese *hɐi²²*, Hakka *hɛ⁵²*. All the other Sinitic languages use 是 (MC *dzye^B*), e.g. Mandarin *ʂʐ̩⁵¹*, Shanghainese *zʐ̩²³*. Nonetheless, upon closer inspection, not all Yue dialects use 係; with an isogloss running slightly to the west of the Guangxi–Guangdong border,[114] Yue dialects to the west of this isogloss use 是, e.g. Yulin *si²⁴*, Guigang *sei²¹*, Hepu *si²¹*. All Pinghua dialects use 是, e.g. Nanning *ɬi²²*, Lingui Wutong *ɕi¹²*.

At about the same location is another isogloss for two different pronunciations of the word 鼻 [nose].[115] The *Qieyun* only records a tone C version *bjij^C*. To the east of this isogloss, the tone C version is used, e.g. Cantonese *pei²²*, Bobai 博白 Yue (in far eastern Guangxi) *pʰɐi²¹*; to the west is a tone D version, i.e. ending in a plosive in MC, e.g., Guigang Yue *pat²¹³* / *pat²¹ si²¹* [nose], Hepu Yue *pʰɐt²¹* / *pʰɐt²¹ lɐŋ⁴⁴* [nose]. The Yulin Yue word for 'nose' combines both versions: 鼻鼻(公) *pat¹¹ pi¹¹ (kɔŋ⁵⁵)*. However, in noun compounds, the tone D version, which is more common in Guangxi, is used, e.g. 鼻涕 *pat¹¹ tʰai⁵²* [nasal mucus]. The tone D version is universal amongst the Pinghua dialects, e.g. Nanning 鼻子 *pɐt² tɬi³³* [nose], Lingui Wutong 鼻 *peʔ²²* [nose].[116]

Cantonese uses the word 食 *sek²* (MC *zyik*) for 'eat'. Some examples of other Yue dialects using 食 for 'eat' are Dongguan 東莞 *sək²²* (immediately east of Guangzhou), and Lianjiang 廉江 *sek¹¹* (southwestern Guangdong). The use of 食 is often regarded as typical of Yue, as opposed to the use of 吃 *tʂʰʐ̩⁵⁵* (MC *khek*) in Mandarin. Nonetheless, actually more than half of the Yue-speaking area uses 吃/喫 (MC *khek*).[117] (The characters 吃/喫 are varients of each other.) Even Taishan 台山, only about 130 km southwest of Guangzhou, uses 喫 *hiak³³* for 'eat'. Examples of 吃/

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[112] Cao Zhiyun 曹志耘 et al. (2008, map Lexicon 121).

[113] For instance, in the text for map B8 in LAC-1, in arguing for the seperation of Hakka and Gan, all Hakka dialects are said to use 係, and 'it seems' that all Yue dialects also use 係. (Gan, in contrast, uses 是.)

[114] Cao Zhiyun 曹志耘 et al. (2008, map Grammar 038).

[115] Cao Zhiyun 曹志耘 et al. (2008, map Phonetics 037). Mandarin 鼻 *pi³⁵* is a reflex of the tone D version.

[116] A fossilised version of the tone D 'nose' also exists in Cantonese: *tsœŋ²² pɐt² pʰɔŋ¹³* [geoduck], commonly written with the characters 象拔蚌 [elephant pull-out clam]. However, *pɐt²* is actually 'nose', meaning that *tsœŋ²² pɐt² pʰɔŋ¹³* is an 'elephant trunk clam'. Geoduck is a tubular-looking mollusc, somewhat like an elephant trunk.

[117] Cao Zhiyun 曹志耘 et al. (2008, map Lexicon 084).

喫 in the Yue dialects of Guangxi include Yulin 吃 *hɛk⁴³*, Guigang 喫 *hik⁵*, Hepu 喫 *hɐk²¹*. Pinghua also uses 吃/喫, e.g. Nanning 喫 *hɐt³*, Lingui Wutong 吃 *hiə⁊⁵*.

E.   *"East": two main negators*
         "West": one main negator

There are also many east–west grammatical differences. Here we will have a look at just one example: the negators.

In Mandarin, there are two commonly used negators: 不 *pu⁵¹* and 沒～沒有 *mei³⁵～mei³⁵jou²¹³*. There have been many different accounts on what the functional differences between these two negators are. For instance, Xiao & McEnery (2008) claim that the difference is that 不 *pu⁵¹* negates the existence of a state, while 沒 *mei³⁵* negates the realisation of an event. Here, in an over-simplified way, they are called "imperfective" [IPFV] negation and "perfective" [PFV] negation, respectively. The following is a pair of examples.

Mandarin
   72. 我不去 *wo²¹ pu³⁵ tɕʰy⁵³* (I NEG:IPFV go) [I am not going / I will not go.]
   73. 我沒(有)去 *wo²¹ mei³⁵(jou²¹) tɕʰy⁵³* (I NEG:PFV go) [I did not go.]

The perfective negator 沒～沒有 *mei³⁵ ~ mei³⁵jou²¹³* also indicates negative existence, including negative possession, i.e. 'do not exist' or 'do not have'.

Mandarin
   74. 我沒(有)錢 *wo²¹ mei³⁵(jou²¹) tɕʰiɛn³⁵* (I NEG:exist money) [I do not have money.]

Standard Cantonese makes the same distinction, with the negators 唔 *m̩²¹* and 冇 *mou¹³*.

Standard Cantonese
   75. 我唔去 *ŋɔ¹³ m̩²¹ høy³³* (I NEG:IPFV go) [I am not going / I will not go.]
   76. 我冇去 *ŋɔ¹³ mou¹³ høy³³* (I NEG:PFV go) [I did not go.]
   77. 我冇錢 *ŋɔ¹³ mou¹³ tsʰin³⁵* (I NEG:exist money) [I do not have money.]

Towards the west, starting from approximately the western third of Guangdong, a single negator is used for both imperfective and perfective negation.[118] For instance, in Yangjiang 陽江 on the mid-western coast of Guangdong, 無 *mou⁴³* corresponds to both 唔 *m̩²¹* and 冇 *mou¹³* in Standard Cantonese.[119] Amongst such dialects, in western Guangdong the general negator often have the negative existence meaning as well (reminiscent of Standard Cantonese where 冇 *mou¹³* also means 'not exist'). However, further west in Guangxi, the norm is to convey negative existence analytically as NOT EXIST (i.e. with separate words, each having their literal meaning).[120] The best

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[118] Cao Zhiyun 曹志耘 et al. (2008, map Grammar 033). In dialects that do not mark this distinction in their negators, the distinction can still be indicated through other means. For instance, in Yulin Yue, perfective negation is expressed by the general negator before the verb and a perfective marker after the verb, e.g. 冇飲著醉 *mau²⁴ ɲam³³ tsa¹¹ tui⁵²* (NEG drink PFV drunk) [was not drunk] (Zhou Lieting 周烈婷 2002, 293–294).

[119] Zhan Bohui 詹伯慧 et al. (2002, 211).

[120] Cao Zhiyun 曹志耘 et al. (2008, map Grammar 030).

example to illustrate this is Nanning Cantonese. Cantonese speakers arrived in Nanning from the Pearl River Delta after the First Opium War (1839–1842) at the earliest, and within one century they have acquired a huge amount of linguistic influences from the local languages, with one example being how negation is expressed. Compare the Nanning Cantonese examples below with the Standard Cantonese examples above.

Nanning Cantonese

    78. 我冇去 *ŋɔ²⁴ mu²⁴ hy³³* (I NEG go) [I did not go. / I am not going. / I will not go.]

    79. 我冇有錢 *ŋɔ²⁴ mu²⁴ jɐu²⁴ tsʰin²¹* (I NEG exist money) [I do not have money.]

The same constructions are found in Zhuang.[121]

Northern Zhuang

    80. *kow²⁴ ɓow⁵⁵ paj²⁴* (I NEG go) [I did not go. / I am not going. / I will not go.]

    81. *kow²⁴ ɓow⁵⁵ mi²¹ ŋan²¹* (I NEG exist money) [I do not have money.]

Many Pinghua and Yue dialects in Guangxi are like this. The following are some examples.

Nanning Pinghua

    82. 我冇去 *ŋa¹³ mi¹³ hɐi³⁵* (I NEG go) [I did not go. / I am not going. / I will not go.]

    83. 我冇有錢 *ŋa¹³ mi¹³ jɔu¹³ tʃin²¹* (I NEG exist money) [I do not have money.]

Beihai Cantonese[122]

    84. 冇去 *mou¹³ hui²²* (NEG go) [X did not go. / X is not going. / X will not go.]

    85. 冇有 *mou¹³ jɐu¹³* (NEG exist) [X does not have.]

Guigang Yue[123]

    86. 冇去 *ma¹³ hœy⁴¹* (NEG go) [X did not go. / X is not going. / X will not go.]

    87. 冇有钱 *ma¹³ jau¹³ tsʰin³³* (NEG exist money) [X does not have money.]

Hepu Yue[124]

    88. 冇去 *mɐu²¹ hu⁴⁴* (NEG go) [X did not go. / X is not going. / X will not go.]

    89. 冇有 *mɐu²¹ jɐu³⁵* (NEG exist) [X does not have.]

Lingui Wutong Pinghua[125]

    90. 冇入 *mou⁵³ ŋɐʔ²²* (NEG enter) [X did not enter. / X is not entering. / X will not enter.]

    91. 冇得办法 *mou⁵³ tɐʔ⁵ pã¹²faʔ⁵* (NEG exist solution) [There is no solution.]

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[121] Although Pittayaporn, Iamdanush, & Jampathip (2014) reconstruct negators in Proto-Tai with the same distinction as the one found in Standard Cantonese and Standard Mandarin: {**ɓaw^B* ~ **mi*} and **paj^B* for what I call "imperfective" and "perfective" negation, respectively.

[122] Chen Xiaojin 陈晓锦 & Chen Tao 陈滔 (2005, 372).

[123] Chen Xiaojin 陈晓锦 & Weng Zewen 翁泽文 (2010, 411).

[124] Chen Xiaojin 陈晓锦 & Chen Tao 陈滔 (2005, 372).

[125] Zhou Benliang 周本良 (2005, 223–224 / 250–251 / 293). The negative form of 有 *iau⁵³* [exist] is 冇得 *mou⁵³ tɐʔ⁵* [not exist].

Some linguistic features in the middle of the Southern Pinghua – Yue dialect continuum

We have seen above some "west-vs.-east" linguistic differences along the Southern Pinghua – Yue dialect continuum. There are a few cases where Nanning Pinghua in the west and Standard Cantonese in the east share a linguistic feature, while some places in between have a different – usually less common – feature. That Nanning and Guangzhou share features which are different from places in between can be attributed to the fact that Nanning and Guangzhou received (and is still receiving) more population traffic from the North than places in between; the larger volume of population traffic from the North caused Nanning and Guangzhou to have somewhat more linguistic features that are "normal" from a Sinitic point of view. In the central region (eastern Guangxi and western Guangdong), there is the Hunan – Guilin – Hepu route, which was the primary route between Northern China and the Red River Delta before the Tang Dynasty (618–907). However, the Guilin – Hepu route gradually became less used by Chinese people from the North due to: a) Guangzhou gradually overtaking Hepu as a long-distance trading port after the Eastern Han Dynasty (25 – 200 CE) (e.g. Chen Hongbo 陈洪波 2010); b) the opening of the Plum Pass Road (716 CE) during the Tang Dynasty (618–907) causing an explosion of population in Guangdong, further increasing the importance of Guangdong (see above); and c) the rise in importance of the Guilin – Liuzhou – Nanning route in Guangxi to the west during the Song Dynasty (960–1279), especially after the defeat of the indigenous Nong polity in 1053 (e.g. Anderson 2007). The increase in traffic between the North and Guangzhou on one hand, and the North and Nanning on the other hand, supplied Guangzhou and Nanning with linguistic features that are relatively normal from a Sinitic linguistic point of view. On the other hand, the land in between, with less of these Northern Chinese influences, managed to keep the regional linguistic features more often. Some of these features are retentions, while others are local innovations (which Guangzhou and Nanning perhaps also had earlier).

One common development in the central region is the MC initials *ts- tsh- dz- s- z-* (精清從心邪) 'fortifying' to *t- tʰ- d- ɬ- d-* (with *d* later becoming *t* or *tʰ* or *ɬ*). MC *ts- tsh- dz- > t- tʰ- d-* is primarily found in areas close to the Guangxi–Guangdong border, and also around Siyi 四邑 area (e.g. Taishan 台山) in Guangdong.[126] MC *s- > ɬ* is common from about Siyi westward. (So this is another east–west trait; the lateral fricative [ɬ], or its variant the dental fricative [θ], are very commonly found in western Guangdong and in Guangxi.)[127] As for the MC initial *z-*, it is very irregular in general throughout the Sinitic world. Sino-Vietnamese has essentially the same development of MC *ts- tsh- dz- s- z-* becoming *t- tʰ- t- t- t-*.[128]

Table 12 Development of MC *ts- tsh- dz- s- z-* in Sino-Vietnamese, Sino-Zhuang, and some Pinghua and Yue dialects

EMC	*west*		*central*				*east*
	Sino-Zhng	Nanning Pinghua	Late SV	Yulin Yue	Lianshan Yue	Taishan Yue	Canto.

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[126] E.g. Cao Zhiyun 曹志耘 et al. (2008, maps Phonetics 061–065).

[127] Two odd spots in the east where the sound change of *s > ɬ/θ* is found are: a) *ɬ* in eastern parts of Dongguan 東莞 north of central Shenzhen (Zhan Bohui 詹伯慧 et al. 2002, 189); and b) *θ* in Fogang 佛岡 north of Guangzhou / east of Qingyuan (Zhan Bohui 詹伯慧 et al. 2002, 160).

[128] There is a general sound change from Proto Việt–Mường *s* to Vietnamese *t* (Ferlus 1982, 86).

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			EMC							
92.	精	[essence]	tsjeŋ^A	ɕiŋ^{24}	tʃən^{53}	tiŋ^{44}	tɛŋ^{55}	tɛŋ^{53}	ten^{33}	tseŋ^{55}
93.	清	[clear]	tshjeŋ^A	ɕiŋ^{24}	tʃʰən^{53}	tʰiŋ^{44}	tʰɛŋ^{55}	tʰɛŋ^{53}	tʰen^{33}	tsʰeŋ^{55}
94.	從	[follow]	dzjowŋ^A	ɕoŋ^{21}	tʃʊŋ^{21}	tɔŋ̃^{21}	tɔŋ^{32}	ɬoŋ^{21}	tʰøŋ^{22}	tsʰʊŋ^{21}
95.	心	[heart]	sim^A	ϑim^{24}	ɬɐm^{53}	tɐm^{44}	ɬam^{55}	ɬɔn^{53}	ɬim^{33}	sɐm^{55}
96.	邪	[evil]	zjæ^A		ɬɛ^{21}	ta^{21}	tʰɛ^{52}	ɬia^{21}	tʰiɛ^{33}	tsʰɛ^{21}

Also around the Guangxi–Guangdong border region, a common sound change is MC initials *p- t-* (幫端) becoming implosives *ɓ- ɗ-* or voiced *b- d-*, without the other voiceless obstruent initials like *tr-*, *ts-*, or *k-* having a similar sound change.[129] For example, the LAC-1 (1987/1989) mentions that in eastern Guangxi, *b- d-* (that came from earlier *p- t-*) exist in the Yue dialects of Yulin 玉林, Beiliu 北流, Rongxian 容縣, Cenxi 岑溪, Tengxian 藤縣, and Cangwu 蒼梧 (but not in the city centre of Beiliu and Cangwu). Yue-Hashimoto (1991) discusses the glottalised *ʔb- ʔd-* (which she considers to be phonetically in between implosives *ɓ- ɗ-* and voiced *b- d-*) in the Yue dialects of Yulin and Tengxian in Guangxi, and also Huazhou 化州 in Guangdong. Zhou Lieting 周烈婷 (2002, 35–42) discusses the nature of these sounds in the Guangxi–Guangdong border region (and that with the younger speakers in Yulin, *b- d-* have reverted back to *p- t-*). The sound change of *p- t-* > *ɓ- ɗ-* again also occurs in Vietnamese, but not in most other Vietic languages.[130]

As for Zhuang, the occurrence of these *ɓ- ɗ-* initials in Sinitic languages are often attributed to the substrate Kra-Dai languages (e.g. Zhuang), where *ɓ- ɗ-* (or *b- d-*) are very common. Zhuang does indeed have *ɓ-* and *ɗ-*. However, Sino-Zhuang has simple *p- t-* for the MC *p- t-* initials. (Other than some very rare exceptions, *ɓ-* and *ɗ-* are only found in native Zhuang words.) The Tai family is not known to have a *p- t-* > *ɓ- ɗ-* sound change.[131] More studies are needed for this *p- t-* > *ɓ- ɗ-* sound change in the Sinitic languages.[132]

Table 13 Development of MC *p- t- tr- k-* in Sino-Vietnamese, Sino-Zhuang, and some Pinghua and Yue dialects

			EMC	*west*		*central*		*east*
				Sino-Zhuang	Nanning Pinghua	Late SV	Lianshan Yue	Cantonese
97.	幫	[help]	paŋ^A	paːŋ^{24}	paŋ^{53}	ɓaŋ^{44}	bøŋ^{53}	pɔŋ^{55}
98.	端	[tip]	twan^A	tuon^{24}	tun^{53}	ɗwan^{44}	dun^{53}	tyn^{55}
99.	知	[know]	trje^A		tʃi^{53}	ci^{44}	tʃi^{53}	tsi^{55}
100.	見	[see]	ken^C		kin^{55}	kiən^{35}	kin^{35}	kin^{33}

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[129] E.g. Cao Zhiyun 曹志耘 et al. (2008, maps Phonetics 044, 049, 054).

[130] See Phan (2013, 318)'s model. Also notice that many of the aforementioned Guangxi locations are on the old route between Hunan and Vietnam: Wuzhou upriver to Cangwu, then left into the Beiliu River at Tengxian, passing through Rongxian, Beiliu, crossing the portage from Beiliu to Yulin, and then down the Nanliu River to Hepu, and then to the Red River Delta. In the other direction, implosives *ɓ- ɗ-* (from earlier *p- t-*) are also occur in Pumen 鋪門 Yue of Hezhou 賀州 in Guangxi (Zhuang Chusheng 庄初升 & Zhang Ling 张凌 2010, 109) on the He River. The He River was another commonly used route between Hunan and the Guangxi coast (see footnote 12).

[131] E.g. Pittayaporn (2009).

[132] Research on Sinitic implosives includes Zhu Xiaonong 朱晓农 (2006), Zhu Xiaonong 朱晓农 & Cun Xi 寸熙 (2006), Zhu Xiaonong 朱晓农, Liu Zemin 刘泽民, & Xu Fuqiong 徐馥琼 (2009). In particular, Zhu Xiaonong 朱晓农 & Cun Xi 寸熙 (2006) argue that the implosives found in some Wu and Min dialects are not from the Kra-Dai substrate; they arose through internal mechanisms.

Also in the central region, there are other notable features like a higher rate (than the average Yue dialect) of EMC *p- ph- b-* being retained as bilabial *p- pʰ-* instead of turning into labiodental *f-*, e.g. 斧 EMC *bjuᴮ* [axe], Guangning Yue in Guangdong *pʰɐu⁵⁵*,[133] Hezhou Yue in Guangxi *pu⁵⁵* (cf. Nanning Pinghua *fu³³*, Cantonese *fu³⁵*, Mandarin *fu²¹³*; see also table 3 above). In particular, in Hezhou Yue, amongst cases where EMC *p- ph- b-* 'should' have turned into *f-*, 口语中 近 47% 读为重唇音 [nearly 47% of colloquial words are pronounced with a bilabial].[134] Another notable feature is an innovation (albeit possibly a rather old innovation) that is often found between Guangzhou and Nanning in the Pearl River Basin: *k- > ts-* or *tʃ-* amongst syllables with certain 'open mouth' third division finals: *-juw~-jiw* 流, *-(j)im* 深, *-(j)in~-jin* 臻. For instance, 九 EMC *kjuwᴮ* [nine], in Guangdong: Guangning Yue *tsau⁵⁵*, Lianshan Yue *tʃʊu⁵⁵*; in Guangxi: Hezhou Yue *tʃou³³*, Yulin Yue *tsau³³*, Guigang Yue *tsau³⁵*, Binyang Pinghua *tʃəu³³* (cf. Nanning Pinghua *kəu³³*, Cantonese *kɐu³⁵*).[135]

Conclusion

The history of a language is not the same as the history of its speakers. (For instance, after a language was brought in by a group of migrants, the language can be abandoned by some or all of these migrants, and/or the language can be adopted by other people.) Nonetheless, there is some level of correlation between the two; linguistic facts (modern linguistic traits, and linguistic traits that can be deduced from historical documents) and historical records of population movements help each other in painting a fuller picture of the migration history in a region. Chinese has been written for millennia, and with it, many linguistic features of different historical stages of Northern Chinese is known (through deducing from the text themselves, and sometimes there are explicit meta-comments on language). When looking into the Southern Chinese varieties, based on what features of what stage(s) of Northern Chinese they have preserved, one could deduce approximately when the Northern Chinese ancestors of these speakers left Northern China for Southern China. Written records of some of the more-prominent Southern Chinese varieites (e.g. Southern Min, Cantonese) appeared within the last few centuries. With these records, one could gain some understanding on their more-recent migration history within Southern China, e.g. approximately when a group of Cantonese migrants left the Guangzhou area.

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[133] Zhan Bohui 詹伯慧 et al. (2002, 174).

[134] Chen Xiaoyan 陈小燕 (2007, 40–41).

[135] This sound change of *k- > tʃ-/ts-* described here is different in nature from the similar sound changes in Sino-Vietnamese and Mandarin. The *k > z*, and *ŋ > ɲ*, sound changes in Sino-Vietnamese (Phan 2013, 271–273), and the *k- > kj-* sound change in Sino-Zhuang, are triggered by a following 'open mouth' *second* division final (second division: *-æ* or *-ɛ*, not preceded by *-j-* and/or *-w-*, in Baxter's MC transcription). The *k- > tʃ-/ts-* sound change in Binyang Pinghua, and the *ŋ- > ɲ-* sound change in Nanning and Binyang Pinghua, are also triggered by a following 'open mouth' *second* division final. However, they are also affected by the same western Yue *third* division sound change described in the main text to some degree.

In Mandarin, the *k- kh- g- > tɕ- tɕʰ-* sound change is triggered by a following 'open mouth' *second, third,* or *fourth* division final (third division: *-j-* or *-i*; fourth division: *-e* not preceded by *-j-* in Baxter's MC transcription). In particular, the *k- kh- g- > tɕ- tɕʰ-* (or *ts- tsʰ-*) sound change in Mandarin dialects (e.g. 雞 [chicken], MC *kej ᴬ*, Standard Mandarin *tɕi⁵⁵*) occurred very late, not before the Qing dynasty (1636–1912), as judged by, e.g., phonetic transcriptions of Ryukyuan and Japanese words by Chinese officials using Chinese characters during the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644) versus the Qing Dynasty (Ding Feng 丁鋒 2008), with Standard Chinese being Nanjing and/or Beijing Mandarin during those days.

Pinghua 平話 is the oldest Sinitic dialect group in Guangxi. Pinghua people's Sinitic ancestors arrived in Guangxi primarily from Northern China through Hunan. Pinghua people and the indigenous Zhuang people have mutually influenced each other linguistically and culturally and for about one millennium, with the Pinghua population smaller than the Zhuang population in most regions of Guangxi. Not only is the number of Pinghua speakers small in relation to Zhuang, Pinghua has been overtaken by three other Sinitic groups that arrived in Guangxi later: Southwestern Mandarin, which also arrived from the North via Hunan but centuries later, and Yue and Hakka, which arrived from Guangdong to the east.

Yue 粵 is the largest Sinitic dialect group in Guangdong and Guangxi. Yue people's Sinitic ancestors arrived in Guangdong primarily from the North via Jiangxi. The Yue language was formed in the Pearl River Delta; it spread primarily in a westward direction, and gradually filled western Guangdong and eastern Guangxi. During this gradual westward expansion, Yue absorbed linguistic elements from the pre-existing Sinitic languages (most of which probably resembled Pinghua), and the indigenous languages (most of which probably resembled Zhuang). Other than this gradual westward expansion, within the last 150 years or so there were many speakers of Cantonese (i.e. Standard Yue) who migrated directly from the Pearl River Delta to Guangxi, forming many Cantonese enclaves in Guangxi. There are noticeable differences between these Guangxi Cantonese varieties and the surrounding non-Cantonese Yue dialects or Pinghua dialects.

Linguistically, Pinghua is often divided into Southern Pinghua and Northern Pinghua; Northern Pinghua is Pinghua that has been substantially Mandarinised (related to the huge influx of Southwestern Mandarin speakers in northeastern Guangxi), while Southern Pinghua is relatively conservative. Southern Pinghua and the non-Cantonese Yue dialects in Guangxi form a dialect continuum (i.e. the dialect at one locality is only slightly different from the neighbouring ones, and there is no sharp linguistic boundary between Southern Pinghua and the non-Cantonese Yue dialects in Guangxi). This dialect continuum continues further east as the Yue dialects in Guangdong. (The Cantonese enclaves in Guangxi are thus formed by people migrating directly from nearly the eastern end of the dialect continuum to the west.)

Along the Southern Pinghua – Yue dialect continuum, there are many isoglosses (geographical boundaries between linguistic features) that are roughly "west-vs.-east", and the isoglosses spread out along the continuum: some are found rather west, some rather east, and most are somewhere in between.

The "eastern" features are newer Cantonese features that have spread some distance towards the west, adding to or supplanting the older "western" features in the west. Some linguists use the term 'New Yue' (*Xin Yue* 新粵) for these newer Cantonese features, versus 'Old Yue' (*Lao Yue* 老粵) for the older Yue features that are more typically found towards the west.

There are also some features that are shared by Nanning in the west and Guangzhou in the east, but some places in between have something different, thus creating a 'west+east vs. central' division. This is probably due to Nanning and Guangzhou having more population flow from the Yangtze and further north, thus causing Nanning and Guangzhou to conform more with the relatively-normal Sinitic linguistic features, as opposed to places in between around the Guangdong–Guangxi border, which are better at preserving some of these atypical features.

When measuring against the Southern Pinghua – Yue dialect continuum, Sino-Zhuang usually sides with the "western" features, while Sino-Vietnamese sides with either the "central" or the "western" features.

Ever since the LAC's decision to elevate Pinghua to become a first-order Sinitic dialect group on par with Yue, there have been many debates within Chinese linguistics on the affiliation of Pinghua. Some linguists argue that Pinghua is a branch of Yue, while others argue that Pinghua and Yue are separate entities. With the latter camp, opinions vary as to where the boundary lies. The most-popular view amongst Chinese linguists these days is that Southern Pinghua is a branch of Yue, while Northern Pinghua is 'something else', on par with the unclassified Sinitic patois in neighbouring southern Hunan and northern Guangdong. Given that Southern Pinghua and Yue lie on a dialect continuum (ignoring the Cantonese enclaves in Guangxi), whether they should be one or two entities, and where the boundary lie if they are two entities, depend simply on one's perspectives, with both camps having many arguments that can be simultaneously valid. This argument over the affiliation of Pinghua versus Yue is reminiscent of another never-ending argument in Chinese dialectology: the affiliation of Hakka versus Gan. There are similarly many valid arguments for grouping them together as one dialect group, and there are also many valid arguments for keeping them apart as two. The distinction between Hakka and Gan along the supposed Hakka–Gan border is similarly less clear-cut than most people think (i.e. the isoglosses do not bundle up tidily).

Acknowledgements

Data points and sources

A county name that is not further qualified by a more specific place name signifies the language spoken at the county seat. Language classification in this article is based on LAC's classification, which can be different from the opinions expressed in the sources and in this article.

Sino-Vietnamese: hvdic.thivien.net, Phan (2013)

Sino-Zhuang: Northern Zhuang of Wuming 武鳴 (Chen Hailun 陈海伦 & Lin Yi 林亦 2009, supplemented by Qin Xiaohang 2004, and GSYGVY 1983), Southern Zhuang of Longzhou 龍州 (Li Fang-Kuei 李方桂 1940)

Northern Zhuang: general knowledge

Gan: Nanchang 南昌 (BZYJ 2003)

Hakka: Meixian 梅縣 (BZYJ 2003)

Mandarin: Standard Mandarin, general knowledge

Min, Eastern: Fuzhou 福州 (BZYJ 2003)

Min, Southern: Xiamen 廈門 (BZYJ 2003)

Pinghua, Northern: by default Chaoyang 朝陽 (eastern suburb of Guilin; Xie Jianyou 谢建猷 2007); Lingui Wutong 臨桂五通 (Zhou Benliang 周本良 2005, supplemented by Li Lianjin 李連進 2000a); Lingui Liangjiang 臨桂兩江 (Li Lianjin 李連進 2000a)

Pinghua, Southern: by default Weizilu 位子渌 (northwestern suburb of Nanning 南寧; author's fieldwork 2008–2012); Funing Bo'ai 富寧剝隘 (Li Lianjin 李連進 2000a); Nanning Tingzi 南寧亭子 (Li Lianjin 李連進 2000a); Rongshui 融水 (*Tuguai-hua* 土拐話; Xie Jianyou 谢建猷 2007); 'Binyang Pinghua' is by default Binyang Xinqiao 賓陽新橋 (Xie Jianyou 谢建猷 2007); Binyang Luxu 賓陽蘆墟 (Li Lianjin 李連進 2000a)

Xiang: Changsha 長沙 (BZYJ 2003); Quanzhou 全州 (Xie Jianyou 谢建猷 2007)

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Yue, Guangfu: Standard Cantonese, general knowledge; Dongguan 東莞 (Zhan Bohui 詹伯慧 et al. 2002), Shunde 順德 Cantonese (Zhan Bohui 詹伯慧 et al. 2002), Qingyuan 清遠 Cantonese (Zhan Bohui 詹伯慧, Zhang Risheng 張日昇 et al. 1994)

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Yue, Siyi: Taishan 台山 (Zhan Bohui 詹伯慧 et al. 2002)

Yue, Yongxun: Nanning 南寧 Cantonese (Lin Yi 林亦 & Qin Fengyu 覃凤余 2008, supplemented by general knowledge)

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GUIZHOU

Sanjiang

Lingqu Canal

Quanzhou

Xiang River ↗ (to Yangtze)

Gan River ↑ (to Yangtze)

Xing'an

Rongshui

Guilin

HUNAN

Plum Pass

JIANGXI

Dayu

Lianzhou

Pingle

Nanxiong

Hechi

Luzhai

gf

Shaoguan

GUANGXI

Liuzhou

yx

Hezhou

Lianshan

GUANGDONG

Funing Bo'ai

Baise

Mengshan

GL

GL

YUNNAN

Binyang

gf Wuzhou

Guangning

Qingyuan

GF

Wuming

Guigang

yx

gf

Guangzhou

Zengcheng

yx

Tengxian

GF

Dongguan

Yulin

GL

Portage

Shunde

GF

Nanning

Bobai

GY

SY

HONG KONG

QL

GY

Taishan

MACAU

VIETNAM

Yangjiang

Pearl River Delta

Red River Delta

Qinzhou

Hepu

wh

WH

Hanoi

Beihai

gy

gf

Haiphong

Huazhou

Wuchuan

Lianjiang

HAINAN

yx	Yongxun	GF	Guangfu
GL	Goulou	SY	Siyi
QL	Qinlian	GY	Gaoyang
		WH	Wuhua

(lower case for smaller enclaves)

⌐¬ Pinghua, Northern

⋮⋮ Pinghua, Southern

Yue