

Linguistic and poetic features of Yue poems in 17th century Guiping

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Thesis

This paper investigates the book *Jyut Fung Zuk Gau* 粵風續九 (JFZ9 hereafter) and analyses the Han poem *Tong Soeng* 塘上 in JFZ9. Theses of this paper are:

1. Goulou Yue (勾漏粵語) is the most possible Han variety used in *Tong Soeng* and proves the presence of Yue in the region as early as the mid-17th century.
2. The Yue is influenced by the surrounding Zhuang. The rhyme scheme of this poem is not that of typical Han poetry but reflects the practice of the tradition of Zhuang poetry.

Four steps of the investigation:

1. Analyse the text.
2. Analyse phonetic and lexical features of four Han varieties spoken in the region.
3. Compare rhyme schemes and phonetics of the four varieties.
4. Investigate the population dynamics of the region.

Background

- About JFZ9
 - Is a Han, Zhuang and Mien trilingual collection of folk songs
 - From Xun-zhou prefecture 潯州府 in central Guangxi
 - By four collectors, among them Wu Qi 吳淇 is the chief editor
 - Published in 1662
 - But gradually went lost in the next century
 - Li Diao-yuan 李調元 reprinted a modified edition in 1778 under the title *Jyut Fung* 粵風 (JF hereafter) and his name
 - In 2001 the original JFZ9 was rediscovered and republished

	JFZ9	JF
Year	1662	1778
Author(s)	4 collectors, 1 editor	1 editor
No. of entries	5 volumes, 120 poems.	4 volumes, 111 poems.
Contents	Comments on poems from collectors; Folklore; Extra articles	Deleted most of them
Texts		Replaced some characters of the poems of JFZ9 with alternative ones

Studies before 2001 are based on JF.

Version Comparison

Research Question

Which Han variety is included in the volume “Odes of Yue”?

The five volumes of JFZ9 and their languages

- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Odes of Yue 粵風 | - Han |
| 2. Songs of Yao 獠歌 | - Mien |
| 3. Songs of Lang 狼歌 | - Zhuang |
| 4. Songs of Zhuang 獐歌 | - Zhuang |
| 5. Miscellaneous Songs 雜歌 | - All three languages above |

Study object

Tong Soeng 塘上 in the volume “Odes of Yue”. It’s a ballad in 4 verses, every verse contains 7 syllables.

Text: 嫩 鴨 行 游 塘 柵 上
 tender duck walk swim pond fence on
 嬌 娥 尚 細 不 曾 知
 fine maid still young not yet know
 天 旱 蜘蛛 結 夜 網
 sky dry spider weave night web
 想 晴 只 在 暗 中 絲
 want sunny only in dark midst silk

Wu-xuan

Great Yao Mountains

Da-teng Valley



Ping-nan

Gui-ping
(capital)

Gui-xian

Counties of Xun-zhou:

1. Gui-ping 桂平: prefectural capital
2. Gui-xian 貴縣 (present Gui-gang 貴港)
3. Ping-nan 平南

Surrounding areas:

Wu-xuan county 武宣

Da-teng Valley 大藤峽

Great Yao Mountains 大瑤山

Xun-zhou prefecture 1662

(XZFFZ 潯州府志, 1826)

Text analysis

Among the three counties of Xun-zhou, the poem was possibly collected near the prefectural capital Guiping.

It could be known by analysing the imagery, rhetoric and place names of poems related to *Tong Soeng*:

妹相思

sister longing

妹有真心弟也知

sister have true heart brother also know

蜘蛛結網三江口

spider weave web three river mouth

水推不斷是真絲

water push not ripped be true silk

登船起離三江口

Tanka boat off leave three river mouth

只爲無風浪來遲

only for no wind wave come late

月明今網船頭撒

moon bright grasp web boat head cast

情人水面結相思

lovers water surface weave longing

- Place names

Three river mouth 三江口: Metonymy of the city Guiping, for it's located at the mouth of three big rivers - Xun 潯江, Qian 黔江 and Yu 郁江.

- Imagery and rhetoric

Identical imagery: “spider weave web” 蜘蛛結網, “spider silk” 蛛絲.

Identical rhetoric: Homophonic pun of “silk” 絲 and “longing” 思. Notice that the position of these keywords is the same - the last syllable of the last verse.

Tong Soeng follows the same pattern. It indicates that these songs come from the same oral transmission, thus from the same region.

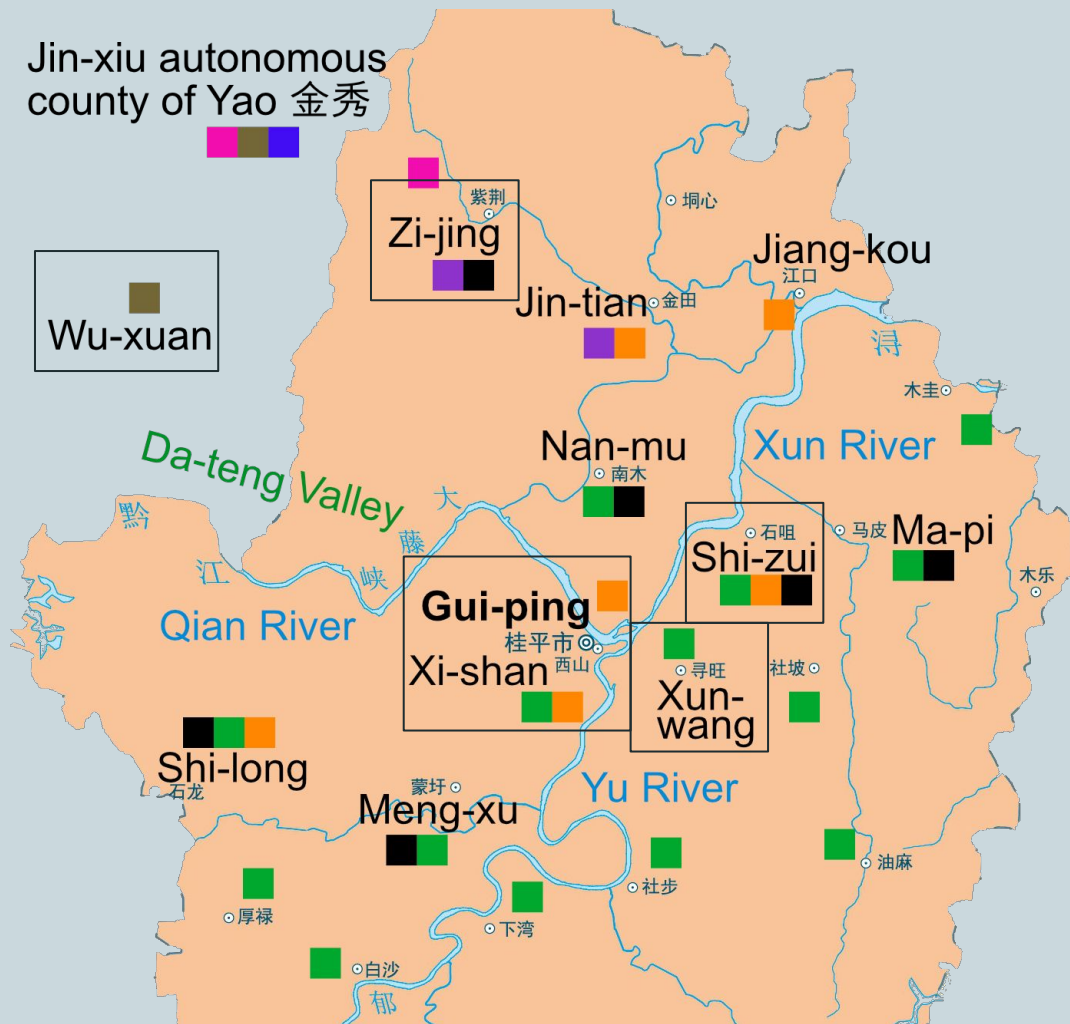
- Other place names

The Han poem *Baak Sek Saan* 白石山 “White Rocky Hill”.

The hill was in the south of Guiping, according to the historical works *DYYZ* 殿粵要纂 (1599-1602) and *DSFYJY* 讀史方輿紀要 (1630-1660). The hill is still there today.

Modern distribution of languages in Guiping

- Goulou Yue
- Guiping Cantonese
- Zhuang
- Hakka
- Mien
- SW Mandarin
- Lakkia



(Li, 2013. Liu, 2015. Huang, 2019)

Phonetic features

- Compare four Han varieties spoken in the region:
 - Goulou Yue of three locations: Xun-wang, Shi-zui and Xi-shan
 - Cantonese of the Guiping downtown, or Baak-waa (白話), Gaai-waa (街話, “Speech of the downtown”), as locals call it
 - Hakka of Zi-jing
 - Southwestern Mandarin of Wu-xuan

Goulou Yue

(Xi-shan. M, youth.)

嫩 鴨 行 游 塘 柵 上

nyn ap ʔɛaŋ jɛu tɔŋ lan ʃaŋ

嬌 娥 尚 細 不 會 知

ki:u ŋɔ ʃaŋ ɬei pət tɛŋ tɛi

天 旱 蜘蛛 結 夜 網

tʰin hɔn tɛi tɛy kit jɛ mɔŋ

想 晴 只 在 暗 中 絲

ɬjaŋ tɛŋ tɛi tsɛi ɐm tɛuŋ ɬi

(Shi-zui. F, mid-aged.)

嫩 鴨 行 游 塘 柵 上

nyn ap hɛaŋ jɛu tɔŋ ɛan ɛaŋ

嬌 娥 尚 細 不 會 知

ki:u ŋɔ ɛaŋ θɛi pət θɛŋ tɛi

天 旱 蜘蛛 結 夜 網

tʰin hɔn tɛi tɛy kit jɛ mɔŋ

想 晴 只 在 暗 中 絲

θjaŋ θiŋ tɛi θɔi ɐm tɛuŋ θi

(Xun-wang. M, youth.)

嫩 鳴 行 游 塘 柵 上
nyn ap ʔεaŋ jɛu tœŋ tɕ^hjɛk ʃεaŋ

嬌 娥 尚 細 不 曾 知
ki:u ŋɔ ʃεaŋ θɛi pɛt θɛŋ tɕi

天 旱 蜘蛛 結 夜 網
t^hin ʔɔn tɕi tɛy kit jɛ mœŋ

想 晴 只 在 暗 中 絲
θjaŋ θɛiŋ tɕi θɔi εəm tɕɔŋ θi

Features of rhymes:

- 上/εaŋ//aŋ/ = 尚/εaŋ//aŋ/
≠ 網/œŋ/ ≠ 想/jaŋ/
- 知/i/ = 蜘蛛/i/ = 絲/i/
- 絲/i/ = 思/i/: 思/θi//ti/

Guiping Cantonese

(GP downtown)

嫩 鴨 行 游 塘 柵 上

nyn ap haŋ jɛu t^hɔŋ tɛ^hɛk ʃœŋ

嬌 娥 尚 細 不 會 知

ki:u ŋɔ ʃœŋ sei pət ts^hɛŋ tɛi

天 旱 蜘蛛 結 夜 網

t^hin hɔn tɛi tɛy kit jɛ mɔŋ

想 晴 只 在 暗 中 絲

sœŋ ts^hɪŋ tɛi ts^hɔi ɛm tɛuŋ sɿ

Features of rhymes:

- 上/œŋ/ = 尚/œŋ/
= 想/œŋ/ ≠ 網/ɔŋ/
- 知/i/ = 蜘蛛/i/ ≠ 絲/ɿ/
- 絲/ɿ/ = 思/ɿ/: 思/sɿ/

Hakka

(Zi-jing. M, mid-aged.)

嫩 鴨 行 游 塘 柵 上

nun ap haŋ iu t^hɔŋ tsaʔ ɕɔŋ

嬌 娥 尚 細 不 曾 知

kiau ŋɔ ɕɔŋ sei put ts^hən ti

天 旱 蜘蛛 結 夜 網

t^hiɛn hɔn tɕu tɕu kiɛt ia mɔŋ

想 晴 只 在 暗 中 絲

θiɔŋ tsiɑŋ tɕi ts^hɔi am tɕɔŋ θu

Features of rhymes:

- 上/ɔŋ/ = 尚/ɔŋ/
= 網/ɔŋ/ ≠ 想/iɔŋ/
- 知/i/ ≠ 蜘蛛/u/ ≠ 絲/u/
- 絲/u/ = 思/u/: 思/θu/

Southwestern Mandarin

(Wu-xuan)

嫩 鳴 行 游 塘 柵 上

nən ja hən jou t^haŋ tsa ɕaŋ

嬌 娥 尚 細 不 會 知

kiau ŋo ɕaŋ li pu ts^hən tɕi

天 旱 蜘蛛 結 夜 網

t^hiɛn han tɕi tɕy kɛ jɛ vaŋ

想 晴 只 在 暗 中 絲

ɕiaŋ ts^hiŋ tsi tsæ ŋan tɕoŋ sɿ

Features of rhymes:

- 上/aŋ/ = 尚/aŋ/
= 網/aŋ/ ≠ 想/iaŋ/
- 知/i/ = 蜘蛛/i/ ≠ 絲/ɿ/
- 絲/ɿ/ = 思/ɿ/: 思/sɿ/

Lexicon features

Two words are noticeable:

行 for “walk”

細 for “young”

These are **not used in SW Mandarin.**

But ordinarily used in GL Yue, GP Cantonese and Zi-jing Hakka.

Rhyme scheme

- Foot rhyme scheme (腳韻) of Han poems in 4-verses ballad:
- Rhyme the last syllable of the 1st, 2nd and the 4th verses.
 - No rhyme at the 3rd verse.
 - No switch of rhymes.

爲 情 每 日 弟 心 孤
wəi ts^hiŋ mu:i jət tɛi sɛm ku:
白 石 山 高 隔 路 途
pak ʃik ɛan kɛu kak lu: t^hu:
娘 在 深 房 高 枕 睡
nœŋ ts^hɔi ɛəm fɔŋ kɛu tɛəm ʃo:i
問 娘 得 夢 見 兄 無
mən nœŋ tək mɔŋ kin hiŋ mu:

Example: 白石山 *Baak Sek Saan* “White Rocky Hill”, vol. “Odes of Yue”, JFZ9.
IPA in Guiping Cantonese

➤ None of the four tongues fit the foot rhyme scheme.

GL Yue (Xun-wang)

nyn ap ʔɛaŋ jəu tœŋ tɛ^hjək ʃɛaŋ

ki:u ŋɔ ʃɛaŋ θai pət θaŋ tɛi

t^hin ʔɔn tɛi tɛy kit jɛ mœŋ

θjaŋ θiŋ tɛi θɔi ɛəm tɛuŋ θi

(lacks the rhyme of the 1st verse)

GP Cantonese

nyn ap haŋ jəu t^hɔŋ tɛ^hək ʃœŋ

ki:u ŋɔ ʃœŋ səi pət ts^haŋ tɛi

t^hin hɔn tɛi tɛy kit jɛ mɔŋ

sœŋ ts^hiŋ tɛi ts^hɔi ɛm tɛuŋ sɿ

(no rhyme)

Hakka

nun ap haŋ iu t^həŋ tsaʔ (əŋ)

kiau ŋə əŋ sei put ts^hən ti

t^hiɛn hən tɛu tɛu kiɛt ia (məŋ)

θiəŋ tsiaŋ tɛi ts^hɔi am tɛəŋ θu

(no rhyme or (wrong rhyming
verses))

SW Mandarin

nən ja hən jou t^haŋ tsa (əŋ)

kiau ŋə əŋ li pu ts^hən tɛi

t^hiɛn han tɛi tɛy kɛ jɛ (vaŋ)

liəŋ ts^hiŋ tsi tsæ ŋan tɛəŋ sɿ

(no rhyme or (wrong rhyming
verses))

➤ Waist-Foot rhyme (腰腳韻) in Kra-Dai poems

Zhuang epic from northwestern Guangxi. Line 46-52. Total: 467 lines

waist foot

46 koən fuk læp fu: **liən**
before suddenly dark suddenly light

47 θəw fuk **ʔjən** fuk **ʔji:**
all at once suddenly Heaven suddenly Earth

48 **vi:** yo: læp yo: **xəm**
not know night know evening

49 ʔbou yo: **təm** yo: **θa:ŋ**
not know short know tall

50 ʔbou yo: **va:ŋ** yo: **yei**
not know crosswise know straight ahead

51 **va:ŋ** **tei** vi: **ɕaŋ** **ɕa:u**
Emperor not yet Create

52 **ca: pa:u** vi: **ɕaŋ** **ɕi:**
Family Treasure not yet Establish

สาวเชียงใหม่ “Chiang Mai Girl”

Folk song from northern Thailand (8 verses)

1 k^ha: tsau pen sa:u tɛi:an̩ **mau** | hɛm bo tau ʔ^hdau ko tsaʔ pen sa:u **lɛu** ||

2 tuŋ wan mi ʔba:u ma: ʔɛ:u | ma: ʔu: ma: **sɛ:u** pen k^hon laʔ pu:n ||

3 k^ha: tsau tsaʔ lu:ək au p^hai | ʔa:i ʔba:u tɛi:an̩ **ha:i** cu kɛ:u ma: lu:n ||

4 ʔa:i kəŋ k^hon pɛ: k^hi:ɛu su:n | ʔa:i k^ham ʔa:i mu:n ʔa:i som ʔa:i **mi:** ||

5 pɤn ʔbo:k wa: tsaʔ ma: **k^hɔ:** | k^ha: tsau ko **rɔ:** ma: lɛ:u pen **pi:** ||

6 pɔ: mɛ: t^ha: pu: saʔ **li:** | ʔa:i ʔba:u twa ʔ^hdi: ha:i sɛp ha:i **sɔ:i** ||

7 k^ha: tsau ʔbo tsu:ə hɛm **lɛ:u** | tsaʔ tɛŋ kap **mɛ:u** pai ʔju: pa:i ʔ^hɔ:i ||

8 k^ha:i p^ha: k^ha:i p^het k^ha:i **lɔ:i** | k^ha:i wɛ:n k^ha:i **sɔ:i** ʔju: ʔbon ʔ^hɔ:i **pui** ||

↑
short pause

↑
long pause

1 k^ha: tsau pen sa:u tɕi:əŋ **mau** |
həm bo tau **ʔdau** ko tsaʔ pen sa:u **lɛ:u** ||

2 tɕŋ wan mi ʔba:u ma: **ʔɛ:u** |
ma: ʔu: ma: **sɛ:u** pen k^hon laʔ **pu:n** ||

3 k^ha: tsau tsaʔ lu:ək au **p^hai** |
ʔa:i ʔba:u tɕi:əŋ **ha:i** cu kɛ:u ma: **lu:n** ||

4 ʔa:i kəŋ k^hon pɛ: k^hi:ɛu **su:n** |
ʔa:i k^ham ʔa:i **mu:n** ʔa:i som ʔa:i **mi:** ||

5 pɤn ʔbo:k wa: tsaʔ ma: **k^hɔ:** |
k^ha: tsau ko **rɔ:** ma: lɛ:u pen **pi:** ||

6 pɔ: mɛ: t^ha: pu: saʔ **li:** |
ʔa:i ʔba:u twi:a **ʔdi:** ha:i sɛ:p ha:i **so:i** ||

7 k^ha: tsau ʔbo tɕu:ə hɛ:m **lɛ:u** |
tsaʔ tɛ:ŋ kap **mɛ:u** pai ʔju: pa:i **ʔdɔ:i** ||

8 k^ha:i p^ha: k^ha:i p^het k^ha:i **lo:i** |
k^ha:i wɛ:n k^ha:i **so:i** ʔju: ʔbon ʔdɔ:i **pu:** ||

Example from JFZ9, a song of Lang.

Old Zhuang Script: 齊 同 勺 护 肚

IPA: cɛi tɔŋ jɔu ʔdɛi tɔŋ

Eng.: think of companion, at inside stomach
you

雙 逢 運 如 慈

soŋ fɜŋ ʔwɪn lum tsɜi

two palm soft, as glutinous rice cake
numb

Here involve the issue of reading Old Zhuang Scripts and dialects of Zhuang.
It's not the topic of today, but it deserves separate research.

➤ *Tong Soeng* combines waist-foot rhyme and foot rhyme.

The phonetic and lexical features of Goulou Yue fit the most.

GL Yue (Xun-wang)

nyn ap ʔɛaŋ jəu tœŋ tɛ^hjək ʃɛaŋ

ki:u ŋɔ ʃɛaŋ θai pət θaŋ tɛi

t^hin ʔɔn tɛi tɛy kit jɛ mœŋ

θjaŋ θiŋ tɛi θɔi ɛəm tœuŋ θi

GP Cantonese

nyn ap haŋ jəu t^hɔŋ tɛ^hək ʃœŋ

ki:u ŋɔ ʃœŋ səi pət ts^haŋ tɛi

t^hin hɔn tɛi tɛy kit jɛ mɔŋ

sœŋ ts^hiŋ tɛi ts^hɔi ɛm tœuŋ sɿ

(lacks the rhyme of the last verse)

Hakka

nun ap haŋ iu t^həŋ tsaʔ ɛəŋ

kiau ŋə ɛəŋ sei put ts^hən ti

t^hiɛn hən tɛu tɛu kiɛt ia məŋ

θiəŋ tsiəŋ tɛi ts^hɔi am tɛəŋ θu

(lacks many rhymes)

SW Mandarin

nən ja hən jou t^həŋ tsa ɛəŋ

kiau ŋə ɛəŋ li pu ts^hən tɛi

t^hiɛn han tɛi tɛy kɛ jɛ vaŋ

liəŋ ts^hiŋ tsi tsæ ŋan tɛəŋ sɿ

(lacks the rhyme of the last verse.
and the lexical features don't fit.)

GL Yue (Xun-wang)

nyn ap ʔɛaŋ jɛu tɔŋ tɕ^hɛk ʃɛaŋ

kju ŋɔ ʃɛaŋ θai pət θaŋ tɛi

t^hin ʔɔn tɛi tɛy kit jɛ mɔŋ

θjaŋ θiŋ tɛi θɔi ɛɛm tɔŋ θi

Open question:

Could 網/mɔŋ/ rhyme with 想 /θjaŋ/? If so, it'll be a perfect waist-foot rhyme. Could we find an example?

The combination:

- Waist-Foot rhyme:
 - 1st - 3rd verses
 - Switch rhymes

- Foot rhyme:
 - Doesn't rhyme the last syllable of the 3rd verse
 - Rhyme the last syllable of the 2nd and 4th verses

Population dynamics

From 1467 to 1620 there was a native chiefdom (土司州) called Wu-jing chiefdom 武靖州 in the north of Gui-ping, populated by Zhuang and ruled by a Zhuang chieftain. The seat of the court was in present Wu-jing village 武靖村 in Jin-tian 金田.

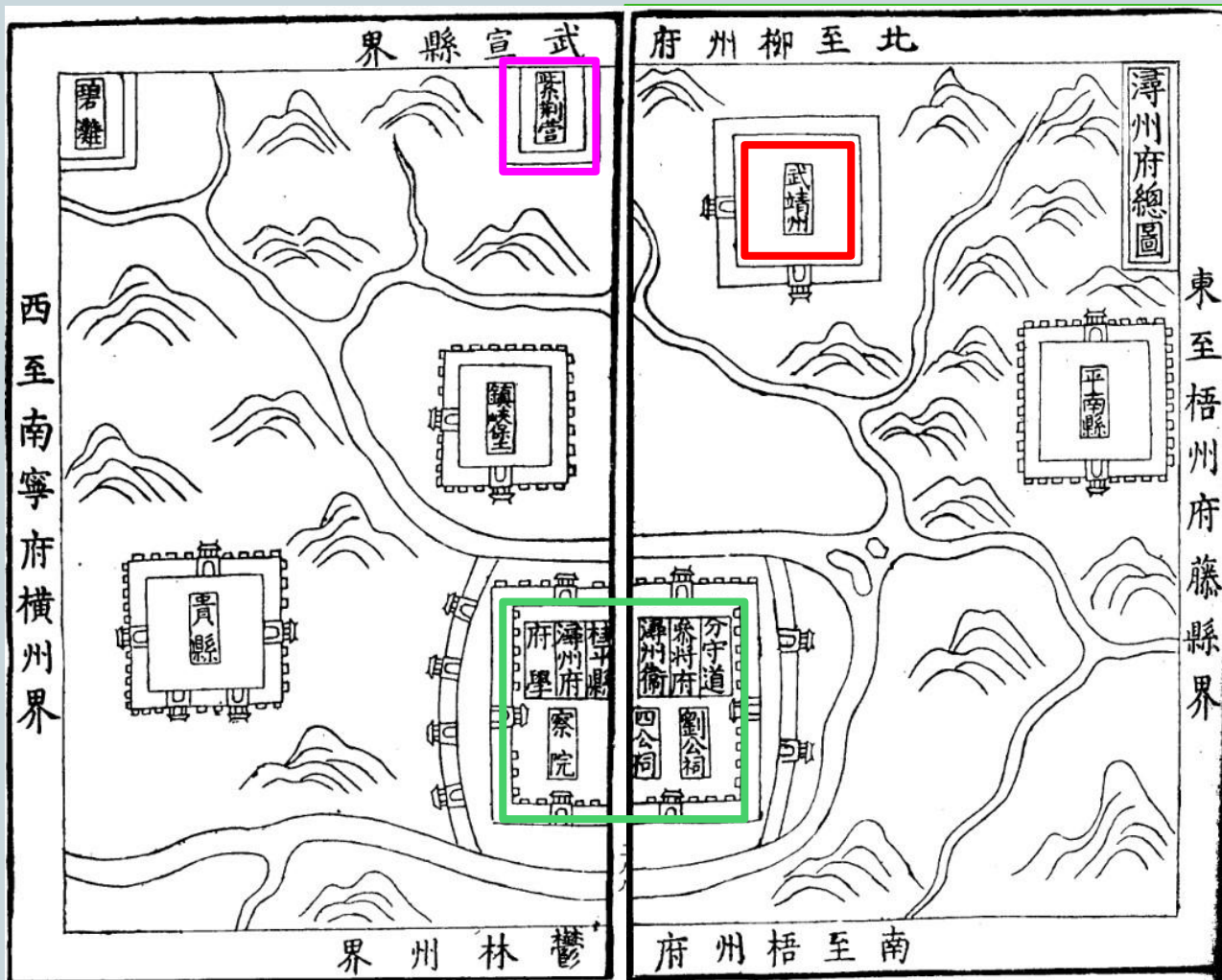
Only around the 1730s did large-scale migration of Cantonese and Hakka arrived at this region.

Historical terms:

Lang soldiers (狼兵): Zhuang soldiers under command of native chieftains

Zhuang (獐): Zhuang commoners

Both are ethnic Zhuang in modern context.

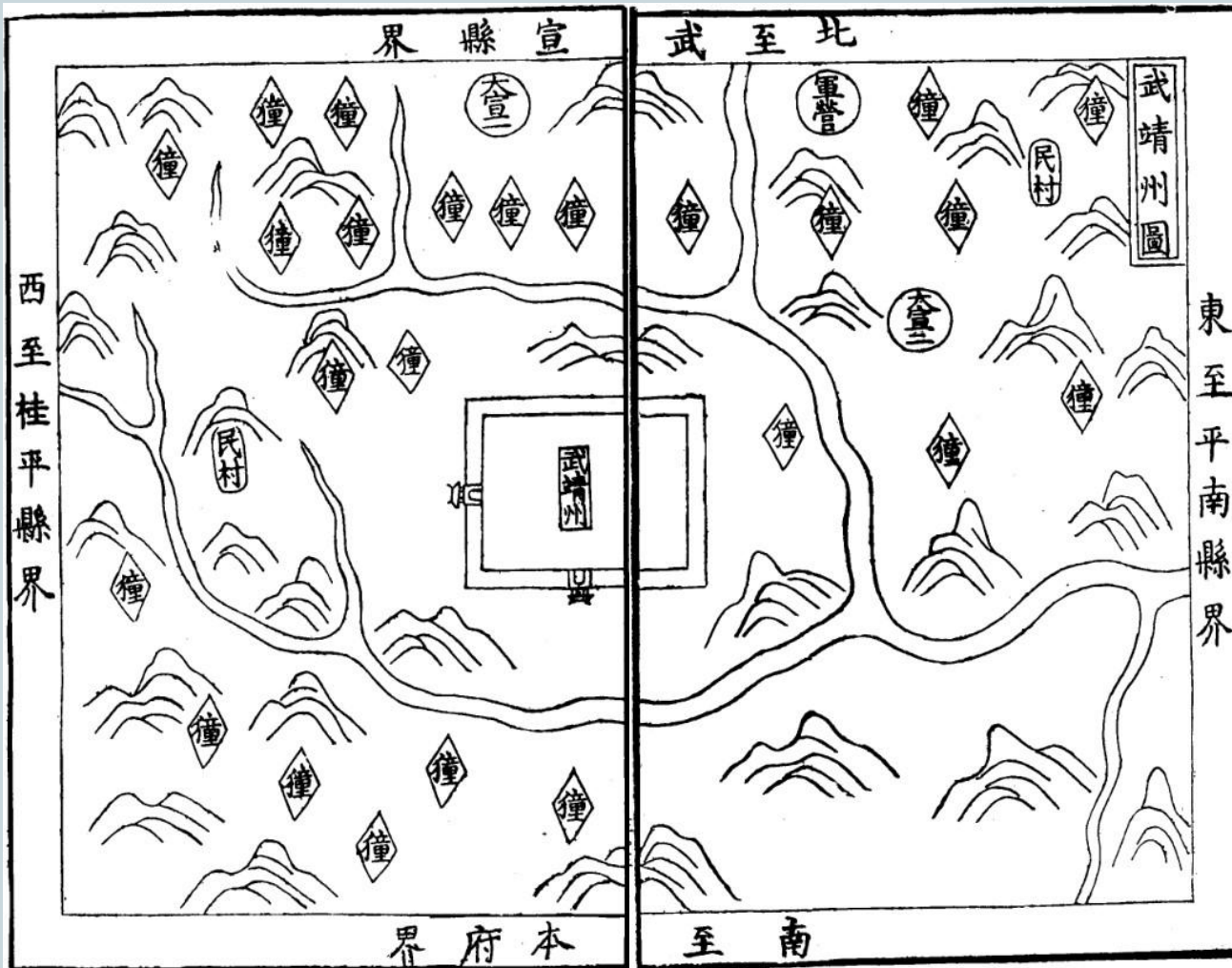


Map: *Dian Yue Yaozuan*
 殿粵要纂. 1599-1602

Gui-ping

Wu-jing chieftdom: the
 seat of the chiefly court

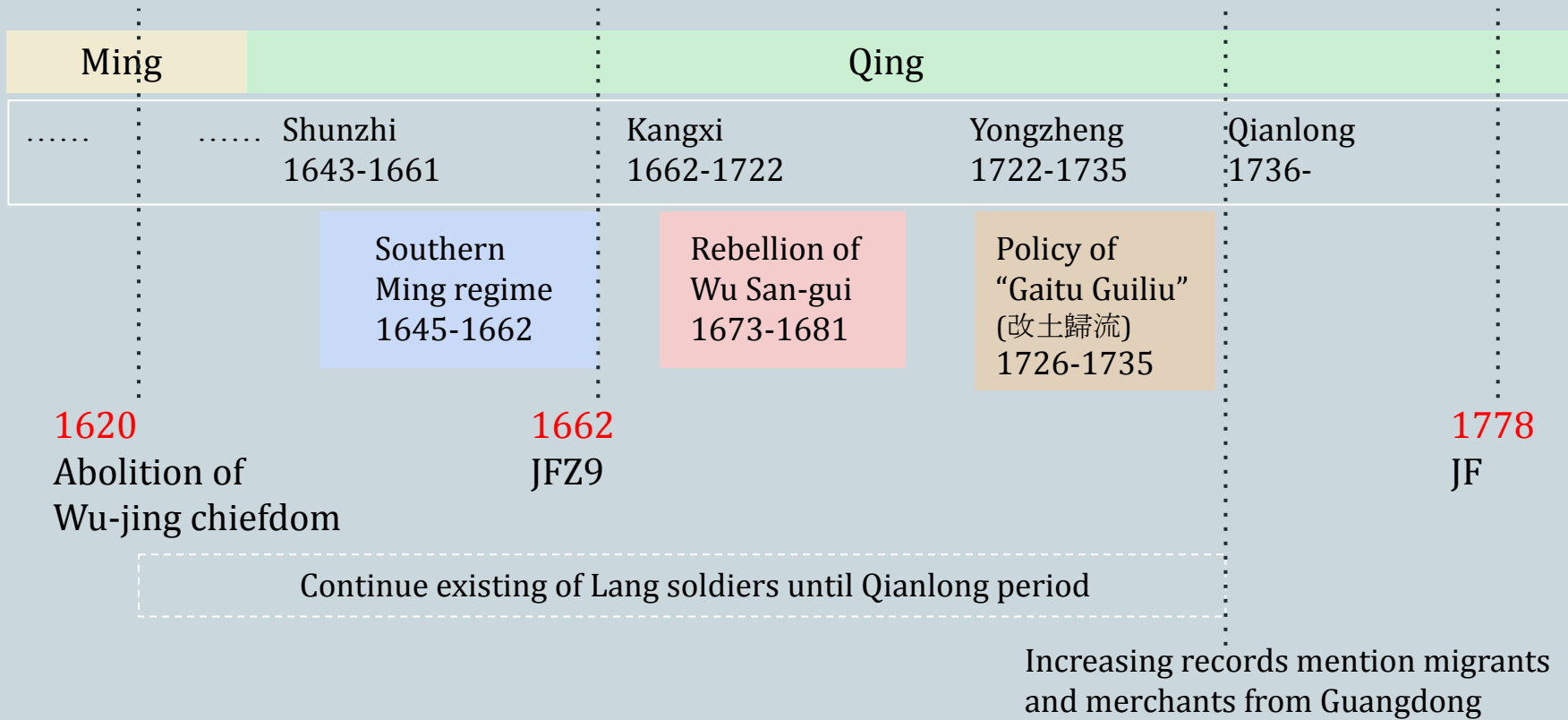
Zi-jing barrack 紫荊營:
 barrack of Lang soldiers



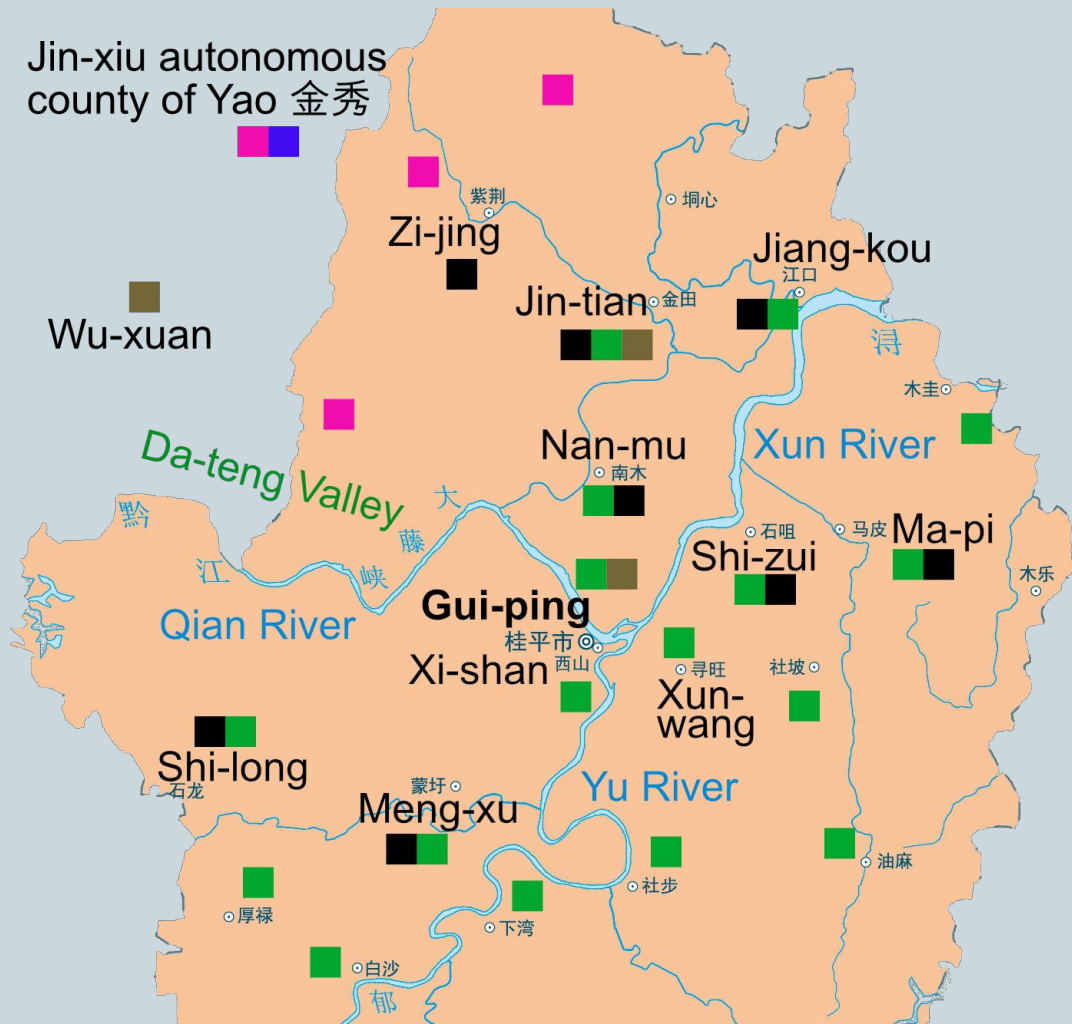
Map: *Dian Yue Yaozuan*
 殿粵要纂. 1599-1602

Distribution of ethnicity
 in Wu-jing chieftom

- ◇ Village of Zhuang
- Barracks of Lang soldiers
- Village of Han commoners



A suggestion on historical distribution of languages in Guiping 1662



- Goulou Yue
- Zhuang
- Mien
- SW Mandarin
- Lakkia

Conclusion

Through this analysis of JFZ9, the earliest linguistic record of the Guiping area from the mid-17th century, we conclude that Goulou Yue is included in the book. It also shows that Zhuang exerted considerable influence on local Yue poetry.

It is hoped that this paper will shed light on the historical linguistic landscape that helps us better understand language contact and cultural interaction in the Lingnan area.

Thank you for your attention!

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