



Language contact in Nanning — *A city on the Tai-Sinitic linguistic frontier*

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Setting: Sinitic Languages



(Lang atlas of China)

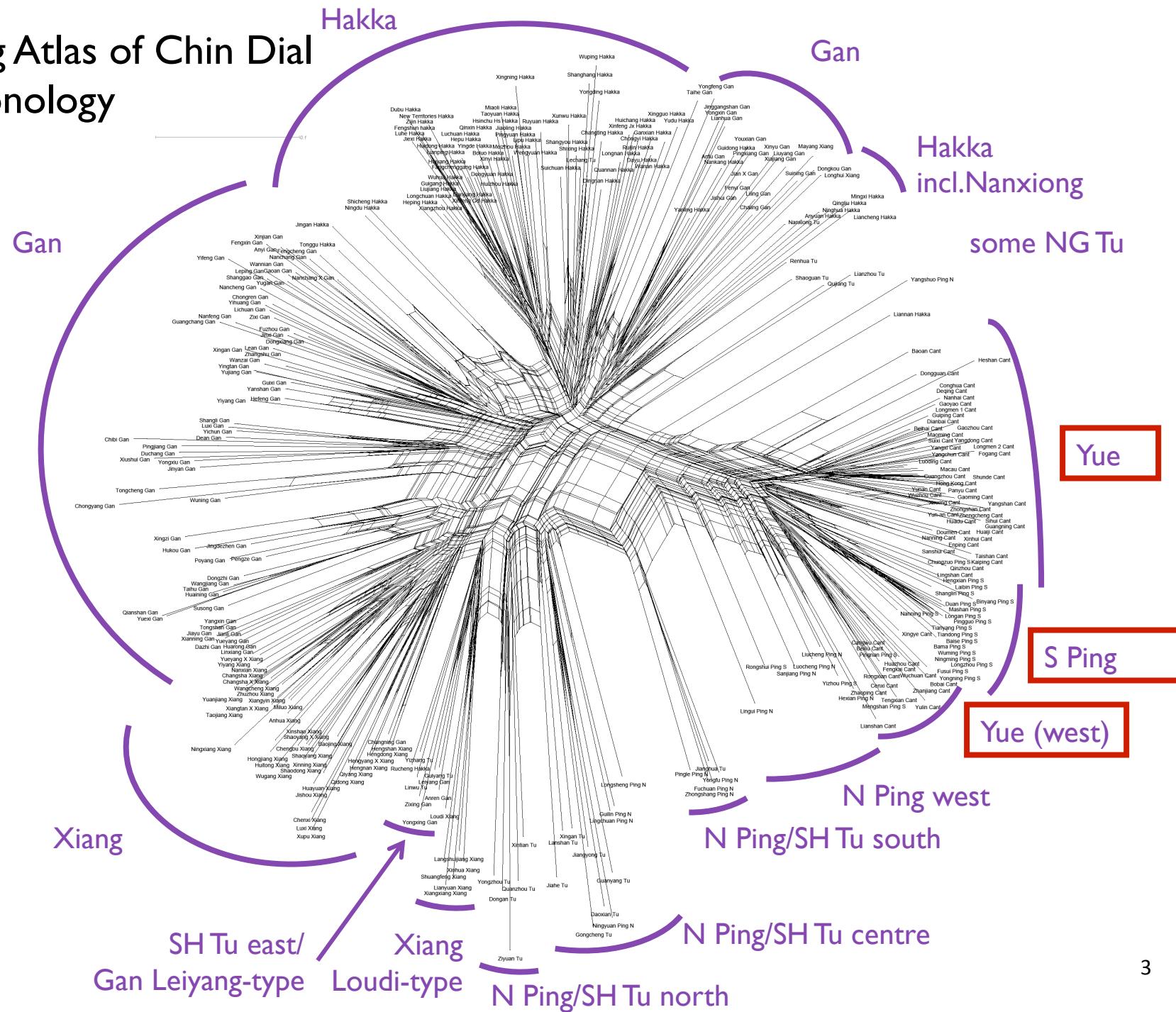


Nanning
南寧

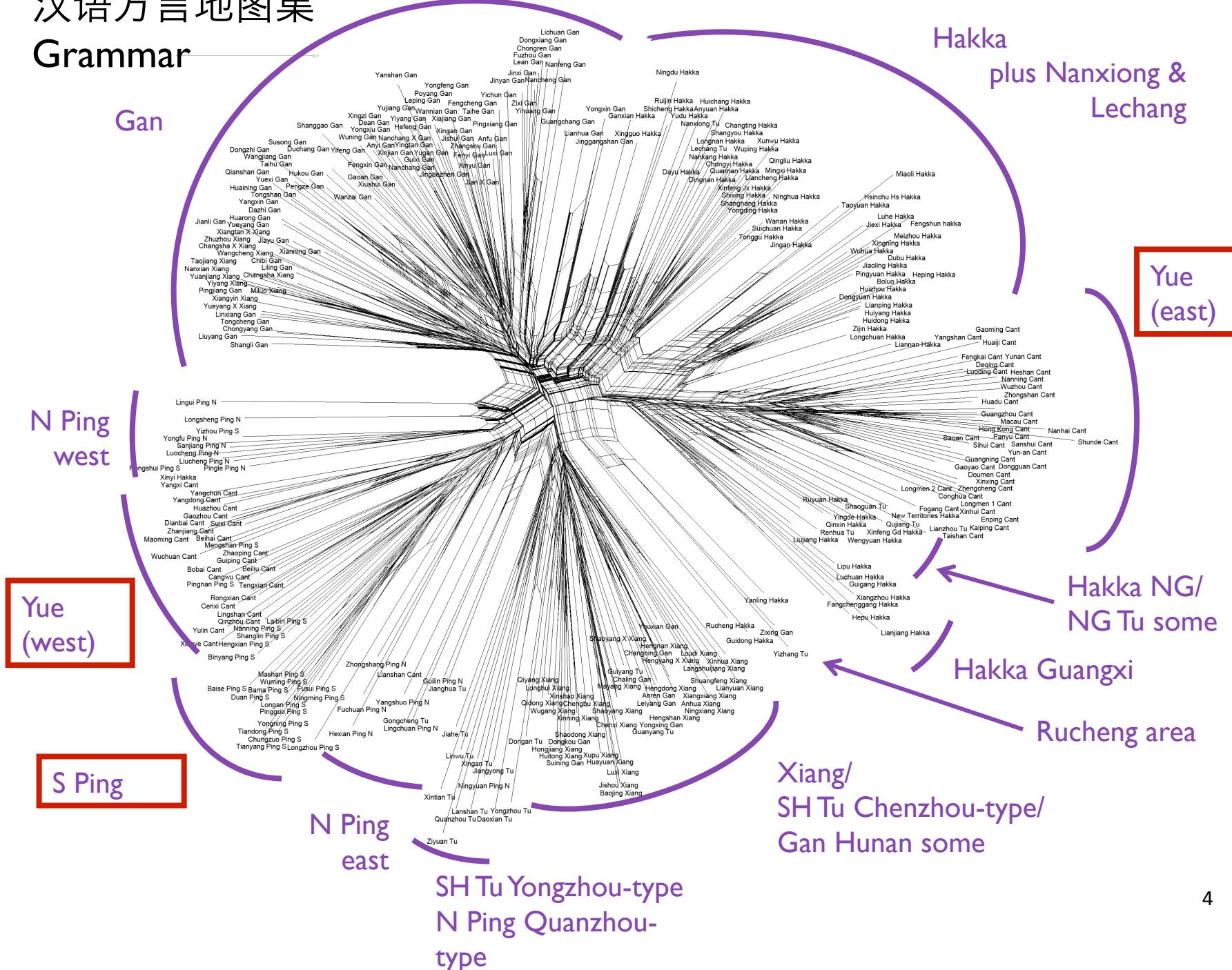
Pinghua
平話

Yue (e.g. Cantonese)
粵語

Ling Atlas of Chin Dial Phonology



汉语方言地图集 Grammar



Setting: Sinitic Languages

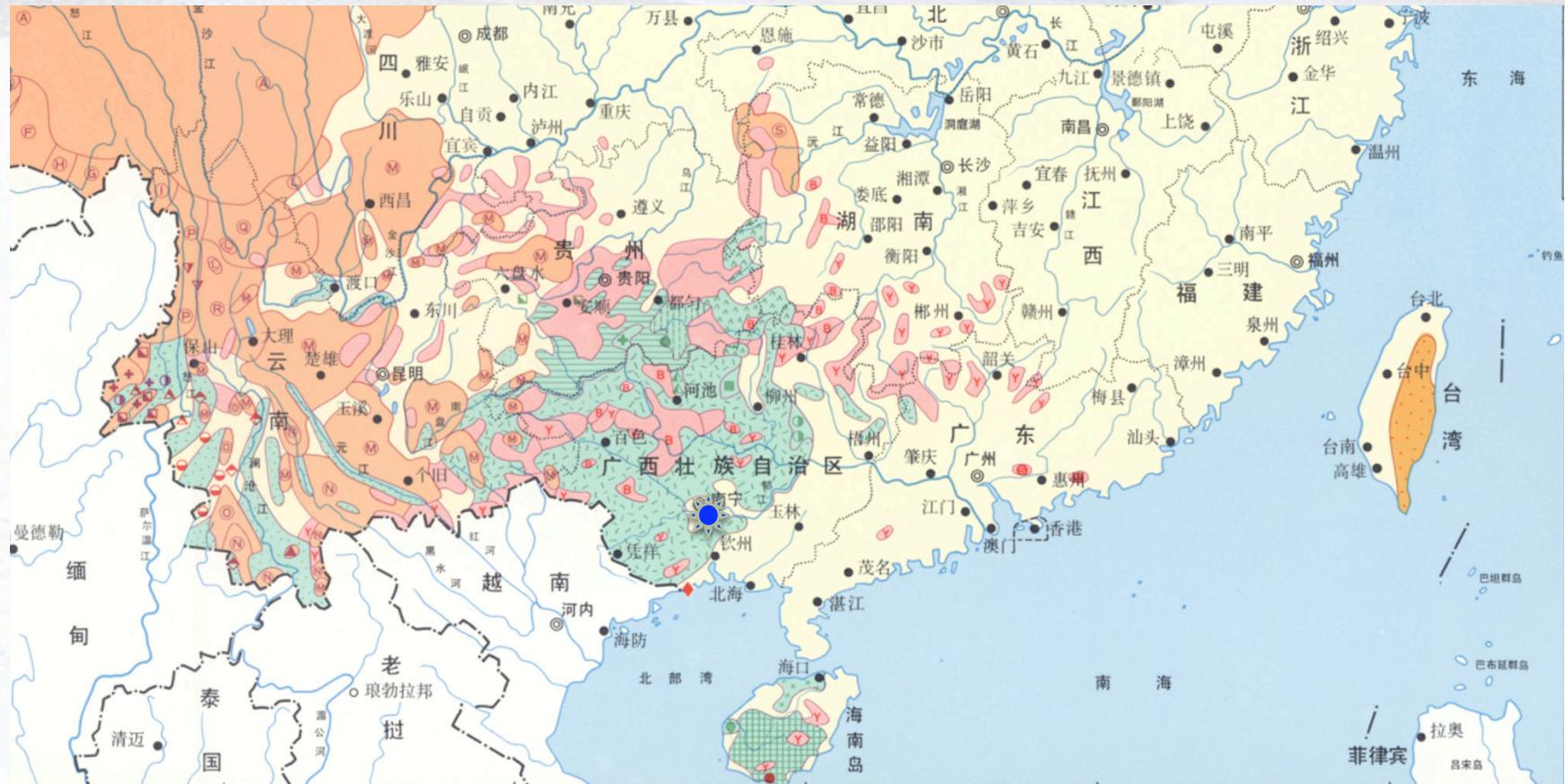


Nanning
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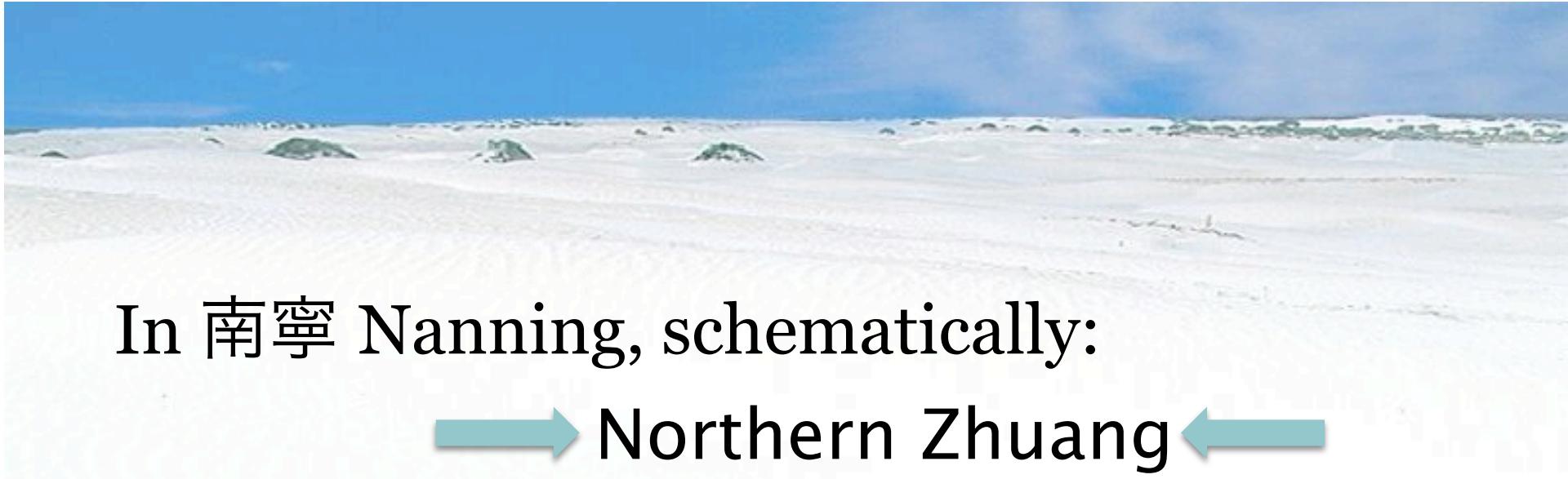
Setting: Non-Sinitic languages



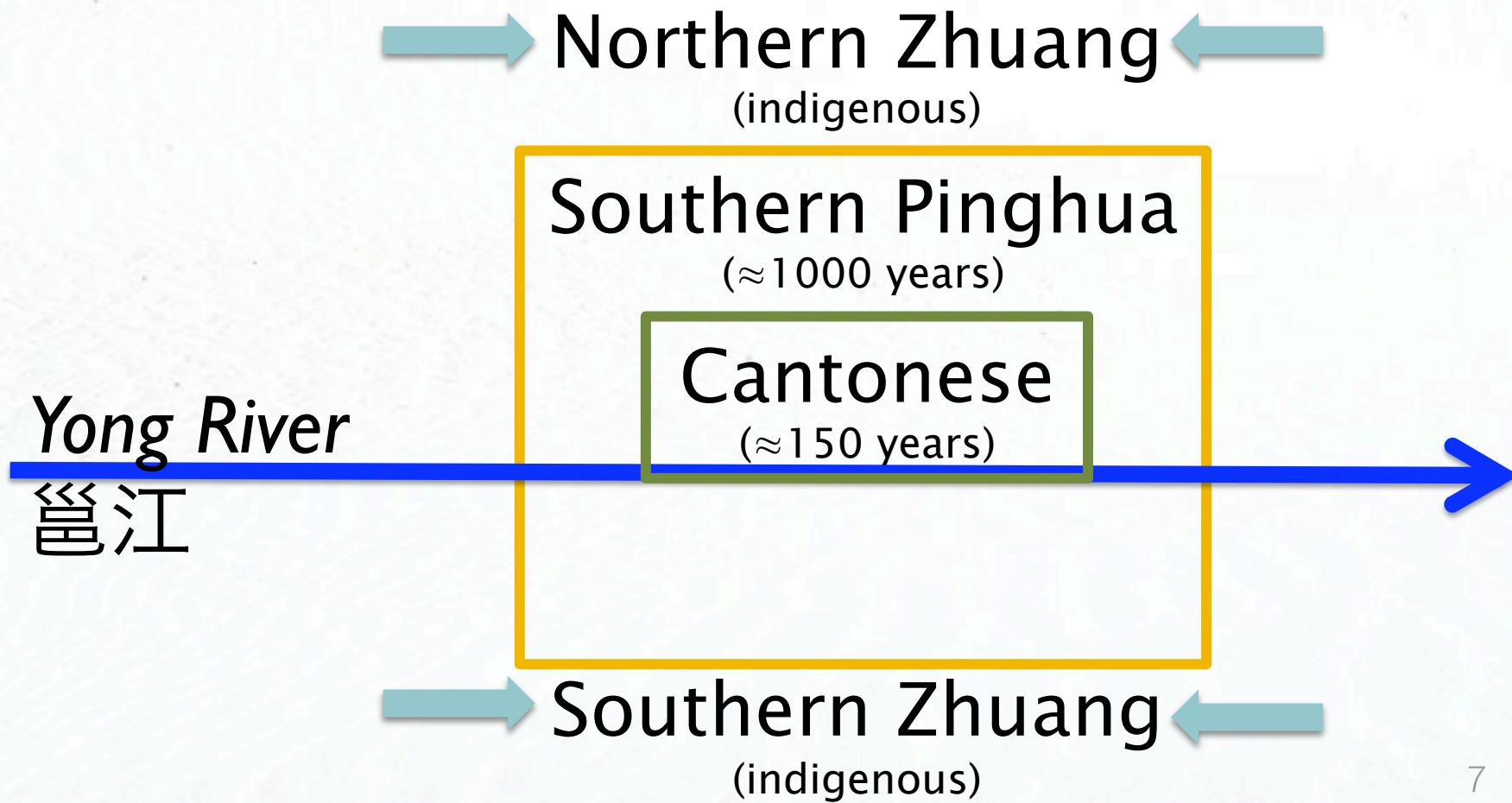
Nanning
南寧

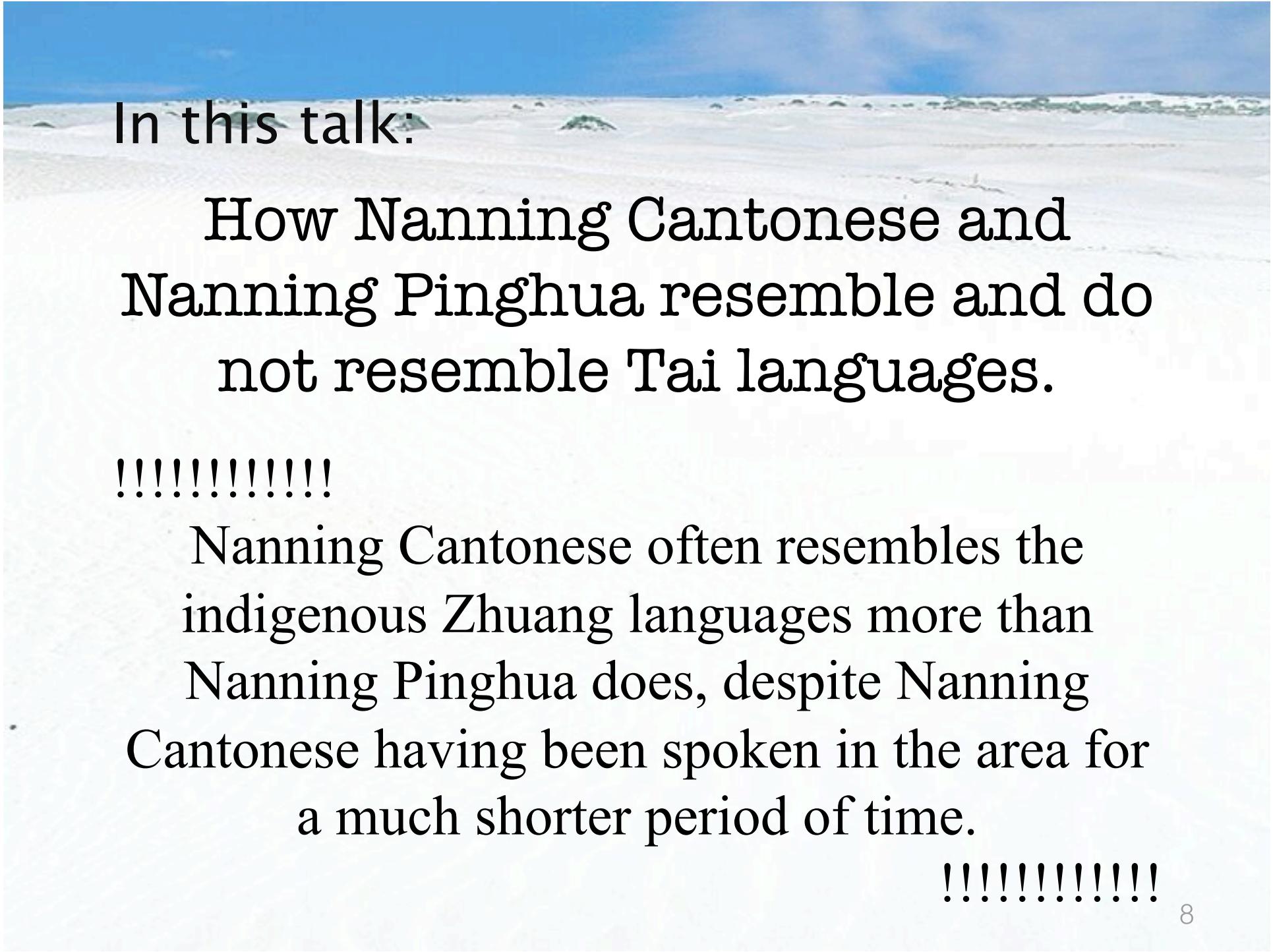
Kra-Dai languages
(e.g. Nth/Sth Zhuang)

**(Kra-Dai: the family
formerly known as Tai-Kadai)*



In 南寧 Nanning, schematically:





In this talk:

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

!!!!!!!!!!!!

Nanning Cantonese often resembles the indigenous Zhuang languages more than Nanning Pinghua does, despite Nanning Cantonese having been spoken in the area for a much shorter period of time.

!!!!!!!!!!!!

Not so much in this talk:

How the Zhuang languages resemble Sinitic languages.
see, e.g., Wang (1962), Dai (1992), Qin (2004), Sybesma (2008),
Zhao (2008))

Northern Zhuang at Sitang, Nanning (Zhao 2008: 34-35)

0. ‘that cow which eats grass’

various 17+ yo groups:

usually:

duz cwz [gwn nywj] hanx
CL cow [eat grass] that
(‘original’ Zhuang word order)

or:

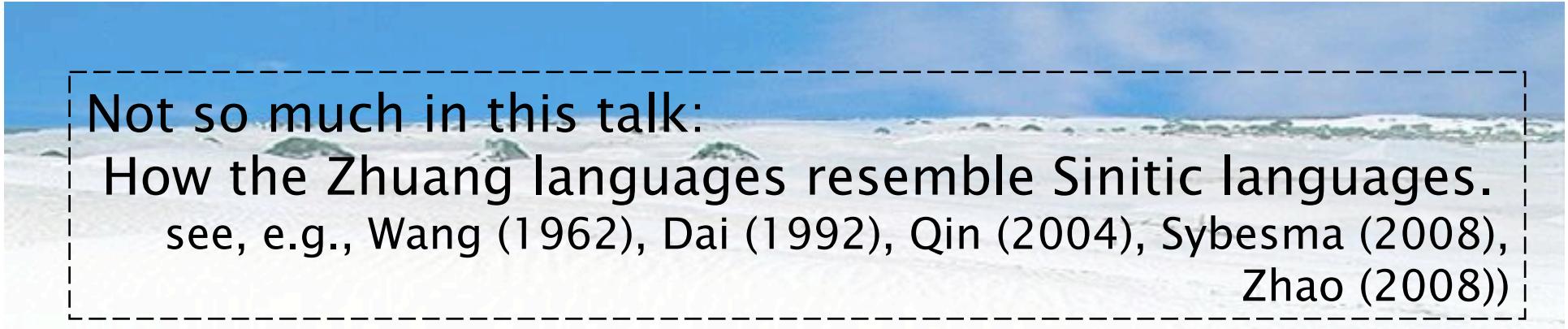
[gwn nywj] geq duz cwz hanx
[eat grass] MOD CL cow that

13-16 yo group:

[gwn nywj] geq duz cwz hanx
[eat grass] MOD CL cow that

<12 yo group:

[gwn nywj] geq hanx duz cwz
[eat grass] MOD that CL cow
(following Pinghua word order)



Not so much in this talk:

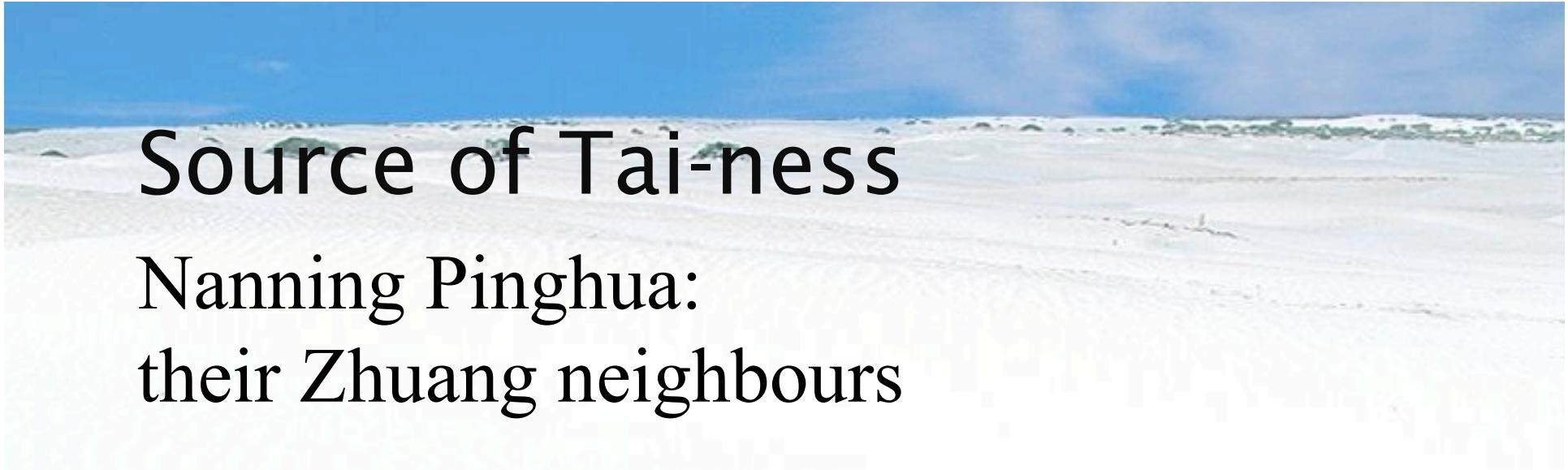
How the Zhuang languages resemble Sinitic languages.

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

Grammaticalisation of ACQUIRE in Cantonese, Northern Zhuang, Lao and Vietnamese (Sybesma 2008).

Zhuang like Cantonese (and unlike Lao & Viet):

- ACQUIRE often placed after verb rather than after object;
- used only with telic predicates (meaning ‘potential’);
- not used to mean ‘ability’



Source of Tai-ness

Nanning Pinghua:
their Zhuang neighbours

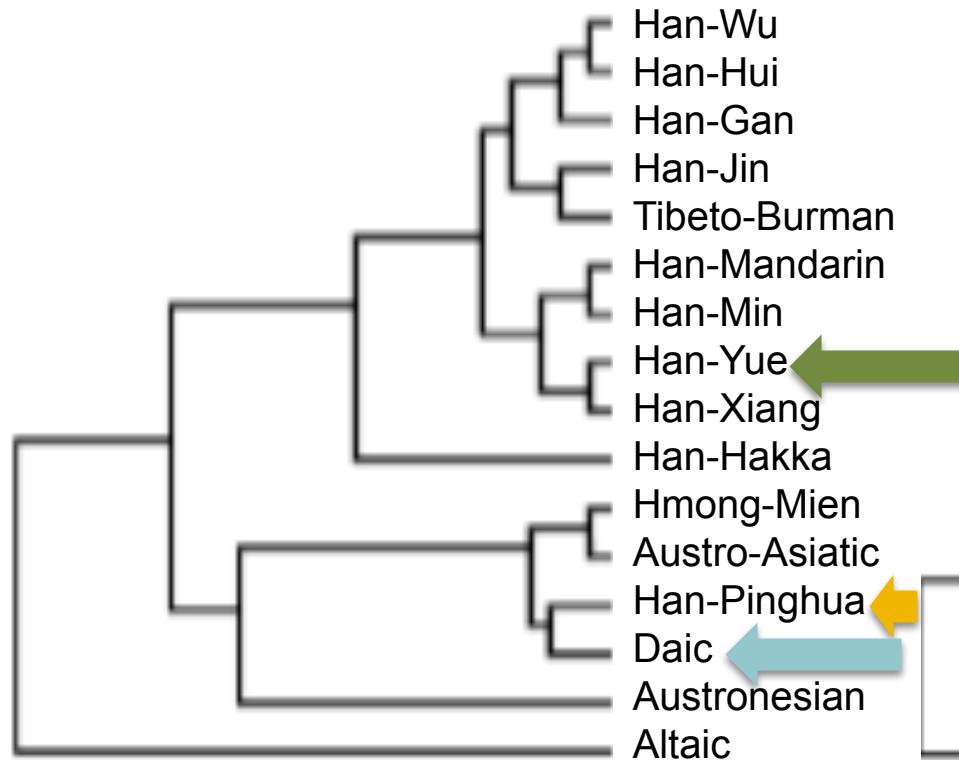
Nanning Cantonese:

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

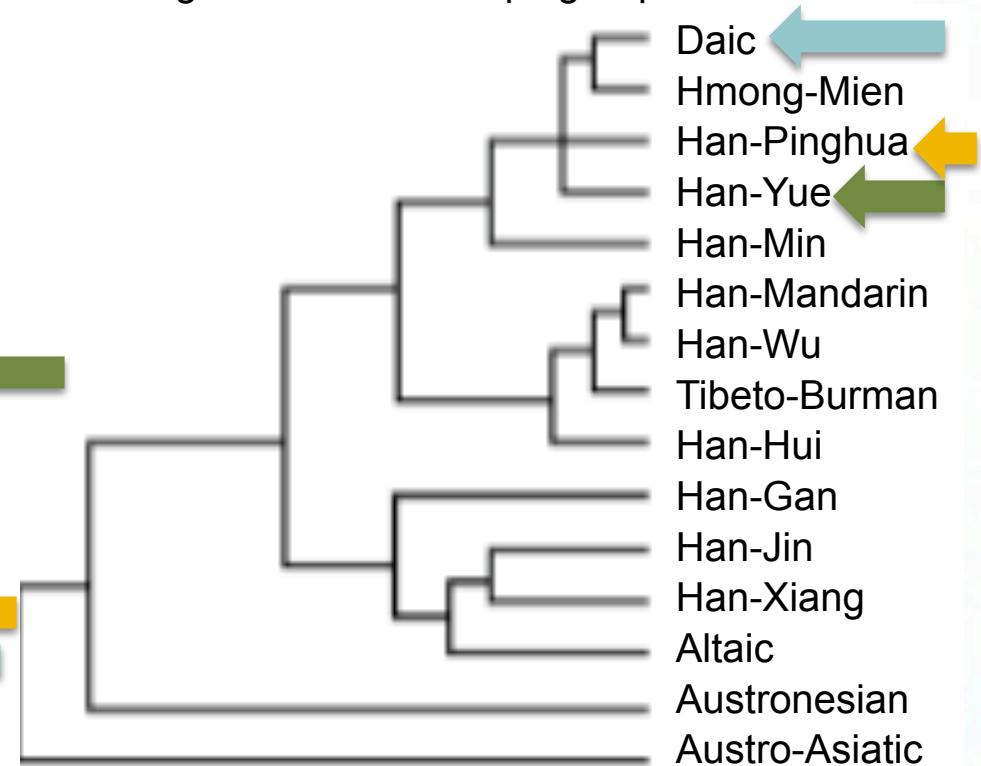
Genetics

- Gan, Pan et al. 2008 dendrogram clustering of Han Chinese branches and other East Asian phyla (also see Wen et al. 2004):

A Dendrogram of Y chromosome haplogroups



B Dendrogram of mtDNA haplogroups



Note: 'Han-Pinghua' = Northern Pinghua

Source of Tai-ness

Nanning Pinghua:
their Zhuang neighbours

had strong taboo of
intermarriage with
Zhuang

Nanning Cantonese:

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

Social factors & linguistic results

Nanning Pinghua

some bilingualism with Zhuang,
but interactions somewhat limited:

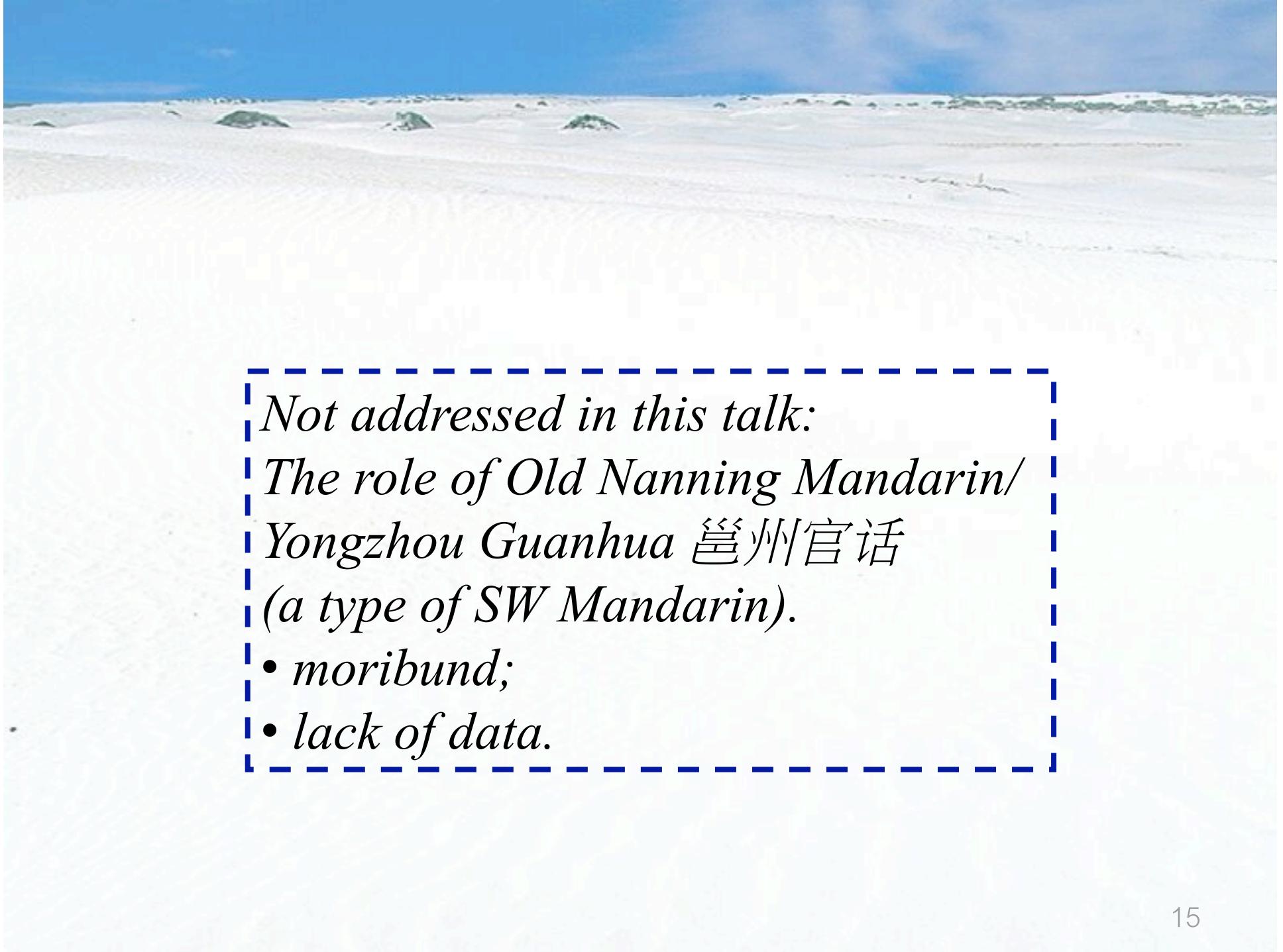
- *accumulated many Zhuang customs and loanwords;*
- *grammatical borrowings were comparatively few.*

had strong taboo of
intermarriage with
Zhuang

Nanning Cantonese

Many Zhuang absorbed into the Nanning Cantonese community:

- *'balanced' input of lexical and grammatical influence from Zhuang.*



Not addressed in this talk:

The role of Old Nanning Mandarin/

Yongzhou Guanhua 龙州官话

(a type of SW Mandarin).

- *moribund;*
- *lack of data.*

Summary of features in this talk

	Mandarin	Nanning Pinghua	Standard Cantonese	Nanning Cantonese	Northern Zhuang
Phonology					
σ	C GVC	CG VC	CG VC	CG VC	CC VC
tone DS/DL	–	–	+	+	+
Morphology					
N-♀	–	–	+	+	+
-子	many	many	few	few	none

Summary of features in this talk

	Mandarin	Nanning Pinghua	Standard Cantonese	Nanning Cantonese	Northern Zhuang
Syntax					
V + ‘first’	-	±	+	+	+
SURPASS comparative	-	±	+	+	+
[CL N] V	-	-	+	+	+
POSS [CL N]	-	-	+	+	[CL N] POSS
ADJ [CL N]	-	-	-	+	[CL N] ADJ
ADJ + ‘many’	-	±	-	+	+
anaphoric [CL]	-	-	-	+	+

(list not exhaustive:)

when Nanning Pinghua and Nanning Cantonese differ grammatically, usually
Nanning Pinghua resembles Mandarin, Nanning Cantonese resembles Zhuang)

Onsets

Wuming N Zhuang

p	t	k	?	pl	kj	kw
b	d					
m	n	ŋ		ml		
f	θ	c	v	h		
l	j	w				
?j	?w					

Yongning S Zhuang

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

Zhuang phonological data from Zhang et al. (1999)

Nanning Pinghua

p	t	k		kw
p^h	t^h	k^h		$k^h w$
m	n	j	ŋ	
f	ʃ		h	
	$tʃ$			
	$tʃ^h$			
l	j	w		
ɿ				

Nanning Cantonese

p	t	k		kw
p^h	t^h	k^h		$k^h w$
m	n		ŋ	
f	ʃ		h	
	$tʃ$			
	$tʃ^h$			
l	j	w		
ɿ				

- /t/ (or /θ/ in some places) is Tai-influenced (but high occurrence rate in Sinitic words as well);
- few sibilants (Sinitic languages typically have sibilants at at least two places of articulations);
- The CG|VC syllable structure resembles CC|VC in Tai rather than the usual C|GVC in Sinitic languages.

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

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



Even if you believe in medial G being part of the onset
in Sinitic languages like Mandarin (e.g. Duanmu 2007)

	p	p^h	m	f	t	t^h	n	l	k	k^h	x	$t\varsigma$	$t\varsigma^h$	ʂ	ʐ	ts	ts^h	s
j	p^j	p^{jh}	m^j		t^j	t^{jh}	n^j	l^j	$t\varsigma^j$	$t\varsigma^{jh}$	ς^j							
w					t^w	t^{wh}	n^w	l^w	k^w	k^{wh}	x^w	$t\varsigma^w$	$t\varsigma^{wh}$	ς^w	$ʐ^w$	ts^w	ts^{wh}	s^w
ɥ							$n^ɥ$	$l^ɥ$	$t\varsigma^ɥ$	$t\varsigma^{ɥh}$	$\varsigma^ɥ$							

S Pinghua/ Cantonese is still abnormal for Sinitic Ings:

k^w k^{wh}

(more like number of CC in Tai)

Rhymes

Wuming N Zhuang

a	w	i	u	ɛ	ɔ
---	---	---	---	---	---

aj	aj	məj	uəj	ɔ:j
----	----	-----	-----	-----

a:w	aw	iəw	ɛ:w
-----	----	-----	-----

aŋ

a:p	ap	iəp	ip	uəp	up	ɛ:p	ɔ:p	o:p
-----	----	-----	----	-----	----	-----	-----	-----

a:m	am	iəm	im	uəm	um	ɛ:m	ɔ:m	o:m
-----	----	-----	----	-----	----	-----	-----	-----

a:t	at	mət	ut	iət	it	uət	ut	ɛ:t	ɔ:t	o:t
-----	----	-----	----	-----	----	-----	----	-----	-----	-----

a:n	an	mən	ən	iən	in	uən	un	ɛ:n	ɔ:n	o:n
-----	----	-----	----	-----	----	-----	----	-----	-----	-----

a:k	ak	wk	iək	ik	uək	uk	ɛ:k	ɔ:k	o:k
-----	----	----	-----	----	-----	----	-----	-----	-----

a:ŋ	aŋ	mŋ	iəŋ	iŋ	uəŋ	uŋ	ɛ:ŋ	ɔ:ŋ	oŋ
-----	----	----	-----	----	-----	----	-----	-----	----

Rhymes

Yongning S Zhuang

a	ə	i	u	ɛ	ɔ
---	---	---	---	---	---

a:j	aj	ə:j		u:j		ej	ɔ:j
-----	----	-----	--	-----	--	----	-----

a:w	aw		i:w		ɛ:w		ow
-----	----	--	-----	--	-----	--	----

a:p	ap	ə:p	i:p	ɪ:p	ɛ:p	ɔ:p
-----	----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

a:m	am	ə:m	əm	i:m	ɪ:m	ɛ:m	ɔ:m
-----	----	-----	----	-----	-----	-----	-----

a:t	at	ə:t	i:t	ɪ:t	u:t	ʊ:t	ɛ:t	ɔ:t	o:t
-----	----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

a:n	an	ə:n	i:n	ɪ:n	u:n	ʊ:n	ɛ:n	ɔ:n	o:n
-----	----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

a:k	ak	ə:k	ək	ɪ:k	u:k	ʊ:k	ɛ:k	ɔ:k	o:k
-----	----	-----	----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

a:ŋ	aŋ	ə:ŋ	əŋ	ɪ:ŋ	u:ŋ	ʊ:ŋ	ɛ:ŋ	ɔ:ŋ	o:ŋ
-----	----	-----	----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

Nanning Shangyao Pinghua

a	ə	i	u	ɛ	ɔ
aj	ɛj	əj	uj		ɔj
aw	ɛw	əw	iw		ɛw

ap ũp ip

am ũm im

at ət ət it ut ət ɔt

an ən ən in un ən ɔn

ak ũk ɨk ũk ɛk

əŋ ɛŋ ɨŋ ũŋ ɛŋ

Nanning Cantonese

a		i	u	ɛ	ɔ	æ	y
aj	ɛj		uj		ɔj		
aw	ɛw	əw	iw		ɛw		

ap ũp ip εp

am ũm im εm m̩

at ət ət it ut ət ɔt œt yt

an ən ən in un ən ɔn yn

ak ũk ɨk ũk ɛk ɔk œk

əŋ ɛŋ ɨŋ ũŋ ɛŋ ɔŋ œŋ ñ

- some vowel length contrasts (very rare in other Sinitic langs);
(to save space: here V = long vowel, ɻ = short vowel)
- conservative with -p -t -k -m -n -ŋ codas;
- not many Yue dialects have rounded front vowels.

Tones

Many proto-languages in the region

- Middle Chinese;
 - Proto Kra-Dai;
 - Proto Viet-Muong;
 - Proto Hmong-Mien;
 - (? Proto Bai);
 - (? Proto Karen)
- had ‘four’ tones.

the last tone/“Tone D”
= plosive-ending syllable.
(the others have
sonorant-ending
syllable)

	*A	*B	*C	*DS	*DL
*VOICELESS	˥	˧	˥	˥	˥
*VOICED	˨	˧	˨	˧	˨

	*A	*B	*C	*DS	*DL
*ASPIRATED, *GLOTTALISED	˧	˨	˥	˥	˨
*UNASPIRATED	˥	˧	˥	˥	˥
*VOICED	˨	˨	˨?	˧	˨

Tones

Nanning/ Standard Cantonese tones					
	*level 平 (= Tai *A)	*rising 上 (= Tai *C)	*departing 去 (= Tai *B)	*entering 入 (= Tai *D)	
*VOICELESS	˥	˧	˨	˥s	˨L
*VOICED	˨	˩	˧	˧s	˧L

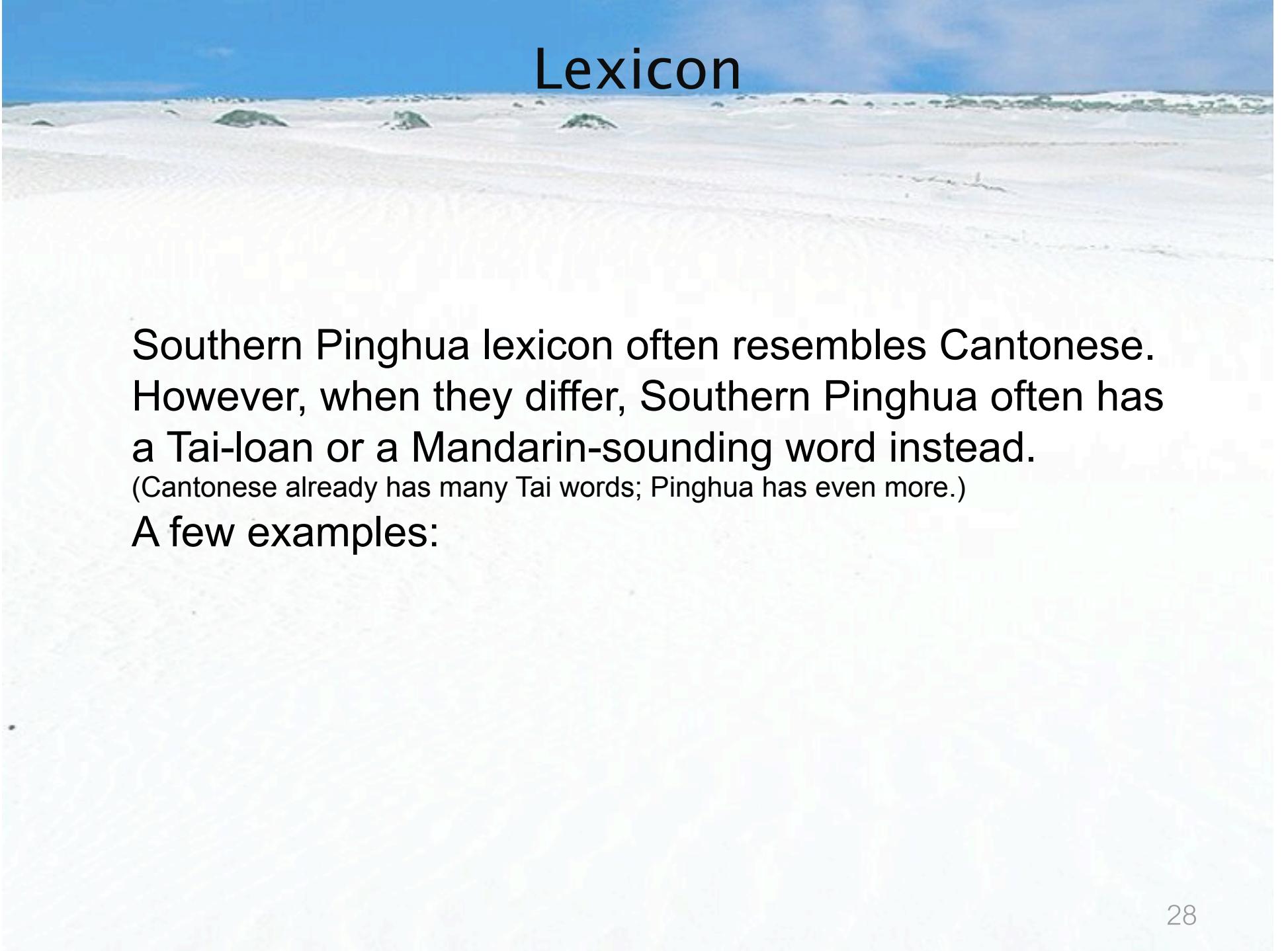
- vowel length contrast for the entering tone in vast majority of Yue dialects and some Southern Pinghua dialects (unique in Sinitic languages; ubiquitous in Kra-Dai languages);

Tones

Nanning (Xinxu/Shangyao) Pinghua tones

	*level 平 (= Tai *A)	*rising 上 (= Tai *C)	*departing 去 (= Tai *B)	*entering 入 (= Tai *D)
*ASPIRATED	\	-	/	-
*UNASPIRATED		-	/	/
*NASAL	-	/	-	/
*VOICED ORAL	/	/	-	-

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



Lexicon

Southern Pinghua lexicon often resembles Cantonese. However, when they differ, Southern Pinghua often has a Tai-loan or a Mandarin-sounding word instead.
(Cantonese already has many Tai words; Pinghua has even more.)

A few examples:

Lexicon

Nanning Pinghua	Northern Zhuang	c.f. Cantonese
wən˥ (-tci˧) 隊 (1PL.INCL)	wun˥ '(other) people'	(no clusivity distinction)
hei˥ / hei˥ / li˧ / li˧ / li˧ / li˧ 'give'	həu˥ 'give'	Nng: 畏 pi˧ / li˧ 'give' / 給 kəi˧ (< SW Mand.) Stnd: 畏 pei˧ 'give'
jən˥ 'cold'	P-Tai *?jen ^A 'cool' (Li 1977)	凍 tʂəŋ˧ 'cold'
həŋ˥ 'too non-tact. hot'	huŋ˥ 'hot weather'	?
ɿən˥ 'shiver'	θən˥ 'shiver'	震 tsən˧ 'shake'
hən˥ 'play'	fan˥ 'play'	玩 wan˥ 'play'
puk˧ (-tsi˧ 子) 'pomelo'	(maak˧-) puk˧ 'pomelo'	碌柚 lʊk˧ ljuŋ˧ 'pomelo'
ɿek˧ 'a few'	θak˧ 'a few'	Nng: 幾 ki˧ / ɿek˧ Stnd: 幾 kei˧ 'a few'
nəm˧ 'stupid'	nam˧ 'slow'	Nng: nəm˧ 'unsophisticated' Stnd: 蠢 tsʰən˧ 'stupid'

Lexicon

Nanning Pinghua	Mandarin	c.f. Cantonese
是 li˧ ‘be’	是 sɿ˥ ‘be’	係 hɛi˧ ‘be’
喫 hɛt˧ ‘eat’	喫 tʂʰɿ˧ ‘eat’	食 sɪk˧ ‘eat’
看 han˧ ‘look’	看 kʰan˧ ‘look’	睇 tʰiɛ˧ ‘look’
鼻 pət˧(Entering) ‘nose’	鼻 pi˧(<*Entering) ‘nose’	鼻 pei˧(Departing) ‘nose’
了 liu˧ PERFECTIVE	了 lə PERFECTIVE	Stnd: 唉 tsɔ˧ PFV Nng: 晒 lai˧ PFV
捱 ɲai˧ PASSIVE (‘suffer’) <i>(can be agentless)</i>	SW Mand. 捱 ɲæ˧ PASSIVE <i>(can be agentless)</i>	Stnd Cantonese: 畀 pei˧ PASSIVE (‘give’) <i>(must be agented)</i> Nng Cantonese: 捱 ɲai˧ (agented/less) 給 kɛi˧/畀 pi˧ (agented)

Grammar

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

Nanning Pinghua

1. [佢 老弟 欠 我] 個 一 大 單 錢
kəi¹³ lau¹³təi¹³ him²⁵ ɲa¹³ kə⁵⁵ et³ tai²² tan⁵³ tʃin¹¹
3SG 1.brother owe 1SG LIG one big CL money
'the big sum of money that his/her little brother owe me'

2. 佢 自日 還 了 個 單 錢 系 我。
kəi¹³ tʃi²²-nət¹³ wan¹¹ liu¹³ kə⁵⁵ tan⁵³ tʃin¹¹ hei²⁵ ɲa¹³
3SG yester-day return PFV DEM CL money give 1SG
'S/he returned that sum of money to me yesterday.'

Morphological differences between Southern Pinghua and Cantonese

Gender affixes:

3.	Mandarin <u>MOD</u> N	Nanning Pinghua <u>MOD</u> N	Northern Zhuang N <u>MOD</u>	Cantonese N <u>MOD</u>
'cock'	公雞 <u>gōng</u> jī	公雞 <u>kʊŋ</u> ⁵³ <u>kei</u> ⁵³	<i>gaiq baeux</i>	雞公 <u>gai1</u> <u>gung1</u>
'hen'	母雞 <u>mǔ</u> jī	母雞 <u>mu</u> ¹³ <u>kei</u> ⁵³	<i>gaiq meh</i>	雞乸 <u>gai1</u> <u>naa2</u>
'pre-ovulating hen/ pullet'	?	項雞 <u>han</u> ²² <u>kei</u> ⁵³	<i>gaiq hangh</i>	雞項 <u>gai1</u> <u>hong2</u>



Noun marker 子 tʃi³³

4.

孝子

hau²⁵ tʃi³³
filial son
'filial son'

瓜子

kʷa⁵³ tʃi³³
melon child
'seed'

扣子

kʰəu²⁵-tʃi³³
fasten-NMLZ
'button'

鑿子

tʃak²-tʃi³³
chisel-NMLZ
'chisel'



5. 車子
tʂʰε⁵³-tʂí³³
car-NM
'car'

蝦子
ha⁵³-tʂí³³
shrimp-NM
'shrimp'

鬍子
hu¹¹-tʂí³³
beard-NM
'beard'

亭子
tən¹¹-tʂí³³
pavilion-NM
'pavilion'

果子
ku³³-tʂí³³
fruit-NM
'fruit'

星子
lən⁵³-tʂí³³
star-NM
'star'

椅子
əi³³-tʂí³³
chair-NM
'chair'

骰子
lək³-tʂí³³
dice-NM
'dice'

蕉子
tʂiu⁵³-tʂí³³
banana-NM
'banana'

薄子
pʊk²-tʂí³³
grapefruit-NM
'grapefruit'

窗子
tʂʰəŋ⁵³-tʂí³³
window-NM
'window'

(Noun markers are ubiquitous in Mandarin, but much less prevalent in Cantonese; Cantonese and Zhuang have a lot more monosyllabic nouns.)³⁴

Syntactic differences between Southern Pinghua and Cantonese

‘first’ []_{VP}:

Nanning Pinghua:

6. 我 先 [行]_{VP}
ŋa¹³ lin⁵³ hɛŋ¹¹
1SG first go
'I (shall) go first.'

[]_{VP} ‘first’:

Cantonese:

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

Standard Mandarin:

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

Northern Zhuang:

9. mwngz [bae]_{VP} gonq
2SG go first
'You go first.'



Comparative construction:

Nanning Pinghua *surpass* construction:

10. 我 高 過 你
ŋa¹³ kau⁵³ ku⁵⁵ nəi¹³
1SG tall SURPASS 2SG
'I am taller than you.'

Nanning Pinghua *compare* construction:

11. 我 比 你 高
ŋa¹³ pəi³³ nəi¹³ kau⁵³
1SG COMPARE 2SG tall
'I am taller than you.'

Cantonese *surpass* construction:

12. 我 高 過 你
ngo⁵ gou² gwo³ nei⁵
1SG tall SURPASS 2SG
'I am taller than you.'

Standard Mandarin *compare* construction:

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

Northern Zhuang:

13. gou sang gvaq mwngz
1SG tall SURPASS 2SG
'I am taller than you.'

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



Pre-verbal [CL N]:

Northern Zhuang:

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

Cantonese:

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

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

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



Modifier marker 個kə⁵⁵

Nanning Pinghua:

18. 我 個 衫 爛 喇
ŋa¹³ kə⁵⁵ lam⁵³ lan²² la³³
1SG MOD clothes torn ASP
'My clothes are torn.'

Standard Mandarin:

19. 我 的 衣服
wǒ de yīfu
1SG MOD clothes
'My clothes'

Cantonese:

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

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

Northern Zhuang:

22. bonj saw gou
CL book 1SG
'My book'

How Nanning Cantonese resembles Zhuang even further

Nanning Cantonese

ADJ + CL + N

23. 黃色支筆有寫得晒，黑色色支重得。
wɔŋ²¹ sek⁵ tʃi⁵⁵ pət⁵ mu²⁴ tε³⁵ tek⁵ lai³³ hɛk⁵ sek⁵ tʃi⁵⁵ tʂuŋ²² tek⁵
yellow colour CL pen NEG write can PFV black colour CL still can
'The yellow pen does not work, the black one still works.' (Lin & Qin 2008:278)

24. 妈糊高只男嵐好呖嘅。
ma⁵⁵ wu²¹ ku⁵⁵ tʃek³ nam²¹ tʃei³⁵ hu³⁵ lek⁵ kɛ³³
quite tall CL male child very capable MOD
'The quite-tall boy is very capable.' (Lin & Qin 2008:277)

Northern Zhuang

CL + N + ADJ

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



Nanning Pinghua (also in Standard Cantonese)

ADJ + DEM/NUM + CL + N

26. 细 个 间 房 我 住,
 ləi⁵⁵ kə⁵⁵ kan⁵³ fʊŋ¹¹ ŋa¹³ tʃəi²²
 small DEM CL room 1SG live
‘I stay in the small room here,’

Mandarin

ADJ + MOD + DEM/NUM + CL + N

27. 小 的 那 个 房间 其实 不错。
 xiǎo de nà ge fángjiān qíshí bú-cuò
 small MOD DEM CL room in:fact NEG-wrong
‘The small room is in fact not bad.’

Or put ADJ within the scope of CL (i.e.the usual position of ADJ)

Nanning Pinghua

... CL + ADJ (+ MOD) + N

28. 佢 脱 去 件 龔𠵼 (个) 衫。
 kəi¹³ tʰut³ həi²⁵ kin²² ʊk³tʃʰʊk³ (kə⁵⁵) ləm⁵³
 3SG remove away CL dirty MOD shirt
‘S/he took off the dirty shirt.’



ADJ + ‘many’ = too X

Northern Zhuang:

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

Nanning Cantonese:

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



‘too’ + ADJ:

Nanning Pinghua:

31. 太 飽 (多) 有 噥 嘲
t^{hai}²⁵ pau³³ (tɔ⁵³) mi¹³ het³ la³³
too full (many) NEG eat CRRNT.RLVNCE
'I am too full I will not eat it anymore.'

Standard Cantonese:

32. 太 飽 吡 食 嘲
tai3 bau2 m4 sik6 laa3
too full NEG eat CRRNT.RLVNCE
'I am too full I will not eat it anymore.'

Standard Mandarin:

33. 我 太 飽 了
wǒ tài bǎo le
1SG too full CRRNT.RLVNCE
'I am too full.'



Anaphoric use of [CL]

Nanning Cantonese

34. 啟 狗 我 中意 只, 有 中意 只, 只 難睇 多。
ti⁵⁵ keu³⁵ u²⁴ tʃuŋ^{55..33} tʃek³ mu²⁴ tʃuŋ^{55..33} tʃek³ tʃek³ nan²¹tʰai³⁵ to⁵⁵
CL dog 1SG like CL NEG like CL CL ugly too
'(Out of) the dogs I like this one, I do not like that one, that one is too ugly.' (Lin & Qin 2008:277)

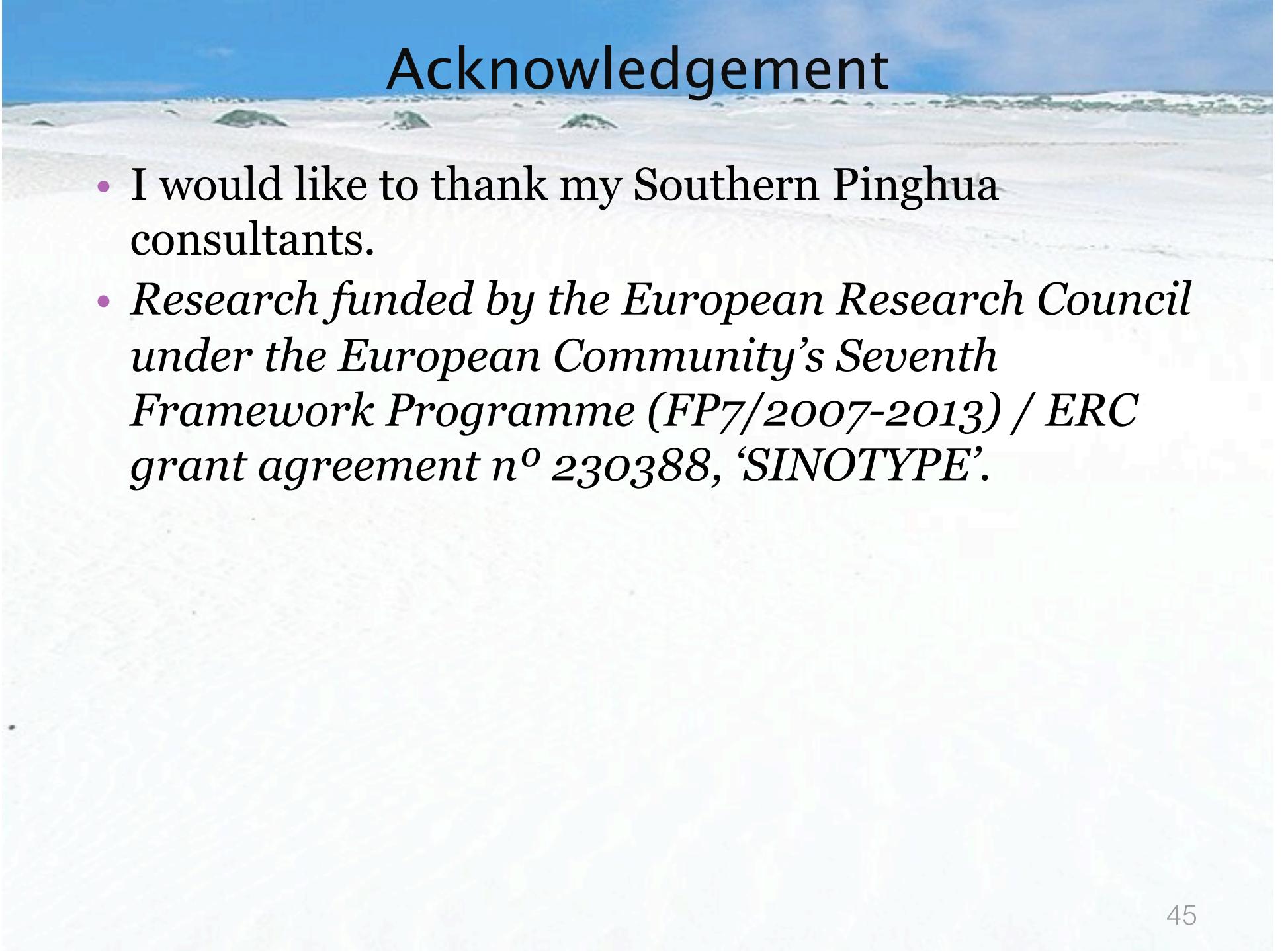
Northern Zhuang

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

Conclusion

In Nanning area:

- Nanning Pinghua has been in the Nanning area for about 1000 years, and has a lot of lexical borrowings (and some phonological and syntactic borrowings) from the indigenous Tai languages;
- Nanning Cantonese has been in the Nanning area for about 150 years, but its phonology and grammar is even more like the Tai languages:
 1. Cantonese already had a strong Tai substratum before their move into the Nanning area;
 2. After their arrival in Nanning area, many Zhuang people shifted to Nanning Cantonese and absorbed into the Cantonese community (Pinghua people, on the other hand, had strong taboo towards intermarriage with the Zhuang).



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