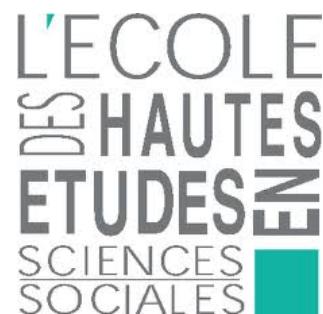


# Nanning Cantonese and Nanning Pinghua — *their Tai-ness and non-Tai-ness*

Hilário de Sousa

ERC SINOTYPE project

École des hautes études en sciences sociales



*hilario@bambooradical.com*

*hilario.de-sousa@ehess.fr*



# Setting: Sinitic Languages



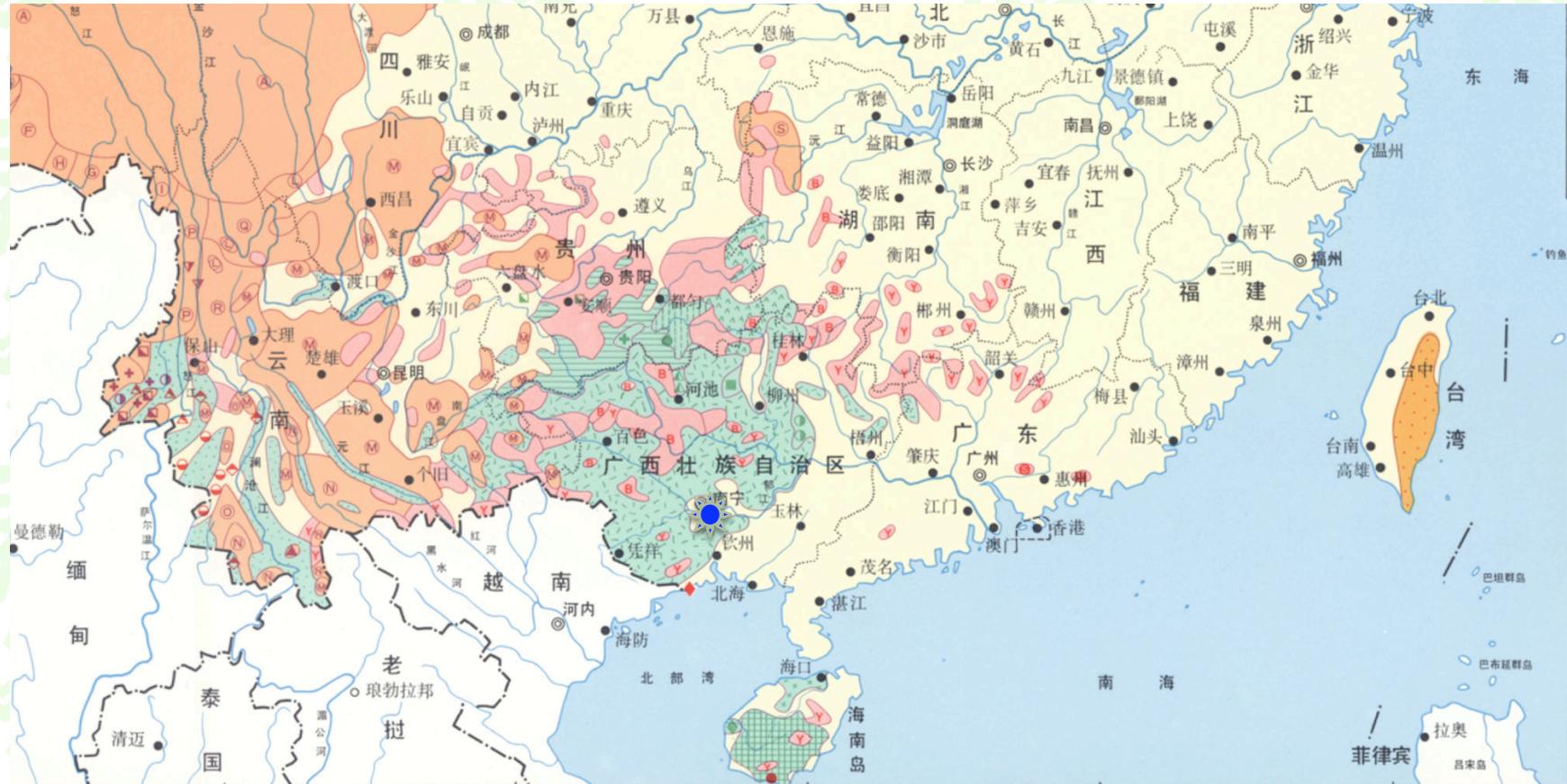
(Lang atlas of China)

Nanning  
南寧

Pinghua  
平話

Yue (e.g. Cantonese)  
粵語

# Setting: Non-Sinitic languages



Nanning  
南寧

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

In 南寧 Nanning, schematically:

Northern Zhuang  
(indigenous)

Southern Pinghua  
(≈1000 years)

Cantonese  
(≈100 years)

*Yong River*  
邕江

Southern Zhuang  
(indigenous)

In this talk:

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

Not in this talk:

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

# Source of Tai-ness

Nanning Pinghua:  
their Zhuang neighbours

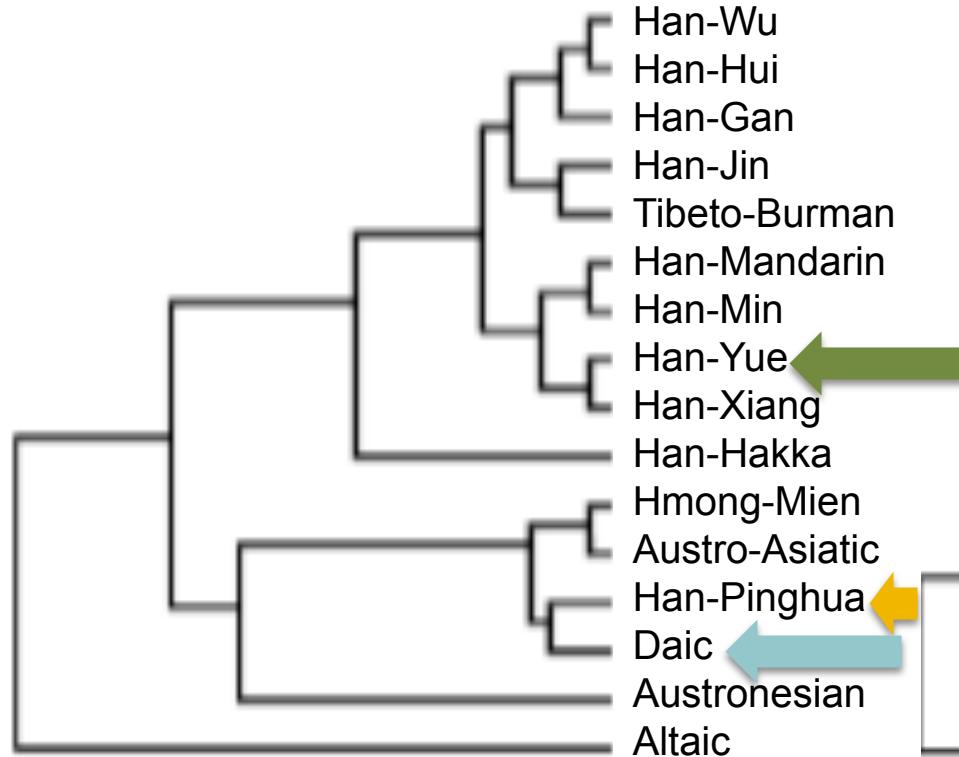
Nanning Cantonese:

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

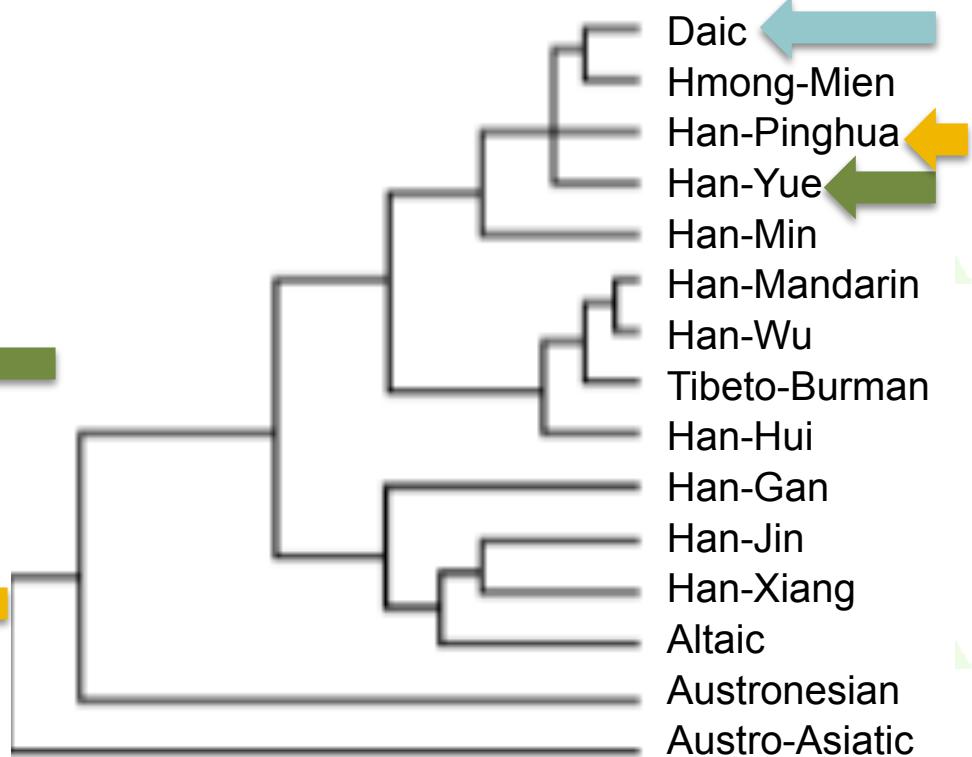
# Genetics

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

# 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 <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>		p <sup>h</sup> l	k <sup>h</sup> l	k <sup>h</sup> w
m	n	ŋ		ml		
f				h	hl	
		tʃ				
		tʃ <sup>h</sup>				
v	l	j				
		ɿ				

Zhuang phonological data from Zhang et al. (1999)



## Nanning Pinghua

p	t	k	kw
$p^h$	$t^h$	$k^h$	$k^hw$
m	n	$\text{ŋ}$	$\text{ŋ}$
f	$\text{ʃ}$	h	
	$t\text{ʃ}$		
	$t\text{ʃ}^h$		
l	j	w	
	ɿ		

## Nanning Cantonese

p	t	k	kw
$p^h$	$t^h$	$k^h$	$k^hw$
m	n	$\text{ŋ}$	
f	$\text{ʃ}$	h	
	$t\text{ʃ}$		
	$t\text{ʃ}^h$		
l	j	w	
	ɿ		



- /t/ (or /θ/ in some places) is Tai-influenced;
- poor in 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		

# Rhymes

Wuming N Zhuang

a		w		i		u		ɛ	ɔ
aj	aj	wəj				uəj			ɔ:j
a:w	aw			iəw				ɛ:w	
		aŋ							
a:p	ap			iəp	ip	uəp	up	ɛ:p	ɔ:p
a:m	am			iəm	im	uəm	um	ɛ:m	ɔ:m
a:t	at	wət	ut	iət	it	uət	ut	ɛ:t	ɔ:t
a:n	an	wən	un	iən	in	uən	un	ɛ:n	ɔ:n
a:k	ak		wk	iək	ik	uək	uk	ɛ:k	ɔ:k
a:ŋ	aŋ		waŋ	iəŋ	ɪŋ	uəŋ	uŋ	ɛ:ŋ	ɔ:ŋ

# 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
a:ŋ	aŋ	ə:ŋ	əŋ		ɪŋ	u:ŋ	ʊŋ	ɛ:ŋ	ɔ:ŋ

### Nanning Shangyao Pinghua

a		ə	i	u	ɛ	ɔ
aj	ɛj	əj		uj		ɔj
aw	ɛw	əw	iw		ɛw	
ap	ɛp		ip			
am	ɛm		im			
at	ɛt	ət	it	ut	ɛt	ɔt
an	ɛn	ən	in	un	ɛn	ɔn
ak	ɛk		ik	ük	ɛk	
anj	ɛŋ		ɪŋ	ʊŋ	ɛŋ	

### Nanning Cantonese

a		i	u	ɛ	ɔ	œ	y
aj	ɛj		uj		ɔj		
aw	ɛw	iw		ɛw			
ap	ɛp	ip		ɛp			
am	ɛm	im		ɛm			m̩
at	ɛt	it	ut	ɛt	ɔt	œt	yt
an	ɛn	in	un	ɛn	ɔn		yn
ak	ɛk	ik	ük	ɛk	ɔk	œk	
anj	ɛŋ	ɪŋ	ʊŋ	ɛŋ	ɔŋ	œŋ	ŋ

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

# Tones

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

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

# Tones

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

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

# Tones

Nanning (Xinxu/Shangyao) Pinghua tones				
	*level (*A)	*rising (*C)	*departing (*B)	*entering (*D)
*ASPIRATED	˥	˧	˩	˧
*UNASPIRATED			˩	˧
*NASAL	˨	˨	˧	˩
*VOICED ORAL		˨	˧	˧

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

# Lexicon

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

A few examples:

# Lexicon

Nanning Pinghua	Northern Zhuang	c.f. Standard Cantonese
wən˥ (-tci˧ 隊) 1PL.INCL	wun˥ ‘(other) people’	(no clusivity distinction)
həi˥ (l) ‘give’	həwəl ‘give’	畀 pei˥
jən˥ ‘cold’	P-Tai *?jen <sup>A</sup> ‘cool’ (Li 1977)	凍 tʂəŋ˧ ‘cold’
həŋ˥ ‘too non-tact. hot’	hunŋ˥ ‘hot weather’	?
ɿek˧ ‘a few’	θak˧ ‘a few’	幾 kei˧ ‘a few’
nəm˧ ‘stupid’	nam˧ ‘slow’	蠢 tsʰən˧ ‘stupid’
ɿən˥ ‘shiver’	θan˥ ‘shiver’	震 tsən˧ ‘shake’
hən˥ ‘play’	fan˥ ‘play’	玩 wan˥ ‘play’
pʊk˧ (-tsi˧ 子) ‘pomelo’	(maak˧-) puk˧ ‘pomelo’	碌柚 lʊk˧jəu˧ ‘pomelo’

# Lexicon

Nanning Pinghua	Mandarin	c.f. Standard 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 tʰɿi˧ ‘look’
鼻 pət˧(Entering) ‘nose’	鼻 pi˧(<*Entering) ‘nose’	鼻 pei˧(Departing) ‘nose’
了 liu˧ PERFECTIVE	了 lə PERFECTIVE	咗 tsɔ˧ PERFECTIVE
捱 ɲai˧ PASSIVE ('suffer') <i>(can be agentless)</i>	SW Mand. 捱 ɲæ˧ PASSIVE <i>(can be agentless)</i>	畀 pei˧ PASSIVE ('give') <i>(must be agented)</i>

# Grammar

- Morphologically ‘isolating’;
- Word order in Sinitic languages: generally SVO, but [MOD N], [ADV V]

([REL N] and [ADV V] extremely rare for SVO languages; Dryer 2003)

Nanning Pinghua

1. [佢 老弟 欠 我] 個 一 大 單 錢  
kəi<sup>13</sup> lau<sup>13</sup>təi<sup>13</sup> him<sup>25</sup> ŋa<sup>13</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> et<sup>3</sup> tai<sup>22</sup> tan<sup>53</sup> tʃin<sup>11</sup>  
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。  
kəi<sup>13</sup> tʃi<sup>22</sup>-nət<sup>13</sup> wan<sup>11</sup> liu<sup>13</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> tan<sup>53</sup> tʃin<sup>11</sup> hei<sup>25</sup> ŋa<sup>13</sup>  
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

3.

	Mandarin <u>MOD</u> N	Nanning Pinghua <u>MOD</u> N	Northern Zhuang N <u>MOD</u>	Cantonese N <u>MOD</u>
‘cock’	<u>公雞</u> kun <sup>55</sup> tʃi <sup>55</sup>	<u>公雞</u> kon <sup>53</sup> kei <sup>53</sup>	kai <sup>35</sup> pau <sup>42</sup>	雞 <u>公</u> kei <sup>55</sup> kon <sup>55</sup>
‘hen’	<u>母雞</u> mu <sup>21</sup> tʃi <sup>55</sup>	<u>母雞</u> mu <sup>13</sup> kei <sup>53</sup>	kai <sup>35</sup> me <sup>33</sup>	雞 <u>乸</u> kei <sup>55</sup> na <sup>35</sup>
‘pre-ovulating hen/ pullet’	?	<u>項雞</u> han <sup>22</sup> kei <sup>53</sup>	kai <sup>35</sup> ha: <u>ŋ</u> <sup>33</sup>	雞 <u>項</u> kei <sup>55</sup> han <sup>35</sup>

Noun marker 子 tʃi<sup>33</sup>

4. 孝子  
hau<sup>25</sup> tʃi<sup>33</sup>  
filial son  
'filial son'
- 瓜子  
kʷa<sup>53</sup> tʃi<sup>33</sup>  
melon child  
'seed'

扣子  
kʰau<sup>25</sup>-tʃi<sup>33</sup>  
fasten-NMLZ  
'button'

鑿子  
tʃak<sup>2</sup>-tʃi<sup>33</sup>  
chisel-NMLZ  
'chisel'

## 5.

車子  
tʂʰɛ<sup>53</sup>-tʂɿ<sup>33</sup>  
car-NM  
'car'

蝦子  
ha<sup>53</sup>-tʂɿ<sup>33</sup>  
shrimp-NM  
'shrimp'

鬍子  
hu<sup>11</sup>-tʂɿ<sup>33</sup>  
beard-NM  
'beard'

亭子  
tən<sup>11</sup>-tʂɿ<sup>33</sup>  
pavilion-NM  
'pavilion'

果子  
ku<sup>33</sup>-tʂɿ<sup>33</sup>  
fruit-NM  
'fruit'

星子  
lən<sup>53</sup>-tʂɿ<sup>33</sup>  
star-NM  
'star'

椅子  
əi<sup>33</sup>-tʂɿ<sup>33</sup>  
chair-NM  
'chair'

骰子  
lək<sup>3</sup>-tʂɿ<sup>33</sup>  
dice-NM  
'dice'

蕉子  
tʂiu<sup>53</sup>-tʂɿ<sup>33</sup>  
banana-NM  
'banana'

薄子  
pʊk<sup>2</sup>-tʂɿ<sup>33</sup>  
grapefruit-NM  
'grapefruit'

窗子  
tʂʰəŋ<sup>53</sup>-tʂɿ<sup>33</sup>  
window-NM  
window

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

# Syntactic differences between Southern Pinghua and Cantonese

‘first’ [ ]<sub>VP</sub>:

Nanning Pinghua:

6. 我 先 [行]<sub>VP</sub>  
 ɿa<sup>13</sup> lin<sup>53</sup> heŋ<sup>11</sup>  
 1SG first go  
 ‘I (shall) go first.’

[ ]<sub>VP</sub> ‘first’:

Cantonese:

8. 我 [行]<sub>VP</sub> 先  
 ngo<sup>5</sup> haang<sup>4</sup> sin<sup>1</sup>  
 1SG go first  
 ‘I (shall) go first.’

Standard Mandarin:

7. 我 先 [走]<sub>VP</sub>  
 wǒ xiān zǒu  
 1SG first go  
 ‘I (shall) go first.’

Northern Zhuang:

9. mwngz [bae]<sub>VP</sub> gonq  
 2SG go first  
 ‘You go first.’



Comparative construction:

Nanning Pinghua *surpass* construction:

10. 我 高 過 你  
ŋa<sup>13</sup> kau<sup>53</sup> ku<sup>55</sup> nəi<sup>13</sup>  
1SG tall SURPASS 2SG  
'I am taller than you.'

Cantonese *surpass* construction:

12. 我 高 過 你  
ngo<sup>5</sup> gou<sup>2</sup> gwo<sup>3</sup> nei<sup>5</sup>  
1SG tall SURPASS 2SG  
'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*.



Nanning Pinghua *compare* construction:

11. 我 比 你 高  
ŋa<sup>13</sup> pəi<sup>33</sup> nəi<sup>13</sup> kau<sup>53</sup>  
1SG COMPARE 2SG tall  
'I am taller than you.'

Standard Mandarin *compare* construction:

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





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 嘟  
**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.'





## Modifier marker 個kə<sup>55</sup>

Nanning Pinghua:

18. 我 個 衫 爛 喇  
ŋa<sup>13</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> lam<sup>53</sup> lan<sup>22</sup> la<sup>33</sup>  
1SG MOD clothes torn ASP  
'My clothes are torn.'



Cantonese:

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



Standard Mandarin:

19. 我 的 衣服  
wǒ de yīfú<sup>53</sup>  
1SG MOD 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 写 得 晒， 黑 色 支 重 得。  
wɔŋ<sup>21</sup> ſek<sup>5</sup> tʃi<sup>55</sup> pet<sup>5</sup> mu<sup>24</sup> tɛ<sup>35</sup> tek<sup>5</sup> lai<sup>33</sup> hɛk<sup>5</sup> ſek<sup>5</sup> tʃi<sup>55</sup> tʃuŋ<sup>22</sup> tek<sup>5</sup>  
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 崑 好 吶 嘅。  
ma<sup>55</sup> wu<sup>21</sup> ku<sup>55</sup> tʃek<sup>3</sup> nam<sup>21</sup> tʃei<sup>35</sup> hu<sup>35</sup> lek<sup>5</sup> kɛ<sup>33</sup>  
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)

In Standard Cantonese, Nanning Pinghua etc.

ADJ + DEM/NUM + CL + N

26. 细的 个 间 房 我 住,  
ləi<sup>55</sup>-tik<sup>5</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> kan<sup>53</sup> fəŋ<sup>11</sup> ŋa<sup>13</sup> tʃəi<sup>22</sup>
- small-COMP DEM CL room 1SG live
- ‘I stay in the smaller room here,’

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

27. 佢 脱 去 件 龔𠵼 (个) 衫。  
 kəi<sup>13</sup> tʰut<sup>3</sup> həi<sup>25</sup> kin<sup>22</sup> ʊk<sup>3</sup>tʃʊk<sup>3</sup> (kə<sup>55</sup>) lam<sup>53</sup>
- 3SG remove away CL dirty MOD shirt
- ‘S/he took off the dirty shirt.’



ADJ + ‘many’ = too X

Northern Zhuang:

28. aen neix bit \_\_\_\_\_ lai  
CL this spicy.hot many  
'This is too spicy hot.'

Nanning Cantonese:

29. 飽 \_\_\_\_\_ 多 唔 食 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:

30. 太 飽 (多) 有 噥 嘲  
tʰai<sup>25</sup> pau<sup>33</sup> (tɔ<sup>53</sup>) mi<sup>13</sup> hət<sup>3</sup> la<sup>33</sup>  
too full (many) NEG eat CRRNT.RLVNCE  
'I am too full I will not eat it anymore.'

Standard Cantonese:

31. 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:

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

## Anaphoric use of [CL]

## Nanning Cantonese

33. 哟 狗 我 中意 只, 有 中意 只, 只 难睇 多。  
 tɿ<sup>55</sup> kəu<sup>35</sup> ɿŋ<sup>24</sup> tʂuŋ<sup>55</sup>ji<sup>33</sup> tʂɿk<sup>3</sup> mu<sup>24</sup> tʂuŋ<sup>55</sup>ji<sup>33</sup> tʂɿk<sup>3</sup> tʂɿk<sup>3</sup> naŋ<sup>21</sup>tʰɿi<sup>35</sup> tʂ<sup>55</sup>  
 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

34. 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)

35. 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 100 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).

# Conclusion

	Mandarin	Nanning Pinghua	Standard Cantonese	Nanning Cantonese	Northern Zhuang
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## Phonology

$\sigma$	C GVC	CG VC	CG VC	CG VC	CC VC
$\Theta$ and/or $\text{ɯ}$	-	+	-	-	+
tone DS/DL	-	-	+	+	+

## Morphology

N-♀	-	-	+	+	+
-子	many	many	few	few	none

# Conclusion

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

# Acknowledgement

- I would like to thank my Southern Pinghua consultants.
- *Research funded by the European Research Council under the European Community's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013) / ERC grant agreement n° 230388.*

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