# NOTES ON PAHA BUYANG*

**Li Jinfang**[1]
Central University for Nationalities and University of Melbourne

**Luo Yongxian**[2]
University of Melbourne

This paper is an outline of some of the major features of the phonology and grammar of a dialect of the Buyang language, a Tai-Kadai language with roughly 2000 speakers spread over the border area of Yunnan and Guangxi Provinces in China, and northern Vietnam and Laos. The particular variety described is the Paha variety spoken in Yanglian village, Guangnan County in Yunnan Province, China. The genetic position of Buyang within Tai-Kadai, and the influence of Zhuang and Chinese on the language are also discussed.

Keywords: Tai-Kadai, Buyang, language description, Yunnan, endangered languages

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Buyang is a small ethnic group in Southwest China, with approximately 2,000 speakers. They are distributed in the following locations (see Map 1).

1) Southeast of Gula Township of Funing County Yunnan Province on the Sino-Vietnamese border. There are eight villages: Ecun, Dugan, Zhelong, Nada, Longna, Maguan, Langjia, and Nianlang. These form the largest concentration of Buyang, with about 1,000 speakers. These villages, which are in close geographical proximity, are referred to by the local Han and Zhuang people as 布央八寨 'the eight Buyang villages';

2) North of Guangnan County in southeastern Yunnan. About five hundred speakers live in Yanglian Village of Dixu Township, and about a hundred in Anshe Village of Bada Township;

3) Central Bohe Township of Napo County, western Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, on the Sino-Vietnamese border. Over three hundred speakers live in Rongtun and Gonghe villages, and more than a hundred in Shanhe, Yong'an and Guoba villages.

'Buyang' as a cover term for the Buyang Group is not entirely satisfactory if various autonyms are taken into account. Buyang (local pronunciation $pu^{22}jaaŋ^{24}$ [lit. 'people-other']) is a reference term for the Buyang people as given by the local Zhuang people, meaning 'people

(whose language and customs are) different (from the Zhuang)'. In some Zhuang and Buyi areas, it is pronounced as $pu^{22}\eta aa\eta^{24}$. Some Buyang speakers use this term as an autonym (as do speakers in Vietnam and Laos). In Napo County, the local Zhuang people call the Buyang speakers $jaa\eta^{33}khju\eta^{24}$, the Khjung group of Buyang. The local Han people refer to the Buyang as Tu Yao (土瑶 'native Yao'), Tie Yao (铁瑶 'Iron Yao', as the Buyang there are good ironsmiths), or Liu Yao (六瑶 'Six Yao', because they used to live in six villages). The reason why the Buyang are called Yao is because they were mistakenly identified as Yao by the local Han and Zhuang because the Buyang in these villages wear head scarfs with patterns similar to those of the Yao.

Not all Buyang speakers call themselves $pu^{22}jaa\eta^{24}$, though. A number of different autonyms are found in the Buyang community. For example, the Buyang in Napo County call themselves $\textipa{P}ia^{33}hr\textipa{O}\eta^{53}$, translatable as 'the $\textipa{P}ia^{33}$ (dialect of) the $hr\textipa{O}\eta^{53}$ group'. In the Buyang dialect of Napo, 'to speak one's own language' is $\textipa{P}da^{53}\textipa{P}ia^{33}$, $\textipa{P}da^{53}$ meaning 'speak'. Thus $\textipa{P}ia^{33}$ appears to be the root morpheme of the autonym $\textipa{P}ia^{33}hr\textipa{O}\eta^{53}$, which can be interpreted as the $\textipa{P}ia^{33}$ subgroup of the Hrong Branch. The autonym for the Buyang variety in Guangnan County is $pa^{33}\,ha^{33}$. $pa^{33}$ is a noun prefix for human beings in this variety, and $ha^{33}$ is the root morpheme meaning 'people, person'. Thus, apart from the exonym $pu^{22}jaa\eta^{24}$, Buyang speakers use $\textipa{P}ia^{33}$ or $ha^{33}$ as their autonyms. $\textipa{P}ia^{33}$ and $ha^{33}$ may be related etymologically.
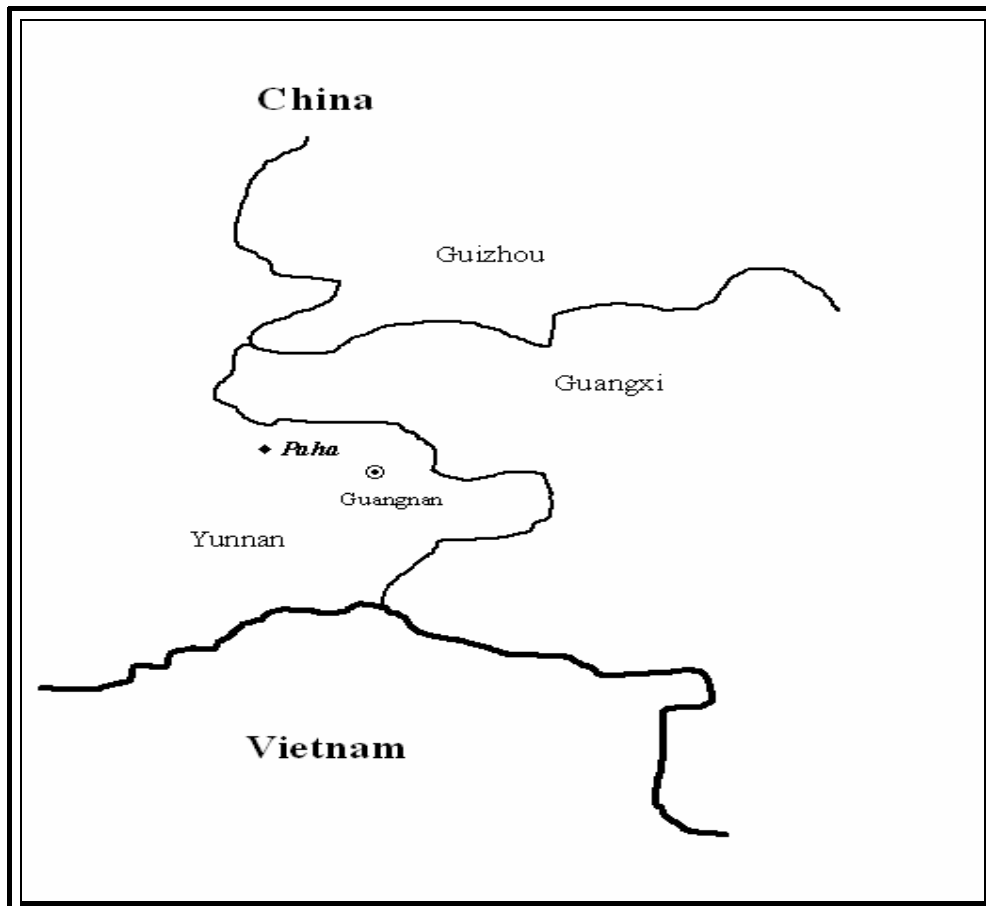


*Map 1. Paha Speaking Area in China*

Buyang place names do not reveal their origin. The majority of Buyang place names come from Zhuang. For example, Maguan comes from $ma^{23}\,kuun^{31}$ in Zhuang, meaning 'arrive first / earlier', because speakers of this village are said to have lived there earlier than those of other

villages. Langjia also got its name from Zhuang, $laaŋ^{35}tɕaai^{31}$ 'dried bamboo shoot', because this village is well-known for the bamboo shoots it produces. Yanglian is from Zhuang $jaaŋ^{24}lɛŋ^{31}$ 'Yang-lonely', the 'lonely Buyang', as it is the only Buyang village in the area. Rongtun is a Chinese translation of the Buyang name $ti^{12}hrɔŋ^{53}$, literally 'land – *hrong*', 'the land of the Rong'.

All the Buyang groups have local legends describing their migration from elsewhere to the current locations. The legends say that the Zhuang are the native people who arrived earlier, and that they (the Buyang) themselves and the Han are 'guests', i.e., late comers.

It is worth noting that Chinese historical records of the Qing (1644–1911) and the Republican (1911–1949) periods made mention of a minority group, the Yang (written Chinese 佯), in Northwest Guangxi. Along the Yong River, the You River and the Red River in Central and Western Guangxi, there are legends and stories about the Buyang. Some Zhuang speakers in these areas are also called Buyang. Is this an indication that the Buyang used to reside in these areas?

In Southeast Guangxi on the Chinese-Vietnamese border, about one-third of Zhuang speakers in Jingxi and Napo counties are referred to as 'Buyang' by other Zhuang groups in this area. This group of Zhuang is also derogatively called 'the hairy-eared Yang', indicating that they were once discriminated against. Among the Zhuang varieties in Napo, there are designations such as Yangtai, Yangzhou, Yanglong, Yangjie, Yangnan, Yangwu, and so on. Are they Buyang speakers who have assimilated to Zhuang?

A look at maps and local gazetteers reveals that many place names taking the element *yang*-(written Chinese 央 or 秧) plus a second element are found in areas along southeastern Guizhou and the neighbouring Tianlin, Longlin, and Xilin counties of Guangxi. Local Zhuang people also have stories about these places having been inhabited by the Buyang.

Historical records also contain similar accounts. According to *The Chronicle of the Nong Clan* (侬氏家谱) of the Qing dynasty, 'Ceheng and surrounding areas were named Yangzi (秧兹) and Yanghao (秧豪) in ancient times. They were inhabited by the Puyang (普央), Puman (普蛮), Punong (普侬), and the Puna (普那) people.' *The Gazetteer of Guangnan Fu* (广南府志), also of the Qing period, has the following description of the local ethnic minorities:

> In Guangnanlu, there are the White and Black Sand people (白黑沙人), the Pula (普喇), the Puyang (普央), the Black and White Lolo (白黑倮倮), the Laizi (俫子), as well as the Pudai (普歹) people.

This indicates that at least in Ceheng and Guangnan, the Buyang have been identified as an independent ethnic group since the Qing dynasty.

From a historical-comparative point of view, Buyang shares a greater number of lexical items with the Hlai, Lingao and Kam-Sui languages than with the nearby Zhuang language with which it has a close genetic relationship and and intense contact through intermarriages. These include the words for nose, pus, waist, chest, tail, wind, sleep, sit, give, light, heavy, tall, full, root, horse, needle and iron (Li and Zhou 1999: 225-227).

Historical records seem to suggest that the Buyang moved to their current settlement areas along a north-to-south migration route from Guizhou via Guangxi to Vietnam and Laos. Beginning in the late Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) and the early Qing Dynasty, population growth and a large influx of Han immigrants from Sichuan, Hubei, Hunan and Jiangxi provinces, coupled with frequent civil unrest, forced many minority groups such as the Miao, Yi, Gelao, Buyi, Lai, Bugan, and a small number of Kam-Sui people to migrate to the border areas of Guizhou and

Guangxi and north Vietnam and Laos, where the population problem was less pressing. The migration movement lasted for three to four hundred years until modern times, forming a north-south language corridor stretching several hundred kilometres (Edmondson and Li 1996).

On the basis of the above evidence, we may infer that ancestors of the Buyang may first have migrated upriver from the Lingnan area into southwestern Guizhou, before moving southwards to their present settlement areas. Those who migrated southwestwards along the rivers and settled in western Guangxi may have assimilated to the local Zhuang.

The Buyang live in terraced houses. Their staple crop is rice. They also grow maize, soy beans, taro, peanuts, sweet potatoes and cotton. Their marriage, birth and funeral customs are very much the same as the nearby Zhuang. Intermarriage with the Zhuang is common. In Yanglian Village of Guangnan County alone, nearly 40 Zhuang women are married to Buyang men. The Buyang wear the same dress as the local Zhuang, although they are said to have had their own traditional dress which was preserved until several decades ago. The Buyang in Guangnan are said to wear long dresses (which are similar to those of the Gelao and Laji, with whom the Buyang are closely related). In Funing, women are said to wear short dresses and long skirts, while in Napo both men and women are said to wear knee-length short pants and blue tops. Legend has it that the Buyang used to have their own characteristic forms of songs and dances. The posture of the dances and the melodies of the songs were quite different from those of the Zhuang.

In terms of festival celebrations, the Buyang in Funing and Napo follow the Zhuang, while those in Guangnan have their own Dragon-Worshipping Festival in the third month of the lunar calendar (in fact the God of Earth rather than Dragon is worshipped), and the Yin Day[3] Festival in the sixth month of the Lunar Year. The latter is the most important festival for the Buyang, which they refer to as their New Year Festival. Legend says that during the course of their migration, they were unable to keep track of dates. When the time came for worshipping ancestors, they did so on their journey in the valley. Later they remembered that the day was the first Day of Yin in the sixth month of the lunar calendar, and thus they made this day a New Year's Day for themselves, during which they would kill pigs and chickens for their ancestors, and invite relatives and friends for celebration (see Appendix). In Yanglian Village, the Buyang also celebrate Chinese New Year, and worship the 'Flower Lady' or the goddess of birth. But this celebration is less sumptuous in scale and style than the Yin Day Festival.

Family names are small in number for the Buyang. They include Zhou, Zhong, Huang, Nong, Lu, He, Cen, Wei, Li (李), Meng, Liang, and Lí (黎), among others, very similar to the Zhuang, Buyi, Kam and Sui speakers.

Buyang children generally speak Buyang. They can also speak a little Zhuang. They begin to learn Zhuang after they go to school. Adults can speak Zhuang fluently. The majority of adult male speakers are also fluent in Southwestern Mandarin. In a number of villages, language shift is becoming a common phenomenon. Many Buyang speakers have shifted to Zhuang. For example, in Anshe Village of Bada Township in Guangnan County, only elderly people can still speak Buyang. The younger generations have completely shifted to using Zhuang. The language situation in Buyang areas reflects the historical development of the language. The number of Buyang speakers is declining because they tend to use the local prestigious languages such as Chinese and Zhuang, and gradually abandon their mother tongue.

According to our recent field investigation, Buyang can be divided into two dialect groups: the Eastern Group (Funing and Napo) and the Western Group (Guangnan). The Eastern group can be further divided into the Napo (represented by Yarong), Langnian (represented by Langjia)

---

[3]    Yin Day is the name of a special day in the old Chinese calendrical system.

and E'ma (represented by Ecun) vernaculars (Li 1999). The present paper is based on the first author's fieldwork on the Paha dialect of Buyang in Yanglian village, Guangnan County in Yunnan Province in the summer of 2001.

## 2. PAHA BUYANG PHONOLOGY
### 2.1 *Phonemic Inventory*
#### 2.1.1 Initials
Paha Buyang has 37 simple consonants, 5 palatalised consonants, and 15 labialised consonants, as listed in Table 1 below.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| p | b | t | d | tɕ | | k | g | q | ʔ |
| ph | bɦ | th | dɦ | tɕh | | kh | gɦ | qh | h |
| m̥ | m | n̥ | n | ɲ̥ | ɳ | ŋ̊ | ŋ | | |
| f | | θ | ð | ç | | ɣ | ʁ | | |
| w̥ | w | l̥ | l | j̊ | j | | | | |
| pj | bj | | | | | | | | |
| phj | bɦj | | | | | | | | |
| | mj | | | | | | | | |
| pw | bw | tw | | tɕw | | kw | gw | qw | |
| phw | mw | θw | ðw | çw | jw | khw | ŋw | | |

*Table 1. The consonants of Buyang*

Aspiration is not very strong with aspirated stops. Aspiration also occurs with devoiced nasals, lateral /l̥/ and bilabial fricative /w̥/ where the aspiration is quite weak. Voiced aspirated stops /bɦ/, /dɦ/ and /gɦ/ are pronounced more like voiceless stops. A number of speakers pronounce the /ð/ and /h/ sounds with breathy voice in words taking the mid-level (33) and the high rise (45) tones. For example: *ðaam³³ ~ ðɦaam³* 'to carry by more than two persons', *ðan⁴⁵ ~ ðɦan⁴⁵* 'to cut', *ði³³ ~ ðɦi³³* 'intestines', *haan³³ ~ hɦaan³³* 'reply', *huŋ⁴⁵ ~ hɦuŋ⁴⁵* 'to charge forward'. Two minimal pairs can be observed between /ð/ and /ðɦ/: *ði³³* 'think, remember' ~ *ðɦi³³* 'intestines', *ðan³³* 'shallow' ~ *ðɦan³³* 'body'. But since these are the pronunciations for only a limited number of speakers, they are not analyzed as phonemic contrasts. Palatalisation occurs with labial sounds only. They show very slight palatalisation. Labialisation occurs with labials, dentals, alveo-palatals, velars, and the uvular stop. They are pronounced with lips rounded. They are quite prominent in the sound system of Buyang.

There is a contrast between voiced stops and voiced aspirated stops, typically in the level (33) and the high rise (45) tones in Paha, which is quite unusual among the modern Tai-Kadai languages. Examples:

b —— bɦ

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| baau³³ | 'embrace, hug' | —— | bɦaau³³ʔi³³ | 'wave' |
| bɯ³³kɯ²⁴ | 'low shin' | —— | bɦɯ³³ | 'carry on one's back, drape (over)' |

d —— dɦ

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| da³³ | 'boat' | —— | dɦa³³ | 'nine' |
| dam³³ | 'to plant (rice seedlings)' | —— | dɦam³³ | 'braid' |
| dan³³ | 'a kind of water insect' | —— | dɦan³³ | 'mucus' |
| dɔk⁵⁵ | 'itch, itchy' | —— | dɦɔk⁵⁵ | 'carry/hold in a utensil' |

g —— gɦ

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ga⁴⁵ | 'to water' | —— | gɦa⁴⁵ | 'light (not heavy)' |
| gɛ⁴⁵ | 'claw' | —— | gɦɛ⁴⁵ | 'bad, not working' |

There is a voiced-voiceless contrast between nasals, laterals, semivowels and aspirated stops in the level and low-falling tones.

m —— m̥

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| man³²² | 'flee, leave' | —— | m̥an³²² | 'porcupine' |
| mi³³ | 'mole cricket' | —— | m̥i³³ | 'drunk, drunken' |

n —— n̥

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| naai³³lin⁴⁵ | 'sad' | —— | n̥aai³³ | 'tired, exhausted' |
| nuŋ³²² | 'dirty' | —— | n̥uŋ³²² | 'muddy' |

ɲ —— ɲ̥

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ɲaan³³ | 'scabies' | —— | ɲ̥aan³³ | 'quarrel' |
| ɲɛ³³ | 'only' | —— | ɲ̥ɛ³³ | 'sea' |

ŋ —— ŋ̥

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ŋu³³ | 'pus' | —— | ŋ̥u³³ | 'sweet' |

l —— l̥

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| laak³³ | 'understand' | —— | l̥aak³³ | 'collapse, fall' |
| lam³²² | 'concave' | —— | l̥am³²² | 'black' |

j —— j̊

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ja³³ | 'able, can' | —— | j̊a³³ | 'to hang' |
| ja¹¹ | 'female' | —— | j̊a¹¹ | 'to throw' |
| jaŋ³³ | 'aim' | —— | j̊aŋ³³ | 'shiver, tremble' |
| jiiŋ³²² | 'incense' | —— | j̊iiŋ³²² | 'squirrel' |

w —— w̥

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| wa⁴⁵ | 'catch, grab' | —— | w̥a⁴⁵ | 'hailstone' |
| wa³²² | 'flower' | —— | w̥a³²² | 'skirt' |
| waaŋ⁴⁵ | 'enter, leave for' | —— | w̥aaŋ⁴⁵ | 'sharp' |
| wi³³ | 'evening, night' | —— | w̥i³³ | 'big bag, sack' |

A contrast exists between velar and uvular sounds. Within the Kam-Tai group, similar contrasts are found only in the Sui language. Examples:

k —— q

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ka³²² | 'handle' | —— | qa³²² | 'cogon grass' |
| ka¹¹ | 'beg, begging' | —— | qa¹¹ | 'to open up (wasteland)' |
| kaai³²² | 'tripod' | —— | qaai³²² | 'see' |
| kam²⁴pwi³²² | 'torch' | —— | qam²⁴ | 'find out' |
| kan⁴⁵ | 'pincer' | —— | qan⁴⁵ | 'iron' |
| kan³³ | RECIP | —— | qan³³ | 'hundred' |
| kan³²² | 'heavy' | —— | qan³²² | 'possessive marker' |

kh —— qh

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| khaai⁴⁵ | 'tie up' | —— | qhaai⁴⁵ | 'shoe' |
| kham⁴⁵ | 'to cover' | —— | qham⁴⁵ | 'to hatch' |
| khɔ³³ | 'period of the day from 5:00 pm to 7:00 pm' | —— | qhɔ³³ | 'bone' |

ɣ —— ʁ

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ɣa³³ | 'measure for long, thin objects' | —— | ʁa³³ | 'wine, alcohol' |

There are no consonant clusters in Paha Buyang. But some palatalised and labialised consonants might have developed from consonant clusters in the proto-language. Examples:

| Gloss | Paha | Related Languages | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 'tasteless' | pjai²⁴ | Niupo Gelao | plei³³plei³³ | | |
| 'fish' | pja³²² | Moji Gelao | plau³¹ | | |
| 'silver' | phjaau⁴⁵ | Moji Gelao | phlaɯ²⁴ | | |
| 'stone' | pwa³²² | Zhuang | pla¹ 'mountain' | | |
| 'to herd (cattle)' | pwaai²² | Anshun Gelao | vlɒ³³, | Siamese | plɔi⁵ |
| 'die' | pwan³²² | Moji Gelao | plan³¹ | | |
| 'thunder' | mwa³¹ | Zhuang | pla³, | Kam | pja³ |

*Table 2. Palatalised and labialised consonants in Paha, with cognates in related languages*

### 2.1.2 Finals
*(i) Simple vowels.*
Paha Buyang has a system of 9 basic vowels, four with length contrasts in closed syllables:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| i | | ɯ, u | ii | ɯɯ, uu | |
| e | ə | o | | | |
| ɛ | | ɔ | | | |
| | a | | | aa | |

In connected speech, the distinction between /e/ and /ɛ/, and between /o/ and /ɔ/ is not obvious. Long /iː/, /ɯː/, and /uː/ are pronounced as diphthongs with a vowel glide [-ə-]. For example, *liiu³³* 'to run', *kɯɯt³¹* 'to carry on shoulder' and *kuui¹¹* 'to mix' are realized as [liəu³³], [kɯət³¹] and [kuəi¹¹] respectively. Long /aː/ is quite common; the other three long vowels are less so and occur more often with Zhuang loans.

/ɛ/ and /ɔ/ are pronounced as long [ɛː] and [ɔː] respectively. Since there is no length contrast, they are written simply as *ɛ* and *ɔ* in this study.

*(ii) Diphthongs*
The following diphthongs are found in Paha Buyang.

| ia | iu |  | ɯi | ui |  | iiu | ɯɯi | uui |
|----|----|--|----|----|--|-----|-----|-----|
|    | eu |  | ɯə | oi |  | aau | aai |     |
|    | ɛu |  | əi | ɔi |  |     |     |     |
|    | au | aɯ | ai |    |  |     |     |     |

Diphthongs do not take consonant endings, except for /ia/, which can take a final *-n*, mainly in Chinese loans, e.g. *lian³³* 'practice' (from Chinese *liàn*), *mi⁵⁵ɕian²⁴* 'rice noodle (Chinese *mǐ xiàn*)'.

Several triphthongs can be found with Chinese loans, e.g. *kuaai³³* 'clever, good (child)' (from Chinese *guāi* 乖), *tɕiaau³²²* 'teach' (from Chinese *jiāo* 教).

*(iii) Final endings*
Only high vowels *-i*, *-u*, *-ɯ*, nasals *-m*, *-n*, *-ŋ*, and stops *-p*, *-t*, *-k* can occur word finally.

*(iv) Loss of final consonant endings*
Nasals and stops in syllable final position may be deleted if the syllable occurs as the first syllable of a bisyllabic or polysyllabic word/compound (sandhi tones are transcribed as they occur, with the citation tones given in brackets). Examples:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| kaan³³⁽³²²⁾θaɯ³²² | → | ka³³⁽³²²⁾θaɯ³²² | 'to have a funeral' |
| kaan³²²pi⁵⁵⁽³³⁾khi⁴⁵⁽³²²⁾ | → | ka³⁵⁽³²²⁾pi⁵⁵⁽³³⁾khi⁴⁵ | 'not tasty, not delicious' |
| ʔɔŋ⁴⁵luŋ³³ | → | ʔɔ⁴⁵luŋ³³ | 'water well, pond' |
| ʔɔŋ⁴⁵jo̥¹¹ | → | ʔɔ⁴⁵jo̥¹¹ | 'spring (water)' |
| mɔŋ³³pa⁵⁵⁽³³⁾khaau³³⁽³²²⁾ | → | mɔ³³pa⁵⁵⁽³³⁾khaau³³⁽³²²⁾ | 'coffin (lit. ghost cave)' |
| naak¹¹wai³¹ | → | na³¹wai³¹ | 'ruin, damage' |
| naak¹¹pja³²²ʔɔŋ⁴⁵ | → | na¹¹pja³²²ʔɔŋ⁴⁵ | 'fishing' |
| mut¹¹ma⁵⁵da³³⁽³²²⁾ | → | mu¹¹ma⁵⁵da³³⁽³²²⁾ | 'eyebrow, eyelid' |

There are two forms for 'to come', *nɔŋ³¹* and *nɔ³¹*. The latter form is probably an example of loss of final consonant.

*2.1.3 Tones*
There are 7 tones in Paha Buyang, which is the most developed among the Kra (Kadai) group. No tonal correspondences can be established between Paha Buyang and Chinese. The correspondences with Kam-Sui and other Kra languages are also very irregular.

| High level | 55 | ti⁵⁵ | 'one' (citation form) | taŋ⁵⁵⁽³³⁾ tɕhu³³ | 'market' |
|------------|----|------|------------------------|-------------------|----------|
| High rising | 45 | ti⁴⁵ | 'one' (used with classifiers) | taŋ⁴⁵ | 'to stand, erect' |
| Mid level | 33 | ti³³ | 'pair' | taŋ³³ | 'level, flat' |
| Mid falling | 322 | ti³²² | 'empty' | taŋ³²² | 'to weave' |
| Low falling | 31 | ti³¹ | 'wash' | taŋ³¹ | 'to paddle (a boat)' |
| Mid rising | 24 | ti²⁴ | 'to whittle' | taŋ²⁴ | 'to soak' |
| Low level | 11 | ti¹¹ | 'small bowl' | taŋ¹¹ ti³²² | 'empty-handed' |

The mid falling tone 322 starts with a fall, then levels out. The low level tone 11 is slightly lower. In connected speech and in bisyllabic or polysyllabic words, high level and mid level tones are not easily distinguishable. The same is true of high rise and mid rise tones. There are no voice quality differences among the tones.

A number of prefixes are pronounced with the neutral tone, labelled as 0, e.g. $ka^0\gamma\mathfrak{o}^{55}\ ma^5$ 'shoulder', $ma^0q\mathfrak{o}n^{322}$ 'front', $ma^0\eth u^{31}$ 'a kind of bamboo', $qa^0daak^{33}$ 'shuttle', $qa^0la\eta^{45}$ 'legging'. Other prefixes may carry either a phonemic tone or the neutral tone. E.g. $pa^{33}\kappa u^{33}\eta i^{45} \sim pa^0\kappa u^{33}\eta i^{45}$ 'wild boar', $pa^{33}\eth uk^{55} \sim pa^0\eth uk^{55}$ 'quiet'.

Aspirated initial consonants occur mostly with the mid level (33) and the high rise (45) tones. Checked syllables occur mostly with the high level (55), mid level (33), low falling (31) and low level (11) tones, and rarely with the high rising (45), mid rising (24) and mid falling (322) tones, except for long vowels, e.g. $d\mathfrak{o}k^{45}$ 'sweep', $\eth\varepsilon k^{45}$ 'firm, steady', $thwaak^{45}$ 'yell, shout', $\textit{t\textctc}aak^{322}$ 'move' (/ɔ/ and /ɛ/ are phonetically long vowels).

Tone sandhi is a common phenomenon of Paha Buyang, exhibiting very complex features. We haven not yet been able to come up with any generalisations on the mechanisms of tone sandhi in Paha Buyang. Further investigation needs to be done. As mentioned above, in the examples, sandhi tones are transcribed as they occur in contexts, with the citation tones cited in brackets.

### 2.1.4 Syllable Structure

Paha is primarily a monosyllabic language. The majority of roots and words are monosyllabic. The following syllabic types are found:

(C: consonant, V: vowel, T: tone)

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CVT | $ti^{11}$ | 'small bowl' | $pa^{322}$ | 'four' | $pja^{322}$ | 'fish' |
| CVVT | $paau^{45}$ | 'male (animal)' | $moi^{31}$ | 'village' | $pjai^{24}$ | 'tasteless' |
| CVCT | $n\mathfrak{o}\eta^{31}$ | 'come' | $naak^{11}$ | 'give' | $pwan^{322}$ | 'die' |

## 3. WORD FORMATION AND THE LEXICON

### 3.1   Word Formation

#### 3.1.1 Simple Words

The majority of simple words in Paha are monosyllabic, with a small number being bisyllabic or polysyllabic. Examples of monosyllabic words are: $du^{322}$ 'do, make', $du^{33}$ 'get, obtain, be able to', $qaa\eta^{322}$ 'sunlight', $gaat^{33}$ 'wild pepper', $\kappa aat^{33}$ 'tea', $di^{33}$ 'bean, pea', $man^{31}$ 'potato, yam', $moi^{31}$ 'village', $\eth u^{11}$ 'naughty', $qi^{31}$ 'to untie', $\eth a^{24}$ 'place, location', $\textit{t\textctc}hu^{33}$ 'market', $dam^{45}$ 'care, look after', $tin^{33}$ 'take off (hats, clothes)', $lin^{45}$ 'heart', $kum^{33}$ 'short', $\eth i^{11}$ 'long'; examples of bisyllabic words (bisyllabic morphemes): $t\mathfrak{o}^{11}thit^{31}$ 'bumpy (road)', $ta^{55}te\eta^{24}$ 'middle', $\textit{ʔut}^{55}l\varepsilon^{322}$ 'soft', $b\hbar aau^{33}ji^{33}$ 'wave', $du^{33}\eta\mathfrak{o}k^{55}$ 'continue', $n\mathfrak{o}k^{55}n\mathfrak{o}^{45}$ 'dust'.

A number of simple words are formed through morphological processes, i.e. alternation of tones, initials or finals. Some of these are antonyms. Others are allofams or semantically related words. Examples:

(1)    n̥i³³          'up, above'               ——    n̥i³¹         'down, under, root'
        gɦa⁴⁵        'thirsty, dry'            ——    ga⁴⁵        'to water'
        gɦɛ⁴⁵        'to tear'                 ——    gɛ⁴⁵        'claw'
        qɛ³²²         'hand'                    ——    gɛ⁴⁵        'claw'
        dɦaŋ⁴⁵      'pull, draw'             ——    dɦaŋ³³     'scoop up'
        nuŋ³²²       'dirty'                   ——    n̥uŋ³²²     'muddy'
        jak¹¹          'hear'                    ——    jaak¹¹       'to feel (enigmatic usage)'
        tɕaai³²²      'grandfather'           ——    tɕaau³²²    'grandmother'

A small number of simple words are formed through reduplication, with different tones for each of the syllables. Examples: *pu⁴⁵pu³²²* 'glow-worm, firefly', *ʔɛ¹¹ʔɛ⁴⁵* 'a kind of two-stringed musical instrument', *ʔu¹¹ʔu⁴⁵* 'a kind of musical instrument, similar to but larger than *ʔɛ¹¹ʔɛ⁴⁵* ', *pa¹¹pa⁴⁵* 'rice cake'.

*3.1.2 Affixation*
*3.1.2.1 Prefixes*
A small number of prefixes are found in Paha. They occur mostly with nouns and less frequently with verbs or adjectives. Some examples are given below.

(i) *pa³³* — noun/verb/adjective prefix. This prefix is quite productive. As a noun prefix, it combines with nouns denoting human beings, animals or abstract things. Examples:

(2)  pa³³pa²⁴      'slave'
      pa³³pi⁴⁵        'magician'
      pa³³qaan³²²   'host, master'
      pa³³ðaai⁴⁵    'male (person)'
      pa³³phju⁴⁵    'Zhuang (people)'
      pa³³ða³¹       'eel'
      pa³³lin³²²      'loach (a type of freshwater fish resembling a catfish)'
      pa³³mwi³²²    'sky'

   *pa³³* can also go with verbs or adjectives. Examples:

(3)  pa³³poŋ⁴⁵     'bruised'
      pa³³pɯt⁵⁵     '(mosquito) bite'
      pa³³lɛŋ³²²     'turn around'
      pa³³lɔ⁴⁵        'to roll'
      pa³³ðai⁴⁵      'patterned variegated, multicoloured'
      pa³³ðɯk⁵⁵    'quiet'

(ii) $ma^{55}/ma^{33}/ma^0$ — noun prefix. This prefix combines with plant names, body part terms and direction words. Examples :

(4)  ma⁵⁵gə³³      'eggplant'
    ma⁵⁵gu¹¹      'oak'
    ma⁵⁵ji¹¹      'a kind of wild fruit plant'
    ma⁵⁵jit⁵⁵      'a kind of fruit'
    ma⁵⁵da³²²      'eye'
    ma⁵⁵lan³¹      'back'
    ma⁵⁵taaŋ¹¹      'buttock, bottom'
    ma³³maaŋ²⁴   'left-hand side'
    ma³³mit¹¹      'right-hand side'
    ma⁰ qɔn³²²      'front'

(iii) $qa^0$ — noun prefix. This prefix is less productive. Examples:

(5)  qa⁰daak³³ 'shuttle'
    qa⁰laŋ⁴⁵ 'legging'

(iv) $ka^0$ — noun prefix. This is not very productive, either. Examples:

(6)  ka⁰ɣɔ⁵⁵ma⁵⁵ 'shoulder'
    ka⁰ j̊ɔ³³      'a kind of insect'

(v) $ka^{11}$ —— pronoun prefix, with emphatic meanings. Examples:

(7)  ka¹¹mə³¹         '2 SG pronoun'
    ka¹¹ku³²²         '1 SG pronoun'
    ka¹¹θa³³⁽³²²⁾hɔ³³   '1 DUAL pronoun'

(iv) $ta^{55}/ta^{33}/ta^0$ — noun prefix. This prefix is highly productive, occasionally found to combine with other parts of speech. Examples :

(8)  ta⁵⁵lɔŋ³²²      'earring'
    ta⁵⁵⁽³³⁾n̥a³³   'morning'
    ta⁵⁵tak⁵⁵      'chest (body part)'
    ta⁵⁵teŋ²⁴      'centre, core'
    ta⁵⁵w̥an³³      'the sun'
    ta³³laaŋ¹¹      'day, daylight'
    ta³³lak³³      'evening, night'
    ta³³lɔ³²²      'rabbit'
    ta³³ðaŋ³²²      'forehead'
    ta⁰ðap¹¹      'or, otherwise'
    ta⁰ði³³         '(cotton) bag, sack'
    ta⁰w̥i³³         'big bag'

*3.1.2.2 Suffix*
One verbal suffix, *kan³³*, is found in our data; it denotes reciprocal actions.  Examples:

(9)  ðaak¹¹kan³³   'to marry, get married'
     n̥aan³³kan³³  'argue, quarrel'
     hɔ³³kan³³    'close together'
     lin⁴⁵kan³³   'to be of the same opinion/mind, agree'
     ðaaŋ³¹kan³³  'link together, connected'

   For descriptive suffixes, see Section 4.6.

*3.1.3 Compound Words*
The following types of compound words are found in Paha.

*3.1.3.1 Coordinate Compounds*
A coordinated compound is made up of two or more elements that are of equal status or of the same form class.  Examples:

(10)  ʔɔn³³          i⁴⁵              ʔi⁵⁵⁽⁴⁵⁾  qɔŋ³²²
      younger.sibling   elder.sibling    small    big
      'relative'                        'people, young and old'

(11)  wa²⁴ðə³³wa²⁴ða³¹           tɕaau³³⁽³²²⁾      tɕaai³²²
      go come go come           grandmother       grandfather
       'come and go'            'memorial tablet, ancestral hall'

*3.1.3.2 Modified-modifier Compounds*
This type of compound consists of a head and a modifier.  In Paha, the modifier generally follows the head.  Pre-modification is rare.  Various semantic relationships can be observed between the modifier and the head.  Examples:

*(i) Noun-Noun*
This type of compounds exhibits various semantic relations, such as part-whole, location-purpose, location-agent and so on.  Examples:

(12)  ðaaŋ³²²  mwa²⁴⁽⁴⁵⁾
      handle    knife
      'handle of a knife'        (part-whole)

(13)  wa³³  la⁵⁵  li³³
      rice   field  seedling
      'rice field for seedlings'   (location-purpose)

(14)  khə⁴⁵  n̥ɯ³³
      pond    cow/ox
      '(of ox, buffalos) to bathe in the mud'  (location-agent)

*(ii) Noun-Verb*

In compounds of this kind, the two morphemes bear a subject-predicate relationship. Examples:

(15) mwa³¹    ðaŋ³²²
     thunder   sound
     'thunder, thundering'

(16) ʔaau⁴⁵   pɛŋ⁴⁵
     flesh     hot
     'have a fever'

(17) lin⁴⁵   ði¹¹
     heart   ache
     'show sympathy, care about'

(18) miŋ³¹    ʔaai³²²
     destiny   good
     'good luck, fortunate'

(19) n̠a²⁴   tɕin³³
     rice    thin
     'porridge'

*(iii) Verb-Noun*

These bear a verb-object relationship. Examples:

(20) n̠it¹¹   khaau³³
     cry      funeral
     'to cry loudly at a funeral, wail at a funeral'

(21) ʔan³³⁽³²²⁾   laak¹¹
     EXIST        child
     'to be pregnant'

(22) ʔuŋ³²²   laak¹¹
     cultivate  rice seedling
     'cultivate rice seedlings'

(23) du³²²   mjaaŋ³¹
     do      work
     'to work'

*(iv) Verb-Modifier*
In this type of compound, the modifying element describes the manner or result of the action indicated by the head.

(24) na(ak)$^{11}$ wai$^{31}$
    cause    bad
    'damage'

(25) naak$^{11}$ du$^{322}$
    allow   do
    'permit, allow'

(26) niŋ$^{45}$ θɔ$^{31}$
    shoot  straight
    'to aim, take aim'

(27) ʔan$^{33(322)}$ ʔaai$^{33(322)}$
    EXIST      well
    'comfortable'

(28) ʔan$^{33(322)}$ waaŋ$^{33}$
    EXIST      leisure
    'relaxing, leisurely'

(29) ʔɔk$^{33(31)}$ nɔŋ$^{31}$
    exit      come
    'exit'

### 3.2 Lexemes

#### 3.2.1 Enigmatic Language

An interesting feature about Paha is the use of enigmatic language.  There are several hundred enigmatic expressions which differ from their common-word counterparts.  This kind of enigmatic language is used within the community in a situation where the speaker does not want outsiders to understand what is being talked about among the group members.  In normal linguistic situations, enigmatic language may sometimes be used as well.  An enigmatic expression typically takes the form of a metaphor or a riddle.  For example, *pa$^{55\,(33\,)}$qui$^{322}$* 'water' (lit. 'things that flow'), *pa$^{55\,(33\,)}$ w̥ əŋ$^{33}$* 'goose (lit. 'huge fowl'), *θa$^{31\,(322\,)}$ ʁa$^{11}$* 'person' (lit. 'two legs'), *du$^{33}$ lim$^{24\,(45\,)}$* 'mouth' (lit. 'things that talk'), *du$^{33}$ȵaaŋ$^{11}$* 'tooth' (lit. 'things that chew'), *ma$^{55}$ da$^{322}$ tɕɛ$^{45}$* 'fire' (lit. 'eyes [turn] red'), *pjɔ$^{33}$ʔɔŋ$^{45}$* 'fish' (lit. 'rubbish [in] water').  Some enigmatic expressions are hard to explain through their literal sense.  Others may have come from early words or expressions that have been replaced by new ones which have become marginal 'enigmatic expressions', as similar forms are found in other dialects or related languages.  For example, *lu$^{31}$* 'to leave', *θu$^{31}$* 'to know, understand' (Wantao Gelao *sou$^{31}$* ), *jə$^{33}$* 'big, much', *ʁai$^{322}$* 'speak, talk' (Dehong Dai *xai$^6$* ), *waŋ$^{33}$* 'to die', *pjɔŋ$^{45}$* 'broken, shabby', *ȵap$^{11}$* 'to eat' (Langjia *ȵap$^{33}$* ).

*3.2.2 Loan Words*

Paha loan words mainly come from Zhuang and Chinese. Zhuang loans into Paha are the results of several hundred years of contact. These loans can be identified through comparison of Buyang dialects and the nearby Zhuang dialect of Xinlin (the Guibian vernacular of Northern Zhuang). Examples:

| Gloss | Paha | Yarong | Ecun | Langjia | Xinlin Zhuang |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 'taro' | pwaak$^{11}$ | lu$^{12}$ | — | ðuə$^{24}$ | pɯɯk$^{31}$ |
| 'scar' | pɛu$^{33}$ | -taɯ$^{53}$ | taɯ$^{24}$ | taɯ$^{24}$ | pjeu$^{33}$ |
| 'straight' | θɔ$^{31}$ | jɔt$^{31}$ | — | jut$^{11}$ | ɬo$^{55}$ |
| 'to wrap' | ɕum$^{31}$ | nip$^{53}$ | — | nep$^{11}$ | ɕum$^{55}$ |
| 'small' | ʔi$^{45}$ | ʔat$^{33}$ | ʔit$^{55}$ | ʔɛŋ$^{24}$ | ʔi$^{35}$ |
| 'peel, shell' | bi$^{322}$ | tɛ$^{53}$ | ʔaat$^{55}$ | ʔaat$^{11}$ | ʔbi$^{31}$ |
| 'leave for' | waaŋ$^{45}$ | khɔ$^{33}$ | — | qhau$^{24}$ | waaŋ$^{24}$ |
| 'tie, bind' | tɕɔk$^{31}$ | pjup$^{53}$ | tɕop$^{55}$ | tɕop$^{11}$ | tɕɔk$^{31}$ |

*Table 3. Some Paha loan words*

Paha has quite a large number of Chinese loans, which can be divided into two layers: early loans and late loans. Early loans are closer to the sound system represented by the Middle Chinese Guangyun rhyme book (9th century). Some of these loans were borrowed indirectly through Zhuang. Unlike Zhuang and Kam-Sui, where regular correspondences can be established between Middle Chinese and Zhuang/Kam-Sui, the early Chinese loans into Paha show no regular correspondences. This indicates that the situation of early Chinese loans being borrowed into Paha is quite complicated. Late Chinese loans in Paha were borrowed in the last hundred years, and come from Southwestern Mandarin. Some examples of early and Modern Chinese loans into Paha are given below in Table 4 and Table 5.

| Gloss | Paha | Middle Chinese[4] |
|---|---|---|
| 'steel' | qhaaŋ$^{33}$ | kâng |
| 'guest' | khaak$^{33}$ | khɐk |
| 'bed' | juuŋ$^{11}$ | ɖʐjang |
| 'chopsticks' | daau$^{33}$ | ʈjwo |
| 'salty' | qam$^{322}$ | kâm |
| 'shallow cup' | ɕaan$^{33}$ | tʂân |

*Table 4. Some early Chinese loans into Paha loan*

---

4  The reconstructed Middle Chinese forms are based on the system presented in Li 1980 [1971].

| Gloss | Paha | SW Mandarin |
|-------|------|-------------|
| 'messy' | luun$^{322}$ | luan$^{24}$ |
| 'hundred million' | ji$^{31}$ | ji$^{24}$ |
| 'doctor' | ji$^{33}$ɕɯn$^{33}$ | ji$^{33}$ɕən$^{33}$ |
| 'kidney' | jaau$^{33}$ | jau$^{33}$ |
| 'love, like' | ŋaai$^{322}$ | ŋaai$^{24}$ |
| 'cent (currency)' | fən$^{33}$ | fən$^{33}$ |
| 'classifier for letter' | fuŋ$^{33}$ | fuŋ$^{33}$ |

*Table 5. Some Modern Chinese loans into Paha*

## 4. GRAMMATICAL SKETCH
### 4.1  *Pronouns*
### 4.1.1 Personal Pronouns
Paha distinguishes between first, second and third person singular and plural pronouns, with first person pronouns having inclusive (including the hearer) and exclusive (excluding the hearer) forms.   Plural pronouns are formed by adding a plural prefix *hɔ⁴⁵* (meaning 'flock, group', probably from Chinese *huo³* ) or *ha³³* (meaning 'person, people') to the singular forms.  Both first and second person plural have free variants.  The Paha pronouns are listed in Table 6.

| Person/Number | Singular | Plural |
|---------------|----------|--------|
| 1st Person | ku$^{322}$ | hɔ$^{45}$ku$^{322}$, hɔ$^{45}$du$^{33}$, du$^{33}$ (exclusive) |
|  |  | hɔ$^{45}$tɯ$^{322}$, tɯ$^{322}$ (inclusive) |
| 2nd Person | mə$^{31}$ | hɔ$^{45}$tɕhu$^{33}$, hɔ$^{45}$mə$^{31}$ |
| 3rd Person | kə$^{55}$ | hɔ$^{45}$kə$^{55}$ |

*Table 6.  Paha Personal Pronouns*

The pronouns *hɔ⁴⁵tɯ³²²* and *hɔ⁴⁵ku³²²* are sometimes pronounced as *ha⁴⁵ ⁽³³⁾ tɯ³²²* and *ha⁴⁵ ⁽³³⁾ ku³²²*.

Personal pronouns can take the prefix *ka¹¹* to form an emphatic form, or to express possessive meaning, e.g. *ka¹¹mə³¹* 'you/yours', *ka¹¹kə⁵⁵* 'he/him/his/her/hers'.

### 4.1.2 Indefinite pronouns
Paha has several indefinite pronouns, as given below.

*hɔ⁴⁵pja¹¹*      'everyone'
taŋ$^{33}$hɔ$^{45}$      'all'
*taŋ³³hɔ⁴⁵ha³³*'everyone, all'
*pɛŋ³²²*          'other, others'

### 4.1.3 Reflexive pronouns
Reflexive and emphatic pronouns are formed by adding the suffix *ha³³qu³³* 'self, one's own' to the personal pronouns, as given in Table 7.

| Person/Number | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1st Person | ku$^{322}$ha$^{33}$qu$^{33}$ | hɔ$^{45}$ku$^{322}$ ha$^{33}$qu$^{33}$ |
| 2nd Person | mə$^{31}$ha$^{33}$qu$^{33}$ | hɔ$^{45}$tɕhu$^{33}$, hɔ$^{45}$mə$^{31}$ha$^{33}$qu$^{33}$ |
| 3rd Person | kə$^{55}$ ha$^{33}$qu$^{33}$ 5 | hɔ$^{45}$ kə$^{55}$ ha$^{3}$ $^{3}$qu$^{33}$ |

*Table 7. Paha Emphatic Reflexive Pronouns*

*ha$^{33}$qu$^{33}$* can be used in reflexive constructions as in (30):

(30) kə$^{55}$ ðaak$^{11}$ də$^{322}$ ŋau$^{45}$ tɕaŋ$^{45}$ ha$^{33}$qu$^{33}$
   3SG use   CL    mirror reflect self
   'He looked at himself in the mirror.'

## 4.2 Deictics

Paha has two basic deictic forms: *ni$^{55}$* 'this', *ȵə$^{55}$* 'that'. These can combine with other elements to form compound deictic pronouns, as listed below.

*ni$^{55}$* 'this': *ʔan$^{55}$* $^{(322)}$*ni$^{55}$* 'this place, here', *ʔɛŋ$^{33}$ni$^{55}$* 'here', *w̥an$^{33}$ ni$^{55}$* 'today', *du$^{322}$ni$^{55}$* 'this way, like this, so'.

There is a form *ti$^{55}$*, meaning 'this place, here', which is homophonous with *ti$^{55}$* 'one'.

*ȵə$^{55}$* 'that': *ʔan$^{33}$* $^{(322)}$ *ȵə$^{55}$* 'there', *ʔɛŋ$^{33}$ȵə$^{55}$* 'yonder', *də$^{322}$ ȵə$^{55}$* '(at) that time', *du$^{322}$ȵə$^{55}$* 'that way, like that'.

The forms *ni$^{55}$* and *ȵə$^{55}$* may take a plural prefix *ku$^{45}$* to form plural demonstrative pronouns. E.g. *ku$^{45}$ni$^{55}$* 'these', *ku$^{45}$ȵə$^{55}$* 'those'.

Both *ni$^{55}$* and *ȵə$^{55}$* are bound forms which are not found alone as free forms in our data.

In addition to *ni$^{55}$* and *ȵə$^{55}$*, there is a form *ʔui$^{33}$*, denoting remote distal, which describes an object or thing further away from the speaker than *ȵə$^{55}$* does. *ʔui$^{33}$* can be reduplicated to express an emphatic sense. Examples:

*ʔui$^{33}$ȵə$^{55}$* 'yonder, over there (far away)', *ʔui$^{33}$ʔui$^{33}$ȵə$^{55}$* 'that way over there (still further away)'.

## 4.3 Interrogative Pronouns

Paha interrogative pronouns are formed by adding the interrogative suffix *nau$^{33}$* 'how, what' to another morpheme, with the exception of *tɕə$^{33}$ kə$^{55}$* or *də$^{322}$kə$^{45}$* 'what' and *pja$^{11}$ ɭaau$^{33}$* 'how much, how many'. These include *pa$^{33}$nau$^{45\ (33)}$* 'who', *də$^{322}$nau$^{45\ (33)}$* 'who, which one', *tau$^{45}$* 'where' (from *ti$^{55}$* + *nau$^{45\ (33)}$* 'place + what'), *tɕɯ$^{24}$nau$^{45\ (33)}$* 'when, what time', *du$^{322}$nau$^{45(33)}$* 'how', and *phan$^{33}$nau$^{45\ (33)}$* 'why'.

## 4.4 Numerals

Unlike the Kam-Tai languages, which share the whole set of numerals with Chinese, Paha is unique in possessing a set of native numerals from 'one' to 'ten' and the forms for 'hundred' and 'thousand', as given below.

*tɕam$^{45}$* 'one', *θa$^{322}$* 'two', *tu$^{322}$* 'three', *pa$^{322}$* 'four', *m̥a$^{33}$* 'five', *nam$^{31}$* 'six', *ðɦu$^{33}$* 'seven', *mu$^{31}$* 'eight', *dɦa$^{33}$* 'nine', *wat$^{55}$* 'ten', *qan$^{33}$* 'hundred', *dɔŋ$^{45}$* 'thousand'.

The numerals from 'eleven' to 'nineteen' are formed by combining *wat$^{55}$* 'ten' with the respective numbers from 'one' to 'nine', as *wat$^{55}$ tɕam$^{45}$* 'eleven', *wat$^{55}$ θa$^{322}$* 'twelve', *wat$^{55}$ tu$^{322}$* 'thirteen', *wat$^{55}$dɦa$^{33}$* 'nineteen', and so on.

The numeral $waan^{33}$ 'ten thousand' is borrowed from Chinese (Modern SW Mandarin $wan^{24}$).

Two numerals, 'one' and 'ten', have semantic variants, $ti^{55}$ and $pwat^{55}$ respectively. Both are bound forms and cannot be used as free forms. They have different usages from their counterparts. Basically, $ti^{55}$ is used before measure words. Examples: $ti^{55}qan^{33}$ 'one hundred', $ti^{55}dɔŋ^{45}$ 'one thousand', $ti^{55}də^{33\ (322)}ðam^{33\ (322)}qai^{33\ (322)}$ 'an egg'. The numeral $tɕam^{45}$ is not used in such situations.

The form $pwat^{55}$ cannot stand alone to denote 'ten'. It must be used with other numbers to form numerals from 'twenty' to 'ninety-nine'. For example: $\theta a^{322}pwat^{55}$ 'twenty', $tu^{322}pwat^{55}$ 'thirty', $tu^{322}pwat^{55}tɕam^{45}$ 'thirty-one', $nam^{31}pwat^{55}pa^{322}$ 'sixty-four'. The form $wat^{55}$ cannot be used in such constructions.

There is no native word for 'naught, zero' in Paha. Thus, 101 is $ti^{55}\ qan^{33}\ ti^{55}\ də^{322}$, literally 'one-hundred-one-measure'. The concept of 'naught, zero' is borrowed from Modern Chinese, pronounced as $lan^{11}$ (from Southwestern Mandarin $lin^{11}$) in Paha.

## 4.5 Classifiers

Paha classifiers can be divided into two types: classifiers for nouns, which are used to categorise or count people, objects or things, and those of acts. Noun classifiers can be further divided into two subtypes: countable (individual) or collective/plural. There are also standard measure words for measuring length, capacity and weights. Some common classifiers are given below:

*Classifiers for countable/individual things.* These are used with individual objects, persons, or things. Examples: $də^{322}$ 'general classifier for things', $kɔn^{33}$ 'classifier for human beings', $mai^{24}$ 'classifier for trees', $tɕɛp^{33}$ 'classifier for grasses', $ðɔŋ^{31}$ 'classifier for small, grain-like things', $pən^{45}$ 'classifier for books', $kat^{55}$ 'classifier for pens', $pɔ^{33}$ 'lump, piece (of rock)', $laak^{33}$ 'classifier for utterances', $toŋ^{322}$ 'classifier for songs', $thɛ^{33}$ 'classifier for one of a pair (of shoes)', $gu^{45}$ 'classifier for flowers'.

*Classifiers for collective things.* These refer to things in pairs, groups, bundles, etc., rather than individually. Examples: $pwak^{55}$ 'bunch (of flowers)', $ku^{31}$ 'pair (of shoes)', $puŋ^{31}$ 'pile (of manure)', $paaŋ^{33}$ 'flock (of cattle)', $taap^{31}$ 'a pile (of paper)', $ghaau^{45}$ 'a handful (of seeds)', $ðui^{11}$ 'a string/bunch of X'.

*Classifiers for acts.* These are used to refer to instances of an act described by the verb in question. Examples: $tɕiiŋ^{11}$ 'general classifier for instances of an action, trip', $ŋan^{24}$ 'classifier for sleep events, naps', $pjaam^{45}$ 'classifier for meals', $laak^{55}$ 'classifier for short, quick acts, such as a kick, a slap', $jɔk^{33}$ 'classifier for bites, drinks'.

*Measures of length, capacity, weights, and currency.* $kan^{33}$ 'catty (= half a kilogram)', $da^{322}$ 'catty', $puun^{322}$ 'half (a catty)', $mɛk^{33}$ 'one hundred catty', $gaap^{33}$ 'measure of length from thumb to middle finger', $gaat^{11}$ 'step', $də^{322}$ 'yuan, dollar', $haau^{31}$ 'ten cents', $ðam^{322}$ 'ten cents (euphemistic usage)', $ʃən^{33}$ 'cents'.

Of all the measure words, the most common is the general measure $də^{322}$. It can refer to various kinds of objects, including utensils, clothes, buildings, currencies (e.g. dollar, yuan, pound, etc.). It can also be used to count animals.

In some cases, the same noun may take different classifiers depending on the size or length of the object being talked about. For example:

dǝ$^{322}$ — laak$^{11}$ : ti$^{55}$ dǝ$^{322}$ ?aau$^{45}$pja$^{322}$ 'a big fish', ti$^{55}$ laak$^{11}$?aau$^{45}$pja$^{322}$ 'a small fish'
ðaai$^{55}$ — laak$^{11}$ : θa$^{322}$ ðaai$^{55}$nok$^{11}$ 'a big bird', θa$^{322}$ laak$^{11}$ nok$^{11}$ 'a small bird'
kat$^{55}$ — khɔŋ$^{33}$ : ti$^{55}$ kat$^{55}$ ma$^{55}$ti$^{322}$ 'a long stick', ti$^{55}$ khɔŋ$^{33}$ ma$^{55}$ ti$^{322}$ 'a short stick'

Some classifiers have double word-class membership. That is, they also function as nouns or verbs. They are both lexemes and function words. For example:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ðɛŋ$^{322}$ 'leaf' | classifier for thin, flat objects such as sheets, paper | ti$^{55}$ ðɛŋ$^{33\ (322\ )}$wat$^{55\ (33)}$ | 'a piece of paper' |
| w̥i$^{33}$ 'bag, sack' | classifier for capacity | pa$^{322}$ w̥i$^{33}$ di$^{33}$ | 'four bags of soy bean' |
| w̥an$^{33}$ 'day' | classifier for time | ti$^{55}$w̥an$^{33}$ | 'one day' |
| lim$^{24}$ 'speak' | classifier utterances | kɛŋ$^{45}$ ti$^{55}$ lim$^{11\ (24)}$ | 'give (sb.) a yell (i.e. call out to sb.)' |

Classifiers normally take numerals to form numeral-classifier constructions. However, in some cases classifiers can take a noun/pronoun without a numeral. For example:

(31) laak$^{33}$ lim$^{24}$ ku$^{322}$ mǝ$^{31}$ ŋ̊i$^{33}$ pi$^{55}$ ŋ̊i$^{33}$?
   CL(utterances) speak 1SG you listen not listen
   'Will you listen to my words/what I am going to say?'

(32) w̥an$^{33}$ni$^{55}$ tɯ$^{322}$ tam$^{45}$ mai$^{24}$ ma$^{55}$ti$^{322}$
   today 1PL plant tree stick/seedling
   'We are going to plant some trees today.'

## 4.6 *Descriptive Suffixes*

The majority of adjectives and a small number of verbs can take a monosyllabic or disyllabic suffix to enhance their expressive power. Most of these suffixes have rhyming or alliterative relationships with the roots they modify. Quite often, disyllabic suffixes are formed through reduplication. Examples:

(33) dam$^{322}$ '(of the day)      —— dam$^{31(322)}$ lom$^{45}$        'very dark'
              getting dark'

     l̥am$^{322}$ 'black'           —— l̥am$^{322}$po$^{33}$           'very black'
                                     l̥am$^{322}$po$^{33}$po$^{33}$     'extremely black'

     ʁɔ$^{45}$ 'green'             —— ʁɔ$^{45}$ʁak$^{55}$            'very green'

     tɕɛ$^{45}$ 'red'             —— tɕɛ$^{45}$ðaaŋ$^{33}$          'very red'
                                     tɕɛ$^{45}$ðaaŋ$^{33}$ðaaŋ$^{33}$  'extremely red, fire red'

     ði$^{11}$ 'sick'             —— ði$^{24(11)}$ ŋɛ$^{31}$ŋɛ$^{31}$  'very sick'

     na$^{322}$ 'thick'           —— na$^{322}$ni$^{33}$             'very sick'

     lɛ$^{322}$ 'soft'            —— lɛ$^{31(322)}$la$^{31}$          'very soft'

     ʁɔk$^{55}$ 'tired, sleepy'   —— ʁɔk$^{45(55)}$ ŋaɯ$^{24}$ŋaɯ$^{24}$ 'doze off, fall asleep'

     gɦa$^{45}$ 'light'           —— gɦa$^{45}$ pa$^{55}$ jɛŋ$^{33}$   'extremely light'

     tɕɦua$^{45}$ 'thin'          —— tɕɦua$^{45}$ tɕi$^{322}$        'very thin, ultra thin'

     ði$^{11}$ 'long'             —— ði$^{11}$ ðə$^{33}$             'quite long'

     ðɔŋ$^{45}$ 'drip'            —— ðɔŋ$^{45}$ jet$^{11}$ jet$^{11}$  'keep dripping'

     haai$^{45}$ 'blow'           —— haai$^{45}$ ðɛ$^{33}$ ðɛ$^{33}$  'whistle'

     wa$^{24}$ 'go'               —— wa$^{11(24)}$mui$^{33}$ma$^{33}$  'be quick' (as urging)

     wa$^{24}$ 'go'               —— wa$^{11(24)}$ti$^{11}$ tiŋ$^{31}$ 'walk steadily'

     ŋaak$^{33}$ 'raise one's head, —— ŋaak$^{33}$ ka$^{33}$ laaŋ$^{33}$ thaaŋ$^{33}$ 'lie on one's back casually'
              look up'

Two idiosyncratic trisyllabic suffixes are found.  One is *pi$^{55}$ ka$^{55}$* (or *kə$^{55}$*) *n̥aŋ$^{31}$*, the function of which is to designate the intensity of a state or situation, meaning 'extremely, very, too…', with neutral or derogative nuances, e.g. *kə$^{55}$ tɕi$^{55}$ tɕhaŋ$^{33}$ **pi$^{55}$kə$^{33}$n̥aŋ$^{31}$*** 'He is very fierce'; *m̥oi$^{45}$**pi$^{55}$ka$^{55}$n̥aŋ$^{31}$*** 'very fast (too fast, one would expect it to be slower)'.

The other is *ŋa$^{322}$pa$^{33}$θaɯ$^{33}$*, which has a neutral or a favourable sense.  For example:

(34) pa$^{33}$  laak$^{11}$  gap$^{11}$  qai$^{322}$  nɔŋ$^{31}$  m̥ɔ$^{45}$  **ŋa$^{322}$pa$^{33}$θaɯ$^{33}$**
     father son    catch   chicken come   happy very.much
     'Father and son enjoyed catching chicken very much.'

## 4.7  Discourse Particles

A number of discourse particles are found in Paha.  Their meaning and function are described below.

(i) **hə$^{31}$** — vocative marker.  Examples:

(35)   pa$^{33}$    hə$^{31}$,   tɯ$^{322}$   wa$^{24}$   ðaak$^{11}$   θu$^{322}$     ja$^{11}$
       father   VOC    1PL      go      fetch     firewood   CSM
       'Father, let's go and get some firewood.'

(36)   taŋ$^{11(24)}$moi$^{31}$   hə$^{31}$,   n̥ɯ$^{33}$   maan$^{31}$   waaŋ$^{45}$   moi$^{31}$   ha$^{33}$
       everybody       VOC    cow     new      enter     village   PART
       'Attention, everybody.  A new cow (i.e. stranger) has arrived at our village.'

(ii) **$ni^{33}$** — topic marker, used in declarative sentences to punctuate narrative events, or change topics. Examples:

(37)  $kɔn^{11(33)}$  $ʔɔn^{33}$  $pa^{55}mai^{11}$  $ɲə^{55}$  **$ni^{33}$**  $ŋu^{11}$  $ɲi^{33}$  $ki^{31}$
  CL  younger.sibling  woman  that  TOPIC  sleep  up  stairs
  'As for the younger sister, she sleeps upstairs.'

(38)  $kɔn^{31(33)}$  $ʔɔn^{55(33)}$  $man^{31}wa^{33(24)}$  $jaŋ^{11}$  **$ni^{55(33)}$**  $pa^{33}mwi^{322}$  $pjaak^{11}$  $ja^{11}$
  CL  younger.sibling  run.away  finish  TOPIC  sky, day  bright  CSM
  'After younger sister had run away, day broke.'

(iii) **$tɔ^{11}$**, **$tɔk^{11}$** — discourse particle used sentence finally to mark the result of a prior event or situation. Examples:

(39)  $duɯ^{33}$  $ɕen^{45}$  $wa^{11(24)}$  $tɕaai^{45}$  $pjaaŋ^{322}$ ,  $kɔn^{33}$  $pa^{55(33)}taai^{33(32)}$  $kɔ^{55}$
  take  money  use  all  complete(ly)  CL  sister  then
  $ɕam^{31}$  $phan^{33}$  $tɕha^{33}$  **$tɔ^{11}$**
  together  become  poor  RESULT
  'Having spent all her money, the sisters all went broke.'

(40)  $tɕi^{45}$  $qai^{322}$  $tɛ^{31}$  $pɛ^{31(33)}$ ,  $duɯ^{33}$  $ti^{33(55)}$  $da^{33}$  $ti^{11}$  $ni^{55}$  **$tɔk^{11}$**
  pierce  chicken  catch  blood  get  one  half  bowl  this  RESULT
  '(We) cut (the throat of) the chicken for blood, and only got half a bowl.'

(41)  $ða^{31}$  $nɔŋ^{31}$  $di^{11(322)}$  $ta^{31}$  $ha^{45}$  $pja^{11}$  $daau^{33}$  $laŋ^{31}haai^{33}$  $ʔan^{322}$  **$tɔ^{11}$**
  go  come.back  tell  everyone  all  chopsticks  still  place  RESULT
  'Come back and tell everyone that the chopsticks are still there.'

(iv) **$pə^{33}$** — sentence final particle expressing surprise or unexpectedness.

(42)  $kə^{55}$  $ko^{55}$  $tat^{55}$  $tək^{33}$  $naak^{11}$  $nu^{45}$,  $kɔn^{11(33)}$  $ʔɔn^{45(33)}$  $lum^{55}$
  3SG  also  cut  UNEX  cause  fall  CL  younger.sister  then
  $tɔk^{33(55)}$  $wa^{11(24)}$  $khu^{45}$  $ʔɔŋ^{45}$  $pwan^{322}$  $pə^{33}$
  drop  go  inside  water  die  SURP
  'She also joined in (the team) to cut the tree. The tree then fell down, and younger sister fell into the river and drowned!'

(v) **$li^{55}$** — final particle for asking questions.

(43)  $moi^{31}$  $pa^{33}ha^{33}$  $ʔan^{322}$  $tau^{45}$  **$li^{55}$**?
  village  Paha  place  where  Q
  'Where is the Paha village?'

(44)  $hɔ^{45}$  $du^{33}$  $phan^{33}nau^{45}$  $kaan^{322}$  $jin^{11}$  **$li^{55}$**?
  group  1PL.EX  why  celebrate  Yin.Day  Q
  'Why do we celebrate Yin Day?''

(vi) The post-verbal marker -$ək^{33}$ is used to express an act or situation that has come about unexpectedly. The initial consonant of -$ək^{33}$ is variable; it copies the initial consonant of the verb it modifies.

(45)  kə$^{55}$  ko$^{55}$  tat$^{55}$  tək$^{33}$  naak$^{11}$  nu$^{45}$,  kɔn$^{11(33)}$  ʔɔn$^{45(33)}$        lum$^{55}$
      3SG   also   cut    UNEX   cause    fall    CL          younger.sister   then
      tɔk$^{33(55)}$  wa$^{11(24)}$  khu$^{45}$  ʔɔŋ$^{45}$  pwan$^{322}$  **pə$^{33}$**
      drop      go        inside    water    die        SURP
      'She also joined in (the team) to cut the tree. The tree then fell down, and younger sister fell into the river and drowned!'

(46)  də$^{322}$  qaan$^{33(322)}$  ku$^{55}$  wai$^{31}$  **wək$^{33}$**
      CL      house          1SG     collapse  UNEX
      'My house collapsed!'

### 4.8  Co-verb/Adverb

The coverb *ta$^{33}$* functions as an adverb with the meaning 'together' and as a preposition or co-verb translatable as 'with, together with'; 'to, towards'.

(47)  kɔn$^{322(33)}$  pa$^{33}$mai$^{11}$  **ta$^{33}$**     ja$^{45}$  də$^{322}$  gau$^{24}$  nɔŋ$^{31}$ ,  naak$^{11}$  gau$^{24}$
      CL          woman       together  take  CL     spider   come,     let     spider
      ʔan$^{322}$  qaan$^{322}$  **ta$^{33}$**
      live     house      together
      'The lady took the spider home to let it live together in the house.'

(48)   moi$^{31}$  ni$^{55}$  **ta$^{33}$**  moi$^{31}$  ɲə$^{55}$  pi$^{55}$  ka$^{45}$  moi$^{31}$  pa$^{33}$ha$^{33}$
       village  this  with  village  that   not   be    village  Paha
       'This  village  and  that  village  are  not  Buyang
        villages.'

(49)  ja$^{11}$     **ta$^{33}$**  kə$^{55}$  di$^{322}$  pok$^{11}$
      mother  with  3SG   talk   again
      'Mother talked to him for a second time.'

### 4.9  Tense-Aspect Markers

A number of tense-aspect markers are found in Paha which express temporal-aspectual meanings, such as inchoative, completion, experiential and iterative. Some of these markers are bound to the verb, others take the form of lexical items. Some common temporal-aspectual markers are illustrated below.

### 4.9.1 Completion
Completion is expressed through *lɛ³¹* and *duɯ³³* (see also section 4.13 iii):

(50) ʔaaŋ¹¹⁽³²²⁾ nɔŋ³¹ khau⁴⁵ **lɛ³¹** duɯ³¹⁽³²² ⁾ n̥ə⁵⁵ pi⁵⁵ ðɯ³³ pɯŋ⁵⁵
    uncle     come     arrive   CMPL     way     that   not   laugh   then
    ka⁵⁵⁽⁴⁵⁾ ʔaaŋ³²² tɕɛ⁴⁵
    be     uncle   blood-related
    'Uncle has arrived. The one who is not smiling is the blood-related uncle.'

(51) ti²⁴ ⁽⁴⁵⁾ ti⁵⁵ pwak³¹ daau³³ , ti²⁴⁽⁴⁵⁾ li⁵⁵⁽³¹⁾ wi³³ , ti²⁴ ⁽⁴⁵⁾ **dɯ⁵⁵⁽³³⁾**
    whittle  one  bunch   chopsticks  whittle  whole  night   whittle  ABIL
    jaŋ¹¹ , pɯŋ⁵⁵ tau¹¹ ði⁵⁵⁽³³⁾…
    finish   then    again  think…
    '(He) whittled a bunch of chopsticks for a whole night. After he finished, he then thought…'

### 4.9.2 Current Relevance
Current relevance is expressed through *tɕɔ³¹*, indicating that a situation already exists or holds at the moment of speaking, e.g.:

(52) kə⁵⁵ ðau¹¹ ŋaai³²² tɕɔ³¹ kɔn³³ ʔɔn⁵⁵⁽³³⁾ kə⁵⁵
    3SG  again  love    CR    CL    younger.sibling  3SG
    'He has fallen in love with her younger sister.'

### 4.9.3 Experiential
Experiential is expressed through a post-verbal aspect marker *qui⁴⁵*, very similar in shape, meaning and function to the Chinese experiential marker *guò*.

(53)   tɕɯ²⁴ja³³⁽³²²⁾ kə⁵⁵ θau³¹ **qui⁴⁵** mi³²²
    before       3SG   hunt   EXP   bear
    'He went bear-hunting before.'

(54) pa³³ʔaaŋ³²² kə⁵⁵ khau³³ **qui⁴⁵** khu⁴⁵ tɕiu³²² we¹¹ ʔɔn³³ pi⁴⁵
    father-in-law  3SG  reach   EXP   Vietnam     look for  younger.sibling  relative
    'His father-in-law has been to Vietnam looking for his relatives.'

### 4.9.4 Iterative/Repetitive
Iterative/Repetitive aspect in Paha is iconic. It is formed by inserting the aspectual marker *la³¹* in between two reduplicated verbs to describe a repeated action.

(55) pjɔ³²² **la³¹** pjɔ³²² , pjɔ⁴⁵⁽³²²⁾ naak¹¹ thuŋ⁴⁵ wa¹¹⁽²⁴⁾ naɯ⁴⁵
    poke   IT    poke,   poke      make   through  go     above
    '(He/I) kept poking, and finally he/I made a hole through to the top.'

In addition, there is an aspect marker, **kɔ⁰lɔ⁰** , which is used sentence finally to indicate that an action or event had already happened at least once before the time of speaking.

(56) kə⁵⁵  ðau¹¹nɔ³¹  **kɔ⁰lɔ⁰**
     3SG   come        IT
     'He has come again.'

### 4.9.5 Change of state
The clause-final particle *ja¹¹* generally expresses a change of state. It is used in declarative or imperative sentences.  Examples:

(57) hɔ⁴⁵  du³³   kaan³²²  **ja¹¹**    pɯŋ⁵⁵  wa¹¹⁽²⁴⁾ du³²²  mjaaŋ³¹
     group 1PL.EX eat      CSM        then    go       do     work
     'We'll go to work after we have our meal'.

(58) hɔ⁴⁵kə⁵⁵  pɯŋ⁵⁵  di³²²  ʔaau⁴⁵  pen³²²   ʔɛŋ³³  ni⁵⁵  **ja¹¹**
     3PL         then    said   meat    not.exist place  here  CSM
     'They said the meat was not here.'

(59) də³³⁽³²²⁾  qaan³³⁽³²²⁾  ni⁵⁵  qɔŋ³²²  qui⁵⁵    **ja¹¹**
     CL          house        this  big     too.much  CSM
     'This room is too big.'

(60) pa⁵⁵taai³³  hə³¹, pi³³  tat⁵⁵  **ja¹¹**
     sister       VOC  not   cut    CSM
     'Sister, please stop cutting.'

### 4.9.6 Prospective aspect
The prospective aspect marker *tai¹¹ja¹¹* is used sentence finally to designate that an action or event is going to happen at the time of speaking.

(61) hɔ⁴⁵  du³³   di³³⁽³²²⁾  kɯt¹¹  li⁵⁵⁽³¹⁾  wi³³  **tai¹¹ja¹¹**
     group 1PL.EX want       dig     whole     night PROS
     'We are going to dig for the whole night.'

### 4.10  Reduplication of Adjectives, Verbs and Classifiers
Quite often, adjectives are reduplicated to express the intensity of a situation being talked about, or to enhance the stylistic effect of the speech event.

(62)  gaaŋ³¹   'firm, strong'   >   gaaŋ³¹gaaŋ³¹              'very firm, very strong'
      dam³²²   'dark (day)'     >   dam³¹⁽³²²⁾dam³³⁽³²²⁾      'very dark (day)'
      m̥ɔ⁴⁵     'happy, pleased' >   m̥ɔ¹¹⁽⁴⁵⁾m̥ɔ⁴⁵            'very happy'

Directional verbs may also be reduplicated. They express repeated actions described by the verb in question. For example:

(63) nɔ³¹ nɔ³¹ ða³¹ ða³¹
come come go go
'come and go'

(64) na³¹ na³¹ ðɔŋ⁴⁵ ðɔŋ⁴⁵
ascend ascend descend descend
'walk up and down'

Classifiers may be reduplicated as well. Reduplicated classifiers express the meaning of 'each', 'every', 'all'. Examples:

(65) də³²² də³²² 'everybody, everyone'
CL CL (for humans)

(66) gu⁴⁵ gu⁴⁵ 'every flower'
CL CL (for flowers)

(67) laak³³ laak³³ 'every utterance, every sentence'
CL CL (for utterances)

(68) kə⁵⁵ w̥an³³ w̥an³³ to³³ du³²² mjaaŋ³¹
3SG day day always do work
'He works everyday.'

(69) ʔi³³ maan³¹ ðɔŋ³¹ ðɔŋ³¹ pjaak¹¹ θaɯ³²²
crop new CL CL shiny clear
'Every grain of the new crop is shiny.'

### 4.11 Clause types
#### 4.11.1 Copula clauses and verbless clauses
Copula clauses take the copula *ka⁴⁵*. Examples:

(70) ku²⁴⁽³²²⁾ **ka⁵⁵⁽⁴⁵⁾** ha³³ pa³³ ha³³
1SG be person Paha
'I am a Paha (speaker).'

(71) hɔ⁴⁵ du³³ pa³³ ha³³ ni³³⁽⁵⁵⁾ **ka⁴⁵** hɔ⁴⁵ kaan³²² de¹¹ tɕɛ⁴⁵
group 1PL.EX Paha this be group eat shrimp red
'Our group of Paha are the ones that eat red shrimp.' (Appendix, line 13)

(72) kə⁵⁵ **ka⁵⁵⁽⁴⁵⁾** pi⁵⁵ **ka⁵⁵⁽⁴⁵⁾** ja²⁴⁽¹¹⁾ mə³¹?
3SG be not be mother 2SG
Is she your mother?

In many cases, the copula verb can be left out, rendering the construction a verbless clause. Examples:

(73) naan³²² n̠ə⁵⁵ naan³²² lɔk⁵⁵
    month   that   month  six
    'It was June that month.'

(74) moi³¹ ni⁵⁵ moi³¹ pa³³ha³³
    village  this  village  Paha
    'This is a Paha village.'

*4.11.2 The affective/adversative construction*

The affective/adversative construction in Paha is formed with the use of *n̠ɛ³¹*, which appears to be derived from the lexical verb *naak¹¹* 'to give'. The form *n̠ɛ³¹* (or *naak¹¹*) appears in a serial verb construction before the part of the clause representing the event, as in (76)-(80). The effect is in some cases pragmatically like a passive, but it is structurally not a passive. (75) shows *naak¹¹* in a basic double-object construction.

(75)  ko³²² **naak¹¹** mə³¹ θa³¹⁽³²²⁾ ðaai⁵⁵ qai³²²
     aunt   give  2SG   two     CL      chicken
     'Aunty gave you two chickens as gifts'.

(76) **naak¹¹** ma³¹ ðaai³³
     ADVS   dog   bite
     'to be bitten by a dog' (Lit. suffer a dog biting')

(77) kə⁵⁵ ðaak¹¹ θu³²² l̥aau⁴⁵⁽³³⁾ **n̠ɛ³¹** di³²²
     3SG   gather firewood less      ADVS  scold
     'He was scolded for having gathered too little firewood.'

(78) ma⁵⁵lu³²² **n̠ɛ³¹** tɕaai⁴⁵ pjaaŋ³²²
     money    ADVS  use     completely
     'Money has been used up.'

(79) pwan³³ m̥u³¹ **n̠ɛ³¹** ðaak¹¹ ʔɔŋ⁵⁵⁽⁴⁵⁾
     kill    pig   ADVS fetch   water
     '(When) slaughtering pigs, (I was asked to) go fetch water.'

(80) w̥an³³ni⁵⁵ laak¹¹ waau³³ mə³¹ **naak¹¹** lum²⁴ ma⁵⁵ lu³²²
     today       offspring male  2SG  ADVS   fine    money
     'Your son got fined today.'

    *naak¹¹* is also used as a modal verb meaning 'allow, permit, let, cause'. These and other grammaticalisations are discussed in 4.13 below.

*4.11.3 Interrogative Sentences*

Interrogative sentences can be formed with the use of interrogative pronouns. Sometimes a question particle is used at the end of the sentence. Examples:

(81) mə³¹  ka⁴⁵  ha³³  **tau⁴⁵**?
     2SG  be  person where
     'Where are you from?'

(82) ma⁵⁵ti³²²  **tɕə³³kə⁵⁵**  tɕau³³  ti³³⁽⁵⁵⁾  dɔŋ⁴⁵  mɛŋ³¹?
     tree  what  live  one  thousand year
     'What (kind of) trees can live for a thousand years?'

(83) mai²⁴  ma⁵⁵ti³²²  ȵə⁵⁵  ʔan³²²  **də¹¹ nau⁵⁵**  w̥əŋ³³?
     CL  tree  that  place  how.many  tall
     'How tall is that tree over there?'

(84) moi³¹  pa³³ha³³  du³³  phan³³nau⁵⁵⁽⁴⁵⁾  kaan³²²  jin¹¹  **li⁵⁵**?
     village Paha  1PLex  why  celebrate Yin.Day Q
     'Why does our Paha village celebrate the Yin Day?' (Appendix, line 1)

Alternative questions are formed by using the negative word *pi⁵⁵* to form a 'Verb-*pi⁵⁵*-Verb' construction. Examples:

(85) kə⁵⁵  **ka⁴⁵ pi⁵⁵ ka⁴⁵**  ja²⁴⁽¹¹⁾  mə³¹?
     3SG be  not be  mother 2SG
     'Is she your mother (or not?)'

(86) mə⁵⁵⁽³¹⁾  **taau³²² pi⁵⁵ taau³²²**  kat⁵⁵  qaau³³kwi⁴⁵  ni³³⁽⁵⁵⁾?
     2SG  use  not use  CL  writing.pen  this
     'Are you using this pen or not?'

*4.11.4 Negation*

Negation is expressed through the negators *pi⁵⁵* 'not', *pi⁵⁵ja³²²* 'not yet' and *pen³²²* 'not be/have (negator for existential verbs)'. *pen³²²* appears to be a contracted form of *pi⁵⁵* + *ʔan³²²* 'exist, have'. Examples:

(87) tɕu³¹pa³³  ʔan³²²  ja¹¹  lan³¹  **pi⁵⁵**  dɦam⁴⁵  laak¹¹
     father  have  wife later  not  care.about child
     'The father refuses to look after the child after he has a second wife.'

(88) ku³²²  **pi⁵⁵ ja³²²**  kaan³²²
     1SG  not yet  eat
     'I have not yet eaten.'

(89) hɔ⁴⁵kə⁵⁵ **pi⁵⁵ ja³³⁽³²²⁾** nɔ(ŋ)³¹
3PL     not yet     come
'They have not yet arrived.'

(90) kə⁵⁵ tɕə³³kə⁵⁵ ko⁵⁵ **pen³²²**
3SG  what(ever)  all   not.have
'He has nothing.'

(91) hɔ⁴⁵kə⁵⁵ puɯŋ⁵⁵ di³²² ʔaau⁴⁵ **pen³²²** ʔɛŋ³³ni⁵⁵ ja¹¹
3PL     then  say  meat  not.be  here     CSM
'They said the meat was no longer here.'

### 4.11.5 Comparative Constructions

Comparative constructions are formed by placing the comparative marker *ȵiu⁴⁵* after the adjectival verb. The standard follows the verb and comparative marker. Examples:

(92) kə⁵⁵ w̥əŋ³³ **ȵiu⁴⁵** ku³³⁽³²²⁾
3SG  tall     CMPTV 1SG
'He is taller than me.'

(93) ja¹¹    kə⁵⁵ qa⁴⁵ ja¹¹ , ja¹¹    ku³²² laŋ³¹ qa⁴⁵ **ȵiu⁴⁵**
mother 3SG old  CSM  mother 1SG  still  old  CMPTV
'His mother is old, (but) my mother is even older.'

### 4.11.6 Double-object Constructions

Double-object constructions contain two objects in a sentence, a direct object and an indirect object. The indirect object comes before the direct object.

(94) ku³³⁽³²²⁾ naak¹¹ mə³¹ tu³³⁽³²²⁾ ðaai⁵⁵ ma⁵⁵lu³²² ȷ̊a³³
1SG     give  2SG  three    dollar  money    first
'I'll give you three dollars first.'

(95) pa³³taai³²² di³²² ta³¹   ʔɔn³³        ti⁵⁵ laak³³ lim²⁴
elder.brother tell     brother younger.sibling one CL     sentence
'Elder brother said a sentence to younger brother.'

Double-object constructions can also pattern as 'verb + direct object + *naak¹¹* ('to give') + indirect object', with indirect object following the direct object, introduced by the co-verb *naak¹¹*. Examples:

(96) ko³²² ta⁴⁵       θa³²² də³³ qai³²² naak¹¹ mə³¹
Aunty give.as.gift two   CL    chicken give    2SG
'Aunty sent you two chickens' (or: 'Aunty gave you two chickens.')

(97) pa⁵⁵⁽³³⁾ ju¹¹maan³¹    ta⁴⁵        pa³²² qan³³ ðaai⁴⁵ n̥a²⁴ bɔk³¹ naak¹¹

bridegroom               give.as.gift four    hundred CL    cake rice  give

qaan³²² mai²⁴pi³²²maan³¹

family    bride

'The bridegroom presented four hundred rice cakes to the bride's family as gifts.'

(98)  ðaat¹¹  **naak¹¹**  ku³²²

      pass      give     1SG

      'Pass it on to me'

(99)  ta⁴⁵          **naak¹¹** pa³³ ja¹¹  tɯ³²²

      give.as.gift give      parents    1PL.INCL

      'give it to our parents'

### 4.12 Word Order

The most common word order patterns are Actor-Verb-Patient in the clause, and modifier-modified in the noun phrase, though in numeral-classifier constructions, numeral-classifiers usually precede the head noun. Examples:

(100) pa³²² qan³³  **ðaai⁴⁵** n̥a²⁴ bɔk³¹

      four  hundred CL    rice  cake

      'four hundred rice cakes'

However, in enumeration, a numeral-classifier phrase may follow the head noun:

(101) pa⁵⁵ ju¹¹    wa²⁴  qaan³²²  mai²⁴pi³²²  maan³¹, ta⁴⁵

      bridegroom go    family    wife           new          give.as.gift

      wa¹¹⁽²⁴⁾ θa³¹⁽³²²⁾ qan³²²⁽³³⁾ ma⁵⁵lu³²², bɦɛ⁴⁵ tu³²²

      go       two      hundred    money     duck  three

      pwat⁵⁵ **ðaai⁴⁵**, ðaan³¹ ti⁵⁵ mɛk³³, qhan³³  pa³¹⁽³²²⁾ ðɛ³¹

      ten    CL,     rice    one  load,    cigarette four       carton

      'The bridegroom paid a visit to the bride's family, taking with him 200 dollars, thirty ducks, one load of rice and four cartoons of cigarettes as gifts.'

Verb modifiers may precede or follow the verb. Adjectives and verbs may take post-verbal modifying elements to achieve certain stylistic effects (see 4.6 above).

### 4.13 Grammaticalization

Transparent grammaticalization is a common feature of Paha. A number of Paha verbs have become grammaticalized, acquiring the function of prepositions, auxiliary verbs, pronominal morphemes, light verbs and so on. We saw in 4.11.2 how the verb *naak¹¹* had grammaticalised into an adversative. Examples of other common grammaticalized items:

(i) **du³²²** — lexical meaning: 'do, perform'

(102)  naan³²²  wat⁵⁵  tɯ³²²  **du³²²**  lu¹¹
       month   ten     1PL.INCL  do     field
       'We'll start to work in the field in October'

→ pronominal morpheme, lexicalised element in phrases translatable into English as 'do …, make…'.  E.g.: *du³¹ ⁽³²²⁾ni⁵⁵* 'thus, this way, in this case, like this', *du³¹ ⁽³²²⁾ŋ̩ə⁵⁵* 'that way, in that case, like that', *du³²²nau⁵⁵ ⁽⁴⁵⁾* 'how, what to do'.

(ii) **naak¹¹** — lexical meaning: 'to give'.  E.g.:

(103)  ko³²²  **naak¹¹**  mə³¹  θa³¹⁽³²²⁾  ðaai⁵⁵  qai³²²
       aunt   give      2SG    two         CL       chicken
       'Aunty gave you two chickens as gifts'.

→ modal verb meaning 'allow, permit, let, cause', preposition-like co-verb.  *naak¹¹* also has an adversative/affective use, as noted above in section 4.11.2.  Examples:

(104)  **naak¹¹**  kə⁵⁵  ða³¹  nɔŋ³¹
       let        3SG    return come
       'Let him come back.'

(105)  **naak¹¹**  ŋa³¹  ðaai³³
       ADVS       snake bite
       'got bitten by a snake'

(106)  laak¹¹  ni⁵⁵  du³²²  li³²²  **naak¹¹**  di³²²
       child   this  do     wrong  ADVS       scold
       'The child was scolded/criticised for having done something wrong.'

(107)  tat⁵⁵  tək³³  **naak¹¹**  nu⁴⁵
       cut    UNEX   CAUSE      fall
       'cut down the tree' (lit. 'cut [the tree] to make it fall')

(108)  qaan³²²  ŋ̩ə⁵⁵  du³²²  ni⁵⁵  tɕak⁵⁵,  du³²²  **naak¹¹**  wai³¹  ti⁵⁵  kat⁵⁵
       family  that  do     this  rule      do     CAUSE      damage one   CL
       ma⁵⁵ti³²²  hɛ³¹  ka¹¹  dɯ³³  θɔŋ⁴⁵,  ka¹¹  dɯ³¹⁽³³⁾  we¹¹  **naak¹¹**  maan³¹.
       timber     then  alone have.to repay   alone have.to  look.for CAUSE      new
       'The family set a rule: if you damage a piece of wood, you've got to pay for it, and you've got to replace it.'

(iii) **dɯ³³** — 'get, obtain, permit'.  E.g.:

(109)  wan³³lɔn³³  du³²²l̥aau⁴⁵,  ku³²²  **dɯ³³**  ti⁵⁵  də³²²  mu³¹  ɲi⁴⁵
       yesterday   hunt          1SG    get      one   CL     pig    wild
       'I went hunting yesterday, and got a wild boar.'

$\rightarrow$ modal verb meaning 'can, be able to, must, have to', resultative complement marker. Examples:

(110) du³¹⁽³²²⁾ ni⁵⁵ pɯŋ³³⁽⁵⁵⁾ **dɯ³³** man³¹ wa²⁴
way this then can flee go
'This (is) the escape route.'

(111) du³²² naak¹¹ wai³¹ ti⁵⁵ kat⁵⁵ ma⁵⁵ti³²² hɛ³¹ ka¹¹ **dɯ³³**
do cause damage one CL timber then alone have.to
θɔŋ⁴⁵ , ka¹¹ **dɯ³¹⁽³³⁾** we¹¹ naak¹¹ maan³¹
repay self have.to look.for cause new
'If you damage one piece of timber, you'll have to pay for it and replace it with a new one.'

(112) naan³²² dɦa⁴⁵⁽³³⁾ maau³³ tin⁴⁵ li²⁴ **dɯ³³** na³³
month nine clothes trousers wear have.to thick
'Wear/Put on more clothes in September.'

(113) pa³³ laak¹¹ ʔam³³⁽³²²⁾ **dɯ⁵⁵⁽³³⁾** ti⁵⁵ paau⁴⁵ qai³³⁽³²²⁾
father son raise RESULT one male chicken
'Father and son have raised a rooster.'

(v) *qui⁴⁵* 'spend/pass (time), lead (a life)'. E.g.:

(114) maau³³ tin⁴⁵ li²⁴ dɯ³³ na³³ , tɯ³²² pɯŋ⁴⁵ **qui⁴⁵**
clothes trousers wear have.to thick 1PL.INCL then pass
naan³³⁽³²²⁾ wat⁵⁵⁽³³⁾
month ten
'Put on more clothes, and we'll be able to survive October.'

$\rightarrow$ *qui⁵⁵* (with tone change) $\rightarrow$ intensifying adverb meaning 'too, too much, over-, exceedingly'; experiential aspect marker. Examples:

(115) n̥aai³³ **qui⁵⁵** ja¹¹
tired too CSM
'too tired'

(116) də³³ qaan³³ ni⁵⁵ qɔŋ³²² **qui⁵⁵** ja¹¹
CL room this small too CSM
'This room is too small.'

(117) kə⁵⁵ laŋ³¹ ʔi⁴⁵ **qui⁵⁵** , pi⁵⁵⁽³³⁾ dɯ³³ tɛ³¹ mai¹¹
3SG still young too not permit get married
'He is too young to get married.'

(118) tɕɯ²⁴ja³³⁽³²²⁾  kə⁵⁵ θau³¹ **qui⁴⁵** dɯ³³  mi³²²
   before     3SG hunt EXP obtain bear
   'He went bear-hunting before.'

(vi) ***jaŋ¹¹*** 'to put, to place; to stop'.  E.g.:

(119) lap¹¹ nɔŋ³¹ qaan³²² **jaŋ¹¹**
   carry come home    put
   'take it home and place (it there)'

   → discourse particle indicating completion:

(120) lum⁵⁵ dɯ³³  ti²⁴⁽⁴⁵⁾ li³¹  wi³³ , pɯŋ⁵⁵ ti²⁴ ⁽⁴⁵ ⁾ dɯ⁵⁵⁽³³⁾ **jaŋ¹¹**
   think have to whittle whole night   then    whittle PART    FINISH
   '(we) have to peel for a whole night in order to get things done'

(121) khaan³²² tɕeŋ³²² **jaŋ¹¹**   hɔ⁴⁵kə⁵⁵ tɕau¹¹ wa²⁴ j̊a³²² ja¹¹
   offer     sacrifice FINISH 3PL     just    go    first CSM
   'Having offered their sacrifice, they left earlier'

(122) thuŋ⁴⁵ naɯ⁴⁵ **jaŋ¹¹**,   pɛ³³ to³³ pi⁵⁵ tɔk⁵⁵ nɔŋ³¹ tə³³
   poke  above FINISH    blood all not drop come catch
   'The knife poked deep through to the top, but no blood was coming out to be obtained.'

## 5. THE POSITION OF PAHA WITHIN TAI-KADAI

Benedict (1942, 1975) first noticed a close relationship between Kam-Tai and the Gelao, Lachi, Pubiao and Laha group of languages in southwest China and northern Vietnam.  It has now been accepted that these languages have a genetic relationship, for which the term Tai-Kadai is generally used.  Within Tai-Kadai, the Gelao group forms a branch of its own, distantly related to other groups.  The Gelao group is generally referred to as 'outliers' or 'outlying Kam-Tai', or Kra, as suggested by Ostapirat (2000).  Paha is like other Buyang dialects in possessing a small number of lexical items and structural features that are shared with the surrounding Miao-Yao, Mon-Khmer and Tibeto-Burman languages, however, it has a closer link with the Kam-Tai languages, with which it has more in common.  Like Kam-Tai, Paha has a rich tonal system, a relatively simple consonant inventory and a rich vowel system with length contrasts.  It is basically monosyllabic, with verb-medial word order.  Modifiers follow the modified items.  Most importantly, Paha has a significant number of vocabulary items cognate with Kam-Tai for which observable phonological correspondences can be established.  Final consonant endings appear to be more stable among Kadai languages compared to Tai languages, except for Lachi and Gelao. Patterns of correspondences can be established between Paha and other Tai-Kadai languages, but no regular tonal correspondences can be established between Buyang and Tai-Kadai.  This may suggest that each of these language groups might have developed their own system of tones after they split.

   In the area of common vocabulary, we used Swadesh's (1955) 200-word list to compare Buyang with some representative Tai-Kadai languages, with the following results:

| Lg. compared | No. of words | Cognates shared | Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|
| Paha — Ong-Be | 194 | 62 | 32% |
| Paha — Kam | 194 | 55 | 28% |
| Paha — Zhuang | 194 | 53 | 27% |
| Paha — Cun | 194 | 42 | 22% |

*Table 8.  Buyang cognates with Tai-Kadai languages.*

The statistics show that in the area of basic vocabulary, Paha shares between 22~32% cognate words with Tai-Kadai.  This indicates that Paha does not seem to form a significantly closer link with any particular group within Tai-Kadai.

In terms of common vocabulary, Buyang shows a closer relationship with the Gelao group, as Buyang shares more cognate items with Gelao than with Kam-Tai.  A comparison between Buyang and Gelao in the area of vocabulary yields the following results, based on Swadesh's 200-word list.

| Languages compared | No.  of words | No.  of cognates | Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|
| Paha — Pubiao | 189 | 85 | 45% |
| Paha — Lachi | 189 | 78 | 41% |
| Paha — Gelao | 179 | 72 | 40% |
| Paha — Mulao | 176 | 52 | 30% |
| Langjia — Pubiao | 189 | 85 | 45% |
| Langjia — Lachi | 189 | 80 | 42% |
| Langjia — Gelao | 179 | 72 | 40% |
| Langjia — Mulao | 176 | 61 | 35% |

*Table 9.  Buyang cognates with Gelao dialects.*

The above results show that the percentage of shared cognates between Paha and the Kva Gelao dialects is between 30 ~ 45%, which is nearly 10% higher than that between Paha and Kam-Tai.  This indicates that Buyang has a closer link with Gelao than with Kam-Tai.

# ABBREVIATIONS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABIL | abilitive | IT | iterative/repetitive |
| ADVS | adversative/affective suffix | PART | structural or discourse particle |
| CAUSE | causative | PL | plural |
| CL | classifier | PROS | prospective |
| CMPL | completion | Q | question particle |
| CMPTV | comparative | RECIP | reciprocal marker |
| CR | current relevance | RESULT | resultative |
| CSM | change of state marker | SG | singular |
| EX | exclusive | SURP | surprise |
| EXP | experiential | TOPIC | topic marker |
| EXIST | existential | UNEX | unexpected |
| INCL | inclusive | VOC | Vocative |

# Appendix
## Paha Story

moi$^{31}$        pa $^{33}$ha$^{33}$        qoŋ$^{322}$ tɕaaŋ$^{322}$        kaan$^{322}$        jin$^{11}$
village        Paha        origin                eat        Yin (Day)

### Why Our Paha Village Celebrates the Yin Day Festival

1.  moi$^{31}$        pa$^{33}$ha$^{33}$        du$^{33}$        phan$^{33}$nau$^{55}$        kaan$^{322}$        jin$^{11}$        li$^{55}$?
    village        Paha        1PL.EX        why                eat        Yin.Day        Q

2.  qoŋ$^{322}$ tɕaaŋ$^{322}$        tɕau$^{11}$        phan$^{33}$        ni$^{55}$.
    origin                just        become        this.

3.  moi$^{31}$        pa$^{33}$ha$^{33}$        du$^{33}$        tɕɯ$^{24}$–ȵə$^{55}$        ʔan$^{322}$        tau$^{55}$        pi$^{55}$        θaai$^{55}$θa$^{322}$
    village        Paha        1PL.EX        time-that        EXIST        where        not        know

4.  hɔ$^{45}$        du$^{33}$        pa$^{33}$ha$^{33}$        ʔan$^{322}$        θa$^{322}$        hɔ$^{45}$,        ti$^{33(55)}$        hɔ$^{45}$        kaan$^{322}$
    group        1PL.EX        Paha        have        two        group        one        group        eat

5.  de$^{11}$        tɕɛ$^{55(45)}$,        ti$^{33(55)}$        hɔ$^{45}$        kaan$^{322}$        jaat$^{11}$,        hɔ$^{45}$        kaan$^{322}$
    shrimp        red        one        group        eat        black.shrimp        group        eat

6.  jaat$^{11}$        ni$^{33(55)}$        ði$^{33(24)}$        m̥u$^{45(33)}$        hɔ$^{45}$        kə$^{55}$        tɕau$^{11}$        ði$^{33(24)}$        m̥u$^{45(33)}$
    black.shrimp        this        cook        done        group        3PL        just        cook        cooked

7. khaaŋ³³ tɕiiŋ³²², khaaŋ³³ tɕiiŋ³²² jaŋ¹¹
   offer.(place.on.altar) New.Year, offer.(place.on.altar) New.Year finish

8. hɔ⁴⁵ kə⁵⁵ khaaŋ³³ tɕiiŋ³²² jaŋ¹¹ hɔ⁴⁵ kə⁵⁵ tɕau¹¹
   group 3PL offer New.Year stop group 3PL just

9. wa²⁴ ȷ̡a³²² ja¹¹. haai³³ wa²⁴ khau³³ tau⁵⁵ɕɯ³¹ ja¹¹,
   go first CSM still go reach where CSM

10. khau³³ ti⁵⁵ kwa³²² ðaŋ²⁴ pɯŋ⁵⁵ tat³³⁽⁵⁵⁾ loŋ¹¹
    reach one CL valley then cut wild.plantain

11. du³²² dɯ³³ ða²⁴ði⁵⁵⁽³³⁾ ba³¹ naak¹¹ hɔ⁴⁵ lan³¹,
    make obtain sign keep give group behind,

12. naak¹¹ hɔ⁴⁵ ʔan³²² lan³¹ ði³³ ðo¹¹,
    give group stay behind remember easy

13. hɔ⁴⁵ du³³ pa³³ha³³ ni³³⁽⁵⁵⁾ ka⁴⁵ hɔ⁴⁵ kaan³²² de¹¹ tɕɛ⁴⁵,
    group 1PL.EX Paha this be group eat shrimp red

14. haai³³ ði²⁴ haai³³ tɕɛ⁴⁵, laai³²² pi⁵⁵ m̥u³³, hɔ⁴⁵ du³³ lum⁴⁵
    the.more cook the.more red, thought not cooked group 1PL.EX then

15. haai³³ ði³³⁽²⁴⁾ haai³³ ði³³⁽²⁴⁾, lum⁴⁵ lat¹¹
    still cook still cook, then late

16. hɔ⁴⁵ kaan³²² jaat¹¹ n̠ə⁵⁵,
    group eat black.shrimp that

17. hɔ⁴⁵ n̠ə⁵⁵ lum⁴⁵ haai³³ wa²⁴ ȷ̡a³²².
    group that then still go first

18. θi³³ kwa³³⁽³²²⁾ ðaŋ²⁴ tat³³⁽⁵⁵⁾ loŋ¹¹ , hɔ⁴⁵ loŋ¹¹ n̠ə⁵⁵
    along CL valley cut wild.plantain group wild.plantain that

19. lum⁴⁵ θət⁵⁵ w̥əŋ³³ hɔ⁴⁵ du³³ lum⁴⁵ we¹¹ pi⁵⁵ qam²⁴ lum⁴⁵
    then grow tall group 1PL.EX then find not able then

20. dɯ³³ ʔan³²² kwa³¹⁽³²²⁾ ðaŋ²⁴ kaan³²² tɕiiŋ³²².
    have.to stay CL valley celebrate New.Year.

21. kaan³²² tɕiiŋ³²² ni⁵⁵, tɕɯ²⁴ n̠ə⁵⁵ ka⁵⁵⁽⁴⁵⁾ tɕɯ²⁴ nau⁵⁵
    celebrate New.Year TOPIC time that be time what

22. pi⁵⁵ θaai⁴⁵θa³¹.
    not know.

23.   ði³³       dɯ³³      ka¹¹⁽⁴⁵⁾    w̥an³³    n̠ə⁵⁵    ka⁵⁵⁽⁴⁵⁾    w̥an³³    jin¹¹.
      remember    able      be         day        that      be         day      Yin.

24.   hɔ⁴⁵      du³³      pɯŋ⁵⁵    dɯ³³    ʔan³²²    kwa³³⁽³²²⁾    ðan²⁴    kaan³²²    tɕiin³²².
      group     1PL.EX    just      have.to    stay          CL         valley     celebrate    New.Year.

25.   kaan³²²    tɕiin³²²    ni⁵⁵ ,      tɕə³³kə⁵⁵    ko⁵⁵    pen³²² ,    pɯŋ⁵⁵    tat⁵⁵
      celebrate    New.Year    TOPIC     what        all      not.have      then      chop

26.   loŋ¹¹          ðaak¹¹     ðɛŋ³²²    qoŋ³²²    du³³    juuŋ¹¹ ,    ðaak¹¹
      wild.plantain   want      leaf      big      make    table      want

27.   ðɛŋ³²²    qɛu³³    du³³⁽³²²⁾    bɔ⁴    tɛ¹¹    ʁa³³    khaaŋ³³    aau³¹tɕaai³¹,
      leaf      small    make       cup    hold    wine    lay.out     altar

28.   ja⁴⁵    ja¹¹pwi³³     du³²²    jiiŋ³³.
      take    firewood.end    make    incense.

29.   tɕap¹¹ka⁴⁵⁽²⁴⁾    də¹¹⁽³²²⁾    n̠ə⁵⁵    noŋ³¹,    hɔ⁴⁵      du³³
      from           way       that      down     group    1PL.EX

30.   pɯŋ⁵⁵    ði⁵⁵⁽³³⁾    dɯ⁵⁵⁽³³⁾    w̥an¹¹⁽³³⁾    n̠ə⁵⁵    ka⁵⁵⁽⁴⁵⁾    w̥an³³    jin¹¹,
      then      remember    able     day       that      be       day     Yin

31.   jaau³¹    ka⁵⁵⁽⁴⁵⁾    naan³²²    lɔk⁵⁵,
      also      be         month     six

32.   hɔ⁵⁵⁽⁴⁵⁾    du³³      pɯŋ⁵⁵    ka²⁴    mɛn³¹    khau³³    naan³²²    lɔk⁵⁵
      group     1PL.EX    then      every    year     reach     month     six

33.   pɯŋ⁵⁵    kaan³²²    tɕiin³²².
      then      celebrate    New.Year

34.   tɕiin³²²    n̠ə⁵⁵    pɯŋ⁵⁵    ði³³         dɯ⁵⁵⁽³³⁾    θui¹¹    ka⁴⁵    m̥ɔ⁴⁵.
      New.Year    that      then      remember    able       most     be      happy

35.   du³³       pɯŋ⁵⁵    haai³³    kaan³²²    jin¹¹    taŋ³³naau³³.
      1PL.EX    then      still      celebrate    Yin      forever

36.   tɕiin³²²    qoŋ³²²    pɛŋ³²²    laŋ³¹    pi⁴⁵⁽⁵⁵⁾    tɕhɔŋ⁴⁵    tɕiin³²²
      New.Year    big      other     still     not        like       New.Year

37.   jin¹¹    du³³      n̠ə⁵⁵.
      Yin      1PL.EX    that

38. kaan³²² jin¹¹ nɛ³³, hɔ⁴⁵ du³³ ko⁵⁵ tɕan³²² maau³²² tin⁴⁵
    celebrate Yin TOPIC group 1PL.EX all buy clothes trousers

39. maan³¹ , pwan³²² pa⁵⁵⁽³³⁾ʁu⁵⁵. kɛŋ⁴⁵ ʔɔn³³pi⁴⁵ pa³³ khaak³³
    new slaughter pig call relative person guest

40. ða²⁴ ði³³ nɔŋ³¹ ɕam³¹ kaan³²², ɕam³¹ kaan³²² ɕam³¹ m̥ɔ⁴⁵.
    place far come together eat together celebrate together happy

41. w̥an³³ n̥ə⁵⁵ pɯŋ⁵⁵ ka⁵⁵⁽⁴⁵⁾ pa³³ ha³³ ni⁵⁵ tɕiiŋ³²² qɔŋ³²².
    day that then be Paha this New.Year big

42. hɔ⁴⁵ pa³³ha³³ kaan³²² de¹¹ l̥am³³⁽³²²⁾ ni⁵⁵ pɛŋ³²² di³³⁽³²²⁾ man³³
    group Paha eat shrimp black this other say flee

43. wa²⁴ khau³³ we³¹naan³¹, hɔ⁴⁵ du³³ ko⁵⁵ pi⁵⁵ θaai⁴⁵ θa³¹
    go reach Vietnam group 1PL.EX all not know

44. tɕin¹¹ni³³⁽⁵⁵⁾ ja¹¹.
    now CSM

45. lɯ⁴⁵ ka¹¹ hɔ⁴⁵ du³³ ʔan³²² lan³¹ tɔk¹¹ ,
    remain alone group 1PL.EX stay behind RESULT

46. pa³³ha³³ du³³ ka⁴⁵ θui¹¹ l̥aau⁴⁵⁽³³⁾ ja¹¹.
    Paha 1PL.EX be most less CSM

47. hɔ⁴⁵ du³³ to⁵⁵ lim²⁴ pi⁵⁵ tɕhɔŋ⁴⁵ hɔ⁴⁵ θaan³¹⁽²⁴⁾ ,
    group 1PL.EX all speak not like group nearby

48. du³²² tɕə³³ kə⁵⁵, to³³ pi⁵⁵ tɕhɔŋ⁴⁵ pɛŋ³²². ha⁴⁵⁽³³⁾ pwan³³⁽³²²⁾
    do what all not like others person die

49. du³³ khaak⁴⁵⁽³³⁾ pi⁵⁵ li²⁴ maau³²² lɔk⁵⁵⁽³³⁾, li²⁴ ka¹¹
    make(be) guest not wear clothes white wear only

50. maau³¹⁽³²²⁾ l̥am³³⁽³²²⁾, pi⁵⁵ tɕhɔŋ⁴⁵ pa³³ phju⁴⁵ li²⁴ maau³¹⁽³²²⁾ lɔk³³.
    clothes black, not like person Zhuang wear clothes white

51. hɔ⁴⁵ du³³ pa³³ha³³ ni⁵⁵ qɔŋ³²²tɕaaŋ³²² tɕau¹¹ phan³³ ni⁵⁵.
    group 1PL.EX Paha this origin just become this

Why does our Paha village celebrate the Yin Day Festival? The reason is like this. We have no idea where our ancestors used to live. Legend has it that there were two groups of Paha. On their migration journey, one group ate red shrimp, while the other group ate black shrimp. Those who ate black shrimp offered sacrifice to the ancestors with cooked shrimp after they had cooked the shrimp. Having performed their rituals, they set off on their journey. Having arrived at a valley,

they chopped down wild plantain trees as road signs, so that those who followed from behind could easily find their way, and follow their route. Our ancestors were those who ate red shrimp. They spent a lot of time cooking the shrimp, believing that the shrimp were not yet cooked, because the longer the shrimp were cooked, the redder they became. As a result, our ancestors were unable to catch up with the group who ate black shrimp and who continued to travel in front.

The front group travelled on along a valley, chopping down wild plantain trees as road signs as they went. But the wild plantain trees grew very fast in a very short time. So our group was thus unable to see the signs. Failing to catch up with the group who left earlier, our group had to celebrate New Year's Day in the valley.

The group didn't actually know what day it was when they celebrated the New Year. Later they remembered it was the Yin Day. The group had nothing to celebrate the festival in the valley. So they simply chopped down wild plantain trees, making a table out of big plantain leaves and using the smaller leaves as wine cups to make offerings to the ancestors. They also used firewood ends as incense.

From then on, we all knew which day was the Yin Day. We all know it falls in June (sixth month of the lunar calendar). So, we celebrate our New Year in June every year. We enjoy our New Year in June. We've been celebrating the Yin Day Festival in June for years. For us, the June Festival is even more lively than the Spring Festival. When it comes to celebrating the June New Year Festival, we buy new clothes, we slaughter pigs, and we invite friends and relatives from afar to come and join us in the celebration. Indeed the New Year's Day Festival for us Paha people is none other than the Yin Day.

The group that ate black shrimp are said to have traveled to Vietnam, but we don't know whether that is true. We who were left behind have only a small population. We speak a different language from that of the nearby Zhuang people. Our customs are also different. For example, unlike other speech communities who wear white clothes in a funeral, we wear only black clothes on that occasion, which is quite unlike the Zhuang, who wear white clothes in situations of that kind. This is how we Paha came about.

## REFERENCES

BENEDICT, Paul K. 1942. Thai, Kadai and Indonesian: a new alignment in Southeastern Asia. *American Anthropologist* 44: 576-601.

BENEDICT, Paul K. 1975. *Austro-Thai: Language and Culture*. New Haven: HRAF Press.

EDMONDSON, Jerold A. 1997. Linguistic survey of En, MS.

EDMONDSON, Jerold A. and GREGERSON Kenneth J. 1997. Outlying Kam-Tai: notes on Ta Mit Laha. *Mon-Khmer Studies 27*: 257-69.

EDMONDSON, Jerold A. and LI Jinfang. 1996. The Language corridor. *Pan-Asiatic Linguistics*: Proceedings of the IV International Symposium on Languages and Linguistics Vol. 3: 983-990. Bangkok: Mahidol University.

FIFTH RESEARCH GROUP, Institute of Minority Languages, The Central University of Nationalities, (comp.) 1985. *Zhuangdong Yuzu Yuyan Cihui Ji* [A Comparative Lexicon of the Kam-Tai Languages]. Beijing: Central Institute of Nationalities Press.

HE Jiashan. 1983. *Gelaoyu Jianzhi* [A Brief Description of Gelao Language]. Beijing: Ethnic Publication House.

HOANG Van Ma and VU Ba Hung. 1992. *The Pubiao Language*. Hanoi: Social Sciences Press.

LI Fang-Kuei.  1977.  *A Handbook of Comparative Tai*.  Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication No.  15.  Honululu: University Press of Hawaii.

LI Fang-Kuei.  1980 [1971].  *Studies in Archaic Chinese Phonology*.  Beijing: The Commercial Press.

LI Jinfang.  1996.  The sound system of Baha Buyang.  *Pan-Asiatic Linguistics*: Proceedings of the IV International Symposium on Languages and Linguistics, Vol.  1: 141-150, Bankok: Mahidol University.

LI Jinfang.  1999.  *Studies in the Buyang Language*.  Beijing: Central University for Nationalities Press.

LI Jinfang.  2002.  *Dongtai yuzu yuan yu wenhua* [Tai-Kadai Language and Culture].  Beijing: Ethnic Publishing House.

LI Jinfang and ZHOU Guoyan.  1998.  Diachronic Evolution of Initial Consonants in Buyang, *Mon-Khmer Studies 28*: 115-136.

LI Jinfang and ZHOU Guoyan 1999.  *Geyang yuyan tansuo* [Studies on Outlier Kam-Tai].  Beijing: CUN Press.

LIANG Min.  1990.  The Buyang Language.  *Kadai* Vol.  2: 13-21.

LIANG Min and ZHANG Junru.  1996.  *Dongtai yuzu Gailun* [An Introduction to Kam-Tai Languages].  Beijing: China Social Science Press.

LUO Yongxian.  1997.  *The Subgroup Structure of the Tai Languages : A Historical Comparative Study*.  (Journal of Chinese Linguistics Monograph Series 12.)  Berkeley: University of California.

NI Dabai.  1990.  *Dongtai yu Gailun* [An Introduction to Kam-Tai Languages].  Beijing: Central University for Nationalities Press.

RYUICCHI Kosaka, ZHOU Guoyan and LI Jinfang.  (comp.)  1999.  *A Wordlist of Ge-Yang Languages*.  Guiyang: Guizhou Minzu Press.

SOLNTSEVA, V.  and HONG Van Ma.  1986.  *The Laha Language* .  Moskva: Nauka.

SWADESH, M.  1955.  Towards greater accuracy in lexicostatistic dating.  *IJAL* 21: 121-137.

OSTAPIRAT, Weera.  2000.  *Proto-Kra*.  Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area Vol.  23.  1.  Monograph.  Berkeley: Univerisity of California.

ZHANG Junru.  1990.  The Pubiao Language.  *Kadai* Vol.  2: 23-33.

ZHANG Jimin.  1993.  *Geyang yu yanjiu* [Studies on the Gelao Language].  Guiyang: Guizhou Minzu Press.