NOTES ON PAHA BUYANG*

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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 pu22jaay24 [lit. ‘people-other’]) is a reference term for the Buyang people as given by the local Zhuang people, meaning ‘people

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(whose language and customs are) different (from the Zhuang). In some Zhuang and Buyi areas, it is pronounced as $pu^{22}naay^{24}$. 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 $jaay^{35}khjuy^{24}$, 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 $pu^{22}jaay^{24}$, though. A number of different autonyms are found in the Buyang community. For example, the Buyang in Napo County call themselves $\text{?}ia^{13}hr\omega y^{53}$, translatable as ‘the $\text{?}ia^{33}$ (dialect of) the $hr\omega y^{53}$ group’. In the Buyang dialect of Napo, ‘to speak one’s own language’ is $\text{?}da^{53}\text{?}ia^{33}$, $\text{?}da^{53}$ meaning ‘speak’. Thus $\text{?}ia^{53}$ appears to be the root morpheme of the autonym $\text{?}ia^{33}hr\omega y^{53}$, which can be interpreted as the $\text{?}ia^{13}$ 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 $pu^{22}jaay^{24}$, Buyang speakers use $\text{?}ia^{33}$ or $ha^{13}$ as their autonyms. $\text{?}ia^{13}$ and $ha^{13}$ 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 $ma^{22}kuun^{\prime\prime}$ in Zhuang, meaning ‘arrive first / earlier’, because speakers of this village are said to have lived there earlier than those of other
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villages. Langia also got its name from Zhuang, laay³⁵kwai³⁷ ‘dried bamboo shoot’, because this village is well-known for the bamboo shoots it produces. Yanglian is from Zhuang jaay²⁴le³¹ ‘Yang-lonely’, the ‘lonely Buyang’, as it is the only Buyang village in the area. Rongtun is a Chinese translation of the Buyang name ti¹²hrong⁵³, 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 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, Meng, Liang, and Li, 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)
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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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>tɕ</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>g</th>
<th>q</th>
<th>?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ph</td>
<td>bɦ</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>dɦ</td>
<td>tɕh</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td>gɦ</td>
<td>qh</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
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<td>n</td>
<td>ṇ</td>
<td>n̥</td>
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<td>ŋ̣</td>
<td>ŋ̥</td>
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<td>ø</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ç</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ŋ̣</td>
<td>ŋ̥</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
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<td>ẉ</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>ḷ</td>
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<td>j</td>
<td>j</td>
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<tr>
<td>pj</td>
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<td>phj</td>
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<td>mj</td>
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<tr>
<td>pw</td>
<td>bw</td>
<td>tw</td>
<td>tɕw</td>
<td>kw</td>
<td>gw</td>
<td>qw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phw</td>
<td>mw</td>
<td>øw</td>
<td>ŋw</td>
<td>cw</td>
<td>jw</td>
<td>khw</td>
<td>ŋw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. The consonants of Buyang

Aspiration is not very strong with aspirated stops. Aspiration also occurs with devoiced nasals, lateral /l/ and bilabial fricative /w/ 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 /ŋ/ and /h/ sounds with breathy voice in words taking the mid-level (33) and the high rise (45) tones. For example: δaam\ 33 \ ~ dŋaam\ 3  ‘to carry by more than two persons’, dŋ\ 45 \ ~ dŋan\ 45  ‘to cut’, δi\ 33 \ ~ dŋi\ 33  ‘intestines’, haan\ 33 \ ~ hŋaan\ 33  ‘reply’, hŋuy\ 45 \ ~ hŋuyu\ 45  ‘to charge forward’. Two minimal pairs can be observed between /ŋ/ and /h/: δi\ 33  ‘think, remember’ ~ dŋi\ 33  ‘intestines’, dŋ\ 33  ‘shallow’ ~ dŋan\ 33  ‘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
baau\ 33  ‘embrace, hug’ —— bɦau\ 33 i\ 33  ‘wave’
bur\ 33 ku\ 24  ‘low shin’ —— bɦu\ 33  ‘carry on one’s back, drape (over)’
There is a voiced-voiceless contrast between nasals, laterals, semivowels and aspirated stops in the level and low-falling tones.

A contrast exists between velar and uvular sounds. Within the Kam-Tai group, similar contrasts are found only in the Sui language. Examples:
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Paha</th>
<th>Related Languages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘handle’</td>
<td>qa(^{322})</td>
<td>Niupo Gelao plié(^{33})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘beg, begging’</td>
<td>qa(^{11})</td>
<td>‘to open up (wasteland)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘tripod’</td>
<td>qaai(^{322})</td>
<td>‘see’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘cogon grass’</td>
<td>qam(^{24})</td>
<td>‘find out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to open up (wasteland)’</td>
<td>qan(^{45})</td>
<td>‘iron’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hundred’</td>
<td>qan(^{33})</td>
<td>‘possessive marker’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘tasteless’</td>
<td>pja(^{24})</td>
<td>Moji Gelao plau(^{31})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘fish’</td>
<td>pja(^{322})</td>
<td>‘to cover’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘silver’</td>
<td>phjaau(^{45})</td>
<td>‘to hatch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘stone’</td>
<td>pwa(^{322})</td>
<td>‘bone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to herd (cattle)’</td>
<td>pwaai(^{22})</td>
<td>‘period of the day from 5:00 pm to 7:00 pm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘die’</td>
<td>pwa(^{322})</td>
<td>Zhuang pla(^{1}) ‘mountain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to mix’</td>
<td>pwa(^{22})</td>
<td>Anshun Gelao vlö(^{33}), Siamese plö(^{5})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘thunder’</td>
<td>mwa(^{31})</td>
<td>Zhuang pla(^{3}), Kam pja(^{3})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Paha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘measure for long, thin objects’</td>
<td>ya(^{33})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i</th>
<th>uu, u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>aa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In connected speech, the distinction between /e/ and /e/, and between /o/ and /o/ is not obvious. Long /i:/, /u:/, and /u:/ are pronounced as diphthongs with a vowel glide [-ə-]. For example, liuu\(^{33}\) ‘to run’, kuwu\(^{31}\) ‘to carry on shoulder’ and kuui\(^{11}\) ‘to mix’ are realized as [liuə\(^{33}\)], [kuwa\(^{31}\)] and [kuaï\(^{11}\)] respectively. Long /a:/ is quite common; the other three long vowels are less so and occur more often with Zhuang loans.

/el/ and /e/ are pronounced as long [eː] and [oː] respectively. Since there is no length contrast, they are written simply as e and o in this study.
(ii) Diphthongs
The following diphthongs are found in Paha Buyang.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{ia} & \text{iu} & \text{ui} & \text{ui} & \text{iu} & \text{uuui} & \text{uui} \\
\text{eu} & \text{eo} & \text{oi} & \text{aau} & \text{aai} \\
\text{eu} & \text{ei} & \text{ci} \\
\text{au} & \text{au} & \text{ai}
\end{array}
\]

Diphthongs do not take consonant endings, except for /iəl/, which can take a final -n, mainly in Chinese loans, e.g. lian\textsuperscript{33} ‘practice’ (from Chinese liàn), mi\textsuperscript{55}cian\textsuperscript{24} ‘rice noodle (Chinese mǐ xiàn)’.

Several triphthongs can be found with Chinese loans, e.g. kuau\textsuperscript{33} ‘clever, good (child)’ (from Chinese guāi 乖), wiiau\textsuperscript{32} ‘teach’ (from Chinese jiāo 教).

(iii) Final endings
Only high vowels -i, -u, -uu, 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kaan}^{33(322)}\thetaau^{322} & \rightarrow \text{ka}^{33(322)}\thetaau^{322} & \text{‘to have a funeral’} \\
\text{kaan}^{322}\text{pi}^{55(33)}\text{khi}^{45(322)} & \rightarrow \text{ka}^{35(322)}\text{pi}^{55(33)}\text{khi}^{45} & \text{‘not tasty, not delicious’} \\
\text{ŋ}^{45}\text{luŋ}^{33} & \rightarrow \text{ŋ}^{45}\text{luŋ}^{33} & \text{‘water well, pond’} \\
\text{ŋ}^{45}\text{jo}^{11} & \rightarrow \text{ŋ}^{45}\text{jo}^{11} & \text{‘spring (water)’} \\
\text{moŋ}^{33}\text{pa}^{55(33)}\text{khaau}^{33(322)} & \rightarrow \text{mo}^{33}\text{pa}^{55(33)}\text{khaau}^{33(322)} & \text{‘coffin (lit. ghost cave)’} \\
\text{naak}^{11}\text{wai}^{31} & \rightarrow \text{na}^{31}\text{wai}^{31} & \text{‘ruin, damage’} \\
\text{naak}^{11}\text{pja}^{32}\text{ŋ}^{45} & \rightarrow \text{na}^{11}\text{pja}^{32}\text{ŋ}^{45} & \text{‘fishing’} \\
\text{mut}^{11}\text{ma}^{55}\text{da}^{33(322)} & \rightarrow \text{mu}^{11}\text{ma}^{55}\text{da}^{33(322)} & \text{‘eyebrow, eyelid’}
\end{align*}
\]

There are two forms for ‘to come’, nŋ\textsuperscript{31} and nŋ\textsuperscript{31}. 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 ti\textsuperscript{55} ‘one’ (citation form) tan\textsuperscript{55(33)} tchu\textsuperscript{33} ‘market’
- High rising 45 ti\textsuperscript{45} ‘one’ (used with classifiers) tan\textsuperscript{45} ‘to stand, erect’
- Mid level 33 ti\textsuperscript{33} ‘pair’ tan\textsuperscript{33} ‘level, flat’
- Mid falling 322 ti\textsuperscript{322} ‘empty’ tan\textsuperscript{322} ‘to weave’
- Low falling 31 ti\textsuperscript{31} ‘wash’ tan\textsuperscript{31} ‘to paddle (a boat)’
- Mid rising 24 ti\textsuperscript{24} ‘to whittle’ tan\textsuperscript{24} ‘to soak’
- Low level 11 ti\textsuperscript{11} ‘small bowl’ tan\textsuperscript{11} ti\textsuperscript{322} ‘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 protective ‘shoulder’, ma protective 322 ‘front’, ma protective 31 ‘a kind of bamboo’, qa protective daak protective 33 ‘shuttle’, qa protective lay protective 45 ‘legging’. Other prefixes may carry either a phonemic tone or the neutral tone. E.g. pa protective 33 ku protective 33 ni protective 45 ~ pa protective 0 ku protective 33 ni protective 45 ‘wild boar’, pa protective 33 duk protective 55 ~ pa protective 0 duk protective 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. dɔk 45 ‘sweep’, ðek 45 ‘firm, steady’, thwaak 45 ‘yell, shout’, ðaak 522 ‘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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CVT</td>
<td>ti 11</td>
<td>‘small bowl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pa 322</td>
<td>‘four’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pja 322</td>
<td>‘fish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVVT</td>
<td>paa 45</td>
<td>‘male (animal)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>moi 31</td>
<td>‘village’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pja 24</td>
<td>‘tasteless’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVCT</td>
<td>no 34</td>
<td>‘come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>naa 11</td>
<td>‘give’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pwa 322</td>
<td>‘die’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. WORD FORMATION AND THE LEXICON
3.1 Word Formation
3.1.1 Simple Words

A number of simple words are formed through morphological processes, i.e. alteration of tones, initials or finals. Some of these are antonyms. Others are allophones or semantically related words. Examples:
A small number of simple words are formed through reduplication, with different tones for each of the syllables. Examples: \( pu^{45}pu^{322} \) ‘glow-worm, firefly’, \( \gamma e^{45}\gamma e^{45} \) ‘a kind of two-stringed musical instrument’, \( \gamma u^{11}\gamma u^{45} \) ‘a kind of musical instrument, similar to but larger than \( \gamma e^{45}\gamma e^{45} \), \( pa^{11}pa^{45} \) ‘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) \( pa^{33} \) — 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) \( pa^{33}pa^{24} \) ‘slave’
\( pa^{33}pi^{45} \) ‘magician’
\( pa^{33}qaan^{322} \) ‘host, master’
\( pa^{33}\delta ai^{45} \) ‘male (person)’
\( pa^{33}phju^{45} \) ‘Zhuang (people)’
\( pa^{33}\delta a^{31} \) ‘eel’
\( pa^{33}lin^{322} \) ‘loach (a type of freshwater fish resembling a catfish)’
\( pa^{33}mwi^{322} \) ‘sky’

\( pa^{33} \) can also go with verbs or adjectives. Examples:

(3) \( pa^{33}p\nu^{45} \) ‘bruised’
\( pa^{33}p\mu^{55} \) ‘(mosquito) bite’
\( pa^{33}l\nu^{322} \) ‘turn around’
\( pa^{33}l^{45} \) ‘to roll’
\( pa^{33}\delta ai^{45} \) ‘patterned variegated, multicoloured’
\( pa^{33}\delta u^{55} \) ‘quiet’
Notes on Paha Buyang

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

4.

- ma$^{55}gÎ{44}$$^{33}$ ‘eggplant’
- ma$^{55}gu^{11}$ ‘oak’
- ma$^{55}ji^{11}$ ‘a kind of wild fruit plant’
- ma$^{55}jit^{55}$ ‘a kind of fruit’
- ma$^{55}da^{322}$ ‘eye’
- ma$^{55}lan^{31}$ ‘back’
- ma$^{55}taan^{11}$ ‘buttock, bottom’
- ma$^{33}maan^{24}$ ‘left-hand side’
- ma$^{33}mit^{11}$ ‘right-hand side’
- $ma^0qh^n^{322}$ ‘front’

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

5.

- qa$^0daak^{33}$ ‘shuttle’
- qa$^0lan^{45}$ ‘legging’

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

6.

- ka$^0y{55}ma^{55}$ ‘shoulder’
- ka$^0jo^{33}$ ‘a kind of insect’

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

7.

- ka$^{11}mo^{31}$ ‘2 SG pronoun’
- ka$^{11}ku^{322}$ ‘1 SG pronoun’
- ka$^{11}tha^{33(322)ho^{33}}$ ‘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.

- ta$^{55}loq^{322}$ ‘earring’
- ta$^{55(33)}ha^{33}$ ‘morning’
- ta$^{55}tak^{55}$ ‘chest (body part)’
- ta$^{55}ten^{24}$ ‘centre, core’
- ta$^{55}wan^{33}$ ‘the sun’
- ta$^{33}laq^{11}$ ‘day, daylight’
- ta$^{33}lak^{33}$ ‘evening, night’
- ta$^{33}lo^{322}$ ‘rabbit’
- ta$^{33}dan^{322}$ ‘forehead’
- ta$^0dq^{11}$ ‘or, otherwise’
- ta$^0oi^{33}$ ‘(cotton) bag, sack’
- ta$^0wi^{33}$ ‘big bag’
3.1.2.2 Suffix
One verbal suffix, *kan33*, is found in our data; it denotes reciprocal actions. Examples:

(9) 
δaak11 kan33 ‘to marry, get married’  
ŋaan33 kan33 ‘argue, quarrel’  
ho33 kan33 ‘close together’  
lin45 kan33 ‘to be of the same opinion/mind, agree’  
δaanŋ31 kan33 ‘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) 
\[\text{younger.sibling elder.sibling} \quad \text{small big}\]

(11) 
\[\text{go come go come} \quad \text{people, young and old}\]

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) 
\[\text{handle knife} \quad \text{‘handle of a knife’ (part-whole)}\]

(13) 
\[\text{rice field seedling} \quad \text{‘rice field for seedlings’ (location-purpose)}\]

(14) 
\[\text{pond cow/ox} \quad \text{‘(of ox, buffalos) to bathe in the mud’ (location-agent)}\]
(ii) Noun-Verb

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

(15) mwa肺31  δαŋ322
    thunder  sound
    ‘thunder, thundering’

(16) ’aau肺45  peŋ肺45
    flesh    hot
    ‘have a fever’

(17) lin肺45  δi肺11
    heart    ache
    ‘show sympathy, care about’

(18) miŋ肺31  ’aai322
    destiny  good
    ‘good luck, fortunate’

(19) na肺24  τɕin肺33
    rice    thin
    ‘porridge’

(iii) Verb-Noun

These bear a verb-object relationship. Examples:

(20) nɨit肺11  khaau肺33
    cry    funeral
    ‘to cry loudly at a funeral, wail at a funeral’

(21) ’an肺33(322)  laak肺11
    EXIST    child
    ‘to be pregnant’

(22) ’uŋ肺322  laak肺11
    cultivate  rice seedling
    ‘cultivate rice seedlings’

(23) du肺322  mjaŋ肺31
    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)\textsuperscript{11} wai\textsuperscript{31}

cause bad
‘damage’

(25) naak\textsuperscript{11} du\textsuperscript{322}

allow do
‘permit, allow’

(26) niŋ\textsuperscript{45} θο\textsuperscript{31}

shoot straight
‘to aim, take aim’

(27) ?an\textsuperscript{33(322)} ?aai\textsuperscript{33(322)}

EXIST well
‘comfortable’

(28) ?an\textsuperscript{33(322)} waŋ\textsuperscript{33}

EXIST leisure
‘relaxing, leisurely’

(29) ?ok\textsuperscript{33(31)} nɔŋ\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{55} (\textsuperscript{33}) qu\textsuperscript{322} ‘water’ (lit. ‘things that flow’), pa\textsuperscript{55(33)} wɔŋ\textsuperscript{33} ‘goose (lit. ‘huge fowl’), θa\textsuperscript{31(322)} nɑ\textsuperscript{11} ‘person’ (lit. ‘two legs’), du\textsuperscript{33} lim\textsuperscript{24(45)} ‘mouth’ (lit. ‘things that talk’), du\textsuperscript{33} naŋ\textsuperscript{11} ‘tooth’ (lit. ‘things that chew’), ma\textsuperscript{55} da\textsuperscript{322} tɕe\textsuperscript{45} ‘fire’ (lit. ‘eyes [turn] red’), pʃɔ\textsuperscript{53} yɔŋ\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{31} ‘to leave’, θu\textsuperscript{31} ‘to know, understand’ (Wantao Gelao sou\textsuperscript{31}), jɑ\textsuperscript{33} ‘big, much’, wai\textsuperscript{322} ‘speak, talk’ (Dehong Dai xai\textsuperscript{6}), waŋ\textsuperscript{33} ‘to die’, pʃɔŋ\textsuperscript{45} ‘broken, shabby’, nap\textsuperscript{11} ‘to eat’ (Langjia nap\textsuperscript{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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Paha</th>
<th>Yarong</th>
<th>Ecun</th>
<th>Langjia</th>
<th>Xinlin Zhuang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘taro’</td>
<td>pwaak 11</td>
<td>lu 12</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>δwɔ 24</td>
<td>puuuk 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘scar’</td>
<td>pẹu 33</td>
<td>-taw 53</td>
<td>tau 24</td>
<td>tau 24</td>
<td>pjeu 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘straight’</td>
<td>ọ 31</td>
<td>jọ 31</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>jut 11</td>
<td>tọ 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to wrap’</td>
<td>cùm 31</td>
<td>nip 53</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>nep 11</td>
<td>ẓùm 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘small’</td>
<td>ọj 45</td>
<td>ọat 33</td>
<td>ọit 55</td>
<td>ọẹj 24</td>
<td>ọj 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘peel, shell’</td>
<td>bi 322</td>
<td>te 53</td>
<td>ọaat 55</td>
<td>ọat 11</td>
<td>ọbi 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘leave for’</td>
<td>waan 45</td>
<td>kọ 33</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>qhau 24</td>
<td>waan 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘tie, bind’</td>
<td>ṭɔk 31</td>
<td>ṭjup 53</td>
<td>ṭọp 55</td>
<td>ṭọp 11</td>
<td>ṭok 31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Paha</th>
<th>Middle Chinese 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘steel’</td>
<td>qhaan 33</td>
<td>kâng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘guest’</td>
<td>khaak 33</td>
<td>khek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘bed’</td>
<td>juuŋ 11</td>
<td>dzjang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘chopsticks’</td>
<td>daaŋ 33</td>
<td>tjwo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘salty’</td>
<td>qaam 322</td>
<td>kâm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘shallow cup’</td>
<td>caan 33</td>
<td>ʦ’ən</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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].
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 $h_o^{45}$ (meaning ‘flock, group’, probably from Chinese $huo^3$ ) or $ha^{33}$ (meaning ‘person, people’) to the singular forms. Both first and second person plural have free variants. The Paha pronouns are listed in Table 6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person/Number</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Person</td>
<td>$ku^{322}$</td>
<td>$h_o^{45}ku^{322}, h_o^{45}du^{33}, du^{33}$ (exclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$h_o^{45}tu^{322}, tu^{322}$ (inclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person</td>
<td>$mo^{31}$</td>
<td>$h_o^{45}whu^{32}, ho^{45}mo^{31}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person</td>
<td>$ka^{55}$</td>
<td>$ho^{45}ro^{55}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The pronouns $h_o^{45}tu^{322}$ and $h_o^{45}ku^{322}$ are sometimes pronounced as $ha^{45} (33) tu^{322}$ and $ha^{45} (33) ku^{322}$.

Personal pronouns can take the prefix $ka^{11}$ to form an emphatic form, or to express possessive meaning, e.g. $ka^{11}mo^{31}$ ‘you/yours’, $ka^{11}ka^{55}$ ‘he/him/his/her/hers’.

4.1.2 Indefinite pronouns

Paha has several indefinite pronouns, as given below.

$h_o^{45}pja^{11}$ ‘everyone’
$taj^{33}h_o^{45}$ ‘all’
$taj^{33}h_o^{45}ha^{33}$ ‘everyone, all’
$pej^{322}$ ‘other, others’

4.1.3 Reflexive pronouns

Reflexive and emphatic pronouns are formed by adding the suffix $ha^{33}qu^{33}$ ‘self, one’s own’ to the personal pronouns, as given in Table 7.
Notes on Paha Buyang

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person/Number</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Person</td>
<td>ku\textsuperscript{322}ha\textsuperscript{33}qu\textsuperscript{33}</td>
<td>h\textsuperscript{45}ku\textsuperscript{322}ha\textsuperscript{33}qu\textsuperscript{33}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person</td>
<td>m\textsuperscript{31}ha\textsuperscript{33}qu\textsuperscript{33}</td>
<td>h\textsuperscript{45}ku\textsuperscript{322}h\textsuperscript{53}m\textsuperscript{31}ha\textsuperscript{33}qu\textsuperscript{33}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person</td>
<td>k\textsuperscript{55}ha\textsuperscript{33}qu\textsuperscript{33}5</td>
<td>h\textsuperscript{45}ku\textsuperscript{322}h\textsuperscript{33}qu\textsuperscript{33}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7. Paha Emphatic Reflexive Pronouns

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

(30) \( k\textsuperscript{55} \) \( \delta aak\textsuperscript{11} \) \( da\textsuperscript{322} \) \( \eta au\textsuperscript{45} \) \( t\textsuperscript{\textit{can}}\textsuperscript{45} \) \( ha^{33}qu^{33} \)

3 SG use CL mirror reflect self

‘He looked at himself in the mirror.’

4.2 Deictics

Paha has two basic deictic forms: \( ni\textsuperscript{55} \) ‘this’, \( n\textsuperscript{55} \) ‘that’. These can combine with other elements to form compound deictic pronouns, as listed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deictic Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( ni\textsuperscript{55} )</td>
<td>‘this’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \gamma an\textsuperscript{55} (\textsuperscript{322} )ni\textsuperscript{55} )</td>
<td>‘this place, here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \gamma ey\textsuperscript{33}ni\textsuperscript{55} )</td>
<td>‘here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \gamma an\textsuperscript{33} ni\textsuperscript{55} )</td>
<td>‘today’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( du\textsuperscript{122}ni\textsuperscript{55} )</td>
<td>‘this way, like this, so’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is a form \( ti\textsuperscript{55} \), meaning ‘this place, here’, which is homophonous with \( ti\textsuperscript{55} \) ‘one’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deictic Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( n\textsuperscript{55} )</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \gamma an\textsuperscript{33} (\textsuperscript{322} )n\textsuperscript{55} )</td>
<td>‘there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \gamma ey\textsuperscript{33}n\textsuperscript{55} )</td>
<td>‘yonder’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( da\textsuperscript{322}n\textsuperscript{55} )</td>
<td>‘(at) that time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( du\textsuperscript{122}n\textsuperscript{55} )</td>
<td>‘that way, like that’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The forms \( ni\textsuperscript{55} \) and \( n\textsuperscript{55} \) may take a plural prefix \( ku\textsuperscript{45} \) to form plural demonstrative pronouns. E.g. \( ku\textsuperscript{45}ni\textsuperscript{55} \) ‘these’, \( ku\textsuperscript{45}n\textsuperscript{55} \) ‘those’.

Both \( ni\textsuperscript{55} \) and \( n\textsuperscript{55} \) are bound forms which are not found alone as free forms in our data.

In addition to \( ni\textsuperscript{55} \) and \( n\textsuperscript{55} \), there is a form \( ?ui\textsuperscript{33}n\textsuperscript{55} \) ‘yonder, over there (far away)’, \( ?ui\textsuperscript{33}?ui\textsuperscript{33}n\textsuperscript{55} \) ‘that way over there (still further away)’.

4.3 Interrogative Pronouns

Paha interrogative pronouns are formed by adding the interrogative suffix \( nau\textsuperscript{3} \) ‘how, what’ to another morpheme, with the exception of \( o\textsuperscript{3}m\textsuperscript{5} \) ‘who’ and \( p\textsuperscript{3}ja\textsuperscript{11} \) ‘what’ and \( p\textsuperscript{3}ja\textsuperscript{11} \) ‘how much, how many’. These include \( pa\textsuperscript{33}nau\textsuperscript{45} (\textsuperscript{3}3) \) ‘who’, \( da\textsuperscript{322}nau\textsuperscript{45} (\textsuperscript{3}3) \) ‘who, which one’, \( tau\textsuperscript{45} \) ‘where’ (from \( ti\textsuperscript{55} + nau\textsuperscript{45} (\textsuperscript{3}3) \) ‘place + what’), \( k\textsuperscript{45}w\textsuperscript{45}nau\textsuperscript{45} (\textsuperscript{3}3) \) ‘when, what time’, \( du\textsuperscript{122}nau\textsuperscript{45} (\textsuperscript{3}3) \) ‘how’, and \( ph\textsuperscript{33}nau\textsuperscript{45} (\textsuperscript{3}3) \) ‘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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( kw\textsuperscript{45} )</td>
<td>‘one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \theta a\textsuperscript{322} )</td>
<td>‘two’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( tu\textsuperscript{322} )</td>
<td>‘three’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( pa\textsuperscript{322} )</td>
<td>‘four’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( m\textsuperscript{33} )</td>
<td>‘five’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( nam\textsuperscript{31} )</td>
<td>‘six’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \delta hu\textsuperscript{33} )</td>
<td>‘seven’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( mu\textsuperscript{31} )</td>
<td>‘eight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( d\textsuperscript{33}ha\textsuperscript{33} )</td>
<td>‘nine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( wat\textsuperscript{55} )</td>
<td>‘ten’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( qan\textsuperscript{33} )</td>
<td>‘hundred’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( d\textsuperscript{45}hu\textsuperscript{45} ) ‘thousand’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The numerals from ‘eleven’ to ‘nineteen’ are formed by combining \( wat\textsuperscript{55} \) ‘ten’ with the respective numbers from ‘one’ to ‘nine’, as \( wat\textsuperscript{55} kw\textsuperscript{45} \) ‘eleven’, \( wat\textsuperscript{55} \) \( \theta a\textsuperscript{322} \) ‘twelve’, \( wat\textsuperscript{55} \) \( tu\textsuperscript{322} \) ‘thirteen’, \( wat\textsuperscript{55} d\textsuperscript{33}ha\textsuperscript{33} \) ‘nineteen’, and so on.
The numeral \textit{waa}ni33 ‘ten thousand’ is borrowed from Chinese (Modern SW Mandarin \textit{wan}24).

Two numerals, ‘one’ and ‘ten’, have semantic variants, \textit{ti}55 and \textit{pwat}55 respectively. Both are bound forms and cannot be used as free forms. They have different usages from their counterparts. Basically, \textit{ti}55 is used before measure words. Examples: \textit{ti}55\textit{qan}33 ‘one hundred’, \textit{ti}55\textit{dkey}25 ‘one thousand’, \textit{ti}55\textit{daw}33(322) \textit{dam}33(322) \textit{qai}33(322) ‘an egg’. The numeral \textit{wam}45 is not used in such situations.

The form \textit{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: \textit{theta}322\textit{pwat}55 ‘twenty’, \textit{tu}322\textit{pwat}55 ‘thirty’, \textit{tu}322\textit{kwat}55 ‘thirty-one’, \textit{nam}31\textit{pwat}55\textit{pa}322 ‘sixty-four’. The form \textit{wat}55 cannot be used in such constructions.

There is no native word for ‘naught, zero’ in Paha. Thus, 101 is \textit{ti}55 \textit{qan}33 \textit{ti}55\textit{daw}322, literally ‘one-hundred-one-measure’. The concept of ‘naught, zero’ is borrowed from Modern Chinese, pronounced as \textit{lan}11 (from Southwestern Mandarin \textit{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 collective things. These refer to things in pairs, groups, bundles, etc., rather than individually. Examples: \textit{pwat}55 ‘bunch (of flowers)’, \textit{ku}31 ‘pair (of shoes)’, \textit{puy}31 ‘pile (of manure)’, \textit{paay}33 ‘flock (of cattle)’, \textit{taap}31 ‘a pile (of paper)’, \textit{ghiau}45 ‘a handful (of seeds)’, \textit{dui}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: \textit{kiiy}11 ‘general classifier for instances of an action, trip’, \textit{yn}24 ‘classifier for sleep events, naps’, \textit{pjaam}45 ‘classifier for meals’, \textit{laak}55 ‘classifier for short, quick acts, such as a kick, a slap’, \textit{ja}33 ‘classifier for bites, drinks’.


Of all the measure words, the most common is the general measure \textit{daw}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:

\[
\text{da}^{322} - \text{laak}^{11} : \text{ti}^{55} \text{da}^{322} \text{aa}^{45} \text{pja}^{322} \text{‘a big fish’}, \quad \text{ti}^{55} \text{laak}^{11} \text{aa}^{45} \text{pja}^{322} \text{‘a small fish’}
\]
\[
\text{δàai}^{55} - \text{laak}^{11} : \text{θa}^{322} \text{δàai}^{55} \text{nok}^{11} \text{‘a big bird’}, \quad \text{θa}^{322} \text{laak}^{11} \text{nok}^{11} \text{‘a small bird’}
\]
\[
\text{kat}^{55} - \text{khọn}^{33} : \text{ti}^{55} \text{kat}^{55} \text{ma}^{55} \text{ti}^{322} \text{‘a long stick’}, \quad \text{ti}^{55} \text{khọn}^{33} \text{ma}^{55} \text{ti}^{322} \text{‘a short stick’}
\]

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:

\[
\text{đẹn}^{322} \text{‘leaf’ classifier for thin, flat objects such as sheets, paper}
\]
\[
\text{wị}^{33} \text{‘bag, sack’ classifier for capacity}
\]
\[
\text{wan}^{33} \text{‘day’ classifier for time}
\]
\[
\text{lim}^{24} \text{‘speak’ classifier utterances}
\]

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

\[
(31) \text{laak}^{33} \text{lim}^{24} \text{ku}^{322} \text{ma}^{31} \text{ị}^{33} \text{pi}^{55} \text{ọ}^{33} ?
\]
\[
\text{CL(utterances) speak 1SG you listen not listen ‘Will you listen to my words/what I am going to say?’}
\]

\[
(32) \text{wan}^{33} \text{ni}^{55} \text{tu}^{322} \text{tam}^{45} \text{ma}^{24} \text{ma}^{55} \text{ti}^{322}
\]
\[
\text{today 1PL plant tree stick/seedling ‘We are going to plant some trees today.’}
\]

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) \(\text{dam}^{322}\) ‘(of the day)’ — \(\text{dam}^{31(322)} \text{lan}^{45}\) ‘very dark’

\(\text{lam}^{322}\) ‘black’ — \(\text{lam}^{322} \text{po}^{33}\) ‘very black’

\(\text{ka}^{45}\) ‘green’ — \(\text{ka}^{45} \text{nak}^{55}\) ‘very green’

\(\text{te}^{45}\) ‘red’ — \(\text{te}^{45} \text{daaj}^{33}\) ‘very red’

\(\text{di}^{11}\) ‘sick’ — \(\text{di}^{24(1)} \text{ne}^{31} \text{ne}^{31}\) ‘very sick’

\(\text{na}^{322}\) ‘thick’ — \(\text{na}^{322} \text{ni}^{53}\) ‘very thick’

\(\text{le}^{322}\) ‘soft’ — \(\text{le}^{31(322)} \text{la}^{1}\) ‘very soft’

\(\text{ka}^{55}\) ‘tired, sleepy’ — \(\text{ka}^{45(55)} \text{nau}^{24} \text{nau}^{24}\) ‘doze off, fall asleep’

\(\text{ghia}^{45}\) ‘light’ — \(\text{ghia}^{45} \text{pa}^{55} \text{je}^{33}\) ‘extremely light’

\(\text{te}^{45} \text{hua}^{45}\) ‘thin’ — \(\text{te}^{45} \text{ti}^{322}\) ‘very thin, ultra thin’

\(\text{di}^{11}\) ‘long’ — \(\text{di}^{11} \text{de}^{33}\) ‘quite long’

\(\text{do}^{45}\) ‘drip’ — \(\text{do}^{45} \text{jet}^{11} \text{jet}^{11}\) ‘keep dripping’

\(\text{haai}^{45}\) ‘blow’ — \(\text{haai}^{45} \text{de}^{33} \text{de}^{33}\) ‘whistle’

\(\text{wa}^{24}\) ‘go’ — \(\text{wa}^{11(24)} \text{ma}^{33}\) ‘be quick’ (as urging)

\(\text{wa}^{24}\) ‘go’ — \(\text{wa}^{11(24)} \text{ti}^{11} \text{ti}^{11}\) ‘walk steadily’

\(\text{naak}^{33}\) ‘raise one’s head, look up’ — \(\text{naak}^{33} \text{ka}^{33} \text{laan}^{33} \text{thaan}^{33}\) ‘lie on one’s back casually’

Two idiosyncratic trisyllabic suffixes are found. One is \(\text{pi}^{55} \text{ka}^{55}\) (or \(\text{ka}^{55}\)) \(\text{naaj}^{31}\), 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. \(\text{ka}^{55} \text{te}^{55}\) \(\text{kaaj}^{33}\) \(\text{pi}^{55} \text{ka}^{55}\) \(\text{naaj}^{31}\) ‘He is very fierce’; \(\text{naaj}^{45}\) \(\text{pi}^{55}\) \(\text{ka}^{55}\) \(\text{naaj}^{31}\) ‘very fast (too fast, one would expect it to be slower)’.

The other is \(\text{nu}^{32}\) \(\text{pa}^{33}\) \(\text{thau}^{33}\), which has a neutral or a favourable sense. For example:

(34) \(\text{pa}^{33}\) \(\text{laak}^{11}\) \(\text{gap}^{11}\) \(\text{qai}^{322}\) \(\text{nu}^{31}\) \(\text{ga}^{54}\) \(\text{ja}^{322} \text{pa}^{33} \text{thau}^{33}\)

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) \(\text{hao}^{31}\) — vocative marker. Examples:

(35) \(\text{pa}^{33}\) \(\text{hao}^{31}\), \(\text{tu}^{322}\) \(\text{wa}^{24}\) \(\text{daak}^{11}\) \(\text{thu}^{322}\) \(\text{ja}^{11}\)

father VOC 1PL go fetch firewood CSM

‘Father, let’s go and get some firewood.’

(36) \(\text{taaj}^{11(24)} \text{moi}^{31}\) \(\text{hao}^{31}\), \(\text{nu}^{33}\) \(\text{maan}^{31}\) \(\text{waan}^{45}\) \(\text{moi}^{31}\) \(\text{hao}^{33}\)

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)  \(kon^{11(33)} \, ?ou^{33} \, pa^{55} \, mai^{11} \, na^{55} \, ni^{33} \, ?u^{11} \, ni^{33} \, ki^{31}\)
     CL younger.sibling woman that TOPIC sleep up stairs
     ‘As for the younger sister, she sleeps upstairs.’

(38)  \(kon^{33(33)} \, ?ou^{55(33)} \, man^{31} \, wa^{33(24)} \, jan^{11} \, ni^{55(33)} \, pa^{33} \, mwi^{322} \, pjaak^{11} \, ja^{11}\)
     CL younger.sibling run.away finish TOPIC sky, day bright CSM
     ‘After younger sister had run away, day broke.’

(iii) \(ta^{II}, \, tok^{II}\) — discourse particle used sentence finally to mark the result of a prior event or situation. Examples:

(39)  \(du^{33} \, cen^{45} \, wa^{11(24)} \, taa^{i45} \, pjaan^{322}, \, kon^{33} \, pa^{55(33)} \, taa^{33(32)} \, ko^{55}\)
     take money all complete(ly) CL sister then
     cam^{31} \, phan^{33} \, tha^{33} \, la^{11}\)
     together become poor RESULT
     ‘Having spent all her money, the sisters all went broke.’

(40)  \(te^{45} \, qai^{322} \, te^{31} \, pe^{31(33)}, \, du^{33} \, ti^{33(55)} \, da^{33} \, ti^{11} \, ni^{55} \, tok^{11}\)
     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)  \(da^{31} \, non^{31} \, di^{11(322)} \, ta^{31} \, ha^{45} \, pja^{11} \, daau^{33} \, lan^{31} \, haa^{33} \, ?an^{322} \, to^{11}\)
     go come.back tell everyone all chopsticks still place RESULT
     ‘Come back and tell everyone that the chopsticks are still there.’

(iv) \(pa^{33}\) — sentence final particle expressing surprise or unexpectedness.

(42)  \(ko^{55} \, ko^{55} \, tat^{55} \, tok^{33} \, naak^{11} \, nu^{45}, \, kon^{11(33)} \, ?ou^{45(33)} \, lum^{55}\)
     3SG also cut UNEX cause fall CL younger.sister then
     tok^{33(55)} \, wa^{11(24)} \, khu^{45} \, ?o^{45} \, pwan^{322} \, pa^{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)  \(moi^{31} \, pa^{33} \, ha^{33} \, ?an^{322} \, tau^{45} \, li^{55}\)
     village Paha place where Q
     ‘Where is the Paha village?’

(44)  \(ho^{45} \, du^{33} \, phan^{33} \, nau^{45} \, kaan^{322} \, jin^{11} \, li^{55}\)
     group 1PL.EX why celebrate Yin.Day Q
     ‘Why do we celebrate Yin Day?’
(vi) The post-verbal marker -\(\text{\text{-\lowercase{d}}}k^{33}\) is used to express an act or situation that has come about unexpectedly. The initial consonant of -\(\text{\text{-\lowercase{d}}}k^{33}\) is variable; it copies the initial consonant of the verb it modifies.

(45) \(\text{kra}^{55} \text{ ko}^{55} \text{ tat}^{55} \text{ tok}^{33} \text{ naak}^{11} \text{ nu}^{45}, \text{kra}^{11(33)} \text{ ?en}^{45(33)} \text{ lum}^{55}\)
3SG also cut UNEX cause fall CL younger.sister then
tok^{33(55)} wa^{11(24)} khu^{45} ?en^{45} pwan^{322} pa^{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) \(\text{do}^{322} \text{ qan}^{33(322)} \text{ ku}^{55} \text{ wai}^{31} \text{ woak}^{33}\)
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) \(\text{kra}^{322(33)} \text{ pa}^{33} \text{ mai}^{11} \text{ ta}^{33} \text{ ja}^{45} \text{ do}^{322} \text{ gau}^{24} \text{ noen}^{31}, \text{ naak}^{11} \text{ gau}^{24}\)
CL woman together take CL spider come, let spider
?qa^{322} qan^{322} ta^{33}
live house together
‘The lady took the spider home to let it live together in the house.’

(48) \(\text{moi}^{31} \text{ ni}^{55} \text{ ta}^{33} \text{ moi}^{31} \text{ no}^{55} \text{ pi}^{55} \text{ ka}^{45} \text{ moi}^{31} \text{ pa}^{33} \text{ ha}^{33}\)
village this with village that not be village Paha
‘This village and that village are not Buyang villages.’

(49) \(\text{ja}^{11} \text{ ta}^{33} \text{ ka}^{55} \text{ di}^{322} \text{ pok}^{11}\)
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 le\textsuperscript{31} and du\textsuperscript{55} (see also section 4.13 iii):

\begin{align*}
\text{(50) } & \text{?aan}^{11(322)} \text{ nən}^{31} \text{ khau}^{45} \text{ le}^{31} \text{ du}^{31(322)} \text{ nən}^{55} \text{ pi}^{55} \text{ du}^{33} \text{ pun}^{55} \\
& \text{uncle come arrive CMPL way that not laugh then} \\
& \text{ka}^{55(45)} \text{ ?aan}^{322} \text{ tən}^{45} \\
& \text{be uncle blood-related} \\
& \text{‘Uncle has arrived. The one who is not smiling is the blood-related uncle.’}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{(51) } & \text{ti}^{24(45)} \text{ ti}^{55} \text{ pwak}^{31} \text{ daau}^{33}, \text{ ti}^{24(45)} \text{ li}^{55(31)} \text{ wi}^{33}, \text{ ti}^{24(45)} \text{ du}^{55(33)} \\
& \text{whittle one bunch chopsticks whittle whole night whittle ABIL} \\
& \text{ja}^{11}, \text{ pun}^{55} \text{ tau}^{11} \text{ δi}^{55(33)}… \\
& \text{finish then again think…} \\
& \text{‘(He) whittled a bunch of chopsticks for a whole night. After he finished, he then thought…’}
\end{align*}

4.9.2 Current Relevance
Current relevance is expressed through kə\textsuperscript{31}, indicating that a situation already exists or holds at the moment of speaking, e.g.:

\begin{align*}
\text{(52) } & \text{ko}^{55} \text{ δau}^{11} \text{ ?aan}^{322} \text{ tək}^{31} \text{ kən}^{33} \text{ ?on}^{55(33)} \text{ ko}^{55} \\
& \text{3SG again love CR CL younger.sibling 3SG} \\
& \text{‘He has fallen in love with her younger sister.’}
\end{align*}

4.9.3 Experiential
Experiential is expressed through a post-verbal aspect marker qui\textsuperscript{45}, very similar in shape, meaning and function to the Chinese experiential marker guò.

\begin{align*}
\text{(53) } & \text{təw}^{24} \text{ja}^{33(322)} \text{ kə}^{55} \text{ θau}^{31} \text{ qui}^{45} \text{ mi}^{322} \\
& \text{before 3SG hunt EXP bear} \\
& \text{‘He went bear-hunting before.’}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{(54) } & \text{pa}^{33} \text{?aan}^{322} \text{ ko}^{55} \text{ khau}^{33} \text{ qui}^{45} \text{ khu}^{45} \text{ təiu}^{322} \text{ we}^{11} \text{ ?on}^{33} \text{ pi}^{45} \\
& \text{father-in-law 3SG reach EXP Vietnam look for younger.sibling relative} \\
& \text{‘His father-in-law has been to Vietnam looking for his relatives.’}
\end{align*}

4.9.4 Iterative/Repetitive
Iterative/Repetitive aspect in Paha is iconic. It is formed by inserting the aspectual marker la\textsuperscript{31} in between two reduplicated verbs to describe a repeated action.

\begin{align*}
\text{(55) } & \text{pjo}^{322} \text{ la}^{31} \text{ pjo}^{322}, \text{ pjo}^{45(322)} \text{ naak}^{11} \text{ thou}^{45} \text{ wa}^{11(24)} \text{ nau}^{45} \\
& \text{poke IT poke, poke make through go above} \\
& \text{‘(He/l) kept poking, and finally he/l made a hole through to the top.’}
\end{align*}
In addition, there is an aspect marker, \( k\,\theta\,l\theta^0 \), which is used sentence finally to indicate that an action or event had already happened at least once before the time of speaking.

(56) ka\textsuperscript{55} d\textsuperscript{au}\textsuperscript{11}n\textsuperscript{31} k\(\theta\)l\(\theta^0\)
3SG come IT
‘He has come again.’

4.9.5 Change of state
The clause-final particle \( ja^{II} \) generally expresses a change of state. It is used in declarative or imperative sentences. Examples:

(57) ho\textsuperscript{45} du\textsuperscript{33} kaan\textsuperscript{322} ja\textsuperscript{11} pu\textsuperscript{uj}\textsuperscript{55} w\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{11(24)} du\textsuperscript{322} mjaan\textsuperscript{31}
group 1PL.EX eat CSM then go do work
‘We’ll go to work after we have our meal’.

(58) ho\textsuperscript{45}k\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{55} pu\textsuperscript{u}\textsuperscript{uj}\textsuperscript{55} di\textsuperscript{322} ?aau\textsuperscript{45} pen\textsuperscript{322} ?e\textsuperscript{u}\textsuperscript{33} ni\textsuperscript{55} ja\textsuperscript{11}
3PL then said meat not.exist place here CSM
‘They said the meat was not here.’

(59) da\textsuperscript{33(322)} qaan\textsuperscript{33(322)} ni\textsuperscript{55} q\textsuperscript{u}\textsuperscript{e}\textsuperscript{322} qui\textsuperscript{55} ja\textsuperscript{11}
CL house this big too.much CSM
‘This room is too big.’

(60) pa\textsuperscript{55}taai\textsuperscript{33} ho\textsuperscript{31}, pi\textsuperscript{33} tat\textsuperscript{55} ja\textsuperscript{11}
sister VOC not cut CSM
‘Sister, please stop cutting.’

4.9.6 Prospective aspect
The prospective aspect marker \( tai^{11}/ja^{11} \) is used sentence finally to designate that an action or event is going to happen at the time of speaking.

(61) ho\textsuperscript{45} du\textsuperscript{33} di\textsuperscript{33(322)} kut\textsuperscript{11} li\textsuperscript{55(31)} wi\textsuperscript{33} tai\textsuperscript{11}ja\textsuperscript{11}
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) gaan\textsuperscript{31} ‘firm, strong’ > gaan\textsuperscript{31}gaan\textsuperscript{31} ‘very firm, very strong’
dam\textsuperscript{322} ‘dark (day)’ > dam\textsuperscript{31(322)}dam\textsuperscript{33(322)} ‘very dark (day)’
mo\textsuperscript{45} ‘happy, pleased’ > mo\textsuperscript{11(45)}mo\textsuperscript{45} ‘very happy’
Directional verbs may also be reduplicated. They express repeated actions described by the verb in question. For example:

(63) na\(^{31}\) na\(^{31}\) δα\(^{31}\) δα\(^{31}\)
come come go go
‘come and go’

(64) na\(^{31}\) na\(^{31}\) δη\(^{45}\) δη\(^{45}\)
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) do\(^{322}\) do\(^{322}\) ‘everybody, everyone’
CL CL (for humans)

(66) gu\(^{45}\) gu\(^{45}\) ‘every flower’
CL CL (for flowers)

(67) laak\(^{33}\) laak\(^{33}\) ‘every utterance, every sentence’
CL CL (for utterances)

(68) ko\(^{55}\) wan\(^{33}\) wan\(^{33}\) to\(^{33}\) du\(^{322}\) mjaan\(^{31}\)
3SG day day always do work
‘He works everyday.’

(69) gi\(^{33}\) maan\(^{31}\) δη\(^{31}\) δη\(^{31}\) pjaak\(^{11}\) θaw\(^{322}\)
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 ka\(^{45}\). Examples:

(70) ku\(^{24(322)}\) ka\(^{55(45)}\) ha\(^{33}\) pa\(^{33}\) ha\(^{33}\)
1SG be person Paha
‘I am a Paha (speaker).’

(71) ha\(^{45}\) du\(^{33}\) pa\(^{33}\) ha\(^{33}\) ni\(^{33(55)}\) ka\(^{45}\) ha\(^{45}\) kaan\(^{322}\) de\(^{11}\) te\(^{45}\)
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) ko\(^{55}\) ka\(^{55(45)}\) pi\(^{55}\) ka\(^{55(45)}\) ja\(^{24(11)}\) ma\(^{31}\)?
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) naan\(^{322}\) na\(^{55}\) naan\(^{322}\) lok\(^{55}\)
month that month six
‘It was June that month.’

(74) moi\(^{31}\) ni\(^{55}\) moi\(^{31}\) pa\(^{33}\) ha\(^{33}\)
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 ne\(^{31}\), which appears to be derived from the lexical verb naak\(^{11}\) ‘to give’. The form ne\(^{31}\) (or naak\(^{11}\)) 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 naak\(^{11}\) in a basic double-object construction.

(75) ko\(^{322}\) naak\(^{11}\) ma\(^{31}\) taa\(^{31(322)}\) daai\(^{55}\) qai\(^{322}\)
aunt give 2SG two CL chicken
‘Aunty gave you two chickens as gifts’.

(76) naak\(^{11}\) ma\(^{31}\) daai\(^{33}\)
ADVS dog bite
‘to be bitten by a dog’ (Lit. suffer a dog biting’)

(77) ko\(^{55}\) daak\(^{11}\) tu\(^{322}\) laau\(^{45(33)}\) ne\(^{31}\) di\(^{322}\)
3SG gather firewood less ADVS scold
‘He was scolded for having gathered too little firewood.’

(78) ma\(^{55}\) lu\(^{322}\) ne\(^{31}\) taa\(^{45}\) pjaan\(^{322}\)
money ADVS use completely
‘Money has been used up.’

(79) pwan\(^{33}\) mu\(^{31}\) ne\(^{31}\) daak\(^{11}\) ?oŋ\(^{55(45)}\)
kill pig ADVS fetch water
‘(When) slaughtering pigs, (I was asked to) go fetch water.’

(80) wan\(^{33}\) ni\(^{55}\) laak\(^{11}\) waa\(^{33}\) ma\(^{31}\) naak\(^{11}\) lum\(^{24}\) ma\(^{55}\) lu\(^{322}\)
today offspring male 2SG ADVS fine money
‘Your son got fined today.’

naak\(^{11}\) 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) $mə^{31}$ $kə^{45}$ $hə^{33}$ $təu^{45}$?
   2SG be person where
   ‘Where are you from?’

(82) $mə^{55}tə^{322}$ $nə^{33}$ $kə^{55}$ $təau^{33}$ $t^{33(55)}$ $dəη^{45}$ $məη^{31}$?
   tree what live one thousand year
   ‘What (kind of) trees can live for a thousand years?’

(83) $mə^{24}$ $mə^{55}tə^{322}$ $nə^{55}$ $mə^{322}$ $də^{11}$ $nau^{55}$ $wəη^{33}$?
   CL tree that place how many tall
   ‘How tall is that tree over there?’

(84) $mə^{31}$ $pə^{33}$ $hə^{33}$ $də^{33}$ $pən^{33}$ $nau^{55(45)}$ $kaan^{322}$ $jən^{11}$ $li^{55}$?
   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 $pi^{55}$ to form a ‘Verb-$pi^{55}$-Verb’ construction. Examples:

(85) $kə^{55}$ $kə^{45}$ $pi^{55}$ $ka^{45}$ $ja^{24(11)}$ $mə^{31}$?
   3SG be not be mother 2SG
   ‘Is she your mother (or not?)’

(86) $mə^{55(31)}$ $təau^{322}$ $pi^{55}$ $təau^{322}$ $kat^{55}$ $qaau^{33}$ $kəi^{45}$ $ni^{33(55)}$?
   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 $pi^{55}$ ‘not’, $pi^{55}ja^{322}$ ‘not yet’ and $pen^{322}$ ‘not be/have (negator for existential verbs)’. $pen^{322}$ appears to be a contracted form of $pi^{55} + mə^{322}$ ‘exist, have’. Examples:

(87) $təu^{31}$ $pə^{33}$ $mə^{322}$ $də^{11}$ $lan^{31}$ $pi^{55}$ $dəiam^{45}$ $ləa^{11}$
   father have wife later not care about child
   ‘The father refuses to look after the child after he has a second wife.’

(88) $ku^{322}$ $pi^{55}$ $ja^{322}$ $kaan^{322}$
   1SG not yet eat
   ‘I have not yet eaten.’
(89) ｈｏ４５ｋｏ５５ ｐｉ５５ ｊａ３３(322) ｎａ(ｇ)３１
3PL not yet come
‘They have not yet arrived.’

(90) ｋｏ５５ ｔｏ３３ｋｏ５５ ｋｏ５５ ｐｅｎ３２２
3SG what(ever) all not have
‘He has nothing.’

(91) ｈｏ４５ｋｏ５５ ｐｕ𝐧５５ ｄｉ３２２ ａａｕ４５ ｐｅｎ３２２ ｅｔ３３ ｎｉ５５ 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 ｎｉｕ４５ after the adjectival verb. The standard follows the verb and comparative marker. Examples:

(92) ｋｏ５５ ｗｏ３３ ｎｉｕ４５ ｋｕ３３(322)
3SG tall CMPTV 1SG
‘He is taller than me.’

(93) ｊａ１１ ｋｏ５５ ｑａ４５ ｊａ１１ , ｊａ１１ ｋｕ３２２ ｌａｎ３１ ｑａ４５ ｎｉｕ４５
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 ｍａ３１ ｔｕ３３(322) ｄａａｉ５５ ｍａ５５ ｌｕ３２２ ｊａ３３
1SG give 2SG three dollar money first
‘I’ll give you three dollars first.’

(95) ｐａ３３ ｔａａｉ３２２ ｄｉ３２２ ｔａ３１ ｏｔ３３ ｔｙ５５ 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 ｚａ３２２ ｄｏ３３ ｑａｉ３２２ ｎａａｋ１１ ｍａ３１
Aunty give.as.gift two CL chicken give 2SG
‘Aunty sent you two chickens’ (or: ‘Aunty gave you two chickens.’)
Notes on Paha Buyang

(97) pa₅₅(33) ju₁¹ maan₁³ qan₃₃ δaai₄₅ na₂₄ bök₃₁ naak₁¹
bridegroom give.as.gift four hundred CL cake rice give
qan₃₂₂ mai₂₄ pi₃₂₂ maan₃₁
family bride
‘The bridegroom presented four hundred rice cakes to the bride’s family as gifts.’

(98) δaat₁¹ naak¹¹ ku₃₂₂
pass give 1SG
‘Pass it on to me’

(99) ta₄₅ naak¹¹ pa₃₃ ja₁¹ tu₃₂₂
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 δaai₄₅ na₂₄ bök₃₁
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 qan₃₂₂ mai₂₄ pi₃₂₂ maan₃₁, ta₄₅
bridegroom go family wife new give.as.gift
wa¹¹(24) θa₃₁(3₂₂) qan₃₂₂(3₃₃) ma₅₅ lu₃₂₂, bhe₄₅ tu₃₂₂
go two hundred money duck three
pwar₅₅ δaai₄₅, δaan₃₁ ti₅₅ mek₃₃, qhan₃₃ pa₃₁(3₂₂) δe₃₁
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 cartons 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) **du**³²² — lexical meaning: ‘do, perform’

(102) naan³²² wat⁵⁵ tur³²² **du**³²² 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.: **du**³¹⁽³²²⁾ni⁵⁵ thus, this way, in this case, like this’, **du**³¹⁽³²²⁾no⁵⁵ ‘that way, in that case, like that’, **du**³²²nau⁵⁵⁽⁴⁵⁾ ‘how, what to do’.

(ii) **naak**¹¹ — lexical meaning: ‘to give’. E.g.:

(103) ko³²² **naak**¹¹ mə³¹ ðə³¹⁽³²²⁾ ðəai⁵⁵ 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. **naak**¹¹ also has an adversative/affective use, as noted above in section 4.11.2. Examples:

(104) **naak**¹¹ kə⁵⁵ ðə³¹ nəŋ³¹
    let 3SG return come
    ‘Let him come back.’

(105) **naak**¹¹ ñə³¹ ðəai³³
    ADVS snake bite
    ‘got bitten by a snake’

(106) laak¹¹ ni⁵⁵ **du**³²² li³²² **naak**¹¹ di³²²
    child this do wrong ADVS scold
    ‘The child was scolded/criticised for having done something wrong.’

(107) tat⁵⁵ tɔk³³ **naak**¹¹ nu⁴⁵
    cut UNEX CAUSE fall
    ‘cut down the tree’ (lit. ‘cut [the tree] to make it fall’)

(108) qaan³²² no⁵⁵ **du**³²² ni⁵⁵ ṭək⁵⁵, **du**³²² **naak**¹¹ wai³¹ ti⁵⁵ kat⁵⁵
    family that do this rule do CAUSE damage one CL
    ma³⁵ti³²² he³¹ ka¹¹ **duu**³³ ðəŋ⁴⁵, ka¹¹ **du**³¹⁽³³⁾ we¹¹ **naak**¹¹ 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) **du**³³ — ‘get, obtain, permit’. E.g.:

(109) wan³³lo³³ **du**³²²laau⁴⁵, ku³²² **duu**³³ ti⁵⁵ ðə³²² mu³¹ ni⁴⁵
    yesterday hunt 1SG get one CL pig wild
    ‘I went hunting yesterday, and got a wild boar.’
→ modal verb meaning ‘can, be able to, must, have to’, resultative complement marker. Examples:

(110) \( du^{31(322)} ni^{55} pu\nu^{33(55)} du^{33} man^{31} wa^{24} \)
    way this then can flee go
    ‘This (is) the escape route.’

(111) \( du^{322} naak^{11} wai^{31} ti^{55} ka\nu^{55} ti^{322} he^{31} ka^{11} du^{33} \)
    do cause damage one CL timber then alone have.to
    ‘If you damage one piece of timber, you’ll have to pay for it and replace it with a new one.’

(112) \( naan^{322} \theta^{45(33)} maa\nu^{33} \theta^{45} li^{24} du^{33} na^{33} \)
    month nine clothes trousers wear have.to thick
    ‘Wear/Put on more clothes in September.’

(113) \( pa^{33} laak^{11} \theta^{2}(am^{33(322)}) du^{55(33)} ti^{55} paau^{45} qai^{33(322)} \)
    father son raise RESULT one male chicken
    ‘Father and son have raised a rooster.’

(v) \( qui^{45} \) ‘spend/pass (time), lead (a life)’. E.g.:

(114) \( maa\nu^{33} \theta^{45} li^{24} du^{33} na^{33}, tu^{322} pu\nu^{45} qui^{45} \)
    clothes trousers wear have.to thick IPL.INCL then pass
    ‘Put on more clothes, and we’ll be able to survive October.’

→ \( qui^{55} \) (with tone change) → intensifying adverb meaning ‘too, too much, over-, exceedingly’; experiential aspect marker. Examples:

(115) \( \theta^{33} qui^{55} ja^{11} \)
    tired too CSM
    ‘too tired’

(116) \( du^{33} qaan^{33} ni^{55} \theta^{322} qui^{55} ja^{11} \)
    CL room this small too CSM
    ‘This room is too small.’

(117) \( ka^{55} lan^{31} \theta^{i45} qui^{55}, pi^{55(33)} du^{33} te^{31} mai^{11} \)
    3SG still young too not permit get married
    ‘He is too young to get married.’
before 3SG hunt EXP obtain bear
‘He went bear-hunting before.’

(vi) \(\text{jaŋ}^{11}\) ‘to put, to place; to stop’. E.g.:

(119) \(\text{lap}^{11} \text{nɔŋ}^{31} \text{qaan}^{322} \text{jaŋ}^{11}\)
carry come home put
‘take it home and place (it there)’

→ discourse particle indicating completion:

(120) \(\text{lum}^{55} \text{du}^{33} \text{ti}^{24(45)} \text{li}^{31} \text{wi}^{33}, \text{puŋ}^{55} \text{ti}^{24(45)} \text{du}^{55(33)} \text{jaŋ}^{11}\)
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) \(\text{khaaŋ}^{322} \text{tɛŋ}^{322} \text{jaŋ}^{11} \text{hɔ}^{45}kɔ^{55} \text{tɔau}^{11} \text{wa}^{24} \text{ja}^{322} ja^{11}\)
offer sacrifice FINISH 3PL just go first CSM
‘Having offered their sacrifice, they left earlier’

(122) \(\text{thun}^{45} \text{nau}^{45} \text{jaŋ}^{11}, \text{pe}^{33} \text{to}^{33} \text{pi}^{55} \text{tɔk}^{55} \text{nɔŋ}^{31} \text{tɔ}^{33}\)
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:
Notes on Paha Buyang

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lg. compared</th>
<th>No. of words</th>
<th>Cognates shared</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paha — Ong-Be</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paha — Kam</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paha — Zhuang</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paha — Cun</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages compared</th>
<th>No. of words</th>
<th>No. of cognates</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paha — Pubiao</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paha — Lachi</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paha — Gelao</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>40%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paha — Mulao</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Langjia — Pubiao</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Langjia — Lachi</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Langjia — Gelao</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Langjia — Mulao</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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  RESUL 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

Why Our Paha Village Celebrates the Yin Day Festival

1. moí³¹ pa³³ha³³ du³³ phan³³ nau⁵⁵ kaan³²² jin¹¹ li⁵⁵? 
   village Paha 1PL.EX why eat Yin.Day Q

2. qoñ³²² tçaañ³²² tçau¹¹ phan³³ ni⁵⁵. 
   origin just become this.

3. moí³¹ pa³³ha³³ du³³ tçu²⁴–ña⁵⁵ ?an³²² tau⁵⁵ pi⁵⁵ thàaí⁵⁵ thà³²² 
   village Paha 1PL.EX time-that EXIST where not know

4. hi⁴⁵ du³³ pa³³ha³³ ?an³²² thà³²² hi⁴⁵, ti³³(⁵⁵) hi⁴⁵ kaan³²² 
   group 1PL.EX Paha have two group one group eat

5. de¹¹ tçø⁵⁵(⁴⁵), ti³³(⁵⁵) hi⁴⁵ kaan³²² jaat¹¹, hi⁴⁵ kaan³²² 
   shrimp red one group eat black.shrimp group eat

6. jaat¹¹ ni³³(⁵⁵) ðì³³(²⁴) mû⁴⁵(³³) hi⁴⁵ ks⁵⁵ tçau¹¹ ðì³³(²⁴) mû⁴⁵(³³) 
   black.shrimp this cook done group 3PL just cook cooked
7. khaan^33 tei^322, khaan^33 tei^322 jan^11 offer.(place.on.altar) New.Year, offer.(place.on.altar) New.Year finish

8. ho^45 ko^55 khaan^33 tei^322 jan^11 ho^45 ko^55 teau^11 group 3PL offer New.Year stop group 3PL just

9. wa^24 ja^322 ja^11. haaia^33 wa^24 khaau^33 tau^55 cu^31 ja^11, go first CSM still go reach where CSM

10. khaau^33 ti^55 kwa^322 daq^24 pun^55 tat^33(55) lo^n^11 reach one CL valley then cut wild.plantain

11. du^322 du^33 da^24oi^55(33) ba^31 naak^11 ho^45 lan^31, make obtain sign keep give group behind,

12. naak^11 ho^45 ?an^322 lan^31 di^33 do^11, give group stay behind remember easy

13. ho^45 du^33 pa^33 ha^33 ni^33(55) ka^45 ho^45 kaan^322 de^11 we^45, group 1PL.EX Paha this be group eat shrimp red

14. haaia^33 di^24 haaia^33 we^45, laai^322 pi^55 mu^33, ho^45 du^33 lum^45 the.more cook the.more red thought not cooked group 1PL.EX then

15. haaia^33 di^33(24) haaia^33 di^33(24), lum^45 lat^11 still cook still cook then late

16. ho^45 kaan^322 jaat^11 no^55, group eat black.shrimp that

17. ho^45 no^55 lum^45 haaia^33 wa^24 ja^322. group that then still go first

18. thi^33 kwa^33(322) daq^24 tat^33(55) lo^n^11, ho^45 lo^n^11 no^55 along CL valley cut wild.plantain group wild.plantain that

19. lum^45 the^55 wa^33 ho^45 du^33 lum^45 we^11 pi^55 qam^24 lum^45 then grow tall group 1PL.EX then find not able then

20. du^33 ?an^322 kwa^31(322) daq^24 kaan^322 wei^322. have.to stay CL valley celebrate New.Year.

21. kaan^322 wei^322 ni^55 teur^24 no^55 ka^55(45) teur^24 nau^55 celebrate New.Year TOPIC time that be time what

22. pi^55 theaia^45 o^531. not know.
23. \(\delta^3 \quad \text{du}^3 \quad \text{ka}^{11(45)} \quad \text{wan}^3 \quad \text{n}^5 \quad \text{ka}^{55(45)} \quad \text{wan}^3 \quad \text{jin}^{11}\).
   remember able be day that be day Yin.
24. \(\text{ha}^{45} \quad \text{du}^3 \quad \text{pu}^5 \quad \text{du}^3 \quad \text{wan}^3 \quad \text{ka}^{33(322)} \quad \text{kwa}^{33(322)} \quad \text{yan}^{24} \quad \text{kaan}^{322} \quad \text{twi}^{322}.\)
   group 1PL.EX just have.to stay CL valley celebrate New.Year.
25. \(\text{kaan}^{322} \quad \text{twi}^{322} \quad \text{ni}^{55} \quad \text{tw}^{33} \quad \text{k}^5 \quad \text{pen}^{322} \quad \text{pu}^5 \quad \text{tat}^{55} \quad \text{celebrate New.Year TOPIC what all not.have then chop}
26. \(\text{lon}^{11} \quad \text{daak}^{11} \quad \text{ne}^{322} \quad \text{qo}^{322} \quad \text{du}^3 \quad \text{ju}^{11} \quad \text{daak}^{11}
   \text{wild.plantain want leaf big make table want}
27. \(\text{ne}^{322} \quad \text{qe}^{33} \quad \text{du}^{33(322)} \quad \text{bo}^4 \quad \text{te}^{11} \quad \text{ka}^3 \quad \text{khaan}^{33} \quad \text{au}^{31} \quad \text{waai}^{31},
   \text{leaf small make cup hold wine lay.out altar}
28. \(\text{ja}^{45} \quad \text{ja}^{11} \quad \text{pw}^{33} \quad \text{du}^{322} \quad \text{ji}^{33}.\)
   take firewood.end make incense.
29. \(\text{twap}^{11} \quad \text{ka}^{45(24)} \quad \text{do}^{11(322)} \quad \text{n}^5 \quad \text{n}^{31}, \quad \text{ha}^{45} \quad \text{du}^3 \quad \text{from way that down group 1PL.EX}
30. \(\text{pu}^5 \quad \text{di}^{55(33)} \quad \text{du}^{55(33)} \quad \text{wan}^{11(33)} \quad \text{n}^5 \quad \text{ka}^{55(45)} \quad \text{wan}^3 \quad \text{jin}^{11},
   \text{then remember able day that be day Yin}
31. \(\text{jaau}^{31} \quad \text{ka}^{55(45)} \quad \text{naan}^{322} \quad \text{lo}^5,\)
   also be month six
32. \(\text{ha}^{55(45)} \quad \text{du}^3 \quad \text{pu}^5 \quad \text{ka}^{24} \quad \text{me}^{31} \quad \text{kha}^{33} \quad \text{naan}^{322} \quad \text{lo}^5 \quad \text{group 1PL.EX then every year reach month six}
33. \(\text{pu}^5 \quad \text{kaan}^{322} \quad \text{twi}^{322}.
   \text{then celebrate New.Year}
34. \(\text{twi}^{322} \quad \text{n}^5 \quad \text{pu}^5 \quad \text{di}^{33} \quad \text{du}^{55(33)} \quad \text{w}^{11} \quad \text{ka}^{45} \quad \text{mo}^{45},
   \text{New.Year that then remember able most be happy}
35. \(\text{du}^3 \quad \text{pu}^5 \quad \text{haai}^{33} \quad \text{kaan}^{322} \quad \text{jin}^{11} \quad \text{ta}^{33} \quad \text{naau}^{33}.\)
   1PL.EX then still celebrate Yin forever
36. \(\text{twi}^{322} \quad \text{qo}^{322} \quad \text{pe}^{322} \quad \text{lan}^{31} \quad \text{pi}^{43(55)} \quad \text{to}^{45} \quad \text{twi}^{322}
   \text{New.Year big other still not like New.Year}
37. \(\text{jin}^{11} \quad \text{du}^3 \quad \text{n}^5.\)
   Yin 1PL.EX that
Notes on Paha Buyang

38. kaan\(^{322}\) jin\(^{11}\) ne\(^{33}\), h\(^{45}\) du\(^{33}\) ko\(^{55}\) twan\(^{322}\) maau\(^{322}\) tin\(^{45}\)
celebrate Yin TOPIC group IPL.EX all buy clothes trousers

39. maan\(^{31}\), pwan\(^{322}\) pa\(^{55(33)}\) ku\(^{55}\), ke\(^{45}\) q\(^{33}\) pi\(^{45}\) pa\(^{33}\) khaak\(^{33}\)
new slaughter pig call relative person guest

40. \(\delta a^{24}\) \(\delta i^{33}\) n\(^{31}\) \(\gamma m^{31}\) kaan\(^{322}\), \(\gamma m^{31}\) kaan\(^{322}\) \(\gamma m^{31}\) \(\gamma m^{45}\).
place far come together eat together celebrate together happy

41. \(\wedge m^{33}\) n\(^{55}\) p\(^{55}\) ka\(^{55(45)}\) pa\(^{33}\) ha\(^{33}\) ni\(^{55}\) tein\(^{322}\) q\(^{32}\). day that then be Paha this New.Year big

42. h\(^{45}\) pa\(^{33}\) ha\(^{33}\) kaan\(^{322}\) de\(^{11}\) lam\(^{33(322)}\) ni\(^{55}\) pe\(^{32}\) di\(^{33(322)}\) man\(^{33}\)
group Paha eat shrimp black this other say flee

43. wa\(^{24}\) khau\(^{33}\) we\(^{31}\) naan\(^{31}\), h\(^{45}\) du\(^{33}\) ko\(^{55}\) pi\(^{55}\) \(\theta a\) ai\(^{45}\) \(\theta a^{31}\)
go reach Vietnam group IPL.EX all not know

44. tein\(^{11}\) ni\(^{33(55)}\) ja\(^{11}\).
now CSM

45. lu\(^{45}\) ka\(^{11}\) h\(^{45}\) du\(^{33}\) \(\gamma an^{322}\) lan\(^{31}\) t\(^{o}k^{11}\),
remain alone group IPL.EX stay behind RESULT

46. pa\(^{33}\) ha\(^{33}\) du\(^{33}\) ka\(^{45}\) \(\theta u i^{11}\) laau\(^{45(33)}\) ja\(^{11}\).
Paha IPL.EX be most less CSM

47. h\(^{45}\) du\(^{33}\) to\(^{55}\) lim\(^{24}\) pi\(^{55}\) \(\theta h o^{45}\) h\(^{45}\) \(\theta a a n^{31(24)}\),
group IPL.EX all speak not like group nearby

48. du\(^{322}\) \(\wedge o^{33}\) ko\(^{55}\), to\(^{33}\) pi\(^{55}\) \(\theta h o^{45}\) pe\(^{32}\) h\(^{45(33)}\) pwan\(^{33(322)}\)
do what all not like others person die

49. du\(^{33}\) khaak\(^{45(33)}\) pi\(^{55}\) li\(^{24}\) maau\(^{322}\) \(\lambda k^{55(33)}\), li\(^{24}\) ka\(^{11}\)
make(be) guest not wear clothes white wear only

50. maau\(^{31(322)}\) lam\(^{33(322)}\), pi\(^{55}\) \(\theta h o^{45}\) pa\(^{33}\) phju\(^{45}\) li\(^{24}\) maau\(^{31(322)}\) \(\lambda k^{33}\).
clothes black, not like person Zhuang wears clothes white

51. h\(^{45}\) du\(^{33}\) pa\(^{33}\) ha\(^{33}\) ni\(^{55}\) q\(^{32}\) twan\(^{322}\) teau\(^{11}\) phan\(^{33}\) ni\(^{55}\).
group IPL.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


