The Sound System of Baha Buyang

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Buyang is a new member of the Kadai family; identified by scholars in the late 1980s. Up to now only a few papers about Buyang have been published (Liang Min 1990a, 1990b). Buyang people are distributed over Funing and Guangnan counties in Yunnan Province and in Napo County, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. There are a number of dialects. In 1994-1995, I investigated 4 Buyang dialects:

Ecun, Funing County, Yunnan
Langjia, Funing County, Yunnan
Baha, Guangnan County, Yunnan
Yalhong, Napo County, Guangxi

Recently I have written two papers: the first describes the Langjia dialect; the second describes the Yalhong dialect and includes a comparison with Langjia (Li Jinfang 1995a, 1995b). The main sound distinctions of these 4 Buyang dialects are:

Langjia, Baha and Yalhong have initial aspirates ph-, th-, kh-, tsh-, which are not found in Ecun. Baha has initial voiced stops b-, d-, g-, aspirated-devoiced-stops bh-, dh-, gh-, and aspirated-devoiced-nasals rh-, nh-, nh-, nh-, and lh-, zh-, yh-, which are not found in the other dialects. Therefore Baha plays a special part among the Buyang dialects.

Baha Buyang dialect can be regarded as a key link among the Kadai languages. On the one hand Baha retains initial voiced stops b-, d-, g- like Gelao (Gelao retains b-, d-, g-, but has lost -m, -p, -t, -k). On the other hand, it retains final nasals and stops -m, -n, -n̚, -p, -t, -k, like the Kam-Tai languages (Kam-Tai retains -m, -n, -n̚, -p, -t, -k, but has lost b-, d-, g- in most places). In addition, Baha retains initial devoiced nasals rh-, nh-, nh-, nh-, which have been lost in most Kadai languages.

\begin{tabular}{l}
\textbf{drunk} & \textbf{pig} & \textbf{tired} & \textbf{listen} \\
\textbf{Baha} & m̃hi³³ & m̃hu³¹ & nh̃:i³³ & nh̃³³ \\
\textbf{Zhuang} & m̃nA¹ & mouA¹ & ñ:iB¹ & ñiA¹ \\
\end{tabular}

Therefore Baha Buyang forms a link with the Gelao group and the Kam-Tai group. We can also see some of the early Kadai sound structures and the relationship between Kadai and Austronesian through Baha Buyang.

Buyang is close to Gelao, Mulao, Yiren, Lachi/Lati, Pubiao/Laqu, and Laha. This group of languages spread from Guizhou, through Guangxi, Yunnan, into
Northern Vietnam. Buyang may be closer to Laha than the others (BH: Baha Buyang, LJ: Langjia Buyang, LH: Tan-Uyen Laha, AG: Anshun Gelao, PB: Malipo Pubiao/Laqu)

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<tr>
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<th>LJ</th>
<th>LH</th>
<th>AG</th>
<th>PB</th>
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<tr>
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<td>ma³¹²</td>
<td>ma</td>
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<td>nam³¹</td>
<td>nam⁵⁴</td>
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<td>ma⁰tu³¹²</td>
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<td>va¹¹</td>
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<td>maⁿuñ¹¹</td>
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<td>mu:m¹¹</td>
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<td>?bon¹¹</td>
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<td>yhu:n³³</td>
<td>va:n³¹²</td>
<td>wa:n</td>
<td>vi⁴⁴</td>
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</table>

A Buyang subgroup lives in two villages—Yanglian and Anshe—representing more than 600 people, in the north of Guangnan County, Yunnan Province. They call themselves pa²⁴ha³³ in their own language. The surrounding Zhuang call them ja:n²⁴len³¹ (meaning 'single Buyang group'). Some Buyang people have intermarried with Zhuang. Most Baha Buyang people are surnamed Nong and Chen. They believe their ancestors migrated from Lammak, Lamyang to Guangnan, and that some of
them migrated to Dawsiu, Northern Vietnam. Nowadays all Yanglian Baha (approx
500) still speak their mother tongue and adults can also speak Zhuang, but most
Anshe Baha (over 100) have shifted to use Zhuang. Only the old people can still
speak their mother tongue.

In this paper I describe the sound system of the Baha Buyang, as spoken in
Yanglian village.

1. Initials

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p</th>
<th>ph</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>bh</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>mh</th>
<th>f</th>
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b- d- g- are voiced stops, no preglottal ñ, the voiced stops and nassals b-
d- g- m- n- ñ have the contrasting devoiced forms with strong aspirate: bh, mh, etc. The r is a trill, but its tongue position is a little farther back than standard r.
The f and s occur only with loans from Zhuang and Han, for example, fæ:n33 'ten thousand', tø31 fu31 'bean curd', sì33 'try', sàm322 'sink'. Aspirates and aspirated-
devoiced consonants occur mainly with tones 45, 33 and 322, for example, thap33
'narrow', tø33 ha45 'thin', phu:n322 'horizontal', mo33 'five', dha33 'nine', lhæm322
'dark', qhe45 'bad', mhoi45 'fast'.

p  pa322 four  pia11 many
ph phu:n322 horizontal  phuen322 smells good
b  baŋ31 big  biö45 sharp
bh bhe46 flat  bhu:n33 carry on the back
m  mu31 eight  mo31 protruding
mø mh33 five  mhoi45 fast
f  fan24 wild deer  to31 fu31 bean curd
v  vøt45 ten  vøt33 puckery
yì yhu:n33 high  ýha:n45 keen
t  tan33 flat;level  tan45 upright
th thap33 narrow  tha:k33 to nail
d  don45 thousand  diek33 full
dh dhà33 nine  dhæn45 pull
n  nam31 six  na322 thick
ηh  ηhun222 turbid (water)  ηha:i33 tired
ι  lam322 concave  le46 inclined
lη  lha:u24 less  lham322 dark
ts  tsam45 onc  tsam322 purple
tsh  tsha45 thin (material)  tsha:u45 dry
θ  θa322 two  θan45 love
ð  ða31 come back  ðun24 become mildewed
r  ru33 seven  ri11 long
n  nə:n45 put upside down  nət31 slow
ηh  νha:n33 quarrel  νhe33 sea
s  gi33 blue  gən24 pine
ə  zə45 help  zə24 replace
ɔh  zəhok11 easy  zəhok33 mix
k  kon322 big, large  kum33 short
kh  khen322 crooked  khok33 thin (human being)
g  gen45 long and thin  go45 spiral shell
gh  gha45 dried  gha33 thirsty
ŋ  nə:n45 yellow  nə:k11 foolish
ηh  ηhu222 sweet  ηha33 be jealous of
γ  yo45 green  yek322 beautiful
q  qan33 hundred  qət11 smooth
qh  qha:n33 (smoke) rise  qha222 dam
ʔ  ʔa:i322 good, rich  ʔi45 rob
h  ha45 peppery  ha:p33 blow (whistle)
2. Rhymes

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Baha has 7 vowels: a, e, i, o, u, w, e. The short a, i, u, w can be distinguished from the long a: i: u: w:, when they are followed by a final consonant or vowel. The long vowels a: i: u: w: have a transitional feature, for example, zi:ŋ322 ~ zi:ŋ322 'squirrel', tsu:i11 ~ tsu:i11 'to twine', phu:ŋ322 ~ phu:ŋ322 'horizontal'. The tongue positions of e, o are lower than standard e, o; close to e, o, especially when they act as a rhyme. ghe45 ~ ghe45 'bad', yo45 ~ yo45 'green'. Long vowel rhymes i:k, u:n have no contrasting short vowel rhyme. Some rhymes occur only with loans: wa:k, uə, un, u:n, uk, mŋ, m:t, eŋ, uə, etc.
a  θa²² two  ṇha³³ five
ai  kai⁴⁶ wide  nai²²² ugly
aiː  aːi²²² good  khaː³³ to tie
au  rau⁴⁵ slippery  pau³¹ busy
aːu  aːu⁴⁵ meat  ḡaːu²⁴ little, less
au  θau²²² clear(water)  qhon³²² nau⁴⁵ the upper part of the body
am  tsam⁴⁵ one  nam³¹ six
aːm  raːm³³ (two or more persons) carry  ḡhaːm³³ garden
an  qan³³ hundred  ran³³ shallow
aːn  faːn³³ ten thousand  ṇaːn⁴⁵ red
anŋ  ban³¹ huge  tan³³ flat
aːŋ  naːŋ⁴⁵ move backward  ḡhaːŋ⁴⁵ keen
ap  thap³³ narrow  dap⁵⁵ wrinkle
aːp  haːp³³ blow (a horn)  aːp⁴³ take a bath
at  vat⁵⁵ ten  lat¹¹ late
aːt  raːt³³ rough  tatt³³ take apart
ak  tak¹¹ cheap  zaːk⁵⁵ hold tight
aːk  laːk³³ deep  kaːk³³ hard, stiff
ia  bhiə⁴⁵ to fly  pia¹¹ many
iaːi  piai⁴⁵ place, arrange  piai⁴⁵ tasteless
iaːu  phiaːu⁴⁵ silver
iaːm  piaːm⁴⁵ meal (classifier)
iaːŋ  piaːŋ³³ face  piaːŋ³²² finish
iat  piat³³ arm spread
iaːk  piaːk¹¹ bright  piaːk³¹ separate
ua  mua³¹ thunder  pua³²² stone
uai  khuaï⁴⁵ knife
uaːi  buaːi³³ hungry  guaːi³³ break(a breach)
uaːk  puaːk¹¹ taro
uam  muam⁴⁵ concave
uan  puan²²² kill  puan³³ die
uaːŋ  uaːŋ³³ke³²²  palm  maːk³³muaːŋ³³  plum
uat  buat³³  lash  puat⁵⁵  to sprinkle
uak  e⁴⁴la³³buak³¹  magpie  puaːk⁵⁵  bundle (small)
uaːk  buaːk³³  cut (a rope)  buaːk⁵⁵  cut (a tree)
e  te⁴⁶  spread (a cloth)  re³³  stick up
eu  teu²⁴  accurate  reu³¹  young
em  lem³²²  loose  du⁴³rem³¹  warm
en  maːk³³men³³  Chinese toon
en  gen⁴⁵  long and thin  khen⁵²²  inclined
ep  tsep⁵⁵  cut (with scissors)  tsep¹¹  engrave (a seal)
et  nėt³¹  slow  qet¹¹  smooth
ek  rek⁴⁵  strong  yek³²²  beautiful
ien  pien⁵²²ha³³  company
iek  miek⁵⁵  carrying pole  diek³³  full
ue  que³²²  lame person  gue³²²  lame
uen  phuen³²²  smells good  phuen³³  smell
i  i⁴⁵  small  ri¹¹  long
iu  tsiu⁴⁵  castrate (a pig)  niu⁴⁵  than (conjunction)
im  zim⁴⁵  tip, point
in  lin³³  tender  niin³¹  dirty
iŋ  'hin⁵²²  wolf-grandmother  niŋ⁴⁵  shoot (an arrow)

(children’s story)
iːŋ  ziːŋ³²²  squirrel  tsiːŋ³²²  festival
ip  ŭip⁵⁵  centipede  tip⁵⁵  light (a fire)
iːp  maːk³³li⁴⁴giːp³¹  pear
it  pui³¹³²²  git⁵⁵  set on fire  niit¹¹  cry
iːk  tiːk⁵⁵ku⁵⁵  a little bit
o  mo³¹  protruding  mho⁴⁵  glad
oi  mhoi⁴⁵  fast  hoi²⁴  hang
ou  u³³nou²⁴  elbow  khou³³  arrive
om  om³³  cook (in water)  pom³¹  touch
on kon³³ person(classifier) yon³³ nga¹¹ manger
on dən⁴⁵ thousand kon³² big
op pop³¹ zhu³³ (urinary) bladder
ot θa³² pot⁵⁵ twenty nga¹¹ mot¹¹ insect, worm
ok lok³³ white khok³³ thin (human being)
io bio⁴⁵ sharp phio⁴⁵ stab (with a knife)
ion tan⁴º pion³² yard
iok miok¹¹ early
uoi tshuoi³¹ (pig) dig earth with the snout
u tu³² three ru³³ seven
ui la⁵⁵ mhu¹¹ placenta qui⁴⁵ cross(a river)
u:i tsu:i¹¹ twine ru:i¹¹ string (classifier)
u:m kum³³ short pa³³ lum²⁴ thief
un khun³³ roll (classifier)
u:n lu:n³² disorder
uŋ ṇhuŋ³² turbid ḅuŋ²⁴ become mildewed
uŋ tsuŋ⁴⁵ raw gaŋ³³ guŋ⁴⁵ toad
up ṇup⁵⁵ nga:p³¹ nod (one’s head)
ut mut¹¹ mau¹¹ hair
utₚ mut⁵⁵ white ant mut¹¹ tip, end
uk uk³³ brain ma:k³³ puk⁵⁵ pomelo
u bhui³³ carry on the back zω³¹ hold in mouth
u:n vu:n³² answer
un tuŋ³² oily
uŋ vuŋ³³ high ruŋ²⁴ along, with
ut mut¹¹ feather, wool buŋ¹¹ blind
u:t kwit¹¹ bundle (big)
uk nuuk³³ sticky pa³³ ruuk⁵⁵ quiet
ə ne⁵⁵ that tso⁴⁵ lead (the way)
əi bəi¹¹ the period of the day from 11 p.m. to 1 a.m.
ən pen³¹ pen³³ rice-flour noodles ven³¹ wind
əŋ  təŋ\textsuperscript{24} sugar
ək  nək\textsuperscript{55} nə\textsuperscript{45} dust
uo  zo\textsuperscript{33} take away
uə  buə\textsuperscript{55} lotus root

3. Tones

Buha has 7 tones. High level 55 and high rising tone 45 are very close; tone 45 rises slightly and sounds like a level tone. Low level tone 11 falls slightly. The duration of mid falling tone 322 is longer than other tones; it falls and then levels out. Some prefixes are pronounced with a light tone '0'. Final stop rhymes occur mainly with the 4 tones: 55,33,31,11; therefore, for the most part, Baha has 4 dead tones.

Live tones:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>Shape</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>low level</td>
<td>pia\textsuperscript{11} 'much', ra\textsuperscript{11} 'near'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>322</td>
<td>mid falling</td>
<td>pa\textsuperscript{322} 'four', tam\textsuperscript{322} 'close (door)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>low falling</td>
<td>ma\textsuperscript{31} 'dog', di\textsuperscript{11} ta\textsuperscript{31} 'tell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>mid level</td>
<td>pa\textsuperscript{33} 'father', ta\textsuperscript{33} 'low'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>mid rising</td>
<td>va\textsuperscript{24} 'go', na\textsuperscript{24} 'food'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>high rising</td>
<td>pa\textsuperscript{45} 'take (a hat)', ta\textsuperscript{45} 'break (wind)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>high level</td>
<td>nə\textsuperscript{55} 'that', tsia\textsuperscript{45} 'pound'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dead tones:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>Shape</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>low level</td>
<td>tak\textsuperscript{11} 'cheap', ra:t\textsuperscript{11} 'deaf'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>low falling</td>
<td>tok\textsuperscript{31} 'read', pha:t\textsuperscript{31} 'have a fever'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>mid level</td>
<td>ta:k\textsuperscript{33} 'to skin (an ox)', ra:t\textsuperscript{33} 'rough'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>high level</td>
<td>ta:tak\textsuperscript{55} 'chest', dap\textsuperscript{55} 'forget'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Reference


Li Jinfang, 1995a A Brief Description of Langjia Buyang (To be published in *Journal of the Central University of Nationalities*).

1995b Yalhong --- A Dialect of Buyang Language (To be published in *Kadai*).


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