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Synchronic Variation, Grammaticalization and Language Contact: the Development of the FINISH Morphemes in the Yue-Chinese and the Zhuang Languages in the Guangxi Region
共時變異、語法化和語言接觸：論南寧粵語及壯語中「完畢」語素的演變

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Abstract

Language change is simply a fact of life; it cannot be prevented or avoided (Campbell 2013: 3). When asked to identify the causes of language change, historical linguists usually give us internal explanations (Lass 1997: 209), while contact linguists specifically focus on external factors such as borrowing, interference, metatypy and others (Weinreich 1963, Ross 1999, Thomason 2001). Among these external factors, the contact-induced grammaticalization theory pioneered by Heine & Kuteva (2003, 2005) is particularly well-suited to explain the grammatical changes undergone by the languages in South China (F. Wu 2009a, Kwok 2010, D. Qin 2012, Y. Huang & Kwok 2013, Kwok et al. forthcoming, etc.).

The present thesis investigates how a particular internal factor (grammaticalization) and external factor (language contact) interact to produce the polyfunctionality of the peculiar ‘FINISH’ morpheme 晒/ɬai^33/ in the Yue dialect spoken in Nanning (henceforth: NNY), in the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. My investigation reveals that while 晒/ɬai^33/ (< *sai) is clearly a Yue word, certain of its grammatical functions have been borrowed from Zhuang through language contact. These borrowed functions are not found in other members of Yue outside Guangxi. This case study provides not only first-hand data on the language contact situation in the Nanning region, but also a theoretical explanation for the linguistic situation found. Additionally, this study will deepen our understanding of the corresponding postverbal morpheme 晒/sai^33/ in Cantonese, the grammatical functions of which have been debated for decades (cf. Mo 1993, T. Lee 1994, Tang 1996, Cheung [1972] 2007, P. Lee 2012a; among others).

The thesis contains six chapters:

Chapter 1 provides a preliminarily review of the literature on language contact phenomena in China, introduces the methodology used in across this study, and addresses the importance of the present topic.

Chapter 2 provides an introduction to the linguistic background of the Guangxi Region. First, I describe the social and economic factors that give rise to the diversity
of languages in Guangxi. After that, I present concise linguistic profiles for each language and make a comparative survey of their linguistic properties.

Chapter 3 offers a detailed grammatical description of my target morpheme. First, I describe the polyfunctionality of 晒 /ɬai³³/ in NNY from a synchronic perspective. Second, I compare the grammatical properties of NNY 晒 /ɬai³³/ with its counterparts in Cantonese and other Yue dialects, arguing that 晒 /ɬai³³/ in NNY possesses various grammatical functions which are not found in other members of the Yue family.

Chapter 4 extends my observation to the Zhuang languages in Guangxi, and illustrates that, in most of these languages, the native ‘FINISH’ morphemes possesses a rich array of functions that are comparable to those of 晒 /ɬai³³/ in NNY. After analyzing the grammatical properties of five Zhuang dialects, I tentatively propose a polygrammaticalization model of the ‘FINISH’ morphemes in Zhuang. The validity of this model will be examined by using data from some other languages.

Chapter 5 deals with the functional changes in NNY 晒 /ɬai³³/ induced by contact with Zhuang. Rather than directly borrowing of certain linguistic elements, the “Zhuang shifters” replicated the use patterns of the ‘FINISH’ morphemes, attributing the familiar grammaticalization processes in Zhuang to the development of the NNY ‘FINISH’ morpheme, 晒 /ɬai³³/. By imposing the Zhuang process on the Yue morpheme, speakers of the NNY dialect ultimately produced a polyfunctional variant of 晒 /ɬai³³/ which is atypical in the Yue group. Based on the contact-induced grammaticalization model, this chapter paints a clear picture of the contact process between NNY and Zhuang, taking into full consideration certain areal features of the Guangxi Region. After evaluating the weight and value of several areal features, a putative linguistic area—the Central Southern Guangxi Area—is established.

Chapter 6 summarizes the findings of this study, and discusses certain cautions and drawbacks inherent to the application of migration theory in the study of language contact. Finally, I emphasized the need for further observation and a broader-ranging investigation into this topic in the future.
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I first began to think about the ideas that would form the basis for my dissertation in the spring of 2011. At the time, I knew nothing about the Yue grammar, nor did I know any theory of language contact. However, a brand-new environment led to the creation of a brand-new me during my three-year stay in the City University of Hong Kong.

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Abbreviations and Symbols

Linguistic Terms

1sg  1st person single
1pl  1st person plural
2sg  2nd person single
2pl  2nd person plural
3sg  3rd person single
3pl  3rd person plural
ART  article
ASP  aspect
ATTR attributive
AUX  auxiliary
BEN  benefactive
CAUS causative
CL   classifier
COM  comparative marker
COMP complement
COP  copula
COV  coverb
CT   class term
DEM  demonstrative
DET  determiner
DIM  diminutive
DIST distant marker
DP   dynamic perfect
DUR  durative
EMPH emphatic
EXPR expressive
EXH  exhaustion particle
GEN               genitive
IMP                imperatives and commends
INCHO           inchoative
INTENS  intensifier
L₁           first language
L₂           second language
LNK           linker
M               male (gender marker)
MANN            manner marker
MOD            modal auxiliary
MODI            modifier
NEG            negative
NOM            nominative
NUM            number
PP            pragmatic particle
PASS            passive
PFV            perfective
POSS            possessive
PROG            progressive
PROH            prohibitive
REC            reciprocal
SELE            selective marker
ST            standard (in the comparative construction)

Symbols
> becomes/grammaticalizes to/develops into
— primarily quantified by
....... secondarily quantified by
* ungrammatical
# grammatical, but pragmatically odd (can only be interpreted in another way)
CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 Aims and Scope

The study of language change has long been divided between the investigation of internal factors—those aspects of each individual’s innate grammatical knowledge that lead to unexceptional sound changes (Lightfoot 1979)—and external factors, including socio-historical and psycholinguistic effects (Weinreich 1963, Thomason & Kaufman 1988, Winford 2005). In recent years, however, some linguists have suggested that this dichotomy may not be so clear cut: external, extra-linguistic, and internal factors must be reconciled in order to account for the phenomenon of contact-induced language change (Johanson 2002: 286, Heine & Kuteva 2005). This thesis presents a comprehensive survey of the polyfunctionality of the ‘FINISH’ morphemes in the Nanning Yue dialect 南寧粵語 (henceforth NNY) and the Tai-Kadai languages 侗台語 of the Guangxi Autonomous Region in China, and analyzes the functional change undergone by these morphemes in an areal (contact) perspective. Building on certain earlier discussions of language contact in Guangxi, this study endeavors to explore the interplay between the internal factors and external factors involved in the grammatical change in this pair of languages.

NNY is a branch of Yongxun Yue 邕潯粵語 spoken by most people in Nanning, the capital city of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region (Lin & F. Qin 2008: 5, Mai 2010: 228-229). There are approximately 17 million fluent speakers of Yue-Chinese (C. Liu 2005: 6) in the Guangxi Region. The history of the NNY dialect dates back to the Qing Dynasty 清朝, when the ancestral Guangfu Yue 廣府粵語 speakers moved to Guangxi from Guangdong for trade or war refuge (J. Li 2000, Mai 2009). This region is also home to about 18 million speakers of Zhuang, the largest Tai-Kadai language group in Guangxi. Speakers of Zhuang are concentrated in four prefectures—Nanning, Baise 百色, Hechi 河池 and Liuzhou 柳州 —along the Xi River system (Y. Luo: 2008: 317). Geographically, Guangxi works as a transport hinge, linking China with its neighboring Southeast Asian
countries. The region has witnessed widespread migration in every historical period since the Early Qin Dynasty. As a result of its complicated geographic context and socio-historical background, Guangxi provides a rich environment for the study of language contact between the Chinese dialects and Tai-Kadai languages.

The present study was inspired by the limited discussion on the evolution of the ‘FINISH’ morphemes\(^1\) in the extant Chinese linguistics literature. In turn, this limitation seems to arise from the absence of any deep typological understanding of the grammaticalization of ‘FINISH’ verbs in the world’s languages, and particularly in the languages of Guangxi. Although Heine & Kuteva (2002: 134-138) suggest that, cross-linguistically, ‘FINISH’ verbs can develop into four functional domains (i.e. completive, perfect aspect marker, perfective aspect marker and consecutive marker\(^2\)), the original fieldwork data I present in this dissertation suggest the existence of a handful of additional functions that have not been previously identified. In NNY, the ‘FINISH’ morpheme exhibits seven functions: intransitive ‘FINISH’ verb, universal quantifier, superlative, completive, perfective aspect marker, perfect aspect marker and conjunctonal verb; in Zhuang, certain peculiar morphemes illustrate at least eight functions: intransitive/transitive/ambitransitive ‘FINISH’ verb, universal quantifier, superlative, completive, perfective aspect marker, perfect aspect marker, conjunctonal verb and sequential conjunction. The evolutionary model proposed by Heine & Kuteva is insufficient to cover all the identifiable functions of the ‘FINISH’ morpheme in the languages of Guangxi.

Second, based on data from Old/Middle Chinese and some Chinese dialects, Chinese scholars have traditionally restricted their discussion of the development of ‘FINISH’ verbs to the aspectual domain, where these verbs may grammaticalize as resultatives, perfective/perfect aspect markers (Cheung 1977, L. Wang 1980: 305, Mei 1981, Cao 1995, F. Wu 1998, Q. Chen 2008; among others), or even temporal adverbials (Du 1999, Z. Li 2004, R. Yang 2005: 350). Numerous Zhuang scholars, in a similar vein, argue that most ‘FINISH’ morphemes in Zhuang are borrowed from Chinese, since in both languages, these morphemes function as resultatives, or even temporal adverbials.

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\(^{1}\) Etymologically, the ‘FINISH’ morphemes derive from ‘FINISH’ verbs, like 竽竭/已/訖/了/畢 in Old and Middle Chinese, which further give rise to a variety of distinct functions (Y. Huang & Kwok 2014).

\(^{2}\) The authors also suggest the function ‘AFTER’. Since the meaning of ‘AFTER’ is conceptually close to the meaning of ‘CONSECUTIVE’, I merge these two under the heading of ‘CONSECUTIVE’.\)
perfective/perfect aspect markers and pragmatic particles (Wei & G. Qin 1980: 55, Y. Zhang & G. Qin 1993: 101-112, S. He 2011). As a result of this tendency, the complexity of the overall grammaticalization process in NNY and Zhuang has never been fully accounted for; after all, the present understanding of the ‘FINISH’ morpheme leaves no avenue for establishing a connection between the aspectual and quantificational domains, both of which are represented in the ‘FINISH’ morphemes’ grammaticalization stages.

Third, earlier studies on the grammatical properties of the NNY ‘FINISH’ morpheme 晒/laɪ³³/ have typically focused on its function as a completive, perfective/perfect aspect marker, and sequential linker (Lin & F. Qin 2008: 325-326). These studies rarely concern themselves with 晒/laɪ³³/’s alternative function as a ‘FINISH’ verb, universal quantifier, and superlative. While some scholars have compared the functions of NNY 晒/laɪ³³/ to those of the equivalent Cantonese morpheme 晒/sai³³/ (Bai 1985), these scholars still do not address the relationship between these two morphemes. Are they closely affiliated? If they are related, why do they differ in their functions (as a quantifier-prominent morpheme in Cantonese, and an aspectivizer-prominent morpheme in NNY)? What factors trigger this functional divergence?

Fourth, for decades, many scholars of Cantonese linguistics have paid considerable attention on the characteristics of Cantonese 晒/sai³³/ both syntactically (Mo 1993, X. Li et al. 1995, Cheung [1972] 2007) and semantically (T. Lee 1994, Tang 1996, P. Lee 2012b, inter alia). Some important characteristics of this morpheme still remain to be understood, however: what is the origin of Cantonese 晒/sai³³/? Is it really a loanword borrowed from an adjacent minority language (cf. Yue-Hashimoto 1991a)? Why, in certain contexts, does the universal quantifier 晒/sai³³/ simultaneously derive both an aspectual and a quantificational meaning (cf. Lei & T. Lee 2013)? To understand the evolutionary pathway taken by these elements, I integrate the development of Cantonese 晒/sai³³/ into the NNY model, reconstructing a grammaticalization process that reflects the polygrammaticalization model I propose for Zhuang. It is my sincere hope that this study will provide a crucial starting point for rethinking the grammatical properties of Cantonese 晒/sai³³/.
In addition to NNY 晒 /ɬai33/ and Cantonese 晒 /sai33/, other ‘FINISH’ morphemes are also investigated in this thesis: Zhuang /li:u4/, /le:u4/, /0a:t7/, /0o:t7/, /ju:n2/, /ja5/ and /thu:n3/; 晒 /ɬai33/ in Taishan 臺山粵語 and Wuzhou Yue 梧州粵語. In addition, I introduce data from the languages of Southeast Asia to explore the broader applicability of the grammaticalization model proposed in this dissertation. Morphemes addressed include 盡, 畢, 了, 既 in Old and Middle Chinese; 了 /liáu/ in Southern Min; /lu4/ in Yanghuang; /leu4/, /leʔ8/ and /than3/ in Dai; /sat/ in Nuosu; /leːu4/ in Thai; /haeuj/ in Cambodian; /habis/ in Riau and /hau/ in Makalero.

This work’s examination of the grammatical change in NNY 晒 /ɬai33/ starts from the framework of grammaticalization theory (cf. Heine et al. 1991, Lehmann 2002, Hopper and Traugott 2003, etc.). However, I do not rely on language-internal explanations alone, but also treat syntactic borrowing and language contact as significant mechanisms of syntactic change (Harris & Campbell 1995: 120). Taking into consideration both internal and external factors, I hypothesize that the grammatical change undergone by NNY ‘FINISH’ 晒 /ɬai33/ have been motivated by language contact with the Zhuang language in the Guangxi Region. In other work, I treat this change as an instance of contact-induced grammaticalization (Heine & Kuteva 2005); I contend that the Zhuang bilingual shifters conflated their intrinsic polyfunctional ‘FINISH’ model with the ‘FINISH’ gram already present in NNY, their imperfectly acquired second language. The extension of NNY 晒 /ɬai33/’s functional range occurred over a couple of centuries while contact persisted between these two languages. The functional extension of the ‘FINISH’ morpheme in NNY is part of a larger trend of contact-induced grammaticalization in the Central Southern Guangxi Region, where the Zhuang language served as a diffusional source that “infected” a wide range of Chinese dialects throughout the region.

Because the topic addressed here is so understudied, the data presented in this dissertation are still too preliminary to constitute a thorough study on the theme of language contact in the Guangxi Region. However, I hope that the methodology and framework developed in this study will prove useful in future work on historical linguistics, contact linguistics and especially the topic of contact-induced grammatical change between the Chinese dialects and minority languages of China.
1.2 Previous Studies

1.2.1 The Changing Languages

Every language is in a constant process of change. Language is not merely something that is spread out in space, but exists as a series of reflections in individual minds. Language moves down time in a current of its own making (Sapir 1921: 123).

The diversity of world languages arises at least partly through vertical transmission. It is suggested by Dixon (1997: 54) that there are two basic possibilities both for changes within languages and for changes to languages: either these changes are sudden, or they are gradual.

There have been long periods of equilibrium during which a number of languages have coexisted within a given region without any major changes taking place. From time to time the state of equilibrium is punctuated by some cataclysmic event; this will engender sweeping changes in the linguistic situation and may trigger a multiple “split and expansion”. The punctuation may be due to some natural event, or to the emergence of an aggressive political or religious group, or to some striking technical innovation (Dixon 1997: 67).

Concurrent with vertical change, diversity may emerge in families and in areas through horizontal transmission. In families, diversity increases through contact, especially with different languages, when highly borrowable features (i.e. frequently borrowed linguistic matters and patterns) replace inherited features. In particular language regions, a process may unfold whereby certain areal features initially spread widely but are not especially prone to be inherited into subsequent generations of speakers; as a result, these features are lost over time and replaced by different elements in the various languages in the region. Diversity also increases through the immigration of ethnic groups, who bring new genetically or typologically diverse languages into an area (Nichols 2003: 309).

To be sure, it is hard to find a language that exists in complete isolation and has never interacted with another language. Some changes in a language’s linguistic profile are triggered by its own internal dynamics. However, most changes result from the diffusion of a category from a nearby language or group of languages (Dixon 1997: 57). Language contact, both synchronic and diachronic, plays a significant role in explaining those aspects of language change that cannot be satisfactorily solved by the “family tree” theory (cf. McMahon & McMahon 2008, Backus et al. 2011).
Starting from Weinreich (1963), the field of language contact has witnessed a profound development both theoretically and empirically. Weinreich et al. (1968) stress the importance of empirical evidence to the theory of language change. They claim that “linguistic and social factors are closely interrelated in the development of language change. Explanations which are confined to one or the other aspect, no matter how well constructed, will fail to account for the rich body of regularities that can be observed in empirical studies of language behavior”. Thomason & Kaufman (1988) expand on the notion of “interference” proposed by Weinreich to describe the relationship between contact-induced change and linguistic genetics. They distinguish two aspects of contact-induced change—borrowing and shift—to deal with distinct contact cases. By discussing numerous case studies in a variety of languages, they provide a detailed framework for understanding the processes of pidginization and creolization induced by intensive contact.

Although many publications on language contact have distinct goals and orientations, Thomason (2001) provides a systematic and concise introduction on this topic for beginners and students. In addition to outlining a general framework of language contact, she establishes the mechanisms that drive contact-induced change and provides an overview of a wide range of language contact scenarios in different linguistic areas around the world. Winford (2003) offers an account from both the social and linguistic perspectives that examines a wide range of contact situations. The author pays equal attention to the linguistic constraints on language contact and to the socio-historical circumstances in which each individual variation arose. Unlike Thomason (2001), Winford claims that structural borrowing is extremely rare, and each product of contact is determined by a “complex interaction of linguistic, social, and attitudinal factors.” In contrast, Heine & Kuteva (2005) and Matras (2009) provide an integrated, functional and typological approach to grammatical replication in a wide range of languages.

While much early literature centers on general contact theory, a fair number of studies concern themselves with particular contact cases. For example: linguistic diffusion on the East Plateau of Northwest Pacific (Aoki 1975); the contact situation in Arnhem Land in Australia (Heath 1978); contact and change between Spanish and English (Silva-Corvalán 1996); contact-induced convergence in the languages of Europe (Haspelmath 1998a); a revised version of language contact in the Balkans
and Meso-America (van der Auwera 1998); contact varieties of Malay (Gil 1999); contact in Ethiopia (Tosco 2000); language diversity and language contact in Mainland Southeast Asia (Enfield 2003, 2005, 2011); language contact in Amazonia (Aikhenvald 2003); contact among the aboriginal languages in Australia (Dixon 2006); language contact in the Bantu-Nilotic borderland (Kuteva 2009); contact among English, Chinese, Malay, and the mixed Malay varieties (Ansaldo 2009).

The study of language contact in the Western world has drawn on theoretical linguistics, second language acquisition, synchronic/typological description, contact-induced internal change, social motivation, and the interdisciplinary method that connects language evolution with ecology and biological evolution (cf. Mufwene 2001, W. Wang 2012). These highly engaging approaches each contribute important perspectives that will inform my investigation of language contact in China.

1.2.2 Language Contact in China

For decades, the topic of language change in the Chinese group has attracted the attention of Chinese linguists. In W. Wang’s (1969, 1979) classic papers, many types of internal change are understood as abrupt changes requiring long spans of time to diffuse; the gradualness of the diffusion process means that this process may be interrupted if, during the course of the diffusion, one or more other changes compete against it to affect the same words. In addition to the internal development of the Chinese dialects, Chinese linguists have also addressed the issue of contact-induced changes within China. The past half century has borne witness to a large quantity of literature on the subject of language contact in China. Since this thesis concerns language contact between the Southern dialects and the minority languages in southwestern China, I will primarily limit myself in the remainder of this chapter to reviewing previous studies that specifically address the contact situation in this area. Data on several mixed languages in southwestern and northern China will be introduced as well, in order to deepen our understanding of the intensive contact among the languages of China.

With respect to certain phonetic features, Yue-Hashimoto (1976) observes an affinity between the Southern Chinese dialects and the Tai languages: the author suggests that the present correlation between aspiration and tone in Yue and Min may be related to the phonetic situation in an old version of Zhuang, in which—
unaspirated stops and affricates occur in the so-called yang-tone categories 陽聲類. After surveying aspiration in literary vs. colloquial words in Min and Yue, Yue-Hashimoto concludes that, while both Min and Yue preserve many traits of Middle Chinese, they also share many features with the neighboring Zhuang and Tai languages. In general, these areal features serve to differentiate Min and Yue from the northern Chinese dialects. Yue-Hashimoto’s findings reinforce the message that, when investigating the southern Chinese dialects, it is important to consider both layer distinctions and areal linguistics.

Ho (2004: 77-88) discusses the process of language contact by which voiceless aspirated consonants become voiced aspirated consonants in the modern Chinese dialects. Ho illustrates this process using data from the contact period between the Yongxin dialect 永興方言 and the Southwest Mandarin of Sichuan (SWM). As speakers of a Xiang sub-dialect, the migrant Yongxin group has been surrounded by Southwest Mandarin. This linguistic influence has yielded a swift adjustment of phonemes in Yongxin’s phonological inventory. The group of voiced aspirated consonants in Yongxin came to be influenced by the predominant voiced aspirated consonants of SWM, yielding a process exemplified by the shift Pre-contact Yongxin dz → (SWM tsh) > Yongxin dzh; Pre-contact Yongxin b → (SWM ph) > Yongxin bh. This innovation, in turn, diffused throughout the whole system of voiced consonants. Furthermore, Ho examines the tonal system in Yongxin and illustrates how the voiced aspirated consonants change when they combine with certain tones (especially yáng píng ‘lower level’ 陽平).

A general description on the phonological contact among various Chinese dialects is provided by F. Wang (2005: 19-38). He distinguishes three types of contact scenarios based on data from earlier studies: contact between equally dominant dialects, influence of dominant dialects on subordinate ones, and influence on contact-induced varieties via bilingual speakers. The first type of contact scenario concerns the mutual influence of dialects on each other’s isoglosses. For instance, the distinction between the /n/~/l/ pair disappears in the Jintan 金壇方言 and Liyang 溧陽方言 dialects as a result of Jianghuai Mandarin’s 江淮官話 influence on the adjacent Wu dialect. The second scenario arises when bilingual speakers transfer aspects of their first language onto their imperfectly acquired second language. This
case is attested in the Linwu dialect 臨武話, which has inherited the Mandarin phonemes /ɿ, ei, iau, yaŋ, yeŋ/ and the Tuhua phonemes 土話 /ә, ә, ә, ә, ә, ә/. As shown above, the contact scenario in China is not limited to the Chinese dialects, but also concerns interactions between Chinese and minority languages. Language contact introduces new phonemes into the borrowing languages, leading to changes in the phonemic inventory (Campbell 2013: 60).

In addition to the changes in phonology that occur through language contact, a number of scholars have also paid great attention to the area of lexical borrowing. Norman & Mei (1976) use data from the modern Austroasiatic languages to examine word correspondences between Proto-Austroasiatic and Old Chinese. They specifically choose seven words from Old Chinese and Austroasiatic (箇 < *tset ‘to die’, 獵 < *siö(g) ‘dog’, 江 < *krong/kang/chiang ‘river’, 蟲 < *riwai/jwi/wei ‘fly’, 虎 < *kla(g)/χuo/hu ‘tiger’, 牙 < *ngra/nga/ya ‘tooth’, 弩 < *na/nuo/nu ‘crossbow’) and argue that these words in Old Chinese may bear some relationship to those in the Austroasiatic family. Furthermore, they compare a couple of words in the southern Chinese dialects (Min and Yue dialects) with those in the Austroasiatic languages, concluding that there is some reason to believe that these dialects may have an Austroasiatic substratum. Chinese and its neighboring minority languages have been in prolonged contact over a number of centuries; when two distinct groups of people are in extensive contact, borrowing is almost always a two-way street.

T’sou (2001) concerns himself with the question of why word borrowing occurs. He identifies two approaches to lexical importation: the Narrow Approach and the Broad Approach. The first one, supported by many scholars, primarily concerns phonetically adapted lexical items rather than semantically adapted items; the second one permits a much more broad-ranging analysis of cultural impact in language contact situations and suggests several useful indices with which to measure the extent and nature of such impact—an impact which is not easily quantified. The author begins by sketching a broad view of the lexical diffusion of Sino-Japanese loans (足→ashi, 晚→ban, 袋→fukuro, 東→taba, etc.) and Sino-Vietnamese morphemes. Later, in his analysis of loans in Cantonese, he correlates the factors of accessibility, agreeability and familiarity with the mode of adaptation.
to suggest that language and culture/social structure have an interdependent relationship. This study points to a method for making a quantitative comparison of the different rates of assimilation of new cultural items.

Zeng (2003, 2006) presents a systematic survey of the Chinese loans in the Tai-Kadai languages of southwest China. Based on fieldwork data from Guizhou and Guangxi, Zeng identifies four historical layers of Chinese loanwords: (a) loans from Old Chinese, which are limited to a small number of basic words and morphemes; (b) loans from Middle Chinese, whose phonological properties in the Tai-Kadai languages corresponds to the *qiē yùn* inventory; (c) contemporary loans in Shui, mostly borrowed from the Pinghua and Libo dialects 荔波話 (Southwest Mandarin); (d) modern loans, individually borrowed from the Libo and Guiyang dialects 貴陽話 or undergoing a transition, like 經濟 ‘economy’: Guiyang dialect /tin¹ ci⁴/ → Libo dialect /tin¹ te³⁴/ → Shui /tin³ ti¹/. Such studies offer a new strategy for disentangling the overlapping layers of various loanwords.

Lan (2005) compares the Chinese loanwords and cognates in Zhuang. He first classifies the Zhuang-Chinese correspondences into two groups (the old loans, which preserve the overt Middle Chinese codas “-p, -t, -k, -m”; the new loans, which exhibit the phonological features of Southwest Mandarin). Second, he divides the old loans into two subcategories (Old Chinese layer versus Middle Chinese layer). By dividing loans into distinct historical layers, Lan is able to distinguish between Chinese loans and Chinese cognates. Finally, he makes a statistical assessment of the Chinese loanwords in more than twenty-three Zhuang dialects. Lan’s work deepens our understanding of Chinese loanwords in Zhuang, and shows conclusively that language contact between Chinese and Zhuang began in the ancient era.

If studies of phonetic adaptation and lexical borrowing have been widespread and well received in Chinese academic circles, discussions on syntactic borrowing and contact-induced grammatical change, by contrast, have drawn little attention. While phonetic and lexical items are primarily borrowed through casual contact, borrowing of grammatical structures usually occurs after more intense contact (Thomason 2001: 70).
In his classical paper, “Language Diffusion on the Asian Continent,” Hashimoto (1976) pioneers the linguistic observation of language diffusion (areal diffusion) in China: “The structural diversity of Chinese languages can be best accounted for as the result of the diffusion of Altaic and Austroasiatic languages. Without consideration of these surrounding languages, these typological diversities of modern Chinese dialects must be hard to comprehend.” Aside from tonal distinctions and syllable structure, dialects from north to south also show a number of geographical characteristics, both morphological and syntactic: the farther south a dialect located, the greater variety of classifiers it exhibits; negation terms contain labial stops in the north, labial nasals in the south, and labial fricatives in between; word order varies according along the north-south continuum: the northern subgroup tends to place modifying constituents before the head, while the southern group places them after the head; in the comparative construction in northern Chinese, the standard precedes the adjective, but it follows the adjective in most southern Chinese dialects; so on and so forth. Hashimoto does not focus only on the typological traits of the modern Chinese dialects, but also neatly analyzes the outcome of syntactic change induced by contact between the Chinese dialects and the Tai/Altaic languages.

Zhu (1990) examines the range of neutral interrogative constructions in the Chinese dialects. He finds that the Northern Chinese dialects use the [VP-neg-VP] interrogative forms, in contrast to their Southern counterparts (e.g. Yangzhou, Suzhou, Shantou dialect), whose interrogative constructions are reported as either [ADV-VP] or [VP-neg-particle]. However, the coexisting forms imply distinct strata: the [ADV-VP] is the older construction, while the [VP-neg-VP] is an innovation. According to Zhu, the [VP-neg-VP] construction first emerged in Tang Dynasty. The [VO-neg-V] and [VO-neg-VO] structures are in complementary distribution in today’s Chinese dialects: [VO-neg-V] and [VO-neg-VO] are used in Beijing and Henan, the [V-neg-VO] and [VO-neg-VO] structures are used in Shandong and Fujian, and the [V-neg-VO] structure is used in Hubei. Zhu’s paper was the first to investigate grammatical change in the negative construction among the various Chinese dialects from a contact/diffusion perspective.

M. Zhang (2000) extends Zhu’s (1990) observation by investigating the neutral question forms in more than one hundred datapoints from southeastern dialects: [VP-neg] is distributed in the northwestern part of Jiangsu, and south of the
Yangtze; [V-neg-VP] is distributed over a vast territory in the central southeast. Since the [V-neg-VP] form may be the only native variant in Southeastern Mandarin, Zhang concludes that the [VP-neg] form found in Jiangsu/Anhui and Southern Jiangsu is the result of influence from Northern Mandarin and Wu, respectively. In some areas, such as Suining, Suqian and Jurong, coexistent forms (e.g. [ADV-VP] and [VP-neg]) are found. Zhang assumes that the coexistence of two forms in certain southeastern dialects may be caused by language contact. Coexisting forms originate from different linguistic strata diachronically, while merging into one synchronically. Competition among the forms prevails for quite a long time until one form finally wins out over the other. This enlightening paper provides a broad perspective on the causes of a particular syntactic change. Zhang shows that, to account for the irregularities in syntactic change, both internal and external motivations should be considered; in the course of language contact, the diffusion of syntactic features, like that of phonological features, can be bidirectional.

The 21st century has witnessed a rapid expansion in the study of language contact in China, inspired by a new theory of contact-induced grammatical change. Chinese scholars have tried to integrate this model into their understanding of the contact between Chinese dialects and minority languages.

Chappell (2001) points out the need to take into account diffusion and layering processes, as well as other language-contact phenomena, such as convergence, metatypy and hybridization, when reconstructing the history of the Chinese dialects. First, she describes a couple of typological features. Second, she proposes three main outcomes of language contact situations (stratification, hybridization and convergence) for Chinese dialects and provides examples of particular contact scenarios that illustrate these three outcomes. Stratification results from the systematic introduction of certain features of the prestige language in China for the purpose of reciting classical texts. Examples of morphological change in Taiwan Southern Min (làng 僑, tai jín 大人 etc.) show stratificational distinctions in the lexicon for the native colloquial morphemes versus the literary forms; native and borrowed morphemes are hybridized into a single new form. Using examples drawn from the Hong Kong Cantonese relative clause construction and the mixed comparative construction, the author demonstrates how two syntactic structures can coexist in parallel use in different registers. Furthermore, she describes the process of
convergence by investigating the “plastic” Putonghua in Changsha. The development of diminutives, negatives, complementizers, passives and inalienable-possession constructions in certain southern Chinese dialects also reflects the shared grammaticalization pathways in the Chinese dialects.

Matthews’ (2006) paper focuses on the case of Cantonese and the minority linguistic stocks that have been in contact with it. He first lists a wide range of imported items in Cantonese that hint at a substrate influence from Tai languages to the Yue dialect (e.g. suffix -lou² ‘guy’, postverbal particle saai³ ‘all’, etc.). He then compares some specific features of Cantonese with the description of the Mainland Southeast Asian languages to illustrate that the inverted double object construction [V-DO-IO], the ‘surpass’ comparative construction, the postverbal ‘acquire’ modal, the productive ‘expressive’ pattern and the multifunctional classifiers in Cantonese may have much in common with the Tai language. These areal typological characteristics mark Cantonese as quite similar to the Tai-Kadai and Miao-Yao languages. Finally, the author concludes that something similar to the typology of language contact situations also applies to bilingual acquisition—bilingualism must be a continuum of degrees.

F. Wu (2007, 2009a) provides a detailed investigation into contact-induced grammatical change among the languages in China. He first introduces the general theoretical frameworks espoused by Thomason (2001) and Heine & Kuteva (2005), and compares the present mainstream viewpoints of these linguists. Second, by analyzing the polyfunctionality of the ‘ACQUIRE’ morpheme (F. Wu 2009b) and the ‘DWELL’ morpheme (F. Wu 2010), Wu hypothesizes that the parallel developments of these morphemes in most Southeast Asian languages may be an outcome of language contact. During the contact process, the Chinese dialects, as the diffusional source, transferred their polyfunctional model to a wide range of minority languages. He also discusses the word-order change/rearrangement of certain grammatical constructions in the Tai-Kadai, Hmong-Mein, Austronesian and Austroasiatic languages in China, arguing that the [A-not-A] polar question form, the fronting prepositional phrase, and the [S-比：CM-St-A]/ [S-A-比：CM-St] comparative configuration may have been replicated from parallel Chinese structures (cf. F. Wu 2008a, 2008b, 2012a, 2012b). Needless to say, the majority of Wu’s work centers on coming to grips with the general picture of contact-induced grammatical change.
among the languages in China, rather than focusing on a specific manifestation of language contact occurring among two or three languages.

Language contact in China is conspicuous, from the far north to the south and across the southwest (cf. LaPolla 2001, 2010). Ordinary contact gives rise to convergent linguistic elements in different languages; extensive contact accelerates the formation of hybrid structures and mixed languages. Under Chinese influence, the southern Qiangic dialects (Tibeto-Burman branch) 南部羌語 have lost syllable stress and acquired four tones (H. Sun 1981: 7); a wide range of Hmong-Mien languages in Southwest China have altered their word orders, such as N+G → G+N, N+A→A+N, N+Rel→ Rel+N, N+Num+CL+Dem→ Num+CL+ N +Dem, etc.; many of the Tai-Kadai languages in the Guangxi Region have undergone *relexicalization* following contact with Chinese. Q. Chen & W. Zhang (1988) survey a mixed language, Wuse Hua 五色話, in the Miao villages of Guangxi, concluding that 85% of the vocabulary in Wuse Hua comes from Chinese (Pinghua dialect), but its grammar is a hybrid form of Chinese and Zhuang.

At another extreme, the Huihui language 回輝話 has shifted from the agglutinating to the isolating type and increased its number of monosyllables (Y. Zheng 1997: 13); case markers are bound to the nominals in Hezhou dialect 河州話, spoken widely in Ningxia, Ganshu 甘肅寧夏. As a result of interference from Uigur, the Hezhou dialect demonstrates SOV order and a versatile ‘SAY’ verb *suo* that also functions as a copula. In Western Hunan province, an interesting mixed language—Waxiang 瓦鄉話—has attracted a few linguists’ attention. As an unclassified Chinese dialect, Waxiang has enjoyed a prolonged history of contact with Mien and Tujia 土家語. On the other hand, Southwest Mandarin imposes a consistent influence on the language system of Waxiang, yielding a levelling of diversities in these two dialects (cf. Y. Wu & Shen 2009, Chappell 2012).

Due to *hybridization* (Chappell 2001: 341-342), some languages have lost their inherent characteristics, shifting towards the structures of other languages with which they are in contact. According to N. Chen (1982) and C. Li (1983), Wutun 五屯話 is significantly different from other members of the Chinese family, and displays a fascinating mixture of Tibetan and Chinese features in every aspect of its
structure. The language is strictly postpositional and lacks co-verbs; causative constructions are marked by a causative suffix -kə instead of the resultative compound. Wutun phonology exhibits both Chinese and Bodic features, comprising a main vowel (V) surrounded by up to four optional non-syllabic segments: an initial (C), a medial (M), a preinitial (H) and a final (F); syllables take the form (CMVF) in Chinese lexical items, and (HCVF) in Tibetan lexical items (Janhunen et al. 2008: 25-26).

One classic mixed language, Daohua—found in Western Sichuan—is a hybrid of Southwest Mandarin and Tibetan. A-Tshogs (2003) reports that Daohua is spoken by the Han people living in the eastern part of the Qinghai-Tibetan plateau (in the western Sichuan Basin). Without any clear indication of its genesis, Daohua demonstrates a Chinese-style lexicon and Tibetan-style grammatical structure. Almost all the basic words in Daohua come from Chinese, while the cultural words seem to be borrowed from Tibetan. Grammatically, Daohua resembles Tibetan both in word order and morphological coding strategy. As a typical SOV language, Daohua employs various markers to encode distinct grammatical categories. The linguistic profile of Daohua exemplifies the sort of mixed language that can result from profound contact between the Chinese and Tibetan strata.

1.2.3 Language Contact in the Guangxi Region

While the linguistic profile of Guangxi was described in a number of works before F. K Li (1977), a comprehensive discussion of language contact in this region did not come about until the 1970s. Xing (1979a, 1979b) compares the polyfunctional particles 了/leːu⁴/ and 著/ju⁵/ in the Tai group (especially Zhuang and Dong) with their counterparts in Chinese, concluding that these two particles reveal similar grammatical properties in Chinese and Zhuang, and noting that the cause of this isomorphic development is still unknown. Ou’yang (1995) and J. Li (2000, 2002) provide examples of several similar phonological, lexical and grammatical traits in the Zhuang and Yue dialects in Guangxi, and posit that, with the spread of the Yue

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1 Daohua is an intensively mixed language in China. According to A-Tshogs (2003), the mixing between Tibetan and Chinese in Daohua is never irregular. Based on the phonological inventory of Tibetan, the consonants and monophthongs of Daohua correspond to those of Chinese; Daohua changes the Tibetan diphthongs into monophthongs (i.e. ai→ɛ, au→ɔ) to follow the rules of the Chinese phonological system. Interested readers can refer to A-tshogs (2003) for details.
dialect from the Pearl River Delta to western Guangxi, these two languages have been in intensive contact ever since the Qing Dynasty.

Based on historical records, demographic statistics and migration traces, Hong (2004: 104-120) proposes two contact categories—geographic adjacency and cultural interaction (education, matrimony, trade etc.)—to explain the contact-induced change between Zhuang and Chinese. Periodic and frequent migrations from the central plains of China gave rise to a complicated contact scenario in Guangxi: the contact among the Zhuang, Guangxi Yue and Pinghua dialects falls under the former category, due to the geographic adjacency of these three speaker groups; the contact between Zhuang and Southwest Mandarin belongs to the latter category, since most Zhuang speakers acquired Southwest Mandarin via schooling or skills training.

Y. Qin (2007) compares the phonological forms and grammatical characteristics of the morphemes meaning ‘GIVE’ in Pinghua, Yue and Zhuang. He claims that the Pinghua 許 /hɔi⁵⁵/ and the Nanning Yue 當 /pi³⁵/ are borrowed from the Zhuang /hauʳ³/; Zhuang /hauʳ³/, in turn, comes from the Middle Chinese 与 ‘GIVE’. F. Qin & F. Wu (2009) suggest that the short comparative form [X-A-過;CM] in NNY and Baise Yue may have been copied from the southern Zhuang dialects in Guangxi.

Kwok’s serial papers and workshop handouts provided detailed discussion of contact in the Guangxi Region. The author examines the functional change undergone by three particular morphemes—the ‘ACQUIRE’ verb (Kwok et al. 2011), the ‘TAKE’ verb (Y. Huang & Kwok 2013) and the ‘GO’ verb (Kwok 2012a, 2014)—in the Chinese dialects and Tai-Kadai languages, and also investigates the contact-induced change in the [V-C-O] → [V-O-C] word order of the complement in Nanning Yue (Kwok 2010). Moreover, he compares the expressives (ideophonic suffixes) in NNY and Cantonese, concluding that certain expressives in NNY may have developed through contact with Zhuang (Kwok 2012b) when the Zhuang shifters transferred the Zhuang exponents to their L₂, NNY. In a recent conference paper, Kwok & P. Lee (2013) offer an account of the grammaticalization of postverbal Cantonese saai³ based on a comparison with NNY. The authors argue that
Cantonese \textit{saai}^3 differs from NNY \textit{saai}^3 in its aspectual function. The functional extension in NNY is motivated by language contact between Zhuang and NNY.

X. Li’s (2012) monograph discusses the contact between Zhuang and Pinghua. He introduces some basic theories of contact linguistics (borrowing, interference, substratum influence, language area, \textit{etc.}) and underlines the difference between the genetic and language contact explanations for language change. Then, he examines a variety of contact mechanisms that give rise to the hybridized Zhuang-Pinghua language and provides a number of phonological, grammatical and lexical examples. While Li’s work tries to relate the contact scenario in Guangxi to the background of the Southeast Asian linguistic area, it fails to connect most Guangxi-featured linguistic properties with those of the Southeast Asian languages. This work does not clarify how contact theory can be put into practice to analyze linguistic phenomena.

Finally, D. Qin’s (2012) dissertation extends the ideas presented by M. Liang & J. Zhang (1999), Hong (2004) and Y. Huang & Kwok (2013), and offers a full account of the various Chinese dialects in addition to NNY, Pinghua and Southwest Mandarin. Qin argues that a wide range of Chinese dialects in Guangxi demonstrate a postposed ‘GIVE’ phrase as well as a polyfunctional ‘TAKE’ and ‘GO’; the existence of these exclusive areal features suggests that the Zhuang language plays a significant role in a number of scenarios; Qin concludes that the numerous linguistic convergences in this area are sufficient to permit the definition of the Central Southern Guangxi Region as a linguistic area.

As X. Huang (2005) states, despite the possibility of genetic relationships, the isomorphic features in most languages in China can be accounted for by areal influence: numerous languages, both genetically affiliated and non-affiliated, are prone to exhibit linguistic convergence in a specific geographic area. The mechanism that leads to this convergence is language contact. There are three well-known areas in China (i.e. Kansu Corridor 河西走廊, Western Sichuan Corridor 川西走廊 and Southwest China 西南雲、桂、黔) where the Chinese dialects have been fully exposed to the neighboring Altaic, Tibetc and Tai-Kadai languages.

In the past decades, a large amount of literature has sought to tackle the topic of language contact in China, but most studies to date have focused on the borrowing
of phonological forms and loanwords rather than the replication of grammatical structures and patterns. Despite theoretical advancements in the study of contact-induced grammaticalization in recent years, the discussion has remained too general to account for a particular contact scenario from various angles. Previous studies on language contact in China have failed to answer these questions:

i. How can we tell whether language contact has occurred? What are the linguistic and socio-historical parameters?
ii. Why and how does a particular innovation appear in some languages but not in others, even when the languages in question are geographically adjacent?
iii. By what mechanisms have the languages in contact shared their syntactic, semantic and pragmatic patterns?

In addition to these research questions, previous studies on contact-induced grammatical change amongst the languages of China have failed to address certain far-reaching methodological issues, discussed in the next section.

1.3 Some Methodological Issues

This thesis adopts both an internal and external perspective to account for the linguistic issues at hand. In the next sections, I will outline the principal theories and approaches used in this study.

1.3.1 Synchronic Variation: describing the polyfunctionality

The link between linguistic signal and signification is arbitrary (Saussure 1959: 67). In most cases, a single concept associates with a single chunk of phonetic material to produce a word. However, there are certain occasions in which a single lexeme holds a relationship to multiple meanings. This form-meaning asymmetry gives rise to polysemous words that are listed under the same lexical entry with distinct meanings (Lyons 1995: 58).

In recent years, a neutral term polyfunctionality (or multifunctionality) has been applied to describe the polysemous properties of grammatical exponents. Unlike the term “polysemy” itself, which simply implies the presence of multiple meanings, polyfunctionality subsumes polysemy as a special case and concentrates not only on different meanings, but also on different contexts (Haspelmath 1997: 59). This approach encourages the comparison of general grammatical concepts in one language with those in other languages.
Enfield (2003: 28) assumes that the extension from one function to another cannot be completed overnight. Nor can it occur without an intervening “bridging” stage. Using the “bridging contexts” model, Enfield evaluates the role of context and pragmatics in semantic change:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STAGE 1</th>
<th>STAGE 2</th>
<th>STAGE 3</th>
<th>STAGE 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f has a meaning p</td>
<td>f has a meaning p, and a common implicature q</td>
<td>f has two meanings; p and q</td>
<td>f has a meaning q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>‘p’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIG 1.1 Stages in semantic change: the asymmetrical form-meaning development by Enfield (2003)**

From stage 1 to stage 4, the meaning of the morpheme $f$ extends from ‘p’ to ‘q’ through an overlapping stage in which both the ‘p’ & ‘q’ interpretations are permitted. Pragmatic implicature is a crucial aspect of semantic shift, since it motivates the change from a marginal function to a new, derived function. This new function may eventually become completely separate from the original source function, so the speaker on longer interprets the two functions as connected (ibid. 30). Enfield (2003) paints a magnificent picture of the polyfunctional ‘ACQUIRE’ morphemes in the Southeast Asian languages. To consider the Lao /daj⁴/:

1. khaw³ ca⁰ daj⁴ nguα² sóŋ⁴ too³ (Main verb)
   3sg irr come.to.have cow two CL
   ‘S/he will get (i.e. receive) two cows.’ (Enfield 2003: 75)

2. ton⁴-maj⁴ suung³ mɛ⁰-ñιng⁵ khʊ̌⁵ bʊ⁰ daj⁴ (Aspectual/modal verb marker)
   plant.prfx-wood tall f.prfx-woman ascend neg can
   haw² khʊ̌⁵ daj⁴
   1sg ascend can
   ‘Tall trees, women can’t climb, (but) we can climb (them).’ (Enfield 2003: 76)

3. maa² jaam³ mɛ̆e¹ daj⁴ pamaan² diuα₃ nʊŋ⁴ (Descriptive complementation)
   come visit mother t.comp approximately month one
   ‘(I) had been to visit (my) mother for about a month.’ (Enfield 2003: 76)

4. haw² bʊ⁰ daj⁴ kin³ khaw³ dĕj² (Aspect-modality marker)
   1sg NEG rslt.prkr.evnt eat rice PP
   ‘I didn’t (get to) eat, you know.’ (Enfield 2003:76)
As revealed in (1) to (4), /daj⁴/ exhibits a range of functions according to the distinct contexts and syntactic positions in which it is used. In the same vein, most languages in the present study apply one or two forms to encode a large number of functions. In describing the synchronic connections among the various meanings of the ‘FINISH’ morpheme, I follow the notion of polyfunctionality discussed above to analyze the versatile functions of each ‘FINISH’ morpheme in my data, examining how one function extends to another.

1.3.2 Quantification: quantized objects, states and events

In describing the polyfunctionality of the ‘FINISH’ morphemes in this thesis, I am concerned with two functional domains—the quantificational domain and the aspectual domain. In these two domains, the polyfunctional ‘FINISH’ morpheme quantifies over the nominal/verbal elements or denotes the completeness of the event, respectively. Since the aspectual function of the ‘FINISH’ morpheme has been previously discussed by numerous linguists, I focus here on the quantificational function of the ‘FINISH’ morpheme and show that some ‘FINISH’ morphemes should be understood as quantificational indicators whether they associate with nouns, adjectives or verbs.

Bach (1986) and Krifka (1992) point out that certain parallels exist between nominal and verbal components in the semantic structure. “Mass nouns and activity verbs have much in common with respect to their properties of cumulativity and divisibility, while count expressions and accomplishment expressions have much in common with respect to their quantized reference properties” (cf. Gerner 2007: 27-28). Gerner (2007, 2013) broadens this argumentation and claims that objects, events and states can all share an equal ability to be quantified: quantized objects are exactly those objects that are presented with whole and complete shape-structure boundaries; quantized events relate to the question of whether there is anything in the event that can be gradually processed; quantized states work with the notion of comparison class/degree.

A particular focus of Gerner’s work is the peculiar Yi morpheme /sa⁵⁵/. Gerner introduces the notion of an exhaustion particle to describe the versatile properties of this morpheme, which can quantify over nominal, verbal and adjectival items: according to Gerner, exhaustion particles are cross-linguistic modifiers acting
on nouns phrases (non-distributive universal quantifier), on dynamic verb phrases (as a completive particle), and on gradable states (as a superlative particle). A particularly interesting feature of exhaustion particles is the similarity with which they treat object-types, event-types and state-types (Gerner 2007: 28).

In the description of my data, I follow Gerner’s (2007, 2013: 283-295) methodology, labelling the ‘FINISH’ morpheme in exhaustion particle, and highlighting the multiple quantificational readings that can be assigned to each interpretation of the exhaustion particle ‘FINISH’:

**In the static context, where the predicate is a mental verb, physical verb, ‘HAVE/CONTAIN’ verb, copula, gradable adjective, etc.:**

i. A verb-bound/clause-final exhaustion particle ‘FINISH’ quantifies over the plural/measurable clause-initial noun phrase, acting as a universal quantifier.

ii. A clause-final ‘FINISH’ can assess the implicit comparison of states. As a superlative, it denotes the maximal degree of the adjectival dimension.
   a. The superlative ‘FINISH’ always expresses binary readings when associated with distinct items: universal quantification of the clause-initial NP (associated with noun phrases); the ‘most’ reading (associated with gradable states of the adjective).

**In the dynamic context, where the predicate is a dynamic/active verb:**

iii. A verb-bound/clause-final exhaustion particle ‘FINISH’, as a completive, creates two or three quantification meanings: universal quantification of the clause-final NP (object); universal quantification of events.
   a. The completive ‘FINISH’ can express a combination of these two meanings, depending on the affectedness of the argument processed by the event.

Numerous linguists in China (Cao 1995: 16, Q. Chen 2008: 96) treat the completive as a marker indicating that the verb event is a “completed unit,” inasmuch as the referenced event/situation is completed and no longer in a state of flux. However, in this study, I establish a binary interpretation of the completive ‘FINISH’. I propose that, when interpreting the semantics of an event as a whole, it is important to treat that event as a semantically holistic construction, comprising both the verbal scale and the affected holistic theme⁴ (cf. Tenny 1987, Taoka 2000). This proposal follows

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⁴Taoka (2000: 116) introduces the notions of “verbal scale” and “holistic theme” as tools for paraphrasing the semantic property of a holistic structure. He asserts that verbal scale is a measurable scale of the property that constitutes the lexical meaning of the verb, and the holistic theme is the argument of the verb which possesses that relevant measurable property. For example, the measurable property in *The fruit ripened* is ‘ripeness’ and the holistic theme is “fruit”. In *John ate the lasagna*, the incremental eating of the lasagna is a verbal scale and the holistic theme is “lasagna”.

21
from the observation that performing an action on each member of a set of objects or each component element of a mass of substance is equivalent to completing an action on a presupposed set of the objects or a presupposed quantity of the substance (Lei & T. Lee 2013).

The completive ‘FINISH’ morpheme can apply to two types of items, which occur in two distinct semantic domains in which the notion of completion is relevant (cf. F. Wu 1998: 456). When the semantic focus of a sentence is on the termination of the verbal action, the exhaustion particle ‘FINISH’ works as a prototypical completive, marking the completed event; when the semantic focus of the sentence is on the affectedness of the argument, it works as a universal quantifier, quantifying over the partitive segments of a holistic entity. The quantificational (measurable) property of completion is semantically compatible with both verbal actions and relevant arguments, and is therefore polysemous.

Completive -完/wan55/ ‘finish’ in Mandarin possesses a similar range of functions (cf. R. Zhan 1989, Z. Zhong 1995, S. Li 2010). S. Li (2010) divides completive 完/wan55/ into “wan₁” (完₁), “wan₂” (完₂) and “wan₃” (完₃), in line with its three distinct semantic interpretations. He argues that 完₂ and 完₃ encode the universal quantification of the affected arguments in a sentence. Based on this analysis, it is not odd for a completive to feature as a universal quantifier once it has been semantically packed with the notion of quantification.

Just like the completive, the superlative reading of the exhaustion particle ‘FINISH’ can apply to two different types of elements—adjectives (as an indicator of maximal degree) and measurable/divisible entities (as a universal quantifier). Which of these interpretations arises depends on whether this morpheme is semantically associated with the gradable adjective or the affected argument in a given sentence.

5 S. Li (2010) suggests a creative way in which to construe the syntactic and semantic orientation of the completive 完/wan55/ ‘finish’ in Mandarin. He classifies the three 完(完₁,完₂,完₃) by means of the theta-roles of the arguments they are correlated with. The 完₁ completive is normally inserted into the compound verb unit, with a nonreferential and non-individual object, to denote the terminus of the verb action. Hence, it does not have any salient quantificational function. The 完₂ completive is embedded in the VP structure with a referential and divisible object. In this case, it is polysemous, marking the completeness of the verb actions as well as the universal quantification of the totally affected object. The 完₃ completive combines with intransitive verbs, simultaneously marking the completed verb action and the holistic quantity of the affected subject (“patient” in its theta-role).
The binary readings of the completive- and superlative-like exhaustion particle ‘FINISH’ reflect a bridging mechanism: when there is a secondary interpretation that offers a more plausible interpretation/synchronic implicature, the context triggers an inferential mechanism in which this secondary meaning, rather than the source meaning, is preferred (Heine 2002: 84, Enfield 2003: 30). This notion of contextual “bridging” gives us a window into the functional transition undertaken by the exhaustion particle ‘FINISH’ during its process of grammaticalization. I will discuss this issue in more detail in § 4.2.

1.3.3 Grammaticalization

Grammaticalization theory is concerned with the internal, diachronic aspect of language change. It seeks answers to such questions as: how do lexical items and constructions in certain linguistic contexts come to serve particular grammatical functions? How do grammatical items develop new grammatical functions? (Hopper & Traugott 2003: 1) Grammaticalization itself, as a process of creativity or problem solving, is motivated by extralinguistic factors, and above all by cognition. Linguists usually distinguish between fundamental source concepts (e.g. items like “person”, “thing”, “do”, etc.) and derived target concepts (e.g. affixes, case markers, tense-aspect-mood markers, etc.) when analyzing the input and output of grammaticalization (cf. Heine et al. 1991: 27-45, Heine & Kuteva 2002). Principles of grammaticalization widely accepted in the literature include: semantic bleaching (Heine et al. 1991: 40-41, Hopper & Traugott 2003: 94-98), decategorization (Hopper 1991: 17, Lehmann 2002: 118-119), layering (Hopper 1991: 17-36), phonological reduction (Bybee et al. 1994: 19-21, Lehmann 2002: 113), and subjectification (Traugott 1982).

The degree of grammaticalization can be tested using both formal and semantic criteria. According to Bybee et al. (1994: 37-42), most derived grammatical morphemes tend to pertain to the verb itself rather than to the proposition expressed by the entire sentence; grammaticalization exists along a continuous scale from syntactic or periphrastic expressions, which contain a lower degree of fusion, to more dependent, synthetic/fusional structures; the more grammaticalized a morpheme is, the more likely it is to occur with all the verbs in a given language, or with all the members of a large semantic class of verbs. I hypothesize in this study that, if a
morpheme exhibits a use $A$ that is typically observed to be a precursor to the
development of a more grammaticalized use $B$, the formal and semantic
characteristics of use $A$ should reflect the following:

i. less reduced in its form,
ii. less fused to other units,
iii. more restricted to the particular semantic class of verbs,
iv. less general in its lexical meaning,
v. found in the written materials of earlier periods of the language.

In contrast, the more grammaticalized stage (use $B$) should exhibit the opposite side
of these five criteria (more reduced in the form, more fused to other units, etc.). The
internal changes undergone by the ‘FINISH’ morphemes in the languages of
Guangxi generally align with these principles formally and semantically. I apply
grammaticalization theory to account for the functional development of the ‘FINISH’
morphemes in the Zhuang dialect, which reveals a complete pathway of development
from the verbal use to more derived functions.

1.3.4 Contact-Induced Grammaticalization: an alternative model

In addition to investigating the diachronic evolution of the ‘FINISH’ morphemes,
this thesis will present a system-internal description of the synchronic variation in
both the Zhuang and Yue groups. Without the addition of a system-external
explanation like language contact, however, it would not be possible to fully account
for the functional extension of the NNY ‘FINISH’ 晒/lai$^{33}$/ . Harris & Campbell
(1995) demonstrate that there are commonalities in grammatical changes across
languages, and most changes have multiple causations, including aspects of
reanalysis, extension, and borrowing. This research methodology encourages me to
adopt an integrative model to explain 晒/lai$^{33}$/ ’s functional shift.

An alternative contact-induced grammaticalization model (henceforth CIG) is
pioneered by Heine & Kuteva (2003, 2005) and further advocated for in Matras
(2009: 6), F. Wu (2009a), Phua (2009), Kwok (2009), Matthews & Yip (2009), Gast
& van der Auwera (2012), inter alia. Heine & Kuteva distinguish between two kinds
of grammaticalization—language-internal and contact-induced—and define the latter
as a grammaticalization process that results from the influence of one language on
another. They stress that grammaticalization and contact-induced language change
are in no way mutually exclusive, but jointly conspire in triggering grammatical change.

Among the linguistic materials that can be borrowed from one language to another, it is claimed that grammatical structures, and even grammatical patterns, can be transferred/replicated during intensive contact (cf. Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 37-45, Thomason 2001: 11, Heine & Kuteva 2005: 40-41). Additionally, in many cases a grammaticalization process may be transferred from the model language to the replica language along with the associated grammatical concept/pattern. To better understand this approach, let us look at the next model:

FIG 1.2 Major types of contact-induced linguistic transfer by Heine & Kuteva (2010: 87)

The CIG is noteworthy for its ability to account for a majority of the linguistic changes in my study. This analysis opens a new path for investigating the why and the how of linguistic change through the prism of grammaticalization in its broad sense. Heine & Kuteva are careful in the way they reproduce linguistic examples and refer to the affiliation of languages they quote, and do not commit themselves to dubious linguistic groupings (Aikhenvald 2008). The nuclear methodology employed consistently alongside the CIG is based on the authors’ enlightening research perspective on contact phenomena:

Language contact and grammaticalization can go together…grammaticalization processes tend to cluster not only genetically but also areally…still, the question of whether indeed, or how, the two are interrelated has never been addressed in any detail. As we hope…the relationship between the two can be described in a principled way (Heine & Kuteva 2005: 14).
Meanwhile, while the borrowing of linguistic property $x$ between model and replica languages has been discussed for a long time by many contact linguists (e.g. Weinreich 1963: 56-61, Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 37, Thomason 2001, Winford 2005, Campbell 2013: 56-68), Heine & Kuteva do not rigidly accept the traditional definition in every aspect of their study. Instead, they allow fresh air into the canonical definition. On one hand, both vertical (genealogical and historical) and horizontal (cross-linguistic) evaluations are incorporated into the assessment of possible contact occurrences:

Given a property $x$ does not appear to be common crosslinguistically, and it is therefore statistically unlikely that these three neighboring languages should have undergone such a rare process independent of one another. Second, common genetic inheritance can be ruled out as a contributing factor. $x$ cannot be traced back to earlier stages of $x$. Last, the languages concerned can be shown to share a history of contact (cf. Heine & Kuteva 2005: 186).

The authors observe that grammatical patterns and meanings, but not the substance of individual forms, tend to get transferred from one language to another. This type of transfer essentially accords with the general principles and mechanisms of grammaticalization:

Most of what happens in grammatical replication across languages, especially in its initial stages, relates to grammatical patterns. Properties of use patterns are associated with some specific grammatical meaning. They are recurrent piece of linguistic discourse. Such piece may consist of a clause, a phrase, or even a single form used in some specific context. Their use is optional, that is, they may but need not be employed for the expression of that grammatical meaning. They are the primary units figuring in the initial stage of grammatical replication (Heine & Kuteva 2005: 41).

The most significant insight the authors contribute to contact linguistics research pertains to the harmonic integrity of language contact and grammaticalization theory. Heine & Kuteva (2003: 533, 2005: 81-100) and Kuteva & Heine (2008) enrich grammaticalization theory so that it pertains not only to internal cases, but to external cases resulting from language contact. Generally, both grammatical concepts/structures and the more common grammaticalization processes are transferred from the model (M) to the replica language (R) through the following mechanisms:6

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6 Matthews & Yip (2009) further revise this contact-induced model, integrating evidence from bilingual acquisition into the initial stage of contact, while Johanson (2013) rejects the notion that grammaticalization processes themselves are copies, arguing instead that it is the output of
**Ordinary contact-induced grammaticalization**

- Speakers notice that in language M there is a grammatical category Mx.
- They create an equivalent category Rx in language R on the basis of the use patterns available in R.
- To this end, they draw on universal strategies of grammaticalization, using construction Ry in order to develop Rx.
- They grammaticalize Ry to Rx.

Typically, it is not solely a grammatical concept but an entire grammaticalization process that is transferred from the model (M) to the replica language (R). It is fairly easy to discover cases of replica grammaticalization when the model language has developed a grammatical category by using a conceptual source that is rarely encountered cross-linguistically and where exactly the same source is used by speakers of the replica language (Heine & Kuteva 2005: 93). Now consider the second model:

**Replica grammaticalization**

- Speakers with knowledge of at least two languages, M and R, notice that in language M there is grammatical category Mx.
- They develop an equivalent category Rx, using material available in language (R).
- To this end, they replicate a grammaticalization process they assume to have taken place in language M, using an analogical formula of this kind \([\text{My} > \text{Mx]}: [\text{Ry} > \text{Rx}]\).
- They grammaticalize category Ry to Rx.

The present work will adopt this integrative model of contact-induced transfer in order to present a broader and in-depth understanding of the grammatical change of the ‘FINISH’ morpheme from a quantifier-prominent indicator to an aspectivizer-prominent indicator, and witness how a number of international linguistic theories can be used to explain linguistic phenomena in China.

### 1.3.5 Linguistic Area: setting the scene

Initiated by Boas (1920: 211) and Trubetzkoy (1928), the concept of linguistic area/Sprachbund has been very effective at identifying instances of shared features that do not fit genetic classifications. Language similarities can be the product of inheritance from a common historical source or accidental parallel development. Alternatively, in most cases, the similarities arise due to diffusion of structural features across grammaticalization that is copied. Here, I follow Matthews & Yip (2009), who present the more complete and appealing model.
linguistic boundaries, eventually producing a convergent spectrum of languages (Campbell 1985: 25). Canonical definitions of linguistic area (LA) have been proposed to describe what such an area should look like, and how to identify an LA:

A linguistic area is a geographical region containing a group of three or more languages that share some structural features as a result of contact rather than as a result of accident or inheritance from a common ancestor (Thomason 2001: 99).

A linguistic area is a geographic area in which, due to language contact and borrowing, languages of a region come to share certain structural features…Central to a linguistic area are…structural similarities shared among languages of a geographical area (where usually some of the languages are unrelated or at least not all close relatives). It is assumed at the reason the languages of the area share these traits are because they have borrowed from one another (Campbell 2006: 7).

…we will assume that there is a sprachbund whenever the following situation obtains: (a) There are a number of languages spoken in one and the same general area; (b) The languages share a set of linguistic features whose presence cannot be explained with reference to genetic relationship, drift, universal constraints on language structure and language development, or chance; (c) This set of features is not found in languages outside the area; (d) On account of “b”, the presence of these features must be the result of language contact (Heine & Kuteva 2005: 174).

A linguistic area (or sprachbund) is generally taken to be a geographically delimited region including languages from at least two language families, or different subgroups of the same family, sharing traits, or combinations thereof, most of which are not found in languages from these families or subgroups spoken outside the area (Aikhenvald & Dixon 2006: 11).

Despite a certain amount of controversy among linguists working on this subject, traits of some emergent linguistic areas (LAs) must be explicitly understood through both linguistic and socio-cultural perspectives. This is not to say that each LA should fully match all the criteria proposed by contact linguists; the criteria are more like guidelines than obligatory rules used to evaluate a typical LA. Here, I present a general survey of the LAs discussed most frequently in the literature:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>LA</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>Ethiopia LA</td>
<td>(Tosco 2000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Macro-Africa LA</td>
<td>(Heine &amp; Nurse 2000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>Sepik River Basin</td>
<td>(Foley 2000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>East Arnhem Land</td>
<td>(Heath 1978)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Daly River of Australia</td>
<td>(Dixon 2002: 674)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7 A great portion of these data are quoted from Heine & Kuteva (2005: 173). I have supplemented their work with data relevant to LAs in Asia and Africa. For a thorough introduction to the areal features of each linguistic area, interested readers are highly recommended to refer to the source items indicated in FIG 1.3.
As commonly understood, a LA is not a geographic area where many languages are separately spoken with no bidirectional contact (Thomason 2001: 99). Certain key elements are typically used as diagnostics for an LA: neighboring geographic area, languages of unrelated families, shared structural features, structural diffusion/borrowing (cf. Campbell 2006 for a review of relevant work). While definitions of particular LAs are somewhat controversial and unsatisfactory, a set of parameters are frequently applied to identify a typical LA. I synthesize these items in the next subsection:

- **Quantitative parameter**
  The minimal number of languages and shared traits required to establish a legitimate LA is a matter of moderate controversy. Some linguists (e.g. Thomason 2001: 99, Aikhenvald 2003: 7) assert that, in typical cases, three or more languages are required to constitute an LA; others claim that as few as two languages can constitute an LA if there is no significant difference between borrowing and areal linguistics (Campbell 2006: 7-10). When it comes to the number of shared traits that must be present, there is likewise disagreement. Weinreich (1963: 378), Masica (1976: 172) and Campbell (1985: 29) contend that one shared feature is sufficient to diagnose a LA, while Aikhenvald & Dixon (2001) and Thomason (2001: 101) insist that a large number of shared traits are necessary to diagnose a typical LA. In

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8 Efforts to definite linguistic areas have been disputed by Thomason & Kaufman (1988: 95), Stolz (2002) and Campbell (2006). Thomason & Kaufman (ibid. 95) and Stolz note that “Sprachbund are notoriously messy” referring to the fuzzy geographic boundaries as well as the diverse meanings and readings offered in relation to this notion. Thus, current work on the definition of LA is too deficient to be satisfactory.
addition, two or more languages families, albeit not a must, are usually involved in trait diffusion within an LA (cf. Stolz 2002).

To sum up, meeting the quantitative parameter concerning the minimal number of shared traits and languages is a prerequisite for establishing an LA. Although there is considerable disagreement, some points of concord stand out. In particular, the quantitative parameter explicitly identifies an LA as “weak” or “strong” by evaluating the numbers of shared features.

**Criterion 1:**
Quantity of languages involved: No less than two; usually three or more.
Quantity of shared traits: Mostly more than one; the more the better.
Quantity of language families involved: Situations involving two or more families are typical; those involving one family are rare.

- **Weight Parameter**
  For linguistic areas, the weight or ranking of the shared traits reflects the extent to which each language exemplifies the areal type (Campbell *et al.* 1986, van der Auwera 1998, Campbell 2006). A linguistic feature with a high weight is more likely to be borrowed or diffused in the course of language contact. The weighing parameter is correlated with borrowability or likelihood of diffusion (Aikhenvald & Dixon 2001).

**Criterion 2:**
Features with high weight are more readily borrowed/diffused.

- **Exclusive parameter**
The common features shared by the members of a linguistic area should be exclusive; they should ideally occur only in the area in question. The specific combination of a whole array of such traits might turn out to be unique in the world of language (Stolz 2002). This parameter is considered controversial by some scholars (Thomason 2001: 103).

**Criterion 3:**
Shared features are mostly delimited in a given area. They are typologically uncommon and more marked.

- **Time-spread parameter**
LAs can be relatively young or relatively old. Aikhenvald & Dixon (2001: 10) raise the question of substantially long-lasting LAs. They assert that, during a period of equilibrium, which may prevail for thousands or even tens of thousands of years, languages in a given area converge towards a common proto type. However, an LA can be formed in as little as a couple of hundred years, as shown by Haspelmath (1998a) in relation to the Young Standard Average European LA which dates back several centuries.

**Criterion 4:**
LAs arise as the result of long-lasting linguistic contact. No specific time depth or duration is necessary to diagnose an LA. Nonetheless, most LAs develop through thousands of years of contact; even young LAs must experience intensive contact over a number of centuries.

- **Geographic parameter**
  Most definitions of LAs reference the geographic area in which the languages in question come to share certain similarities. The geographic parameter helps us to distinguish the linguistic properties of one particular area from those of other areas outside the relevant territory. While issues of the establishment of these geographic bundles are still in dispute (Emeneau 1956, Campbell 1985, Stolz 2002, Chambers & Trudgill 2004: 169), it is significant that bundles of areal features are on a par with the boundaries of linguistic areas. A clustering of areal features tends to consist of an accumulation of individual cases of “localized diffusion” (Matisoff 2001). In this regard, it has been suggested that macro areas should be understood to be composed of several autonomous, regionally defined smaller micro areas (cf. Hamp 1977: 281-282).

**Criterion 5:**
Even though the delimitation of geographic boundaries is important when defining a putative LA, the geographical region should line up with the “similar areal features” that determine whether an LA is macro level or micro level within its geographic domain.

- **Socio-historical parameter**
  Emigration streams, which arise due to the movement of a speech community from its original territory to a new location, occasionally intersect a continuous and contiguous LA (Stolz 2002). When this migration happens, the decomposed group
should still be thought as a member of the LA; the geographic territory of the LA, however, should not be regarded as having expanded to encompass the migration group’s new settlement area.9

Criteria 6:
Divergent speech communities should be included in the matrix LA as far as they maintain their shared features. Geographic constraints, albeit widely accepted, are less important to the definition of an LA under this circumstance.

The principal goal of the discussion in Chapter 5 is to make a precise survey of the shared features of the languages in the Central Southern Guangxi Region. These shared features have been discussed by numerous forerunners; my interest is not to provide a complete recapitulation of their findings on individual contact cases. Rather, I aim to determine the linguistic status of the Guangxi Region within the Mainland-Southeast-Asia linguistic area (Enfield 2003) after comparing a wide range of its localized features with those of its neighboring languages. Methodologically, I set aside all subjective definitions in this chapter in order to set the stage for an open discussion in the epilogue to Chapter 6.

1.4 Data and Sampling Procedure
The choice of an appropriate sample depends on the types of hypotheses that one sets out to test. In gathering data for this study, I employed two methods: fieldwork documentation with the help of questionnaires, and information gathering from published reference materials (cf. Bybee et al. 1994: 27-33).

The majority of the data are taken from my fieldwork in the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region between late 2010 and the middle of 2013. I chose four cities (Nanning 南寧市, Fusui 扶绥縣, Wuming 武鳴縣, Longzhou 龍州縣) to systematically conduct the language documentation. Since most of my informants are living in Nanning at present, I have been able to finish this enormous documentary effort at Guangxi University in Nanning City. The first-hand data are gathered from

9 Stolz (2002) brings up the emigration of the Gypsy groups to question the restrictive principles of LA. He asserted that if the emigration groups were deemed to retain membership in the LA, the adjacent-territory requirement would be futile in the case of the Gypsies. In my view, geographic boundaries help us to better understand an LA, and determine how diffusion plays out. The long-distance expansions of individual groups as a result of trade, war or migration should be taken as special cases when observing the characteristic of an LA. Geography guides us to examine LAs (cf. Bisang 2006), but the shared features themselves ultimately have more to say.
the following categories: (a) data from the Chinese group, including Nanning Yue, Longzhou Yue and Fusui Mandarin; (b) data from the Zhuang group, including Liujiang Zhuang, Mashan Zhuang, Bama Zhuang, Jingxi Zhuang and Longzhou Zhuang. I have chosen to restrict my documentation to these languages because of the functional commonalities exhibited among their ‘FINISH’ morphemes. The grammatical properties of the ‘FINISH’ morpheme in the three Chinese dialects have much in common with those of the ‘FINISH’ morpheme in the Zhuang group. This may largely support my primary hypothesis that functional convergence is triggered by language contact.

Despite the functional overlap between them, each Zhuang dialect provided me with additional perspective on the functional diversity of the ‘FINISH’ morphemes. My motivation for extracting the particular five Zhuang dialects listed above has to do with the functional complementation of the ‘FINISH’ gram in each language; data from these Zhuang dialects together paint a fairly clear, realistic picture of the range of uses of this gram in other Zhuang dialects. Furthermore, the forms of the ‘FINISH’ grams in these five dialects are representative of the range of forms in Zhuang at large. Thus, I propose that the given five dialects can be relied upon to understand the Zhuang story as a whole.

I used questionnaires to collect data from native speakers. Whenever possible during the investigative process, I sought out face-to-face talks with my informants and recorded the data myself. Since my mother language is neither NNY nor the Zhuang language, I turned to an NNY native speaker and two Zhuang native speakers to assist me when I encountered difficulties in expressing questions and recording data. Of course, all the first-hand data in this study have been re-checked by native speaker assistants who understand the IPA system and have solid fieldwork skills.

variants in these two languages, I designed a questionnaire to collect information about all the possible functions of the ‘FINISH’ morphemes in the Yue group. However, the questionnaire I arrived at using this method was still a little unsatisfactory. The major drawback of the questionnaire method was the scarcity of appropriate reference materials. My questionnaire was not able to uncover in advance all the grammatical functions of the morpheme; any use of the ‘FINISH’ morpheme that did not happen to arise in the reference grammars and papers was omitted.

Second, I expanded this questionnaire by examining the grammatical use of the ‘FINISH’ morphemes in the Zhuang group, ultimately producing the final, more concise version of the questionnaire. Third, to test the validity of my document, I conducted a cross-linguistic survey that explored whether the typological comparison between the ‘FINISH’ morpheme’s functions in different languages could explicitly elicit more information than was possible in previous studies. A typological inventory can provide a broader assessment of the functional range of the ‘FINISH’ morpheme. Whenever my investigation retrieved information concerning any additional functional value of the ‘FINISH’ morpheme, I conducted further investigation into the languages of the GXR to ascertain whether this function should be included in my questionnaire.

It is impossible to say for sure that my recorded data were never influenced by the media language (Mandarin) used in my fieldwork. I questioned my informants using two media languages (Standard Mandarin and Southwest Mandarin), since most of the informants understood at least one of these two languages. To partially alleviate the potential influence from the media language, I provided certain references from the related languages, such as:

**Question:** In Cantonese, there is a morpheme 晒/sai\(^{33}\)/ which can be interpreted as ‘ALL’ in the word order [唔做/工唔得休息]. Is it the same in NNY? If no, what is your expression in NNY? What is the meaning of NNY 晒/lai\(^{33}\)/?

By phrasing questions in this way, I attempted to reduce the bias from the media language; I attempted to encourage my informants to avoid thinking about the question in a Mandarin way, instead focusing on the possible similar expressions in their sister languages.
When conducting the fieldwork, I intentionally selected informants from distinct age groups (see Appendix I for the personal profiles of informants). Minimally educated informants (those who have received only primary education/are not educated at all), are marked as the most ideal and successful specimens in the fieldwork investigation. As the data show, due to the gradually functional shift of the ‘FINISH’ morphemes in today’s NNY and Zhuang, some functions are only preserved in the female group above 60 years old. Thus, it was hard to find a large number of ideal informants (female, poorly educated, about 70 years old and still having a clear mind) whose language use would precisely reflect the nature of the ‘FINISH’ morpheme’s grammatical development in a diachronic view. This hardship made it necessary for me to examine the language use among different age groups in a more general way rather than to draw a clear-cut boundary between various ages. I limit my discussion to three age groups (younger than 40, from 40 to 60, older than 60), since this classification can help to clarify the ‘FINISH’ morpheme’s present use in the languages in GXR.

Aside from my first-hand collection of fieldwork data in NNY and Zhuang, most secondary sources are extracted from the relevant literature. I also introduce a large amount of data from other languages to support my hypothesis, such as Wuzhou and Taishan Yue, Pinghua, Hakka, Southern Min, Old & Middle Chinese, Yanghuang, Dai, Thai, Cambodian, Nuosu, Riau and Makalero. While the reference materials may give a schematic outline of the ‘FINISH’ morpheme’s grammatical properties in these languages, they can never substitute for actual scenarios of the native speaker’s understanding and analysis. Thus, I subscribe to the caveat that, although certain functions have not been described by the authors for certain morphemes, this does not necessarily mean that these functions are not available in the relevant languages. A future in-depth study on the versatility of the ‘FINISH’ morphemes is warranted once more cross-linguistic data have been collected.

Finally, it is important to note that some Chinese data (Old & Middle Chinese, Cantonese) were retrieved from the relevant databases of the written and colloquial materials from the particular periods. I provide a detailed discussion of these data in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4.

1.5 Summary
The principal aim of this paper is to investigate the development of the ‘FINISH’ morphemes, which occur in various forms and with a wide range of functions in the Yue and Zhuang groups in the Guangxi Region. Building on many previous discussions, this study will take both internal and external factors into consideration to account for the grammatical change of these morphemes. When analyzing the internally-motivated change, I specifically concentrate on syntactic structures as well as semantic and pragmatic patterns; when identifying the externally-motivated change, the socio-historical impact, the relations between the different speech communities, and the individual speakers’ attitudes are included in my assessment.

However, I make no attempt to treat these two aspects individually or to claim that one factor trumps the other as a predicator of a given contact-induced change. Instead, I postulate that both internal and external factors are critical propellers and accelerators that trigger grammatical change in the languages to be discussed.

As Blake (2004) conjectures: our task is to see a world in a grain of sand. Following this intuition, I use the development of a specific ‘FINISH’ morpheme /laɪ3/ as a vehicle to analyze the broader contact situation among different languages in the Guangxi Region, uncover the mechanism underlying those changes, and propose a universal evolutionary tendency that may be unfold similarly in other world languages. To understand how this mechanism operates, I begin by providing some background on the Guangxi area in Chapter 2.
CHAPTER TWO

Background—Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region

When you enter this landscape, you feel part of a beautiful Chinese painting.

—Hendes Majestæt Dronning Margrethe II

This chapter provides an introduction to the linguistic background of the Guangxi Region (hereafter GXR). First, I will sketch the social and economic factors that give rise to the diversity of languages in Guangxi. After that, I will introduce concise linguistic profiles for each language and provide a comparative survey of their linguistic properties. Finally, I will conclude with a discussion of various interesting and idiosyncratic language phenomena exhibited in this region.

2.1 Geography

Characterized by spectacular landscapes, charming natural scenery and diverse ethnic customs, Guangxi Autonomous Region 廣西壯族自治區 is an impressive area situated in the south of China, facing the Beibu Gulf 北部灣 on the South China Sea and bordering Vietnam to the southwest. Guangxi’s location, in mountainous terrain with an east longitude of 104°26’—112°04’ and a north latitude of 20°54’—26°24’, places it on the frontier of many Southeast Asia countries. Straddling the Tropic of Cancer, Guangxi has a subtropical monsoon climate: rainy, warm and humid. July is the warmest month, during which average temperatures range between 23 and 29°C; the coldest time of year is January, with average temperatures between 6 and 16°C. GXR receives 80% of its rain fall between April and September. The region is shaped like a large basin, with higher ground surrounding a lower center.

Central Guangxi has a distinct palaeogeographical framework of isolated carbonate platforms surrounded by deep-water troughs. The carbonate platform deposits are represented by limestones intercalated with coal (Shao et al. 2003). Spectacular caves and fantastic canals (Elephant Trunk Hill 象鼻山, Flute Cave and Yangshuo town 陽朔) are marked on most tourist maps.
Due to its unique geological context and marvelous scenic spots, Guangxi enjoys the status of an economic hub. Since the Tang Dynasty (618-907 C.E), it has also served as a transport hinge, linking China with its neighbors. By the Late Tang, GXR had developed into a full-fledged economic trading hub shaped by the gradual immigration of diverse populations and the interaction of different languages.

Map 2.1 Geographic location of the Guangxi Region

2.2 Historical Development in Economy and Society

GXR was originally inhabited by a mixture of tribal groups known to the Chinese as the Hundred Yue (Baiyue 百越). The region was first incorporated into China during the Qin Dynasty. Early in the period of the Spring and Autumn and the Warring states 春秋戰國, when the Chu State 楚國 was expanding its sovereignty to the border of the South China Sea, people in the south were in almost constant contact with those from the central plains. The political upheavals and refuges drove many Han people into Guangxi seeking security. This influx of new residents influenced

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10 The copyright of this map belongs to Wikipedia. Source: (http://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/廣西壯族自治區).
not only the demographics of this region, but also its linguistic makeup: the Chinese dialects of the refugees have been mingling with the languages of the original residents of GXR ever since this immigration.

Historically, Guangxi was the home of the Xi’ou 西甌 and Luo Yue 駱越 aborigines. The former group built their dwellings in eastern GXR, while the latter occupied the southeast part of the region (X. Luo 1955: 71). Several groups even extended their residence as far as eastern Yunnan 雲南 and northern Vietnam. However, this equilibrium was broken soon after the turbulent wars in China. During the Late Qin Dynasty 秦朝, a long series of battles between different states in China caused severe poverty and death. The Yue State 越國, the original homeland of the Zhuang people, was destroyed by the powerful Qin State. To stabilize his monarchy, Qin Shihuang 秦始皇 (First Emperor of Qin) allocated more than five hundred thousand military groups to Guangxi to defend it against rival troops. In addition, many refugees from the central Chinese plains were exiled to the Pearl River Delta 珠江三角洲, East River 東海 and Gui River 桂河, three bodies of water that form part of the border of Guangxi (Hong 2004: 104-108). In 214 B.C., Qin Shihuang, an ambitious emperor, established three administrative districts (Nanhai 南海, Guilin 桂林 and Xiangjun 象郡) to complete his governance of southern China.

The successive years of wars saw a series of demographic and cultural upheavals in the Guangxi region. Most Chinese bureaucrats and immigrants assimilated to the Baiyue culture and set up harmonious relations with the local people. Soon, however, as recorded in “Shi Ji 113: The Account of Southern Yuch” 史記•南粵列傳, Chao T’o began once more to threaten the region with his forces. He sent gifts and bribes to the chiefs of Min-yueh, Western Ou, and Lo-lo, persuading them to submit to his authority, until the region under his control extended over ten thousand li from east to west (佗因此以兵威邊, 財物賂遺閩越、西甌、駱, 役屬焉) (Watson 1961: 241). Altogether, the Qin Dynasty period witnessed a millennium of racial assimilation across the affluent Guangxi land.

In addition to the military impact on racial assimilation, economic trade and intermarriage also stimulated the convergence of distinct races. The Guangxi reign has had a rich trade relationship with its neighbors since the Early Song Dynasty 宋
朝初期。For many years, it served as a favorable trading market connecting Yunnan and Hunan with other Southeast Asian countries. A strong agricultural and manufacturing sector endowed this region with a reputation as a center of foreign trade, into which vast numbers of businessmen and vendors rushed to realize their “millionaire dream.” However, due to the lack of promising economic development in Guangzhou, the trade in Guangxi was mostly among the local merchants. Economic immigration did not cause as large an influx of new blood as the war movement had (Hong 2004: 108).

It was not a rare phenomenon for the Han immigrants to marry the local residents and adopt their style of life. In the “Records of Ping’le County” (平樂縣誌), written during the Qing Dynasty, it is recorded that people in Ping’le were named using the traditional Han surnames: Chen 陳, Li 李, Huang 黃, Zhang 張, Pan 潘 etc.; most of these surnames indicate descent from Hunan or Guangzhou. Among the aboriginal Zhuang tribes in Guangxi, the “Matrimony Custom” was an extremely significant rite, during which the tribes petitioned their only goddess to bless their offspring. In some Zhuang tribes, Hua Po 花婆 (Matchmaker Goody) is still regarded as a goddess of marriage. Each February, rituals are undertaken by the local families to celebrate the happiness of Hua Po’s worship (J. Pan 2012). Unlike some indigenous tribes in South Africa or Australia that merely tolerate intertribal marriage, the Zhuang people welcomed marital unions with Han immigrants who were kind and sincere enough to show their love. Many of these immigrants mastered the ability to speak the Zhuang language and achieved fluent bilingualism or trilingualism.

### 2.3 Migration and Ethnicity

Guangxi displays a rich agglomeration of people from different races and ethnic backgrounds. Prior to the Han expansion, the inhabitants of the southern two-thirds of China (with the likely exception of Ch’u) were not Chinese, but probably Tai, Hmong-Mien and Tibeto-Burman (Bayard 1976: 76). Hence, there is evidence to support the existence in ancient times of significant numbers of non-Chinese people in the Chinese sphere of influence. These people would necessarily have had a considerable impact on Chinese culture and language (Ballard 1985). Immigration due to military upheavals, trade, and marital connections increased the complexity of
the society. The following figure depicts the sporadic migration patterns that took place in and around GXR from the Early Qin Dynasty 秦朝初期 to the Late Qing Dynasty 晚清 (J. Yang et al. 1993: 8-21):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Resident</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Resident</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>永和五年</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>156,585</td>
<td>明洪武十四年</td>
<td>1381</td>
<td>210,267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>晉太康三年</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>30,437</td>
<td>明弘治四年</td>
<td>1491</td>
<td>459,640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>南朝宋大明八年</td>
<td>464</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>明萬曆六年</td>
<td>1578</td>
<td>218,712</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>隋大業五年</td>
<td>609</td>
<td>182,130</td>
<td>康熙二十四年</td>
<td>1685</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>唐貞觀十四年</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>208,665</td>
<td>乾隆五十一年</td>
<td>1786</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>唐元和八年</td>
<td>813</td>
<td>15,373</td>
<td>道光十九年</td>
<td>1839</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>宋元豐二年</td>
<td>1079</td>
<td>16,569,874</td>
<td>宣統三年</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>元至元二十七年</td>
<td>1290</td>
<td>447,441</td>
<td>民國21年</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>2,266,913</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIG2.1 Statistics of the periodic migrations into GXR**

As the statistics above indicate, Guangxi has not been a “silent land” since at least the Early Qin Dynasty. Migration in GXR was elastic, with an ebb period soon after 813 C.E. and a peak after 1911 C.E. Migration was particularly widespread during the Qing Dynasty due to a booming handicraft industry and economic trade. During that period, the two most significant waves of migration into GXR were from Hunan and Guangdong. The Hunan immigrants settled in North Guangxi, while the Guangdong immigrants dwelt sparsely in the cities or towns in Southeast Guangxi, due to convenient transportation lines. As the largest group of settlers, the Guangdong immigrants had a vital impact on the social and economic development of Guangxi starting in the Late Ming Dynasty. These people introduced not only their economic and social attitudes but also their language and culture to Guangxi. The saying “無東不成市: businessmen or merchants from Guangdong dispersed themselves to every corner of GXR to run their businesses” is still popular among the Yue speakers of Guangxi to recount the past booming scenario (W. Zhong 1998: 68).

According to Yue-Hashimoto (1991a), C. Liu (1998) and the *Chorography of Guangxi*, the first Chinese group to settle in Guangxi during the Tang Dynasty spoke
the Pinghua dialect. Later, during the Yuan and Ming Dynasties, a western expansion of the speakers of Yue dialect intensified a prolonged contact between the Chinese and Zhuang people in this region. J. Li (2002: 127-133) identifies three phases of the expansion of the Yue dialect in Guangxi:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Timeline</strong></th>
<th><strong>Migration trace</strong></th>
<th><strong>Popularization</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From Song to Yuan and Ming Dynasties</td>
<td>Yue dialect slipped into western Guangxi</td>
<td>sparsely scattered, not popular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qing Dynasty</td>
<td>Yue dialect covered the whole of eastern and southeastern Guangxi</td>
<td>popular in many suburbs and rural cities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late Qing Dynasty and before the establishment of the Republic of China</td>
<td>Expanded to middle and western areas of Guangxi and some small cities in Yunnan</td>
<td>very popular, as a daily-used language in the capital city, Nanning</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*FIG 2.2 Historical expansion of the Yue dialect in GXR by J. Li (2002)*

Every stage of this expansion resulted in increasing language contact. The Chinese dialects in Guangxi were influenced by local indigenous languages, while the minority languages of the region were Sinicized by contact with Chinese. Initially, the Yue dialect was in primary contact with languages from the Tai, Kam and Li branches, but this contact was short-lived, due to the predominant number of Zhuang speakers in the region (J. Li 2002: 134). By a few decades later, most Zhuang speakers had adopted Chinese as their second language in order to ensure a more convenient communication with the Chinese people. This language learning triggered a comprehensive and profound contact between these two languages that lasted almost 650 years. Consequently, the number of Yue speakers in Guangxi, had reached 16.86 million in early 2008 (Deng 2008: 204).

In the Middle Ming Dynasty, Chinese immigrants who spoke Southwest Mandarin migrated to the northern and western parts of Guangxi. They settled densely in counties in Guilin 桂林 and Liuzhou 柳州. Some speakers migrated as far as the southern borderline of GXR (Lan 2005: 85). On account of its far-reaching influence on the languages in China, Southwest Mandarin has been readily accepted as a “literary” language in administrative and educational contexts. Today, approximately one quarter of the minority residents of Guangxi speak Southwest Mandarin competently.

If cultural and ethnological relics can illustrate for us the chronological settlements of the Pinghua, Yue and Southwest Mandarin speakers, they also paint a
picture of the wandering lifestyle of the Min, Hakka and Xiang speakers during the same period. Geographically, Guangxi abuts Hunan province, and some boundary cities (Quanzhou 全州, Ziyuan 資源, Guanyang 灌陽, Xing’an 興安) that, today, are part of Guangxi, were originally under the control of the Chu state. Thus, they preserve the Xiang dialect. In contrast to the Xiang speakers, whose language has been preserved due to geographic isolation, the Hakka speakers actively preserved their language, reluctant to accept imposition from other languages and the loss of their clan identity. As a result, the Hakka language has been carefully preserved in Guangxi, and its use currently ranges across Luchuan 陸川, Bobai 博白, Hepu 合浦, the port of Fangcheng 防城, Qinzhou 欽州 and Lingshan 靈山 (H. Yang et al. 1985: 184-185). About 500 years ago, Min speakers arrived at port cities in Guangxi via the South Hepu River and the West River. Irregular movement for trade divided these immigrants into disparate groups living along the river side in Pingnan 平南 and Guiping 桂平. Today, a great many towns in Beiliu 北流 are still named after “Fujian” 福建, a central area of the Min dialect, to distinguish their cultural identity from that of other groups.

To sum up, the continuous, complex migration patterns in GXR can be classified along two dimensions: historically, in each dynasty, Guangxi accommodated immigrants from the remote Central Plains of China; the Early Song and Qing Dynasties saw the most flourishing migration stream, as a result of sporadic refugee movements and a bustling economic sector. Immigrants to Guangxi before the Late Ming Dynasty were mostly refugees or war survivors from northern China. With the development of business and manufacturing, immigration has been increasing in Guangxi since the Early Qing Dynasty. The Guangdong group accounted for the largest portion of immigrant population during that time, as shown in map 2.2:
2.4 Languages in GXR

“Geographic and social continua usually subdivide a particular language; the resulting subdivisions are generally regarded as dialects of the language, provided that they remain mutually intelligible. In common use, of course, a dialect is a substandard, low-status, often rustic form of language, generally associated with the peasantry, the working class, or other groups lacking in prestige” (Chambers & Trudgill 2004: 3). The wars and territorial divisions that have prevailed throughout Chinese history have helped construct a country that is linguistically heterogeneous, with many distinct languages. Based on their historical development and geographic spread, J. Yuan (1983: 22) classifies the Chinese dialects into seven varieties: (a) Beifang dialect 北方方言; (b) Wu dialect 吳方言; (c) Xiang dialect 湘方言; (d) Gan dialect 贛方言; (e) Hakka dialect 客家方言; (f) Yue dialect 粵方言; (g) Min dialect 闽方言. Each variety exhibits unique historical stages and represents a distinct geographical variant of the Chinese language.

Many language groups which are presently contiguous to China have been in profound contact with the Chinese language for centuries. Norman (1988: 6-7) points out that directly to the north of the Chinese-speaking area, various languages belonging to the Altaic family are found, while the highly complex Tibeto-Burman family of languages lies to the west and southwest of China. The Tai languages, taken in the narrow sense, form a closely knit group of languages and dialects spoken

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11 The copyright of this map belongs to: (http://www.aaamineral.com/minerals1/images/map/route/guangxi.jpg)
in GXR and in Yunnan, as well as in Vietnam, Laos, Thailand and Burma. Due to the many and multifaceted historical interactions among these groups, it is essential to take a dynamic, evolutionary perspective when studying the languages in this geographic area in order to accurately analyze the different language layers and twisted substrates.

2.4.1 Chinese Dialects

According to the “Language Atlas of China” (Wurm et al. 1987), there are approximately six Chinese dialects and twelve minority languages in use in GXR. This complicated language situation is the outcome of mutual influence and convergence amongst a number of related and unrelated languages. M. Liang & J. Zhang (1988) and C. Liu (1998) propose that the indigenous languages of GXR should be historically classified as Tai-Kadai languages rather than Chinese dialects. Cultural assimilation and political integration has accelerated the sinicization of the indigenous languages. Thanks to the retention of an ancient Baiyue substratum, many Southern Chinese dialects are used by the ethnic tribes as a second language in daily communication. Use of Southern Chinese dialects has been popular in this context since the Early Song Dynasty (C. Liu 1998: 12). According to H. Yang et al. (1985), five Chinese dialects exist in GXR. The distribution of these dialects is identified on the next map:
1. Yue Dialect

For centuries before the beginning of the Qin Dynasty, Guangdong was inhabited by the Baiyue aborigines. Later on, this region was maintained as a refugee camp for displaced Han citizens and exotic military captives. In the Late Qin Dynasty and the Middle Three-Kingdom Period, the population in Guangdong doubled or even tripled as a result of a constant influx of refugees. For a brief period during the Tang and Song Dynasties, Guangzhou acted as a crucial administrative center for South China.

Yue dialects are spoken primarily in the southern Chinese provinces of Guangdong and Guangxi, and in the neighboring territories of Hong Kong and Macau. Yue is the most widely known and influential variety of Chinese other than Mandarin (Matthews & Yip 2011: 3); several centuries ago, its scope expanded from mid-Guangdong to Guangxi and then to Southeast Asia and North America. Today, the Yue dialect area reflects the heartland of the ancient Baiyue nationalities. Inside this area, some peripheral Yue dialects show diversities in their phonological and syntactic structures (cf. Kwok et al. forthcoming). Although there is considerable controversy in academic literature over the classification of the Yue dialect (X. Li et al. 1995: 12), one subgrouping, which categorizes Yue into five subgroups according to geographic distribution and linguistic features, is particularly widely accepted (J. Yuan 1983: 177, B. Zhan 2004: 1): (a) Yuehai/Guangfu District 粵海/廣府片 (Guangzhou 廣州, Shunde 順德, Foshan 佛山, Qingyuan 清遠 etc.); (b) Qinglian District 欽廉片 (Qingzhou 欽州, Lianzhou 廉州 etc.); (c) Gaolei District 高雷片 (Gaozhou 高州, Leizhou 雷州); (d) Siyi District 四邑片 (Taishan 臺山, Kaiping 開平, Xinhui 新會 etc.); (e) Guinan District 桂南片 (Wuzhou 梧州, Rongxian 容縣, Bobai 博白 etc.).

Yue-Hashimoto (1991b) is an influential work that subcategorizes the Yue dialect according to linguistic features rather than geographic diversity. The author demarcates the various Yue dialects into seven variants:
The majority of Yue speakers in GXR have traditionally inhabited the southeast part of this region. The history of Nanning Yue dates back to the 7th year of Shunzhi’s reign (顺治七年 in the Qing Dynasty (1650 A.D), when the Guangdong residents suffered a massacre and escaped to GXR for security. In spite of their geographic distance from one another, the Yue dialects in Guangxi and the Pearl River Delta are structurally equivalent. H. Yang et al. (1985: 181-183) demonstrate that GXR Yue exhibits strong similarities not only to Guangfu and Qinglian Yue in the Delta, but also to Yongxun and Goulou Yue. The four branches of the Yue dialect are almost identical in their linguistic structures, but disparities can be found between the Siyi and Guangfu Yue dialects.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification of Yue dialect in Guangxi</th>
<th>Geographic Distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guangfu area 廣府片</td>
<td>Wuzhou 梧州, Cangwu 蒲州, Hexian 賀縣</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yongxun area 邕潯片</td>
<td>Nanning 南寧, Liuzhou 柳州, Yongning 邕寧, Chongzuo 崇左, Ningning 寧明, Hengxian 橫縣, Guiling 桂林, Pingnan 平南</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goulou area 勾漏片</td>
<td>Yulin 玉林, Wuzhou 梧州</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qinlian area 欽廉片</td>
<td>Qinzhou 欽州, Hepu 合浦, Pubei 浦北, Lingshan 靈山, Fangcheng 防城, Beihai 北海</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Lin & F. Qin’s (2008: 5) study, use of the Yue dialect is widespread in Nanning, and hence a large portion of data presented in this paper is taken from the Nanning Yue (NNY). As a typical member of the Yue dialect family, NNY demonstrates the isolating and analytic nature that is characteristic of the Chinese dialects. Let us begin our discussion of NNY with a brief sketch of the dialect’s morphosyntax:
i. Nouns in NNY are suffixed by gender markers (鷄公 ‘rooster’, 羊乸 ‘ewe’) and diminutives (鷄崽 /ki35 ‘little chicken’, 屋佮 /uk5 ‘small house’) to specify the categorial meaning; adjectives can reduplicate (眼斜斜 /en24 ‘cross-eye’) or be followed by expressives (白 ~ ~ /pak2 ‘snow white’) to indicate the additional emotional meaning.

There are three sets of pronouns: definite and indefinite personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and interrogative pronouns. Personal pronouns exhibit differences in person (1st, 2nd, 3rd) and number (single, plural). The 1st person pronoun 我 /i24 can be marked as inclusive (我啲 /i22) or exclusive (我啲 /i22). Demonstrative pronouns indicate not only individuals, but also degrees (啲 /k2 ‘so’), manners (㗎 /k5 ‘in this/that way’), locations (阿啲 /a33 ‘here’, 嚕啲 /lu55 ‘there’), time (而家 /i1 ‘now’, 嚕時 /lu55 ‘that time’) and numbers (阿啲 /a55 ‘these’, 嚕啲 /lu55 ‘those’). Interrogative pronouns include 乜啲 /m5 ‘what’, 倒 /pin ‘which one’, 幾多 /ki5 ‘how many’.

iii. Numeral classifiers show the functions of classification, individualization and relationalization (Bisang 1999), and follow the word order of [NUM-CL-N]. The classification pattern is based on semantic criteria, including animate (一隻牛 /a55 ‘a cow’), human (一隻老師 /a55 ‘a teacher’), shape (一號橋 /a55 ‘a bridge’), dimension (一塊石頭 /a55 ‘a stone’), function (一鋪床 /a55 ‘a bed’ etc. Classifiers function as relative markers (開車 /hoi5 ‘The people who drives’) and possessive markers (我件衫 /i24 ‘My clothes’) when they are used in the relative and possessive constructions.

iv. Verbs in NNY can occur as subjects and objects without any change in form. They may take auxiliaries, negation and aspect/modality marking. When expressing a logically ordered event, strings of verbs in NNY are arranged to serial-verb constructions without any additional marking. The NNY serial-verb device is similar to the one found in Mandarin Chinese, in which a series of VPs can be analyzed as encompassing different coordination and subordination structures (Li & Thompson 1981: 69). Verbs can be divided
into subcategories based on their semantic domains and logical expressions in
time reference.

v. NNY features an array of aspectual-modal markers. Aspect markers are
usually attracted to the right of the main verb. Aspect markers originate from
content verbs. Most grammaticalization stages are still observable in today’s
NNY data. The table below summarizes the most common aspect markers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marker</th>
<th>Source meaning</th>
<th>Aspectual-modal function</th>
<th>Word order</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>晒/lai³³/</td>
<td>finish</td>
<td>perfective/perfect marker</td>
<td>SV 晒 O, SVO 晒</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>得/tuk⁵/</td>
<td>acquire/get</td>
<td>completive, perfective marker</td>
<td>SV 得 O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>開/hoi²⁵/</td>
<td>open</td>
<td>completive</td>
<td>SV 開 O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>去/hy³³/</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>completive, perfective marker</td>
<td>SV 去 O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>緊/ken²⁵/</td>
<td>tight</td>
<td>progressive</td>
<td>SVO 緊</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>住/ʧy²²/</td>
<td>live</td>
<td>progressive</td>
<td>SV 住 O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>想/koŋ²²/</td>
<td>think</td>
<td>inchoative</td>
<td>S 想 O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>過/kɔ³³/</td>
<td>pass</td>
<td>experiential</td>
<td>SV 過 O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>見過/tʰɔi³⁵,kɔ³³/</td>
<td>see</td>
<td>tentative aspect</td>
<td>V 見過</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>下/ha²²/</td>
<td>down</td>
<td>semelfactive</td>
<td>SV 下 O</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the majority of aspectual-modal morphemes occupy a verb-adjacent
slot rather than a sentence-final peripheral slot. Some tense-aspect-mode (TAM) markers only appear in the default sentence-final position (e.g. the
imperative and command marker 去); this pattern is regarded as an outcome
of influence from neighboring languages. In contrast to its Cantonese and
Mandarin counterparts, 咻 and 了, NNY contains an unique aspect marker 晒
that marks perfect aspect on verbal actions. Both 晒 and 哦 act as sentence-
final particles indicating that one event has come to an end and a new event has begun. Nonetheless, 哦 is more grammaticalized than 晒, and may also encode imperative and epistemic modality.

vi. NNY exhibits a typical [SVO] word order. It overwhelmingly requires dependent elements to follow the head element. The next figure presents a summary of the word order patterns in NNY:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>Word Order</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noun modifier &amp; Noun</td>
<td>N_{modifier}-N</td>
<td>豬-皮 ‘Pig skin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun &amp; Genitive</td>
<td>GEN-N</td>
<td>我嘅-老鵽 ‘My mother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstrative, Classifier &amp; Noun</td>
<td>DEM-CL-N</td>
<td>阿-個-果 ‘This fruit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numeral, Classifier &amp; Noun</td>
<td>NUM-CL-N</td>
<td>三-只-雞 ‘Three chickens’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjective modifier &amp; Noun_{head}</td>
<td>N_{head}-MODI</td>
<td>貓-公 ‘Male cat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative clause &amp; Noun</td>
<td>REL-N</td>
<td>喺呑圩買返來隻雞 ‘A chicken bought from WX’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjective &amp; Intensifier</td>
<td>ADJ-INTENS</td>
<td>太遠-多 ‘Too far’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjective &amp; Standard</td>
<td>ADJ-ST</td>
<td>近-過（北京） ‘Closer than Beijing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb &amp; Adposition</td>
<td>PP-V</td>
<td>打外底-睇 ‘See from outside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V-PP</td>
<td>揚兩巴掌-給佢 ‘Slap his face’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb &amp; Manner adverb</td>
<td>MANN-V</td>
<td>唱-講 ‘Talk in this way’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb &amp; Negative</td>
<td>NEG-V</td>
<td>唔-起身 ‘Don’t wake up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspect particle &amp; Verb</td>
<td>V-ASP</td>
<td>切緊-葉 ‘Cutting the vegetables’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb phrase &amp; complement</td>
<td>VO-C</td>
<td>打花瓶-爛 ‘Make a vase broken’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*FIG 2.6 Basic word order of NNY*

While the word order of NNY resembles that of Mandarin, some of its word order patterns are more closely correlated with those of typical SVO languages. For instance, the comparative construction in NNY shows a strong correlation between VO order and adjective-marker-standard order, whereas Mandarin displays the order marker-standard-adjective; NNY shows adjective-intensifier order, whereas Mandarin has the reverse; complements in NNY appear in the order [V-O-C], whereas most Chinese dialects show [V-C-O].
Nanning Yue and Guangzhou Yue (Cantonese) share numerous aspects of their phonological and syntactic structures, but differences can be found in some aspects as well (Kwok 2010). To compare the two Yue dialects:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Property</th>
<th>Nanning Yue</th>
<th>Cantonese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic</td>
<td>1. lateral fricative /ɬ/</td>
<td>1. fricative /s/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. The MC Jingzu rhyme is pronounced as /ŋ/</td>
<td>2. as /i/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. lack the diphongs /ei/, /ou/, /œ/, /a:/ changed into /ɛ/ both in NNY and Cantonese</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexicon</td>
<td>1. demonstrative: lu² (that)</td>
<td>1. demonstrative: kɔ3 (that)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. affluent ideophones after Adj, V and VP:</td>
<td>2. ideophones after Adj or V:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>哭 55 55 (cry ~ ~)</td>
<td>鬥炮炮 (angry)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>細 55 55 (small ~ ~)</td>
<td>疏 lak kw'ak (loose)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>落雨□□ tep22 tep22 (rain: [fall rain] ~ ~)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syntax</td>
<td>1. post-posed degree adverb:</td>
<td>1. pre-posed degree adverb:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>佢怕人識</td>
<td>佢好怕人嘅知道</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘He is afraid all people know him.’</td>
<td>‘He is afraid the people all know him.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. manner particle:</td>
<td>2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>啊 張凳 要抬 擺</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>this CL chair lift MANN</td>
<td>‘We should carry this chair by lifting it.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. perfective marker:</td>
<td>3. perfective marker:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>我買晒白菜</td>
<td>我買咗白菜</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘I’ve bought some cabbages.’</td>
<td>‘I’ve bought some cabbages.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>那隻雞死晒</td>
<td>那隻雞死咗</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘That chicken was dead.’</td>
<td>‘That chicken was dead.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. resultative order (VOC)</td>
<td>4. resultative element (VCO)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>佢打佢老豆只花瓶 撾</td>
<td>佢打咗佢老豆只花瓶喇</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘He has made his father’s vase broken.’</td>
<td>‘He has broken his father’s vase.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These disparities have arisen due to external interference from other contiguous languages (Ou’yang 1995). In particular, over the past hundred years, Nanning Yue has differentiated itself from its ancestral form in both phonetics and grammatical structure. However, NNY is not the only treasure in this “language warehouse.” In the next section, I turn my interest to other Chinese dialects in GXR.

II. Pinghua Dialect

Pinghua dialect 平話, also known as Pingsheng 平聲, Zheyuan Hua 糇園話, Tuguai Hua 土拐話 or Tu Baihua 土白話, is a dialect spoken in the southern and northern Guangxi Region. Geographically, it can be divided into two branches, with the
northern branch spoken from Guilin to Hexian County, and the southern branch extending from Nanning to Baise or Longzhou. These two branches differ from each other significantly (B. Zhan et al. 2003). As has been recorded in many historical documents, Pinghua has enjoyed a much longer history than other Chinese dialects in Guangxi. It was spoken by a large population of Han immigrants during the Tang and Song Dynasties.

H. Yang et al. (1985) initially postulated that the Pinghua dialect emerged as the byproduct of a war which occurred during the Song Dynasty (1051 A.D.), when a small numbers of Diqing troops invaded and settled in Guangxi. According to this hypothesis, Pinghua was named after the “Pingnan military” (the title of the Diqing troops), and was gradually accepted as an important medium for daily communication. However, J. Liang (1997) and Xie (2001) disagree with H. Yang et al’s analysis; these authors present comprehensive fieldwork that identifies the Pinghua dialect as the mother tongue of the local civilians. Regardless of its origins, however, this dialect has been thriving for nearly one thousand years in this region, and is thus highly significant for linguistic research. At first glance, it seems surprising that Pinghua should stand alongside the other seven Chinese dialects as a separate linguistic form (J. Zhang 1982, M. Liang & J. Zhang 1999, L. Li 2007); in fact, some linguists contend that the Pinghua dialect should not be classified as an individual dialect on a par with the other Chinese dialects (Xie 2001, B. Zhan et al. 2003, B. Zhan 2007). This disagreement is rooted in the Pinghua dialect’s geographic ties and structural affiliation with the Yue dialect. Thanks to L. Li’s (2007) investigation, a precise subcategorization system for the Pinghua dialect has finally emerged:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Subdivision</th>
<th>Topolects</th>
<th>Phonetic Property</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Pinghua dialect   | Guibei (Northern) group | Rongjiang district | Liucheng 柳城, Luocheng 羅城, Rongshui 融水, Rong’an 融安, Sanjiang 三江, Yongfu 永福, Linggui 臨桂五通 | two sets of affricates and fricatives: ʦ, ʦh, ʨ, ʨh, ɕ-
|                   |                 | 灬江小片             |                                     | -m, -n, -ŋ and -p, -t, -k                               |
|                   |                 | Lijiang district    | Yangshuo 阳朔, Pingle 平樂, Xing’an 興安, Dao’xian 道縣, Lingyuan 寧遠 | loss of codas, -m merges into -n or -ŋ                 |
|                   |                 | 灬江小片             |                                     |                                                       |
There is a caveat to this discussion, however; we still have only scant knowledge of certain aspects of the Pinghua dialect. For instance, only one phonetic feature that distinguishes Pinghua from its neighboring Chinese dialects has been successfully identified: in Pinghua, the voiced phonemes of Middle Chinese are pronounced as unaspirated in all tones. This characteristic is rare in most dialects in Guangxi; Yue dialect is the major exception. The Pinghua and Yue dialects share a cluster of linguistic features, and several language-specific properties of the Southern Pinghua are similar to those of Yue.

### III. Mandarin

Mandarin (Guanhua dialect) 官話 is spoken by about 70% of China’s Han population. It is found everywhere north of the Yangze River and throughout the southwest of the country, existing in close proximity to minority languages such as Tibetan, Zhuang and Miao (Norman 1988: 190). Its use covers three quarters of the entire area of China, ranging from the far northern province of Harbin to the southwest border regions of Yunnan and Guangxi. J. Yuan (1983: 24) divides the Guanhua dialects into four subgroups:

a. Northern dialect *NM* (Hebei 河北, Henan 河南, Shandong 山東, Dongbei 東北三省, Neimeng 內蒙)

b. Northwestern dialect *NWM* (Shanxi 山西, Shan’xi 陝西, Gansu 甘肅, Ningxia 寧夏 etc.)
c. Southwestern dialect SWM (Hubei 河北, Sichuan 四川, Yunnan 雲南, Guizhou 貴州, North Guangxi 廣西北部, Hunan 湖南)

d. Jianghuai dialect JHM (Anhui 安徽, Jiangsu 江蘇)

By and large, the phonological and grammatical systems of the Guanhua dialects are as described in Hou (2002: 11):

a. Aspiration of ancient voiced stops, which are aspirated with ancient ping sheng.

b. Ping sheng 平聲 is divided into yin and yang. Shang sheng 上声 is divided so that qing 清聲 and ci zhuo 次濁 form one tonal category, whereas shang quanzhuo 全濁上聲 combines with qu 去聲 to form another tonal category.

c. The final consonants -p, -t, -k and -m are lost, whereas the two nasal finals, -n, -ŋ, are retained.

The SWM dialect is widespread in GXR in the geographic variations known as Guilin dialect 桂林話 and Liuzhou dialect 柳州話. It is also ubiquitous among the Yue and Pinghua groups, and is even in use among the Zhuang and other minority clans. This popularization stems from language contact and assimilation during the Ming dynasty, when a large number of Northern Han people entered Guangxi for business and political refuge. The Guilin and Liuzhou dialects preserve the ancestral distinction between the jiān yīn 尖音 “sharp sounds” and the palatals of velar origin, tuán yīn 團音 “rounded sounds”: 街/kæ44/ vs. 遮/ʨe55/, 項/ɕiaŋ35/ vs. 降/xianŋ51/. The coda stops -p, -t, -k were almost lost in the Guilin and Liuzhou dialects, but several exceptions are still reported.

IV. Xiang Dialect

Xiang 湘語 is one of the seven Chinese dialects mainly spoken in Hunan, Guangxi and eastern Sichuan province. Old and New Xiang differ in the extent to which they have retained the voiced stops, affricates and fricatives of Middle Chinese.

Y. Wu (2005) presents a brilliant discussion of the synchronic and diachronic aspects of the Xiang dialect. In general, there are 57 initials and 94 finals in Changsha Xiang 長沙話. Regular sound changes occur as expected in the phonological inventory. The distinction between “sharp” and “round” sounds is
preserved in most Xiang dialects. Prefixes and suffixes are commonly used, such as 晚- (late): 晚舅 (mother’s youngest brother); 溜- (smooth): 溜壯 (very strong); -老倌 (old man): 水老倌 (a badly-behaved man). The perfective aspect markers /ka⁴¹/, /ta²¹/, /li²/ and the anterior aspect markers /ta²¹/, /ko⁴⁵/, /khɤ²¹/ often follow the verb. The direction verb 去 /khɤ⁴⁵/ can follow the aspectual markers to indicate the likelihood of an action (肯定-會-死咖-去 ‘khɔn⁴¹tin²¹-fei²¹-st⁴¹ka⁴¹-khv⁴⁵: be sure-will-die ASP-go ‘Undoubtedly, it will die’).

The Xiang dialect in Northern GXR is dispersed throughout the Quanzhou 全州, Guanyang 灌陽 and Ziyuan 資源 counties, with a speaker population of 1.2 million. Most Xiang speakers emigrated from Hunan Province less than one hundred years ago (H. Yang et al. 1985).

V. Hakka Dialect

The Hakka dialect 客家話 is the language spoken by the Hakka people. These people distinguish themselves from nearby speakers through their preservation of traditions from the central plain, which they have kept alive over the millennium or more since they migrated to the south and settled in the mountainous region between Guangdong, Fujian and Jiangxi provinces (Lau 2000).

The Hakka dialect is spoken in parts of Southwestern Fujian, Eastern and Northern Guangdong, Southern Guangxi, and the extreme southern part of Jiangxi; it is also found in some isolated communities located in Hunan, Sichuan, and Taiwan, and in Chinese communities in Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, the Philippines, Vietnam and North America.

The grammatical profile of Hakka resembles that of most southern dialects. The plurality markers ‘teu¹’ and ‘ten¹’ attach to the personal pronouns only. In some varieties, the first person plural is divided into inclusive and exclusive forms; quantifiers and gender suffixes are very productive and a great many adverbials encliticize to the VP, including 著多件衫 (wear-more-CL-clothes ‘put on more clothes’); the passive marker “pun” and comparative marker “kuo” are identical to those of Cantonese (Lau 2000).
Hakka speakers are found in many cities within GXR, including Luchuan 陸川, Bobai 博白, Pubei 浦北, Fangcheng 防城, Qinzhou 欽州, Lingshan 靈山, Guixian 貴縣, Yulin 玉林, Litang 黎塘, Binyang 賓陽, Hexian 賀縣, Zhongshan 鐘山  and Zhaoping 昭平; Hakka is the third most dominant Chinese dialect across GXR (H. Yang et al. 1985).

VI. Min Dialect

The Min dialect 閩語 was first brought into GXR by the Fujian people, who migrated into Guangxi about five hundred years ago. Min speakers are clustered in various dialect islands along the riversides, in areas that historically facilitated shipping. Instead of living in a concentrated settlement area, the Min people occupy a wide range of areas, including Bobai 博白, Luchuan 陸川, Yulin 玉林, and Beiliu 北流 in the south, and Liuzhou 柳州, Pingle 平樂, Laibin 來賓, and Yongning 廣寧 in the west. Their present territories are diverse and disconnected from one another.

Due to influence from other Chinese dialects, the Min dialects within and outside of GXR differ in some of their linguistic properties. Y. Zhang & Lin (2009) report that in GXR, Pingle Mandarin has had a significant influence on the Pingle Min dialect 平樂閩方言, giving rise to certain changes in the character of Pingle Min: a new fricative /f/ emerged, while the original /b, d, g/ disappeared after contact with Mandarin; the final consonants -p, -t, -k and -m were lost, leaving -ʔ as the only stop coda; Pingle Min’s tonal system bears some similarities to that of Pingle Mandarin in terms of assignment of ancient voiced stops. Moreover, after making a lexical and grammatical comparison between Pingle Min and Yunan Min 郁南閩語, Y. Zhang & Lin hypothesize that there may have an earlier contact stage between Pingle Min and Pingle Tuhua 平樂土話 even before the secondary contact between Pingle Min and Pingle Mandarin.

2.4.2 Minority Languages

China is a vast country that has been home to fifty-six ethnic groups over its 5,000-year history. Different ethnic groups speak many different languages that, genetically speaking, span at least seven language families. The languages of these seven
families are primarily distributed geographically. The Yangtze River is a natural barrier dividing the Chinese plain into two regions: speakers of languages of the Altaic family embrace a nomadic life to the north of the Yangtze River, while their counterparts have been living a settled life in the lands south of the Yangtze River.

In the far south of China, the languages of the Tai-Kadai family are spoken by many nationalities, including Zhuang 壮, Li 黎, Geyang 仡央, Kam 侗 and Lakkia 拉珈. The Hmong-Mien family 蒙, which is scattered throughout the mountainous areas of the Guizhou, Hunan, Yunnan, Sichuan, Guangxi and Hubei provinces, includes speakers of the Hmong, Mien and Bateng languages (M. Liang & J. Zhang 1996: 6-12). The Austronesian family is widely dispersed throughout the islands of Southeast Asia and the Pacific; it consists of several primary branches, all but one of which are found exclusively on Taiwan (Blust 1999).

Fieldwork documentation of the minority languages of South and Southeast China provides us with a clear picture of the relevant group of Tai-Kadai languages. Tai-Kadai is a hypothesized language family, whose best known and best established subgroup is Tai. Tai includes the modern languages Lao, Thai, and Zhuang, which together boast some 80 million speakers (Enfield 2003: 57). “Tai” is a technical term used to refer to various related ethnolinguistic groups in Southeast Asia; this term can be used to refer to the group as a whole or to any language belonging to the family (Pittayaporn 2009: 2). Zhuang is regarded as a significant subgroup of the Tai family. F. K Li (1977), M. Liang & J. Zhang (1996: 13) and Edmondson & Solnit (1997: 2) posit a comprehensive tree model of Tai based on the reconstruction of the prosodic word in the Southeast Asian languages, which better illustrates the linguistic affiliation of the Zhuang language in the Southeast Asia linguistic area.

A tentative subgrouping of Tai-Kadai languages
Here, the Southern and Northern Zhuang branches belong to the Central and North Tai sub-families, respectively. Most of the phonological inventories, lexicons and grammatical devices in Zhuang have parallels in other Tai-Kadai languages. Languages in Southeast Asia are undoubtedly subject to a strong areal pressure due to prolonged and intensive contact. Some unusual phonological and morphosyntactic features of the Tai-Kadai languages have apparently arisen due to contact (Enfield 2003: 59). The internal development of these languages, in conjunction with external pressure from contact, has brought about a parallel evolution between Zhuang and other Southeast Asian languages in this region. This parallelism will facilitate our next step of comparing certain polyfunctional morphemes across the different languages. The distribution of the minority languages in GXR is as follows:

![Map 2.4 Minority languages in GXR](image)

### 2.4.2.1 Zhuang

The Zhuang language 壮語 belongs to the branch of the Tai-Kadai language family spoken by the Zhuang people in GXR. With a population of almost 15.49 million speakers (data surveyed in 1990), Zhuang straddles the provincial border between Guizhou and the Wenshan Miao Region of Yunnan. This language is divided into two vernacular varieties, Northern and Southern Zhuang, according to the generally accepted classification. Although Zhuang speakers are found all over Guangxi, the
majority of them live in four prefectures: Nanning, Baise, Hechi and Liuzhou along the Xi River system. A passage to Southeast Asia, the Zhuang area is also inhabited by a number of tribal groups such as the Kam, Sui, Mulao and Maonan, as well as speakers of Miao, Yao, Lakkja, Hakka, Yue and many local Chinese varieties (Diller *et al.* 2008: 317).

The ability to distinguish between the Zhuang varieties relies in part on a specific phonological property:¹² the Southern Zhuang varieties have a symmetric system of aspirated stops, while Northern Zhuang lacks this system. Many basic words in Lao and Thai have cognates in Southern Zhuang; although the mutual intelligibility between Northern and Southern Zhuang is only 44.5%, speakers of Southern Zhuang usually have no difficulty in communicating with speakers of Lao and Thai (Pranee 1999). Zhuang is a dominant language in many small cities and rural areas in Guangxi; indeed, it is hard to find an area where the residents speak only Standard Chinese but not Zhuang. According to G. Qin’s (1998: 5) catalog of Zhuang language use in 1617 small cities and towns, 528 of the towns are Zhuang-oriented, and within those towns, 96% of speakers are fluent in Zhuang and Chinese. In the Han-oriented groups, by comparison, some Han people have already mastered Zhuang as their second or third language for daily expression, and bilingualism is reported to be a widespread phenomenon across the entire GXR. A history of language contact among contiguous languages has accelerated the gap between the two Zhuang variants: Southern Zhuang is geographically more isolated and has not received the all-round exposure to Chinese dialects experienced by speakers of Northern Zhuang. Taking the geographic distribution into consideration, the two dialects can be sub-classified into topolects as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subgroups</th>
<th>Branches</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Topolects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>Guibeil</td>
<td>Longsheng 龍勝, Sanjiang 三江,</td>
<td>Longsheng, Sanjiang, Yongfu 永福, Rong’an 融安,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhuang</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rongshui 融水, Luocheng 羅城,</td>
<td>Rongshui, Luocheng, Huanjiang 環江, Hechi 河池, Nandan 南丹, Tian’e 天峨, Donglan 東蘭,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Liujiang</td>
<td>Liujiang 柳江土語</td>
<td>Bama 巴馬</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Liujiang, Laibin 來賓, Yishan 宜山, Liucheng 柳城, N. Xincheng 忻城北部</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹² For more discussions about the phonological distinctions between Southern and Northern Zhuang, please refer to G. Qin (1998:7-10).
Each dialect of a particular language typically exhibits areal features. Wuming Zhuang, spoken to the north of the Yongjiang River, is the popular standard for all Zhuang dialects. Longzhou Zhuang, the representative Southern dialect, located to the south of the Yongjiang River, displays strong similarities to the contiguous Southeast Asian languages in its linguistic repertoire.

Zhuang has a complicated tonal system. This complexity has arisen, in part, due to a precise splitting of the stop codas based on the contrast between long and short vowels. Usually, each smooth syllable in Zhuang carries one of six tones derived from the four historic Chinese phonemic tones. In addition, the pitches of the checked syllables vary according to the initial consonant. For instance, in Fengshan
Zhuang, voiceless initials historically combined with the high level tone (55), while voiced initials occurred with low level tone (44) (Y. Luo 2008: 324). Little internal innovation of the tonal system has occurred in the two branches of Zhuang, and hence Wuming and Longzhou Zhuang show similarity in their tones. To illustrate:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tonal Category</th>
<th>Pitch Contour</th>
<th>Tone Number</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wuming Zhuang</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>rising</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>na¹ ‘thick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>fall</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>na² ‘field’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>high level</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>na³ ‘face’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>high fall</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>ma‘horse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>high rising</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>na⁵ ‘arrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>mid low level</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>ta⁶ ‘river’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>stop coda</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>tap⁷ ‘liver’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7’</td>
<td>stop coda</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>ma:k⁷ ‘fruit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>stop coda</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>cak⁸ ‘steal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8’</td>
<td>stop coda</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>ha:k⁸ ‘learn’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tonal Category</th>
<th>Pitch Contour</th>
<th>Tone Number</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Longzhou Zhuang</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mid low level</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>na¹ ‘think’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>low fall</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>na² ‘field’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>rising</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>na³ ‘face’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>fall</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>ma‘horse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>high level</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>da⁷ ‘abuse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>low level</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>ta⁵ ‘river’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>stop coda</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>tap⁷ ‘liver’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7’</td>
<td>stop coda</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>ku:k⁸ ‘spade’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>stop coda</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>luk⁸ ‘child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8’</td>
<td>stop coda</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>lu:k⁸ ‘valley’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIG 2.1 Tonal system of two Zhuang dialects

Technically, tones 7’ and tone 8’ are used for syllables with long vowels. In Wuming Zhuang, tones 7 and 7’ correspond to tones 3 and 5 in pitch, while tones 8 and 8’ correspond to tones 6 and 4, respectively. In Longzhou Zhuang, tones 8 and 8’ are interchangeable because of the difference in the pitch contours. The development

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13 J. Zhang *et al.* (1999: 50-142) and GXYW (1994: 348) have each produced a paradigm of the tonal systems in Zhuang. However, their models are not fully compatible with one another. To ease the discussion here, I tentatively simplify their models, focusing on the similarity between them.
of the tonal system in Zhuang is by-and-large in line with that of Chinese. The historical development of the phonological system in Zhuang is still a key issue worthy of attention and debate.

In Zhuang, a great many words have been borrowed from Old and Middle Chinese as well as from the neighboring southern Chinese dialects. Zhuang is a very typical isolating language which uses no bound forms; its morphemes are almost exclusively monosyllabic, but very little of its derivational morphology corresponds to that of Middle Chinese. Irrespective of its generally isolating morphology, compound word formation is a common process in Zhuang.

Y. Luo (2008: 325) notes that a large number of nouns, adjectives and verbs in Zhuang are derived by compounding, such as N+N (phən¹ha⁵ ‘shower+rain’= heavy rain), N+V (?da:n⁴ten³ ‘body+wear’= clothing), N+Adj (na³moŋ¹ ‘face+grey’= shy), lo⁶na³ ‘know+face’=to know). Affixation and reduplication are also widely used morphological processes in this language. Prefixing is more common than suffixing in word formation, while infixing is hardly attested in Zhuang. Very often, general kinship terms or nouns with a high degree of animacy attach to specific nouns to construct new words. For instance, in Longzhou and Ningming Zhuang: na:n² ‘maternal and honorific’ (na:n²tsə³ ‘grandma’), luk⁸ ‘adorable kid’ (luk⁸la:u¹ ‘girl’), ti⁶ ‘peers or patrilineal relatives’ (ti⁶me⁶ ‘woman’/ ti⁶po⁶ ‘man’), e⁶ ‘female’ (me⁶mo:i² ‘female match maker’), pa³ ‘male’ (pa³ta:i² ‘uncle-in-law’). Moreover, a couple of generic morphemes are capable of combining with most nouns belonging to the kinship/animate category: kən² ‘human’ (kən²me⁶ ‘female’/ kən²tho³ ‘Zhuang race’), ma:k⁷ ‘fruit’ (ma:k⁷it⁷ ‘grape’/ ma:k⁷man⁴ ‘plum’), tu² ‘animal’ (tu²ma² ‘dog’/ tu²wa:i² ‘buffalo’). Occasionally, two morphemes, triggered by pragmatic motivation, are combined irregularly to express a derogatory mood, while tu² is a general class term for animals, which combines with some nouns of different categories: tu² kon¹ ‘poor man’ (with low social status), tu² tsə:i⁷ ‘little boy’ (naughty boy: like a puppy) (cf. F. Qin & Huang forthcoming).

Zhuang uses reduplication, in the form [AABB], to denote a repeated verbal action: (hau³hau³ʔok⁵ʔok⁵ ‘keep coming in and out’/huŋ¹huŋ¹loʔlo⁷ ‘tall and strong’), [ABAC] (A-pai¹-A-ma² ‘walk back and forth’/A-hun³-A-log⁴ ‘keep

---

14 Norman (1988: 53) provides a classical discussion about the creation of the eight-term tonal system in Chinese.
The language also possesses a group of ideophones that suffix to verbs and adjectives to express vividness of the present event or to denote ‘manner’, ‘speed’ or ‘grading’ of the predicate (Gerner 2005): e.g., pu:n-ŋa:t⁹ ‘buzzed hair’, la:u⁶-lu:t⁸lu:t⁸ ‘blinking eyes’. One suffix, ‘θak⁷/θak⁷’, which means ‘some/many/little’, often combines with nouns and classifiers, to function as an indefinite demonstrative (i.e. selecting no particular entity): θak⁷ kan¹ ‘about ½ kilogram’ (F. Qin & Tian 2011).

Not only did the many Chinese dialects in GXR borrow numerous words from the Zhuang language, but Zhuang has borrowed many Chinese morphemes as well. Although a large percentage of Mandarin loans in Zhuang are new borrowings, it is clear that a plethora of loans in Zhuang date back to Middle Chinese. We can distinguish these old loans based on their inheritance of a complete set of stops codas and long vowels. Terminologically, these two groups of loanwords are called old loans and new loans, according to their source. Old loanwords, for the most part, derive from the Pinghua and Yue dialects, whereas new loans are taken from the Guanghua dialect (Mandarin) directly. FIG 2.12 illustrates:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old loans</th>
<th>Middle Chinese → Zhuang</th>
<th>Old loans</th>
<th>Pinghua Dialect → Zhuang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>master</td>
<td>ʦau³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three</td>
<td>三</td>
<td>complain</td>
<td>?ŋu:n⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heart</td>
<td>心</td>
<td>smooth</td>
<td>ʦin⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>silver</td>
<td>銀</td>
<td>peach</td>
<td>ʦau²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>net</td>
<td>網</td>
<td>wide</td>
<td>ʦu:7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sickle</td>
<td>鐮刀</td>
<td>happy</td>
<td>ʦu:7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>needle</td>
<td>針</td>
<td>bitter</td>
<td>ʦo⁶</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>New loans</th>
<th>Mandarin → Zhuang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>leprosy</td>
<td>ma fun⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noodle</td>
<td>miən²tiu⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pancake</td>
<td>ʦin²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sugar</td>
<td>ʦa:ŋ²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doufu</td>
<td>ʦa³fau⁶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voice</td>
<td>ʦiŋ²jam¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>float</td>
<td>ʦau⁶</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIG 2.12 The old and new loans quoted from J. Zhang (1982) and Lan (2005)

Needless to say, there is a significant amount of shared vocabulary between Chinese and Tai, and the nature of the historical relationship between Chinese and Kam-Tai still remains open (Y. Luo 2008: 23). The prevalence of Chinese
loans in Zhuang paints a picture of consistent language contact throughout these languages’ history.

In the discussion that follows, I will have rather less to say about the grammatical properties of Zhuang studied by traditional descriptive methods than those that are of interest to the typological approaches. Zhuang is a very typical SVO language, and its grammatical structure corresponds to a surprising degree to the word-order universals formulated by Greenberg (1963). Modifiers (i.e. adjectives, demonstratives, processors, relative clauses) follow the head noun without any linker, while the numeral classifiers and plural markers precede the head noun.

Like Chinese and the neighboring Southeast Asian languages, Zhuang lacks a true tense system; aspect and modality markers follow the V/VP to denote time and mood information for the event, but these aspectual markers are not obligatory. Interrogative particles are usually found at the end of the sentence, and wh-movement is scarce. The serial verb construction is a popular grammatical device, in which verbs are arranged in a linear order according to their logical sequence. The use of this construction has accelerated the evolution of some verbs into functional morphemes bound to V/VP.

2.4.2.2 Other Minority Languages in GXR

In §4.2, I presented a genetic tree that tentatively demonstrated subdivisions of the Tai-Kadai family. There are more minority languages than just Zhuang in this affluent land. C. Liu (1998) estimates that at least eleven other minority languages are still in use in GXR. These languages are mostly distributed along the border areas and are not utilized as frequently as Zhuang among most ethnic tribes. Due to administrative governance decisions, the minority groups in GXR have been separated into several affiliated autonomous regions in an effort to stabilize their political integration.

The Zhuang people and their ethnic neighbors have enjoyed intimate contact for hundreds of years. On the one hand, they have been in contact with Chinese for quite a long time; on the other, they influence each other through daily trade and regular intermarriage. M. Liang & J. Zhang (1988) report that many old loanwords in Bunu, Lajia, Maonan and Shui are assumed to have been borrowed from Zhuang.
This direct borrowing means that Zhuang has had a considerable impact on the other minority languages in this region. In the following subsections, I discuss four representative languages that are related to Zhuang.

I. Kam

The Kam language (Dong 侗語) is related to Zhuang, and belongs to a branch of the Kam-Sui stock. The Kam people are thought to be the descendants of the ancient Liao (僚) peoples who occupied much of southern China 2,100 years ago. In ancient times, the southern Kam ancestors resided in Guangzhou and Wuzhou, while the northern groups relocated from the Zhejiang and Fujian provinces to escape locust swarms. The Kam people densely inhabit the Guizhou and Hunan provinces, while small groups are still scattered throughout Hubei province and Vietnam’s Tuyên Quang (Long & G. Zheng 1998:11-12).

In GXR, Sanjiang Dong Autonomous County 三江侗族自治縣 is designated as a special region for the Kam people. There are approximately 25,000 residents in Sanjiang, Longsheng and Rongshui who speak Kam fluently. H. Chen & L. Wang (2005: 53) report that Kam is well-preserved in GXR: 20.91% of Kam speakers prefer to speak their mother tongue both at home and outside during their daily trade. The national language maintenance movement has had relatively little impact on the Guangxi Kam group, due in part to the complex and isolated living conditions of the Kam people.

The Kam consonant inventory is relatively simple, containing 32 syllable-initial consonants, 64 syllable-final consonants and a maximum of 15 tones in a few dialects. Kam has fewer consonant phonemes than the Tai languages. The Kam vowel inventory is also relatively restricted, but the complex tonal system and flexible consonant-vowel combinatorics lead to an intricate syllable structure and result in a sound system with unique properties (Yang & Edmondson 2008: 511). Like other Tai-Kadai languages, Kam exhibits many areal features, including lexical tones, serial-verb constructions, SVO word order, postposed modifications, rich classifier systems and prepositions. There is little case marking in Kam, although bound expressives (ideophones) are widely attested (Gerner 2005).
For decades, academic research on the Kam language has been surprisingly scarce. Shi (1983), M. Liang & J. Zhang (1996) and some other scholars have documented the phonological inventory and basic words in Kam, while H. Yang & S. Zhang (1993) and Yang & Edmondson (2008) have produced grammatical descriptions and materials on Kam dialectology. Gerner (2005, 2006, 2010) has made encouraging progress in the study of “expressives, classifiers, and reduplication” in Kam using a typological approach. These achievements will be beneficial to future comparative studies with Zhuang.

II. Maonan

Maonan 毛南語 is a member of the Kam-Sui group of the Kam-Tai language family. Its speakers are found in the northwestern part of GXR, with Huanjiang County having the highest population concentration (Lu 2008: 33). Linguistically, Maonan and Zhuang bear similarities in their phonological inventory and grammatical constructs. Most Maonan people are bilingual or trilingual, and speak Zhuang and Mandarin when they communicate with the Zhuang and Chinese groups, respectively. According to a language survey conducted in 2000, Maonan is defined as an endangered language, with a population of only 31,000 speakers (Dai & J. Zhang 2006). Thus, it is urgent to document this language. Fortunately, Lu (2008) successfully takes the first step in his description of the Maonan grammar.

III. Gelao

The Gelao people 仡佬人, like the Kam people, are said to be descendents of the Liao 僚 or Lao people, who ruled the empire of South China before being conquered by the Han military in the second and third centuries B.C. The ancestors of the Gelao people lived in the Guizhou plateau prior to the Ming Dynasty. Constant wars and savage persecutions from ancient Han intruders drove them to immigrate to Guangxi and Northern Vietnam. Today, they mainly live in mixed villages with other areal groups and no longer have mono-ethnic settlements of their own (Edmondson 2008: 656). At present in GXR, the Gelao clans live in Nongma 弄麻, Baotian 保田, Datian 大田 and the Yutang 漁塘 village of Longlin County 隆林縣, with a population of about 400 residents (H. Wang & X. Li 2007: 65). Gelao is an under-
studied and endangered language in China. According to J. Li et al’s (2011) census, fewer than 6,000 Gelao people speak their mother language competently in China and Vietnam. Most Gelao speakers are in the process of discarding their mother tongue and transitioning to the Southwest Mandarin.

As a dialect of the Kra language 仡央語, Gelao is grouped with Laha 拉哈, Lachi 拉基, Paha 巴哈 and Buyang 布央 in the Tai-Kadai language family. Ostapirat (2000: 25) outlines a schema of the Kra subgroupings, using etymological arguments to demonstrate the relationship among the distinct branches.

\[FIG 2.13 The Kra subgroupings by Ostapirat (2000)\]

Categorized as a member of the Western Kra stock, Gelao itself may be divided into three branches: Northern, Central and Southwestern. The Southwestern dialects retain fewer tones and a better voicing distinction among initials, while the Northern dialects have distinctive spirantal reflexes (Ostapirat 2000: 26). Edmondson & J. Li (2003) and Edmondson (2008: 657) report that Red Gelao is the most endangered language in Khê and Bìch Đích of Yên Minh, Vietnam and Malipo County, Yunnan, China. Red Gelao is a sister to Southwestern Kra but has more in common grammatically with White Gelao.

Being an analytic or isolating language, Gelao expresses syntactic relations mainly through word order and a wide range of grammatical particles. Y. He (2012: 38) presents an explicit version of the grammatical profile of Ahou Gelao in Guizhou province. Minor grammatical categories and closed classes include pronouns, demonstratives, numerals, classifiers and some other functional elements, including modal or final particles, interjections and conjunctions.

**VI. Hmong-Mien**
The Hmong-Mien languages 苗瑤語 consists of two main groups, the Hmong and the Mien. The former is spoken from Guizhou through the Guangxi, Hunan, Sichuan and Yunnan provinces in China and as far south as the Indochina peninsula; the latter extends from Guangxi through Hunan, Guangdong, Guizhou and Yunnan provinces and as far south as the Indochina peninsula as well (Kosaka 2002). Outside of China, several Hmong-Mien languages are still spoken in the northern portions of Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, and Burma.

The various subgroups of Hmong-Mien can be divided into four branches, with Hmongic, Ho Nte, and Mienic spoken in China and and Na-e (Pateng) spoken primarily in Vietnam (Strecker 1987). Each branch contains several dialects: some are similar to Southern Chinese, while others bear a resemblance to Northern Chinese as a result of inter-cultural contact. Biologically, mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA) experimentation has revealed that most Hmong-Mien maternal lineages are of southern origin, but Hmong populations are genetically distinct from the Mien populations (Wen et al. 2005).

Compared to Mienic languages, Hmongic languages have very large consonant inventories, including retroflex and uvular places of articulation, prenasalized, aspirated, and glottalized stops, and voiceless sonorants, but a very restricted range of syllable types. Generally, all Hmong-Mien languages are tone languages. They share many of the areal features of Southeast Asia, such as lack of inflection, presence of numeral classifiers, widespread ellipsis, serial-verb constructions, and an abundance of sentence particles (Goddard 2005: 36).

Conservatively, there are more than 420,000 Hmongic residents in GXR, scattered throughout Rongshui 融水, Longlin 隆林, Sanjiang 三江, Longsheng 龍勝, Ziyuan 資源, Dahua 大化 and Xilin 西林. The largest percentage of this population lives in Rongshui, with 17,300 Hmongic residents. The Mienic people reside in four autonomous counties: Gongcheng 恭城, Fuchuan 富川, Dahua 大化 and Du’a 都安. GXMZS (2009: 131) reports that the Guangxi Mien languages can be subclassified into Mian 勉, Bunu 布努, Lajia 拉珈 and Pingdi-Yao 平地瑤 branches. Mian and Bunu belong to the Hmong-Mien stock, while Lajia is identical to many Kam-Sui languages. Pingdi-Yao, however, is no longer spoken; descendants of this ethnic group now speak the neighboring Southwest Guanhua dialect due to prolonged
contact with Chinese. Unlike the Mien dialects, the Guangxi Hmong dialects are consistent in their linguistic configuration, although distinct branches often illustrate different linguistic traits.

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I presented the language background of GXR and discussed both socio-historical and linguistic factors. Chinese linguists (e.g. F.K Li 1977, G. Qin 1998, J. Zhang et al. 1999, Y. Zheng 1999, etc.) have, for decades, been striving to document the various languages in Guangxi. Guangxi’s rich array of languages enriches our linguistic understanding both diachronically and synchronically:

a. Diachronically: all the languages of this region exhibit overlapping linguistic repertoires, stemming from a coalescence of two distinct layers (i.e. ancient vs. modern). Although the Tai-Kadai stock and the Southern Chinese dialects share no genetic affiliation, they possess a huge number of related words: (a) the syllable structures of most loans in the Tai-Kadai languages may find their origins in Middle Chinese; (b) Chinese loans in most minority languages date back either to an old stage of the Pinghua dialect or a new stage of Mandarin.

b. Synchronically: (a) Due to language assimilation, a wide range of minority languages in GXR (i.e. Pingdi-Yao, Gelao) have failed to maintain their linguistic integrity; speakers of these languages have gradually shifted to use the adjacent Chinese dialects. However, Southern Zhuang, Kam and Hakka have been more conservative in preserving their historical linguistic properties, due to their geographic isolation and their reluctance to discard their linguistic identity; (b) Language contact is ubiquitous throughout the entire region. This contact situation is not limited to pairs of languages. Each language is likely to be in simultaneous contact with three or four neighbors of varying typological and genetic affiliations; (c) The borrowing does not only occur in the phonology and the lexicon. Grammatical structures are also susceptible to transfer when a cluster of languages has a long history of contact.
Taking both these aspects into consideration, it is clear that all the languages in GXR, both past and present, have undergone a dynamic path of evolution. It is hard to find a specific language that is not in the process of interacting with its neighbors. As a result, the language situation in GXR is at least as intricate as that of other regions in China. This intricacy arises not only from the large number of languages in this area, but also from their mutual influence on one another and their independent developments. Certain southern dialects in Guangxi have developed innovations as a result of their intensive contact with the neighboring Tai-Kadai languages.

Intriguingly, many linguistic elements of Middle Chinese and the southern Chinese dialects are attested in most minority languages of Guangxi. This similarity should not be unilaterally regarded as an outcome of language contact or historical retention, since it is impossible to distinguish between the two causes based solely on theoretical methodology. To examine the evolution of languages in GXR, in the next chapter, I will select some data and concentrate on an empirical description of a specific language: the Nanning Yue dialect.
CHAPTER THREE

Polyfunctionality of the FINISH Verb in Nanning Yue

*The concreteness of experience is infinite; the resources of the richest language are strictly limited.*

—Edward Sapir (1921: 84)

In the previous chapter, I presented a preliminary overview of the linguistic history of GXR. The true airborne process of linguistic transmission, taking place scene by scene and sign by sign, creates many opportunities for “mutation” of the larger system along the way, and the likelihood of such mutations is increased by the added factor of structured contact with speakers of neighboring languages (Enfield 2003: 5). Although a wide range of languages in GXR showcase diverse traits in their linguistic repertoires, it is nevertheless important to consider the process of analogy and the extensive genetic relationships between the languages in this region.

In this chapter, I focus on the synchronic functional variation of the postverbal morpheme 晒/laai³³/ in NNY to demonstrate the pattern of linguistic interaction in this region. NNY affiliates to the Yongxun branch of Yue, which is similar to the Cantonese spoken in today’s Guangzhou 廣州, Hong Kong, Foshan 佛山, Zhaoqing 肇慶, Shunde 順德, etc. Most scholars agree that Guangfu Yue is the ancestor of NNY (Yue-Hashimoto 1988: 29, Ou’yang 1995, Lin & F. Qin 2008: 5, Mai 2010, Kwok et al. 2011): due to a number of factors, including population expansion, business connections, and the chaos of war. A proportion of the Guangfu Yue speakers migrated to the central and southern part of Guangxi alongside the Xijiang River 西江. They brought with them the Guangfu Yue dialect, which gradually spread to Nanning, Wuzhou, Baise, Tianlin, Pingxiang and Beihai. While NNY bears many phonological and lexical similarities to Guangfu Yue, the grammatical repertoires of the two dialects differ in certain aspects. Comparing the grammatical profiles of NNY and today’s Guangfu Yue will help us understand the changes undergone by the languages in Guangxi in both a synchronic and diachronic perspective.
3.1 Preliminary Background on 晒/ɬai\textsuperscript{33}/ in NNY

The grammatical properties of 晒/ɬai\textsuperscript{33}/ in NNY were first described by Bai (1985), who lists three functions of this morpheme: *completive, aspect marker* and *conjunction*. Lin & F. Qin (2008) expand on Bai’s study and provide specific examples of the syntactic use of 晒/ɬai\textsuperscript{33}/. They describe the three functions of this morpheme as: *completive, perfect/perfective and conjunctional linker*. The results of my fieldwork, which I discuss in this chapter, largely support their argumentation. However, I will also present some new findings that augment previous research in this area. This chapter will explore in detail the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties of this morpheme. In NNY, 晒/ɬai\textsuperscript{33}/ is found in five distinct syntactic configurations: (a) [V-晒], (b) [V-晒-O], (c) [V-O-晒], (d) [V-晒-O-晒], (e) [Clause\textsubscript{1}, 晒-(呢), Clause\textsubscript{2}]. This morpheme exhibits different grammatical functions according to its syntactic distribution and context. However, since two of these functions overlap within a single structural slot, it is sometimes necessary to distinguish certain functions of 晒/ɬai\textsuperscript{33}/ according to their semantic interpretation rather than their grammatical structure.

The first section of this chapter will provide a preliminary introduction to the various functions and the grammatical distribution of 晒/ɬai\textsuperscript{33}/. In §8, abundant data will be provided to enrich our analysis of the individual functions of this morpheme. A conclusion will be provided in §9. The entire survey presented here centers on the interactions between the diverse grammatical distributions and semantic expressions of this lexical item.

Interestingly, 晒/ɬai\textsuperscript{33}/ demonstrates diverse functions in NNY. In the bulk of my data, this morpheme occurs in the sentence-final position, signifying a completed past action or a change of state that is relevant to the preceding situation. This aspectual reading may indicate ‘already’, ‘come to be’ or even ‘become’:

(1) 你 都 臭 ~ ~ 晒 。
ni\textsuperscript{34} tu\textsuperscript{55} tshu\textsuperscript{33} phaŋ\textsuperscript{55} phaŋ\textsuperscript{55} lai\textsuperscript{33}
2sg ready smelly EXPR ALREADY
‘You are so smelly.’

(2) 而家 五點 半 晒 。
ji\textsuperscript{21} ka\textsuperscript{55} ŋ\textsuperscript{24} tim\textsuperscript{35} pun\textsuperscript{3} lai\textsuperscript{33}
now five o'clock half ALREADY
‘It is five o’clock now.’

(3) 成 二 十 五 歲 晒。[en⁷ ji²² jep³ n̂⁴ tui³³ lai³³]
bé 25 age BECOME
‘[You] become twenty-five years old.’

晒/lai³³/ may also be combined with a main verb to mean ‘FINISHED’.

(4) 教書 教 晒 二 十 年。[kru³³ jy⁵⁵ kru³³ lai³³ ji²² jep³ nin²¹]
teach student teach FINISHED twenty year
‘[He] has taught students for twenty years.’

(5) 蚊 飛 落 來 晒 阿啲 啊! [mën⁵⁵ fi⁵⁵ lsk³ lai²¹ lai³³ a³³ ti⁵⁵ a³³]
mosquito fly down come FINISHED here PP
‘The mosquito has flown to this place.’

In addition, this morpheme may appear twice in the same clause in the form [S-V-晒-O晒]. In this construction, the first 晒/lai³³/ is interpreted as a perfective aspect marker correlated with the verb action, while the second is a perfect aspect marker.

(6) 你 慼 晒 好 耐 晒 啊! [ni²⁴ mën³³ lai³³ hu³³ nai²² lai³³ a³³]
2sg consider FINISHED long ALREADY PP
‘You have been considering [this question] for quite a long time.’

Bai (1985) argues that the aspectual reading of 晒/lai³³/ is conspicuous in NNY, citing its frequent attestation in daily interlocutions and colloquial materials. In its aspectual reading, 晒/lai³³/ may function as a completive, denoting the completeness of an action, or it may signify universal quantification of the object affected by the action. The related readings of ‘completeness’ and ‘all’ vary according to the items that are associated with 晒/lai³³/: verbal actions are understood as “completed”, while entities are interpreted as “universally quantified”. For instance:

(7) 今日 要 做 晒 今日 嘅 工。[kem⁵⁵ jet³ ji¹¹ gù⁵³ lai³³ kem³ jet³ kr³³ kun⁵³]
today MOD do i. FINISHED today ATTR work
ii. COMPLETELY
i. ‘[You should] finish today’s work.’
ii. ‘[You should] finish all the work for today.’ (Bai 1985: 141)
also has a degree quantifier reading, indicating the maximal degree of a quality. This meaning is analogical to ‘extremely’ in English:

(8) 一 篮 果 總 撒 服。
jet⁵ khwaŋ⁵⁵ kɔ³⁵ fɔŋ⁵⁵ lai³³
one  CL fruit  all  rot  EXTREMELY
‘A basket of all the fruit was extremely rotted away.’ (Lin & F. Qin 2008: 325)

Occasionally, 撒/lai³³/ is combined with a static predicate, in which case it bears the reading of the universal quantifier ‘all’. This expression is not productive in NNY; its use is restricted in the modern language to speakers aged 60 years or older.

(9) 幅 壁 摹 佢 嘅 搭 相。
fuk⁵ tʃen²¹ lai³³ khy²⁴ k₆³⁵ len³³
CL wall  COP  ALL  3sg  ATTR  picture
‘He hangs his pictures on all the corners of the wall.’

When used in the clausal domain, 撒/lai³³/ is parsed as a conjunction indicating the attainment or completeness of a prior event. At the level of discourse, it also serves to link speech turns. The conjunction 撒/lai³³/ may stand alone or attach to a pragmatic particle:

(10) 我 十歲 來 南寧， 撒呢， 一直 呢 南寧。
ni²⁴ fup⁵²⁴ lai³³ lai²¹ nam²¹ len²² lai³³ ne³³ jet⁵ jek² hai³³ nam³³ len³²
1sg ten year come NN  THEN  always  be.at  NN
‘I came to Nanning when I was ten years old, then I lived here for a long time.’

撒/lai³³/ may appear as a main verb in a limited number of situations. The main-verb reading clearly exposes 撒/lai³³/’s original lexical meaning, ‘to finish or to run out’:

(11) 你 撒 撒 過嘅 揿 我。
ni²⁴ lai³³ lai³³ kɔ³³ lai²¹ wun¹⁵ nɔ²⁴
2sg  FINISH  already  pass  come  find  1sg
‘After you finish [this work], you can come to talk to me.’

As a main verb, 撒/lai³³/ can combine with a bare noun in some cases. This constellation as a whole functions as a linker, indicating that the action in question has been completed.

(12) 先 放 油， 油 撒 再 放 菜， 菜 撒 再 放 肉。
lin⁵³ fɔŋ³³ jeu²¹ jeu²¹ lai³³ fɔŋ³³ fɔŋ³³ fɔŋ³³ lai³³ fɔ⁵³ fɔŋ³³ tim³⁵ juk²
first  pour  out  oil  oil  FINISH  then  put  vegetable  vegetable  FINISH  then  put  little  meat
‘[When you are cooking], you should first pour out the oil [into the pan], then you put the vegetable into the burning oil, finally it’s time to put in the meat.’

In the examples above, we have seen that 晒/lai^{33}/ exhibits a number of distinct grammatical functions, from the intransitive verb ‘FINISH’, to a postposed aspect marker and a logical conjunction (Bai 1985, Lin & F. Qin 2008). I propose to treat 晒/lai^{33}/ as a grammatical morpheme (i.e. gram) in NNY, since it performs a large share of the work of grammar and appears in more than one distinct position (cf. Bybee & Dahl 1989). Henceforth in this paper, I will consistently apply the term *gram* (Bybee & Pagliuca 1985, Bybee *et al.* 1994) in my discussion of the grammatical profile of 晒/lai^{33}/. Much of the work in this chapter will be based on a fine-grained description of the grammatical functions and syntactic features of the gram 晒/lai^{33}/ in a synchronic perspective.

In addition, the motivation for *semantic change* will be considered in conjunction with the development of this gram. Semantic change is the process by which presumably universal elements of conceptual structure (i.e. abstract linguistic meanings) become linked to morphosyntactic and phonological structure (Traugott & Dasher 2004: 7). Without a comprehensive consideration of the syntactic-semantic interplay, the evolution of 晒/lai^{33}/ cannot be systematically explored.

### 3.2 Is There Any Etymon for NNY 晒/lai^{33}/?

Unfortunately, it is difficult to find literature that discusses the etymology of 晒/lai^{33}/. Bai (1985) and Lin & F. Qin (2008: 325) interpret this gram with the meaning ‘completely, totally and finished’, but their descriptions do not cover the entire scope of the gram’s meaning. The basic meaning of 晒/lai^{33}/ is expressed as ‘to finish, finished, already’ in most instances. However, various derived meanings are revealed in certain idiomatic or idiosyncratic expressions, such as ‘to ripen and to harvest’: when someone says “荔枝-晒-哦”, he means the fruit has ripened or grown up. In this case, the entire phrase indicates completeness or the cessation of the ongoing event; the already completed event emphasized by 晒/lai^{33}/ is only one part of the entire event.
Lin (2012) reconstructs the etymology of 晒/ɬai33/ as 㩄 on the basis of its phonological relation to the ji yiün 集韻 inventory. She asserts that 晒/ɬai33/’s etymological meaning is ‘to run out’. So far, much of the accessible data and fieldwork evidence I have collected indicates that ‘to finish’ or ‘to run out’ may be the original meaning of this gram.

### 3.3 The Main-Verb 晒/ɬai33/: to FINISH & to RUN OUT

Surprisingly, a limited amount of data illustrates a predicative use that is phonologically and morphologically similar to that of 晒/ɬai33/. I hypothesize that the predicate 晒/ɬai33/ is related to the ‘FINISH’ verb, which currently has no individual lexeme in NNY (Lin 2012).

(13) 電影 有 晒?  
    tin55 jeŋ15 mu24 ɬai33  
    movie NEG FINISH
    ‘Has the movie not finished?’

(14) 乜嘢 都 晒 啊!  
    me55 ɛɛ 55 tu 55 ɬai33 o  
    everything all FINISH PP
    ‘Everything is finished already!’

(15) 比賽 嗞嘀 晒 哦。  
    pi14 ʃhɔi33 ŋam55 ŋam55 ɬai13 o  
    championship just FINISH PP
    ‘The championship was finished.’

A natural reading of the predicate 晒/ɬai33/ should be ‘to finish or to end’. However, this is not a common construal of the semantic expression of this gram in NNY; the verbal reading of 晒/ɬai33/ is rarely found in the modern language. The expression is only maintained among speakers above 60 years of age.\(^\text{15}\)

In NNY, this gram seldom occurs individually as a bare verb. To function as a full-fledged predicate, it usually appears twice, in the form [S-晒], or co-occurs with a pragmatic mark in the form of [S-晒啊].

\(^\text{15}\) To confirm the verbal function of 晒/ɬai33/, I carried out a series of investigations among four native speakers who are on average above 45 years old. I found that the older the informant, the easier it was for him to accept a verbal predicate 晒/ɬai33/. According to my 66-year-old informant Mr Ou, most of his peers continue to accept the predicate 晒/ɬai33/ in particular cases (such as when talking to elderly people), but the younger generation employs another ‘finish’ verb, 齊/ʧhɐi21/, instead (see §5.5). Mr Ou’s mother, who is about 86 years old, regularly uses the verbal predicate 晒/ɬai33/.
The movie has just finished, how about the competition? [lit: is the competition finished].'

Has the story finished? Yeah, it has already finished!

The use of verbal 晒/ɬai33/ is also preserved in most cultural and agricultural colloquial dialects. In these dialects, 晒/ɬai33/ is interpreted as a ‘FINISH’ verb that denotes the completeness of the preceding event in general, and a derived meaning ‘to ripen, to harvest or to grow up’ in particular.

After the lichee has ripened, [it is the season] to harvest the longan.

[It’s a good season to harvest that vegetable], after the seedling of the vegetable is ripened, it is time to harvest.

Needless to say, the meaning of ‘to ripen or to grow up’ can be straightforwardly derived from the ‘to finish or to end’ meaning. When we state that something has grown up or ripened, we naturally entail that the object has completed the ongoing process of growing. The apples and rice cannot approach a stage of maturity until they have experienced the mutation from small seeds to plump fruits. This stage of ripening takes place over a consecutive duration, which has a beginning and an end. The following diagram illustrates the process of semantic derivation from ‘to finish’ to ‘to ripen’:

\[
X \text{ is matured/ripe} \quad \text{entails} \quad X \text{ has undergone a process from unripe to ripe} \\
\text{entails} \quad X \text{ has completed the process of growing}
\]

Generally, the marginal main-verb reading of 晒/ɬai33/ still relates to its original reading of ‘to finish’. By contrast, the derived ‘to ripen or to grow up’
reading is only available with arguments that are arranged in a linear order. In other words, the subject in this context should imply an action with a natural start-point and endpoint. For example, in 蘋果-曬-哦 (apple-RIPEN-PP) ‘The apple has ripened’, the subject “apple” implies the duration of the apple’s harvest time rather than the entity “apple”. Without this contextual constraint, 晒/lai33/ cannot be interpreted as ‘grown up’. Thus, the next example is infelicitous, since the event merely expresses the harvest of a unique fruit, watermelon, rather than presenting a number of fruits whose harvest seasons can be listed in order:

(20) *西瓜 晒 晒 哦，已 得 食。
水melon RIPEN already PP already ACQ=can eat
‘The watermelon is in its harvest season. [You can eat it.’

As an intransitive verb, 晒/lai33/ can be interpreted as ‘to run out or to consume’ when combined with a noun that is easy to quantify. In example (21), an old man tells his daughter that his telephone card has run out of money, so she should recharge it for him:

(21) 電話費 即刻 晒 哦，冇 有 晒。
phone card will RUN-OUT PP NEG have already
‘[My] telephone card has run out of money already.’

In example (22), food, water, rice and oil are nouns that are easy to quantify over. Thus we can see that, when modifying a noun, 晒/lai33/ behaves as a quantificational rather than an aspectual element.

(22) 食嘅 飲嘅 都 晒 晒 哦。
eat NOM drink NOM all RUN-OUT already PP
‘All the food and beverages have run out.’

(23) 水 喝嘅 晒 晒 啊，再 買 一 樽。
water just RUN-OUT already PP again buy one CL
‘The water just ran out, thus [you should] buy a new bottle.’

(24) 水 晒 盟？ 晒 晒 啊。
water RUN-OUT already Q RUN-OUT already PP
‘Has the water run out? Yes, it has run out.’

(25) 裡 缸 晒 米 晒 晒 哦。
The particular reading that 晒/laï^33/ receives varies with the context. In (27), 晒/laï^33/ is construed as ‘to eat up’ rather than ‘to run out’, because the subject is a familiar food that we consume regularly; in (28), 晒/laï^33/ bears the more general meaning ‘to use up’:

(27) 慢慢 食，醡頭 晒 哦 仲有 食。
man^22 man^35 fek^3 man^22theu^21 laï^33 laï^33 o guï^22 jeu^24 pau^35 slow eat steamed-bread EAT-UP already PP again have steamed-bun ‘Eat it slowly! Once you eat up the steamed bread, you can also eat some steamed buns. There are many. [Don’t worry!]’

(28) 媽媽 給 錢 晒 哦。
ma^21 ma^55 pi^35 ke^33 guï^21 laï^33 laï^33 o mother give ATTR money USE-UP already PP ‘[I have] used up the money given to me by my mother.’

The verbal function of 晒/laï^33/ is restricted to particular contexts, e.g. the context of logical order and consequence, context of idiomatic expression, etc. Without the aid of a particular context,晒/laï^33/ rarely functions as a main verb.

3.4 Postverbal Exhaustion Particle 晒/laï^33/

The exhaustion particle is a cross-categorial modifier acting on noun phrases (as a universal quantifier), on verb phrases (as a completive particle), and on adjectival phrases (as a superlative particle) (Gerner 2013: 283). The postverbal exhaustion particle 晒/laï^33/ is ubiquitous in the data I collected. The exhaustion particle 晒/laï^33/ is more prone to postpose to the predicate than to occur in any other grammatical position. It is found in three distinct constructions: [V\text{static}^\text{-晒-0}][\text{Adj}^-\text{晒}] /[V\text{dynamic}^\text{-晒}(\text{-O})].

There is a considerable debate concerning the specific function of 晒/laï^33/ in these three postverbal constructions. I argue that 晒/laï^33/ functions as a universal
quantifier, superlative and completive, and that these diverse functions represent
different stages of grammaticalization. Much of the discussion in this section will
focus on the diverse grammatical functions that are associated with different
syntactic structures: a thorough investigation of the grammaticalization of 晒/lai³³/
will be postponed until Chapters 4 and 5.

3.4.1 [S-V-晒(O)] Configuration and the Quantificational Functions
of 晒/lai³³/

Multiple interpretations of 晒/lai³³/ are assigned to this configuration, in which 晒
/lai³³/ follows a bare verb and an adjectival predicate. As a result, the semantic
meaning of this structure is often ambiguous. There are four main functions of 晒
/lai³³/ in this structural position.

3.4.1.1 Universal Quantifier 晒/lai³³/: ALL

The exhaustion particle 晒/lai³³/ may be interpreted as a universal quantifier when it
occurs in the structure [S-V-晒-O] in a stative or weak dynamic context. A psych or
existential verb typically accompanies this structure. In this case, 晒/lai³³/ quantifies
over the subject at large, denoting a universal quantificational reading.

The items governed by the universal quantifier 晒/lai³³/ must be semantically
divisible and measurable. All bare nouns in NNY are understood by default to be
plural and divisible in their semantic domain; in the following sentences, all the
subjects (villagers, civilians, master and apprentice, etc.) can be quantified by 晒
/lai³³/ (see item “a” of each example below).

晒/lai³³/ is incompatible with nominals denoting singular and indivisible items,
due to the omission of the semantically quantized parts. When 晒/lai³³/ finds no
measurable subject to quantify over, the whole sentence is ungrammatical (see item
“b” of each example).

(29a) 洞裡邊 有 老虎，村民 怕 晒 老虎。

cave inside have tiger villager afraid EXH:ALL tiger
‘There is a tiger in the cave, thus all the villagers are afraid of it.’
(29b) *洞裡邊 有 老虎, 阿個 村民 怕 晒 老虎。  
    tun²⁴ li²⁴ pin⁵⁵ jue²⁴ lu²⁴ fu³⁵ a³³ kɔ³³ thym⁵⁵ men²¹ pha³³ lai⁵⁵ lu³⁵ 
    cave inside have tiger this CL villager afraid EXH:ALL tiger  
    Intended reading: ‘There is a tiger in the cave, thus this villager is *all afraid of it.’

(30a) 老百姓 龜 睨 阿 啫 貪官。 
    lu²⁴ pak⁵³ lau⁵⁵ lai³⁵ a³³ ti³⁵ tham³³ kun⁵⁵ 
    civilian hate EXH:ALL those corrupt officials  
    ‘All the civilians hate the corrupt officials too much.’

(30b) *我 龜 睨 阿 啫 貪官。 
    nɔ²⁴ lau⁵⁵ lai³³ a³³ ti³⁵ tham³³ kun⁵⁵ 
    1sg hate EXH:ALL those corrupt officials  
    Intended reading: ‘I *all hate the corrupt officials too much.’

(31a) 難個 ma⁵⁵ mon³⁵ 晒 落雨。 
    kɔ³³ kɔ³³ ma⁵⁵ mon³³ lai³³ lokjy²⁴ 
    CL CL worry EXH:ALL rain  
    ‘All the people worry that it will rain.’

(31b) *嚟個 女人婆 ma⁵⁵ mon³⁵ 晒 落雨。 
    lu²¹ kɔ³³ ny²⁴ jen³³ hɔ²¹ ma⁵⁵ mon³³ lai³³ lokjy²⁴ 
    that CL woman worry EXH:ALL rain  
    Intended reading: ‘That woman *all worries that it will rain.’

(32a) 師徒 中意 晒 阿 幫 女崽。 
    ji³³ thu⁵³ fu³³ jy³³ lai³³ a³³ pɔŋ⁵⁵ ny²⁴ thir³⁵ 
    master apprentice like EXH:ALL this CL girl  
    ‘Both the master and apprentice like this girl very much.’

(32b) *阿只 學生婆 中意 晒 阿 幫 女崽。 
    a³³ thir⁵³ hɔk²¹ thir⁵³ fu³³ jy³³ jy³³ lai³³ a³³ pɔŋ⁵⁵ ny²⁴ thir³⁵ 
    this CL student like EXH:ALL this CL girl  
    Intended reading: ‘This boy *all likes these girls very much.’

The subjects in sentences (29b), (30b), (31b) and (32b) are not measurable:  
some are singular nouns, others are singular pronouns. 晒/lai³³/ is thus incompatible  
with these subjects.

Note that, for native NNY speakers below 60 years of age, the use of 晒/lai³³/  
as a universal quantifier is ungrammatical in this context; these speakers replace 晒  
lai³³/ with the typical universal quantifier 齊/thir²¹/. However, data from speakers  
over 65 indicate that this older group uses the universal quantifier 晒/lai³³/ habitually  
in their daily conversation. These older speakers also accept 齊/thir²¹/ in most  
situations. This sociolinguistic fieldwork enriches the work on NNY by Lin & F. Qin  
(2008), who do not report the use of 晒/lai³³/ as a universal quantifier.

3.4.1.2 Superlative 晒/lai³³/: EXTREMELY
晒/lai³³/ can also co-occur with degree or gradable adjectives. A superlative 晒/lai³³/ indicates a situation characterized by an adjective that has attained a maximal degree. Once a divisible subject is available, 晒/lai³³/ may quantify over that subject. As a superlative, the exhaustion particle 晒/lai³³/ quantifies over the gradable scale of comparison (Gerner 2013: 293). The superlative function of 晒/lai³³/ is not salient in NNY. Its use is restricted to the age groups above 40 years old.

In (33), for example, 晒/lai³³/ indicates the degree of decay of the apples or the quantification of the apples.

(33) 一籮果爛晒。
      a¹⁵ lɔ³¹ ko³⁵ lai³³
      one CL fruit rotten EXH:EXTREMELY
      i. ‘The fruits in the basket are extremely rotten.’
      ii. ‘All the fruits in the basket are rotten.’

(34) 個唔衫乾晒。
      ko³³ ti¹⁵ jàn³⁵ mən²¹ ko³³ lai³³
      these clothes NEG dry EXH:EXTREMELY
      i. ‘These clothes are not entirely dry.’
      ii. ‘All these clothes are not dry.’ [i.e., none of these clothes are dry] (Bai 1985: 141)

(35) 園裡底嘅花總紅晒至畀人參觀。
      jyn²² li³⁴ ti³³ fə³³ fa³⁵ fjuŋ³⁵ hʊŋ¹¹ lai³³ tʃi³³ pʰi³² jʊn²¹ ʃən³⁵ kʊn⁵⁵
      garden inside ATTR follow all read EXH:EXTREMELY then CAUS people visit
      i. ‘The flowers in the garden are not shown to the visitors until they are the most red.’
      ii. ‘All the flowers in the garden are shown to the visitors when they are red.’

Usually, NNY employs different degree quantifiers to express the grammatical category of degree quantification. Unlike superlative 晒/lai³³/, which implies a maximal degree, these adverbials only denote an intensified degree of the adjective. For instance:

a. Fronting degree quantifiers

(36) 只人好鬼 ~ ~ 嗤。
      ʃɛk¹³ jʊn³¹ hʊ³⁵ kwe³³ ʃɪt⁵ ʃɪt⁵ ke³³
      CL person VERY stingy PP
      ‘This man is very stingy!’

(37) 佢好怕醜。
      kʰy²⁴ hʊ³⁵ pha³³ ʃəu³⁵
      3sg VERY shy
      ‘He is very shy!’

(Lin & F. Qin 2008: 293)
In the examples above, a series of preposed degree adverbs (好鬼/hi35 kwei35/, 好/hi35/, 幾/ki35/) function as degree quantifiers to enforce the gradable meaning of the adjectives. Although this strategy is regularly used in NNY, a complementary approach is even more common. Some degree adverbs (齊/ʧuŋ35/) tend to postpose to their predicates. 16 Semantically, these adverbs are innately equivalent to the preposed ones, intensifying the degree of the associated adjectives.

Thus, NNY has developed a group of ad hoc degree quantifiers that associate with adjectives. To avoid ambiguity, the maximal degree (superlative) reading of 晒/lai33/ is not used in most instances. It is much more frequent for 晒/lai33/ to correlate with 總/ʧuŋ35/ ‘all’, a popular universal quantifier, to designate intensity of degree.

### 3.4.1.3 Completive 晒/lai33/: COMPLETELY

In a small number of examples, the exhaustion particle 晒/lai33/ serves as a completive, signifying that an action has been performed completely and thoroughly. The completive 晒/lai33/ quantifies over events in which the patient entity has been completely processed when the quantized events stop (cf. Gerner 2013: 288). However, 晒/lai33/’s ‘completely’ meaning has become bleached as its perfect/perfective aspectual meaning grows more prominent (see §5). It is hence not a typical completive but a weak one restricted to particular contexts. In most

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16 Considering the actual functions of the preposed and postposed degree adverbs in NNY, I reject the analysis put forward in traditional Chinese grammars, in which the preverbal adverbs are treated as adverbials, while the postverbal ones are treated as complements. Most southern Chinese dialects and minority languages are equipped with both preposed and postposed adverbials. Grammatically, the two types of adverbials share the same functions and relations to their predicates (see D. Liu 2000 for a detailed discussion on Cantonese). Therefore, I consistently treat them as superlatives according to their semantic features, no matter what word order they surface in.
situations, this use of 晒/lai³³/ is semantically equivalent to 齊/ʧhɐi²¹/, a typical universal quantifier and completive adverbial in NNY.

In Lin & F. Qin (2008: 325), 晒/lai³³/ is identified as a completive adverbial based on the fact that its use is more closely associated with the predicate than with the other components of the sentence. However, 晒/lai³³/ can also combine with certain nominal arguments to denote the disappearance of the entities caused by the verbal action. Syntactically, this version of 晒/lai³³/ occurs in the slot between the verb and object. Each of the sentences below has a pair of possible interpretations depending on which item is associated with 晒/lai³³/:  

(40a) 有 賣 晒 豆芽 有 得 翻屋。  
mu³⁴ mai²² lai³³ ti⁵⁵ tuu²³ na²¹ mu³⁴ tek⁵ fan⁵⁵ uk⁵  
NEG sell EXH:COMPLETELY this bean-sprout NEG ACQ home

i. ‘[If you] don’t sell out all the bean-sprout, [you are] not allowed to come back.’
ii. ‘[If you] don’t completely sell the bean sprout, [you are] not allowed to come back.’

(40b) #有 賣 晒 豆芽 有 得 翻屋。  
mu³⁴ mai²² ti⁵⁵ tuu²³ na²¹ mu³⁴ tek⁵ fan⁵⁵ uk⁵  
NEG sell this bean-sprout NEG ACQ home

Intended reading: ‘[If you] don’t sell the bean sprout, [you are] not allowed to come back.’

(Lin & F. Qin 2008: 325)

(41a) 昨日 我 食 晒 飯 就去買火車票。  
then⁵ jersey na²⁴ fek² lai³³ fan²² tʃu²² hy³³ mai³⁴ fʊ⁵ tʃɐ⁵ phiu⁵³³  
tomorrow 1sg eat EXH:COMPLETELY dinner then go buy train-ticket

i. ‘I will go to buy a ticket tomorrow after I finish eating all my dinner.’
ii. ‘I will go to buy a ticket tomorrow after I completely eat up my dinner.’

(41b) * 昨日 我 食 飯 就去買火車票。  
then⁵ jersey na²⁴ fek² fan²² tʃu²² hy³³ mai³⁴ fʊ⁵ tʃɐ⁵ phiu⁵³³  
tomorrow 1sg eat dinner then go buy train-ticket

Intended reading: ‘I will go to buy a ticket tomorrow after I finish eating my dinner.’

(42a) 大佬 嗨嗨 洗 晒 三件衫。  
tai¹³ lu⁵³ ʃɐm⁵⁵ ʃɐm⁵⁵ lei³⁵ lai³³ lam⁵⁵ ʃɐn⁵² fʊ⁵³³  
brother just wash EXH:COMPLETELY three CL clothes

i. ‘My brother washed all the three pieces of clothes just now.’
ii. ‘My brother finished washing the clothes just now.’

(42b) *大佬 嗨嗨 洗 三件衫。  
tai¹³ lu⁵³ ʃɐm⁵⁵ ʃɐm⁵⁵ lei³⁵ lam⁵⁵ ʃɐn⁵² fʊ⁵³³  
brother just wash three CL clothes

Intended reading: ‘My brother washed three pieces of clothes just now.’
On one interpretation of the examples above, 晒/lai33/ indicates that some particular objects in the sentence have been totally affected; on the second possible interpretation, it indicates completion of a situation by a relevant individual at the speech time. For instance, in (40), a master warns her servant that it is forbidden for him to go back home until he has sold out the bean sprouts. 晒/lai33/ expresses not only the completion of the action, but also the outcome that the possession of bean sprouts will transfer from the servant to the customers; thus all the bean sprouts will disappear as a result of the action of ‘selling’. A similar situation arises in example (41): 晒/lai33/ implies that “after all the food of my dinner is eaten up, I will go to buy the train ticket.” The completion of the verbal action naturally accompanies the change of the quantification of the food. 晒/lai33/ behaves as a quantifier to quantify over the objects.

晒/lai33/ can also appear postposed to an intransitive verb in the [S-V-晒] configuration. In this configuration, it is again primarily associated with the verb, denoting completion of the verbal action; alternatively, it may select a semantically divisible or plural subject:

(43a) 佢粒門牙甩 晒 哦。
khy24 nmp5 mun21 lai33 a33
3sg ATTR incisor fall EXH:COMPLETELY PP
i. ‘All his incisors have disappeared.’
i. ‘His incisors have completely disappeared.’
(43b) * 佢粒門牙甩 晒 哦。
khy24 nmp5 mun21 lai33 a33
3sg ATTR incisor fall PP
Intended reading: ‘His incisors disappeared.’

(44a) 眼淚水都飆 晒。
ŋɛn24 lui22 tu55 piu55 lai33
tears all shed EXH:COMPLETELY
i. ‘[She was so sad that] all her tears were shed.’
i. ‘She was out of tears and [couldn’t cry at all].’
(44b) * 眼淚水都飆。

17 Bybee et al. (1994: 57) argue that the definition of “completive” aspect should not be confined to the domain of verbal actions that denoted the semantic reading of “to do something thoroughly and completely”. Rather, a completive predicate usually exposes semantic nuances or uses of three sorts: 1. The object of the action is totally affected, consumed, or destroyed by the action; 2. The action involves a plural subject of an intransitive verb or an object of a transitive verb, especially an exhaustive or universal plural, such as “everyone died” or “he took all the stones”; 3. The action is reported with some emphasis or surprise value. Following this reasoning, I treat the various readings that are semantically associated with 晒/lai33/ simultaneously, but set aside the syntactic parsing.
As the glosses indicate, in all the sentences above, postverbal 晒/lai\(^{33}\)/ has two possible readings: on the first reading, it serves as a *universal quantifier* modifying an affected argument. Simultaneously, it performs the role of a bound *completive*, indicating the completed processing of the event. For example, in (43), the ‘completed’ notion of this imperative sentence can be paraphrased: if all the incisors are gone, the ongoing action of the disappearance of each incisor is completed.

In NNY, the ambiguous reading of 晒/lai\(^{33}\)/ is not often used except in *consuming-verb* structures that illustrate the severe affectedness of their arguments. The selection of arguments affected by the ambiguous completive reading of 晒/lai\(^{33}\)/ follows the order: entities first, actions second. The opposite order is empirically impossible.

Theoretically, a question arises concerning the relationship between the postverbal bound 晒/lai\(^{33}\)/, which I have glossed as a completive, and the aspect marker 晒/lai\(^{33}\)/ (§4.1.5). Diachronically speaking, the development of completives into aspect markers is attested in most of the world’s languages (Bybee *et al.* 1994: 61). The completive 晒/ lai\(^{33}\)/ in NNY is much richer in lexical meaning than its counterpart aspect marker. For further illustration of the completive function of this grammatic, I consider the following case:

\[
(45a) \quad \text{今日} \quad \text{啲} \quad \text{報紙} \quad \text{你} \quad \text{睇} \quad \text{晒} \quad \text{盟} \quad ?
\]

\[
\text{kmǐ}^{‘jet’} \quad \text{ti}^{55} \quad \text{pu}^{33} \quad \text{ni}^{24} \quad \text{thēi}^{35} \quad \text{lai}^{33} \quad \text{mēŋ}^{21}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{today} & \text{ATTR newspaper 2sg read EXH:COMPLETELY Q} \\
\end{array}
\]

\text{i. ‘Have you read the whole newspaper for today?’}

\text{ii. ‘Have you read today’s newspaper?’}

\[
(45b) \quad \# \quad \text{今日} \quad \text{啲} \quad \text{報紙} \quad \text{你} \quad \text{睇} \quad \text{盟} \quad ?
\]

\[
\text{kmǐ}^{‘jet’} \quad \text{ti}^{55} \quad \text{pu}^{33} \quad \text{ni}^{24} \quad \text{thēi}^{35} \quad \text{mēŋ}^{21}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{today} & \text{ATTR newspaper 2sg read Q} \\
\end{array}
\]

\text{Intended reading: ‘Have you read today’s newspaper?’}

In (45a), the object is topicalized. The fronting of the topic limits the applicability of the main predicate to a certain restricted domain by setting a “center of attention” in the discourse (Li & Thompson 1976). As the focus of the sentence, a topic can easily be affected or intensified in cognition. A similar situation arises in (46) and (47):
Like topicalization, the NNY inverted-object construction, with corresponds to the BA 把-construction or the disposal construction 處置式 in Mandarin (L. Wang 1980: 408), allows an object to be foregrounded. This construction implies the total affectedness of the objects (C. Sun 1996: 55). The completive and quantificational reading of each instance is notably more prominent than the aspectual reading in these examples. Furthermore, all my informants confirmed that, on their intuitive understanding of each sentence, they preferred meaning ‘i’ over meaning ‘ii’. Native speakers’ intuitions can be useful for revealing which function of a construction is more acceptable. In NNY, the completive reading only arises when the speaker intends to concentrate on the affectedness of the objects by the predicate.

### 3.5 Postverbal Aspect Marker 晒/lai³³/

Three quarters of the data I collected show examples of 晒/lai³³/ as an aspect marker. 晒/lai³³/, as a perfective aspect marker, indicates the completeness of a situation holistically; it can act as a perfect aspect marker to denote the continuing present relevance of a past situation or change to a new state (see general definitions in Comrie 1976: 17-18, 56-57). Scholars such as Bai (1985) and Lin & F. Qin (2008)
routinely report that postverbal 晒/lai³³/ may be an aspect marker in NNY, contrasting with its counterpart 咗/tsœ³⁵/ in Cantonese. Consider the following:

(48) 寄 敷 三 封 信。
ki³³ lai³³ lam⁵⁵ fœn⁵⁵ ſœn³³
deliver FINISHED three CL letter
‘[She] has already delivered the three letters.’

(48) narrates a situation in which a letter has been delivered [by her just now, or several days ago]. This is a complete event, since both the initial stage (going to the post office and putting the envelop into the pigeon hole) and the final stage (letters having been deposited, she leaves the post office) are finished. When postverbal 晒/lai³³/ is omitted, however, the reading of the sentence is flexible:

(49) 寄 三 封 信。
ki³³ ſœn⁵⁵ ſœn⁵⁵ ſœn³³
deliver three CL letter
i. ‘[She] delivers three letters.’
ii. ‘[She] is going to deliver three letters.’

The inclusion of 晒/lai³³/ indicates that the event has come to a natural end. It implies that the event is realis and has already happened in past time. Without 晒/lai³³/, (49) may be interpreted as irrealis: she has not yet mailed the letter, but she is going to send it in the future. Alternatively, (49) may simply be interpreted as failing to emphasize the temporal aspect of the event. The reading is flexible: she may be on her way to send the mail, or she may be in the process of mailing the letters. The same expression exists in example (50):

(50) 學 校 修 敷 棟 樓。
hok⁵⁵hau³³ ſœn⁵⁵ lai³³ tuŋ²² ſœŋ²¹
school build FINISHED CL house
‘The school has built a house.’

I claim that 晒/lai³³/ serves as a typical perfective or perfect aspect marker when it is in the postverbal slot, inasmuch as sentences with 晒/lai³³/ present closed situations complete at both endpoints (Smith 1997: 65). As illustrated, the postposed gram 晒/lai³³/ usually appears immediately after the verb. In some cases, it appears in the middle of the VO unit [S-V-晒-O], but it may also occupy the sentence-final slot [S-V-O-晒]. The bipartite coding of perfective and perfect aspect in NNY results
from the dynamic property of the preceding verbs. This, in turn, ties into the connection between 晒/ɬai33/ and the aspectual characteristic of the entire event.

Different verbs appear to differ in their ability to combine with 晒/ɬai33/. Following Vendler (1957) and Smith (1997), I classify the verbs of NNY into four classes (state, activity, accomplishment and achievement) to indicate their compatibility with 晒/ɬai33/ in various grammatical slots.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Static</th>
<th>Durative</th>
<th>Telic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accomplishment</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*FIG 3.1 Classification of NNY verb situations*

These categories are generally defined by three binary semantic features: static vs. dynamic, durative vs. punctual, and telic vs. atelic. They are typologically applicable to most world languages. In the following subsections, I provide a more thorough discussion of the criteria that define these verb types in NNY.

### 3.5.1 [S-V-晒-O] Configuration: perfective aspect marker 晒/ɬai33/

The following sections will investigate various verb types in an attempt to determine the relationship between the lexical notion of aspect and the grammatical aspect marker. On the grounds that the particular aspectual functions of 晒/ɬai33/ are not specifically defined by their syntactic positions, I will tentatively consider all possible constructions containing this gram and then discuss the relationship between the various aspectual functions in each relevant construction.

#### 3.5.1.1 Active

Active verbs describe processes that involve physical or mental activity, and consist entirely in the process. They have the temporal features [+Dynamic], [+Atelic] and [+Durative] (Smith 1997: 23). Active verbs often describe immediate, punctual actions, and are usually temporally unbounded. Active verbs synthesize easily with
晒/ɬai³³/ to denote the result of a preceding event. When 晒/ɬai³³/ appears with an active verb in the form [S-V-ʃɐ-O], it functions as a perfective aspect marker.

(51a) 佢 問 問 好 多 啲。
khy²⁴ men²² lai³³ hu³⁵ tɔ⁵⁵ ʃɐ⁴⁴
3sg ask FINISHED many thing
‘He asked many questions.’

(51b) #佢 問 好 多 啲。
khy²⁴ men²² hu³⁵ tɔ⁵⁵ ʃɐ⁴⁴
3sg ask many thing
Vague meaning: ‘He asks many questions.’

The verb 佢/men²²/ ‘ask’ implies a punctual and durative situation during which the action of “asking” can be repeated for quite a long time without a natural endpoint. However, the involvement of 晒/ɬai³³/ indicates the termination of the action—“asking questions”.

In (52a), “harvest the vegetables” (pick the fruit) is a dynamic and instantaneous action; the bound perfective aspect marker 晒/ɬai³³/ marks the completion of this action at the speech time. Context: the speaker is describing for his mother the daily working schedule of the greengrocer. In (52b), the speaker only tells the general story, and does not focus on the completed temporal scale of the event.

(52a) 天 蒙 蒙 光 菜 販 就 擇 晒 菜 啲！
thin⁵⁵ mʊŋ⁵⁵ mʊŋ⁵⁵ kʊŋ⁵⁵ ʃhoi³³ fan³³ ʃru²² ʃak² lai³³ ʃhoi³³ a³³
sky sunrise greengrocer then harvest FINISHED vegetable PP
‘The greengrocer has harvested the vegetables before sunrise.’

(52b) #天 蒙 蒙 光 菜 販 就 擇 菜 啲！
thin⁵⁵ mʊŋ⁵⁵ mʊŋ⁵⁵ kʊŋ⁵⁵ ʃhoi³³ fan³³ ʃru²² ʃak² ʃhoi³³ a³³
sky sunrise greengrocer then harvest vegetable PP
Intended reading: ‘The greengrocer starts to harvest the vegetables when the sun rises.’

In the next example, the verbal action is caused by the subject’s head. This verbal action may be dynamic and punctual, or durative and sustained.

(53a) 只 雞 公 抬 晒 頭 鳴 叫 起 身。
ʃak³ kʊŋ⁵⁵ kʊŋ⁵⁵ ʃhoi²¹ lai³³ thu³¹ mʊŋ²¹ kiu³³ hi³³ ʃın⁵⁵
CL rooster raise FINISHED head tweet INCHO
‘The rooster raised his head, crowing.’

(53b) 只 雞 公 抬 頭 鳴 叫 起 身。
ʃak³ kʊŋ⁵⁵ kʊŋ⁵⁵ ʃhoi²¹ thu³¹ mʊŋ²¹ kiu³³ hi³³ ʃın⁵⁵
CL rooster raise head tweet INCHO
‘The rooster raised his head, crowing.’
(53) is a serial-verb construction, in which two (or more) verbs share the same grammatical subject, and are juxtaposed to form a complex predicate expressing a series of related actions within a single clause (Givón 2009). The linear string of verbs is arranged in sequential order. 晒/lai\33/ follows the first verb of the complex predicate “raise head”, which is followed by the action “crow”. Without the aid of 晒/lai\33/, (53b) is also grammatical, since the serial verbs naturally indicate the bounded situation of the first verbal action.

晒/lai\33/ can integrate flexibly with a group of active verbs to illustrate the end point of a verbal action:

(54a) 佢喺醫院睇病人。
khy\24 hni\35 ji\35 jyn\35 thni\35 lai\33 pe\22
3sg at hospital see FINISHED doctor
‘He has seen the doctor in the hospital.’

(54b) # 佢喺醫院睇病人。
khy\24 hni\35 ji\35 jyn\35 thni\35 pe\22
3sg at hospital see doctor
Intended reading: ‘He is seeing the doctor in the hospital [now].’

(55a) 阿個車司酒後開車捱警罰錢。
a\33 k3\55 fi\35 jfi\35 ji\35 jyn\35 hau\22 hni\35 fi\35 nai\21 ke\35 khat\3 fat\2 lai\33 fi\35
this driver drunk drive PASS police impose FINISHED penalty
‘This drunk driver has had a penalty imposed on him by the police.’

(55b) # 阿個車司酒後開車捱警罰錢。
a\33 k3\55 fi\35 jfi\35 ji\35 jyn\35 hau\22 hni\35 fi\35 nai\21 ke\35 khat\3 fat\2 fi\35
this driver drunk drive PASS police impose penalty
Intended reading: ‘This drunk driver has had a penalty imposed on him by the police.’

(56a) 啥件衫鎖邊就得著哦。
a\33 kin\33 fam\35 la\35 lai\33 pin\35 fi\35 tuk\3 fa\33
these CL clothes tail FINISHED side MOD ACQ\_can wear PP
‘[You will be] able to wear these clothes after I tailor them.’

(56b) # 啥件衫鎖邊就得著哦。
a\33 kin\33 fam\35 la\35 pin\35 fi\35 tuk\3 fa\33
these CL clothes tail side MOD ACQ\_can wear PP
Intended reading: ‘[You will be] able to wear these clothes after I tailor them.’

All the previous examples relate to physical parts of humans. However, actions in to this category can also be caused by mental devices or physical perceptions. They describe active and atelic situations that are compatible with晒/lai\33/ as well:

(57a) 等我喺廟子許願先至翻屋。
tw\35 jn\35 ti\32 hni\35 miu\22 jn\35 hyn\35 lai\33 jyn\22 lin\35 jn\33 fan\35 uk\5
91
wait 1pl at temple make FINISHED wish then return home
‘We will not go home until we finish worshiping the deity in the temple.’

(57b) *等 我哋 唸 鎮子 許 願 先至 翻屋。
wait 1pl at temple make wish then return home
Intended reading: ‘We will not go home until we finish worshiping the deity in the temple.’

(58a) 一群 差佬 監察 賰啊陣間，後尾捉得啊賊崽。
one CL police inspect FINISHED moment then catch ACQ:ASP CL thief
‘A group of policemen had been investigating for a long time and then they succeeded in catching the thief.’

(58b) 一群 差佬 監察 賰啊陣間，後尾捉得啊賊崽。
one CL police inspect moment then catch ACQ:ASP CL thief
‘A group of policemen had been investigating for a long time and then they succeeded in catching the thief.’

(59a) 到底落 賰 雨有啊?
whether drop FINISHED rain NEG PP
‘Did it rain [yesterday]?’

(59b) # 到底落 雨 有 啊?
whether drop rain NEG PP
Intended reading: ‘Is it raining?’

(57b) is ungrammatical due to the fact that the context requires a completion of the first action before the second action begins. The ellipsis of 落/lai/ makes the context fall to indicate a clear endpoint of the first action.

I have shown in this section that, in NNY, active verbs that exhibit the features [+Dynamic], [+Atelic] and [+Durative] are usually compatible with 落/lai/. These verbs are grouped into several subcategories based on their semantic reading. The combination of [V active] and [落] emphasizes the termination of one particular temporal point relative to the reference time. In the [S-V-落-O] configuration, 落/lai/ acts as a perfective aspect marker to stress the termination and immediacy of the situation of the sentential event.

### 3.5.1.2 Achievement

Temporally speaking, achievements occur at single moments, while states last for a period of time (Vendler 1957: 103). Achievements are instantaneous events that result in a change of state, and they bear the properties [+Dynamic], [+Telic] and...
In contrast to active situations, achievements are usually associated with a natural endpoint, and consist of an original state. Typical achievements are changes of state that occur very quickly and may be the end of a chain of events (Smith 1997: 30). The configuration [V\textsubscript{achievement} / 晒 - O] is widely observed in NNY; in this context, 晒 / lai\textsuperscript{33} / reinforces the natural end of the verbal event.

(60a) 開 晒 門 就 出去。
 hai\textsuperscript{55} lai\textsuperscript{33} mun\textsuperscript{21} ꯖu\textsuperscript{22} ꯖyt hy\textsuperscript{33}
 open FINISHED door then go out
'He opens the door and goes out.'

(60b) * 開 門 就 出去。
 hai\textsuperscript{55} mun\textsuperscript{21} ꯖu\textsuperscript{22} ꯖyt hy\textsuperscript{33}
 open door then go out
Intended reading: 'He [He] opens the door and goes out.'

(61a) 贏 晒 好多 錢。
 jen\textsuperscript{21} lai\textsuperscript{33} hu\textsuperscript{35} to\textsuperscript{55} ꯖhin\textsuperscript{21}
 win FINISHED much money
'He has won a lot of money.'

(61b) # 贏 好多 錢？
 jen\textsuperscript{21} hu\textsuperscript{35} to\textsuperscript{55} ꯖhin\textsuperscript{21}
 win much money
Intended reading: 'How much money will [he] win?'

In these two sentences, 晒 / lai\textsuperscript{33} / is embedded between the verb and the object. (61a) is distinguished from (61b) based on the boundedness of the event: (61a) is more grounded and bounded than (61b), whose context is irrealis (encoded by an interrogative sentence). In general, 晒 / lai\textsuperscript{33} / expresses the termination of the verbal action and a change from an old state to a new one.

In NNY, as in most languages, the use of a directional verb semantically implies a progression from an initial start point to a natural endpoint. Arrival at a destination is one type of directional transfer: completion. When 晒 / lai\textsuperscript{33} / is omitted, (62b) and (63b) are pragmatically odd and vague. Since the context of these two sentences requires a bounded situation which is enforced by 晒 / lai\textsuperscript{33} /, its omission will cause a blurred temporal orientation of the event.

(62a) 你 去 晒 跟 呢 我 再 去。
 ni\textsuperscript{24} hy\textsuperscript{33} lai\textsuperscript{33} ken\textsuperscript{55} ne\textsuperscript{33} ꯖai\textsuperscript{24} ꯖyi\textsuperscript{33} hy\textsuperscript{33}
 2sg go FINISHED then PP 1sg again go
 'After your visit, I will go there.'

(62b) # 你 去 跟 呢 我 再 去。
 ni\textsuperscript{24} hy\textsuperscript{33} ken\textsuperscript{55} ne\textsuperscript{33} ꯖai\textsuperscript{24} ꯖyi\textsuperscript{33} hy\textsuperscript{33}
Many achievement verbs describe a change of physical coordinates or the adoption of a new posture. The temporal dimension of the verb is instantaneous, but the result of the action can last for quite a long time.

Similar to the situation in (62b) and (63b), the absence of 跑/lai33/ makes (64b) and (65b) unbounded, which is incompatible with the “boundedness” requirement of the context.

3.5.1.3 Accomplishment

In contrast to achievement verbs, accomplishment verbs carry the notion of a unique and definite time period. The features of accomplishment are [+Dynamic], [+Telic] and [+Durative] according to Smith (1997: 26).
here reduce FINISHED price there afterwards then reduce
‘[Some goods are on promotion], after this shop reduced the price, that shop followed.’

(66b) 阿咁跌價咁跌跟手就跌。
a³⁶ti³⁵ ti³³ ka³³ lu⁵⁵ti³³ kum⁴⁴ʃu³³ʃu³³ ti³³
here reduce price there afterwards then reduce
Intended reading: ‘[Some goods are on promotion], after this shop reduced the price, that shop follows.’

(67a) 我請而家喺處長食飯冇請佢到。
ŋ⁵⁴ ʃheŋ³⁵ lai³³ jì²¹ ka⁵⁵ kɛ²¹ tʃhy³³ ʃʃeŋ³⁵ ʃʃeŋ³⁵ ʃʃə²² mu⁴⁴ ʃʃeŋ³⁵ khy²⁴ tu¹³
1sg invite FINISHED now ATTR director have dinner NEG invite 3sg come
‘I have invited the standing director to have dinner but not him [managing director].’

(67b) # 我請而家喺處長食飯冇請佢到。
ŋ⁵⁴ ʃheŋ³⁵ jì²¹ ka⁵⁵ kɛ²¹ tʃhy³³ ʃʃeŋ³⁵ ʃʃeŋ³⁵ ʃʃə²² mu⁴⁴ ʃʃeŋ³⁵ khy²⁴ tu¹³
1sg invite now ATTR director have dinner NEG invite 3sg come
Intended reading: ‘I will invite the standing director to have dinner but not him [managing director].’

The situations of “price reduction” in (66) and “inviting someone to have dinner” in (67) involve telic actions: the performance of reducing price will naturally reach an endpoint when the price should not be lowered anymore (otherwise the business will lose money). Likewise, a banquet invitation is accomplished once a guest has confirmed his attendance. However, these events stage may undergo a durative period before they reach their innate endpoint. 晒/laï³³/ serves to locate the terminal point of the action, irrespective of the continuation of the event situation.

Some verbs imply an ‘attachment’, in which one object becomes attached to or stuck on the surface of another object. This type of verb also freely co-occurs with 晒/laï³³/.

(68a) 你戴哂眼鏡。
ni²⁴ tæi³³ lai³³ ŋæn²⁴ kæn³³
2sg wear FINISHED glasses
‘You have worn a pair of glasses.’

(68b) # 你戴眼鏡。
ni²⁴ tæi³³ ŋæn²⁴ kæn³³
2sg wear glasses
Intended reading: ‘You [often] wear a pair of glasses, [but I do not].’

(69a) 今日重冷過琴日，冇哂被先至睡晏覺。
kem⁵⁵jet² ʃhuŋ²⁴ lai²⁴ ko³³ kham⁴¹ mɛnt² kham⁴³ lai³³ phi²⁴ ʃʃi³³ lin⁵⁵ jì²¹ ʃʃə²² keu³³
today colder COM yesterday cover FINISHED quilt then sleep
‘[The weather] today is much colder than yesterday; before you go to bed, [you should] cover yourself with a quilt [to keep warm].’

(69b) # 今日重冷過琴日，冇哂被先至睡晏覺。
kem⁵⁵jet² ʃhuŋ²⁴ lai²⁴ ko³³ kham⁴¹ mɛnt² kham⁴³ phi²⁴ ʃʃi³³ lin⁵⁵ jì²¹ ʃʃə²² keu³³
today colder COM yesterday cover quilt then sleep
Intended reading: ‘[The weather] today is much colder than yesterday; before you go to bed, [you should] cover yourself with a quilt [to keep warm].’

In these examples, the [V-晒] unit expresses completion of the verbal action, yet the resultant state (the “attached” status of one object) caused by the verb will go on for an indefinite period before the natural endpoint of the situation is reached. Without the assistance of 晒 /lai³³/, (69b) is still grammatical (but a little pragmatically vague), since the sequential order of the actions (cover with the quilt, then sleep) naturally denotes an endpoint of the first action and the beginning of the second action. 晒/lai³³/’s participation serves to specify the completeness of the first action.

Similarly, the movement verbs in the following sentences freely combine with the perfective aspect marker 晒/lai³³/. Although the verbs themselves pass through a durative phase before reaching the situation’s endpoint, 晒/lai³³/ shifts the focus to the final stage rather than an intermediate point along the durative string.

(70a) 佢扛晒箱香蕉去墟。
khy²⁴ khɔŋ²¹ lai³³ lɔŋ²⁵ hjiu⁵⁵ hy³³ hy⁵⁵ 3sg lift FINISHED CL banana go market
‘He has lifted a box of bananas to go to the market.’

(70b) 佢扛箱香蕉去墟。
khy²⁴ khɔŋ²¹ lai³³ lɔŋ²⁵ hjiu⁵⁵ hy³³ hy⁵⁵ 3sg lift CL banana go market
Intended reading: ‘He lifts a box of bananas to go to the market.’

Basic transfer-of-possession verbs describe situations that involve a voluntary actor and an unaffected or non-controlled patient (Payne 1997: 47-48). These verbs merely specify a transfer of possessions from the possessor to the receiver. The entire stage is durative but telic once the transfer process is completed. In NNY, this subset of accomplishment verbs usually integrates with 晒/lai³³/.

(71a) 當晒我阿分錢。
puserRepository³³ lai³³ ɲɔ²⁴ a³³ fn⁵⁵ hɔŋ²¹ give FINISHED 1sg one dollar money
‘He has given me one cent.’

(71b) #當我阿分錢。
puserRepository³³ ɲɔ²⁴ a³³ fn⁵⁵ hɔŋ²¹ give 1sg one dollar money
Intended reading: ‘Please give me one cent!’

(72a) 學校啱癡崽揾人偷晒五隻。
hok⁵⁵ kau²³ ke³¹ ʈʰjʊ²³ hjiu²³ ɲai²¹ jen²¹ theu⁴⁶ lai³³ ɲ²⁴ tʃek³
It is fairly certain that, in these three sentences, the possessed objects have undergone a spatial movement from one possessor to another. In (72), the event of “stealing the chairs” is basically durative (The thief broke into the classroom, searching. He eventually stole some chairs and the owner found that his chairs had disappeared); however, the inclusion of晒/lai³³/ focuses the story’s timeline on the final point, when the transfer of possession of the chair has been completed.

Up to this point, I have been viewing the traits of the dynamic verbs and their compatibility with晒/lai³³/ in the aspectual domain. Achievement verbs are easily aligned with晒/lai³³/ as a result of their “telic and completed” semantics.

### 3.5.1.4 Stative

In contrast to the active type, stative verbs focus on the static and durative traits of an event. Linguistically, stative situations are frequently described by predicate adjectives or predicate nominals (e.g. equation, location, existence and possession) (Payne 1997: 55, 111) or a verb constellation focusing on the state, possessing the properties [+Static], [+Durative] and [+Atelic] (Smith 1997: 34). Some stative verbs in NNY accept the perfective aspect marker晒/lai³³/, while others are semantically incompatible with this gram. Below, I will consider several examples of abstract and concrete stative predicates.
XW become FINISHED director again become section-chief
‘After Xiaowang secured a director position [in our department], he then became a section-chief.’

(74b) 
hi²³ kwo³³ tɔŋ³³ ʧi⁶⁵ ɬwi³³ jem²² jɛi²² jì¹³ tɔŋ³³ ʃi³³ ʧi³³ ʃi³³
XW become director again become section-chief

Intended reading: ‘After Xiaowang secured a director position [in our department], he then became a section-chief.’

These two examples predict the existence of some entity, usually in some specified location. This set of verbs specifies a static state that is temporally durative and continuous. The insertion of 晒/lai³³/ does not impede the durative notion of the event; instead, it divides the entire event into individual completed states.

In other words, when 晒/lai³³/ combines with a locational verb, it typically affects the verb’s temporal complementation.

(75a) ʧi³³ ɹi³³ tɔŋ³³ ɹi³³ ʧi³³ ɬi³³ nin³¹
[His] elder son has been living in the big house for four years.

(75b) ʧi³³ ɹi³³ tɔŋ³³ ɹi³³ ʧi³³ ɬi³³ nin³¹
[His] elder son can live in the big house for four years.

Most stative predicates are compatible with 晒/lai³³/; in these cases, 晒/lai³³/ either describes the completeness of one particular event during the continuous temporal range, or it points out an inchoative stage of a new event. However, some subsets of the stative type are incompatible with 晒/lai³³/. This occurs when the temporal scope of the stative event cannot be broken into individual units that can be completed and bounded. Because of their unchangeable or indivisible nature, the two sentences below are ungrammatical with 晒/lai³³/ in the middle:

(76) * wɔŋ¹¹ lu⁴⁴ jì³³ ɬwi³³ ɬai³³ ni²¹ ɬi²² lu³³ jì³³ ɲu²¹ hwi²²
Miss W COP FINISHED 2sg ATTR teacher 1sg NEG COP
‘Your teacher is Miss Wang, not me!’

(77) * ɬai³³ pet¹
Three plus five equate FINISHED eight
‘Three plus five is eight.’
3.5.2 [S-V-O-
 晒] Configuration: perfect aspect marker 晒/ɬai³³/

The preceding section described the various verb types and their compatibility with the bound aspect marker 晒/ɬai³³/. In fact, the sentence-final aspect marker 晒/ɬai³³/ is more acceptable than its verb-bound counterpart. Thus, it is possible for [S-V-晒-O] to be replaced by [S-V-O-晒] without any change in its semantic domain. Lin & F. Qin (2008: 326) suggest that sentence-final 晒/ɬai³³/, as a perfect aspect marker (‘COME.TO.BE’ or ‘ALREADY’), represents a more ancient substrate of NNY, while the inserted perfective aspect marker 晒/ɬai³³/ probably derives from prolonged contact with Mandarin. All the samples in my database back up this proposal. Hence, all the examples listed above are grammatical as long as 晒/ɬai³³/ occupies the sentence-final slot. I tentatively treat this instance of 晒/ɬai³³/ as a perfect aspect marker. It signals the completeness of a set of circumstances at the reference time or in the narrative (Bybee et al. 1994: 54).

Not only NNY, but the other Yue dialects in GXR as well, accept the sentence-final 晒/ɬai³³/ more readily than the bound one. In the Longzhou Yue dialect 龍州粵語, for instance, the bound 晒/ɬai³³/ is hardly attested. In most scenarios, speakers fluently use the sentence-final construction. In addition, I have made a survey of statistics from Lin & F. Qin (2008). Their work lists about 255 sentences with aspectual 晒/ɬai³³/, but only 22 tokens occurring in the [V-晒-O] slot. The details are specified in this table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structures</th>
<th>Tokens (255 totally)</th>
<th>Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[S-V-晒-O]</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[S-V-О-晒]</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>53.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[S-V-晒-O-晒]</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>26.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[S-V-晒]</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*FIG 3.2 The possible grammatical distributions of 晒 in Lin & F. Qin (2008)*

18 This conclusion comes from my fieldwork in Longzhou in the middle of 2011, during which I designed a verb-final bound 晒/ɬai³³/ structure and investigated the popularity of this usage. However, my three informants (one 60-year-old vendor, one 41-year-old taxi driver and a middle-age government staffer) naturally substituted it with a sentence-final structure. Even though the verb-bound slot is valid and grammatical, the Longzhou residents do not perceive it as particularly frequent or popular in their daily communication.
As demonstrated in this table, the use of sentence-final 晒/ɬai33/ is very popular in NNY. Some verbs that do not allow 晒/ɬai33/ in the [S-V-晒-O] structure accept it in the [S-V-O 晒] syntactic position. Example (78) is an excerpt from a tale about a little cat who never knows how to catch mice. After the teaching of the mother cat, the little cat finally learns how to perform this task. Here, 晒/ɬai33/ indicates a change of state from “unknown” to “known” and eventually the whole event (catching mice) is completed.

(78) 只 貓 開始 捉 老鼠 晒。
\text{tʃeŋ^3 meu^5 huə^33 ɬi^33 ɬi^35 jy^35 lai^33}
\text{CL cat begin catch mouse ALREADY}
\text{‘This cat has begun to catch mice already.’ (Lin & F. Qin 2008: 325)}

(79) 打通 條路 晒。
\text{ta^35 thuŋ^5 thu^12 lu^22 lai^33}
dredge through CL road ALREADY
\text{‘[The workers] have dredged this road.’}

(80) 阿明 同 阿輝 總 考得 大學 晒。
\text{a^33 meŋ^21 thuŋ^13 wei^25 ɬuŋ^35 hau^35 tʃeŋ^5 tʃi^22 hək^2 lai^33}
\text{M and H all pass ACQ:ASP university ALREADY}
\text{‘Both A’ming and Ahui has passed [the entrance exam] of the university.’ (Lin & F. Qin 2008: 331)}

(81) 刺 只 鴨 晒，盟 刺 雞 到。
\text{tʃəŋ^3 ɬi^35 ap^3 lai^33 mu^23 thuŋ^5 kuə^5 tu^33}
\text{kill CL duck ALREADY NEG kill chicken yet}
\text{‘[He] has killed this duck, but has not killed the chicken yet.’ (Lin & F. Qin 2008: 341)}

晒/ɬai33/ can also follow certain temporal elements. Again, it is interpreted as a perfect aspect marker, signaling the result of a prior event and its impact on the present moment. Most of these sentences imply an ongoing temporal sequence:

(82) 準備 五 點 晒，佢 做 七 點 重 盟 來？
\text{ŋən^35 ŋi^22 ɬi^24 tim^35 lai^33 khy^24 ɬu^33 meŋ^21 tʃi^24 thuŋ^21 meŋ^21 lai^21}
will 5 o’clock ALREADY 3sg do what MOD NEG come
\text{‘It will be five o’clock, why has he not yet come here?’ (Lin & F. Qin 2008: 297)}

At the same time, 晒/ɬai33/ may associate with a sentence-final pragmatic particle 啊/a^33/ to assign an additional emphatic mood to the sentence.
Lin & F. Qin (2008: 285) explicitly argue that, in NNY, compound directional complements cannot be separated when the object is not a locative argument but a perfective aspect marker, as a perfect aspect marker, combines with compound directional complements. When the object of the sentence is semantically analyzed as a locative argument, the compound directional complements appear in the form [COMP$_{direction}$ - O - COMP$_{direction}$]. In this structure, the locative object is inserted into the slot between the two complements, while 晒/lai$^{33}$/ follows the whole structure. The following examples are extended based on Lin & F. Qin (2008: 285):

(84) 本书推撕去一页晒啊。
pun$^{35}$ y$^{55}$ ni$^{24}$ thu$^{24}$ j$^{22}$ t$^{55}$ hy$^{33}$ jet$^{5}$ jip$^{5}$ t$^{21}$ lai$^{33}$ a$^{33}$
CL book PASS tear go one CL ALREADY PP
‘One page of the book was torn out.’

(85) 我屋有種菜晒啊。
ŋ$^{24}$ uk$^{5}$ mu$^{24}$ fn$^{33}$ fn$^{33}$ t$^{21}$ lai$^{33}$ a$^{33}$
1sg house NEG plant vegetable ALREADY PP
‘I have not planted the vegetables in my house.’

In a similar vein, 晒/lai$^{33}$/, as a perfect aspect marker, combines with compound directional complements. When the object of the sentence is semantically analyzed as a locative argument, the compound directional complements appear in the form [COMP$_{direction}$ - O - COMP$_{direction}$]. In this structure, the locative object is inserted into the slot between the two complements, while 晒/lai$^{33}$/ follows the whole structure. The following examples are extended based on Lin & F. Qin (2008: 285):

(86) 佢行上二樓嚟晒。
khy$^{24}$ h$^{21}$ fn$^{22}$ j$^{22}$ t$^{21}$ lai$^{21}$ lai$^{33}$
3sg walk up two floor come ALREADY
‘He has come to the second floor.’

(87) 佢爬上樹去晒。
khy$^{24}$ ph$^{21}$ fn$^{22}$ ph$^{32}$ f$^{22}$ hy$^{33}$ lai$^{13}$
3sg climb up CL tree go ALREADY
‘He has climbed up the tree.’

(88) 佢行落一樓嚟晒。
khy$^{24}$ h$^{21}$ tk$^{5}$ jet$^{5}$ t$^{21}$ loi$^{21}$ lai$^{13}$
3sg walk down one floor come ALREADY
‘He has walked down the floor.’

(89) 佢趨落一間屋去晒。
khy$^{24}$ tik$^{5}$ l$^{2}$ jet$^{5}$ kan$^{33}$ uk$^{5}$ hy$^{13}$ lai$^{13}$
3sg jump fall one CL house go ALREADY
‘He has jumped into a house.’

(90) 老鼠, ~ 出窩嚟晒。
lu$^{24}$ j$^{3}$ lyn$^{55}$ h$^{2}$ y$^{5}$ lyn$^{55}$ l$^{21}$ lai$^{33}$
mouse burst through hole come ALREADY
‘A mouse has burst through a hole [come out of the hole].’
patient of the predicate. As a result, these authors parse the compound directional complements as an integrated unit without any segmentation:

\[(91) \text{佢遞樽水落去晒。} \]
\[\text{khy}^{24} \text{tu}^{22} \text{fum}^{55} \text{lai}^{33} \text{tak}^{2} \text{hy}^{33} \text{lai}^{33} \]
\[3sg \text{pass CL water inside ALREADY} \]
\[\text{‘He has put a bottle of water into the [hole].’} \]

Note that all the examples from (86) to (90) primarily accept a sentence-final 晒/lai^{33}/, which serves as a perfect aspect marker reflecting the completeness of the entire sentence event, rather than a postposed perfective aspect marker that is morphologically bound to the main verb. Thus, in (87), it is odd to say 佢爬晒上坡樹去:khy^{24} \text{pha}^{21} \text{lai}^{33} \text{jen}^{24} \text{pha}^{55} \text{hy}^{22} \text{hy}^{33}/.

It is reasonable to encode 晒/lai^{33}/ in (92) as a perfect aspect marker corresponding to its counterpart in (76), since neither of the verbs in (76) and (92) is dynamically rich. A typical interpretation of these two sentences should center on the inchoativity of the events, rather than a description of the complete verbal situation. The perfect aspect marker 晒/lai^{33}/ changes the aspect of the stative predicate to inchoative, that is, it makes the stative predicate signal a change of state (cf. Bybee et al. 1994: 74). Thus, a group of stative verbs is compatible with postposed 晒/lai^{33}/, if 晒/lai^{33}/ is paraphrased as a perfect aspect marker that expresses change of state rather than completeness of the individual verb action. I gloss this function of 晒/lai^{33}/ as ‘BECOME’:

\[(92) \text{覃老師喺你哋老師晒。} \]
\[\text{khen}^{21} \text{lu}^{24} \text{jien}^{35} \text{hui}^{22} \text{ni}^{24} \text{ti}^{22} \text{lu}^{24} \text{jien}^{55} \text{lai}^{33} \]
\[\text{Miss Q COP 2sg ATTR teacher BECOME} \]
\[\text{‘Miss Qin becomes your teacher now [, even though she was not last year].’} \]

\[(93) \text{佢二十歲晒。} \]
\[\text{khy}^{24} \text{ji}^{23} \text{jen}^{2} \text{tui}^{33} \text{lai}^{33} \]
\[3sg \text{twenty year BECOME} \]
\[\text{‘He becomes twenty years old.’} \]

\[(94) \text{阿隻女人有兩隻仔晒，重慨後生。} \]
\[\text{a}^{33} \text{ji}^{23} \text{ny}^{24} \text{jien}^{21} \text{ji}^{24} \text{jen}^{24} \text{ji}^{23} \text{jen}^{35} \text{lai}^{33} \text{tjen}^{21} \text{kum}^{35} \text{ji}^{24} \text{jen}^{55} \]
\[\text{this CL woman have two CL children BECOME still so young} \]
\[\text{‘This woman has two children already [lit: becomes the mother of two children], but she is still so young.’} \]
3.5.3 [S-V 晒] Configuration: perfective/perfect aspect marker 晒/lai\textsuperscript{33}/

When 晒/lai\textsuperscript{33}/ appears in the [S-V-晒] form, it occupies both the suffixal and sentence-final positions. The interpretation of 晒/lai\textsuperscript{33}/ in this case is more dependent on the context and the semantic content rather than the syntactic distribution.

Pedagogical grammars of modern Chinese report that the aspect marker “了” is ambiguous in certain contexts. S.X Lü (2006: 353-354) argues that, when it occurs in the form [S-V 了], the aspect marker “了” reveals three possible functions—“了\textsubscript{1}”: perfective aspect marker, “了\textsubscript{2}”: perfect aspect marker and “了\textsubscript{1+2}”: perfective and perfect aspect marker.

Following this approach, I contend that in the [S-V-晒] structure, 晒/lai\textsuperscript{33}/ also possesses multiple readings depending on the contexts: on the one hand, as a perfective aspect marker, it indicates the termination of the verbal action. However, this use is dependent on the aid of the following clause, as illustrated below:

(95) 我 瞧 晒 好 高興。
\(\text{ŋ}5\text{ŋ}24\text{ŋ}hi\text{35}\text{lai}\text{33}\text{hu}5\text{ku}\text{35}\text{heŋ}\text{33}\)
1sg look FINISHED very happy
‘I was very happy after I looked at [it].’

(96) 阿 粒 舊 布 可 以 裁 晒 做衫。
\(\text{a}3\text{ŋ}5\text{ŋ}p5\text{kru}22\text{pu}\text{33}\text{hu}35\text{ji}24\text{ŋ}hi\text{21}\text{lai}\text{33}\text{ŋu}35\text{jam}\text{55}\)
this CL old textile can tailor FINISHED make clothes
‘[If you want to make clothes, you should first] tailor this textile.’

Sometimes, the [S-V-晒] unit acts as a conditional clause expressing an implication related to the following clause:

(97) 工做 晒 心 至 安樂。
\(\text{ku}5\text{ŋ}5\text{ŋu}15\text{lai}\text{33}\text{lem}5\text{ŋ}33\text{on}5\text{lok}2\)
work do FINISHED heart then comfortable
‘[Only if he] finishes the work, will he feel comfortable.’

On the other hand, sentence-final 晒/lai\textsuperscript{33}/ can simultaneously indicate the completion of the verbal action as well as the beginning of a new state. In this case, 晒/lai\textsuperscript{33}/ may be construed as a perfect aspect marker and a perfective aspect marker. 晒/lai\textsuperscript{33}/ is thus ambiguous in this context:
3.5.4 [S-V 晒-O-晒] Configuration and the Aspectual Functions of 晒 /lai¹³³/

The aspect marker 晒 /lai¹³³/ occasionally reduplicates itself in NNY, but this reduplicated structure is out of vogue for most native speakers. Young adults, whose grasp of Mandarin Chinese is strong, prefer this construction in their daily interlocutions. However, for speakers above 40 years old, the sentence-final 晒/lai¹³³/ is more acceptable.¹⁹ The first verb-bound 晒/lai¹³³/ should be understood as a perfective aspect marker, by virtue of its close affiliation with the action of the verb, while the second 晒/lai¹³³/ is more properly analyzed as a perfect aspect marker, since it affects the interpretation of the entire event relative to the speech time.

(100) 佢 上個 月 結婚    晒    婚    晒．
        khy²⁴ kʊ⁴³ ko³³ jyt² kit³ lai³³ wø⁵⁵ lai³³ 3sg last CL month have FINISHED wedding ALREADY
        ‘He got married last month.’ (Lin & F. Qin 2008: 326)

(101) 件事 我 怎 晒    好耐 晒．
        kɪn²² jì²² η⁴³ nem³³ lai³³ hu²⁵ nɛ²⁴ lai³³ CL case 1sg wonder FINISHED long-time ALREADY
        ‘I have been wondering about this case for a long time.’

(102) 形成    晒    好多 壩塘    晒    哦．
        jəⁿ²¹ jn²¹ lai³³ hu⁵⁵ tø⁵⁵ hu²¹ thəⁿ²¹ lai³³ a³³ construct FINISHED many pond ALREADY PP
        ‘[Because the residents were building the city], a pond was constructed at the same time.’

Most instances of repeated 晒 /lai¹³³/ are considered unnatural in NNY. Although this use is acceptable in daily expression, informants are reluctant to pick it

¹⁹The two informants I consulted on this point were about 50 years old. They intuitively felt that sentence-final 晒/lai¹³³/ was more ‘Nanningese’, while the double 晒/lai¹³³/ was also acceptable but a little redundant and reminiscent of the Mandarin expression.
as their first option. They are convinced that the double-晒/ɬai33/ structure is redundant and unnecessary.

3.6 Conjunction 晒/ɬai33/: THEN, AND, SO, BUT

When verbal 晒/ɬai33/ occurs outside the boundaries of the clause, it usually functions as a discourse conjunction (or linker) to connect a series of clauses that are linearly arranged in the temporal domain. In this use, 晒/ɬai33/ seems to be developing into a sequential conjunction. The development of this conjunction function occurs at the expense of 晒/ɬai33/’s verbal function. On the other hand, the verbal meaning of ‘FINISH’ is remarkably predominant when 晒/ɬai33/ stands alone between two clauses or occurs within the 晒呢/ɬai33 ne33/ or 喊晒呢/kem35ɬai33 ne33/ constellation.

In this spirit, I gloss the independent clause-combining 晒/ɬai33/ as a conjunctival verb20 that denotes an abutment relation between the completion of the first action and the commencement of the second action. Diachronically, 晒/ɬai33/ in this context is undergoing a mutation from the verb (‘FINISH’) to the conjunction (‘THEN’).

(103) 佢 先 食 阿姨， 晒呢， 再 食 沙梨。
khy35 lin35 jek3 phen21 ko35 ɬai33 ne33 jat35 jek3 la55 li21
3sg first eat apple THEN will eat pear
‘He first ate the apple, then the pear.’

(104) 我 十歲 來 南寧 做工， 晒， 一直 住 喊 南寧。
ŋɔ34 jip22 lɯi33 lai21 nam23 neŋ31 jat35 jek3 ɬai33 nam23 neŋ31
1sg ten years come NN work THEN always live in NN
‘I came to work in Nanning when I was ten years old. Since then I have been living in Nanning for a long time.’

Conjunctival 晒/ɬai33/ can be flexibly bound to nouns that are sequentially organized in discourse.

(105) 喜 飯店 食 飯 先 上 湯， 湯 佢 到 只 雞， 雞 晒。
hᵣi35 fan22 tim33 jek2 fan22 lin55 jen24 jat35 jek3 thɔŋ55 thɔŋ55 ɬai33 tu21 jat35 jek3 kɐi55 kɐi55 lai33
at restaurant lunch first serve CL soup soup FINISH come CL chicken chicken FINISH
(THEN) (THEN)

至到 其他。
jat35 tu21 kɐi3 thɔŋ55
come other.

20 Bisang (1996: 526, 534) proposes that conjunctival verbs are used to mark clause combining. They are usually used in the function of complementizers and/or in the function of adverbial subordinators in the Southeast Asian languages.
‘[When we] have lunch at the restaurant, [the waiters] first serve us a bowl of soup, then they serve us the chicken. Finally they serve other dishes.’

Lin & F. Qin (2008: 326) refer to 晒/lai^33/ as a sequential marker whenever it postposes to a noun. In contrast, I claim that 晒/lai^33/ should be parsed as a conjunctive verb in (103). Its conjoining function is induced by the linear arrangement of the actions affected by 晒/lai^33/.

Interestingly, there is one circumstance in which 晒/lai^33/ combines two clauses that lack a clear temporal connection. In this case, 晒/lai^33/ truly is a sequential conjunction, which serves to fuse the bi-clausal structure into a mono-clausal one. The conjunction 晒/lai^33/, in this function, is construed as ‘AND’:

(106) 桂林 天氣 好，

kwêi^33  lêm^21  thin^35  hu^35  lai^33  jîu^35  jâ^24  hu^35

GL  weather good  AND  water  also good

‘The weather in Guilin is nice, and the water there is clean.’

(107) 阿佬 人 識 讲 白話，

a^33  ke^33  jen^21  jek^5  kôj^35  pak^2  wa^22  lai^33  jîu^22  jek^5  kôj^35  lu^24  jîu^24  wa^22

these people  know  how  to  speak  Hakka  AND  also  know  how  to  speak  Liuzhou dialect

‘These people know how to speak Hakka, and also they know how to speak Liuzhou dialect.’

After that, 晒/lai^33/ can link the subordinated clause to the matrix clause in a cause-and-effect sequence. In this use, 晒/lai^33/ no longer has any synchronic connection to temporality. I gloss this use as ‘SO/THUS’, which is a typical sequential conjunction:

(108) 今日 老師 病 晒 哦，

kêm^55  jî^24  jî  pen^22  lai^33  o  lai^33  ne  nê^24  22  mu^24  tu^k^35

today teacher/ill already PP  AND:SO  1pl  NEG  go to school

‘Our teacher is ill today, thus we don’t need to go to school.’

(109) 細鬼 太 懶 晒，

laï^33  kwêi^35  thâi^33  lan^24  lai^33  lai^33  wêm^5  mu^24  tu^k^35

brother/too  lazy  PP  AND:SO  find  NEG  to  work

‘[My] brother is too lazy, thus [he] can’t find a job.’

Last but not least, 晒/lai^33/ can link the logically contrastive clauses (as ‘BUT’).

Note that, this use is only found in colloquial conversations rather than literary materials. Native NNY speakers, with the age of 60 or older, accept this use, while the younger generations do not accept a contrastive linker 晒/lai^33/.
(110) 佢 系 中國人，晒(呢)，冇 講 中國話。

(111) 已經 晚上 10 點 哦，晒呢，都 盟 落課。

(112) 我 有 好多 細佬 嬸，晒有 阿只 愛 聽書。

3.7 Summary

In this chapter I have presented a thorough discussion of the gram晒/laɪ33/ in NNY, which demonstrates various functions in its diverse grammatical positions. In some contexts,晒/laɪ33/ acts as an intransitive verb interpreted as ‘to finish or to end’. This reading is not common for the individual lexeme, however;晒/laɪ33/’s verbal use is not formally attested in the lexicon of NNY. The verbal meaning of晒/laɪ33/ is only accepted by a limited number of informants who are, on average, above 60 years old. Generally, the more elderly the speaker, the more acceptable he or she will find verbal晒/laɪ33/. For native Nanning Yue speakers above 80 years old, verbal晒/laɪ33/ is common in daily speech. The derived meaning of verbal晒/laɪ33/ is preserved for all NNY speakers in some idiomatic expressions. Evolved from its verbal ‘finish’ meaning, the synchronic denotation of晒/laɪ33/ has expanded into a more abstract semantic domain ‘to ripen or to harvest’. This meaning is used in particular to express the status of some agricultural crops that are a staple of the Nanning people’s life.

In other contexts,晒/laɪ33/ bears the reading ‘to run out or to use up’. This reading requires晒/laɪ33/ to be associated with concrete nouns that encode concrete entities. Since nominal items are easy to quantify, the quantificational feature of the ‘FINISH’ verb is triggered by its neighboring nominal. The ‘FINISH’ verb shows a binary reading in this context, depending on the semantic implication of the nominal items in the sentence. Furthermore, the verbal晒/laɪ33/ is intransitive in NNY, regardless of its meaning. Thus, it appears in a [S-晒] configuration, not [S-晒-O].
When verbal 晒/ɬai33/ occurs in the clausal periphery, it tends to function as a discourse connective linking a series of clauses that are linearly arranged in temporal sequence. This function is quite context-dependent. A conventional pragmatic particle 呢/ne33/ is usually attached to verbal 晒/ɬai33/ to construct a sequential conjunction 晒呢/ɬai33/ne33/ ‘then/after that’. Functionally, the cross-clausal […. 晒/晒呢,…] is equivalent to a conjunctional verb derived from the ‘FINISH’ meaning of the verbal 晒/ɬai33/. Nevertheless, 晒/ɬai33/ still preserves its verbal meaning in this configuration except when it serves as a clausal linker, in which case it reflects the logical relationship of “cause-and-effect” and “contrastive”. In this particular situation, 晒/ɬai33/ is best interpreted as a typical sequential conjunction.

When it occurs in a stative or weak dynamic context in the structure [S-V 晒-O], the exhaustion particle 晒/ɬai33/ is occasionally interpreted as a universal quantifier. Use of this quantificational reading of 晒/ɬai33/ is notoriously limited in the elder groups, and is perceived as a hip, modern word by most young Nanning Yue speakers in their everyday conversation. 晒/ɬai33/ may also function as a superlative in stative contexts with degree adjectives and divisible subjects, where it is prone to show polysemy in its quantificational and degree-intensifying interpretations.

The exhaustion particle 晒/ɬai33/ functions as a completive in certain distinct dynamic contexts. If there are plentiful tangible and visible objects available in one given active/dynamic context, 晒/ɬai33/ is ambiguous: it may either encode the quantification of the objects, or the past-time reference of the verb. Although the completive function of 晒/ɬai33/ is not salient in today’s NNY, it is possible to activate it by using some specific grammatical tests, including a fronting topicalization and an inverted-object disposal construction. These tests reinforce the fact that, in this construction, the affectedness of the objects themselves is a prominent discourse focus. Only in this context can the quantificational notion be foregrounded in discourse.

Last but not least, various examples reveal that 晒/ɬai33/ can occur as a typical aspect marker in a broad range of contexts. Aspectual 晒/ɬai33/ occurs in four
configurations: [V-晒], [V-晒-O], [V-O-晒], [V-晒-O-晒]. The bound perfective aspect marker 晒/ɬai33/ strengthens the completed or terminal aspect of the verbal action, while the peripheral perfect aspect marker 晒/ɬai33/ denotes arrival at a new state. There are some circumstances in which 晒/ɬai33/ works as both a perfect and a perfective aspect marker in the form [V-晒]. It is the semantic/pragmatic context, rather than the syntactic position, which distinguishes these two functions. 晒/ɬai33/ usually combines with active, accomplishment and achievement verbs to indicate the endpoint of the action. However, it is unavailable with some stative verbs due to semantic incompatibility. The peripheral [V-O-晒] and [V-晒-O-晒] structures are assumed to reflect a more ancient substrate in NNY corresponding to the Chinese [V-X-O] unit. To conclude, the grammatical properties of NNY 晒/ɬai33/ are sketched in the next figure:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Universal quantifier</th>
<th>Superlative</th>
<th>Completive</th>
<th>Perfective aspect marker</th>
<th>Perfect aspect marker</th>
<th>Conjunction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SV (static)-晒-O</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-Adj-晒 (+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-V (consume)-晒-O (+)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV (compound)-晒-O</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O-S-V-晒 (+)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-V-晒-O</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-V-晒</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>( +)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-V-O-晒</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clause1,晒, Clause2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIG 3.3 The grammatical property of 晒 in NNY**

In FIG 3.3, the ‘FINISH’ gram 晒/ɬai33/ displays a wide range of functions in accordance with its various syntactic distributions and contexts. Functions marked by plusses are still salient in daily discourse, while those marked with parentheses are weak and on the verge of disappearance.

Most of the uses of 晒/ɬai33/ in NNY reflect its function as a perfective/perfect aspect marker in general, and as an exhaustion particle (universal quantifier, superlative, completive) or conjunction in particular. A survey of related data
collected from the other Yue dialects suggests that the aspect marker 晒/ɬai³³/ is not popular in the Yue group; it seems to be a language-specific feature in the Yue dialects of GXR. To investigate this claim, I have examined the other branches of the Yue dialect outside of Guangxi. Surprisingly, a wide range of Yue dialects possess an analogic /sai³³/ or /la:i³³/ (Yue-Hashimoto 1991a) morpheme with distinctive functions corresponding to NNY 晒/ɬai³³/. In the next section, I will sketch the grammatical properties of this gram’s counterparts in the other Yue dialects to examine their connection to NNY 晒/ɬai³³/.

3.8 晒/sai³³/ in Cantonese

The analogic gram 晒/sai³³/ in Cantonese has a similar form to NNY 晒/ɬai³³/, but differs from it in phonological structure (i.e. the fricative /s/ in Cantonese is substituted with the lateral fricative /ɬ/ in NNY) and grammatical function. In spite of their linguistic disparity, certain socio-historical and linguistic clues lead me to suspect that NNY 晒/ɬai³³/ might be inherited from Cantonese 晒/sai³³/. In this section I will first explore the origins of NNY 晒/ɬai³³/, and then discuss the functions of Cantonese 晒/sai³³/.

3.8.1 Cantonese 晒/sai³³/: an ancestor

As a member of the Yongxun group of the Yue dialect 邕潯片粵語, NNY shares many more similarities with Cantonese in its linguistic profile than it does with the peripheral Yue dialects (Yue-Hashimoto1988, Mai 2010, Kwok et al. 2011). Mai (2009) notes that:

The formation of the Yongxun group of Yue dialects 邕潯片粵語 strikingly demonstrates the structural diffusion from the central Guangfu group to the contiguous groups. Scattered along the Yongjiang River 邕江 and Xunjiang River 潯江, Yongxun Yue is linguistically similar to Guangfu Yue. An adequate portion of the linguistic disparity among the two groups, however, results from their independent contact or influence with the adjacent languages after the Ming Dynasty.

As a result of the endless population expansion driven by economic trade and brutal wars after the Late Ming Dynasty, millions of residents of the Pearl River
Delta moved to areas along the line of the West River 西江 (W. Zhong et al. 1998). This migration stream resulted in the spread of Guangfu Yue to neighboring areas.

NNY 晒/lai³³/ shows a sound correspondence with Cantonese 晒/sai³³/. Mai (2010) argues that the variants of the MC jīngzǔ initial 中古精組 can be classified into three types: (a) ts, tsh, s; (b) ts, tsh, 0/l; (c) t, th, 0/l. Set (a) is explicitly attested in Guangfu Yue, set (b) in Gaoyang or Yongxun Yue, and set (c) in Goulou or Siyi Yue. A correspondence pair arises among these sets:

(Guangfu Yue) s ——> 0/l (Yongxun Yue etc.)

Although no literary record of the origin of NNY 晒/lai³³/ is available, it is feasible to trace the development of 晒/lai³³/ by means of Lin’s (2012) reconstruction. According to her conjecture, the actual pronunciation of 晒/lai³³/ was connected to 撥 in the MC system.²¹ Additionally, most jīngzǔ initials in NNY have been replaced by the lateral fricative /l/ as a result of contact with the Tai-Kadai languages in GXR (Wei & G. Qin 1980: 3, Ou’yang 1995). If this hypothesis is reasonable, the complete phonological correspondence can be depicted as (Cantonese) /sai³³/ ——> /lai³³/ (NNY).

In conclusion, demographic and linguistic traits strongly suggest the relatedness of Cantonese 晒/sai³³/ and NNY 晒/lai³³/. The former may have been the ancestor of the latter before the NNY group migrated to GXR, while the latter is an extended variant of the former with numerous functions in particular grammatical contexts. I will provide a general survey of the functions of Cantonese 晒 /sai³³/ in the next section.

3.8.2 Grammatical Functions of Cantonese 晒/sai³³/


²¹ The Jiyun 集韻 of Song Dynasty recorded, “潓: 山皆切, 音崽。散失也 (潓 is pronounced as 崽 which means ‘exhaust or run out’).”
analysis raises a number of questions: what is the origin of 晒/ai³³/ in NNY? Why should a given grammatical morpheme in a pair of Yue dialects develop so differently over a two-century period of language divergence?

In this section, I will provide a comprehensive discussion of 晒/sai³³/ in Cantonese based on diachronic and synchronic data gathered from the Early Cantonese Tagged Database (ECTD) and the Linguistic Corpus of Mid-20th Century, Hong Kong Cantonese (M20CC), respectively. Most additional examples are quoted from relevant reference grammars or papers, addressing the syntactic and semantic properties of 晒/sai³³/.

3.8.2.1 [S-V 晒-(O)] Configuration: universal quantifier 晒/sai³³/

Crucially, 晒/sai³³/ is identified as a productive suffix (Tang 1996, P. Lee 2012a: 59) attached to the verb. It gives a universal or “all” interpretation to its associated item and functions as a universal quantifier. In most cases, it is embedded between verb and object; the [V-O-晒] constellation is very rare in Cantonese. The elements associated with 晒/sai³³/ must be semantically divisible—i.e., the object must be able to be divided into parts. Divisibility is determined by contextual information and our conceptual knowledge (Tang 1996).

(113) 唔 做 晒 工 唔 得 休息。

NEG do ALL work NEG ACQ:MOD rest
‘You can’t go to have a rest unless you finish all the work.’ (Bai 1985: 141)²²

(114) 你 買 晒 書 未?

2sg buy ALL book NEG
‘Have you bought all the books?’ (Cheung [1972] 2007: 169)

(115) 我 睇 晒 呢 本 書。

1sg read ALL this CL book
‘I have read the whole book/all of this book.’ (P. Lee 2012a: 62)

²² Note that the examples cited from Bai (1985) in this section are based on Guangzhou Cantonese rather than Hong Kong Cantonese. Prof Bit-Chee KWOK reminds me that some of the sentences listed by Bai do not sound very natural in Hong Kong Cantonese. Since this paper is not a special comparative study of 晒/sai³³/’s function in Guangzhou and Hong Kong Cantonese, I will leave these dialectal disparities for future work.
In all the examples, postverbal 晒/sai³³/ serves as a universal quantifier quantifying over the proper parts of the object. The item associated with 晒/sai³³/ receives a partitive reading. Morphologically, bare nouns in Cantonese can be either singular or plural. Their number specification is determined by the quantifiers that modify them. Although the nouns in (113) - (115) (work, book) are not modified by other quantifiers to reflect a specific numericity, they are semantically divisible, and are thus compatible with 晒/sai³³/. A book is composed of individual pages, while work may be separated into tasks or steps, just as a bowl of rice is divided into ingredients. It is the partitive or measure reading of these NPs that makes the quantification possible. 晒/sai³³/ gives a universal interpretation to these NPs, and the ‘all’ notion disappears when 晒/sai³³/ is absent.

When both a direct and indirect object are assigned to a verb, as in the case of ditransitives, it is possible for either object to be quantified over by 晒/sai³³/:

(116) 我 問 晒 佢哋 呢條 問題。

I have asked all of them this question.

(117) 我哋 嘗 嘗 幾個 地方 送 晒 書 界 佢哋。

We have given the books to all of them.

(118) 唔 我 最多 界 晒 唉 旅行 證件 過 你。

Well, I will at least give all the passports to you [and I won’t get them back].

It is surprising that in the ditransitive configuration, both the direct object and the indirect object are possible candidates for quantification by 晒/sai³³/. The examples above show that 晒/sai³³/ initially selects a verbal argument with a part structure (P. Lee 2012a: 86) or a plural concept. When both the direct and indirect objects conform to this part-structure requirement, 晒/sai³³/ is more likely to associate with the direct object. In example (116), the element associated with 晒/sai³³/, be it the direct or indirect object, bears an obligatory partitive reading. Thus, I conclude that 晒/sai³³/ will preferentially select a part-structure argument, and after this criterion is fulfilled, it will follow the order “direct object > indirect object”. By
contrast, in (117), 送書 “present a book” is taken to be a VO compound describing an action. The bare noun 書 “book” occurs as part of this compound, and does not serve as a verbal argument which can provide a part structure. Hence, 晒/sai\(^{33}\)/ selects the indirect object 佢哋 “they” first, even though both 書 “book” and 佢哋 “they” are part-structured.

晒/sai\(^{33}\)/ may also quantify over the subject, if the object is not a proper candidate (T. Lee 1994, P. Lee 2012a). Tang (1996) claims that the elements associated with 晒/sai\(^{33}\)/ exhibit a locality effect: 晒/sai\(^{33}\)/ must associate with the object if there is one. Otherwise, it will associate with other elements, such as the subject or a spatio-temporal argument. Theoretically, it is not easy for 晒/sai\(^{33}\)/ to select the subject in the [S-V-晒-O] constellation, since object-preference and the discreteness restriction conspire against such a reading. Tang (1996) provides a typical example:

(119) * 佢哋 摘 晒 朵花。
khoe\(^{23}\) tei\(^{22}\) tak\(^{2}\) sai\(^{33}\) tɔ\(^{35}\) fa\(^{55}\)
3pl pick ALL CL flower
‘They all picked up the flower.’

Although the subject 佢哋 ‘they’ is divisible and partitive, 晒/sai\(^{33}\)/ cannot associate with it because of the subject-object asymmetry in its semantic interpretation. Since it is not possible for multiple people to pick up a single flower, semantic contradiction renders the association between 晒/sai\(^{33}\)/ and the subject invalid. T. Lee (1994) also provides an example sentence to demonstrate the correct use of subject-oriented晒/sai\(^{33}\)/:

(120) 佢哋 去 晒 北京。
hoe\(^{33}\) tei\(^{22}\) hoe\(^{33}\) sai\(^{33}\) pok'kin\(^{55}\)
3pl go ALL BJ
‘All of them have gone to Beijing.’

The object 北京 ‘Beijing’ is a locative argument, and thus it is indivisible. The plural subject is the only candidate for selection by 晒/sai\(^{33}\)/. In general, the subject is rarely selected by 晒/sai\(^{33}\)/ in the [S-V-晒-O] constellation, provided that a part-structured object is present.
Although Cantonese 晒/sai³³/ is normally attested as a verb-bound morpheme in the [S-V-晒-O] construction, there are some circumstances in which it co-occurs with verbs or adjectives without a subsequent object. The verbs in this structure are intransitive, so they take only one argument (i.e. they have a valency of one), which always precedes the verb. In most cases, the syntactic subject is the agent of the verbal action. Thus, if the subject is part-structured, it is an appropriate candidate for association with 晒/sai³³/.

(121) 我 亦 同 你(hex) 講 明 晒 喔。
 nj³³ jik³ thon³² nei²² lei² lei³ kɔn³⁵ mʊŋ²¹ sai³³ la³⁵
 1sg already with 2pl declare clear ALL PP
 ‘I spoke clearly with all of you [in the past two days].’ (M20CC: 125)

(122) 我呢 班 手足 噠 晒 喔 喔。
 nj³³ nei³⁵ pan³⁵ sju³⁵ tɔk⁵ lei²¹ sai³³ la³⁵ wɔ³³
 1sg this CL buddy come ALL PP
 ‘All of my buddies have come here.’ (M20CC: 174)

As pointed out above, 晒/sai³³/ can only select part-structure subjects with a partitive interpretation. The structure [S-晒-V] is also widespread and fashionable in Cantonese. Matthews & Yip (2011: 256) claim that in its quantifying function, 晒/sai³³/ may combine with other quantifying expressions to emphasize a universal quantification of the nominal argument. The discontinuous construction [...都...晒] (cf. Tang 2006) in Cantonese helps to articulate the quantifying property of 晒/sai³³/.

(123) 唔 細蚊仔 都 睡 晒 啦。
 tk⁵ ssn⁵ mën⁵ ssn³ tou⁵ fn³ sai³³ lak³
 these kid all sleep ALL PP
 ‘All the kids have been put to bed.’ (Mo 1993)

(124) 阿 Daddy 同 Mammy 呀，心 都 開 晒 啦!
 a³³ daddy thuŋ²¹ mammy a³³ ssm³⁵ tou⁵ ho³⁵ sai³³ a³³
 father and mother TOP heart all open ALL PP
 ‘[After seeing your smile], both your father and mother’s hearts are opened [they are happy].’ (M20CC: 11)

(125) 如果 個個 都 走 晒，邊個 理 我 呀?
 jy²¹ kwo³³ kɔ³³ kɔ³³ tou⁵ sju³³ sai³³ pin³⁵ kɔ³³ lei² lei³ nj³³ a³³
 if CL-CL all leave all who care 1sg Q
 ‘If everyone leaves, who will take care of me?’ (Matthews & Yip 2011: 256)

Although agent arguments typically occupy the subject slot of the sentence, patients (or more precisely, non-agents) occasionally occur as syntactic subjects as
well. To take a broad view, a patient is any participant that is a recipient, cause, target, accompaniment or product of an action (D. Liu & Xu 1998). Therefore, the subject in Cantonese does not always represent the performer of an action or describe what the sentence is about.

(126) 公家嘅圖書都失晒。

kong55 ka55 ke33 thou15 sy55 tou55 snt5 sai33
public organization ATTR book ALL lose ALL

‘All the books of the public organization have been lost.’ (Bai 1985: 141)

(127) 今日嘅工做失晒嘅。

kem3 jet2 ke33 kon55 tou22 sai33 lak3
今天 ATTR work do ALL PP

‘[I have] finished all the work today.’

Here, the universal quantifier 晒/sai33/ quantifies over the subject of each sentence. Since the subject is the only nominal argument which is divisible and segmentable, 晒/sai33/ associates with the subject to denote an ‘all’ meaning. Chinese has been claimed to be a topic-prominent language, in contrast to English, which is claimed to be subject-prominent (Li & Thompson 1981: 15). As a Chinese dialect, Cantonese reveals robust object topicalization as well as secondary topicalization (Matthews & Yip 2011: 84). Given the topicalization structure, 晒/sai33/’s selection process is different:

(128) 老師佈置嘅作業我寫失晒嘅。

lou3 si5 pet3 ke33 tsok2 jip2 no3 tou22 sai33 lak3
teacher assign ATTR work 1sg finish ALL PP

‘I have finished all the work assigned by the teacher.’

(129) 呢間房我周圍都搵過失晒嘅。

nei55 kan55 fei13 no3 tou55 wei1 tou55 wen5 kwo3 sai33 la33
this CL house 1sg everywhere ALL search ASP ALL PP

‘I have searched all the corners of this house.’ (Cheung [1972] 2007: 170)

(130) 幾百文嘅佢嘅已經用失晒嘅。

kei33 pak1 men55 khoe5 tei2 ji23 kon55 jiu2 sai33 lak3
several hundred money 3pl already cost ALL PP

‘They cost all my money (several hundred dollars).’

The NPs “assigned homework” and “that house” serve as topics preceding the subjects of their respective sentences. The items (homework, house) in (128) and (129) are part-structured, so 晒/sai33/ naturally associates with these arguments rather than the singular, indivisible pronouns. Theoretically, when two part-structured items
precede the VP simultaneously, there will be some ambiguity concerning which one is associated with 晒 /sai³³/.

3.8.2.2 [S-V 晒-(O)]/[V-得/ 唔-晒-(O)] Configuration: completive 晒 /sai³³/

Kwok & P. Lee (2013) argue that 晒 /sai³³/ serves as a completive in two constructions. In the [S-V-晒-(O)] form, 晒/sai³³/ may quantify over the object or denote completion of the verbal action.

(131) 我 唸 一日 之內 趕 晒 篇文。
   1sg COP one day within finish COMPLETELY CL article
   'I have completely finished this article within one day.'
   i. ‘Within one day, I have already finished writing this article.’
   ii. ‘Within one day, I have finished writing all parts of this article.’

(132) 我 認得 晒 件 事情 嗎 經過。
   1sg know COMPLETELY CL event ATTR process
   'I have completely known the process of this event.'
   i. ‘I have known the process of this event.’
   ii. ‘I have known all steps of this event.’ (Peng 2010: 58)

Note that the object and the predicate verb in examples (131) and (132) must meet the requirements of definiteness and telicity, respectively. In this context, 晒 /sai³³/ has two possible readings, depending on the distinct item it associates with: when associated with a definite and measurable object, it quantifies over the object to indicate totality; when associated with a verb, it indicates the end point of the event.

There are some circumstances in which 晒/sai³³/ combines with the potential complement marker 得 and the negative唔 in the form [S-V-得/唔-晒-(O)]. 晒/sai³³/ is a very typical completive in this construction, as indicated by Kwok & P. Lee (2013):

(133) 十五 分鐘 講唔 講得 晒 呀?
   fifteen minute talk NEG talk get FINISHED Q
   '[Can you finish this talk] in fifteen minutes?'

(134) 討論唔晒 咱 多 問題 嘛。
   discuss NEG FINISHED so many question PP
‘[They] cannot discuss so many questions.’

In spite of this, 晒/sai/Shi/ has not developed into a typical completive in Cantonese, since its universal-quantificational function is dominant in most contexts where a measurable object is available.

3.8.2.3 [S-A-晒] Configuration: degree quantifier 晒/sai/Shi/ 

When 晒/sai/Shi/ associates with the gradable quality triggered by an adjectival predicate, it signifies that the relevant property is realized to its intensified degree (P. Lee 2012a: 65, Lei & T. Lee 2013: 13, Kwok & P. Lee 2013). Morphosyntactically, 晒/sai/Shi/ attaches to the adjectival predicate in this case. Moreover, its quantifying scope is only associated with the adjective when 晒/sai/Shi/ diverges from its typical [S-V 晒] structure.

(135) 我 呢 次 安樂 晒 嘛！

1sg this CL relieved EXTREMELY PP
‘I am totally relieved this time.’ (M20CC: 80)

(136) 肥 晒 嘛嘨！

fat EXTREMELY PP
‘[When you get back from the USA], you become totally fat.’ (M20CC: 219)

(137) 一定 要 充 硬 晒。

must MOD strong EXTREMELY
‘[You don’t have money, but] you must be extremely strong in mind.’ (M20CC: 166)

Whenever a part-structure nominal argument is involved, 晒/sai/Shi/ selects the nominal item or gradable adjective. In the first case, it selects the clause-initial argument for quantification; in the second case, it functions as a degree quantifier to enrich the gradable or even the maximal reading of the adjectival degree.

Mo (1993) and H. Pan & Man (1998) assert that 晒/sai/Shi/ can occur with stative predicates (adjectives) only when they denote a change of state. This situation changes when the notion of quantification is involved. 晒/sai/Shi/ can occur with stative predicates (adjective) naturally, and no change of state is required. Therefore, it is the gradable scale of the adjective that implies change of state. As a degree quantifier, 晒/sai/Shi/ quantifies over the gradability of the adjective.
Furthermore, the degree quantifier 晒/sai⁳³/ seems to be tied to idiomatic expressions or conversational routines. In these situations, 晒/sai³³/ takes on additional meanings that cannot be derived compositionally (Lei & T. Lee 2013: 16). Matthews & Yip (2011: 256) describe 晒/sai³³/ in this context as an “emphatic particle” that emphasizes a verb-object idiom.

(138)  多謝晒你！
to⁵⁵ tse²² sai³³ nei²³
thank-you EMPH
‘Thank you so much!’

(139)  唔該晒你！
m²¹ koi⁵⁵ sai³³ nei²³
thank-you EMPH
‘Thank you so much!’

3.8.3 晒/sai³³/ in Cantonese: past and present

A pair of critical questions arises when we set out to compare the functions of NNY 晒/lai³³/ with Cantonese 晒/sai³³/: is “quantification” the unique and innate function of this morpheme? Is it possible that 晒/sai³³/ had more diverse functions in the historical literature? To trace the development of this morpheme, I have examined its grammatical properties in the Early Cantonese database,²³ paying particular attention to the quantificational function of 晒/sai³³/. Orthographically, 晒/sai³³/ is written as 嘢 and 曬 in different historical periods of Cantonese:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Orthography</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Word-order</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1828) Morrison</td>
<td>嘢</td>
<td>the whole of</td>
<td>[V-喢]</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>totally</td>
<td>[Adj-喢]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1841) Bridgman</td>
<td>嘢</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>[V-喢]</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1883) Ball</td>
<td>嘢</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>[VC-喢]</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1888) 2nd edition</td>
<td>嘢</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>[VC-喢]</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stedman &amp; K. Lee</td>
<td>晒</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>[V-喢]</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>much, entirely</td>
<td>[Adj-喢]</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIG 3.4 Grammatical characteristics of 晒 in Early Cantonese

²³ Warm gratitude must go to Prof Samuel Hung-nin CHEUNG, Prof Carine Yuk-man YIU and Dr Shin KATAOKA. Without the help of the “Early Cantonese Dialect Database”, it would have been impossible to complete this section.
Morrison (1828) was the first author to gloss this element as ‘the whole of (all)’ and ‘entirely’. This finding points to a possible origin of 晒/sai33/, although the etymon of 晒/sai33/ in Cantonese is still unknown, unlike that of its NNY counterpart. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that the early Cantonese versions of this gram are only used as a universal quantifier and degree quantifier:

a. **Universal quantifier**

(140) 個的 粗布 賣 晒 咯。
kó’ tık. ts’ō po’ mái sai lok.
those domestics sell ALL PP
‘Those domestics are all sold off.’ (Bridgman 1841: 245)

(141) 所有 唸多人 嗕齊 晒。
’sho’ yau kóm’ to yan lai ts’ai sai’
all so many person come COMP ALL
‘As many as there were all came without an exception.’ (Ball 1888: 37)

b. **Degree quantifier**

(142) 晒 咯, 唸 噗嘅, 有 錯 咯。
ngám lok’ ngóm sai’ lok’ mô t’sō’ lok.
right PP right EXTREMELY PP NEG wrong PP
‘That’s right, that’s quite right, no mistake.’ (Ball 1883: 30)

(143) 整匀 晒 咯。
‘ching wan sai’ lok’
do complete EXTREMELY PP
‘It is totally finished.’ (Ball 1888: 81)

In Early Cantonese, the semantic interpretation of 晒 is consistently listed as ‘all’ and ‘entirely’—a prototypical universal quantifier as well as a degree quantifier. Typically, this gram occupies the position immediately following the predicate. Morphosyntactically, 晒 is bound to the predicate; in terms of argument selection, it primarily quantifies over divisible or part-structure arguments; when no part-structure nominal argument is present, it selects the predicate of the sentence.

a. Universal quantifier

i. 晒/sai³³/ is a predicative suffix, semantically paraphrased as “entire” and “all”. It usually quantifies over the agent of the sentence. In some cases, it selects the patient.

ii. It is able to follow resultative complements. It can only follow the potential complement when quantifying over the patient.

iii. In addition to the semantic aspects of the NP or predicate (definiteness, telicity, divisibility) that associate with 晒/sai³³/, it follows a quantification accessibility hierarchy when quantifying over sentential elements (i.e. direct object > indirect object/ postverbal PPs > preverbal PPs > subject > predicates).

b. Degree quantifier

i. 晒/sai³³/ is bound to adjectives, indicating an intensified notion of the degree, viz., ‘completely, entirely and totally’.

ii. Despite a maximal or superlative reading of the degree of the adjective, it implies quantification over other adjectives that are inferior in degree.

To conclude, Cantonese 晒/sai³³/ in earlier periods exemplifies two functions, universal quantifier and degree quantifier; the function that surfaces depends on the distinct elements that are semantically associated with it. Intriguingly, in Stedman & Lee (1888), the conventional character of 嘤 has been replaced with 晒, which is identical to the character used in NNY. Chronologically, this period corresponds to the time during which NNY diverged from its ancestral Cantonese affinity.

3.9 晒/sai³³/ and Its Cognates in the Peripheral Yue Dialects

The previous section sketched out the grammatical profile of Cantonese 晒/lai³³/, which explicitly acts as a typical universal quantifier in both static and dynamic contexts. Fortunately, as reported by Yue-Hashimoto (1991a), Cantonese is not the only member of the Yue group that possesses a universal quantifier 晒/lai³³/; some peripheral Yue dialects in and around the Pearl River Delta Region have a gram 晒/lai³³/ as well.

It is important to bear in mind that the function of 晒/lai³³/ in certain peripheral Yue dialects has much in common with that of the morpheme 晒/lai³³/ in Cantonese. It is usually bound to verbs and adjectives to indicate the notion of universal quantification and intensified degree in the form [S-V 晒-(O)], [S-Adj 晒]. In this section, I will turn my attention to data from two Yue dialects—Taishan Yue and Wuzhou Yue.
Taishan County constitutes one of the Four Districts, or Siyi 四邑, situated to the southwest of Guangzhou, Guangdong. Yue-Hashimoto (2005) brilliantly documents the Dancun dialect of Taishan Yue 臺山淡村方言. According to her discussion, 晒/lai\textsuperscript{33}/ in the Dancun dialect has the meaning ‘including all’. To illustrate:

(144) 佢一翻來歸就打 晒 乃 鬆嘅。
\begin{verbatim}
khui\textsuperscript{33} jit\textsuperscript{55} fan\textsuperscript{33} lai\textsuperscript{22} ki\textsuperscript{33} to\textsuperscript{33} n\textsuperscript{55} lai\textsuperscript{33} nai\textsuperscript{55} hei\textsuperscript{n} ni\textsuperscript{33}
3sg once come back then throw ALL thing
\end{verbatim}
‘As soon as he returned, he threw away all his belongings.’ (Yue-Hashimoto 2005: 397)

Dancun 晒/lai\textsuperscript{33}/ is sometimes bound to the VC constellation as in (146); alternatively, it may appear in the static context shown in (147), as a universal quantifier.

(145) 個 個 去 晒 新村 嘍。
\begin{verbatim}
k\textsuperscript{33} ko\textsuperscript{33} hui\textsuperscript{33} lai\textsuperscript{33} lin\textsuperscript{33} thun\textsuperscript{35} la\textsuperscript{33} CL CL go ALL XC PP
t 广
\end{verbatim}
‘Everyone has gone to Xincun.’ (Yue-Hashimoto 2005: 415)

(146) 討完 晒 檳榔 滴久, 該 回 寧 乃......。
\begin{verbatim}
hu\textsuperscript{55} jin\textsuperscript{22} lai\textsuperscript{33} pin\textsuperscript{33} lai\textsuperscript{22} ni\textsuperscript{55} kiu\textsuperscript{55} khui\textsuperscript{33} vo\textsuperscript{22} nei\textsuperscript{n} ni\textsuperscript{55}
salute-with ALL betal nut  a while  MOD return  NG
\end{verbatim}
‘A little while after saluting with (all) the betel nut…’ (Yue-Hashimoto 2005: 404)

(147) 饒 時 興 就 滿 身 係 晒 佢 嘍。
\begin{verbatim}
nei\textsuperscript{n} jin\textsuperscript{1} hein\textsuperscript{33} a\textsuperscript{32} m\textsuperscript{n} jin\textsuperscript{33} hai\textsuperscript{33} lai\textsuperscript{33} jie\textsuperscript{33} la\textsuperscript{33}
this time then whole body COP ALL something PP
\end{verbatim}
‘At that time, it was the vogue to have stuff all over the body.’ (Yue-Hashimoto 2005: 403)

A limited number of Yue dialects in Guangxi aside from NNY also have a universal quantifier or a degree quantifier 晒/sai\textsuperscript{33}/. Consider Wuzhou Yue 梧州粵語, a member of the Guangfu group, which possesses a morpheme 晒/sai\textsuperscript{33}/ that is semantically equivalent to the Mandarin degree adverbs (universal quantifiers) 全 and 都 ‘all’. Wuzhou 晒/sai\textsuperscript{33}/ denotes the maximal scope affected by the event (Yu 2009).

(148) 洗 晒 佢 衫 先 好 出去!
\begin{verbatim}
sni\textsuperscript{35} sai\textsuperscript{33} ti\textsuperscript{22} sam\textsuperscript{55} sin\textsuperscript{55} hou\textsuperscript{3} tshut\textsuperscript{hy}\textsuperscript{33}
7wash ALL PL clothes  first  go out
\end{verbatim}
‘Don’t go out unless you have washed all the clothes.’
The grammatical survey of NNY reveals an intransitive verb /sai³³/ in the structure [S-晒], with the lexical meaning ‘to finish or to run out’, which I have positive is the descendent of an earlier Yue verbal /sai³³/, cognate with the modern Cantonese /sai³³/. To my surprise, however, discussion of a verbal /sai³³/ is scarce, even in Morrison (1828), Bridgman (1841) and other very early descriptions of Cantonese materials. Given the assumption that the records from the Early Cantonese database precisely reflect an early stage of NNY, my etymological account of verbal /sai³³/ in NNY may appear problematic.

Yue-Hashimoto (1991a) provides the earliest discussion of the etymology of /sai³³/ in Cantonese. She posits that /sai³³/ is related to a Miao word /sai/ meaning ‘all’. However, my etymology for /sai³³/ does not conform well to this view. In order to accurately delineate the grammatical properties of Miao /sai/, I examined a wide range of Miao data from China and abroad. In the Miao dialects in southwest China, the universal quantifier /sa³⁵/ occupies a preverbal slot, reflecting the word order in Mandarin, and quantifies over the subject (A. Luo 1990: 43). By contrast, Cantonese /sai³³/ is a postverbal auxiliary.²⁴ To witness:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialect</th>
<th>Miao Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>West Branch</td>
<td>East Branch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xiangxi 湘西</td>
<td>Jiw ei 吉衛</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Token</td>
<td>sa³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>‘all’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Position</td>
<td>S-X-VO</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

²⁴ The Miao /sa³⁵/ and Cantonese /sai³³/ differ in their grammatical distributions (Miao exhibits an S-X-VO order, Cantonese an SV-X-O order).
FIG 3.5 Examples of a universal quantifier /sa\(^{35}\)/ and its variations in Miao dialects\(^{25}\)

At this point, one must wonder why the Miao /sa\(^{35}\)/ shows a Chinese-like preverbal order, while the putatively borrowed Cantonese /sai\(^{33}\)/ (as a true Chinese element) is staunchly postverbal.

In most Hmong dialects outside China (e.g. White or Green Hmong in Thailand, Laos, Vietnam and Burma), the universal quantifier /sa\(^{35}\)/ shows up in the compound words tib-si, huv-si or huv tib-si, which mean ‘all, wholly, altogether’ (Heimbach 1979: 316). Grammatically, huv tib-si works as a typical determiner attaching to nouns/noun phrases, such as tag huv-tibsi lawm: ‘empty-all-year’ ([The gauge] is on empty the whole year), qhov uas tseemceeb tshaj plaws huv-tibsi: ‘the-important-thing-all (all the important things)’ (cf. Bible translation in White Hmong, Petus 4: 8).\(^{26}\) None of the Hmong data, either from inside or outside China, provide any examples of /sa\(^{35}\)/ that are structurally analogous to Cantonese 晒 /sai\(^{33}\)/ —i.e., morphologically attached to the verb (P. Lee 2012a: 59). Similarities between these two morphemes are therefore more likely to be caused by chance than by lexical borrowing.

Leaving aside its additional functions (e.g. aspectual function, clause-conjoining function), NNY 晒/lai\(^{33}\)/ resembles Cantonese 晒 /sai\(^{33}\)/ in both semantic scope and phonological traits. Originating from a ‘FINISH’ verb, the profile of NNY 晒 /lai\(^{33}\)/ mirrors a putative ‘FINISH’ verbal use of 晒 /sai\(^{33}\)/ which cannot be found in modern Cantonese. While the verbal 晒/sai\(^{33}\)/ is not reported in Morrison (1828), Bridgman (1841), or others, this should not be taken to imply that such a use never existed in the Yue dialects. My fieldwork data from NNY suggest an ancient scenario in which the verbal 晒 /sai\(^{33}\)/ was widespread in the Proto-Yue dialects.

I thus propose a retention hypothesis rather than a borrowing hypothesis to deal with the emergence of verbal 晒 /lai\(^{33}\)/: 晒 /lai\(^{33}\)/ has retained its ‘FINISH’ verbal use in NNY, while this function has been lost in the other Yue dialects. It is still far from reasonable to conclude that 晒/sai\(^{33}\)/ in Cantonese or in Proto Yue was borrowed

\(^{25}\) All the tokens are from A. Luo (1990). The tonal system of Miao is depicted in accordance with F. Wang & Mao’s (1995) system.

\(^{26}\) This is an online Hmong-English bilingual Bible (Hmong Daw Version) brought by United Bible Societies. Source: (http://www.bible.is/MWWHDV/1Pet/4/8).
from Miao; the Miao data I collected do not suggest a straightforward borrowing track, either phonologically or grammatically.

3.11 Conclusion

The main facets of linguistic study fall under the rubric of two basic tasks—description and theory. The two endeavors go hand-in-hand, each requiring and explicating the other. A descriptive statement can only be made in terms of a theory; the theory dictates the terms that are used, the criteria that are employed, and the analytic decisions that are made (Dixon 2011:169).

In this chapter, I have provided a synchronic description of the grammatical distribution and semantic function of 晒/lai³³/ in NNY. 晒/lai³³/ is found in four structural contexts, syntactically dependent on either the verb or the object—[V-晒], [V-晒-O], [V-O-晒], [V-晒-O-晒]—or on the clausal structure—[Clause₁, 晒, Clause₂/Clause₁, 晒-Clauses₂]. The semantic reading (grammatical function) is determined on the basis of its syntactic distribution. A quantificational exhaustion particle 晒/lai³³/ is occasionally attested in the structures [S-V-晒] and [S-V-晒-O] if the speaker is subjectively emphasizing the measurable subject and the affectedness of the verbal argument. Interpreted as a completive, 晒/lai³³/ quantifies over the items that are affected by the verb, and denotes completeness of the holistic verbal event.

In the peripheral [S-V-O-晒] position, the quantificational function of 晒/lai³³/ is being overtaken by an aspectual function, in which this gram acts as a perfect aspect marker, stressing change of state. The aspectivizer-prominent 晒/lai³³/ plays a prominent role in contemporary NNY. Finally, the [S-V- 晒] configuration exhibits ambiguous readings between two different contexts. When interpreted as a sentence-final particle, it serves as a perfect aspect marker; otherwise, it implies a focus on the verbal action rather than the entire event. In this context, 晒/lai³³/ can be paraphrased as a perfective aspect marker. This function is overridden by the perfect aspect function unless a logically consequent clause follows to clarify that: “the prior action is completed and another action follows, while the whole event has not finished yet.” However, this reading is highly context-dependent.
The second section of this chapter traced the distribution of the gram 晒/sai\(^{33}\)/ in Cantonese, which is analogous to NNY 晒/lai\(^{33}\)/. The consensus in the literature is that 晒/sai\(^{33}\)/ functions as a universal quantifier that combines with the predicate to quantify over selected items. In contrast to its NNY counterpart, only three possible distributions are available for 晒/sai\(^{33}\)/: [S-V-晒], [S-V-晒-0] and [S-V得/唔-晒-(O)]. 晒/sai\(^{33}\)/ is quantifier-prominent, which means that it will primarily select tangible and divisible objects or entities to quantify over. Early Cantonese literature and Contemporary Cantonese texts support the finding that an aspectual reading is unavailable for 晒/sai\(^{33}\)/. The completive function also seems to be very rare. Compound verbs that contain no divisible parts cannot be used with 晒/sai\(^{33}\)/. These compound-verb structures that cannot occur with 晒/sai\(^{33}\)/ in Cantonese are compatible with 晒/lai\(^{33}\)/ in NNY, since in the latter language, the aspectivizer-prominent 晒/lai\(^{33}\)/ does not obligatorily combine with the object of the verb. Instead, it may simply denote the completeness of the entire event.

Finally, I examined the use of 晒/sai\(^{33}\)/ in some peripheral Yue dialects. Interestingly, 晒/sai\(^{33}\)/ is reported to be a quantifier-prominent morpheme in certain Yue dialects scattered throughout the Pearl River Delta Region and along the West River from Guangdong to the Guangxi Region. NNY 晒/lai\(^{33}\)/ is distinguished from its Yue counterparts in its dual verbal and aspectual functions. The ‘FINISH’ verb 晒/lai\(^{33}\)/ is still preserved among the elder group of NNY speakers. By contrast, the verbal function seems essentially nonexistent in other Yue dialect outside of Guangxi. NNY may be a significant candidate in the Yue group for an aspectivizer-prominent 晒/lai\(^{33}\)/.

When the grammatical profiles of 晒/sai\(^{33}\)/ and 晒/lai\(^{33}\)/, compiled from all my Yue data, are compared, a vivid picture emerges:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘FINISH’ verb</th>
<th>Universal quantifier</th>
<th>Degree quantifier</th>
<th>Completive</th>
<th>Perfect/Perfective aspect marker</th>
<th>Conjunction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cantonese</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taishan Yue</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>( + )</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wuzhou Yue</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>( + )</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FIG 3.6 Comparison of the functional traits of 晒 in the Yue subgroups

All the functions of 晒/sai\(^{33}\)/ are correlated with corresponding grammatical configurations in my Yue samples. Apparently, notwithstanding the behavior of NNY 晒/lai\(^{33}\)/, 晒/sai\(^{33}\)/ in Yue dialects serves as a universal quantifier in general, and a generalized degree quantifier in particular when it combines with an adjective. The completive reading is restricted, since this reading rests on selection of quantifiable nominal argument. Once the quantification reading fails, 晒/sai\(^{33}\)/ can no longer be interpreted as a completive. As a result, 晒/sai\(^{33}\)/ is ungrammatical when it occurs simultaneously with an indivisible subject or a compound verb (i.e. indivisible object). In such cases, by and large, it is interpreted as a quantifier-prominent morpheme with a stable bound position.

Interestingly, NNY 晒/lai\(^{33}\)/ illustrates diverse grammatical configurations. In contrast to its Yue counterparts, its quantificational function is weak, diminishing as its aspectual function becomes more prominent. The quantificational function is, however, still salient in specific structures, such as the topicalization and disposal constructions, which push the affected objects to the foreground of the context to facilitate the object quantification. Furthermore, NNY 晒/lai\(^{33}\)/ has retained/developed two novel functions (i.e. ‘FINISH’ verb, conjunction) that do not appear to be widely attested in the other Yue dialects outside of GXR.

In a nutshell, NNY 晒/lai\(^{33}\)/, derived from Cantonese 晒/sai\(^{33}\)/, demonstrates more functional variation and diversity than its predecessor. The divergent functions of this gram in NNY raise questions concerning the factors that motivated this change. Dixon (1997: 13) suggests two reasons why linguistic change might occur: (a) changes due to the internal dynamics of the language; (b) contact-induced change. Thomason (2010: 34) stresses the explanatory predictors of language change: “The best explanation for any linguistic change will take all discoverable causal factors into account, both internal and external. The rather extensive literature that attempts to decide between an internal and an external cause of a particular change is a waste of effort—the dichotomy is false, and the best historical explanation might well have to appeal to both causes.”
Taking into consideration the grammatical properties of 晒/sai³³/ in the peripheral Yue dialects, it is reasonable to posit that internal dynamics may have played a relatively minor role in this morpheme’s functional shift in NNY. The NNY group has only been diverging from Guangfu Yue for roughly 150 years. If internal factors were the impetus for development, this should be reflected in the other Yue dialects contiguous to the Pearl River Delta region. On the contrary, NNY 晒/ɬai³³/ specially demonstrates a significant functional shift in comparison to its cognates. For this reason, in the chapters to follow, I will seek factors other than internal shift to explain the functional change of NNY 晒/ɬai³³/.
CHAPTER FOUR

FINISH Verbs in Other Southern Guangxi Languages

Geographical separation is still the most general force in linguistic diversity, but there are secondary facts that disturb the ideal relationship and cause several languages to coexist in the same territory.

—Ferdinand de Saussure (1959: 193)

The case study in the previous chapter introduced the ‘FINISH’ gram 晒/laī in NNY, which exhibits multiple grammatical functions. In this chapter, I extend my focus to other languages in the GXR, and demonstrate that certain other languages of this region also possess ‘FINISH’ grams that demonstrate an array of functions. I adopt a typological perspective to observe these data, which were collected from a range of genetically unrelated languages; the results of this study revealed a panorama of functions associated with the ‘FINISH’ gram.

The first language group to be described in this chapter is Zhuang. Zhuang is the main non-Chinese language in GXR, and a vast array of linguistic phenomena prevalent in the Chinese dialects of this area can find their counterparts in Zhuang (see Chapter 2). Affiliated with the Tai-Kadai language family, Zhuang is subdivided into two groups (Northern vs. Southern). I have collected extensive materials from Liujiang Zhuang 柳江壯語, Mashan Zhuang 馬山壯語 and Ba’ma Zhuang 巴馬壯語 of the Northern branch, since the ‘FINISH’ gram has a wide range of functions in these three subsets compared to the other Northern Zhuang branches. Only two subsets of Southern Zhuang (Jingxi Zhuang 靖西壯語 and Longzhou Zhuang 龍州壯語) occur in my database, due to the relative scarcity of studies on the Southern Zhuang dialects to date. For a preliminary illustration of the components of the ‘FINISH’ grams in all the languages in question, consider FIG 4.1:

27 F. K. Li (1940) presents a classic study on the Southern Longzhou Zhuang dialect. Following Li’s groundbreaking work, numerous Zhuang scholars have documented the various dialects of Zhuang, but their concentration has been biased toward the Northern Zhuang dialects rather than the Southern Zhuang. The southern dialects reflect variations of the linguistic profile that contrast with their northern counterparts, to some extent, Southern Zhuang resembles Thai, Lao, and Nung in the Southeast Asian region, and Assam in the South Asian region. Several ‘FINISH’ grams in Southern Zhuang have distinct cognates from those in Northern Zhuang, and I have therefore chosen to include data from Southern Zhuang to enrich our discussion.
Zhuang dialects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Form of ‘FINISH’ grams</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liujiang Zhuang</td>
<td>/le:u/’/θo:t’/ /ju:n’/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mashan Zhuang</td>
<td>/le:u’/ /θo:t’/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ba’ma Zhuang</td>
<td>/li:u’/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jingxi Zhuang</td>
<td>/ja’/ /le:u’/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longzhou Zhuang</td>
<td>/ja’/ /thu:n’/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIG 4.1 The ‘FINISH’ verbs in the languages of GXR**

Each language sample comprises two or three ‘FINISH’ grams; some are cognates while others are not. Other than /li:u’/ in Ba’ma Zhuang, none of the languages contains a single, exclusive form meaning ‘FINISH’. In other words, distinct forms always coexist with one another. Yue-Hashimoto (1993) asserts, “Different forms coexisting in a single dialect should be ascribed to different strata, either chronological or spatial.” Given that distinct forms mirror different strata, it is necessary for us to determine the individual layers of those strata in general, and the peculiar functions behind each form in particular. Grammatical traits of the various ‘FINISH’ forms differ according to particular contexts and the exponents that are grammatically associated with each. Since the goal of this paper is not to explore the origins of the ‘FINISH’ gram in each sample, I will focus my examination on the analogic synchronic manifestations of their various functions rather than their diverse sources.

The various functions of the ‘FINISH’ grams vary among the dialects:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>‘FINISH’ verb</th>
<th>Universal quantifier</th>
<th>Superlative</th>
<th>Completive</th>
<th>Perfect aspect marker</th>
<th>Linking verb</th>
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**FIG 4.2 Grammatical functions of the ‘FINISH’ grams in Zhuang**

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The remainder of this chapter falls into three parts. First, I provide examples of the coexisting ‘FINISH’ forms in the Zhuang samples, observing their grammatical properties and the competition between distinct forms at discrete historical depths. After that, a couple of sections focus on the grammaticalization of the various functions. Every heading is arranged according to the functions and the contexts where the ‘FINISH’ gram occurs. Finally, I introduce a typological profile to support the grammaticalization model I propose. Unless otherwise indicated, all the Zhuang data were collected during my fieldwork in GXR from 2011 to 2013.

4.1 Polyfunctional ‘FINISH’ Grams in Zhuang

In the minority language samples, there are numerous intransitive verbs, meaning ‘to finish’ or ‘to complete’. Most languages share a cognate ‘FINISH’ verb, but some show distinctive forms as a result of their different origins. The contexts in which the historical ‘FINISH’ grams appear differ by genre and speaker; most ‘FINISH’ verbs have been replaced by the Chinese loanword 完/wan35/ ‘finish’ in Zhuang.

4.1.1 Liujiang Zhuang: /le:u⁴/, /θoːt⁷/ and /juːn²/

Strikingly, there are three ‘FINISH’ verbs in Liujiang Zhuang, which do not appear to be contextually restricted. Thus, in (1), (2) and (3) all three verbs are acceptable.

(1) ten⁴ jiŋ⁴ le:u⁴ ha⁶ tsa:ŋ² ?
   movie FINISH already Q
   ‘Has the movie finished already?’

(2) ki:n⁵ θu⁶ ni⁴ kjaŋ⁵ θoːt⁷, muŋ⁷ tsι⁴ tau³ le⁶
   CL thing this just FINISH 2sg then come already
   ‘You just come here as soon as this work is finished.’

(3) wa:ŋ² pi⁵ ko⁵ ju:n⁷ le⁶, tsi⁴ tan⁷ luk³-ʔ dai¹
   orange RIPEN already then come CT persimmon
   ‘After the orange is ripe [lit: finished], the harvest of the persimmon will come.’

The three ‘FINISH’ verbs each take a non-agentive event; the subject of each sentence is assigned the THEME semantic role rather than AGENT.⁴₈ Thus, the subjects have no control over the action. Despite their parallel grammatical status, these three ‘FINISH’ verbs differ in their usage. /le:u⁴/ and /θoːt⁷/ are used in both

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²⁸ The AGENT semantic role denotes the initiator of some action, capable of acting with volition, while the THEME emphasizes the entity which is moved by an action, or whose location is described (see Saeed 2003:149 for thematic roles).

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literal and vernacular expressions, but /ju:n\(^2\)/ occurs only in vernacular contexts. /ju:n\(^2\)/ is no longer widely used by the younger generations, but is still frequently found among the elder generation.

When the subject of a sentence is semantically divisible and can be easily quantified, the quantificational value of the ‘FINISH’ verb will be triggered. In this use, the gram carries a derived meaning ‘to run out or to use up’. All the three candidate verbs in Liujiang Zhuang permit this reading, although they vary according to transitivity: /le:u\(^4\)/ and /ju:n\(^2\)/ are intransitive verbs (4-6), whereas /θo:t\(^7\)/ is transitive (7-8), interpreted as ‘to finish /to end’.

(4) ʔdau\(^1\) taŋ\(^6\) hau\(^4\) le:u\(^4\)/ju:n\(^2\)/ le
      inside jar  rice  RUN-OUT  PP
     ‘The rice in the jar has run out.’

(5) ton\(^3\) iu\(^4\) ni\(^4\) le:u\(^4\)/ju:n\(^2\)/ le\(^5\), li\(^4\) mi\(^2\) ton\(^3\) ?an\(^3\)
    CL  oil  this  RUN-OUT  PP  again  have  CL  that
   ‘This bottle of oil has run out, but [there] is still another bottle.’

(6) ka\(^6\) kun\(^1\) le:u\(^4\)/ju:n\(^2\)/ le\(^6\)
    some  eat  RUN-OUT  PP
   ‘The food has been eaten up.’

(7) θo:t\(^7\) ti\(^5\) hoŋ\(^1\) ni\(^4\) le:u\(^4\) pai\(^1\) tsai\(^4\)...  
     END-UP  little  work  this  completely  go  then
   ‘[You should first] complete this work, then [you can turn to other work].’

(8) θo:t\(^7\) ti\(^5\) hau\(^4\) ni\(^4\) le:u\(^4\) pai\(^1\) pai\(^1\) tsu\(^4\) hau\(^4\) mo\(^5\)
     END-UP  little  rice  this  completely  go  then  go  buy  rice  new
   ‘[After you] eat up all the rice, you can then go to buy some new rice.’

In Liujiang Zhuang, two grams, /le:u\(^4\)/ and /ju:n\(^2\)/, are used as universal quantifiers, quantifying over the subject in a static or weak dynamic context. This only applies when the subject in question is semantically divisible and measurable; otherwise, a universal quantificational reading is ungrammatical due to semantic incompatibility.

The next examples illustrate static situations that are regarded as constant and invariable. The sentence-final /le:u\(^4\)/ and /ju:n\(^2\)/ quantify over the subjects rather than the objects.

(9) ʔdau\(^1\) taŋ\(^6\) tuk\(^8\) hau\(^4\) le:u\(^4\)
      inside  bag  COP  money  EXH:ALL
   ‘All the parts of the bag are packed with money.’
In principle, both forms are accepted in this context. However, /le:u^4/ is preferred to /ju:n^2/ in most conditions. /ju:n^2/ is primarily retained in the older generations, who still use Liujiang Zhuang, rather than Mandarin, as their first choice for daily expressions. /le:u^4/ and /ju:n^2/ display their universal quantificational trait in weak dynamic contexts where the predicates are mental or existential verbs:

(14)  po^6 me^6 kjai^2 va^2 ne^2 ni^4 le:u^4/ ju:n^2
    parents love child this EXH:ALL
    ‘The child’s parents both love him [very much].’

(15) ʔdau^1 kam^3 mi^2 kuk^7 u, ʔdau^1 ʔba:n^3 kjon^5 vun^3 kun^3 la:u^1 le:u^4/ ju:n^2 pai^1
    inside cave have tiger PP inside village PL people afraid EXH:ALL GO:IMPV
    ‘There is a tiger in the cave. That is why all the villagers are afraid [to enter the cave].’

(16)  na:n^2 la:i^1 ʔdi^3 tok^7 vun^1 le^1, ʔu^6 pu^6 ku:n^3 mun^6 vun^1 le:u^4/ ju:n^2
    long time NEG rain PP everyone all long for rain EXH:ALL
    ‘It doesn’t rain for many days, thus everyone longs for [a heavy] rain.’

While there are no divisible items in (17) below, /le:u^4/ and /ju:n^2/ are grammatical because they describe a derived quantificational trait—the divisible aspects of the subject’s father (i.e., the individual personal behaviors of the father: the father’s appearance, manner of speaking, the way he handles affairs, etc.).

(17)  te^1 ʔum^5 po^6  te^1 le:u^4/ ju:n^2
    3sg like father 3sg EXH:ALL
    ‘He is like his father in every aspect.’

There are two candidates for the completive morpheme in Liujiang Zhuang. Both grams are derived analogically from the ‘FINISH’ source, but they have different functions corresponding to the binary readings of a completive:

(18)  te^1 kjon^5 kjai^5 tuuk^7 ʔo:ŋ^1 tu^2 pja^1 le:u^4/ ju:n^2
3sg just catch two CL fish EXH:COMPLETELY 
ⅰ. ‘He just caught up all the two pieces of fish.’
ⅱ. ‘He just finished the action of catching fish.’

(19) te¹ tsa³ tsa² nu² ku¹ le:u'/ju:n² le¹, iu¹ ta³ tsa³ tu⁶ mun³ 
3sg borrow money ATTR 1sg EXH:COMPLETELY PP again come borrow NOM 2sg 
ⅰ. ‘He has borrowed all of your money, and then come to borrow mine.’
ⅱ. ‘After he borrowed your money, he came to borrow mine.’

/le:u⁴/ and /ju:n²/ can both simultaneously express the quantificational and aspectual functions of the object and the telic trait of the verb. However, /ju:n²/ is ungrammatical with a compound VP where the object is nonreferential. Thus, /le:u⁴/ is the unique candidate to fulfill this context:

(20) ta³ pai² *ju:n²/le:u⁴ ha⁴ pai¹ ma¹ 
play mahjong EXH:COMPLETELY then go come 
‘[We will come back after we] finish playing mahjong.’

(21) ka:u¹ ni⁴ te¹ kjë hun⁵ *ju:n²/le:u⁴ ha⁶ tau³ 
time this 3sg have marriage EXH:COMPLETELY then come 
‘This time he will come here after he gets married.’

This grammaticality constraint on completive /ju:n²/ raises the question of why this morpheme is valid in a binary reading (i.e. quantificational and aspectual) but unacceptable in the context of a single aspectual notion.

Occasionally, /le:u⁴/ in Liujiang Zhuang is used as a postposed superlative, intensifying the degree of the adjective. Interestingly, only /le:u⁴/ can occur in this context, to the exclusion of the other ‘FINISH’ grams such as /θot⁷/ and /ju:n²/. The meaning ‘maximal degree of the quality’ emerges when /le:u⁴/ associates with a neighboring adjective.

(22) tîŋ³ ka:ŋ³ ka:u³ ei¹, kjau³ ŋaŋ⁶ le:u⁴ pai¹ 
hear get exam head dizzy EXH:EXTREMELY GO:EMPH 
‘[Once I heard the news about the upcoming] exam, I was extremely dizzy.’

(23) ṭdau¹ hjæ:n¹ liŋ² le:u² pai¹ 
inside house cold EXH:EXTREMELY GO:EMPH 
‘The inside of the house is extremely cold.’

(24) ku¹ ta³ ʈa⁴ pja:i³ taŋ⁶ min² ta⁴, ku¹ kun³ pak³ le:u⁴ 
1sg from XD walk to MD 1sg already tired EXH:EXTREMELY 
‘I was extremely tired after I walked to Guangxi University from Guangxi Minzu University.’
The perfect aspect marker /le6/ in Liujiang Zhuang is a phonologically eroded form of /le:u4/. Its use in the default sentence-final slot is widespread in Liujiang Zhuang, while its appearance in a bound slot is less common.

(25) te1 ta:n1 tsin1 θen1 le6
    3sg become man ALREADY
    ‘He has become a father.’

(26) ka:u1 ko:n5 tsan5 kje6 hun5 ka:u1 ni4 tau3 θi6 khe6 hun5 le6
time last NEG marry time this arrive MOD marry ALREADY
    ‘Last time [when I met him] he had not gotten married, but this time [when I met him], he was already married.’

(27) ta6 nun4 i3 θia:n3 kun1 le6
    sister NEG want eat ALREADY
    ‘[Her] sister doesn’t want to eat any more.’

4.1.2 Ma’shan Zhuang: /le:u4/ and /θa:t7/

Two ‘FINISH’ verbs are documented in Ma’shan Zhuang, which can be subcategorized based on their derived meanings and transitivity. In most cases, they serve as intransitive verbs, meaning ‘to finish’:

(28) to6 ta4 θa:r7/le:u4 la
    championship FINISH PP
    ‘The championship has finished already.’

(29) fən4 θa:r7/le:u4 la, ci6 tok2nai1
    rain FINISH PP then snow
    ‘It snows after the rain.’

(30) ten1 jin3 θa:r7/le:u4 la
    movie FINISH PP
    ‘The movie is over.’

Alternatively, these verbs may be construed as ‘to run out or to use up’, in which case they predict a change in the quantity of an item as a result of an event. In example (31), the consumption of the rice necessitates a change of the amount from a full jar of rice to an empty jar. In this kind of context, both /θa:t7/ and /le:u4/ are acceptable:

(31) hau4 ʔdau1 ka:n1 θa:r7/le:u4
    rice inside jar USE-UP
    ‘The rice in the jar has run out.’

(32) ton3 yan4 nai4 le:u4/θa:r7 1a, ton3 te1 li4 mi2
    CL water this RUN-OUT PP CL 3sg still have
    ‘This bottle of water has run out, while he still has another bottle.’
The ‘FINISH’ verb /θa:t/ also frequently occurs as a transitive verb, in which case it is interpreted relative to the object. In some situations, it is construed as ‘to finish’ (34) or ‘to run out/to use up’ (37).

(34) θa:t ti¹ houŋ¹ nai⁴ pai¹
FINISH little work this GO:IMPV
‘Please finish this work!’

(35) ta⁶ nuŋ⁴ θa:t⁷ tso² ne² ca:ŋ²?
sister FINISH homework NEG
‘[Has your] sister finished the homework already?’

(36) kou⁴ θa:t⁷ ko³ lo, men⁶ pai¹ kun² pa:i²
1sg FINISH story PP COP go sleep
‘[I will] go to sleep after telling this story.’

(37) mɯŋ² θo:ŋ² non² θo:ri² pan² ?du:n¹ ten¹ fai⁵
2sg two day USE-UP whole day electricity fee
‘You used up all the electricity fee within only two days.’

A universal quantifier equivalent to Liujiang /le:u⁴/ and /ju:n⁷/ is predominant in both stative and weak dynamic contexts in Mashan Zhuang. It is important to note that it is /le:u⁴/ rather than /θa:t⁷/ that usually appears in the universal quantifier function. /θa:t⁷/ fails to quantify over divisible items as a whole. When used as a universal quantifier, /le:u⁴/ selects the subject as its focus, ordinarily appearing in the sentence-final slot [SVO-le:u⁴]:

(38) po⁶ me⁶ kjai² luuk⁸ ne² pon³ fan⁶ le:u⁴/*θo:ri⁷
parents love child themselves EXH:ALL
‘All the parents love their children very much.’

(39) kai⁵ kuai⁵ kjoŋ⁵ te¹ le:u⁴/*θo:ri⁷
don’t blame them EXH:ALL
‘Don’t blame them for every mistake they make.’

(40) ?du:n¹ co:ŋ⁶ mi² kuk⁷, vun² ?ba:n³ la:u¹ hau³ pai¹ le:u⁴/*θo:ri⁷
inside cave have tiger villager afraid enter EXH:ALL
‘[It sounds like] there is a tiger in the cave, thus all the villagers are afraid to enter the cave.’

(41) toŋ⁶ vun² nai⁴ mu:ŋ⁶ tok⁷ fan⁴ le:u⁴/*θo:ri⁷
some people these long for rain EXH:ALL
‘All these people long for a heavy rain.’

(42) he:u³ te:ŋ¹ ei:m² pai¹ le:u⁴/*θo:ri⁷
teeth PASS pull-out go EXH:ALL

‘All his teeth have been pulled out [by the doctor].’

/le:u/ is the only candidate that encodes the completive function. It denotes the termination of the verbal action in general, and the change in state of affected object in particular. When the affected object is strongly referential, /le:u/ quantifies over the individual portion of the object and expresses a holistic notion.

(43) ta₆num⁴kun¹θa:m¹?an¹maŋ⁶ko³le:u⁴/*θoː:r⁷/, ?bou³?dei¹kun¹tem¹
sister eat three CL mango EXH:COMPLETELY NEG ACQ:MOD eat more
i. ‘[My] sister has eaten up all the three mangos, and she can’t eat more.’
ii. ‘After sister ate the three mangos, she couldn’t eat more.’

When the object is nonreferential or non-definite in the compound verb structure, it cannot be affected by the event. In this case, the completive reading denotes the completion of the event at large. /le:u/ and /ju:n/ are both permissible in this context:

(44) te¹e³i⁵nan²muŋ²le:u⁴/*θoː:r⁷/, jou⁶tau³e³tu⁶kou¹
3sg borrow money 2sg EXH:COMPLETELY then come borrow NOM 1sg
i. ‘He has first borrowed all of your money, then come to borrow mine.’
ii. ‘After he borrows your money, he will come to borrow mine.’

Usually, the ‘FINISH’ gram /le:u/ phonologically reduces to /lo/ or /la/, a typical sentence-final perfect aspect marker, in which case it can no longer quantify over the objects. Instead, it denotes the change to a new state, giving the sense of ‘already’ or ‘become’:

(45) to:k⁸-thu¹θaːr⁴/le:u⁴e³pa¹nin²
read-book EXH:COMPLETELY will go sleep
‘She will go to sleep after [she finishes] reading.’

(46) luk⁸ne²taeːm⁴θaːr⁴/le:u⁴cip⁸iti⁷tim³
child wash-body EXH:COMPLETELY eleven o’clock
‘It is already eleven o’clock after the child finishes bathing.’

(47) paːn⁴yiŋ²kun¹naːi²θaːr⁴/le:u⁴nin²cep⁷deːu¹
noon eat lunch EXH:COMPLETELY sleep a while
‘[You should] have a rest after lunch.’

(48) naːm²nin²oːk⁷tan¹jan²lo
NN out sun ALREADY
‘The sun has already risen in NNY.’

(49) luk⁸ne²ta¹lo
child little cry ALREADY
‘The child cries.’
(50) te¹ pan² po⁶ la
   3sg be father BECOME
   ‘He has become a father already.’

4.1.3 Ba’ma Zhuang: /li:u⁴/

Ba’ma Zhuang lacks multiple ‘FINISH’ grams; /li:u⁴/ is the only one I documented in my fieldwork.

(51) eu:n⁵ li:u⁴ kwa⁵
    trifles FINISH already
    ‘The trifles have been finished.’

   A derived meaning of ‘FINISH’, indicating ‘to run out’ or ‘to use up’, is available to this gram. In the following example /li:u⁴/ predicates the consumption of the rice.

(52) ka:i⁵ ho:u⁴ ʔdam¹ ton⁵ li:u⁴ pai² le⁴
    some rice inside hole USE-UP already PP
    ‘The rice in the hole was used up.’

   The normal way of saying ‘all’ in Ba’ma Zhuang is with the sentence-final /li:u⁴/. When /li:u⁴/ occupies this slot, it can only bear the universal-quantificational function. In static contexts, it selects the subject only.

(53) ʔdau¹ tai⁶ tuk⁸ ʔan² kuk⁷ li:u⁴
    inside bag COP money do EXH:ALL
    ‘All the corners of the bag are filled with money.’

   In contrast, certain non-partitive DP subjects are incompatible with the measurable traits of /li:u⁴/. In (54), for example, the object ‘mango trees’ is selected by /li:u⁴/.

(54) ka:n¹ yo:n¹ nei⁴ tuk² lai⁴ ma:n³ ko³ kuk⁷ li:u⁴
    CL road this COP tree mango do EXH:ALL
    ‘All the mango trees are planted around this road.’

29 The speakers of Ba’ma Zhuang live in the mountainous cities of Hechi, the Autonomous County of the Yao Group 河池巴馬瑶族自治縣. The prevalent minority languages in this region are Zhuang and Yao, but Ba’ma Zhuang possesses several specific linguistic exceptions among the Zhuang group: the perfect aspect marker in Ba’ma Zhuang is /kwa⁵/ ‘pass’, which is a typical experiential marker in the other languages in China.
The Ba’ma Zhuang ‘FINISH’ gram /li:u^4/ is regularly located in the sentence-final position. It shows a similar pattern to that of Liujiang or Mashan. The maximal degree of the state cannot be intensified without the involvement of /li:u^4/:

(55) la:kʰ ha:z³ tou¹, ha:z³ tou¹ ya:n² nei⁴ ei:n³ /li:u^4/
NEG open door open door house this cold EXH:EXTREMELY
‘Do not open the door! [If you] open the door, the house will be **extremely** cold.’

(56) ?an¹ ya:n² nei⁴, ka:n⁵ /li:u^4/
CL house this wide EXH:EXTREMELY
‘This house is **extremely** wide.’

(57) eoŋ⁴ nat⁸ ten³ taŋ⁵ luŋ⁸-man⁴ e¹ ṭa:n² pai¹ʔom⁴ ta:ŋ¹ nei⁴ man⁴ /li:u^4/
put CL TD CT-pepper one down go CL soup this spicy EXH:EXTREMELY
‘[Once] you put in a piece of Tianzeng pepper, the whole bowl of the soup will be **extremely** spicy.’

/li:u^4/ is felicitous in all the contexts in question. As an ambiguous exponent, it quantifies over measurable items and indicates a holistic interpretation.

(58) hɔu³ te¹ kʊ⁷ tʊ:n⁵ /li:u^4/ man⁴ hɔu³ te¹ pai¹ GIVE:CAUS 3sg do work EXH:COMPLETELY then GIVE:CAUS 3sg go
‘When he completely finished the work, [you could] let him go home.’

ⅰ. He finished every part of the work.
ⅱ. The event of doing work is **completed.** (F. Chen 2010)

It selectively indicates the ‘completeness’ notion when associated with indivisible compound verbs:

(59) kʊ⁵ lu:i³-ʔda:ŋ² /li:u^4/ le⁴
1sg take shower EXH:COMPLETELY already
‘I have taken a shower.’

A derived form of sentence-final /li:u^4/ is found in the perfect aspect marker /le^4/ which, in its phonetically eroded form, indicates the completion of an event or a change to a new state. There are two popular perfect aspect markers in Ba’ma Zhuang, /ka^5/ and /le^4/. /ka^5/ originates from a directional verb meaning ‘pass’. Sometimes, it combines with the verb to serve as a directional complement. Both perfect aspect markers typically occupy the sentence-final slot, while /le^4/ can also appear in a bound, peripheral slot as an intrinsic perfect aspect marker.

(60) tsɔŋ⁵te¹ nau² nau² tsau⁵ to²ʔoi⁴ le⁴
3pl talk talk then REC hit ALREADY
‘They have been hitting each other when they talk.’

(61) tsə:n³ʔa:n³ ʔdei³ li³je:n⁵ tsə:ʔoŋ³ le⁴
ZS and LY marry ALREADY
‘Zhangshan and Liyan have married already.’

4.1.4 Jingxi Zhuang: /le:u⁴/ and /ja⁵/

As a branch of the Southwest Tai languages, Jingxi Zhuang possesses two separate ‘FINISH’ grams. /le:u⁴/ is an omnipresent exponent identical to its counterparts in other Zhuang dialects; /ja⁵/ is a proper word scattered through a wide range of southern Zhuang dialects. These two grams are both compatible with the verbal function. /le:u⁴/ is preferred to /ja⁵/ in the context of an intransitive ‘FINISH’ verb, representing a reading of ‘to end or to finish’. The use of intransitive ‘FINISH’ /ja⁵/ is not widespread in Jingxi Zhuang. I assume that the verbal /ja⁵/ has been replaced by a dominant /le:u⁴/:

(62) tsi:ŋ² ten³ jur:ŋ⁵ kei³ le:u⁴/?ja⁵ tsan² ?  
   ‘Has this movie finished?’

(63) tsi² kon⁵ ja:m¹ ja:m¹ le:u⁴/?ja⁵ lo ni⁵ tsu³ ma² ?  
   story just FINISH PP 2sg then come  
   ‘The story has just finished, [why] do you come [so late]?’

(64) ui⁶ min² ko⁵ le:u⁴/?ja⁵ ja⁵ tsu³ ta:u⁵ pai¹ lo  
   concert folk-song FINISH already then return go PP  
   ‘After the folk-song concert, [we] will return home.’

If the subject is a concrete noun, the quantificational feature of the ‘FINISH’ verb is triggered, yielding the meaning ‘to use up or to eat up’. Only /le:u⁴/ works in this context:

(65) ka:ŋ¹ khau³ ni⁵ le:u⁴/*ja⁵ ja⁵  
   jar rice 2sg USE-UP already  
   ‘Your rice has been used up.’

(66) li³la:i⁴ kin¹, ma:n⁴ thou² le:u⁴/*ja⁵ ja⁵, ja:ŋ² mei² pa:u¹  
   slow eat steamed bread EAT-UP already also have stuffed bun  
   ‘Eat it slowly! When you eat up the steamed bread, [we will offer] you the stuffed bun.’

Since the intransitive ‘FINISH’ verb /ja⁵/ is disappearing, I mark it with ‘?’ in examples (62), (63) and (64), based on judgments collected during my fieldwork. For instance, a 62-year-old informant stated that verbal /ja⁵/ is selectively accepted by farmers who live close to Jingxi County, while a 40-year-old informant rejected verbal /ja⁵/ entirely. Interestingly, a transitive ‘FINISH’ verb /ja⁵/ is popular with a quantificational semantic value:

140
Although they are wrong, please don’t blame them for every mistake they made.

Jingxi Zhuang has a quantifier /le:u^4/ that is cognate to those found in Liujiang and Ba’ma. When the subject is plural or measurable, /le:u^4/ selects the subject; otherwise it selects a divisible object.

The next example is cited from a Jingxi text. I assume that sentence-final leew^6 quantifies over “ground” rather than “pits”, even though in the author’s translation, leew^6 is associated with “pit”. Therefore, the reading of the sentence should be ‘… He has dug up the ground so all the parts of the ground look like pits.’

In weak dynamic contexts where the predicates are mental verbs, /le:u^4/ holistically quantifies over the subject (74) or over items understood from context (75):

(67) ja^5/*le:u^4 ti^1 kɔŋ^1 pai^1, mi^2 sai^1 tho^5 na:u^5
      FINISH little work GO:IMPV NEG delay NEG
   ‘[You should] finish this work immediately. Don’t delay please!’

(68) ja^5/*le:u^4 ja:p^8 kei^3 ko:n^5, ja:n^1 ja:p^8 ta:i^5 nei^6
      USE-UP box this first slow box second
   ‘Please first use up the first box of [chalk], then the second one.’

(69) nø^6 ja^5/*le:u^4 tsu^5 ne^2 le:u^4 ja:n^1 ku^3 non^2
      1sg FINISH homework completely then sleep
   ‘I will go to sleep after doing my homework.’

(70) ka:i^5 lou^2 pan^2 po^6 le:u^4
      1pl become father EXH:ALL
   ‘All of us have become fathers.’

(71) kon^2 ja:n^5 ka:n^5 ka:i^5 mei^2 tsu^2 tsu^3 jou^5 ni^1 phja^1 le:u^4
      person HK NOM have money live at onside hill EXH:ALL
   ‘All the rich people in HK used to live on the hill.’

(72) ni^1 tsu:n^2 ne:m^1 po^4 phc:n^6 we^6 le:u^4
      onside table post put piece pic EXH:ALL
   ‘All the corners of the table are covered by this picture.’

(73) yav^6 lok^5 ‘een^4 can^1 kaaw^5 lo^3,vaat^2 kaa^5 tau^3 tey^5, pay^4 pin^4 phom^1 leew^6
      boy child child really mischievous pltl. scratch the bottom ground all become pit EXH:ALL
   ‘This boy is really mischievous. He has dug up the ground so it is all pits.’

(74) lau^6 kei^3 mi^2 tu^1 lu^1, kon^2 kia:n^1 ma:n^3 la:u^1 khau^3 pai^1 le:u^4
      cave this have CL tiger villager afraid this GO:EMPH EXH:ALL
   ‘There are some tigers in the cave. All the villagers are afraid to enter the cave.’

(75) to:i^1 te^1 sa^1 ja^5, mi^2 sai^3 kua:i^5 to:i^1 le:u^4
      3pl wrong already don’t blame 3pl EXH:ALL
   ‘Although they are wrong, please don’t blame them for every mistake [they made].’

(Gedney 1991: 776)
In Jingxi Zhuang, /le:u⁴/ is commonly used as a completive in place of /ja⁵/. In a sentence that contains both a divisible argument and a dynamic predicate, /le:u⁴/ is ambiguously construed:

(76) thuu⁴ ţiin⁴ kin¹ leew⁶ la³, vit³ pe¹ la¹ head cigarette smoke EXH:COMPLETELY ptl. throw away ptl. ptl. ‘When you have finished smoking the cigarette butt, throw it away.’

i. All parts of the cigarette have been consumed.

ii. The action of smoking has finished. (Gedney 1991: 852)

(77) te¹ la:i⁵ kai:i⁵ tse:n² kei³ le:u⁴ ja⁵ ja:n² khja:m¹ po⁶ me⁶ ?au¹ 3sg waste some money these EXH:COMPLETELY already still ask for parents claim

i. ‘He has wasted all of his money, after that [he should only] ask his parents for help.’

ii. ‘After he wasted his money, he asked his parents for help.’

/le:u⁴/ has only one possible construal when it occurs with a compound verb:

(78) ni⁵ fa:n³ kja⁵ le:u⁴ tsu³ khun¹pa:n¹ 2sg have holiday EXH:COMPLETELY then work

‘After you finish your vacation, you should come back to work.’

(79) tok⁷ pa:i² le:u⁴ tsu³ li² kha:¹ play card EXH:COMPLETELY then leave

‘[We will] leave after playing the card game.’

Jingxi Zhuang resembles the northern Zhuang dialects in postposing /le:u⁴/ rather than /ja⁵/ to intensify the gradable degree.

(80) i¹ lok⁸ pei² po⁶ tsa:i² kei¹ pei² le:u⁴ lo CL boy fat boy DIMI this fat EXH:EXTREMELLY PP

‘This little boy is extremely fat.’

(81) te¹ faŋ⁵ le:u⁴ lo 3sg happy EXH:EXTREMELLY PP

‘He is extremely happy!’

The next two examples show that /ja⁵/ can function as a perfect aspect marker that may be phonetically reduced to /ha³/ or /a²-3/. /a²-3/ can act as a sentence-final pragmatic particle, finally developing into a mood particle.

(82) khi³ tse⁵ khai¹ pai¹ tsao³ li⁵ ja⁵ car drive go JX ALREADY

‘The car has gone to Jingxi.’

(83) mo⁴ lun² tsu⁵ ma³ pat⁷ lun² pat⁷ tei⁶ ja⁵ every family all busy clear house clean ground ALREADY

‘Every family has been busy cleaning the house and the ground [of the yard].’

4.1.5 Longzhou Zhuang: /thu:n³/ and /ja⁵/
Only one principal ‘FINISH’ verb, /thu:n/, is reported in Longzhou Zhuang: the additional verb /ja/, expected based on the Jingxi data, is absent. /thu:n/ occurs in some imperative sentences or as an answer to reinforce the completeness of the event. It also gives rise to a semantic value of ‘to end’ relevant to the aspectual domain:

\[(84) \quad \text{thu:n}^3 \text{ na}^3 \text{ po}^6 \text{ kwa}^1 \text{ ti}^1 \text{ thu:m}^5 \text{ ha}^3 \text{ ma}^2 \text{ a}^1 \ldots \]

man this COP CL officer ATTR greed destroy 3sg PP

‘This officer’s greed destroyed him…’

\[\text{thu:n}^1/*ja^5 \text{ a}^1 \]

FINISH PP

‘The story is over.’

(F.K Li 1940: 48)

\[(85) \quad \text{pi}^3 \text{ lai}^3 \text{ thu:n}^1/*ja^5 \text{ ja}^5 \text{ ma}^2 \text{ lu}^2 \]

game FINISH already come home

‘After the game is over, [we will] come back home.’

It can also have a quantificational value, expressing the meaning ‘to run out or to use up’:

\[(86) \quad \text{to}^3 \text{ jau}^2 \text{ na}^3 \text{ thu:n}^1/*ja^5 \text{ ja}^5, \text{ na}^6 \text{ mi}^2 \text{ ?da}^7 \text{ to}^3 \text{ mi}^2? \]

CL oil this RUN-OUT already still have another CL Q

‘This bottle of oil has run out. Is there another one?’

In static or weak dynamic contexts, each sample contains a peripheral sentence-final universal quantifier /thu:n/. The next example describes a static situation in which all the parts of his body are sticky (87), or all the people know the secrets (88):

\[(87) \quad \text{tan}^2 \text{ da}^1 \text{ ne}^2 \text{ tsan}^3 \text{ tew}^6 \text{ ne}^1 \text{ na}^6 \text{ na}^5 \text{ ti}^1 \text{ i}^5 \text{ khua}^3 \text{ nu}^1 \text{ thu:n}^1 \text{ a}^5 \]

whole body TOP always COP sticky EXPR ATTR some rice EXH:ALL PP

‘All parts of his body are as sticky as the rice.’

(F.K Li 1940: 99)

\[(88) \quad \text{kun}^2 \text{ nau}^2 \text{ pho}^3 \text{ kun}^2 \text{ nau}^2 \text{ tu}^5 \text{ lu}^4 \text{ thu:n}^1/*ja^5 \]

who corporate who all know EXH:ALL

‘All of [them] know who will be their partners in the future.’ (J. Zhang et al. 1999: 412)

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30 Longzhou Zhuang exhibits a specific morpheme that is subtly different from those in all the other Zhuang dialects. Most Longzhou Zhuang speakers posit that /thu:n/ may be borrowed from the Longzhou Yue dialect. However, I strongly question this assumption, since this morpheme has no clear counterpart in Cantonese or NNY. Instead, I suggest that Longzhou Zhuang /thu:n/ is related to the analogic morpheme /thon/ in the Dai of Xishuangbanna, which is related to the analogic morpheme /thon/ in the Dai of Xishuangbanna. This hypothesis is supported by the phonological and syntactic properties of /thu:n/ in Longzhou Zhuang strikingly correspond to those of /thon/ (cf. M. Luo 2008: 239). My informants from Jinlong village, Longzhou, believe that they immigrated to Longzhou from the Dai group in Yunnan. While I still do not have enough demographic evidence to trace the origin of the Longzhou people, it is reasonable to hypothesize that Longzhou Zhuang is related to Xishuangbanna Dai both linguistically and ethnologically.
If the complement slot is occupied by a resultative /ha:i^1/ 'dead’, the peripheral /thu:n^3/ can only be construed as a universal quantifier.

(89) տան^6 պաւ^1 հա:i^1 ի^5 կոն^2 թու:n^3/ *ja^5 պաւ^1 հա:i^1 տան^5 ի^5 կոն^2 թու:n^3/ *ja^5
then burn dead some people EXH:ALL burn dead all official EXH:ALL
‘Then [[he] burnt all the people to death, and also burnt all the feudal officials.’ (ibid. 48)

An unusual completive /thu:n^3/ in Longzhou Zhuang is found bound to the predicate even in early Zhuang texts. According to my fieldwork, it is also possible for this morpheme to appear in a peripheral slot, but this distribution is less common. A binary reading of /thu:n^3/ is found in this context:

(90) նե:m^1 թու:n^3/ *ja^5 ի^5 թան^1 կա:i^5 նև^5 ման^2 տան^6 պաւ^1 մար^2 ա^5
paste EXH:COMPLETELY some syrup already PP 3sg then go back PP
i. ‘After pasting all the syrup on the cake, he is about to go home.’
ii. ‘After pasting the syrup on the cake, he is about to go home.’ (ibid. 91)

Sometimes the quantified item is elided, as in (91). The omitted item can be inferred from the context pragmatically; it derives the past-time notion, in which the objects are totally affected by the action.

(91) կլի:m^1 պիկ^6 կաւ^6 կլի:m^1 խուն^1 պաւ^1 թու:n^3/ *ja^5 տեն^5 պիո:i^5 պաւ^1
pull out wing and pull out feather clear up EXH:COMPLETELY then release go
‘[After Bage (a bird name) was arrested by the soldiers], the soldiers pulled out its wings and feathers and then released it.’ (J. Zhang et al. 1999: 910)

Probably the ‘FINISH’ gram found in Longzhou Zhuang is the most divergent superlative morpheme in the set of dialects. /le:a^4/ is not regularly attested in the superlative context in Longzhou Zhuang; instead, /thu:n^3/ is found in most cases:

(92) պին^3 վան^2 Նաի^5 Նև^3 Կուն^2 թու:n^3 Կա:i^5 Նա^2 Նա:i^5 թու:n^3/ *ja^5
so day one PP want harvest completely CL farm small EXH:EXTREMELY
‘…so one day, [he] wants to reap all the [rice] on the smallest farm.’ (F.K Li 1940: 59)

(93) հու^3 ման^2 մի^5 կաւ^3 լու:n^6 լա:i^5 լա:i^1 թու:n^3/ *ja^5
GIVE:CAUS 3sg NEG worry much EXH:EXTREMELY
‘Tell him not to worry too much [on this issue].’ (ibid. 106)

/ja^5/ does exist in Longzhou Zhuang, but it functions primarily as a peripheral perfect aspect marker. Usually, /ja^5/ loses its initial consonant and reduces the high level tone ‘55’ to zero ‘0’, as in /uə/ or /a/. Empirically speaking, the latter phonetic realization is more frequently documented in Longzhou Zhuang. In order to thoroughly consider the evolution of the entire system, I examine /ja^5/ here:
(94) \( \tau a^2 \) ma:k\(^8\) pja\(^4\) tuk\(^7\) luŋ\(^2\) lu\(^2\) \text{\textipa{ʨaŋ}}\(^6\) pai\(^1\) \( ja^5\) \\
\text{so CL knife fall down cave go ALREADY} \\
‘…so the knife has fallen into the cave.’ \((\text{J. Zhang et al. 1999: 897})\)

A bound structure is acceptable as well, but this structure is not treated as an 
inherent expression.

(95) pai\(^1\) \( ja^5\) \( \text{ʔo}^2 \) \text{\textipa{ʨaŋ})^1\) la:u\(^4\) pa:n\(^3\) han\(^1\) min\(^2\) \text{\textipa{ʨaŋ}}\(^6\) ja:u\(^3\) pai\(^1\) tha:m\(^1\) \\
\text{go FINISHED CL Zhang boss meet 3sg then ask go question} \\
‘Boss Zhang went there and questioned him.’ \((\text{ibid. 899})\)

So far, I have confined my discussions to the monoclausal dimension in order 
to introduce the syntactic and semantic characteristics of the ‘FINISH’ grams in 
Zhuang. When we look at this gram in a broader, multi-clausal context, it exhibits 
more versatile functions.

The clause-combining ‘FINISH’ gram is widely attested in my data. A couple 
of Zhuang dialects show more diverse clause-conjoining devices than the Chinese 
dialects. In Liujiang Zhuang, two ‘FINISH’ grams, /\text{\textipa{ju:n}}^2/ and /\text{\textipa{le:u}}^4/, may be 
randomly inserted into independent clauses, performing a verb-conjoining function. 
In this case, the typical ‘FINISH’ verb is undergoing a process of grammaticalization 
into a derived conjunction. The conjunctival value supersedes the verbal value, 
indicating that this gram is now strongly associated with the aspectual notion that 
links two clauses listed in linear order.

As described above, a pragmatic particle /\text{\textipa{le}}^6/ can be integrated into the 
/\text{\textipa{ju:n}}^2\text{\textipa{le}}^6/ or /\text{\textipa{le:u}}\text{\textipa{le}}^6/ unit. In this context, /\text{\textipa{le}}^6/ is better understood as a modal 
particle than an aspect marker.

(96) te\(^1\) \( \text{ʔda}^3 \) \( \text{ni}^1 \) \( \text{ʔdak}\(^2\) \text{\textipa{ʨi}}^3 \text{\textipa{ni}}\(^4\), \text{\textipa{le:u}}^4/\text{\textipa{ju:n}}^2 \text{\textipa{le}}^6, \text{\textipa{ʦi}}^6 \text{\textipa{ʦi}}^6 \text{\textipa{ʦi}}^1 \text{\textipa{ʦi}}^1 \\
3sg ACQ_{FPV} hear CL news this THEN immediately cry \\
‘He heard this news, \text{\textipa{after that}} he cried immediately.’

(97) su\(^5\) ki\(^4\) ka:帔\(^1\) ju:n\(^2\), \text{\textipa{le:u}}^4/\text{\textipa{ju:n}}^2 \text{\textipa{le}}^6, \text{\textipa{ʦi}}^1 \text{\textipa{ʦi}}^1 ka:帔\(^3\) \\
secretary talk completely THEN 1sg will talk \\
‘The secretary talks first, \text{\textipa{then}} I will talk.’

In addition, Mashan Zhuang features two conjunctival exponents, /\text{\textipa{le:u}}^4/ and 
/\text{\textipa{ʔa:t}}^7\text{\textipa{le:u}}^4/, which exhibit a clause-combining function. Notice that /\text{\textipa{ʔa:t}}^7/ cannot 
stand alone to link two clauses. It occurs only in the combined form /\text{\textipa{ʔa:t}}^7\text{\textipa{le:u}}^4/:

(98) te\(^1\) \( \text{ʨu}^1 \) p\( \text{ʦi}^5 \) \( \thetai:\text{\textipa{ʦi}}^5 \) la, \text{\textipa{le:u}}^4/\text{\textipa{ʔa:t}}^7\text{\textipa{le:u}}^4, \text{ʨu}^1 \text{\textipa{ʦi}}^4 \text{\textipa{ʦi}}^4 \\
3sg buy refrigerator already THEN buy TV set \\
‘He first bought a refrigerator, then he bought a TV set.’
(99) ta6 nuŋ4 to:k8 ta1 jo2 le:u4, le:u4/θa:t7 le:u4 ne, pai1…
   sister study university finished THEN go
   ‘After my sister graduates from university, she will then go to Beijing.’
(100) ca1 muŋ2 hon1 eiŋ5 le:u4, le:u4/θa:t7 le:u4, yau2 eiŋ keŋ6 on8
   after 2sg go to war finished THEN 2pl marry
   ‘[She will not marry you] until you return from the battlefield.’

The grammatical status of the connective /li:u4/ in Ba’ma Zhuang is, however, more subtle and flexible. It is embedded in clauses as a conjunctival verb. I gloss it ‘THEN’ or ‘AFTERWARDS’:

(101) muŋ2 ka1 ka5 ko:n5, li:u4 ne, men6 pai1 eui3 na:i2
   2sg kill chicken first THEN COP go cook
   ‘You should first kill the chicken. Then, you can go to cook.’
(102) muŋ2 ka1 ka5 li:u4, li:u4, men6 pai1 eui3 na:pai2
   2sg kill chicken completely, THEN COP go cook
   ‘You should first kill the chicken, then you can go to cook.’

Not only the Northern subset of Zhuang but also the Southern subset possesses clause-combining ‘FINISH’ grams. Two candidates /ja5/ and /le:u4/ are reported to fulfill the conjoining function in Jingxi Zhuang. /le:u4/ is often inserted between two clauses, separated by commas; /ja5/ stands alone or attaches to the secondary clause. /ja5/ is typically construed as ‘THEN’ if the linked clauses are aspectually arrayed:

(103) te1 lou4 na3 tan1 le:u4i5 kei3 ja5, le:u4 ne/ ja5 ne, tu5 faŋ2 lo
   3sg hear CL news this already THEN will happy PP
   ‘After hearing this news, he becomes happy.’
(104) o:k5 ko:n1 ne:u6 ne:u2 laŋ2 pai1 ka:u2 khau3 khei3 nɔ:k5 en5 pai1,
   out CL piss one down stir into mess swallow go
   /ja5/ /le:u4/ sou3 au1 ma2 te3 om5 khau3 mon2 me6 ta:i5 pai1 la3
   THEN will take come MOD put into hand CL mother-in-law go already
   ‘[He] first stirred his piss with the mess of the swallow and then he put it into his mother-in-law’s hands.’
   (M. Liang & J. Zhang 1996: 291)

In the Longzhou Zhuang data, /ja5/ is the only candidate that can be used as a conjunctival verb. /ja5/ alternately embeds between the clauses or prefixes to the second clause. In the following passage, /ja5/ conjoints a series of clauses that are temporally sequential.

(105) pai1 tham ko1 mai1 kheŋ1 la:i1, ban1 kha5, tau2 ma:k5 pja5 tuk7 luŋ5 luʔean6 pai1 ja5,
   go cut CL tree rigid much NEG broken perhaps CL knife fall into hole go already
   ja5 ɲo6 ma2 nai6 ju5 than5 nai1, ja5 lo:i5 no:n5 dak7 pai1, ja5 ɲiŋ5 tin5 ma2 jo:m6 kwa5
   THEN 1sg come sit at CL one THEN will sleep GO:PERF THEN wake up come look to
   po2 to:i5 na3 pai
hillside opposite side go
'I first try to cut down a great many rigid trees. However, I cannot do it]. Well, maybe my knife has fallen into the hole. Then, I sit down and rest for a while. Finally, when I wake up I look toward the opposite site of the hill. [Wow... sunset!]'

(J. Zhang et al. 1999: 896)

When the individual clauses stand in a cause-and-effect relationship, /ja^5/ is interpreted as ‘THUS/SO’ rather than ‘THEN’, and conjoins two parallel clauses that are logically dependent. I label this variant of the ‘FINISH’ gram as a sequential conjunction, used to indicate the logical dependence between ‘FINISH’ and the separate clauses. The ‘THUS/SO’ reading derives from the ‘AND’ reading, which is the typical meaning of the sequential conjunction. It is the logical interrelation between the two clauses that triggers this reading, rather than a natural development of the ‘FINISH’ gram.

In example (106) from Ba’ma Zhuang, the first clause is the reason for the insomnia suffered by the subject of the second clause: noise caused by the motorbike. Similarly, example (107) from Liujiang Zhuang indicates that the reason for the crying is the bad news:

(106) mo’to’eei hoŋ^6 u^4 ham^6, li:u^7, kou’nan^1 ?bou3 ?dak^7
motorbike ring whole night AND: SO 1sg sleep NEG ACQ:MOD
‘The motorbike was revving the whole night, thus I was not able to sleep well.’

(107) va^3 te^1 ?dai^3 n^1 ?dak^7 øe:u^5 oï^1 ni^4 le^6, le:u^4/*ju:n^2/*θo:1^7, tsai^2 tai^1
3pl ACQ:PFV hear CL news this already AND:SO all cry
‘All of them cried because of the bad news.’

There is an analogous construction in Mashan Zhuang, in which clauses are linked by /le:u^4/ or /θa:t7 le:u^4/:

(108) te^1 tuŋ^8 lük^8 kja^4, le:u^4 ne/ θa:t7 le:u^4 ne, te^1 mu:ŋ^6 mi^2 an^1 kja^1 le:u^4
3sg COP orphan AND:SO 3sg want have CL family extremely
‘He is an orphan, thus he very much wants to have a family.’

Jingxi and Longzhou Zhuang also reflect this derived function, while the cause-and-effect interpretation is again derived from the logical relationship between the two clauses rather than from the ‘FINISH’ gram itself. Two candidates, /le:u^4/ and /ja^5/, as well as the combined form /le:u^4 ja^5/, are harmonious in this context in Jingxi (109):

(109) le:u^5 báŋ^3 kjan^4 lai^1, le:u^4 ne/ ja^4 ne/ le:u^4 ja^4 ne, khja^3 nei^3 kɔŋ^3 hat^8 na:u^5
XZ lazy much AND:SO find get work NEG
‘Xiaozhang is too lazy, thus he can’t find a job.’
Thus, we can see that the discourse domain induces a conjunction function on the ‘FINISH’ gram when it occurs outside the clause. Interestingly, in certain cases, the linear order of clauses implies a weak contrastive notion. In this context, the inter-clausal ‘FINISH’ morpheme may be construed as a contrastive conjunction (i.e. ‘BUT’ in English), rather than a typical sequential conjunction ‘THEN/AND’, on the grounds that the clauses are logically contrasting. I could not find too many examples of this use, except in Ba’ma (112), Liujiang (113) and Jingxi (114):

(112) te¹ lam³ he:u² kou¹ pai¹, li:u¹ ne, kou¹ ?bou² ein³ pai¹
    3sg always ask 2sg go AND:BUT 2sg NEG want go
    ‘He always asks me to go [to his house]. However, I do not want to.’

(113) ka:i⁴ tha:u⁴ pu⁴ swa:i⁴ ko⁵ ha:ŋ¹ te¹, le:u¹, te¹ tsi⁶ ?i³ ?wun⁵ ha⁵
    introduce CL handsome boy give 3sg AND:BUT 3sg MOD NEG want marry
    ‘[Her mother has] introduced a handsome boy to her, but she does not want to marry him.’

(114) me⁶ pho¹ pet² lap⁸ pei¹ lo, le:u⁴ ne/ ja⁵ ne/le:u⁴ ja⁵ ne, sa:ŋ² mei² phjam¹ kha:u¹ na:u⁵
    grandma eighty year PP AND:BUT NEG have white hair NEG
    ‘[My grandma is eighty years old, but she still has no white hair].’

In (113), for instance, the girl rejected the marriage proposed by her mother. Even if the boy was handsome and rich, the girl still did not accept the marriage. As a contrastive conjunction, /le:u⁴/, /ja⁵/ or an integrated /le:u⁴ja⁵/ links the two clauses. Syntactically, this gram may stand alone or attach to the pragmatic particle /ne/ without prefixing to the second clause.

4.1.6 Summary

In the preceding sections, I outlined the grammatical repertoire of the ‘FINISH’ gram in Zhuang, and argued that the postverbal ‘FINISH’ gram exhibits massive polyfunctionality in almost all the Zhuang dialects; the determination of a particular function varies according to context and the associated sentential components. Some Zhuang dialects possess a few different ‘FINISH’ grams to encode the various functions, while others, especially the Ba’ma data, employ just one form to denote all the functions.
To demonstrate the functional distribution of these various grams, I have provided examples of ‘FINISH’ grams illustrating the various functions in a range of Zhuang dialects. Some grams have preserved the original lexical verbal ‘FINISH’ meaning and derived verbal functions. On the other hand, some grams (e.g. /ja5/ in Longzhou) no longer have salient verbal uses. 31 ‘FINISH’ verbs distinguish themselves according to their transitivity: /le:u4/ or /li:u4/ is an intact intransitive verb in all the examples; Liujiang /θo4/ and Jingxi /ja5/ are restricted to the transitive category; Mashan /θa7/ is versatile, occurring as a transitive or intransitive verb.

A small number of grams (e.g. /θo7/, /θa7/, /ja5/) display certain temporally sensitive functions (e.g. completive, conjunction). By contrast, the bulk of ‘FINISH’ grams (e.g. /le:u4/, /li:u4/, /ju:n2/, /θu:n3/) mark the quantificational notion (e.g. universal quantifier, superlative). It is notoriously hard to draw a clear-cut boundary between the grams encoding the various functions, since often a single gram can encode a number of different functions in different circumstances. What matters is the complementary coding strategy of those morphemes in a particular dialect. When one gram fails to mark a particular function, its counterpart is prone to compensate for this marking deficiency.

The gram /le:u4/ is widely distributed in almost all the Zhuang dialects. Phonetic erosion has caused it to develop into a perfect aspect marker /le6, la, lo/ etc. Additionally, /ja5/ has become specialized to mark perfect aspect and conjunction, rather than quantification, in the southern dialects. However, the quantificational notion continues to be marked by /le:u4/ and /θu:n3/ in most contexts.

4.2 Grammaticalization of ‘FINISH’ Verbs in Zhuang

In the Zhuang samples of my data, the ‘FINISH’ gram can be interpreted as ‘all’, ‘totally’, ‘completely’, ‘finished’, or ‘already’ as long as it occurs in the postverbal slot; when embedded between two clauses, it is interpreted as ‘then’, ‘so’ and ‘but’. Some dialects tend to encode a cluster of functions with merely one form, while others utilize two or more forms to represent separate functions.

31 For instance, in Jingxi Zhuang, /ja5/ can be parsed as a ‘FINISH’ verb in a few particular contexts according to one 70-year-old informant. However, the corresponding /ja5/ in Longzhou can never be construed with a verbal meaning. This divergence of functions is a result of functional replacement among the various ‘FINISH’ grams.
The coexisting forms of the ‘FINISH’ grams do not violate the principle of economy in language development. Generally, coexisting forms should be regarded as manifestations of grammatical competition at various historical depths or layers. According to W. Wang’s canonical paper, competing changes should produce residual forms alongside lexical diffusion (1969: 15):

Some of the affected morphemes may change to the $Y$-pronunciation directly. Other morphemes, however, will at first have both the $X$-pronunciation and the $Y$-pronunciation, fluctuating either randomly or according to some such factor as tempo or style…at any given time in any living language, we should expect to find several sets of morphemes with dual pronunciation.

By definition, two sound changes are intersecting if and only if the period of operation of one is partly or wholly concurrent with the period of operation of the other. The residual form may be a consequence of the chronological intersection of competing changes (W. Wang 1969). In a broad view, the crucial factor is the competition between an innovative feature and a previously existing feature. Competition between old and new forms occurs at least sometimes with all three basic diachronic processes (loss, addition and replacement) (Thomason 2001: 88).

With respect to this diachronic competition, four consequences are possible: (a) one of the competing forms wins the whole battle, while the loser eventually disappears from the dialect; (b) the loser is not ousted, but remains in the dialect as a coexistent form with an inferior status; (c) nothing is lost in the competition and the survivors coexist with an equal status; (d) the two competitors come out even (M. Zhang 2000: 239). Coexistence of various systems within a single dialect can be explained through the concept of syntactic stratification (cf. Yue-Hashimoto 1993).

Recall that some of the ‘FINISH’ grams in question are used primarily in the quantificational category, while the rest are ad hoc markers that encode the aspectual category. The versatile gram /leːu/, which displays a wide range of functions, is shared by almost all the dialects. The state of this particular gram permits me to observe an illuminating stage in the grammaticalization process: it appears that the evolution of this gram has not progressed straightforwardly from the quantificational category to the aspectual category, but has developed through a wide range of intermediate, overlapped steps. In fact, it is a general principle of diachronic development that older and newer forms can coexist for individual speakers as well
as for communities over time. A probably never “becomes” B without an intermediary stage in which A and B coexist. This in-between period may last several hundred or more years (Hopper 1991, Hopper & Traugott 2003: 49). The following diagram illustrates the evolution of the various forms:

![FIG 4.3 Competition among the various forms](image)

The lexical shifts I observe in the ‘FINISH’ grams exhibited in the Zhuang dialects should not be understood as sudden replacements of one grammatical exponent with another. On the contrary, the mutation process occurs gradually, along a path that reflects the inherent meanings or concepts that are encoded by the forms. To signify distinct linguistic concepts, people are inclined to employ different forms that already exist in their linguistic inventories. Provided that a one-to-one mapping between form and function is maintained, the meanings of the various lexical forms are crystal clear, with no ambiguity. However, when it is necessary to produce a label for a concept for which no previous designation exists, people typically choose to extend the use of an existing form. This process has various well-known outcomes, including analogical transfer, metonymy, metaphor, and the like (Heine et al. 1991: 27). This type of extension results in form-meaning asymmetries, which grow ever more complex as the process of grammaticalization continues.

In considering the wide array of forms and functions exhibited by the ‘FINISH’ grams in Zhuang, a few questions seem relevant: (a) Given that they all originated from the same source, why do some ‘FINISH’ grams encode the function A, while others encode the function B or C? (b) Why is there one versatile form /le:u⁴/ that denotes almost all the functions attested in all the Zhuang dialects? (c) Why is it /le:u⁴/ which eventually wins out to demonstrate all the functions? (d) How and when does the bridging of the functions belonging to distinctive conceptual domains arise? To answer these questions, in the next sections I will utilize the theories of Syntactic Reanalysis (Langacker 1977), Context (Heine 2002), and
Subjectification (Traugott 1982, 1995; Traugott & Dasher 2004: 19-23) to explore the grammaticalization pathways of the ‘FINISH’ verbs.

4.2.1 Rethinking the Source Meaning: an appraisal

In the foregoing discussion in section 1 of this chapter, I propose that the verbal source of the Zhuang ‘FINISH’ verbs was a verb meaning ‘to finish’, with additional meanings of ‘to ripen’, ‘to use up’, ‘to run out’, and ‘to eat up’ occurring in particular syntactic circumstances. The modern descendants of these grams tend to highlight the semantic value ‘to finish/to end’, yet marginal meanings like ‘to use up/to run out’ are also found in some tokens when the ‘FINISH’ verb combines with an affected argument. Most previous studies on this topic list a single ‘FINISH’ meaning, and ignore the other marginal meanings. However, the semantic readings of some of the examples I have cited would be uninterpretable if this gram were correlated exclusively with the aspectual notion (i.e. ‘to finish/to end up’) without allowing for other possible derived readings.

An interesting situation arises in certain examples from Zhuang, in which the interpretation of the ‘FINISH’ verb varies according to the semantic value of the verbal arguments. Nouns can be semantically classified according to their clusters of features,32 such as [+ Event], [+ Human], [+ Concrete], [+ Semiotic], [+ Location] and [+ Matter] (H. Wang & Zhu 2000, Bel et al. 2012). Specifically, nouns with the [+ Event] trait denote a duration of time with a natural start-point and end-point; for instance, “conference”, “exhibition”, “vacation”, “examination”, “earthquake”, “revolution” etc. (S. Liu 2004: 25-26). On the other hand, nouns with the [+ Concrete] trait denote concrete objects, which are visible and easily quantified, viz. “apple”, “rice”, “water”, “paper” etc. [+ Event] nouns are compatible with other categories that express aspectual features; [+ Concrete] nouns are compatible with items that express quantificational features.

32 Strictly speaking, the semantic classification of nouns should give way to the functional classification when one is determining the categorical status of a noun, since the former is usually deemed uninformative for understanding the grammatical properties of nouns (Jakendoff 2002: 124). However, in my discussion in this paper, the semantic distinctions of nouns generally reflect the verbal meanings with which they are compatible. This lends further support to the hypothesis that “distinct source concepts may direct the distinct grammatical paths that will give rise to different grammaticalization outputs in the end” (cf. Heine et al. 1991: 32-45).
In the spirit of this classification, ‘FINISH’ verbs in Zhuang exhibit different readings when they are associated with different kinds of nouns. On the one hand, the ‘FINISH’ verb is typically interpreted as ‘to finish/to end’ when aligned with event nouns:

(115) ten⁴ jin⁴⁴ le:u⁴⁴ ha⁶⁴ tsai:ŋ⁵⁷ ? (Liujiang Zhuang)
    movie FINISH already Q
    ‘Has the movie finished already?’

(116) to⁶ ta⁴⁴ /θa:ᵢ⁵⁴ /le:u⁴⁴ la (Mashan Zhuang)
    championship FINISH PP
    ‘The championship has ended already.’

(117) ut⁶⁴ min² ko⁵⁴ le:u⁴⁴ /ja⁵⁵ ja⁵⁵ tsu¹⁴ ta:u⁵⁴ pai¹⁵ lo (Jingxi Zhuang)
    concert folk-song FINISH already then return go PP
    ‘After the folk-song concert, [we] will return home.’

On the other hand, when ‘FINISH’ grams combine with concrete nouns, they express a quantificational function of the subject.

(118) toŋ⁴ iu⁴⁴ ni⁴⁴ le:u⁴⁴ /ju:n⁵⁴ le⁶⁴, li⁴⁴ mi²⁴ toŋ³⁷ ?an⁵⁷ (Liujiang Zhuang)
    CL oil this RUN-OUT PP again have CL that
    ‘This bottle of oil has run out, but [there] is still another bottle.’

(119) ma:n⁶⁴ tau²⁴ le:u⁴⁴ /θa:ᵢ⁵⁴ la, li⁴⁴ mi²⁴ ?an¹⁵ pa:u¹⁵ (Mashan Zhuang)
    steamed bread EAT-UP PP still have CL stuffed bun
    ‘[Don’t worry!] Although the steamed bread has been eaten up, [we] still offer stuffed bun.’

(120) ka:ŋ¹ khau³ ni³⁴ le:u⁴⁴ /ja³⁵ ja⁵⁵ (Jingxi Zhuang)
    jar rice 2sg USE-UP already
    ‘Your rice has been used up.’

Normally, the conventional definition of the ‘FINISH’ category is based on its property of aspectual indication. However, when a ‘FINISH’ verb is associated with a divisible, measurable concrete noun, it carries a quantificational interpretation. Thus, a ‘FINISH’ verb may denote the ‘completion’ meaning, or the ‘to use up/to run out’ meaning. The grammatical characteristics of transitive ‘FINISH’ verbs further support my postulation that they may be relevant to the quantificational semantic value in a number of situations:

(121) θo:ᵢ⁵⁴ ti⁴⁴ hau³ ni³⁴ le:u⁴⁴ pai¹⁵ ha⁴⁴ pai¹⁵ tsu¹⁴ hau¹⁴ mo⁶⁵ (Liujiang Zhuang)
    END-UP little rice this completely go then go buy rice new
    ‘[After you] eat up all the rice, you can then go to buy some new rice.’

(122) ta⁶⁴ nuŋ⁴ θa:ᵢ⁵⁴ tsu²⁴ ne²⁴ ea:ŋ²⁷ ? (Mashan Zhuang)
    sister FINISH homework NEG
    ‘Has [your] sister finished the homework?’
The argument whose reference is most likely to be saliently affected by the activity [verbal action] will be in the object position of a transitive verb (Dixon 2010: 116). Given this syntactic tendency, it is fairly reasonable to assert that, in transitive clauses, affected objects are promising candidates to be quantified over. This in turn triggers the quantificational value of the ‘FINISH’ verb. Given this range of uses, any definition of the ‘FINISH’ category which limits its interpretation to “to finish/to end” is unhelpful for exploring its further grammaticalization traces.

I speculate that some ‘FINISH’ verbs are born polysemous. The disparity among the distinct morphemes thus becomes: which one of the two semantic domains (i.e. “aspectual” vs. “quantificational” context) they emphasize, not which one of the two semantic domains they belong to. Once I incorporate the Zhuang ‘FINISH’ verbs into this semantic model, a modified schema of their classification is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic domains</th>
<th>‘FINISH’ verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quantificational</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspectual</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantificational &amp; Aspectual</td>
<td>ju:n², thu:n², le:u⁴, li:u⁴, θa:t⁷, θo:t⁷, ja⁵</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIG 4.4 Classification of the Zhuang ‘FINISH’ verbs based on semantic values

As shown in FIG. 4.4, all ‘FINISH’ verbs in my Zhuang data superficially demonstrate the ‘to finish/to end’ (aspectual) reading, while some verbs allow the derivational ‘to use up/to run out’ (quantificational) reading as well. Until we have

33 I suspect that transitive ‘FINISH’ verbs are more relevant to the “quantification” interpretation than intransitive ones are. Intransitive verbs are more likely to carry an “aspectuality” value, whereas transitive verbs are more likely to have objects which are definite, specific, and individuated (Dixon 2010: 131). This syntactic frame creates a potential hotbed for affectedness or quantification. While I cannot identify a single, unifying semantic base for the three transitive verbs (/θoːt⁷/, /θaːt⁷/ and /ja⁵/), it is illuminating to classify /θaːt⁷/ as an ambitransitive verb, since it serves as transitive and intransitive simultaneously. In terms of /θoːt⁷/ and /ja⁵/, I still cannot determine whether they are transitive or intransitive. Most of our fieldwork materials to date illustrate these verbs in a transitive usage, but the intransitive expression occurs occasionally. In some particular cases, the informant believes that an intransitive /θoːt⁷/ or /ja⁵/, although rare, is likewise acceptable. In the meantime, the intransitive /θoːt⁷/ or /ja⁵/ is only associated with the ‘to finish/to end’ reading, leaving aside the ‘to run out/to use up’ reading. Therefore, more in-depth work should be undertaken to evaluate the transitivity of individual ‘FINISH’ verbs in Zhuang in future study.
learned more about the **semantic packaging** of their verbal use, it is possible to disentangle these separate verbal meanings through the following chart:

![Diagram](image)

**FIG 4.5 A semantic packing process of ‘FINISH’ verbs in Zhuang**

An analytical model to this one has been suggested for Old and Middle Chinese. Z. Li (2004) asserts that ‘FINISH’ verbs in Old Chinese and Middle Chinese should be subcategorized into three types based on their semantic interpretations (see also Dong 2011).

- **a.** “盡” item: 盡、窮、竭、罄、淨、光
- **b.** “巳” item: 已、畢、竟、終、卒、結、罷、休
- **c.** “了” item: 了、既、訖、完

Verbs of type (a) carry a semantic reading of quantification, because all the arguments correlated with type (a) are semantically divisible or measurable; verbs of type (b) simply denote the completion of the past event and stress the change in state,

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34 No hints in today’s Zhuang dialect suggest that the southern verb /ja³/ can be interpreted as ‘to be ripe’. By contrast, it is construed as ‘to finish/to end’ in a reasonable number of circumstances by a small group of people (elder and rural speakers). To make our discussion more cohesive, I rule out /ja³/ in this chart.

35 Z. Li (2004: 148) interprets 畢 as associated with the 已 type, which features a predominant “temporal-denotation” value. On the contrary, I argue that it is more reasonable to affiliate 畢 to the ambiguous 了 type, on the grounds that in some classical literature a verbal “畢” still denotes a quantificational notion alongside its temporal nature, viz. 引而伸之，觸類而長之，天下之能事 畢 (lit: all the events under the sky will **run out**: “If we led on the diagrams and expanded them, if we prolonged each by the addition of the proper lines, then all events possible under the sky might have their representation.” (周易•繫辭上 [Book of Changes]). Thus, 畢 has had a dual function ever since the source stage.
which has a result that holds at the time of speech; verbs of type (c) are versatile and ambiguous. They display both the quantificational and past-event-denoting features. For instance:

(124) 王禄尽矣。

wáng lù jìn yǐ

emperor salary FINISH:run out PP

‘All the official salary has run out.’

(zuǒ chuán, zhuāng gōng sì nián 左傳•莊公四年)

(125) 阴之为道，卑顺不盈，乃全其美，盛而己。

yīn zhī wèi dào, bēi shùn bù yíng, nǎi quán qí méi, shèng ér yǐ

emperor AUX is the subject inferior NEG indulged-in-long perfect flourish AUX NEG FINISH

‘[The subject of] the yin must subsume to [the subject of] yang. Only in this way, the world is harmonious, and the fullness of the virtue will reach its highest point [lit: not end].’

(zhōu yì shàng, jīng kūn chuán [Book of Changes])

(126) 猛獸所食，骨肉了已。

měng shòu suǒ shí, gǔ ròu liǎo yǐ

ferocious beast NOM eat bone meat FINISH:consume already

‘The bone and meat has been eaten up by the ferocious beasts.’

(tài píng jīng, Vol 112 太平經 卷一百一二)

(127) 遂吾有密事，且出就館，事了，別自相請。

shì wú yǒu mì shì, qiě chū jiù guǎn, shì liǎo, bié zì xiāng qǐng

luckily 1sg have secret will go-out to public building duty FINISH other personally invite

‘Luckily I will go out to the public building to handle some private things. After it is finished, I will come to invite you personally.’

(sān guó zhì, wú shū, zhōu yú 三國志•吳書•周瑜傳)

Due to their partially overlapped meanings, verbs of type (c) can easily integrate with verbs from (a) and (b) to form compounds, viz. 了訖, 穷了, 畢了, 結 etc.; however, compounds formed from (a) and (b) verbs are ungrammatical, because these two types are semantically incompatible. Thus, a monovalent definition of the ‘FINISH’ verb veils its polysemous traits.

Considering the dual verbal meaning of this gram, Zhuang applies an interesting strategy to encode the semantic variations of the ‘FINISH’ verbs of type “c”. Intriguingly, the ‘FINISH’ verb “le:u⁴/li:u⁴” not only possesses the overlapped semantic values but is also found in all the Zhuang dialects. According to my fieldwork, “le:u⁴ li:u⁴” reveals a versatile range of functions derived from its verbal source. If a particular phonological form that is associated with closely parallel patterns of grammatical polyfunctionality were the same in two languages, one might argue that the shared pattern had come with the shared form, and that the pattern is...
shared among languages because “the word” has been inherited from a common “ancestor” language, or has been borrowed as a complete package (Enfield 2003: 320).

Although many ‘FINISH’ verbs coexist in a wide range of contexts, /leːu⁴/ is dominant both in contexts where the nominal subjects are quantificational-featured and those where they are aspectual-featured (and in contexts where both types of features are present). Once grammaticalized, /leːu⁴/ gives rise to more functions than its counterparts. As a matter of fact, the versatile /leːu⁴/ is not an original Zhuang lexeme, but a Zhuang-made byproduct of the Chinese dialects in GXR. Understanding the grammatical evolution of /leːu⁴/ will help us to trace the paths of development of the various ‘FINISH’ grams and the historical layers in which the individual ‘FINISH’ grams arose. In the next sections, I will discuss the grammaticalization process of the ‘FINISH’ gram /leːu⁴/ in Zhuang.

4.2.2 A Loanword /leːu⁴/

Lan (2005: 2-3) claims, “Zhuang has enjoyed a prolonged contact history with Chinese ever since the Archaic period. The Chinese loanwords in Zhuang can be categorized into three layers, viz. Early Old Chinese loans, Middle Chinese loans and Contemporary Chinese loans. It is the era of Middle Chinese that witnessed the greatest number of loans in Zhuang.” Further, Lan (2005: 6) quotes Wuyun Pan’s 潘悟雲 words, and posits that in deep antiquity, there might have been a thriving koine in southeast China, which was the ancestor of the Pinghua dialect. Zhuang and other minority languages might have borrowed numerous words from this proto language. In the spirit of the chronological evidence, it is plausible to argue that most Chinese loans in Zhuang should stem from Southern Chinese dialects (cf. J. Zhang 1988).

A number of linguistic clues back up my proposal that the Zhuang /leːu⁴/ may have been borrowed from Chinese. The initial consonant of /leːu⁴/ is found in MC Lai initial 来母, reconstructed as /l/; the rhyme /eːu/ belongs to the Xiao rhyme 蕭韻 in W. Pan’s (2000: 58, 86) system. These pairs indicate that the initial /l/ in Zhuang corresponds to /l/ in MC Lai initial, while the Zhuang rhymes /eːu/ and /iːu/ correspond to /iᴇu/ and /eu/ in MC, respectively. Thus, the systematic correspondence is as follows:
Indeed, Lan (2005) uses this set of correspondences to establish a borrowing trace from Pinghua to Zhuang as (Pinghua) \( l \rightarrow l \) (Zhuang), (Pinghua) \( eu \rightarrow eu \) (Zhuang), (Pinghua) \( iu \rightarrow i:u \) (Zhuang). This trace clearly captures the origin of /le:u/ in Zhuang as a Chinese loanword. I further hypothesize that Zhuang borrowed a verbal /了 \( \) from the Middle Chinese, since the verbal use /le:u/ is found in today’s Zhuang dialects.

**4.2.3 Grammaticalization of /le:u/**

In order to properly address the speculation that Zhuang borrowed a morpheme /le:u/ from Middle Chinese in GXR, it is necessary to determine why the Zhuang version of this morpheme developed a number of functions distinct from those of its Chinese counterpart; in particular, I need to trace the grammaticalization processes of the individual functions. Within the Zhuang group, Ba’ma and Liujiang Zhuang encode all the ‘FINISH’ functions with the single gram /li:u/ (see FIG 4.2). Thus, these two dialects paint a much clearer historical picture than the other Zhuang dialects we are evaluating. To simplify the discussion, I focus on Ba’ma /li:u/ particularly.

The ‘FINISH’ gram /li:u/ in Ba’ma Zhuang usually functions as a content verb, meaning ‘to finish or to run out’. In the postverbal slot, it is responsible for distinct functions (universal quantifier, superlative, completive, perfect aspect marker, conjunctival verb, sequential conjunction) based on the context and item it combines with. Generally, it is not odd for a sole /li:u/ to encode all the functions in one language. The functional evolution from a ‘FINISH’ verb into a superlative via an intermediate stage of universal quantification, or from a ‘FINISH’ verb into a perfect aspect marker, is semantically straightforward. The following sections illustrate the grammaticalization process.

**4.2.3.1 Context-Induced Reinterpretation**

To answer the questions “what motivates syntactic change?” and “what mechanisms lead to grammaticalization?”, we must consider the processes of reanalysis and analogy. In reanalysis, the grammatical-syntactic and semantic properties of forms
are modified. These modifications lead to changes in interpretation. Reanalysis favors changes in the structure of an expression or class of expressions that do not involve any immediate or intrinsic modifications of its surface manifestation (Hopper & Traugott 2003: 39). Reanalysis may include changes in constituency, hierarchical structure, category labels, grammatical relations, and cohesion (Harris & Campbell 1995: 61).

In terms of the syntactic distribution of the ‘FINISH’ grams in Zhuang, one fact is clear: there are three selective positions where the bulk of grams occur, viz. (a) [SV(O)-X]/[S-Adj-X]; (b) [Clause1, X, Clause2]; (c) [Clause1, X-Clause2]. As long as the ‘FINISH’ gram occupies the [SV(O)-X]/[S-Adj-X] slot, it has four possible functions: universal quantifier, superlative, completive, perfect aspect marker. This semantic extension illustrates the reanalysis process of grammaticalization.

Since all these semantic interpretations are found within a single position (sentence-final X), the reanalysis of X is not likely to be triggered by syntactic alternations (resegmentation), but rather by semantic reformulation. New grammatical meanings often arise through the interaction of context and conceptualization. Different stages of evolution tend to be reflected in the forms of different context clusters (Heine 2002). Let us consider the full range of context clusters where a sentence-final /liːu4/ can occur:

a. In static or a weak dynamic contexts, with mental or existential verbs like “become, have, like, hate, love, think, feel, be at” and so on, /liːu4/ only

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36 Normally, “syntactic analysis” suggests a syntactic resegmentation procedure achieved through “boundary loss”, “boundary creation”, or “boundary shift”. These three types of change occur frequently in most syntactic reanalysis in the world’s languages. Compared with syntactic resegmentation, semantic reformulation is restricted to particular contexts. According to Langacker (1977), the two notions are both manifestations of reanalysis. However, Haspelmath (1998b) challenges this widespread view, instead proposing a modified idea that “grammaticalization and reanalysis are disjoint classes of phenomena.” In his wording, reanalysis is “abrupt, bidirectional, [and results in] no loss of autonomy,” while grammaticalization as “gradual, unidirectional, [and results in] loss of autonomy.” Following this reasoning, the functional extension of sentence-final /liːu4/ should be understood as the result of something other than reanalysis (since it is gradual, involves loss of substance, and is unidirectional). Nonetheless, I wish to maintain the association between reanalysis and grammaticalization, following the mainstream viewpoint of most scholars. My intention is to adopt a more explanatory theory to cover all the possible phenomena. Needless to say, the reanalysis theory is the best choice. As for Haspelmath’s alternative, I consider this to remain an open possibility.

37 Traugott & Dasher (2004: 24) also state that, “from the perspective of an information-based, truth-conditional approach to semantics, or an approach assuming one-form: one-meaning, one might ask how it is possible for one lexeme with multiple polysemies to be explicit... [In fact] the explicitness is a matter of context, for an individual polysemy does not occur in a vacuum. Polysemies often have different distributional properties.” Guided by this principle, in this study, I focus explicitly on the contexts in which the grammatical development of the ‘FINISH’ grams is most apparent.
selects nominal items to quantify over. It is semantically incompatible with static predicates (i.e. those denoting a durative and atelic notion, with which a marker that implies termination or completion is incompatible), and no alternative interpretation other than “all” is legitimate in this context. For instance:

(128) ṭdau¹ tu⁶ tuk⁸ nān² kuk⁷ li:u⁴
inside bag COP money do EXH:ALL
‘All the corners of the bag are filled with money.’

(129) eo³θn³ ?di²la:u¹ tu² nau¹ li:u⁴
student afraid CL mouse EXH:ALL
‘All the students are afraid of mice.’

b. Similarly, in static contexts with gradable adjectives, /li:u⁴/ demonstrates its generalized quantifier function, spontaneously denoting the universal quantification of measurable items, if there are any, and the maximal degree of the adjectival quality. A gradable adjective interprets gradable states, implicating a comparison class that is conceptually suggestive of a group of object-entities (Gerner 2007). Thus, it can associate with parts structured in the dimension of degree (P. Lee 2012a: 65). /li:u⁴/ can manipulate the quantificational feature in this context.

(130) coŋ⁵ nat⁸ ten⁵ taŋ⁵ man⁴ e¹ θo:ŋ² pai⁴ '?om⁴ taŋ¹ nei⁴ man⁴ li:u⁴
put CL TD CT-pepper one down go CL soup this spicy EXH:EXTREMELY
i. ‘[Once] you put in a piece of Tiandeng pepper, all the soup will be spicy.’
ii. ‘[Once] you put in a piece of Tiandeng pepper, the bowl of the soup will be extremely spicy.’

When there is no semantically divisible item available aside from the adjective, /li:u⁴/ merely intensifies the adjectival quality. In the next example, the only argument is an indivisible first person pronoun. /li:u⁴/ selects the adjective to intensify its degree.

(131) kou¹ tæ;m² li:u⁴
1sg tired EXH:EXTREMELY
‘I am extremely exhausted.’

c. In a dynamic context, however, sentence-final /li:u⁴/ should be construed as a completive. On the one hand, it quantifies over the divisible entities that are affected by the action; on the other, it denotes a termination of the action. Hence, a completive /li:u⁴/ has a dual function as a universal quantifier and a typical completive.

(132) maŋ⁷ kaːm¹θu⁴maːk⁷ li:u⁴ ea:ŋ⁵ ?dai³ pai⁴ ra:n²
2sg sell three CL fruit EXH:COMPLETELY then ACQ:MOD go home
i. ‘You can go home after you sell out all the three baskets of fruit.’
ii. ‘After you sell the fruit, you can then go home.’
In turn, if no divisible or affected items are available in the context, a completive simply indicates the completeness of the action. A compound verb structure illustrates this situation:

(133) tuk^7-ma^3-tea^n^5 li:u^4 ea^n^5 pai^1
play mahjong EXH:COMPLETELY then go
‘I am going there after I finish playing mahjong.’

d. In an extreme direction, postverbal ‘FINISH’ gram does not denote the quantification of affected objects. Instead, it specifies the termination of the event, or a change to a new state. In other words, it is a typical perfect marker. On this interpretation, the form is eroded to “le, lo, la, le” in most Zhuang dialects. Its functional scope extends to the entire sentence rather than a particular divisible argument or a predicate.

(134) θasu^1 nei^1-ŋa:i^2 θe:k^7 le
book this PASS tear ALREADY
‘This book has been torn [by her].’

All in all, the default sentence-final slot yields a large number of meanings that vary according to context. Diachronic development from the source meaning to the target meaning does not take place directly through one step. Rather, a bridging usually arises. Heine (2002) proposes that the contextual requirements for grammatical meanings should involve three different kinds of contexts:

a. Bridging contexts: There is another meaning—the target meaning—that offers a more plausible interpretation of the utterance concerned. The target meaning is mostly likely to be inferred, but it is still cancellable. A given linguistic form may be associated with different bridging contexts.

b. Switch contexts: An interpretation in terms of the source meaning is ruled out. The target meaning now provides the only possible interpretation.

c. Conventionalization: It can be used in new contexts, other than the ones characterizing bridging and switch contexts. It is able to violate or contradict the source semantics.

4.2.3.2 From ‘FINISH’ Verb to Universal Quantifier and Superlative

The function of sentence-final /li:u^4/, by virtue of the context-induced reinterpretation, varies according to its particular grammatical circumstances. As the context of communication is diverse and changeable, it is linguistically plausible and efficient for a single gram to derive a wide range of functions that encode all the variations. /li:u^4/’s versatile verbal source enables the various grammaticalization stages. Known as a Chinese loan, /li:u^4/ originally had a dual verbal meaning (i.e. ‘FINISH’ (completion of the verbal action), ‘RUN OUT/USE UP’ (quantification)). This peculiarity led /li:u^4/ to be grammaticalized in numerous semantic domains.
In the static context, where measurable affected objects are available, the “quantification” value of /li:u⁴/ is activated. It is thus likely to grammaticalize as a sentence-final universal quantifier.

In an analogic static context where the predicates are gradable adjectives instead of stative verbs, a bound /li:u⁴/ develops as a superlative to mark the generalized notion of quantification, expressing the dimension of adjectival degree.

The gradual functional extension of the ‘FINISH’ /li:u⁴/ follows the evolutionary stages described above. When the verbal source is taken into consideration, transitional stages of grammaticalization can be identified as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage meaning</th>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Resulting trait</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0. Initial stage</td>
<td>Unconstrained verbal use, interpreted as ‘to FINISH’ or ‘to RUN OUT’.</td>
<td>quantification, completion of verbal action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↓</td>
<td>Static context, where the predicates are static or weak dynamic verbs.</td>
<td>universal quantification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Bridging context</td>
<td>Static context, where the predicates are gradable adjectives. Semantically divisible arguments are available.</td>
<td>Generalized trait, quantify over objects and degrees simultaneously.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↓</td>
<td>Static context, where the predicates are gradable adjectives. No argument in the sentence.</td>
<td>Generalized trait, quantify over dimensions of degree.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIG 4.6 Reinterpretation of the ‘FINISH’ verb /li:u⁴/ in the static context**

Without doubt, it is the static context that triggers the reanalysis of /li:u⁴/ towards the quantification domain, which in turn rules out other potential readings. The postposed /li:u⁴/ synchronically reveals two readings: in the [SVO-X] configuration, it is a universal quantifier; in the [S-Adj-X] configuration, it is a superlative. To summarize the first grammaticalization chain motivated in the static context:

**Static and weak dynamic context**

Chain 1: ‘FINISH’ verb ➔ Universal quantifier ➔ Superlative
4.2.3.3 From ‘FINISH’ Verb to Completive and Perfect Aspect Marker

In dynamic contexts, the aspectual trait (completion of the verbal event) of /li:u/ develops at the expense of its quantificational trait. Theoretically, two syntactic slots ([SV(O)-X] and [SV-X-O]) are acceptable in today’s Zhuang, while the sentence-final one is characterized as a more primitive and natural expression.

The transition from ‘FINISH’ verb to aspect marker may involve an intermediate stage (completive) where the expression is ambiguous. Provided that there are some affected nominal items in the dynamic context, a completive can select either a dynamic verb or an affected nominal. The binary function gives way to a simple, morphosyntactically reduced perfect aspect marker that has undergone phonological erosion and decategorization (/li:u/ → /lə/, /le/, /lo/) (Hopper 1991: 22). Eventually, the ‘FINISH’ gram is conventionalized to indicate the change to a new state rather than to quantify over nominal elements. Grammaticalization from ‘FINISH’ verb to perfect aspect marker via an intermediate completive is widespread in the world languages (cf. Comrie 1976: 52-58, Dahl 1985: 129, Bybee & Dahl 1989, Bybee et al. 1994: 57-61, Heine & Kuteva 2002: 138, Dahl & Velupillai 2005: 272-281; among others). However, it is the novel syntactic environment that triggers the reanalysis of the ‘FINISH’ gram based on a fixed structure [SV(O)-X]. The next figure summarizes the functional transition of ‘FINISH’ in dynamic contexts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Resulting trait</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0. Initial stage</td>
<td>Unconstrained intransitive verb, interpreted as ‘to FINISH’ or ‘to RUN OUT’</td>
<td>Quantification, completion of verbal action.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

38 One examiner questioned the validity of this grammaticalization path (completive > perfect aspect marker) based on the synchronic data: “synchronically, both the completive and perfect aspect marker ‘FINISH’ are available in Zhuang. How can you tell the perfect aspect marker stage is more grammaticalized than the completive stage?” To answer this question, I turn to the historical and typological study presented by F. Wu (1998) and Bybee et al. (1994: 68-69): Wu examines the historical data in Old and Middle Chinese, arriving at the conclusion that the completive version of ‘FINISH’ has been in use since the Wei and Jin Dynasties (about 220-589 C.E), while the perfect aspect marker ‘FINISH’ first appears in the Song Dynasty (about 960-1279 C.E). Earlier stages of a number of well-studied Romance and Germanic languages are available in written documents in Bybee et al’s database, which support the conclusion that, cross-linguistically, the precursors of perfect aspect markers are frequently completive in their original function. With the help of these historical written documents, I make the chronological assumption that the completive function is less grammaticalized than the perfect aspect function.
1. Bridging

(a) Dynamic context, where the predicates are dynamic verbs. Semantically divisible arguments are available.

(b) Dynamic context, where the predicates are dynamic verbs. No semantically divisible arguments. Only have compound verbs.

2. Switch

No contextual constraint on its occurrence. It appears in every context to denote a change to a new state.

3. Conventionalization

The gram /li:u⁴/ can occur in any context, merely denoting a past-time reference; phonologically reduced to “le, lo, la, le” in most Zhuang dialects. It defeats the other counterparts to mark the perfect notion.

FIG 4.7 Reinterpretation of the ‘FINISH’ verb /li:u⁴/ in the dynamic context

The semantic relatedness amongst the distinct functions permits context bridging throughout the process of reinterpretation. /liu⁴/ acts as a polysemous verb implying both quantificational and aspectual features. While the quantificational feature is preserved in the completive stage to quantify over the affected arguments, it is replaced by the aspectual feature when the completive is changed into a perfect aspect marker.

To sum up the grammaticalization of the ‘FINISH’ verb in dynamic contexts, I tentatively posit the second path:⁴⁰

\[\text{Dynamic context}\]

Chain 2: ‘FINISH’ verb → Completive → Perfect aspect marker

⁴⁰ The dichotomy of verbs as stative and dynamic is determined based on the situation described by the verb. Dynamic verbs can be classified into a number of types, based on the semantic distinctions durative/punctual and telic/atelic. These different verb types correlate to different dynamic situation types (Saeed 2003: 120).

In most dynamic contexts, the Zhuang speakers prefer the sentence-final perfect aspect marker to the verb-bound perfective marker (Yongxian Luo 羅永現, p.c). I therefore follow many Zhuang scholars to claim that, in Zhuang, the perfect aspect marker is more salient than the perfective aspect marker when defining a bounded event or action.
4.2.3.4 From ‘FINISH’ Verb to Conjunctional Verb and Conjunction

In Chapter §4.1.5, I showed that /li:u/ appeared to override the limitation of the individual clause and served as a clause-linkage marker in the structures [Clause₁, X, Clause₂] and [Clause₁, X-Clause₂]. Diachronically speaking, clause combination usually begins with paratactic clauses, which integrate into hypotactic structures and finally into a subordinated matrix clause (Hopper & Traugott 2003: 175-211). Crucially, the “dependent” and “embedded” parameters not only represent an integration continuum from a minimal to a maximal syntactic bonding, but also a semantic-pragmatic dependency.

Semantic-pragmatic changes frequently occur during the process of grammaticalization at the discourse level. To explore the stages of these changes, Traugott (1982) proposes three semantic-pragmatic components (propositional, textual and expressive)\(^4\) of the discourse, assuming that: (a) a language may increase the sheer number and specificity of grammatical markers that serve textual and expressive functions at certain evolutionary stages; (b) such a shift is more likely to be from propositional through textual to expressive than in the reverse direction (i.e. propositional > textual > expressive). Certainly, this grammaticalization path signals the speaker’s subjectification of the connectivity between what precedes and what follows in a given discourse (Traugott 2003).

In the Zhuang data, adjacent clauses tend to stand alone in a logical linear sequence without any aspectual indicators. Sometimes individual clauses are indicated by a sentence-final intonation or pause:

\(^4\) According to Traugott (1982, 2003: 132), the propositional component involves the resources of the language that make it possible to talk about something. It is the main locus of truth-conditional relations, including various categories, such as deixis of place, time, person, action, etc. The textual component has to do with the resources available for creating a cohesive discourse. These include the various connectives. The expressive component concerns the resources a language has for expressing personal attitudes about the subject of discourse, about the text itself, and about others in the speech situation. I argue that the conjunctional verb /li:u/ in Zhuang belongs to the propositional category, since it denotes the verbal action of an event; the sequential conjunction (‘AND/THEN’) /li:u/ relates to the textual component, since it connects the clauses, i.e. connecting narrative events within a larger episode; the derived sequential conjunction (‘SO/BUT’) /li:u/ is related to the expressive component, in that it largely expresses the subjective/volitional mood (based on the cause-and-effect or contrasting relations) of the addressers.
(135) ŋon² te¹ ʔoŋ¹ pou⁴ ja³ cau³ ʔoŋ² tau³, jou⁵ ʔaŋ² te⁵ tau² ʔoŋ²laŋ¹ ta:i⁵ ʔaŋ² pau⁴
today deity take mother together come, live sleep until sunrise take PL daughter-in-law
go
‘That day a deity took [his] mother back. After sleeping for a whole night, she took all her
daughters-in-law to the [temple to worship the deity].’

(Ba’ma Zhuang)

To make the linguistic environment more clear and informative, a redundant
element /li:u⁴/ marks the end of the initial clause, underlining the completion of the
first event and the beginning of the next one. Syntactically, /li:u⁴/ is undergoing a
bridging stage from its ‘FINISH’ verbal source to other interpretations. While /li:u⁴/
is almost always combined with the pragmatic marker /ne/ or /la/, its verbal meaning
is still predominant in this circumstance. Consider the Ba’ma Zhuang (136):

(136) te¹ heu³ tse³ lau⁴ ʔoŋ⁴ ʔoη⁵ ʔen¹  li:u⁴ ne, ʔtsau⁵ hau³ ʔbon⁵ ʔaŋ¹ ʔaŋ² la⁴
3sg GIVE:CAUS sister help brother wash foot FINISH PP then return bed go sleep PP
‘She asked her sister to help their brother wash his feet. Afterwards, he went to bed to sleep.’

Once again, /li:u⁴/ is embedded in the middle slot, pragmatically clarifying
the coordinated sequence of the clauses. In most cases, it combines with a pragmatic
marker. It is otherwise unconstrained by the context, simply indicating the time at
which the past-time action occurred (i.e. propositional component). I posit that /li:u⁴/
in this context may work as a conjunctional verb:

(137) ʔmun² ʔa³ ʔak⁵ ʔaŋ⁵,  li:u⁴ ne, ʔmen⁶ ʔaŋ¹ ʔa³ ʔa:i²
2sg kill chicken first THEN COP go cook
‘You should first kill the chicken. Then, you can go to cook.’

Moreover, /li:u⁴/ in this context is likely to link clauses that have a specific
logical rather than aspectual order. Syntactically, /li:u⁴/ is relatively dependent on
the second clause, but semantically it does not strongly affect the sentence (i.e. textual component). This sequential conjunction reading appears to have developed
from the conjunctional verb at the expense of the aspectual denotation. Given the
strength of /li:u⁴/ in this context, the extra pragmatic makers /ne/ and /la/ are optional:

In this kind of grammatical environment, /li:u⁴/ is apt to be construed as a linker. However, it still
possesses its verbal meaning ‘FINISH’. I infer that this is an intermediate phase from content verb to
conjunction, noting that the discourse marker “ne” connects much more readily with a predicate or
even a sentence than with a conjunction in the Zhuang grammar. It is “ne” which suggests that the
“li:u⁴ ne” combination may be the output of a syntactic ellipsis (Paul Law, p.c), on grounds that
grammaticalization usually results from ellipsis of phrasal material (Traugott 1982). The omitted part
(or event) in the “li:u⁴ ne” union should be pragmatically deictic to the preceding event.

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When /li:u⁴/ stands alone or integrates with the second paratactic clause, it indicates that the two clauses are in a **cause-and-effect** or **contrastive** relationship (i.e. expressive component). The linkers /li:u⁴/ in Ba’ma and /ja⁵/ in Jingxi can stand alone, while /le:u⁴/ in Liujiang is in the process of integrating into the second clause (although examples are hard to come by):

(139) wan² kei³ min² ko⁵ tse², le:u⁴ ne/ja⁵ ne, mi² kha:n³ ta:ŋ² na:u⁵
today folk-song festival AND: SO NEG go to school NEG
‘Today is the folk song festival, **thus** we don’t need to go to school.’

(140) me⁶ pho¹ pet⁷ lap⁸ pei¹ lo, le:u⁴ ne/ja⁵ ne, ta:ŋ² mei² phjam¹ kha:u⁵ na:u⁵
grandma eighty year PP AND:BUT NEG have white hair NEG
‘[My grandma is eighty years old, **but** she still has no white hair].’

Note that the evolution from ‘FINISH’ verb to conjunction in the Zhuang data subtly follows the clause-combining cline proposed by Hopper & Traugott. Once the clauses are more closely combined and dependent, the conjunction is more integrated into the clauses. While scholars such as Heine & Kuteva (2002), Malchukov (2004), Haiman (2011: 220) and Rutten (2012) all report that conjunctions tend to develop analogically, the particular contrastive reading of the ‘FINISH’ grams in Zhuang seems to have a clear semantic basis: it expresses the speaker’s perspective on the nature of the cause-and-effect (‘SO’) or contrasting relation (‘BUT’) between the two facts/clauses being conjoined (cf. Traugott 1982). The gradual grammaticalization process is thus reflected by a consecutive reanalysis, which is shown with a hierarchical rebracketing procedure:

```
a. [Clause₁, + li:u⁴ (ne)] [Clause₂]  (‘FINISH’ verb)
  ↓
 b. [Clause₁] [li:u⁴ (ne)] [Clause₂]  (Conjunctional verb: ‘THEN’/ ‘AND’)
```

---

43 Heine & Kuteva (2002:137) introduce a grammaticalization chain from ‘FINISH’ verb to sequential (consecutive) conjunction for Swahili kasha, Xoe tā, Ani tiō etc. However, they do not discuss any further development of the conjunction originating from ‘FINISH’. Similarly, Rutten (2012) extrapolates a grammaticalization chain from the temporal adverb dan “then” to a consecutive coordinator dan “but” in late Middle Dutch. Although in late Middle Dutch the consecutive reading does not directly stem from the conjunction as it does in Zhuang, the semantic connectedness of the two exponents confirms that the “contrastive” meaning is connected to the “coordinative” meaning typologically (Malchukov 2004). Fortunately, in Cambodian, the clause-combining ‘FINISH’ morpheme resembles that in Zhuang. A polyfunctional ‘FINISH’ form haeuj works as a sequential coordinative conjunction, interpreted as ‘AND’, ‘THEN’, ‘BUT’ (cf. Haiman 2011: 219-220).
By virtue of its frequent occurrence in the intermediate slot between two clauses, /li:u⁴/ has been reanalyzed as a conjunction. Note that these new readings are derived from the aspectual feature of the original ‘to finish/to end’ meaning rather than the quantificational feature. Grammaticalization of a conjunction /li:u⁴/ reveals the strategy by which Zhuang has simplified its biclausal structures. The cause-and-effect (‘SO’) and contrastive (‘BUT’) readings of the sentence, although syntactically distinct from the aspectual notion, are derived from the sequential conjunction /li:u⁴/. It is the logical or pragmatic correlation between the clauses rather than the nature of the ‘FINISH’ gram that engenders these derived readings.\textsuperscript{44}

The evidence from Ba’ma and Liujiang Zhuang suggests a third grammaticalization chain:

\[
\text{Biclausal simplicity}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Chain 3: ‘FINISH’ verb} \rightarrow \text{Conjunctival verb} \rightarrow \text{Sequential conjunction}
\end{array}
\]

### 4.2.4 Grammaticalization of Other ‘FINISH’ Grams

The most obvious fact to be gleaned from the previous three sections is that multiple grammaticalization chains have resulted from the ‘FINISH’ gram /li:u⁴/. In addition, there is a cluster of ‘FINISH’ grams in Zhuang that exhibit equivalent functions. This section is a first attempt at an analysis of the functional relationship between these grams. After that, I will summarize their evolutionary path.

Based on the semantic classification of the ‘FINISH’ source presented in §2.1 above, all the ‘FINISH’ verbs are likely to be grouped around two basic interpretations determined by their inner semantic versatility. In addition to /le:u⁴/, which has two possible interpretations, /ju:n²/ and /thu:n³/ display ambiguous reading

\textsuperscript{44} I am indebted to Prof Fuxiang Wu 吳福祥 for his review of this point. Inspired by his comments, I have analyzed both the cause-and-effect and the contrastive interpretations as being assigned by the logical arrangement of the sentence rather than under influence from /li:u⁴/. This kind of clause-combining /li:u⁴/ should indeed be subordinate to a subsequent conjunction.
as well. This inherent polysemy leads them to develop along more than one grammaticalization pathway. First, let us deal with the ‘FINISH’ gram /thu:n³/ in Longzhou Zhuang.

I consider /thu:n³/ a versatile ‘FINISH’ verb, partly by virtue of its dual meaning. /thu:n³/ is parsed as an intransitive verb, indicating the ‘consumption’ or ‘exhaustion’ of divisible/measurable objects in particular. This semantic implication permits the occurrence of /thu:n³/ in the context of a quantified subject:

(141) toŋ³ jau² nai³ /thu:n³/ ja⁵, naŋ⁶ mi² ?dat⁷ toŋ³ mi²?
    CL oil this RUN-OUT already still have another CL Q
    ‘This bottle of oil has run out. Is there another one?’

However, it is also compatible with event nouns, denoting a completed stage:

(142) pi³ lai³ /thu:n³/ ja⁵ ma² lu:n²
    game FINISH already come home
    ‘After the game is over, [we will] come back home.’

To my surprise, /thu:n³/’s grammaticalization process is terminated when it works as a completive in Longzhou Zhuang:

(143) tew³ phjak⁷ ti¹, tem³ khau³ ti¹, mo:i⁴ lo⁶ twai² /thu:n³/
    cook vegetable NOM cook rice NOM every kind ready EXH:COMPLETELY
    ‘All the [equipment and ingredients] used to cook the vegetables and rice are ready.’
    i. ‘I have finished preparing for cooking the vegetables and rice.’
    ii. ‘The vegetables and rice are ready.’
    (J. Zhang et al. 1999: 902)

/thu:n³/ frequently occurs in contexts where the quantificational notion is prominent, yielding a grammaticalization process like the following:

 Universal quantifier    Superlative

Completer

Alternatively, in contexts where the aspectual notion is prominent, the candidate /ja⁵/ encodes all relevant functions. Likewise originating from a ‘FINISH’ source, /ja⁵/ is compatible with the aspectual context, but incompatible with the quantificational context. That is why /ja⁵/, once grammaticalized, avoids quantificational uses, and only occurs in the aspectual uses as an aspect marker,

45 I retrieved no records or reports from the Longzhou Zhuang data indicating the existence of a ‘FINISH’ verbal source for /ja⁵/. Fortunately, its verbal use is documented in Jingxi Zhuang, which is closely associated with Longzhou Zhuang both linguistically and geographically. I hypothesize that /ja⁵/ might have lost its ‘FINISH’ source meaning in the distant past. It seems unreasonable to totally reject the possibility of a ‘FINISH’ source meaning, since any new findings from the Zhuang dialects may challenge our absolutism in future studies.
conjunctional verb or sequential conjunction; this holds true to the extent that /ja⁵/ does not even encode the ambiguous completive function. The development in Longzhou Zhuang suggests a clear-cut scenario for the functional replacement of the ‘FINISH’ grams. The functional allocation of both /əːt⁷/ and /ja⁵/ is transparent, without much overlap. Yet a verbal /ja⁵/ has not been documented in Longzhou. To reveal the evolutionary trace of /ja⁵/: 

![Diagram](image)

Meanwhile, the development of /θaːt⁷/ or /θoːt⁷/ in Liujiang and Mashan Zhuang seems to be one stage more advanced than /ja⁵/. Although they are believed to have had aspectual and quantificational traits in their original verbal use, /θaːt⁷/ or /θoːt⁷/ have derived functions relevant to the aspectual notion only. They follow a single development path. I outline their grammaticalization chains in the next diagram:

![Diagram](image)

Last but not least, one ‘FINISH’ gram, /juːn²/, preserves an ambiguous reading carried over from its verbal source in Liujiang Zhuang. This binary reading arises from /juːn²/’s two-fold grammaticalization path, which resembles the path of /liːu⁴/ in most particulars. The only distinction between the two is that /liːu⁴/ has further developed a contrastive reading when it is located between two contrasting clauses, whereas /juːn²/ has not; /juːn²/ has not attained the ultimate stage of perfect aspect marker. Likewise:

![Diagram](image)

4.2.5 Interim Conclusion

Returning to the main line of my argumentation, I have shown that each branch of the Zhuang dialects possesses at least two ‘FINISH’ grams to encode the many associated meanings. This coding strategy results in the coexistence of all these
grams in a single synchronic layer. This scenario reflects the functional reallocations that these dialects have undertaken, and the competition amongst the distinct forms.

The majority of the ‘FINISH’ grams correspond to three distinct grammaticalization chains represented in the Zhuang data. Furthermore, the exotic gram /le:u⁴/ paints a picture of a subtle grammaticalization process that embraces all the many functions discussed up to this point. When all the possible grammaticalization chains are integrated into a model, the intricate developments can be shown in the following polygrammaticalization scheme:

FIG 4.8 Polygrammaticalization of ‘FINISH’ verbs in Zhuang

Only the Chinese loanword /le:u⁴/, out of all the ‘FINISH’ candidates in Zhuang, encodes a majority of these possible functions. The other ‘FINISH’ grams are somewhat restricted in their coding strategies.

An alternative grammaticalization path (e.g., universal quantifier > completive or superlative > completive) is empirically impossible, since both the universal quantifier and superlative /le:u⁴/ perform in the stative context. An exhaustion particle ‘FINISH’ must functionally associate with the measurable entities and derived gradable dimensions (the transfer from OBJECT to QUALITY) (Heine et al. 1991: 65), while the completive version of this morpheme performs in the dynamic context, where it selects verbal actions, processes, or the objects affected by a

---

Craig (1991: 455-456) defines polygrammaticalization as “a multiplicity of grammaticalization chains that may originate in one particular lexical morpheme. In this sense, a source morpheme may be at the origin of multiple chains which may develop in separate functional domains within the same language.” Once again, the grammaticalization paths taken by ‘FINISH’ morphemes in Zhuang lend themselves well to a polygrammaticalization-based accounting. Classification of separate chains is related to the various domains where the ‘FINISH’ morpheme occurs. In a discourse domain, it follows the first chain; in a domain of quantificational and temporal marking, it follows the second chain; in an exclusively temporal domain, it follows the third chain. Notably, all the chains are interconnected, and together they paint a holistic picture of the polygrammaticalization process.
dynamic event. These restrictions make a trans-contextual grammaticalization path (universal quantifier > completive) unlikely to arise.

In Longzhou Zhuang, a clear-cut coding technique distinguishes /thu:n³/ from /ja⁵/: one encodes quantificational features, and the other, aspectual features. A special case is the ambiguous “completive” stage, which is encoded by /thu:n³/ but not /ja⁵/. I assume that in Longzhou Zhuang, /ja⁵/ encodes all functions pertaining to the aspectual notion. /thu:n³/ is licensed to denote the “completeness” of an action, which is based on the ambiguity of “completive”. The following diagram indicates the grammaticalization process of these two items:

![Diagram of grammaticalization process in Longzhou Zhuang](image)

FIG 4.9 Grammaticalization trace of the ‘FINISH’ grams in Longzhou Zhuang

A similar situation is found in Mashan. /θo:t⁷/ is responsible for functions in the aspectual domain (completive), leaving functions of the quantificational domain to be encoded by /le:u⁴/. To mark an ultimate aspectual meaning, an eroded form /le/ is employed:

![Diagram of grammaticalization process in Mashan Zhuang](image)

FIG 4.10 Grammaticalization trace of the ‘FINISH’ grams in Mashan Zhuang

In Liujiang Zhuang, the picture is more vague and obscure. /θa:t⁷/ is exclusively connected to functions in the aspectual domain. The versatile Chinese
loan /le:u⁴/ overlaps with /ju:n²/ in most functions, but /ju:n²/ cannot link contrasting clauses.⁴⁷

/le:u⁴/

Universal quantifier — Superlative /ju:n²/

‘FINISH’ verb — Completive /θa:t/

Perfect aspect marker /le/

Conjunctional verb — Sequential conjunction

FIG 4.11 Grammaticalization trace of the ‘FINISH’ grams in Liujiang Zhuang

/ja⁵/ in Jingxi Zhuang follows the same path as Longzhou /ja⁵/ and Mashan /le:u¹/.

/le:u⁴/

Universal quantifier — Superlative /ja⁵/

‘FINISH’ verb — Completive /θa:t/

Perfect aspect marker /le/

Conjunctional verb — Sequential conjunction

FIG 4.12 Grammaticalization trace of the ‘FINISH’ grams in Jingxi Zhuang

Finally, the most radical development is found in Ba’ma Zhuang, where one versatile form /li:u⁴/ fully encodes all the numerous functions. Given the diversity of its functionality, Ba’ma /li:u⁴/ can occur in all the distinct contexts. Thanks to these various evolutionary traces of /li:u⁴/, a complete grammaticalization scheme is manifested in FIG 4.13:

⁴⁷Note that I tentatively accommodate the development of the perfect markers /le/ or /lo/ into the scope of /le:u⁴/ because they are the phonologically eroded forms of this gram. While the perfect marker in most Zhuang branches is /lo/ or /le/ instead of /le:u⁴/, there is good reason to assume that the aspectual function is the final development of /le:u⁴/. This assumption is based on the fact that, in many Zhuang dialects, the aspectual function is marked by /le:u⁴/ rather than /lo/ (a perfect marker /le:u⁴/ in Laibin來賓壯語 and Yishan宜山壯語; /li:u⁴/ and /le:u⁴/ in Xincheng忻城壯語) (see also J. Zhang et al. 1999, S. He 2011: 69).
All in all, the polygrammaticalization process of the various forms originates from their distinctive ‘FINISH’ sources. The original ‘FINISH’ gram can be regarded as a semantically packed hybrid unit. Even if most scholars define the ‘FINISH’ verb based on its connection with the aspectual notion, additional readings (e.g. ‘RUN OUT’, ‘USE UP’, ‘RIPEN’) can still be derived from contexts that classify the ‘FINISH’ verbs into distinct subcategories. The polysemous nature of the verbal source engenders multiple possible grammaticalization chains, with the result that various forms are applied to encode individual functions. The coding technique is in no way arbitrary; rather, it is neatly motivated by the underlying semantic mechanism.

\[/\text{viwo}^1/\]

Universal quantifier → Superlative

‘FINISH’ verb → Completive → Perfect aspect marker

Conjunctural verb → Sequential conjunction

\textit{FIG 4.13 Grammaticalization trace of the ‘FINISH’ grams in Ba’ma Zhuang}

\[//\text{E\text{\textdagger}}/\]

\textit{FIG 4.14 Evolution of the semantic values}

\[48\]

\textit{No hints in today’s Zhuang dialect suggest that the southern verb /ja}^5/ can be interpreted as ‘to be ripe’. By contrast, this verb is construed as ‘to finish/ to end’ on a significant number of occasions by a small group of people (elderly and rural speakers). To make the discussion more sophisticated, I omit /ja/ from this chart.
Notice that the synchronic semantic network above fully captures the diachronic evolution of the functions of the Zhuang ‘FINISH’ grams. In the initial source stage, the source meaning of the ‘FINISH’ verb entails some other derived meanings, grouped into three categories (quantification-related items, aspectuality-related items, quantification- & aspectuality-related items). Suppose only one form is available to encode more than one of these meanings: it should be then treated as a polyseme which may eventually undergo a process of polygrammaticalization (e.g. /le:u^4/, /ju:n^2/). When a number of forms encode one particular meaning each, this strongly suggests that individual grammaticalization chains have been triggered by a series of corresponding contexts (e.g. /thu:n^3/, /ja^5/, /θo:xt^7/, /θa:xt^7/).

Diachronically, the reversed evolutionary order of the semantic values (‘extremely→all’, ‘already→completely’, etc.) seems impossible. The value ‘all’ is used for quantification over tangible objects/entities, while ‘extremely’ implies a maximal degree of quality. The evolution from ‘all’ (OBJECT) to ‘extremely’ (QUALITY) neatly follows the conceptual development proposed by Heine et al. (1991), but not vice versa. Similar remarks apply to the second pair: ‘already’ relates to a pure aspectual denotation in connection with the event situation, while the value ‘completely’ exposes another possible semantic nuance (the objects affected or consumed by the action) in addition to the result of the action. The semantic evolution from ‘completely’ to ‘already’ follows the semantic bleaching process whereby, as grammaticalization continues, the loss of semantic content typically occurs (Hopper & Traugott 2003: 94).

The coexistence of multiple ‘FINISH’ forms in Zhuang indicates that a competition has taken place among the various original grams. As a result of this battle, a new borrowed form /li:u^4/ or /le:u^4/ won out and acquired the capacity to encode all the functions. The losers, however, did not disappear, but remained in particular domains to perform more limited functions. Coexisting forms performing the same function do not vanish all at once. Overlap may presumably last for hundreds of years until one winner eventually covers all the functions. Support for this assumption can be found in Ba’ma Zhuang, where a single loanword /li:u^4/ performs a large number of functions that must be encoded by two or more forms in the other dialects. The individual grammaticalization processes of distinct morphemes, taken together, paint a complete picture of the grammaticalization of the
original Zhuang ‘FINISH’ gram, which develops along three separate paths as a result of the different semantic domains to which it belongs.

One hallmark of the ‘FINISH’ grams I have discussed in this section is their versatility in encoding a large number of intertwined functions. I have tentatively proposed a grammaticalization schema and a semantic network to illustrate the evolutionary pathway of these grams in Zhuang. If such a language-specific evolutionary model could be equated across other world languages by means of the comparative concepts test (Haspelmath 2010), it could then be understood as a testable cross-linguistic instantiation and generalization, reflecting a basic cognitive aspect of human language. In the next section, I will compare the grammaticalization model of the Zhuang ‘FINISH’ grams with those proposed for other languages, to gain a broader understanding of this evolutionary pathway.

4.3 Toward a Cross-Linguistic Attestation

Insofar as is possible, I have reconstructed three grammaticalization chains for the ‘FINISH’ grams in the Zhuang group of dialects. Although some of the derived functions have not been explicitly reported so far by historical linguists or typologists (Bybee et al. 1994, Nedjalkov 2001, Givón 2001: 293-297, Heine & Kuteva 2002; and so on), it is nevertheless necessary for us to propose explanations for these specific traits after examining a broad sample of languages.

In addition to a couple of languages in China, this pattern of polyfunctionality is also found in several languages in Southeast Asia. Some languages provide a nearly complete parallel to the Zhuang functions, while others merely contain a subset of them. In this section, I will discuss accessible data from other languages to survey the cross-linguistic parallel developments of the ‘FINISH’ gram. Since this phenomenon is not widespread, or at least not mainstream in world languages, most reference grammars are far from perspicuous in discussing this evolutionary pathway.

---

49 Haspelmath (2010) notes that the comparative concepts aspect should be kept separate from the descriptive categories aspect in dealing with language comparison. Comparative concepts are concepts created by comparative linguists for the specific purpose of cross-linguistic comparison. They are universally applicable, and defined on the basis of other universally applicable concepts (e.g. conceptual-semantic concepts, general formal concepts, etc.). In contrast, descriptive categories are in a sense only relevant to the analysis of particular grammatical categories, while many categorical criteria are completely lacking in many languages. In this study, I selectively follow the “comparative concepts” methodology to compare my data in a more optimal perspective.
Nonetheless, I will offer sufficient samples to attest the established grammaticalization chains. First, let us look at the Chinese dialects.

Old Chinese and Middle Chinese literature\(^{50}\) illustrates a wide array of multifunctional ‘FINISH’ grams (cf. Dong 2011). Based on their versatile source meanings, it appears that the grammaticalization of those grams has traveled in diverse directions, which have not been systematically discussed by scholars so far.

盡, with a quantification-related feature, is a commonly occurring morpheme in the Old Chinese literature. As an intransitive verb, it focuses on the “depletion” or “consumption” of objects, implying a quantificational meaning.

(144a) ‘FINISH’ verb

……軍見無糧，眼看食盡，道理須降。

军见无粮，眼看食尽，道理须降。

‘It seems that] the army will surrender, since their rice will run out soon.’

（敦煌变文集，李陵变文）

In some cases, it occurs in the preverbal slot, quantifying over entities:

(144b) Universal quantifier

五穀盡收，則五味盡禦於主……

五谷尽收，則五味尽禦於主……

‘When there is an abundant harvest of all corns, the emperor will enjoy all the devoted delicious food.’

（墨子·七患）

When it is bound postverbally, 尽/jin/ assigns a binary reading to the sentence by means of the distinct items associated with it:

(144c) Completive

學者做工夫，消磨舊習，幾時便去教盡。

学者做工夫，消磨旧习，几时便去教尽。

‘[Wei Yuanshou魏元寿 asks for the study method. He says,] to study well, it is required to keeping removing the bad habits. Very soon after that, [we will] make the bad habits go away.’

\(^{50}\) Data from Old Chinese are retrieved from the Scripta Sinica database™漢籍全文資料庫 of the Academia Sinica, Taiwan. I thank Dr. Chunlai Tian田春來 for helping me recheck the translation of each sentence.
Meanwhile, a ‘FINISH’ gram 了, originating from a ‘FINISH’ verb, is common in literature after the Late Han Dynasty. Starting in the Wei Jin Southern and Northern Dynasties, this gram began to develop more grammatical meanings (Cao 1995: 16).

(145a) ‘FINISH’ verb

權愎諫違眾，信淵意了，非有攻伐之規……

[Chen Songzhi believes that] if Sunquan still sticks to his own opinion, he will offend the others. [Judging from the present situation], it is impossible for Sun Gongyuan [master of Liaodong] to seize Sunquan’s political power.

(145b) Universal quantifier

Context for a universal quantifier 了 is restricted and limited. It only occurs in negative sentences (cf. L. He et al. 1985: 354, Gao 2007: 54):

餘親見所識者數人，了不奉神明。

‘The relative found that all the people he knew did not worship the god.’

(145c) Completive

A completive 了 has two possible interpretations whenever a measurable or divisible object is available in the context.

軍官食了，便即渡江。

‘After the military officer completely ate up all the food, he would cross the river.’

i. ‘...ate up all the food…’

ii. ‘...finished eating the food…’

(145d) Perfective aspect marker

In the Song Dynasty, 了 became an omnipresent perfective aspect marker in the configuration [V-了-O] (cf. F. Wu 1998).
如今都教壞了學生，個個不肯讀書。

All the students have been spoiled at present, thus every student refuses to study.

（朱子語類 [Thematic Discourse of Master Zhu] 朱子語類，Vol 1 卷一）

Similar remarks apply to 既，which etymologically means ‘finish eating something’ (Du 1999). Further derived, it is equipped with the quantificational feature, interpreted as ‘to exhaust’ or ‘to run out’. Consider for example:

(146a) ‘FINISH’ verb

The dense marsh has disappeared, and the people’s assets have run out.

（國語•周語下 [Discourse of the States] 國語・周語下）

(146b) Universal quantifier

All the Song people are standing in a line, so the Chu people have not crossed the river.

（左傳•僖公二十二年 [Chronicle of Zuo] 左傳・僖公二十二年）

(146c) Conjunctional verb

The aspectual adverbial outcome (既) of this morpheme is derived from its dominant aspectual feature. Syntactically, a conjunctional 既 occurs between two abutting clauses or VPs. This grammatical position endows it with a ‘THEN’ reading:

‘The bureaucrat Zhongshu saved the minister Shunhuanzi at Xi city. This rescue caused Shunhanzi’s army to be exempted from destruction. Then, Weiren awarded Zhongshu with a city, which he refused.’

（左傳•成公二年 [Chronicle of Zuo] 左傳・成公二年）

(146d) Sequential conjunction
Additionally, 既 can be used as a sentential connective to logically mark the cause-effect order of a pair of clauses (Du 1999). In this spirit, it is likely to enrich the logical linking property.

太子曰：“王是我之父，我是王之儿，既有私願心，合細其敷奏……”
Prince said, “The king is my father, and I’m the king’s son. Once I have my ideas, I will fully report to my Majesty.”

X. Yang (1991) discusses the development of the coordination linker 了/liau⁵³/ in the Southern Min dialect 閩南語 of Taiwan. Occasionally, 了/liau⁵³/ serves as a verb:

(147a) ‘FINISH’ verb

(Taiwan Southern Min)

应酬了真济时间。
social activity FINISH:use up much time
‘The social activity wasted a lot of [his] free time.’

(147b) Completive⁵¹

The contexts in which completive 了/liau⁵³/ appears are rare and delimited. Once the object is fully affected by the verbal action, the completive reading is triggered as indicated in the following object-reversed sentence from Haifeng Southern Min 海豐閩南語 of Guangdong:

(Haifeng Southern Min)

阿英衫洗了 a. a₁ 衫₁ 洗₃₆ 了
Aying clothes wash COMPLETELY PP
i. ‘A’ying has washed all the clothes.’
ii. ‘A’ying has finished washing clothes.’

(147c) Conjunctional verb

⁵¹ This sentence is from Southern Min of Haifeng, Guangdong. As a native speaker, my informant (Ms Zhijun Zheng) claims that a completive 了/liau⁵³/ is rare in Haifeng Min, and is only preserved in certain structures where the affectedness of the object is reinforced (e.g. topicalization, object-reserved form, etc.).
The clause-linkers illustrated below in Haifeng Min derive from an ancestral ‘FINISH’ verb, but they have not developed into a typical contrasting-linkage marker as happened in Zhuang.\(^{52}\)

(Haifeng Southern Min)

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{tie} & 51-21 & \text{tang} & 53-33 & \text{khu} & 53-33 & \text{liu} & 53-33 \\
& & & & & & \text{tsi\text{a}} & 213-21 \\
& & & & & & \text{oi} & 35-11 \\
& & & & & & \text{tsai} & 33 \\
& & & & & & \text{seng} & 53-11 \\
& & & & & & \text{tse} & 21 \\
\end{array}
\]

must after exam THEN will know result

‘It is only possible to know the result after the exam.’

An analogous scenario is attested in the minority languages of China as well. Yanghuang 佯 梅祖麟 of Guizhou (Kam-Sui, Tai-Kadai), China possesses a morpheme /liu\(^4/) with numerous functions (Bo 1997):

(148a) ‘FINISH’ verb

(Yanghuang)

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{liu} & 4 & \text{vai} & 6 & \text{van} & 6 & \text{lak} & 8 \\
& & & & & & \text{si} & 2 \\
& & & & & & \text{dai} & 2 \\
& & & & & & \text{to} & 2 \\
& & & & & & \text{wi} & 2 \\
& & & & & & \text{na:i} & 6 \\
\end{array}
\]

\text{FINISH:use up sweat use up power then get CL buffalo this}

‘[You can] have this buffalo only after you \textit{use up} your sweat and power.’ (Bo 1997: 86)

(148b) Universal quantifier

Yanghuang /liu\(^4/) resembles Zhuang /li:u\(^4/) in most aspects, but it occupies the pronominal slot rather than the postverbal slot when serving as a prototypical universal quantifier.\(^{53}\) It usually combines with a borrowed Chinese quantifier 都/\textit{tu}\(^4/) to enhance the quantificational notion:

(Yanghuang)

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{liu} & 4 & \text{ma:n} & 3 & \text{ti} & 4 & \text{jin} & 1 \\
& & & & & & \text{tu} & 4 \\
& & & & & & \text{tan} & 1 \\
& & & & & & \text{liu} & 4 \\
\end{array}
\]

\text{ALL village ATTR people all come already}

‘All the people of the village have come.’

\(^{52}\) Referring to the Min data, Yang asserts that the conjunction derives from the ‘FINISH’ verb via an intermediate completive stage. On the contrary, I assume that the sampling languages in GXR trace a development route directly from ‘FINISH’ verb to conjunction, on the grounds that the ‘FINISH’ morpheme is valid to stand alone and act morphosyntactically independently from the clauses. This situation conforms to T. L Mei’s 梅祖麟 assumption (citation in X. Yang 1991) that the conjunction 了/liau/ in the Min dialect might alternatively derive from the structure ‘上法堂-禮拜，一切-了，待立’ (go to cult-all-FINISH-wait [Zutang Corpus] 祖堂集, 卷十五・五泄) in Middle Chinese where 了/liau/ works as a ‘FINISH’ verb. Despite the puzzles concerning the possible intermediate stages, it seems clear that a conjunction can stem from a verbal function.

\(^{53}\) I hypothesize that this word order might be copied from the Chinese model ‘所有-，全部-’ . In order to eliminate the ambiguous reading, this word-order signifies a pronominal use in Yanghuang. Sometimes, a borrowed universal quantifier /\textit{tu}\(^4/) ‘all’ cooperates with /liu\(^4/) to specify that it is the focus that is quantified.
All their families have been out.'

(Bo 1997: 102)

(148c) Superlative

The superlative /liu⁴/ suffixes to the adjectival predicate, indicating a maximal degree of the quality.

(Yanghuang)

nai⁴ khep⁹ ro⁶ ra:i³ ro⁶ ran³ ye⁴ liu⁴
centipede breath long breath short tired EXTREMELY

‘The centipede took a long breath, extremely tired.’

(Bo 1997: 235)

(148d) Completive

A completive /liu⁴/ similarly showcases ambiguity when it occurs in the context of a dynamic predicate and a divisible argument:

(Yanghuang)

hck⁹ tan¹ liu⁴, pa:i¹ ve⁶ ke⁴
guest come COMPELETLY go do market

i. ‘After all the guests have come, [we can] go to the market’

ii. ‘After the guests have already come, [we can] go to the market.’

(Bo 1997: 103)

(148e) Perfect aspect marker

In contrast to its Zhuang counterpart, the perfect aspect marker /liu⁴/ does not appear to have undergone phonetic erosion.

(Yanghuang)

pen⁶ ro³ liu⁴
will daybreak already

‘The sun will rise later.’

(Bo 1997: 94)

The completed grammaticalization pathway of a polyfunctional ‘FINISH’ gram is documented in the Dai language of Xishangbanna Autonomous Prefecture 西雙版納傣語 (Tai-Kadai). Dai features two forms: a Chinese loan /lɛu⁴/ and a native word /thən³/ that may be cognate with Longzhou /thu:n³/.

(149a) ‘FINISH’ verb

It is /lɛu⁴/ rather than /thən³/ that works as a transitive verb. Verbal /lɛu⁴/ means ‘to finish/to end’ the event indicated by the object.

(Dai)
(149b) *Universal quantifier*

Interestingly, /thən³/ substitutes for /ləu⁴/ to encode the universal-quantificational notion. It occupies the sentence-final slot as usual. In the next example, the grammatical complement slot is taken up by /sam⁴/ ‘up’. Hence, /thən³/ cannot be parsed as a completive, but only as a universal quantifier:

(Dai)

\[
\text{pa¹ duk² to¹ niʔ⁸ kin¹ hau² sam⁴ thən³} \\
\text{loach CL this eat salt 2pl up ALL} \\
\text{‘This roach has eaten up all our salt.’} 
\]

(M. Luo 2008: 239)

(149c) *Completive*

Two candidates (/ləu⁴/ and /thən³/) encode the completive function. It comes as no surprise that the interpretation of the completive is ambiguous when it associates with a dynamic predicate and a divisible object.

(Dai)

\[
\text{hù³ ku¹ het³ kə:n¹ xo³ niʔ⁸} \\
\text{ləu⁴ məŋ² kəi⁶ kin¹ dɔ³!} \\
\text{GIVE:CAUS 1sg do thing CL this COMPLETELY 2sg then eat PP} \\
\text{‘Could you please eat this after I completely finish the work?’} \\
\text{i . ‘Could you please eat this after I complete all the work?’} \\
\text{ii . ‘Could you please eat this after I finish doing the work?’} \\
\]

\[
\text{kin¹ xau³ thən³ se¹ ləu⁴ si⁵ tə:i² pi⁶ əŋ⁴ kə⁴ ?up⁹ kən¹ va⁶…} \\
\text{eat rice COMPLETELY disappear already four boy young old AUX talk RECIP say} \\
\text{i . ‘After having all the dinner, the four boys are talking to each other, they say that…’} \\
\text{ii . ‘Having finished the dinner, the four boys are talking to each other, they say that…’} 
\]

(149d) *Perfect aspect marker*

In the same fashion, /ləu⁴/ and /thən³/ both operate as perfect aspect markers in Dai, in which context the former is frequently reduced as /leʔ⁸/; the latter does not undergo any morphosyntactic alternation. /ləu⁴/ wins out over /thən³/ to function as a perfect aspect marker in daily conversations. The context of use for the perfect marker /thən³/ is scanty and restricted.
(Dai)
pha² sa² dai² hau² tsîŋ⁵ pɛŋ¹ baŋ³ fai² ma² tsîʔ⁷ kɔ⁴ pa⁶ dan⁵ niʔ⁸ le⁸
race Dai 2pl just make bamboo-tube fire come burn AUX for day this ALREADY
‘For the [celebration of the Water-Sprinkling Festival], we Dai people should set off firecrackers.’ (M. Luo 2008: 230)

…ku¹ sak² taːi¹ thon³
1sg will die ALREADY
‘I will die!’ (M. Luo 2008: 239)

(149e) Conjunction

/le⁴/ is the form used for connecting two clauses. Unlike the /lɛu⁴ ne/ conjunction in Zhuang, which is independent, Dai /le⁴/ conventionally prefixes to a pair of clauses to specify the listing order:

(Dai)
?a:i³ suk⁷ top⁹ va⁶: “ja⁵ fa:u⁴! xɔi³ sak⁷ pai¹ ?au¹ ja¹ ma² sai⁵ hu⁸”.
le⁴ ?a:i³ suk⁷ kɔ⁴
AS answer say NEG worry 1sg will go take medicine come present give THEN AS AUX
pai¹ lrn⁹ xum⁹ ho¹ kɔŋ⁷ pai¹
run onside top hill go
‘Aishu answered: Don’t worry! I will go to take the medicine and [give it to you]. Then, Aishu ran to the top of the hill.’ (M. Luo 2008: 239)

A more radical development is the combination of the phonetically eroded form, /le⁸/ , with two nominal components. In this context, it is interpreted as a typical comitative conjunction, ‘AND’.

?a:i³ suk⁷ le⁸ tu⁷ pu⁵ taːp⁹ mit⁹ pa¹ duk⁷
Aishu AND Buddha pat cheek roach
‘Aishu and the Buddha have patted the cheek of the roach.’ (M. Luo 2008: 235)

The last example in China comes from the Nuosu language in Sichuan. A member of the Lolo-Burmese language family, Nuosu Yi features SOV order in “imperfective” clauses and OSV in “resultative” clauses. In Gerner’s (2007) terminology, there is an exhaustion particle that targets three kinds of structures and performs three functions:

(150a) Universal quantifier

(Nuosu)
co hxit yuop-su jji gex tep yy hxep sat
people NUM.8 ART=CL+DET together book see,read ALL
‘The eight people are all reading books.’
(150b) Superlative

(Nuosu)

\[ i \, dix \, a \, zzyx \, ggux \, dax \, nrat \, sat \]

garment DEM.DIST CL COV beautiful EXTREMELY

‘That garment is the most beautiful.’

(150c) Compleitive

(Nuosu)

\[ cop \, wox \, syp \, hmi \, ci \, ma \, zze \, sat \, ox \]

3P.PL nut NUM.10 CL eat COMPLETELY DP

i. ‘They all ate ten nuts.’

ii. ‘They completely ate up ten nuts.’

iii. ‘They all ate up ten nuts.’

Due to a lack of available data, I know nothing about the origin of \textit{sat} in Nuosu Yi.\textsuperscript{54} However, this postverbal morpheme contributes all the three meanings I have been discussing, especially an ambiguous compleitive meaning corresponding to /li:u\textsuperscript{4}/ in Zhuang.

A wide range of languages outside of China have similar polyfunctional ‘FINISH’ morphemes. Consider the following Thai (Tai-Kadai) examples:\textsuperscript{55}

(151a) ‘FINISH’ Verb:

Parallel to Zhuang, Thai possesses a dually interpreted ‘FINISH’ verb /lɛ:u\textsuperscript{4}/ with a general aspectual feature:

(Thai)

\[
\text{รีงงีให้แม่นแล้วไปดอกนะ}
\]

\[
\text{reuuang}^\text{f} \, \text{nee}^\text{h} \, \text{hai}^\text{f} \, \text{man}^\text{m} \, \text{laaeo}^\text{h} \, \text{bpai}^\text{m} \, \text{thuh}^\text{h} \, \text{na}^\text{h}
\]

this issue to.let it FINISH to.go go ahead PP

‘Just let this issue go! OK?’  (www.thai-language.com; entry for “ ua laaeo\textsuperscript{h}”)

\textsuperscript{54} In contemporary Yi dictionaries, \textit{sat} /sa\textsuperscript{55}/ is glossed as an auxiliary ‘finish, end, complete’ or an adverbial ‘all, whole, complete, total’.

\textsuperscript{55} Different authors of Thai grammars employ distinct character-encoding standards when writing their grammatical works. I am not willing to depart from the originals to build one unified encoding system. In order to ease the retrieval of the corresponding literatures by potential readers, I strictly follow the original sources.
In addition to the reading of ‘to finish/to end’, this morpheme has a transitive role, meaning ‘to run out/to use up something’, which affects the status of the object. /le:u⁴/ similarly shows a quantificational feature pertaining to the affected objects:

(Thai)

็ดแก้ว น้าตาดิ่ง แต่งแป้น แต่วยัง ส่วน กินพันทั้งไปแล้วหนึ่งไม่เสียของงาน น้า
meuua⁵ waan⁵ khaoo⁵ dai⁵ reerm⁵ lohn⁵ thai⁶ bpaic⁵ laaeo⁶ baang⁵ suaan⁵ gin⁵
today sg can.to.begin go.down push go completed some part eat
pheeun⁵ thee⁵ bpaic⁵ laaeo⁶ neung⁵ nai⁵ see⁵ khaawng⁵
drink area go FINISH ¼ of work rice farm
‘Yesterday, he began to plow and was able to complete a certain portion, [and] he finished about one-fourth of his field.’ (www.thai-language.com; entry for “วัน laaeo⁶”)

(151b) Perfect aspect marker

(Thai)

'/γ, lew² si², na² li²¹ ka¹ ta:i¹ sia¹ le:u⁴
PP really watch then stop ALREADY
‘Oh, the watch is really stopped already.’ (G. Xing 1979a: 89)

(151c) Conjunctional verb

The ‘FINISH’ morpheme in Thai acts as a conjunction occasionally in certain peculiar contexts. It appears at the beginning of the clause to indicate the ordering of events or agreement within the main clause, and is construed as ‘next, then, afterwards, finally.’

(Thai)

coon₁ may₃ day₃ rianjop₂ leew₄ thamjan₁ hay₃ rat₃ thai₁ baan₁
John NEG get graduate THEN work GIVE:BEN government
‘John didn’t graduate and then work for the government.’ (Chiravate 2004: 88)

Alternatively, it may prefix to the secondary clause to serve as a conjunctional verb:⁵⁶

mýa-khyyn-nii phom pàj duu nän, leew pàj kin khaaw

⁵⁶ Bisang (1996) claims that in this structure, the conjunctional verb leew in Thai is grammaticalized from its TAM marking function. In comparison with the Zhuang data, I argue that the conjunctional verb /le:u⁴/ in Zhuang is more likely to have developed directly from a ‘FINISH’ verb (or via a temporal marker stage) rather than an aspect marker, as suggested by Bisang. Compared to other related Tai-Kadai languages, Zhuang possesses more structures to express a conjoining-linker /le:u⁴/, e.g. embedded individual slot, prefixed clause-initial slot. The two positions vividly demonstrate the trend of its grammaticalization. That is why, when /le:u⁴/ falls into the embedded individual slot, it can be interpreted as a temporal marker “soon after that.” To simplify the terminology, I categorize the individually distributed /le:u⁴/ as a conjunctional verb, and the prefixed /le:u⁴/ as a conjunction. Needless to say, they share the same function of linking two clauses or denoting a logical sequence.
‘Last night, I went to a movie, then went on and ate.’ (Huffman 1973: 502)

I have also extracted parallel examples from Cambodian Khmer (Khmer, Austroasiatic), as documented by Haiman (2011). The author claims that one morpheme, *haeuj*, which originated from a ‘FINISH’ verb, demonstrates a wide range of functions corresponding to distinct syntactic frames:

(152a) ‘FINISH’ verb

(Cambodian Khmer)

\[
\text{jeu:ng kom a:l tev cbah cia mian ka: srual haeuj}
\]

we PROH expect go clear be have NOM easy FINISH

‘We must not expect it to be easy/ Let us not expect it to be easy.’ (Haiman 2011: 226)

(152b) Perfect aspect marker

(Cambodian Khmer)

\[
\text{prapun ko:n anj slap awh haeuj meu:l tev}
\]

wift child my die exhaust ALREADY look go.to

‘It looks like my wife and children are all dead.’ (Haiman 2011: 93)

(152c) Sequential conjunction

(Cambodian Khmer)

\[
\text{ko:n teang pi: nev cam mda:j knong ru:ng nwng haeuj kom tev na:}
\]

child all two stay wait mother in cave this and [THEN] don’t go where

\[
\text{mau:k na: aoj sawh na:}
\]

come where so.that at.all any

‘Both of you kids wait for me here in this cave and don’t go anywhere at all.’ (Haiman 2011: 219)

(152d) Contrastive

(Cambodian Khmer)

\[
\text{ko:n mian pdej hauj nev tae viaj pradav do:c ko:n kmee:ng}
\]

child have husband and [BUT] still only beat lecture like small youngster

‘The daughter had a husband and [but] (the mother) still beat and harangued her as if she were a small child.’ (Haiman 2011: 220)

According to the report by Gil (2001: 1291), the Riau language (Austronesian) of Indonesia portrays a grammaticalization chain from universal quantifier to perfective aspect marker. Due to its SOV order, the universal quantifier *habis* usually follows the predicate, while the reverse order is reported when it acts as a perfect aspect marker:

(153a) Universal quantifier

(Riau)
maken *habis*
  eat       ALL
  ‘Eat up/eat all.’

(153b) *Perfective marker*

(Riau)

*habis* maken
  FINISHED  eat
  ‘Finish eating/ have eaten.’

Similarly, the Makalero language of Timor (genetic affinity unknown) supports my hypothesis on the polygrammaticalization of ‘FINISH’. Huber (2011) gives examples of the various polyfunctions of a morpheme *hau* in this SOV language. She asserts that the extension of *hau* from ‘FINISH’ or ‘ALL’ to a universal quantifier, a completive, and finally an aspect marker has occurred through a process of grammaticalization.57

(154a) *Universal quantifier*

(Makalero)

    ki-ira   *hau*  kalin
    3:POSS-water ALL  pour
    ‘…(we) pour out all the water…’  (Huber 2011: 369)

(154b) *Superlative*

(Makalero)

    uru-uatu ere tafi *hau*  pere
    moon-sun 1DEM true EXTREMELLY powerful
    ‘The lord is really very powerful (large)…’  (Huber 2011: 370)

(154c) *Compleitive*

(Makalero)

    asi-upa    *hau*  taru=ni na’u tepa Matebian-ist’
    1s:POSS-father COMPLETELY place=LNK1 just constant  M.-at
    ‘…after my father was buried, (we) were at Mount Matebian all the time…’  (Huber 2011: 370)

(154d) *Perfect aspect marker*

(Makalero)

57 I have modified the transcription for the corresponding morphemes to keep consistent with the discussion in question. Huber (2011) glosses the universal quantifier *hau* as ‘all’ in every sentence, but separately explains the meaning of each instance: superlative *hau* ‘all over, totally’, completive ‘completely’, and perfect aspect marker ‘already’.

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In a nutshell, all the sample languages reveal a vivid scenario of polyfunctionality identical to that described for Zhuang /liu⁴/. Although the etymons of most of these morphemes are unknown due to insufficient data, the development of their multiple functions is subject to the grammaticalization chains proposed in FIG 4.8. To witness:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>‘FINISH’</th>
<th>Universal quantifier</th>
<th>Superlative</th>
<th>Completive</th>
<th>Perfect aspect marker</th>
<th>Conjoin</th>
<th>ing verb</th>
<th>Connective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>verb</td>
<td>end</td>
<td>run</td>
<td>out</td>
<td></td>
<td>so</td>
<td>but</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old &amp; Middle Chinese</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Min</td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yanghuanng</td>
<td>liu⁴</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dai</td>
<td>leu⁴</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>leʔ³</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>thon⁴</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuosu</td>
<td>sat</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thai</td>
<td>le:u⁴</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambodian</td>
<td>haeyj</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riau</td>
<td>habis</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makalero</td>
<td>hau</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhuang</td>
<td>li:u⁴</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIG 4.15 Summary of the functions

It can be seen from this schema that all the sample languages possess one or more morphemes to encode a plethora of grammatical functions. In addition to a commonplace ‘FINISH’ verbal source, some languages display ambiguous source meanings, such as ‘run out’ or ‘use up’ (or ‘ALL’ in Makalero), that are relevant to the quantificational feature. Unfortunately, many of the source meanings are beyond our access due to scanty reference materials. Despite this scarcity, it is reasonable to posit that a couple of languages possess several versatile morphemes that are identical to the Zhuang ‘FINISH’ gram in encoding numerous functions.
The listed samples demonstrate the alternative stages of universal quantifier, superlative, completive, perfect aspect marker, conjunctional verb and even sequential conjunction. A notable explanation for this polyfunctionality is rooted in the diverse salient source meanings of the verbs. For instance, in Old and Middle Chinese, the 竜 group is salient in its ‘to use up/to run out’ meaning (quantificational feature); thus, it develops through stages that are correlated with the quantificational domain. However, 了 and 既, salient in their dual verbal meanings (‘to use up/to run out’ vs ‘to end’), undergo two grammaticalization chains, which belong to the quantificational and aspectual domains.

Due to the scanty materials, most functions of the morphemes are not clearly illustrated in the figure above. However, a typological survey informs me that it is not only the Zhuang group whose ‘FINISH’ morphemes show polyfunctional traits. Rather, a vast number of genetically unrelated languages exhibit analogous markers for the functions in question. While this can hardly be regarded as a universal marking strategy, it is intriguing that polyfunctional marking similar to that of Zhuang ‘FINISH’ is attested in some of the Southeast Asian languages (both Insular and Mainland Southeast Asia).

4.4 Conclusion

Having now introduced a list of sampling languages that possess a cluster of polyfunctional morphemes, I conclude that the grammaticalization manifested in Zhuang is, at least in part, an analogic development also present in geographically nearby languages.

As a Chinese loanword, /le:u/ in Zhuang has developed a wider range of functions than its Chinese counterparts have. The versatile polyfunctionality of Zhuang is rooted in its typical SVO typological profile. When one morpheme falls into a regular grammatical position [SVO-\(X\)], the interpretation of \(X\) varies according to the items that are associated with \(X\) semantically. A category that traditionally associates with one word class can in fact be associated with other classes. The meaning of a morpheme used in different morphosyntactic contexts changes because of the context itself. The recurrent semantic differences displayed by the ‘FINISH’ morpheme when it combines with nominal items versus when it combines with
aspectual notions are rooted in the inherent polyfunctionality of this “chameleon” morpheme: the specific meaning of any instance is affected by the morphosyntactic context in which it occurs (Aikhenvald 2011: 3-4).

In the preceding pages, I have concluded a broad survey of the default Zhuang ‘FINISH’ morphemes that occur alongside the Chinese-borrowed /le:u⁴/. Grammaticalization of all these morphemes is more or less subject to the profile proposed in FIG 4.8. However, it is only /li:u⁴/ which covers the entire proposed grammaticalization formula of the ‘FINISH’ gram at large. Needless to say, grammaticalization stages of the various morphemes occasionally overlap, due to the asymmetric coding technique by which one form comes to encode diverse meanings. Originating from a ‘FINISH’ meaning, each dialect possesses different forms to encode this meaning as well as its further grammaticalized functions. This marking strategy is not irregular at all. All the Zhuang dialects in question employ a set of forms to mark certain subsets of these functions. The availability of multiple partially-overlapping lexical options helps to overcome unexpected ambiguous readings in most cases. There are also many occasions when one form marks numerous functions. This form-meaning asymmetry gives rise to overlapping and ambiguous readings. Rather than a misfortune, this scenario clearly demonstrates a striking process of grammaticalization.

Last but not least, I have gained much insight from investigating the polyfunctionality of the ‘FINISH’ grams in sample language genetically unrelated to Zhuang. Due to limited data, I cannot say whether all these morphemes also stem from ‘FINISH’ verbs. Nevertheless, the polyfunctionality of particular morphemes in these sample languages backs up my assertion that the versatile marking strategy in Zhuang is not a language-specific phenomenon; in fact, it is partially attested in a wide range of other languages scattered throughout Southeast Asia. Compared with other languages, Zhuang provides a more perfect model of the evolution of the ‘FINISH’ verb.

As a matter of fact, this evolutionary model has similarly spread to a couple of ‘FINISH’ verbs in the languages of GXR. To explore the inner workings of the ‘FINISH’ epidemic, the next chapter will show how this “infection” has spread, by discussing the evolution of NNY 晒/ɬai33/ in GXR.
5.1 Determining the Explanatory Value of Language Contact

Based on the surveys conducted in the foregoing chapters, I have made the following observations:

- The ‘FINISH’ gram 晒/laï33/ in NNY reveals six functions (intransitive ‘FINISH’ verb, universal quantifier, superlative, completive, perfect/perfective aspect marker, conjunctural verb, sequential conjunction) corresponding to five possible constructions (i.e. [S-晒], [S-V Static-sun-晒-O], [S-Adj-晒], [S-V Dynamic-晒-O], [SVO-晒], [Clause1, 晒, Clause2]) (§3.1-3.6).
- A similar postverbal gram 晒/sai33/, found in Cantonese and a couple of peripheral Yue dialects, exclusively displays three functions (universal quantifier, degree quantifier, completive) in contrast to the five functions of its counterpart 晒/laï33/ in NNY (§3.8-3.9).
- Zhuang applies a set of ‘FINISH’ grams to encode a large number of functions, including transitive/intransitive/ambitransitive ‘FINISH’ verb, universal quantifier, superlative, completive, perfect/perfective aspect marker, conjunctural verb, sequential conjunction (§4.1).
- On the basis of the Zhuang data, I have formulated a polygrammaticalization model of the ‘FINISH’ grams that is applicable to other world languages (§4.3), although cross-linguistically uncommon.

To review my previous findings, a comparison of the functions in Cantonese, NNY and Zhuang is outlined in the figure below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘FINISH’ verb</th>
<th>Universal quantifier</th>
<th>Degree quantifier</th>
<th>Completive</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Conjunctural verb</th>
<th>Sequential conjunction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cantonese (晒)</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NNY (晒)</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhuang (le:u4)</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*FIG 5.1 A comparison of the various functions of the “FINISH” grams*

Of particular importance here are the following questions: what factor accounts for the functional extension of NNY 晒/laï33/? Is its grammaticalization path a regular phenomenon in human languages, or a peculiar scenario triggered by other
factors? Why has NNY 晒 /ɬai33/ acquired numerous new functions (e.g. perfect/perfective aspect marker, conjunctional verb and sequential conjunction) which correspond to those found in the Zhuang template, but differ from its Cantonese counterpart?

Concerning similarities shared by two or more languages, Aikhenvald & Dixon (2001: 1-3) propose a number of possible explanations:

i. **UNIVERSAL PROPERTIES OR TENDENCIES.** Every language has some linguistic categories, constructions and types of meaning they use (i.e. every language has a marker of clausal negation, but not every language has a distinct strategy for negating a predicate argument); all languages can resemble each other in the forms they employ to express these meanings (i.e. each language has a verb “blow” that has an iconic form).

ii. **CHANCE.** There are occasional coincidences of meaning between forms in different languages, which are notable by their very rarity.

iii. **BORROWING OR DIFFUSION.** Two languages in contact—where a significant proportion of the speakers of one also has some competence in the other—gradually become more like each other. The most pervasive borrowing generally involves construction types, grammatical categories, and organization of lexical and grammatical meaning; these kinds of features steadily diffuse from one language to another.

iv. **GENETIC RETENTION.** If two languages descend from the same ancestor then they are likely to have similar categories, and meaning expressed by similar forms…the forms and their meanings must be either identical or else easily relatable, through established rules for phonological change and semantic change in the languages.

v. **PARALLEL DEVELOPMENT.** A set of similar innovations that have taken place independently in a number of genetically related languages… associated with the idea of “parallel development” is the fact that each of a group of languages may share an “inner dynamic” that leads to the potentiality for a certain direction of change.

These criteria include a wide range of potential factors that may trigger cross-linguistic similarities. This framework guides my observations of the analogic development that has occurred in the distinct languages in this study. It is, however, highly likely that some criteria should be ruled out as explanations for the shared grammatical properties of the ‘FINISH’ grams in NNY and Zhuang.

First of all, the polyfunctional model of the ‘FINISH’ grams in question is not a universal tendency, typologically. Although the grammaticalization from ‘FINISH’ verb to completive or perfective/perfect aspect marker is a widespread phenomenon, a process from ‘FINISH’ verb to quantificational indicator (e.g. universal quantifier, degree quantifier/superlative) and/or clause linker (e.g. conjunctional verb, sequential conjunction with derived meaning of ‘AND/THUS/BUT’) is rare. As indicated in
§4.3, various languages in Asia have ‘FINISH’ grams that have developed several of these functions via separate grammaticalization chains. Nonetheless, typologically, there may be no languages other than NNY and Zhuang that possess such a complete polyfunctional model of the ‘FINISH’ grams (see also Heine & Kuteva 2002: 134-138).

Given these facts, it seems unlikely that polyfunctional paradigms in NNY and Zhuang should have arisen by chance. There is no substantial sound or form correspondence involved in the ‘FINISH’ grams (i.e. NNY 晒 /lai^3/ versus Zhuang /le:u^1/, /θa:t^7/, /ju:n^2/, /ja^5/, /θu:n^3/). Nor is there any notable evidence to support the hypothesis that the similar meanings of these ‘FINISH’ forms are a coincidence.

In terms of the genealogical relatedness of these two languages, it is unlikely that the similar forms and meanings have been directly inherited from a common proto language (Sino-Tibetan vs. Tai-Kadai). Thus the criterion of genetic retention is not helpful for explaining the occurrence of the isomorphic grams.

An account based on parallel drift will also not satisfy my explanatory needs. “Parallelism in drift” is associated with certain common grammaticalizations that occur across different languages, reflecting the fundamental organization of the proto-language speakers’ world view. Language samples involved in parallel-drift development are deemed to arise from a single family, or more specifically, a common ancestor. This assumption does not apply to my language sample, considering the disparate genetic affiliations of the two groups discussed here.

Teasing apart the effects of the possible factors I have mentioned, all the evidence suggests that borrowing or diffusion via language contact may satisfactorily

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58 A Sino-Austronesian language family is posited in Sagart (2004). The Tai-Kadai languages, as a branch of this family, are considered by Sagart to be related to the Sino-Tibetan branch as well. This proposal has been challenged by numerous scholars and not been accepted as a consensus (see also P. Li 1999 and Ostapirat 2005 for the rejection of the affiliation between Sino-Tibetan and Tai-Kadai after an updated observation of the putative cognates of these two groups; van Driem 2005 for an alternative taxonomy). Hence, in my view, NNY and Zhuang may share no genetic affiliations.

59 The language data provided by LaPolla (1994) to introduce “parallel drift development” (see also Sapir 1921: 123-127 for a canonical definition of “drift”; Robbeets & Cuyckens 2013: 10 on similar discussion of “split from common ancestorship”) are constrained to the related languages of the Tibeto-Burman group. His view of this is that, while it is possible to talk about drift in a single language without reference to parallel developments, it is not possible to talk about parallel developments in related languages without reference to something like the concept of drift. In this regard, the author employs a combination of parallel development and drift in related languages, since parallel development allows for the notion that each of a group of languages may share an “inner dynamic” that leads to the likelihood of a certain direction of change (Aikhenvald & Dixon 2001: 3-4).
account for the change in the polyfunctional 晒/ɬai33/ in NNY. For decades, language contact (especially areal contact) has been appealed to as an explanation for these types of similarities and changes among various languages. This explanation for language change is frequently employed when the genetic inheritance hypothesis, on which the family tree model in the comparative method is based, is insufficient (Ross 1999, Thomason 2001: 198-199, Matisoff 2001, Dixon 2002: xxiv, Nichols 2003, Aikhenvald 2006). While opinions on what constitutes a likely or an unlikely contact-induced change vary, it is nevertheless quite feasible to identify instances of such changes. I follow Heine & Nomachi’s (2013) catalog of diagnostics to identify a possible language contact process that may explain the similar polyfunctional paradigms of the ‘FINISH’ grams in both NNY and Zhuang.

- **Genetic patterning**
  Property in replica language (P_R) is not found in other dialects or languages closely related to replica language, while the corresponding category for property in model language (P_M) does not show such restrictions (ibid. 74).

The polyfunctional model of the ‘FINISH’ gram in NNY has no obvious analog in the other Yue members, as illustrated in §3.9. According to the relevant literature, 晒/sai33/ in the other Yue dialects typically acts as a universal quantifier and degree quantifier. These dialects do not follow the model of the polyfunctional ‘FINISH’ grams in Zhuang. Due to the genetic patterning diagnostic, it is plausible to assume that grammatical replication from Zhuang has contributed to the functional extension of 晒/ɬai33/ in NNY.

- **Rare grammatical category**
  If two neighboring and genetically unrelated (or only remotely related) languages share a grammatical category that is cross-linguistically high unusual, then there is some probability that this commonality is due to language contact (ibid. 77).

My fieldwork in GXR suggests that the versatile grammatical category of the ‘FINISH’ grams in question is rare and restricted. It is only retained in NNY and

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60 In addition to the diagnostics I have cited in this paper, Heine & Nomachi (2013) also propose another three predictors: “intertranslatability”, “paired grammaticalization” and “demographic variables.” Since the first two criteria are not directly related to the language phenomena in GXR, I exclude them from my discussion. For “demographic criteria” I am inclined to leave the relevant problem to future study. The demographic analysis requires us to measure migrations and human populations on a broad scale, as well as to probe for details of the gender/social status of informants. To make the analysis reliable and accurate, it would be necessary to collect hundreds of questionnaires with the help of the quantitative method. Unfortunately, my current study cannot cover a sufficiently large number of NNY and Zhuang speakers.
Zhuang, to the exclusion of the other languages in this region. Cross-linguistically, for a ‘FINISH’ gram to encode both the quantificational and aspeccual functions is unusual and peculiar. This development is not strictly confined to the evolutionary stages of the ‘FINISH’ verb summarized by linguists.

- **Paired structural similarity**
  There is a set of two or more interrelated properties shared by the model language and replica language whose presence cannot be coincidental or due to shared genetic relationship (ibid. 78).

Aside from the possession of the versatile ‘FINISH’ grams, there is a set of structural analogies shared by NNY and Zhuang. Kwok (2010) finds that, in NNY, the word order of the complement varies from an intrinsic [V-C-O] position to a secondary [V-O-C] position. The complement in Zhuang regularly occupies the sentence-final slot; Kwok further postulates that, after contact with Zhuang, NNY reverses the word order of the complement to correspond to the Zhuang structure. Furthermore, NNY, unlike other Yue dialects, possesses a sentence-final auxiliary 多 ‘many’ that intensifies the degree of the predicate, and a verb 去 ‘go’ that implies the notions of aspectuality and modality (cf. Ou’yang 1995, Kwok 2014); these particular structures are likewise found in Zhuang. A group of paired similar structures suffice to suggest a profound interaction between these two languages.

- **Frequency of use**
  $P_R$ occurs more frequently with speakers of replica language being in contact with speakers of model language than in speakers of replica language who are not or less exposed to contact with model language, and the model language has a property $P_M$ that is equivalent to $P_R$ (Heine & Nomachi 2013: 82).

晒/lai̯33/ is used more frequently in NNY than in other Yue members as a typical perfect/perfective marker and clausal conjunction. In GXR, the NNY speakers are largely exposed to the Zhuang speakers, in whose language the ‘FINISH’ gram /le:u⁴/ also acts as a perfect/perfective aspect marker and clausal conjunction. However, Yue members outside of GXR (those not exposed to Zhuang) lack these functions.

Frequent use has led NNY 晒/lai̯33/ to be morpho-phonologically and semantically fused with other elements, as in the case of other developing words or phrases, such as ~ 晒 / khêu²¹lai̯33/ ‘dead’, 瓜晒/kwa⁵⁵lai̯33/ ‘dead’, 嘈煥晒 / ʧhu²¹nuŋ⁵⁵lai̯33/ ‘noisy’ (Lin & F. Qin 2008: 186). In these cases, 晒/lai̯33/ reduces its
source meaning of ‘FINISH’, losing its syntactic constituency as a grammatical marker. The dimensions of the reductive effect (phonetic, syntactic, and semantic reduction) all occur together during grammaticalization, because they are all promoted by frequent repetition, which is the mechanism that produces automation and habituation (Bybee & Thompson 1997).

**Differences in grammaticalization**

P_R differs from P_R used by replica speakers or speakers of languages closely related to replica languages that are not, or less, exposed to language contact by being more grammaticalized (Heine & Nomachi 2013: 84).

Grammaticalization of 晒/sai\(^{33}\)/ in Cantonese and the other peripheral Yue dialects beyond Central Southern GXR differs from that found in NNY, which is geographically surrounded by Zhuang. Kwok & P. Lee (2013) report that 晒/sai\(^{33}\)/ in Cantonese specifically undergoes a grammaticalization chain from ‘FINISH’ verb to universal quantifier and degree quantifier. However, NNY favors a more versatile grammaticalization process (from ‘FINISH’ verb to universal quantifier; from ‘FINISH’ verb to aspect marker; from ‘FINISH’ verb to conjunction).

**Rare grammaticalization**

Replica language and model language share a grammaticalization process that is cross-linguistically uncommon (Heine & Nomachi 2013: 85).

A grammaticalization process from ‘FINISH’ verb to completive and perfect aspect marker is attested in numerous world languages. Conversely, the process from ‘FINISH’ verb to universal quantifier and degree quantifier/superlative, or conjunctival verb and sequential conjunction (meaning ‘AND’, ‘THEN’, ‘SO’, and especially ‘BUT’) is rare and constrained (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 137). I thus suggest that the paralleled grammaticalization model proposed for NNY and Zhuang is uncommon elsewhere.

Disentangling similarities due to language contact from those due to genetic inheritance, independent innovation, chance and typologically natural tendencies is the major challenge for a comparative linguist. Similarities between NNY and Zhuang cannot be the product of genetic inheritance, since the Chinese group (NNY) is unrelated to the Tai-Kadai group (Zhuang) genetically. The genealogical hypothesis is thus not particularly relevant to this issue. Additionally, no satisfactory explanation of the similar functions of the ‘FINISH’ grams in NNY and Zhuang can appeal to the hypotheses of chance or parallel drift. When I follow the diagnostic
criteria to identify a possible contact process, I find a revealing scenario where the similar development of the ‘FINISH’ grams in NNY and Zhuang corresponds closely to the typical diagnostics for contact-induced grammatical change. Therefore, **language contact, rather than other possible factors, is very likely to have played a vital role in this development.**

The functional variants of 晒/ɬai³³/ are unlikely to have arisen only through the internal mechanism of the language system, since this pattern of grammaticalization is not a common phenomenon cross-linguistically. Besides, in Cantonese, which is conceived as the ancestor of NNY, the aspectivizer-prominent function is not attested. Thus, the grammatical change undergone by 晒/ɬai³³/ does not suggest an essentially internal development. To fully account for its grammatical evolution, a technical methodology that combines the internal and external factors of language change is needed.

At this point, this chapter will present a sketch of the functional evolution of 晒/ɬai³³/ in NNY based on the theory of contact-induced grammaticalization (Heine & Kuteva 2003, 2005, 2010: 86-105; *inter alia*). Next, additional Chinese data from Southwest Mandarin will be incorporated into our understanding of the contact situation in GXR. At the end of the chapter, a probabilistic hypothesis will be proposed to construct a linguistic area of GXR using the shared features identified through my analysis.

### 5.2 Contact-Induced Language Change

The analysis in FIG. 5.1 conveys the conclusion that the similar polyfunctional models of the ‘FINISH’ grams in NNY and Zhuang have arisen due to language contact rather than other possible factors. It is clearly not justified, for instance, to assume that you can only argue successfully for a contact origin if you fail to find any plausible internal motivation for a particular change. The goal is always to find the best historical explanation for a change, and a good solid contact explanation is preferable to a weak internal one; furthermore, the possibility of multiple causation

61 If this change had been impelled by internal factors of the Yue dialect system, it should be possible to find a similar pattern in at least one Yue counterpart. In fact, however, NNY is the only candidate I have found so far that reveals an aspectivizer-prominent 晒/ɬai³³/. I thus claim that this change is far from a typical internally-motivated one.
should always be considered and it often happens that an internal motivation combines with an external motivation to produce a change (Thomason 2001: 91).

In the course of language contact, a broad range of linguistic exponents are borrowed among different languages, leading to a convergence scenario. It is not only linguistic matters that are borrowed during the contact process, but linguistic patterns, which are replicated by the replica language on the template of the model language (cf. Weinreich 1963: 31-42, Heine & Kuteva 2005: 41-43, Matras 2010: 68-72). The borrowed forms usually include phonological and phonetic traits, distinctive sounds, lexical items, rare inflectional morphology, grammatical categories and construction types (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 37); the borrowed patterns, alternatively referred to as the result of transfer (Winford 2005, Heine & Kuteva 2005) or indirect diffusion (Heath 1978: 119-136, Aikhenvald 2003: 237-241), relate to the way linguistic discourse is organized, including the organization of lexical and grammatical information (process of language change).

Aikhenvald (2006) further stipulates seven putative mechanisms to describe how foreign forms and patterns make their way into a language:62

- Enhancement of an already existing feature.
- Extension by analogy.
- Reinterpretation and reanalysis.
- Areally induced grammaticalization.
- Grammatical accommodation.
- Loan translation.
- Lexical/grammatical parallelism.

This variety of mechanisms collectively captures the process by which a given language eventually creates new types of categories in its linguistic system as a result of contact with other languages. These mechanisms are, however, rarely exclusive to contact situations; rather, they tend to cooperate with each other, resulting in contact-induced changes.

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62 These remarkable parameters proposed by Aikhenvald (2006) concisely summarize the factors leading to changes in language systems simultaneously triggered by internal and external forces. Enhancement from unrelated languages will accelerate the frequency or productivity of the shared features among languages; existing categories or structures usually extend their use by means of analogy, reanalysis or areally-induced grammaticalization to produce an isomorphic pattern with the contact languages; in light of grammatical accommodation, loans and lexical/grammatical parallelism, the contact process is mostly restricted to superficial segmental similarity, viz. word-for-word correspondence, code-switching formation.
Based on the observed development of NNY 晒/ɬai33/, there is reason to maintain that the extension of its grammatical function may not be an outcome of a direct borrowing of the linguistic substance from Zhuang to fill a gap in NNY. Instead, the evolution of 晒/ɬai33/ constitutes a grammaticalization process whose occurrence is at the expense of particular operations, such as reanalysis and extension (Harris & Campbell 1995: 61-118), induced by a profound intensive contact between these two languages. Moving forward, I will present an in-depth discussion on how contact-induced grammaticalization theory is used to explain the grammatical change of 晒/ɬai33/.

5.3 Reflecting on the Contact-Induced Change of 晒/ɬai33/

Most studies of language contact in GXR argue that the contact process in this area is primarily driven by Zhuang and the Chinese dialects, which have distinct genealogical backgrounds (cf. J. Zhang 1982, Xie 2007). By comparing the linguistic repertoire of these two languages with those of other sister languages outside the region, it is relatively easy for linguists to make the judgment that any discrepancy between GXR and non-GXR variants of a given language is the result of language contact.

There is thus sufficient information to support the conclusion that Heine & Kuteva’s theory fully backs up my hypothesis that during the contact process, Zhuang is the model language and NNY is the replica language:

If there is a linguistic property x shared by two languages M[odel] and R[eplica], and these languages are immediate neighbours and/ or are known to have been in contact with each other for an extended period of time, and x is also found in languages genetically related to M but not in languages genetically related to R, then we hypothesize that this is an instance of contact-induced transfer, more specifically, that x has been transferred from M to R (Heine & Kuteva 2005: 33).

Geographically, Zhuang speakers and Yue speakers have lived together in the Southeast GXR for centuries, with the result that contact between the Zhuang and NNY people has penetrated every aspect of daily life (J. Li 2002). A broad cross-linguistic survey indicates that the polyfunctional ‘FINISH’ model is also found in certain Tai-Kadai languages (e.g. Dai 傣語, Yanghuang 佯語) genetically related to Zhuang (see §4.3). Conversely, there is no evidence for this model surfacing in Yue languages other than NNY (see §3.8-3.9). I therefore conclude that the
polyfunctional model has undergone transfer from Zhuang to NNY, with the role of the participants in this contact scenario schematized as follows:

- 【Model language】: Zhuang
- 【Replica language】: NNY
- 【Property x】: Polyfunctional model of the ‘FINISH’ grams

When I focus on the agentivity (cf. Winford 2005) behind this thorough contact process, two questions arise: what motivated the Zhuang shifters to learn NNY and finally assimilate into the NNY group? Why should NNY have borrowed the grammatical structures/patterns of the ‘FINISH’ morphemes from Zhuang, rather than simply the words?

J. Li (2000: 67) states that the Guangdong immigrants (Yue speakers) have successfully preserved the linguistic properties of their language and had a significant impact on the adjacent Zhuang language. Today, there are still numerous Yue dialect islands surrounded by the Zhuang groups in Central and Western Guangxi. Since NNY is a politically dominant language in both economic and social activities in some areas of Guangxi, the Zhuang people are deliberately learning NNY in order to facilitate their communication with the Han group (Kwok 2010: 207). According to H. Chen & Wang’s (2005) census, 24.41% of Zhuang people can speak Yongxun Yue, while in Nanning, the percentage of Yongxun Yue speakers reaches 89%, including 37% of Zhuang people; a majority of the Zhuang shifters in Nanning are bilingual. Its higher socioeconomic status makes NNY a prestigious language in the eastern and central areas of GXR cohabited by the Han and Zhuang people. It is this profound bilingualism that has motivated the Zhuang shifters to gradually assimilate into the NNY group linguistically and culturally.

In most previous studies, examples of the Chinese influence on the minority languages in China are usually described in terms of the influx of loanwords (Norman & Mei 1976, B. Chen 1995, Zeng 2003, Lan 2005, etc.). In this study, I have shown that evidence also exists for the grammatical borrowing in NNY of a complete polygrammaticalization model of the Zhuang ‘FINISH’ gram. NNY has fully incorporated this model into its linguistic profile and extended the function of its intrinsic ‘FINISH’ gram 晒/laï³³/ based on the Zhuang pattern. The contact-induced spread of the ‘FINISH’ pattern between these two languages does not seem
to have followed the typical pattern of superstratum influence, in which the less dominant language (Zhuang) borrows the words from the more dominant language (NNY) (cf. LaPolla 2009: 228). Rather, it is more likely a substratum influence triggered by shift-induced interference from Zhuang (Thomason 2001: 66). In Thomason’s wording,

The crucial predication about shift-induced interference is that, unlike borrowing, it does not start with lexicon. Instead, it starts with phonology and syntax; the TL₂ may include lexical interference as well as structural interference, but structural interference will dominate (ibid. 75).

Since the bilingual Zhuang shifters were imperfect learners of NNY, they unconsciously integrated some of their Zhuang features (grammatical functions/structures) into NNY. As these Zhuang substrate elements made their way into NNY, they were gradually conventionalized and propagated within the NNY group. Z. Shen (2007: 112) claims that, historically, the influence of the minority languages on Chinese belonged to the “shift” type, while influence of Chinese on the minority languages was restricted to the “borrowing” type; the former is substratum influence, the latter is superstratum influence.

Given the understanding that the Zhuang shifters have imposed their substrate elements on NNY through shift-induced interference, I will now describe the detailed process of how this contact came about within the antecedent CIG model introduced in §1.3.4. When this model is adapted to the development of NNY 晒/laï³³/, actualization of the contact between Zhuang and NNY can be schematized as follows:

i. Zhuang shifters who were learning NNY had knowledge of at least two languages, Zhuang (M) and NNY (R). They noticed the existence in Zhuang of a couple of grammatical categories, viz. a sentence-final perfect aspect marker /le:u⁴/ (Mx), a sequential conjunction /le:u⁴/ (Mx’).

ii. They developed two equivalent categories, as stated in (a), using the available material 晒/laï³³/ (R) in their second acquired language (NNY).

iii. To this end, they replicated a polygrammaticalization process they assumed to have taken place in Zhuang, using analogical formulas of these kinds:

   a. [‘FINISH’ verb /le:u⁴/ (My) > Perfect/Perfective aspect marker /le:u⁴/ (Mx)] : [‘FINISH’ verb 晒/laï³³/ (Ry) > Perfect/Perfective aspect marker 晒/laï³³/ (Rx)].

   b. [‘FINISH’ verb /le:u⁴/ (My’) > Sequential conjunction /le:u⁴/ (Mx’)] : [‘FINISH’ verb 晒/laï³³/ (Ry’) > Sequential conjunction 晒/laï³³/ (Rx’)].

iv. Eventually, they grammaticalized the two categories [Ry to Rx; Ry’ to Rx’], and conventionalized the function of perfect/perfective aspect marker and sequential
conjunction 晒/ɬai33/ in NNY.

In doing so, the Zhuang shifters successfully transferred the grammaticalization process (see FIG 4.8) to the Chinese dialect (NNY) that they had imperfectly learned during second language (L₂) acquisition.

The model outlined above captures the sequential development of 晒/ɬai33/ induced by contact with Zhuang. This compelling contact-induced process of change is essentially gradual rather than abrupt, which goes along with the notion of *gradualness* in grammaticalization (Bybee *et al.* 1994: 24). The entire replication took place over hundreds of years, ultimately resulting in a categorical extension of 晒/ɬai33/ on the model of its Zhuang ‘FINISH’ counterpart.

To assist in the reconstruction of the complete contact process between the two languages in a prolonged historical view, I incorporate all the possible linguistic effects to optimize the putative contact scenario in four stages:

**STAGE 1**

A vast number of Han immigrants from northern China arrived at the Lingnan plain, interacting with the aboriginal inhabitants, who were Tai-Kadai or Hmong-Mien (Mai 2009, 2010). The Zhuang group borrowed a ‘FINISH’ verb 「了/le:u⁴/」 from Middle Chinese (i.e. Chinese 「了/le:u⁴/」 → Zhuang /le:u⁴/), ⁶３ which was a widespread koine in China in that period. ⁶⁴ Afterwards, the Zhuang version of this gramm developed into multiple functions, attributed to the peculiarity of its [SVO-X] order, where the X /le:u⁴/ regularly occupied the sentence-final slot in most grammatical contexts. Notice that this is a direct borrowing stage, where lexical, rather than structural, exponents are borrowed. I thus do not propose that this contact should be deemed an “intense” one, since lexical borrowing occurs even during casual and slight contact (Thomason 2001: 70).

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⁶３ The phonological reconstruction of the Middle Chinese 「了/le:u⁴/」 presented here accords with the account provided in W. Pan (2000).

⁶⁴ That the Zhuang /le:u⁴/ is borrowed from Middle Chinese is questioned by Xing (1979a, 1979b). He argues that the functional word /le:u⁴/ in most Tai-Kadai languages does not derive from a borrowing from Middle Chinese to the Proto Tai-Kadai language. Although there is presently no abundant historical data to clearly describe the genesis of the Tai-Kai /le:u⁵/, I would rather follow the opinion of most linguists in China (e.g. Y. Zhang & G. Qin 1993: 99, J. Zhang *et al.* 1999: 268-269, J. Li 2001: 11, Lan 2005: 109, and among others) that the Zhuang /le:u⁴/ is a loanword from Middle Chinese, based on their phonological and grammatical correspondences.
Once again Zhuang reproduced the functions of the Chinese loan 「了/le:u⁴/」 and extended a couple of functions according to its own verb-initial word order characteristics. The foreign loan 「了/le:u⁴/」 competed with other primitive ‘FINISH’ grams (e.g. /θa:t⁷/, /θo:t⁷/, /ju:n²/, /ja⁵/, /θu:n³/) in distinct Zhuang dialects, eventually replacing most of them in some dialects, (an extreme example of this process is illustrated in Ba’ma Zhuang). The following diagram details how the first contact emerged between these two groups (the dotted circle indicates the extended new functions):

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**Middle Chinese**

- Restrictive universal quantifier
- ‘FINISH’ 「了/le:u⁴/」
- Compleitive
- Perfect aspect marker

**Zhuang**

- Universal quantifier
- Superlative
- ‘FINISH’ 「了/le:u⁴/」
- Compleitive
- Perfect aspect marker
- Conjunctonal verb
- Sequential conjunction

FIG 5.2 Borrowing of the ‘FINISH’ 「了」 from Chinese to Zhuang via the first contact

Cao (1995: 16) asserts that the verbal use of Middle Chinese 「了」 stabilized soon after the Late Han Dynasty. By the Late Tang and Early Song Dynasties, the ‘FINISH’ verb 「了」 had developed the functions of a restrictive universal quantifier, a completive, and perfect/perfective aspect marker. The universal quantifier 「了」 is restricted to negative contexts, where 「了」 precedes the predicate and intensifies the negative degree of the whole sentence.

It is important to bear in mind that no precise historical evidence indicates whether Zhuang has simply borrowed the verbal use of the Chinese 「了」, or

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65 What I refer to as a “restrictive universal quantifier” is a quantifier that occurs only in **restrictive context** (negative) contexts, where the universal quantifier 「了」 occurs in the Old and Middle Chinese (see details in §4.2.3).
simultaneously incorporated the derived restricted universal quantifier and aspect marker 「了」 into its linguistic inventory. The prehistory of the borrowing picture is still far from clear. Zhuang, by contrast, has assigned more functions to its loanword /le:u^4/ when this gram occurs sentence-finally or in an embedded slot between two clauses.

**STAGE 2**

NNY came into contact with Zhuang after a vigorous migration wave from Guangdong to GXR for the sake of economic trade and other factors. The Zhuang shifters noticed that in their L¹ language (Zhuang) certain functions of the polyfunctional gram /le:u^4/ (i.e. universal quantifier, superlative, completive, perfect aspect marker, conjunctural verb, sequential conjunction) corresponded to the uses of 晒/lai^{33}/ (i.e. universal quantifier, superlative, completive) in their L² language (NNY). 66 Hence, some aspects of the polygrammaticalization process were transferred to 晒/lai^{33}/, yielding more functions; specifically, the ‘FINISH’ verb 晒/lai^{33}/ was grammaticalized to a perfect aspect marker and a sequential conjunction.

There is no cross-cutting evidence to indicate why these three particular functions (perfect aspect marker, conjunctural verb, sequential conjunction) of 晒/lai^{33}/ have predominated in today’s NNY as a result of contact with Zhuang. Nonetheless, the most glaring fact to be gleaned from the contact outcome is that the Zhuang shifters tended to equate the analogic concepts and categories of the model language with the replica language, rather than restricting their borrowing to the forms alone. The new context where 晒/lai^{33}/ occurs invites a new semantic interpretation, and consequently, 晒/lai^{33}/ becomes associated with new grammatical functions.

The next schema illustrates the gradual replicating stage, in which concepts are transferred from the Zhuang model to NNY:

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66 General definitions of L¹ and L² follow Thomason (2001). In her terminology, during a contact period, L¹ language stands for the speaker’s native language, while the L² is the secondarily-acquired language.
In virtually all cases, Zhuang offers a rich laboratory for examining the contact-induced grammatical change of NNY 晒/ɭai^33^/. In terms of Contact Step 2, the NNY ‘FINISH’ 晒/ɭai^33^/ extends to serve as a perfect/perfective aspect marker, conjunctional verb, and sequential conjunction on the Zhuang model, gradually replacing the original functions of that lexeme. Since this functional replacement is a step-by-step process, the old functions compete with the new intruders before their final disappearance. That is why the unpopular residue, the superlative and completive 晒 /ɭai^33^/, are still found in today’s communication.

Comparing the two interconnected models, it appears that the replica construction (in NNY) is less grammaticalized than the corresponding model.

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^67^ Synchronously, it is a daunting task to determine which functions are prior to others, due to a lack of sufficient historical data to depict the contact situations at each stage. Instead, I adopt a holistic model of the function clusters in order to examine their replication traits, ignoring any argument which stresses the temporal ordering of individual replications, in the form: “after function A has be replicated, here follows function B and in turn function C.”
construction (in Zhuang) (cf. Heine & Kuteva 2003, 2005: 117-119). It seems that Zhuang shifters, during their imperfect acquisition of NNY, failed to transfer the entire grammaticalization model from Zhuang, producing individual replication stages as follows: from ‘FINISH’ to perfect aspect marker; from ‘FINISH’ to sequential conjunction. In fact, the replica language NNY is still in the process of ironing out a number of functions (i.e. superlative, completive) which have become eroded or even disappeared following their functional replacement through grammaticalization. 68 I am, however, fortunate to have found instance of the universal quantifier, superlative and completive 晒/ai33/ before all three have been replaced by the functions of perfect aspect marker and conjunction.

STAGE 3

As the numerous replicated functions became conventionalized/nativized by individuals (i.e. they became parts of the speakers’ routine), they have spread out further amongst the other groups. In other words, individual speakers’ innovations of the versatile 晒/ai33/ have been adopted by other speakers. This creation occurs first on the micro level (personal innovation) and then the macro level (group convention) (Enfield 2011: 65-66).

The primitive superlative and completive 晒/ai33/ are still valid in certain contexts, alongside the disposal construction and the topicalized construction; both the intrinsic functions (universal quantifier, superlative, completive) and the replicated functions (perfect/perfective aspect marker, sequential conjunction) coexist in communication. Due to a lack of historical literature on NNY, the linguistic development in the Late Qing Dynasty is not precisely understood today. Nevertheless, linguistic residues from speakers over the age of 70 suggest that replicated functions have flourished at the expense of intrinsic functions. After intensive contact and actualization, 晒/ai33/ has largely ceased to encode its original, innate functions and is fully transferred into a replicated model.

68 The language maintenance investigation in today’s NNY backs up my claim on this point. Native speakers who are less than 50 years old are reluctant to accept the universal quantifier, superlative and completive 晒/ai33/ in communication. Most of them assert that 晒/ai33/ is a perfect/perfective marker, while the three peripheral functions are rare and atypical. Understanding of polyfunctional 晒/ai33/ is to some extent relative to different individuals. Although several informants are around 40-45 years of age, they still show variations: speakers who are well-educated totally refuse the peripheral functions, and speakers who have only received elementary educations are puzzled by the peripheral functions.
STAGE 4

The intrusive functions defeat the innate functions, propagating in all contexts without any linguistic or communicative constraints. The second, third, and subsequent generations of Zhuang shifters simply acquire the replicated functions. They do not consciously recognize the innate functions of 晒/laɪ³³/ when learning NNY. The replicated functions increase in popularity in NNY during intensive contact between Zhuang and NNY over almost a century; the Zhuang shifters, at the same time, impose⁶⁹ the replicated functions on NNY. These uses eventually become maximally integrated into NNY, replacing the original functions of the gram. Only the perfect/perfective aspect marker and sequential conjunction 晒/laɪ³³/ are salient in today’s NNY.

5.4 Social Factors: a propellant⁷⁰

Over centuries of contact, the Chinese influence on minority groups in the GXR, together with mutual interferences between the minority groups themselves, has led to a profound amount of linguistic borrowing and shifting (J. Li 2000, Deng 2008). Social factors are largely responsible for the constant contact between the Zhuang and Chinese groups.

Other minority groups in the GXR, in addition to Zhuang, have been progressively adhering to the linguistic characteristics of the adjacent Chinese dialects or the lingua franca in order to improve their social prestige. The deliberate change of the linguistic exponents in their mother tongue has become fashionable among members of the younger Zhuang generations, who regard this as a strategy to

⁶⁹ Following Van Coetsem’s terminology, Winford (2005) treats “borrowing” and “imposition” as “mechanisms” or “processes” in contact-induced change. In borrowing, materials from a non-dominant source language are imported into a recipient language (RL) via the agency of speakers for whom the latter is the dominant or primary language; in imposition, the source language is the dominant (usually the first or primary) language of the speaker, from which materials are transferred into an RL in which the speaker is less proficient. To my understanding, this dichotomy more or less centers on the agency of the speakers (e.g. Zhuang- or NNY- dominant) and the transferring directions of language materials during contact (e.g. from Zhuang to NNY or vice versa).

⁷⁰ The wide range of social factors discussed in this section are included on the basis of Thomason (2001: 131-152, 2010), who proposes more than seven mechanisms to cover the socio-historical dimension of language contact (code-switching, code alternation, passive familiarity, negotiation, second-language acquisition strategies, bilingual first-language acquisition, deliberate decision and imperfect learning, etc.). Since some mechanisms have been questioned by scholars, I only refer to those mechanisms that are agreed upon by many and seem relevant to contact-induced change between Zhuang and Chinese in GXR.
grant them higher social status or dominant competitive social power: during my three years of graduate school in Guangxi, I found that most of my Zhuang classmates were reluctant to speak Zhuang even when they talked to their Zhuang partners. The younger the Zhuang shifters are, the more uncomfortable they feel when speaking Zhuang. One Zhuang colleague of mine told me that her younger sister is no longer able to fluently speak Zhuang at all. Even when she talks to her relatives at home, she deliberately switches certain Zhuang words into Southwest Mandarin in almost every discourse environment, just as she does at school to hide her Zhuang identity (this signals her desire to assert her ties to the prominent Han group). The Zhuang people’s social and linguistic attitudes may have accelerated the remarkable levelling of vocabulary and phonological shift toward Chinese speech patterns.

Another social factor that may be at play is the presence of negotiation/accommodation, which occurs when the Zhuang shifters unconsciously modify Chinese patterns to fit their native patterns (Thomason 2001: 142, Campbell 2013: 59). W. Pan (2004: 310) demonstrates that Zhuang shifters sometimes take a “lazy” approach to learning Chinese: when they encounter new Chinese words that they do not judge necessary for their communication with the Han people, they are not likely to borrow them into Zhuang. Instead, the Zhuang shifters only consciously borrow loans that lack a direct Zhuang counterpart, thereby filling the gaps in their language. Once they identify certain alien exponents during language contact, they first accommodate them into their native linguistic repertoire and then reassign the meanings/grammatical functions in the new variety (cf. Britain 2010: 210). The negotiation factor is pertinent to the subconscious attitude of the Zhuang shifters, which leads them innately to expect that non-Zhuang patterns should develop in line with the Zhuang pattern.

On top of all the possible social factors, the environment of bilingualism/multilingualism plays a crucial role in the pattern of language contact between Zhuang and Chinese. According to statistics collected in 1998, 52.31% of Zhuang people are bilingual (H. Chen & L. Wang 2005: 25). There are a number of reasons for this high incidence of bilingualism. Some are domestic: due to the expansion of the Han people into the aboriginal Zhuang areas and the ensuing intermarriage between the ethnic groups, most families in these areas have both Han
and Zhuang ancestors. To facilitate the communication with their spouses and families, the Zhuang people typically speak at least two languages (Zhuang-Pinghua, Zhuang-Yue and Zhuang-Mandarin bilingualism all belong to this category). The political realities of the region also encourage bilingualism: starting from the Qin Dynasty, emperors of each state advocated national assimilation by means of integrative language planning policy (Lü & Lu 2012). A homogeneous official language can help to establish a national identity in official articles or formal documents (Thomason 2001: 38). In the spirit of this language maintenance policy, the majority of the schools in Guangxi have adopted Chinese as their language of media (Zhuang-Pinghua and Zhuang-Mandarin bilingualism belong to this category). Finally, economic factors have historically encouraged bilingualism: soon after the Qing Dynasty, increased economic interactions between the immigrant Guangzhou merchants and the Zhuang locals led to increased contact between the two groups. The Zhuang people usually go to the county fair (Ganxu 赶圩) to purchase the daily necessaries and sell their specialties. This trade contact has had the effect of hastening the bilingualism of the Zhuang group, since such bilingualism enhances favorable trade relationships (Zhuang-NNY bilingualism belongs to this category) (cf. Hong 2004: 115).

Although a full sociolinguistic tracking of the contact process is beyond the scope of this thesis—since the observations necessary for this type of study take at least two or three decades to collect and require hundreds of informants—the social factors highlighted above have undoubtedly hastened the pace of changes initially induced by linguistic aspects. Since they consistently learn Chinese for social purposes, the Zhuang shifters inevitably borrow various Chinese items, and simultaneously incorporate a selection of Zhuang ingredients into the Chinese profile.

In short, a complete actualization of the contact process relies on bilingual speakers. Linguistic developments in the grammars of bilingual individuals parallel those taking place in a pair of languages during contact-induced change. Intensive contact has imbu ed 晒/la33/ with many functions it lacked in its pre-contact stage.

5.5 Functional Reallocation: coexisting, competing and decaying
After extensive contact with Zhuang over approximately two hundred years, the function of 晒/ɬai33/ has specialized to distinct contexts. The reallocation of its functions (or division of labor in Lien 2001: 324, Kwok & P. Lee 2013), it has been claimed, should have been rather slow, with different versions of the grams undertaking the coexisting, competing and decaying stages. This type of change is likely to take a fairly long time and develop gradually.

In §4.1.1-4.1.5, I demonstrated that a number of ‘FINISH’ grams in the Zhuang group have lost their ability to encode various functions—functions that have been taken over by the versatile Chinese loanword /le:u4/. Equally, in NNY, there is another candidate 齊/ʧhɐi21/, coexistent with 晒/ɬai33/, with the potential to encode a great number of functions. The function of 齊/ʧhɐi21/ showcases less ambiguity than 晒/ɬai33/. 齊/ʧhɐi21/ is specialized to encode all the functions related to the quantificational and aspectual features. While originally interpreted as ‘to FINISH’ and ‘to RUN OUT’, 晒/ɬai33/ alternatively came to encode the aspectual and clause-linking functions under the change induced by language contact.

I assume that the clear encoding strategy at play in modern-day NNY also benefitted from contact-induced grammaticalization, which resulted in the rearrangement and reallocation of a previously ambiguous functional paradigm. In the initial part of this section, I will consider the grammatical properties of 齊/ʧhɐi21/. After that, I will re-examine the outcome of the “contact-induced grammaticalization” in question to consider the contact phenomenon in a broader perspective.

a. Main verb

As an intransitive verb, 齊/ʧhɐi21/ broadly resembles 晒/ɬai33/. It can correlate with a single argument, interpreted as ‘to finish/to end’. For instance:

(1) 一個 鐘頭 前，電影 齊 呢。
    a33 kɔ33 ʃuŋ55 thu21 ʧhin21 tiŋ32 jeŋ35 ʧhɐi21 ə

71 Kwok & P. Lee (2013) propose that a similar verb 齊 in Hong Kong Cantonese can only be interpreted as ‘complete, all’ rather than ‘to finish/to end’. However, according to my three native NNY-speaking consultants, NNY 齊 exhibits both readings. I do not have sufficient evidence to determine whether this additional verbal meaning (‘to finish/to end’) is a residue from Middle Chinese or a semantically contaminated outcome caused by the verbal meaning of NNY 晒 (see Harris & Campbell 1995: 117 for “contamination”). In my future studies, I plan to undertake further investigation of the versatile verbal meaning of NNY 齊.
one CL hour before movie FINISH PP
‘This movie finished one hour ago.’

(2) 古仔
tu²⁵
故事 FINISH Q
齊
齊
齊
齊
- 212
‘This movie finished one hour ago.’

(2) 古仔
tu²⁵
故事 FINISH Q
齊
齊
齊
齊
- 212
‘This movie finished one hour ago.’

(2) 古仔
tu²⁵
故事 FINISH Q
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‘This movie finished one hour ago.’

(2) 古仔
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‘This movie finished one hour ago.’

(2) 古仔
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- 212
‘This movie finished one hour ago.’

(2) 古仔
tu²⁵
故事 FINISH Q
齊
齊
齊
齊
- 212
‘This movie finished one hour ago.’

Alternatively, in some contexts, a verbal 齊/g₃hui²¹/ meaning ‘complete/all’ quantifies over sentential subject.

(3) 人 齊/g₃hui²¹/ 盟？
jun²¹
g₃hui²¹

人 齊/g₃hui²¹/ 盟？
jun²¹
g₃hui²¹
people all-come NEG all-come already will set-off PP
‘Have all the people come already? If yes, let’s set off now!’

(4) 飯菜 都 齊/g₃hui²¹/ 啊，就 差 阿 碗 湯 哦。
fan²²

g₃hui²¹

people all-prepare PP just need one CL soup PP
‘[The waitress has] served all the dishes, except a bowl of soup.’

b. Universal quantifier

A typical universal quantifier 齊/g₃hui²¹/ occurs in the sentence-final [S-V-O 齊] configuration. The predicate in this structure is usually limited to the stative verb, which is weak in its verbal lexical meaning. The sentence-final universal quantifier 齊/g₃hui²¹/ quantifies over the subject rather than the object.

(5) 我 k₁º 錢 系 我 老公 啓 齊。
no³⁴
ke³³

people all-prepare PP just need one CL soup PP
‘[The waitress has] served all the dishes, except a bowl of soup.’

齊/g₃hui²¹/ is usually followed by 晒/lai³³/. The ellipsis of 晒/lai³³/ is arbitrary in most contexts. It does not result in any semantic shift.

(6) 阿嘞 後生仔 有 女朋友 齊/g₃hui²¹/ 晒。
a⁵⁵
ti⁵⁵

people all-prepare PP just need one CL soup PP
‘[The waitress has] served all the dishes, except a bowl of soup.’

齊/g₃hui²¹/ is usually followed by 晒/lai³³/. The ellipsis of 晒/lai³³/ is arbitrary in most contexts. It does not result in any semantic shift.
Occasionally, a universal quantifier 齊/ʧhɐi21/ can occur in sentences with an achievement or accomplishment verb. Since these two verb types semantically imply an endpoint to the verbal action, 齊/ʧhɐi21/ is associated with measurable entities instead of actions.

(8) 一個二個去夢之島齊晒。
    one CL two CL go MZD EXH:ALL already
    ‘All [my neighbors] have gone to MZD shopping mall.’

(9) 香蕉運嚟南寧齊晒。
    banana carry come NN EXH:ALL already
    ‘All the bananas have been carried to Nanning.’

(10) 佢哋送阿批學生捐嘅書畀只希望小學齊晒。
    3pl present one CL student donate ATTR book to CL XWXX EXH:ALL already
    ‘They have presented all the books, donated by students, to the Hope Primary School.’

It is plausible to construe 齊/ʧhɐi21/ as a typical universal quantifier in the sentences above, despite the verbs being nonstatic. Actually, there is no connection between 齊/ʧhɐi21/ and the verbal action, since directional complements (去/hy33/ ‘go’, 嚟/lo21/ ‘come’) are assigned to each predicate to specify the attainment and endpoint of the action.

c. Superlative

When 齊/ʧhɐi21/ follows an adjective, it works like a superlative to intensify the gradable quality of the adjective. In this reading, 齐/ʧhɐi21/ is identical to the preverbal degree adverb, but it expresses a maximal degree of the quality.

(11) 我病齊晒。
    1sg sick EXH:EXTREMELY already
    ‘I am extremely sick.’

(12) 我頭暈齊晒。
    1sg head dizzy EXH:EXTREMELY already
    ‘I am extremely dizzy.’

(13) 聽見件事佢開心齊晒。
    ‘I am extremely happy.’

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When he heard this news, he was too happy."

The subject of each sentence is a pronoun. Thus, there are no divisible entities available to be divided or quantized. 直/hei^21/ accordingly selects the adjective. Sometimes, when the subject is semantically divisible and measurable, 直/hei^21/ can be associated with either the nominal component or the adjective. For instance:

(14) 阿 只 桃 子 熟 直 晒。
    a^55 ʧi^3 thu^21 ʧi^35 ʧuk^2 ʧhei^21 ɬai^33
    one CL grape ripe EXH:EXTREMELY already
i. ‘All parts of a grape were ripe.’
ii. ‘A grape was extremely ripe.’

(15) 老友粉 冷 直 晒。
    lu^24 ʧeu^24 fn^35 tuŋ^33 ʧhei^21 ɬai^33
    rice noodle cold EXH:EXTREMELY already
i. ‘All parts of the Nanning rice noodle were cooled down.’
ii. ‘The Nanning rice noodle was the coldest.’

Notice that, in this case, the ellipsis of 晒/ɬai^33/ engenders a pragmatically odd and ungrammatical reading.

d. Completive

The completive 晒 /ɬai^33/ in NNY is frequently attested, probably because of 晒 /ɬai^33/’s tendency to associate with the entire event. Completive 晒 /ɬai^33/ reveals a change of state or the outcome of a new state, and is predominantly associated with the aspectual category. However, 直/hei^21/ can also serve as a completive, denoting the completion of the verbal action. The function of this completive 直/hei^21/ is often ambiguous. In some cases, it indicates that the verb action is “completed;” however, when an argument is affected by the verbal action, 直/hei^21/ is prone to quantify over the segments of the holistic argument. Syntactically, a completive 直/hei^21/ usually follows the VO unit in the order [S-V-O 直], while an embedded [S-V-直-O] is also acceptable. The former is perceived as more localized and popular, while the latter is an unconscious copy from the Mandarin completive structure [S-V-完-O].
(16) 佢     吃         一   條    魚              齊                       晒。

He just ate up one piece of fish.

ⅰ. ‘All parts of this fish have gone (eaten by him).’
ⅱ. ‘The action of ‘eating’ is completely completed.’

(17) 佢     使       钱               齊                       晒。

All money was definitely run out.

ⅰ. ‘All money was definitely run out.’
ⅱ. ‘The action of ‘spending money’ is finished.’

Note that the peripheral 齊/ʧʰɐi²¹/ in these examples shows a propensity to associate with two items simultaneously. On the one hand, it accelerates the “completed” notion of the verbal action (finish eating fish/spenting money); however, at the same time, it quantifies over the affected argument of the verb, indicating that the entity in question has reached a maximal quantity, and indicating also the terminus of the event (all parts of the fish are gone/ all my money is gone).

Syntactically, 齊/ʧʰɐi²¹/ can be inserted in the VO slot in these two sentences without any change in its grammatical function. However, there are some cases where 齊/ʧʰɐi²¹/ must be postposed to the entire VO unit, since the VO is semantically fused. In this case, [VO-齊] is more acceptable:

(18) 佢     讀       書               齊                       八 點 咯。

‘After he finishes reading this book, it is almost eight o’clock.’

Along similar lines, a bound 齊/ʧʰɐi²¹/ is ubiquitous in the intransitive verb construction, where the only argument occupies the subject slot, leaving the object position empty. 齊/ʧʰɐi²¹/ usually selects the verbal action and affected argument.

(19) 三       捕       魚              齐                          晒。

‘He caught up three pieces of fish.’

ⅰ. ‘The action of ‘catching fish’ is completed.’
ⅱ. ‘All the three fish have gone.’
Here, to foreground the object in the discourse context, a topicalization or split-topicalization construction is employed. Likewise, 齊/ŋhei²¹/ semantically selects the predicate and the argument.

(20) 蘋果 我 放 齊 嘴 上 晒 啊!
pheŋ³¹ ko³⁵ 2 sg put EXH:COMPONENTELY be.at table on already PP
i. 'I have put all the apples on the table.'
ii. 'All the five apples have been affected, moving to another position.'

(21) 蘋果 吃 齊 五 只 就 有 晒。
pheŋ³¹ ko³⁵ jek² apple eat EXH:COMPONENTELY five CL then NEG already
i. 'There will be no apples once the five ones are eaten up.'
ii. 'All the five apples will be eaten, none left over.'

A different fate befalls constructions with a compound V. Since the object of a compound V is non-referential or non-divisible, a monosemous 齊/ŋhei²¹/ initially denotes the terminal notion of the action instead of quantifying over the arguments affected by the event.

(22) 打 mahjong 齊 晒 帶 至 行。
ta³⁵ ma³³ 2 sg play-mahjong EXH:COMPONENTELY already then leave
i. '[You cannot leave] unless you finish playing mahjong.'
ii. 'The action of `playing mahjong' is completed.'

(23) 我 沖澡 齊 先 至 去 出來 接。
ŋo²⁴ nhun⁵⁵ leŋʰ¹ apple eat EXH:COMPONENTELY five CL then NEG already
i. 'I will come out after taking a shower.'
ii. 'The action of `taking a shower' is completed.'

(24) 考試 齐晒 休假。
hau³³ jê¹⁵ exam EXH:COMPONENTELY already then have a vacation
i. '[We will] have a vacation after the examination.'
ii. 'The event of `taking exam' is completed.'

(25) 今日 我 退班 齐晒 休假 打電話 界你。
kem³³ jet²⁴ 2 sg off-duty EXH:COMPONENTELY already then call to 2 sg
i. 'Today I will call you after I am off duty.'
ii. ‘The event of ‘being dismissed from work’ is completed.’

Note that 齊/ʧhɐi21/ rarely embeds in the VO compound, and as such is infrequently attested in structures such as [打-齊-麻將], [考-齊-試] or [落-齊-班] in NNY.

According to all my informants’ judgments, 晒/ɬai33/ must co-occur with the completive 齊/ʧhɐi21/ when 齊/ʧhɐi21/ appears in the [VO-齊] structure, whereas in the [SV-齊] structure, the inclusion of 晒/ɬai33/ is arbitrary. The same possibility of ellipsis applies to the serial-verb construction (example 23), in which the cluster of verbs can naturally express a logically ordered event. I thus claim that 晒/ɬai33/ is more like an activator for the aspectual meaning in today’s NNY: in the quantificational domain, 晒/ɬai33/’s participation is not obligatory; while in the aspectual domain, it is. 晒/ɬai33/ serves to reinforce/clarify the aspectual notion of the entire event.

To conclude, 齊/ʧhɐi21/ is an omnipresent polysemous morpheme. It generally works as a peripheral universal quantifier associated with the subject, illustrating the quantificational function. It can also convey intensity when associated with an adjective whose quality is identical to the generalized dimensions of the entity. Furthermore, completive 齊/ʧhɐi21/ has a number of functions, which vary according to the item it selects. When bound to a compound VP, it denotes the completeness of the action. Given an affected argument, it selects both the temporal notion and the divisible entity.

Next to the flexible construction of 晒/ɬai33/, 齊/ʧhɐi21/ is much more restricted. It appears in only two configurations, [V-齊] and [V-O-齊]. An embedded 齊/ʧhɐi21/ is acceptable in the [V-齊-O] unit, except in the case of compound verbs, which cannot denote an individual referential object semantically. The next table illustrates the syntactic and semantic functions of this gram:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Universal quantifier</th>
<th>Superlative</th>
<th>Completive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S-V(static)-O 齊</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-Adj-齊</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
S-V-(O) 齊 (+) − +
S-V(Compound)-齊 − − +
S-V-齊-(O) (+) − +

NOT VOGUE STRUCTURE

FIG 5.4 SYNTACTIC DISTRIBUTION AND SEMANTIC PROPERTY OF 齊 / għeripli/.

齊 / għeripli/ resembles 晒 / lāi/33/ in its syntactic distribution (V-齊, V-齊-O, VO-齊). However, the former is differentiated with the latter in some of its grammatical functions. 齊 / għeripli/ and 晒 / lāi/33/ overlap in the functional domains of intransitive verb, superlative and completive. However, 齊 / għeripli/ is dominant in the quantificational domain, while 晒 / lāi/33/ is dominant in the strong aspectual domain.

Bybee et al. (1994: 21) claim that, “It is not unusual to find an array of grammaticized and grammaticizing constructions of different ages and sources sharing or competing for overlapping territories. Such richness of alternatives is akin to the way in which referential space may be shared by clusters of lexical items in a given domain, by alternative phrasal idioms, and even by alternative syntactic structures” (see also Hopper 1991, Lien 2001). The coexistence of the two morphemes in NNY is similar to the model of the ‘FINISH’ grams found in Zhuang. In the coexisting stage, 齊 / għeripli/ and 晒 / lāi/33/ compete with each other.

I conclude that, under the influence of the Zhuang exponents, 晒 / lāi/33/ shifted its focus to the aspectual domain; 齊 / għeripli/, on the other hand, maintained all the functions related to the quantificational domain. The two grams overlapped in a couple of functions during the intermediate stages of grammaticalization, but eventually 晒 / lāi/33/ took over the typical aspectual domain, leaving the quantificational one to be encoded by 齊 / għeripli/.73 Thus, the coexistence of the two morphemes reflects a reallocation of the grammatical functions. Through internal adjustment, the functions that are absent from 晒 / lāi/33/ can be found in the inventory of 齊 / għeripli/. This functional redistribution results in an efficient coding strategy in which no function is abandoned during the competing phase, nor any ambiguity engendered.

73 Indeed, the limited superlative/completive function vividly demonstrates this transitional phase. A full superlative and completive 晒 / lāi/33/ is hardly attested in NNY any longer; the use of this gram in these functions is weak and scanty. They are only salient in the context of certain alternative syntactic strategies (i.e. disposal construction, topicalization), which strengthen the affectedness of the arguments, subjecting them to the semantic properties of the full completive.
The polyfunctionality of 齐/ʧhɐi^21/ helps us to understand the motivation for the evolution of 晒/la:i^33/, summarized below:

i. To begin with, in the initial stage of the NNY acquisition, the Zhuang shifters notice that there are two grams 晒/la:i^33/ and 齐/ʧhɐi^21/ corresponding to a couple of functions of the ‘FINISH’ grams (e.g. /le:u/^4/, /ju:n/^2/, /θu:n/^3/, /θu:n/ and /ja/^5/) in their mother language. They replicate the grammaticalization model of the ‘FINISH’ grams, and then preferentially grant 晒/la:i^33/ with more functions through “contact-induced grammaticalization”.

ii. In the meantime, they *rearrange*^74 the word order of the postverbal 齐/ʧhɐi^21/ from the original [V-齐-O] to [V-O-齐], without any functional alternation.

iii. Due to intensive contact between Zhuang and NNY, the functional domain of 晒/la:i^33/ shifts from strongly quantificational to strongly aspectual, while the decaying functions (universal quantifier, superlative, completive) of 晒/la:i^33/ are maintained by 齐/ʧhɐi^21/.

iv. This functional reallocation ensures an appropriate environment for the evolution of 晒/la:i^33/. Although some functions of 晒/la:i^33/ are backgrounded after the contact with Zhuang, they are preserved by 齐/ʧhɐi^21/ instead, impeding a possible loss during the evolutionary stages.

v. In the end, 晒/la:i^33/ specializes in the functions relating to aspect (perfect/perfective aspect marker, conjunction); 齐/ʧhɐi^21/, by contrast, serves as a quantificational indicator (universal quantifier, superlative, completive).

It is important to note that the contact between NNY and Zhuang does not complicate the linguistic repertoire of NNY. In fact, it simplifies the language structure by encoding more functions with the two forms, and collapsing diverse word orders into the uniform [V-(O)-X] structure, where X is able to encode a wide range of functions. After intensive interference from the Zhuang exponents, the NNY 晒/la:i^33/ forfeits its ability to encode semantic values related to strong quantification. Instead, it switches to encode all semantic values pertaining to the aspectual domain. Transition between these two domains is not completed immediately; it goes through a series of overlapping stages during which the coexistence of multiple marking

^74 Rearrangement appears predominantly in word order, where people rearrange the order of meaningful units in one language on the model of another (Heine & Kuteva 2005: 112). F. Wu (2012b) offers a wide range of examples of the structural reordering (e.g. pronominal genitives, preposed relative clauses, fronting preposition phrase, etc.) in the minority languages of China, triggered by a contact with Mandarin. In terms of sentence-final 齐, I hypothesize that it may be a product of the contact between NNY and Zhuang, in which the complement follows the VO combination instead occurring between V and O. 齐, under this contact pressure, rearranges its order and finally moves to the sentence-final slot, which makes its order in NNY slight different from that in other Chinese dialects.
strategies can be observed. Thanks to another ‘FINISH’ gram 齊/ʧhɐi21/, the functions abandoned by 晒/ɬai33/ during its transitional period have not been eliminated from the linguistic repertoire of NNY. Rather, 齊/ʧhɐi21/ specifically encodes the quantificational values. Thus, younger generations of NNY speakers are accustomed to interpret 齊/ʧhɐi21/ as a universal quantifier, superlative or completive, while 晒/ɬai33/ is understood as a perfect/perfective aspect marker and sequential conjunction.75

In short, the flourishing of aspectual and conjunctional 晒/ɬai33/ occurs at the expense of the decaying quantificational functions, e.g. universal quantifier, superlative. These dominant functions of 晒/ɬai33/ in today’s colloquial NNY have led most linguists (e.g. Bai 1985, Lin & F. Qin 2008) to conclude that NNY 晒/ɬai33/ is functionally identical to the Mandarin aspect marker 了/la/ on the one hand, or the Cantonese aspect marker 咁/tsɔ35/, on the other. As things stand, I believe that 晒/ɬai33/ has almost completed its grammaticalization from the original ‘FINISH’ verb to the innovative aspect marker, with a conceptual transition from the quantificational domain to the aspectual domain. Rather than arising as the result of a universal grammaticalization strategy, this process is more likely to be instigated by external contact, leading to interlingual identification76 (Weinreich 1963: 7, Gast & van der Auwera 2012), which in turn engenders a convergence of linguistic categories and concepts. Intensive contact over a prolonged period eventually caused the grammatical change in 晒/ɬai33/. To preserve a consistent and complete linguistic repertoire, another candidate, 齊/ʧhɐi21/, was employed to encode the functions abandoned by 晒/ɬai33/ during its grammaticalization. The reallocation of functions is a promising strategy which eliminates ambiguities. Taken together, this evidence paints a detailed evolutionary picture of 晒/ɬai33/ accelerated by language contact.

75 In other words, this sociolinguistic investigation strongly indicates that, in today’s NNY, the functional redistribution of these two morphemes is approaching its end. The younger the NNY speakers are, the more clearly they can distinguish the functions encoded by these two forms. Elderly speakers once in a while find an ambiguous reading of these two morphemes in some particular contexts. They are happy to accept both forms in a limited number of contexts, but they tend to prefer one form over the other when encountering binary expressions.

76 Weinreich discusses the practical need in studies of bilingualism to assume that interlingual identifications, such as phonemes, grammatical relationships, or semantic features that are shared between two languages, have been made by the individual in a language contact situation. This identification usually gives rise to the interlanguage (cf. Selinker 1972).
5.6 Another Parallel Diffusion

In the foregoing sections, I introduced the diffusion of the polyfunctional ‘FINISH’ model from Zhuang to NNY. Here, I will show how a similar development occurred in Fusui Mandarin in GXR. As a member of Southwest Mandarin, Fusui Mandarin resembles many other Southwest Mandarin dialects with its aspectual ‘FINISH’ morpheme /liau/. However, the ‘FINISH’ gram in Fusui Mandarin reveals more functions than equivalent grams found outside of CS-GXR. The distinct functions likely stem directly from diffusion from Zhuang.

a. Conjunctional verb

(26) 他 個人 好愛 吃 豬肉 哦, 了嘅, 都 還愛 吃 魚 呢。

(27) 他 買 了 冰箱, 了嘅, 又 再 買 電視。

b. Sequential conjunction (sequential and contrasting)

When the context implies a cause-and-effect relationship, the embedded linker 了 /liau/ is interpreted as ‘SO/THUS’ with the pragmatic particle 呢 /ne/ following:

(28) 今天 是 民歌節 哦, 了嘅, 口 用 去 讀書。

(29) 小張 個人 好懶, 了嘅, 漢 口 得 工作。

77 According to my fieldwork in Nami village, Fusui County 辛篤那密鄉 of Guangxi, most residents there are bilingual or multilingual, speaking Southwest Mandarin, Pinghua, Yue or Zhuang in their daily communication. Beginning in the Qing Dynasty, ancestors of the Nami people moved to Nami village from Guangzhou and married with the local Zhuang girls. Nami is the only place in Fusui where the most popular languages are Southwest Mandarin and Fusui Zhuang. Basing on this background, it is easy to understand why Nami Mandarin shares so much overlap with Zhuang.
In a broad view, the contrastive reading of 了/liau\(^{55}\)/ is induced by means of the logically contrasting clausal connectives, whereas the linker 了嘮/liau\(^{55}\)ne\(^{35}\)/ receives a ‘BUT/HOWEVER’ interpretation tied to the attitude of the event or fact:

(30) 日本鬼打進我們村，了嘮，找都找不倒。
Japanese soldier intrude enter 2pl village AND:BUT find still find NEG get

[All of us had escaped in advance].

(31) 阿婆都已經八十了，了嘮，都沒有白頭發。
grandma already eighty already AND:BUT still NEG have any CL white hair

‘[My] grandma is already eighty years old, but she still does not have white hair.’

Basing on this finding, I claim that the polyfunctional 了/liau\(^{55}\)/ has developed through contact-induced functional extension. The Zhuang language acts as a diffusion source to influence NNY and Fusui Mandarin, languages which are frequently acquired as the second language by Zhuang shifters.

5.7 Summary

In addition to identifying an internal factor that triggers a shift in the grammatical properties of NNY 晒/ɬai\(^{33}\)/, I have also considered the external factors that propel and accelerate the grammaticalization of 晒/ɬai\(^{33}\)/ in various contexts. In doing so, I have followed the viewpoint of Thomason and Heine & Kuteva who claim:

Both linguistic and social factors must be considered in any full account of contact-induced change, regardless of whether the contact is between dialects or separate languages. More generally, both social and linguistic factors must in principle be considered in any full account of any linguistic change, although in practice we have little or no social information about the vast majority of changes we know about (Thomason 2003: 688).

In addition to the linguistic and historical parameters, sociolinguistic information can also be of help in reconstructing grammatical replication. For example, a number of studies suggest that in contact situations, urban dwellers are more likely to replicate use patterns of the \(L_2\) than rural populations; situation of language contact are more likely to involve younger than old people (Heine & Kuteva 2005: 28).

Both linguistic and social factors are certainly implicated in the account of contact-induced language change presented here. A sophisticated understanding of
these parameters requires that one parameter be secondary to the other in explaining a particular contact phenomenon.\textsuperscript{78}

The extension of the grammatical functions of NNY 晰/lai\textsuperscript{33} did not occur solely as a result of borrowing from the corresponding Zhuang vocabulary. Rather, it is a transfer process in which the NNY learners replicate a polygrammaticalization model that they perceive to exist in their model Zhuang language. Following the Zhuang model, they initially moved the bound 晰/lai\textsuperscript{33} to a peripheral sentence-final slot, and then extended the functions of 晰/lai\textsuperscript{33} in a range of distinct contexts.

At the present time, I still cannot account for the particulars of this replication process, such as which functions were the earliest to be adopted, or how long an individual replication took. Therefore, the discussion in this section is ultimately in its infancy. As soon as the analogic candidate 齊/ʧhɐi\textsuperscript{21} is incorporated into my survey, however, a clear-cut picture of the development of 晰/lai\textsuperscript{33} emerges: the interference from Zhuang alters the word order of both 晰/lai\textsuperscript{33} and 齊/ʧhɐi\textsuperscript{21} ([V-X-(O)] \rightarrow [V-O-X]), and the functions of 晰/lai\textsuperscript{33} alone (quantificational indicator \rightarrow aspectual indicator). The whole replication process does not cause any functional loss in the linguistic system of NNY, since the functions abandoned by 晰/lai\textsuperscript{33} are encoded by another candidate, 齊/ʧhɐi\textsuperscript{21}.

The evolution of 晰/lai\textsuperscript{33} involves an integrative contact procedure between Zhuang and NNY. Zhuang has diffused its linguistic exponents to a number of languages in the Central and Central Southern GXR. Some of the diffusions are direct, relying on the borrowing of lexical items or morphemes; some of them are indirect, resulting from structural convergence between the innovating language and the model language (Heath 1978: 119).

In addition to the NNY case that is the primary concern of this study, the polygrammaticalization model in Zhuang has penetrated into the Fusui Mandarin dialect that is surrounded by the Zhuang language. This interesting phenomenon suggests that a wide range of structural convergences and parallel grammaticalizations have emerged exclusively within the borders of the GXR; most

\textsuperscript{78} For instance, to examine the transfer of features from one language to another, social factors have often been treated as secondary to numerous proposed linguistic constraints (Thomason 2003).
structural similarities are actually shared features accelerated by areal influence. I will verify this hypothesis in the next section.

5.8 Mainland Southeast Asia: a linguistic area

The continent of Asia contains three putative linguistic areas, delineated according to their geographic distributions and socio-historical diversities: to the west, South Asia; to the north, Northeast Asia; to the southeast, Insular and Mainland Southeast Asia (cf. Enfield 2003, Gil 2012). The entire Mainland Southeast Asia (MSEA) peninsular region is decomposed into a sinosphere and an indosphere by virtue of the political and socio-historical impacts from China and India, respectively (Matisoff 1991, 2001). MSEA has seen some 2000 years of social contact among hundreds of speech communities from five language families—Tai-Kadai, Mon-Khmer, Sino-Tibetan, Hmong-Mien and Austronesian—that exist in Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and Thailand, with extension west into Burma, south into Peninsular Malaysia, and north into southern China (Enfield 2005).

For decades, a wealth of studies have identified MSEA as a macro LA on the basis of the structural parallelism found among the languages of this region (Clark 1989: 176; Bisang 1996; Ansaldo 1999; Matisoff 2001; Enfield 2003, 2005, 2011; Comrie 2007; Sybesma 2008; Bisang & Chappell 2008). Languages in MSEA all possess shared areal traits, to the exclusion of related languages found in other areas. Yet, the numerous widespread shared features are certainly not dispersed equally within this peninsular region.

The discussion in the following sections will account for what and how many similar features are maintained by individual languages, and what a probable ranking of similar traits should look like in the languages ranging from the southern boundary to the far northern borderline of MSEA. First of all, let us consider the areal traits of SEA languages that have been reported in the literature. The data in the following summary will cover most of the predominant languages in the MSEA area (Thai, Lao, Vietnam, Burma, Khmer) and the Insular and Transitional area (Indonesia, Eastern Kayah Li (EkayL), as well as Hmong-Mein and the six Chinese dialects).

a. PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES

(a1) syllable as the unit of phonological structure (Matisoff 2001)
(a2) initial /ŋ/ (Sousa 2012)
(a3) /y/, /ø/, /œ/ vowel (Sousa 2012)
(a4) systematic long/short vowel distinction (Enfield 2011)
(a5) tone-proneness (Matisoff 2001)

b. MORPHOSYNTACTIC FEATURES

(b1) poor in marking strategy (head- and dependent-marking, agreement) (Enfield 2011)
(b2) no obligatory marking of gender/number/definiteness (Enfield 2011)
(b3) aspect (not tense) as most important verbal category (Matisoff 2001)
(b4) verb serialization and verb concatenation (Matisoff 2001)
(b5) resultatives (Bisang & Chappell 2008)
(b6) topic-prominence structure (Li & Thompson 1981)
(b7) rich sentence-final particle (Enfield 2011)
(b8) rich ideophones (Enfield 2005)
(b9) numeral classifier and nominal classification (Bisang 1996)
(b10) “surpass”-verb comparative constructions (Ansaldo 1999)
(b11) object and verb order: VO (Comrie 2007, and hereafter)
(b12) genitive and noun: N-GEN / gen-n
(b13) demonstrative and noun: N-DEM / dem-n
(b14) relative clause and noun: N-REL / rel-n
(b15) degree adverb and adjective: ADJ-DE / de-adj
(b16) double object construction: V-DO-IO/ v-io-do (M. Zhang 2011)

c. LEXICOSEMANTIC FEATURES

(c1) Evolution of ‘FINISH’ verb > perfective marker (Bisang & Chappell 2008)
(c2) Evolution of ‘to dwell’ verb > progressive marker (Bisang & Chappell 2008)
(c3) Evolution of ‘SAY’ verb > complementizers (Bisang & Chappell 2008)
(c4) Evolution of ‘GIVE’ verb > causative and benefactive markers
(c5) Evolution of ‘ACQUIRE’ verb > ‘be okay’, ‘can’, aspectual marker (Enfield 2003)
(c6) Evolution of noun > numeral classifier, quantifier, marker of possession (Bisang 1996)

These clusters of shared features are widespread in a wide range of languages in MSEA, a region that is characterized on the one hand by internal homogeneity, and on the other hand by clear delimitation from surrounding areas. Although many of the features listed above can be found in language families outside of MSEA, it is the feature values, rather than the delimited geographic concept, that leads me to
suspect that the linguistic repertoire in MSEA represents a series of relatively rare types across the world as a whole.

The overall homogeneity of the MSEA region decreases as one moves from Mainland to Insular Southeast Asia (Comrie 2007: 44-45). Therefore, Thai, Lao, Vietnamese and Khmer are deemed more central compared to the peripheral Burmese, Indonesian and Chinese languages, which are in a transitional region between MSEA and Northeast Asia.

As a dual linguistic area, China encompasses three micro LAs: a northern Chinese area, probably under the influence of contact with Altaic languages; a southwestern Chinese area, characterized by tendentially head-initial typology that intersects with the larger SEA linguistic area; a southeastern corner where features are dominantly southern but stratification with northern features is strong, and the possibility of an unidentified substrate exists (Ansaldo 1999: 181).

5.9 Shared Grammaticalization: an areal dimension

Linguistic areas and grammaticalization areas (GAs) are related notions that can each be described in terms of areal-linguistic isoglosses. All LAs are based to some extent on the presence of a corresponding GA, while the opposite does not apply. Even in cases where a proposed LA is not widely accepted, it is generally agreed that a GA is involved in some way or other (Heine & Kuteva 2005: 216-217).

Languages in MSEA do not merely share analogic features in a horizontal perspective, but also reveal equivalent grammaticalization stages in a vertical view. Bisang (1996) and Diller (2001) identify numerous grammaticalization pathways within the domain of nouns and verbs that characterize the whole area of East SEA and MSEA: classifiers are prone to develop into indicators of individualization, classification, referentiality and possession with an increasing functional vagueness from central Thai, Hmong, Vietnamese, Miao to peripheral Chinese; relational nouns have developed into conjunctions in Thai, Cambodia and Chinese.

Certain verbs have grammaticalized as coverbs, TAM markers, or case markers, viz. (‘make/do’ > coverb) in Thai, Vietnamese, Cambodian, Hmong; (‘get’ > potential/past), (‘give’ > dative), (‘use’ > instrumental) in Thai, Vietnamese, Cambodian, Hmong and some Chinese dialects. While Bisang’s discussion does not
cover the entire range of language data from the MSEA region, his evaluation
certainly points to the presence of shared grammaticalization in most MSEA
languages.

Moreover, contact amongst distinct languages may support grammaticalization
by increasing the need to apply such mechanisms as reanalysis, metonomy, and
metaphor, and by spreading the patterns of these mechanisms into wider linguistic
areas (see also Matisoff 1991, Heine & Kuteva 2010: 86-105, Robbeets & Cuyckens

Based on these general remarks, a comprehensive investigation into the shared
features of the whole MSEA-LA should consider the similar linguistic properties in a
synchronic perspective, on the one hand, and look for analogic grammaticalization
traces in a diachronic perspective, on the other hand. Further, the boundaries of GAs
can be defined fairly unambiguously on the basis of geographical extension of the
relevant grammaticalization processes (Heine & Kuteva 2005: 210). The history of
the MSEA-LA is appreciably aligned with the story of the shared grammaticalization
that occurred in this region. The shared grammaticalization may be attributed to
universal principles of grammatical change, language contact, formal coincidence
with contact, or common genetic ancestry/ancestorship (Robbeets & Cuyckens 2013:
1). Generally, geographical and socio-historical connections in MSEA have driven
language contact among different people, accelerating the interaction among
individual languages.

5.10 Where Should Guangxi Region Go?

Unlike the MSEA linguistic area, for which little information is available on the
directionality of diffusion (Thomason 2001: 90, Enfield 2005, Heine & Kuteva 2005:
203), the source and directionality of most grammaticalization processes in the
languages of GXR are readily apparent. In addition, a number of shared features and
grammaticalizations in the languages of GXR are exclusively differentiated from
those of languages beyond this territory. It thus seems clear that these shared
qualities implicate the existence of a linguistic area within GXR, comprising a
collection of languages from the Chinese and Tai-Kadai groups.
In works by F. Qin & Wu (2009), F. Qin & Tian (2011), Kwok et al. (2011), D. Qin (2012), Y. Huang & Kwok (2013), the convergence of relevant linguistic properties in Guangxi is understood as the product of language contact in general, and a consequence of areal impact in particular. These authors have hypothesized that it is Central Southern Guangxi (henceforth CS-GXR), rather than the entire region, that should be recognized as an LA; a great proportion of the languages delimited within the CS-GXR have undergone analogic development due to linguistic diffusion between the Zhuang and Chinese groups and mutual influence amongst the Chinese dialects.

Heuristically, the studies in question have opened a new window to observe the contact scene in CS-GXR. Nevertheless, there are no systematic statistics or evaluations on the areal features of this region that suggest in any serious way that the CS-GXR should be defined as a canonical LA.79 Furthermore, the studies in question provide no insight as to the status of the putative CS-GXR LA within the macro Southeast Asian LA. In the next sections, I will summarize the typical shared linguistic features in CS-GXR, and evaluate each feature’s weight according to the scope of its diffusion and its frequency. In what follows, I will compare this set of features to arrive at a credible definition of the CS-GXR LA that distinguishes it from the other regions in Southeast Asia. Finally, I will explore the diffusional directionality in CS-GXR, which has not yet been compared to that of the MSEA-LA.

### i. Expressives

A wide range of Chinese dialects in CS-GXR possess a set of expressives that are similar to those found in Zhuang but strikingly different from those found in the

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79 Most previous research that defines (parts of) GXR an LA is *ideological* rather than *scientific*. Scholars tend to establish a Guangxi linguistic area on the basis of one or two superficially analogical features which can be traced to the direct borrowing of linguistic forms. This methodology is far from the rigorous and meticulous research method advocated in academia. According to Kwok (2010), D. Qin (2012), Kwok (2012b), Y. Huang & Kwok (2013), it is the Central Southern Guangxi region, instead of the entire area, that showcases the convergence of linguistic exponents. The three authors’ work has created a profile for a putative Central Southern Guangxi linguistic area, including supplementary data on the shared features to strengthen the parametric weight. Although the question of the boundary of the Guangxi linguistic area has captured the interest of numerous contact linguists, it is desirable to prioritize the identification of the shared features as well as their shared grammaticalization processes, and avoid a prompt definition of the linguistic area by means of fuzzy geographical borders. Fieldwork is required to collect data from the languages of small villages and towns of central and southwestern Guangxi. To define a linguistic area, it is necessary to compare the shared features micro-areally and macro-areally. Once this has been done, the linguistic status of the putative linguistic area will be clearly understood, and more detailed research can ensue.
Chinese dialects beyond this region. For instance, in NNY, one particular adjective can combine with a variety of expressives to express different moods (Kwok 2012b).

a. 哭 nga⁵⁵ nga⁵⁵ wail
b. 肥 nɔt⁵⁵ nɔt⁵⁵ chubby and cute

哭 láp⁴⁴ láp⁴⁴ sob
肥 thɔn⁵ⁱ thɔn⁵¹ fat and ugly

哭 dét⁴⁴ dét⁴⁴ sob
肥 lat⁵⁵ lat⁵⁵ fat and ugly

Meanwhile, similar expressives are found in a number of the Chinese dialects in this area, such as Pinghua, Hakka, SWM and Min. In fact, this morphological expression is widespread in the Zhuang dialects, which are assumed to be the source of diffusion to the neighboring Chinese dialects (Ou’yang 1995, Xie 2001: 63-64).

Although similar expressives are reported in other Southeast Asian languages (Gerner 2005, Y. Luo 2008), this category in the Chinese dialects in GXR should be attributed partially to the frequent borrowing of loans from Zhuang.

ii. Indefinite Demonstrative 嗦/lak⁷/

F. Qin & Tian (2011) report that a majority of both Chinese and Zhuang dialects in GXR demonstrates an indefinite demonstrative 嗦/lak⁷/ which has at most four meanings: ‘approximately/about’, ‘a few/a little’, ‘some’, and ‘any’. All these meanings vary according to the distinct contexts and items attached.

嗉/lak⁷/ is likely to be construed as ‘approximately/about’ when it appears in the configuration [嗉/lak⁷/-Numeral-Classifier-(Noun)]; it derives the reading ‘a few’ if the numeral is eliminated, as in [嗉/lak⁷/-CL-(N)]. Needless to say, these two readings are explicitly correlated to numerals, rather than the other items in each sentence. Whenever嗉/lak⁷/ semantically correlates with a noun instead of a numeral, it is interpreted as ‘some’, as in [嗉/lak⁷/- CL-(N)]. Consequently,嗉/lak⁷/ acquires the reading of ‘any’ within a negative context. A large number of languages reveal a parallel development of the indefinite demonstrative嗉/lak⁷/, which is rarely documented outside of the CS-GXR.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ Although in F. Qin & Tian’s data, two languages outside of GXR, Lao and Thai, exemplify the polyfunctional /lak⁷/, this finding does not contradict the conclusion made here concerning the similar functional expressions in most language in GXR. As a source language, Zhuang spread the polyfunctional model to most languages delimited in this region. The parallel polyfunctionality in Lao
### “噻” in the Chinese group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sampling of the languages</th>
<th>1. ‘about’</th>
<th>2. ‘a few’</th>
<th>3. ‘some’</th>
<th>4. ‘any’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>噻-NUM-CL- (N)</td>
<td>噻-CL-(N)</td>
<td>噻-CL-(N)</td>
<td>噻-CL-(N) (negative context)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pinghua</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xinqiao, Bingyang</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xinhe, Chongzuo</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sitang, Yongning</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yue</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GXR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xindu, Hezhou</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xinyi, Xinghe</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wuchuan, Wuzhou</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hakka</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xinhua, Binyang</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Southwest Mandarin</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fujian village</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xindu, Hezhou</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xinyi, Xinghe</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wuchuan, Wuzhou</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### /lak⁷/, /θak⁷/, /lak⁷/, /sak⁷/ in the Tai-Kadai group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Southern</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lao</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thai</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIG 5.5 A synthesis of the multiple functions of 噻/lak⁷/**

Therefore, the polyfunctionality of the indefinite demonstrative 噻/lak⁷/ should be considered an idiosyncratic aspect of the CS-GXR, in that a large number of languages in this region display this polyfunctional model.

### iii. Polyfunctional ‘GO’

Heine & Kuteva (2002: 155-160) address seven possible grammaticalization outcomes for the ‘GO’ verb in world languages (andative, change-of-state, consecutive, continuous, distal demonstrative, habitual, hortative). However, ‘GO’ verbs in the languages of CS-GXR exhibit peculiarities that are lacking in the adjacent regions of Guangxi. D. Qin (2012) introduces the polyfunctional scenario: and Thai supports the assumption that the multiple functions of the indefinite demonstrative /lak⁷/ are more or less a residue of the ancient Tai-Kadai languages.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Completive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SWM</td>
<td>去</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guilin dialect</td>
<td>去</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yue</td>
<td>去</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shinan dialect</td>
<td>去</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pinghua</td>
<td>去</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Binyang dialect</td>
<td>去</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wutong dialect</td>
<td>去</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hakka</td>
<td>去</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xinqiao Hakka</td>
<td>去</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bobai Hakka</td>
<td>去</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhuang</td>
<td>pai¹</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dahua Zhuang</td>
<td>pai¹</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jingxi Zhuang</td>
<td>pai¹</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIG 5.6 A synthesis of the multiple functions of ‘GO’

D. Qin (2012) thus claims that the polyfunctional ‘GO’ in the languages of CS-GXR should be understood as an areal grammatical feature in Guangxi, on the grounds that this polyfunctional format is shared by eight Chinese dialects and at least two Zhuang dialects, as documented through fieldwork.

### iv. Polyfunctional ‘GIVE’

According to D. Qin (2012), ‘GIVE’ verbs in most CS-GXR languages have undergone analogic grammaticalization. Synchronically, these languages are equipped with polyfunctional ‘GIVE’ morphemes that encode distinct meanings. As a matter of fact, the various functions of ‘GIVE’ introduced by Qin are typologically popular and widespread. However, what distinguishes the scenario in CS-GXR from those found in other regions is the word order of the ‘GIVE’ phrase. Chinese dialects in Guangxi Region show a popular word order [S-V-O-X], where the ‘GIVE’ phrase occurs after the main verb. This specific word order differs from the fronting [S-X-V-O] order in Chinese dialectal counterparts outside of GXR at large. Representative languages with this feature are shown below:
### FIG 5.7 A synthesis of the multiple functions of ‘GIVE’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>word order</th>
<th>(Predicate) S+給+O</th>
<th>(Dative) S+V+DO+給 D+IO</th>
<th>(Benefactive) S+V+給 B+O</th>
<th>(Malefactive) S+V+給 M+O</th>
<th>(Concern) S+V+給 C+O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liuzhou dialect</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guilin dialect</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NNY</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shinan dialect</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Binyang dialect</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wutong dialect</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xinqiao Hakka</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bobai Hakka</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dahua Zhuang</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jingxi Zhuang</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a nutshell, the parameters of polyfunctional ‘GIVE’, though not widely attested in the area, may support the CS-GXR LA hypothesis, given the integrated postverbal word order of the ‘GIVE’ phrase.

**v. Polyfunctional ‘TAKE’**

Y. Huang & Kwok (2013) argue that in most languages of CS-GXR a manner marker, developed from the ‘TAKE’ verb, can combine with the predicate to signify the manner in which the event takes place.

D. Qin (2012) offers a supplementary study on the polyfunctionality of ‘TAKE’ morphemes, and illustrates that the ‘TAKE’ morpheme may ultimately grammaticalize as a *selective marker* that occurs in pairs of contrasting sentences, where the first clause is negative and the second clause is affirmative. What function the selective marker ‘TAKE’ encodes can be determined based on the two given candidates. Pragmatically, items in the declarative context win over those in the negative context during the selection process. This is an unusual typological feature that is not widely attested beyond CS-GXR. To witness:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Gram</th>
<th>(Manner marker) S+V +MANN</th>
<th>(Manner marker) S+V+MANN+V</th>
<th>(Manner marker) S+V+V +MANN</th>
<th>(Manner marker) S+V+O +MANN</th>
<th>(Selective marker) S+V+SELE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NNY</td>
<td>擡</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinan dialect</td>
<td>取</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liuzhou dialect</td>
<td>要 (再)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Binyang dialect</td>
<td>取  (是)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wutong dialect</td>
<td>做</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xinqiao Hakka</td>
<td>ə55ɬə42</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dahua Zhuang</td>
<td>?au1</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jingxi Zhuang</td>
<td>?au1</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*FIG 5.8 A synthesis of the multiple functions of ‘TAKE’*

Rather than the ‘TAKE’ verb, many languages employ distinct morphemes to encode the two functions described above. For instance: Pinghua (Wutong) 做, Hakka (Xinqiao) ə55ɬə42, and Southwest Mandarin (Liuzhou) 做/做是 can also bear the function of manner and selective marker (D. Qin 2012: 62-66). Although some of their origins are unclear, their development parallels that of ‘TAKE’. This convergence is likely to have been triggered by language contact, with diffusion from Zhuang infecting the Chinese dialects.

### 5.11 A Tentative Linguistic Area in Central Southern Guangxi

The anecdotal parameters discussed above suffice to make a judgment on the area-specific features delimited in CS-GXR. The convergence/isomorphism of linguistic properties in the distinct languages of the region is most likely an outcome impelled by language contact. A large number of areal features, originating from Zhuang, may be viewed as epidemic pathogens infecting all the participants in contact (see Enfield 2003: 2-5 for the related notion of *linguistic epidemiology*). Once I incorporate the evaluative criteria from §1.3.5 into the discussion of the shared linguistic features in GXR, it is reasonable to conclude that languages in the CS-GXR demonstrate the following exclusive, typologically unusual properties:
i. Several convergent features are attested in at least two Chinese dialects of the region (NNY and SWM), while in some cases, those features are shared by another two members (Pinghua, Hakka). All the relevant shared features can be found in Zhuang, which is genetically unrelated to the Chinese group.

ii. Some features (e.g. versatile /lak/, versatile ‘GO’ and versatile ‘GIVE’) carry strong weight, in the sense that they have spread to numerous languages in the region; others (e.g. expressives, versatile ‘TAKE’ and versatile ‘FINISH’) have weak weight, and have barely diffused to a small number of languages. Note, however, that my assessment of the strength of each of these features may be in danger, since I have not yet undertaken an overall investigation of certain diffused features in all the Chinese dialects in this area (i.e. SWM, Yue, Pinghua, Hakka, Min, Xiang or Tuhua 土话). The available data are, however, credible enough to reflect the ranking of the shared features in accordance with the borrowability hypothesis proposed by Aikhenvald & Dixon (2001), which postulates that features with high weight diffuse more readily. To witness the diffusion of these features in the languages of GXR:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shared features</th>
<th>Tokens of languages (tentative conclusion)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expressives</td>
<td>SWM, NNY, Pinghua, Hakka, Zhuang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>versatile /lak/</td>
<td>SWM, NNY, Pinghua, Hakka, Zhuang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>versatile ‘GO’</td>
<td>SWM, NNY, Pinghua, Hakka, Zhuang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>versatile ‘GIVE’</td>
<td>SWM, NNY, Pinghua, Hakka, Zhuang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>versatile ‘TAKE’</td>
<td>SWM, NNY, Pinghua, Hakka, Zhuang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>versatile ‘FINISH’</td>
<td>SWM (Fusui only), NNY, Zhuang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIG 5.9 A synthesis of the salient areal features in the languages of CS-GXR**

iii. Although a few shared features are occasionally attested in the languages outside of GXR (e.g. /lak/ in Thai, Lao; the expressives in other Asian languages), they are not understood to have resulted from contact with the adjacent languages. In contrast, the particular shared features listed above are popular in the languages inside Guangxi, but uncommon in other languages cross-linguistically.

iv. In cautiously defining an LA in CS-GXR, I still hesitate to delineate a clear borderline, even once the individual features are projected on the map with isoglosses. However, it is clear that languages in Central and Southern Guangxi bear more similarities than those in other parts of this region. The CS-GXR should be understood as a micro LA that possesses uncommon linguistic features in comparison to the languages in its neighboring areas.

v. Synchronically, the isomorphic features in the languages of GXR differ in the mechanism of their formation during language contact: (a) the formation of the demonstrative category in the Chinese group is primarily a result of **direct borrowing** from Zhuang, and the formation of the expressives category is an outcome of **substrate influence**; (b) most Chinese dialects acquire the model
of versatile ‘GO’, versatile ‘TAKE’ and versatile ‘FINISH’ through contact-induced grammaticalization, in which the Zhuang shifters transferred the Zhuang grammaticalization process to their secondarily-acquired Chinese dialects. The formation of these categories is based on indirect diffusion from Zhuang. The study of CS-GXR paints a clear picture not only of the properties of the shared features, but also of the particular mechanism of their development.

It appears that languages in the CS-GXR possess isomorphic traits that distinguish them from their counterparts outside of this region. Of course, it is problematic to rule out the possibility that the shared features may be documented somewhere beyond CS-GXR. As noted above, areal boundaries are fuzzy and vague in most cases. Yet, all the data at hand reflect the fact that languages in the CS-GXR, as opposed to those in other regions of Guangxi, have thoroughly incorporated most of the typical areal features. The Zhuang language is responsible for the directionality of diffusion within this area; although the languages of this region share many traits synchronically, most of them have experienced parallel grammaticalization diachronically. Thus, the CS-GXR should be extrapolated as a linguistic area in general and a grammaticalization area in particular, as depicted by the following map:

Map 5.1 The dense distribution of the shared features in CS-GXR

At least two languages delimited in the circle of map 5.1 seem to show an areal pattern that cannot be explained by genealogical inheritance alone. In most cases, the
languages used in this area (e.g. Southwest Mandarin, Pinghua dialect, NNY dialect, Hakka, Zhuang) reveal areal features that are rarely found outside of the region.

Due partially to its unique geographical context, Guangxi serves as a transport hinge and a bridge linking China to the Southeast Asian countries. The continuous migrations and assimilations of different races have given rise to a complicated situation of language use in CS-GXR: the Chinese dialects have modified their linguistic elements based on Zhuang’s interference; the Zhuang language is more Sinicized as a result of the Zhuang people’s bilingualism.

Although the contact between Zhuang and Chinese in CS-GXR results in certain rare shared features, the CS-GXR LA should still be considered an affiliate of the MSEA-LA, since many of the linguistic features possessed by the languages in this area are typological characteristics of the MSEA. To summarize the unique features in CS-GXR:

**d. EXCLUSIVE SHARED FEATURES IN CS-GXR**

(d1) Zhuang-like expressives
(d2) Polyfunctional indefinite demonstrative 嗐/ɬak$^7$/
(d3) Polyfunctional ‘GO’ (‘GO verb’ > completive, perfect aspect marker, imperative and commands marker, emphatic)
(d4) Polyfunctional ‘GIVE’ (‘GIVE’ verb > postposed dative, benefactive, malefactive, concern marker)
(d5) Polyfunctional ‘TAKE’ (‘TAKE’ verb > manner, selective marker)
(d6) Polyfunctional ‘FINISH’ (‘FINISH’ verb > universal quantifier, sequential conjunction)

**5.12 Concluding Remarks**

In this chapter I initially proposed three possible explanations for the functional convergence of the ‘FINISH’ grams in a majority of languages of GXR: genealogical relatedness, areal contact and parallelism in drift. Linguistically and socio-historically, the areal-contact factor wins out over the other factors as a diagnostic for the development process of the ‘FINISH’ category, and particularly the evolution of ‘FINISH’ 嗐 /ɬai$^{33}$/ in NNY.

Triggered by contact-induced grammaticalization, 嗐 /ɬai$^{33}$/ has extended its function from an original quantificational domain to a primarily aspectual domain.
This functional extension is fully ascribable to a two-fold explanation: (a) over an extended period of intensive contact, the Zhuang shifters, learning the Chinese dialect imperfectly, have transferred a wide range of linguistic exponents from their source language (Zhuang) to the target language (NNY). The interference from Zhuang to NNY resulted in a pair of functional variants of 晒 /lai^33/ , which differ from their counterparts in all the other Yue dialects outside of GXR. Needless to say, bilingualism has played a principal role in the contact situation; (b) the acquisition of new functions is not attributable to direct borrowing. Since there is no corresponding form-meaning unit between Zhuang /lè:u^4/ and the NNY 晒 /lai^33/ , the “direct borrowing” approach has no explanatory value in this scenario. Instead, the Zhuang shifters replicated the use patterns of the ‘FINISH’ gram, equating the grammaticalization process undergone in Zhuang with the development of ‘FINISH’ 晒 /lai^33/ in NNY. This conceptual replication consequently gave rise to a polyfunctional 晒/lai^33/ , whose use is exotic and extraordinary in the Yue group.

To illustrate this point concretely, I shifted the discussion to another ‘FINISH’ verb, 齊/ghùi^21/ , in NNY, which resembles 晒/lai^33/ in a couple of functions. While 齊/ghùi^21/ is predominantly used to mark functions in the quantificational domain, 晒 /lai^33/ is mainly used in the aspectual domain. This division of labor/reallocation of functions suggests a systematic development where the intrusion did not occur at the expense of old functions. Contact-induced grammaticalization stimulated a reallocation of functions, to be encoded separately by pairs of forms. Grammatical replication starts out with a gradual change in use patterns, starting with minor patterns and leading to major ones; at the same time, these patterns increasingly acquire properties of distinct categories or increase in productivity, and eventually turn into conventionalized grammatical categories (cf. Heine & Kuteva 2005: 75). Thus, the functional transition exhibits overlapped stages where a couple of functions are simultaneously encoded by 齊/ghùi^21/ and 晒 /lai^33/. In the end, the aspectual and conjoining feature of 晒 /lai^33/ is conventionalized (i.e. perfect/perfective marker, conjunctival verb, sequential conjunction), and 齊/ghùi^21/ becomes fully responsible for the quantificational category (i.e. universal quantifier, superlative, completive).
Last but not least, I equated the constellation of ‘FINISH’ functions with other grammatical patterns that occur exclusively in GXR under the framework of linguistic area. In addition to mutual influence between NNY and Zhuang, I described a scenario where a wide range of the Chinese dialects in GXR were more or less infected by Zhuang, engendering a convergence of linguistic exponents. Based on a micro-areal comparison of the languages within GXR and a macro-areal comparison of the whole MSEA, I concluded that the CS-GXR LA should be subsumed within the MSEA LA, but was sufficient to characterize a peculiar and exclusive linguistic area conjoining the Southeast Asian continent and Southwest China.
CHAPTER SIX

Final Remarks

6.1 Overview

In the previous chapters, I have investigated the development of major aspects of the ‘FINISH’ morphemes in NNY and Zhuang and in certain Yue dialects in the Pearl River Delta. Generally, the path of development of 聽/晝/ai³³/ uncovered in this thesis rigorously supports the explanatory values of grammaticalization (internal change) and language contact (external change) as well as the interplay between these two factors. The evidence I have brought to light does not indicate the primacy of either contact-based or internal-change-based accounts of linguistic development, but rather suggests that both external and internal developments need to be taken into consideration when conducting a diachronic investigation (Hickey 2010: 21).

Although the discussion in this thesis has drawn from both first-hand data collection and an innovative theory of contact-induced grammaticalization, the language phenomena discussed here cannot be exhaustively accounted for by the explanatory parameters I have considered. In this final chapter, I first summarize my findings (§6.1.1-6.1.3) and then raise some additional questions that have not been resolved in this study (§6.2). In closing, I propose an outlook for future research (§6.3) intended to inspire more discussions on the issue of language contact in the Guangxi Region.

6.1.1 Functional Varieties: a synchronic description

As shown in §3.1-3.6, NNY possesses a postverbal gram 聽/晝/ai³³/ that corresponds to 聴/晝/ai³³/ in Cantonese and the other Yue dialects spoken around the Pearl River Delta. As an aspectivizer-prominent indicator, NNY 聴/晝/ai³³/appears in five configurations—(a) [V-聴], (b) [V-聴-O], (c) [V-O-聴], (d) [V-聴-O-聴], (e) [Clause₁, 聴-(呢), Clause₂]—acting in the functions of universal quantifier, superlative, completive, perfect/perfective aspect marker, conjunctional verb, and sequential conjunction. In contrast to the other four widespread forms, the [V-聴-O-聴] structure is largely assumed to be influenced by the [V-了₁-O-了₂] form in
Mandarin Chinese. Moreover, the universal quantifier, superlative and completive functions of 晒/ai³³/ are not productive in today’s NNY. The use of 晒/ai³³/ in these contexts is restricted in the modern language to speakers aged 60 years or older.

Building on earlier studies by Bai (1985) and Lin & F. Qin (2008), I have proposed that NNY 晒/ai³³/ originated as a ‘FINISH’ verb, ambiguously interpreted as ‘to finish’, ‘to ripen/to grow up’ and ‘to run out/to use up’. The heterogeneous verbal meanings result from the polysemous nature of this morpheme as well as the range of contexts in which it occurs, including in idiomatic expressions and with easily quantified concrete nouns.

In §3.8-3.9, I demonstrated that the corresponding morpheme 晒/sai³³/ in Cantonese and the other peripheral Yue dialects (e.g. Taishan Yue, Wuzhou Yue) performs the functions of *universal quantifier, degree intensifier*, and *completive* within three configurations [S-V-晒], [S-V-晒-O] and [S-V-得/唔-晒-O]. 晒/sai³³/ is typically *quantifier-prominent* in these Yue groups, meaning that it will primarily select tangible and divisible objects or entities to quantify over.

This functional variation (aspectivizer-prominent 晒/lai³³/ vs. quantifier-prominent 晒/sai³³/) raised the question: why did this change in functionality occur solely in certain Yue dialects in Guangxi, but not outside of this region? Finding that a Yue-dialect-internal comparison of related morphemes was insufficient to describe the evolutionary path of NNY 晒/lai³³/, I turned to an examination of similar data from the Zhuang language of Guangxi from §4.1.1 to §4.1.5.

By examining the data from five Zhuang dialects, I found that Zhuang reveals a collection of postverbal ‘FINISH’ grams (e.g. /li:u⁴/, /le:u⁴/, /0a:t⁷/, /0o:ɪ⁷/, /ju:n²/, /ja⁵/ and /thu:n³/) that bear the functions of *universal quantifier, superlative, completive, perfect aspect maker, conjunctional verb, sequential conjunction* (meanings: THEN, AND, THUS, BUT). However, all these ‘FINISH’ grams are syntactically restricted to two basic configurations: [S-V-(O)-X] and [Clause₁, X, Clause₂/Clause₁, X-Clause₂]. Each language sample contains two or three ‘FINISH’ grams; some are cognates, while others are not. In particular, the Chinese loanword /le:u⁴/ is shared by nearly all the dialects. In some Zhuang dialects, distinct forms with the ‘FINISH’ meaning coexist with one another. One out of the five dialects
(Ba’ma /li:u⁴/) has only a single form that, by itself, encodes all the functions. The imbalance among the encoding strategies in the various Zhuang dialects may reflect a historical “division of labor” among the ‘FINISH’ grams in the Zhuang group.

It is highly plausible that the divergence of the grammatical properties of NNY 晒/ɬai³³/ may have been influenced by the properties of Zhuang /li:u⁴/. Consider the following chart:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘FINISH’ verb</th>
<th>Universal quantifier</th>
<th>Superlative (Degree quantifier)</th>
<th>Completive</th>
<th>Perfect/perfective aspect marker</th>
<th>Conjunctival verb</th>
<th>Sequential conjunction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cantonese晒/sai³³/</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NNY晒/lai³³/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhuang/le:u⁴/, etc.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the verbal use of Cantonese 晒/sai³³/ has not been previously reported, based on the functional manifestation of NNY 晒/lai³³/, which bears a close affinity with the Cantonese晒/sai³³/, I hypothesize that this verbal use is a natural extension of the other properties of the Cantonese ‘FINISH’ morpheme.

### 6.1.2 Polygrammaticalization: a diachronic exploration

If the multiple functions of the ‘FINISH’ morphemes addressed in this study follow the polyfunctional model proposed by Heine & Kuteva (2002: 134-138), then it is necessary to determine whether the additional functions of these morphemes in certain languages of GXR are typologically rational; in other words, I must identify the connections between each of the functions. Given the large number of ‘FINISH’ grams in Zhuang, I have proposed that the development of these grams in each Zhuang dialect is the end result of a complex process of polygrammaticalization. Depending on the particular contexts in which they occur (stative, weak dynamic and dynamic), the sentence-final ‘FINISH’ grams tend to reveal the quantificational and aspectual characteristics of their associated items (nominals vs. actions).

Within the quantificational domain, I propose that grammaticalization of the exhaustion particle 晒/lai³³/ proceeded from ‘FINISH’ verb to superlative via an
intermediate universal quantifier. Triggered by its source meaning of ‘to run out/to use up/to eat up’, the ‘FINISH’ verb in Zhuang derived a quantificational value that permitted its further development as a universal quantifier. Next, the quantificational ‘FINISH’ verb began to associate with gradable adjectives, indicating a maximal degree of intensity, thereby acquiring the quality of a superlative marker. Successful grammaticalization of the ‘FINISH’ verb into a universal quantifier and superlative occurred in the specific sentence-final order [S-V-(O)-X] in semantic contexts that favored a quantificational interpretation.

Within the aspectual domain, the ‘FINISH’ verb underwent grammaticalization into a perfect aspect marker, while in mono-clausal contexts, it became a sequential conjunction. Normally, ‘FINISH’ verbs bear a meaning of ‘to finish/to end’, which will in turn give rise to a completive or perfective/perfect aspect marker. In §4.1.5, I report that the function of conjunctional ‘FINISH’ in Zhuang differs according to the logical connection between the two clauses, which may indicate sequential order, cause-and-effect, or contrastiveness. This grammaticalization path is affected by the subjective attitude each speaker brings to his or her communication.

To conclude my discussion of polygrammaticalization, in §4.2.5, I presented the model reproduced below, which illustrates all the grammaticalization stages of the Zhuang ‘FINISH’ grams:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Universal quantifier</th>
<th>Superlative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘FINISH’ verb</td>
<td>Completive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Perfect aspect marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conjunctional verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sequential conjunction</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The polyfunctional Zhuang model, although not widespread cross-linguistically, is found in several world languages (e.g. Yanghuang, Dai and Nuosu in China, Thai and Cambodian in Southeast Asia, Riau in Indonesia, Makalero in Tamil). To illustrate this, I extended my study outside the languages in Guangxi, to a broader survey of language data from Southeast Asia. ‘FINISH’ grams in many Southeast Asian languages illustrate the quantification-related or conjunction-related...
functions of ‘FINISH’ in addition to the best-known aspect-related functions. FIG 6.1 presents a summary of all the possible functions for the ‘FINISH’ gram that appeared in my sampling.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>‘FINISH’ verb</th>
<th>Universal quantifier</th>
<th>Superlative</th>
<th>Complete</th>
<th>Perfect marker</th>
<th>Linking verb</th>
<th>Linker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ancient Chinese</td>
<td>蓔 end</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>孑 run out</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>耗 so</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NNY</td>
<td>晒 links</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantonese</td>
<td>晒 but</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Min</td>
<td>了 so</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhuang</td>
<td>li:u4 linker</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yang huang</td>
<td>liu4 linker</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dai</td>
<td>leu4 linker</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leu39</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thon4</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuosu</td>
<td>sat</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thai</td>
<td>le:u4 linker</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambodian</td>
<td>haeuj</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riau</td>
<td>habis</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makalero</td>
<td>hau</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIG 6.1 A synthesis of the functions in all my sampling languages

The work presented here is still far from a comprehensive analysis supported by extensive typological data. Nonetheless, it is clear that the quantification-related functions of the ‘FINISH’ gram in Zhuang can also be found in other world languages. It is therefore feasible to assume that the polygrammatization model proposed for Zhuang may be validly applied to a range of unrelated languages.

6.1.3 Interplay between Internally and Externally Motivated Change

In Chapter 5, I presented my analysis of the functional extension of the ‘FINISH’ gram 晒/ɬai33/ in NNY. In §5.1, I discussed the value of language contact as an explanatory factor in this development. Ruling out some of the possible explanations for linguistic changes, I claimed that language contact is very likely to have triggered the grammatical change seen in NNY 晒/ɬai33/: due to the cohabitation of the Zhuang and Han people in Central Guangxi for centuries, the Zhuang people have
deliberately learned NNY in order to facilitate their communication with the Han group. Since the immigrant Guangfu Yue speakers brought with them highly-developed socioeconomic and education systems, there would have been significant incentive for the aboriginal Zhuang people to master the ability to speak Yue.

In the process of acquiring this new culturally dominant language, the Zhuang shifters (as source language: SL) regularly imposed Zhuang agentivity on NNY (as recipient language: RL) throughout the contact process. Zhuang itself also acted as a RL for Middle Chinese. According to the first contact model I introduced in FIG 5.2, Zhuang (RL) directly borrowed the ‘FINISH’ word 了 from Middle Chinese (SL) and accommodated it into the Zhuang typology (i.e. typological correlations of the typical [S-V-O] word order; in Zhuang, modificational elements are inclined to follow the head rather than precede it, giving more functions to this loanword).

Later, during the second period of contact, the Zhuang shifters learnt NNY and unconsciously transferred the polyfunctional Zhuang ‘FINISH’ model to their new imperfectly-acquired second language (Zhuang-NNY). After several generations, the Zhuang shifters conventionalized the polyfunctional model in NNY and imparted that model to their offspring, for whom NNY had become the dominant language.

As a result of this shift-induced change, after a couple of generations, most young NNY speakers were no longer aware of the polygrammaticalization process that had occurred in Zhuang. They assumed that the NNY 晒/laı̋33/ was cognate with Cantonese 晒/sai33/, only with surprising differences in grammatical position and function. The evolution of the ‘FINISH’ 晒 /laı̋33/ was therefore not the direct output of a single contact scenario, but the result of a sequence of creolization between Zhuang and Chinese. It thus developed along an interlanguage continuum:
FIG 6.2 The role of the interlanguage in the contact process

A number of social factors (e.g. sociohistorical development, intermarriage, economic trade, popularization of the Chinese education system, deliberate change of the Zhuang shifters, bilingualism, and so on) have propelled the internally-motivated change in the function of NNY 晒/lai³³/: the Zhuang shifters noticed that in their second language, NNY, the ‘FINISH’ gram晒/lai³³/’s function (i.e. ‘FINISH’ verb, superlative, completive) partially corresponded to a polyfunctional model of the ‘FINISH’ gram /le:u⁴/ in their mother tongue (i.e. ‘FINISH’ verb, superlative, completive, perfect aspect marker, conjunctional verb, sequential conjunction). Afterwards, they developed two equivalent categories, using the available material晒/lai³³/ from their newly-acquired NNY:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{Zhuang} & \text{‘FINISH’} & \text{Universal} & \text{Superlative} & \text{Completive} & \text{Perfect} \\
/le:u⁴/ & \text{verb} & \text{quantifier} & \text{aspect marker} & \text{verb} & \text{conjunction} \\
\hline
\text{NNY} & \text{‘FINISH’} & \text{Universal} & \text{Superlative} & \text{Completive} & \text{?} \\
\text{晒/lai³³/} & \text{verb} & \text{quantifier} & \text{?} & \text{?} & \text{?} \\
\end{array}
\]

FIG 6.3 Matching from the Zhuang model to the NNY model

In the end, the Zhuang shifters grammaticalized the two categories (from ‘FINISH’ verb to perfective/perfect aspect marker; from ‘FINISH’ verb to conjunctional verb/sequential conjunction) in NNY and successfully transferred the polygrammaticalization model from Zhuang to NNY, motivating the alternating word order [S-V-晒-(O)]→ [S-V-(O)-晒]/[S-晒] → [Clause1, 晒, Clause2].
In §5.5, I pointed out that the outcome of this contact-induced grammaticalization did not occur at the expense of a functional loss. In NNY, there is another candidate 脅/hie²¹/, coexistent with 晒/lai³³/, which was able to encode the decaying universal quantifier functions.

Last but not least, I focused my discussion on a cluster of shared features occurring among the languages in the Central Southern Guangxi Region. After a brief theoretical introduction of this linguistic area, I identified a collection of criteria that are diagnostic of a sound linguistic area. While some of the criteria are still controversial in the literature, together they are strong enough to distinguish a particular area from its neighboring areas by means of shared features. With this methodology, I hypothesized that the CS-GXR LA should be defined as a micro-linguistic area. This area is subsumed within the macro MSEA LA, and affiliated with the influential sinosphere; in contrast to the general situation for MSEA LA (where the diffusional source is unknown), most shared traits in CS-GXR LA find their source in the Zhuang language—the origin of the shared grammaticalization models.

6.2 Controversy: migration vs. linguistic evidence

The historical migrations and the formation of the Pinghua and Yue dialects have led numerous scholars to hypothesize that Pinghua has played a significant role in most instances of contact between Zhuang and Chinese in GXR (Xie 2001: 58-75, Lan 2005: 85-91, Mai 2010). The Pinghua dialect had undergone prolonged mutual contact with Zhuang even before the arrival of the speakers of Guangfu Yue in Nanning. J. Zhang (1982, 1987, 1988) and Lan (2005) survey a variety of Chinese loans in Zhuang, arguing that Zhuang borrowed these old loanwords from the Pinghua dialect rather than other dialects. At the same time, the Pinghua dialect has borrowed a wide range of Zhuang loanwords into its lexicon. However, only a limited number of Zhuang loanwords are found in NNY (Ou’yang 1995); it is also hard to find any report on Yue loanwords in Zhuang.

On the basis of a vast survey of historical records from the Qin Dynasty to the Qing Dynasty, Hong (2004: 115-117) argues that the wars in the Song Dynasty accelerated the waves of migration to Guangxi. The aboriginal Zhuang people were
in frequent contact with urban residents as well as rural villagers, whose populations were made up of migrated Han soldiers and refugees, respectively. Contact between Pinghua and Zhuang is everywhere; bilingual Zhuang-Pinghua shifters can be found in many cities in Guangxi. Conversely, contact between Zhuang and NNY has historically been limited to interactions during market trade (Ganxu 趕墟). This trade prevailed from the Early Qing Dynasty onward; before the arrival of the Guangfu Yue people, Nanning was occupied by the Pinghua group rather than the Yue group. Thus it is reasonable to expect that the Pinghua dialect would have enjoyed a more profound contact with Zhuang in this area.

Finally, according to a series of sociolinguistic and demographic investigations, out of the 80% of Guangxi residents who are bilingual, 52.31% of them are fluent in both Zhuang and Southern Chinese. Multilingual ethnic residents usually speak Pinghua, Yue and Mandarin (H. Chen & Wang 2005: 24-25). Thus, continuous migration, business expansion and the implementation of the “Imperial Examination System” have been gradually deepening the sinicization of the Zhuang group since before the Qing Dynasty. Zhuang has been fully exposed to Pinghua over a prolonged period of time.

In terms of contact-induced changes to NNY 晒/ɬai³/, the discussion above seems to challenge my hypothesis that direct contact has occurred between NNY and Zhuang without the participation of the interlanguage Pinghua. Two possible contact scenarios between Zhuang and NNY seem plausible:

i. Any contact-induced grammatical change between Zhuang and NNY can find its shadow in Pinghua, since Pinghua bears a more prolonged contact with Zhuang historically and politically; some modern NNY speakers are descendants of yesterday’s Pinghua shifters, who completed the language shift from Pinghua to NNY over the course of two centuries (cf. Hong 2004:110).

\[ \text{Zhuang} \leftarrow \text{contact} \rightarrow \text{Pinghua} \leftarrow \text{contact} \rightarrow \text{NNY} \]

ii. Language contact in Guangxi is multi-dimensional. Different languages may have different contact processes, which may give rise to distinctive contact layers. In explaining the contact-induced functional extension of NNY 晒/ɬai³/, the linguistic evidence has more voice than migration evidence.
Based on the observations outlined in this thesis, the second hypothesis seems more credible: the polyfunctional pattern of the ‘FINISH’ gram has been shared by Zhuang and NNY (with Fusui Mandarin also experiencing a partial influence), but not by the Pinghua dialect. Language contact in GXR must be understood as occurring through multiple layers and directions. When determining the relationship between contact layers, a dilemma arises: although historical migration and demographic traces indicate that the Zhuang-Pinghua contact layer is early and the Zhuang-NNY contact layer is late, it is incautious to conclude that each contact between Zhuang and NNY must have undergone a transition through Pinghua; in fact, almost all the bilingual Zhuang-NNY speakers are descended from bilingual Zhuang-Pinghua speakers living in Central Guangxi.

According to Sousa (2010), Southern Pinghua (the Pinghua dialect mainly used in Nanning) has largely retained Northern Chinese-like syntactic patterns, and resisted assimilation by Zhuang (in contrast to Cantonese). The observations I have made in this thesis support Sousa’s hypothesis of a “biased” diffusion that has arisen due to a complex contact situation among Zhuang, Pinghua and NNY: the polyfunctional Zhuang ‘FINISH’ model has biasedly diffused to NNY and Fusui Mandarin. This diffusion has arisen through substratum influence from bilingual Zhuang shifters who imperfectly learned NNY and Mandarin. It is still unclear how and why Pinghua has remained exempt from this diffusion relationship. Whereas most investigations into the contact scenario in GXR place primary emphasis on evidence from migration, I concentrate more on the linguistic manifestation of the various contact layers.

Campbell (2013: 430) asserts an important caution on this point:

In principle, however, it is not difficult to imagine rather straightforward situations in which linguistic migration theory would fail to produce reliable results…the conclusions which we draw from linguistic migration theory can never be absolute, but rather remain inferences, warranted by the evidence but not proven…migration theory has a strong probability of being correct than any random guess we might make which is not based on these principles. That is, all
else being equal, in the absence of other information to help us answer the questions, our inference about original homeland based on linguistic migration theory has a better chance of being right than anything else we have to go on.

In other words, the migration principle is unreliable in most situations, and although it generally provides us with important information concerning the ins and outs of a putative historical contact picture. It is not applicable to all circumstances. After a considerable amount of fieldwork in NNY and the neighboring areas, I still have not found any evidence of the replicated Zhuang ‘FINISH’ model in Southern Pinghua.

6.3 Outlook

Rather than presenting a full-fledged analysis, the goal of this dissertation has been to take a first step toward probing the contact-induced changes that have occurred in the languages of GXR. The unanswered questions raised by this thesis provide a rich field for further inquiry:

i. Has the Zhuang ‘FINISH’ model only diffused to NNY and Fusui Mandarin, but not to other languages in this region? How about the scenarios in the Guangxi Min, Hakka, Xiang and Northern Pinghua dialects?

ii. Is the Central Southern Guangxi Linguistic Area, as defined in §5.11, a precisely delimited area that reflects a collection of exclusive areal features? How do we know that other areas in GXR do not bear similar features?

iii. Is the contact-induced grammaticalization model proposed by Heine & Kuteva applicable to other contact cases in China? How can this western theory be successfully incorporated into the study of language materials in China? Is there still much room for optimizing this theory based on evidence of contact among Chinese dialects or minority languages?

In general, these major questions will require a much more thorough investigation of the language data in Guangxi, the accomplishment of which is well beyond the scope of this thesis. I expect to extend the scope of my data in future research, with a goal of determining the extent of the diffusion of the Zhuang ‘FINISH’ model throughout GXR. Only by examining the contact that has occurred among Chinese dialects, among minority languages, and between Chinese dialects

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81 Due to their geographic connections, the speakers of Southern Pinghua dialect are in more frequent contact with Zhuang speakers than the speakers of Northern Pinghua. However, I do not absolutely deny the possible occurrence of the ‘FINISH’ model in the Northern Pinghua dialect, since no systematic investigation of the ‘FINISH’ grams in all the Pinghua dialects in Guangxi has yet been conducted.
and minority languages, can we arrive at a full understanding of the language contact story in China.

Still, there is a long way to go.
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APPENDIX 2: List of Publications


