

A NEW LOOK ON THE ORIGIN OF ATTRIBUTIVE MARKERS IN ZHUANG

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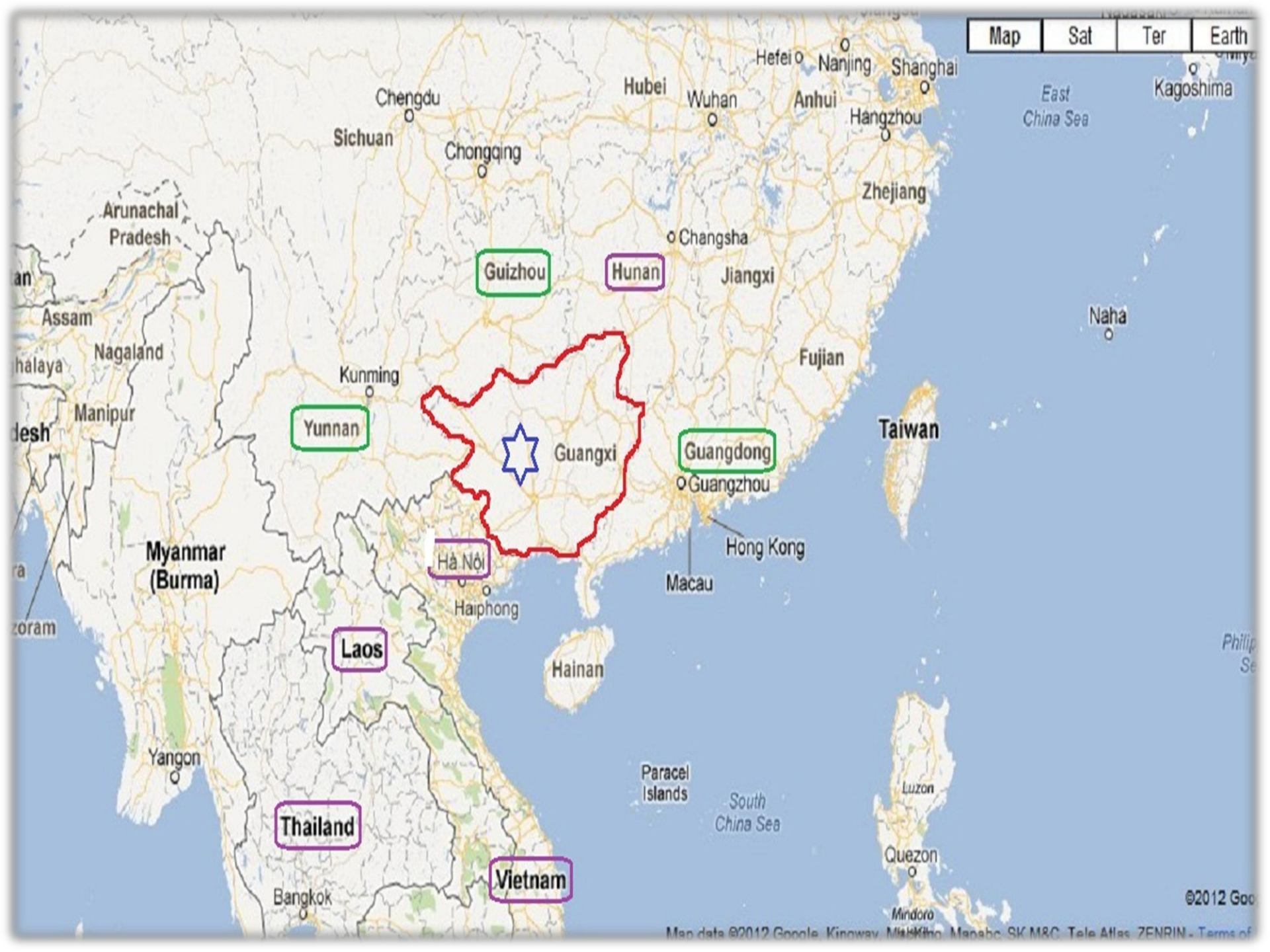
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Outline

- ❖ Background of the Surveyed Language
- ❖ Attributive Markers in Zhuang
- ❖ Double-classifier Construction
- ❖ Evolution of Attributive Markers and Grammaticalization
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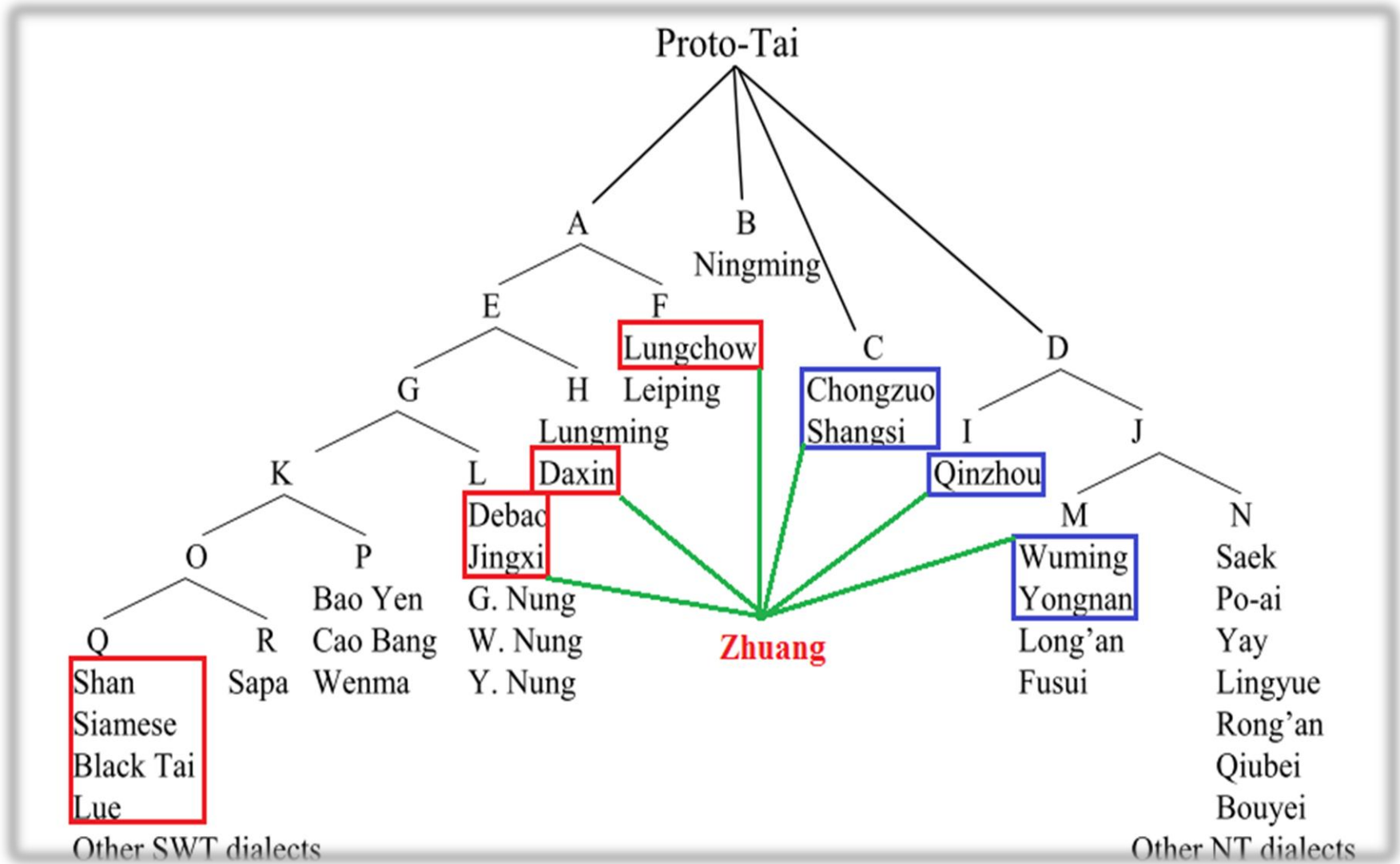


❖ Languages in Guangxi

Liang & Zhang (1988), Liu (1998), Xie (2007), Lin & Qin (2008) depicted the various distributions of the languages in Guangxi



Subgrouping of Tai Dialects



Pittayaporn (2009:298)

❖ Attributive Markers in Zhuang

- To express the relation between N and its modifiers, three strategies are employed ordinarily in Zhuang.
 1. *Word order*: Zhuang is a typical SVO language, modifiers(M) usually follow the noun (Cf. Greenberg, 1963; Dryer, 2007).

ko¹ mai⁴ loŋ¹ pe:ŋ² kua⁵ ko¹ tam⁵
CL:plant tree tall expensive ComP CL:plant short
'Taller trees are often more expensive than short trees'
 2. *Construction borrowing from Guanhua*: M-'ti⁵⁵[的]'-N/NP.

to:i⁴ ni⁵ ti¹ wai²lai⁶ jaŋ² la:u¹ toi⁴te¹ mei² lou⁴
2pl ATTR vice MOD worry others NEG know
'You are not worried? [You think]the others won't know your vicious habits?'
 3. *Evolution of classifiers*: a small number of numeral classifiers can appear in a modifier-classifier function, which is similar to Lao (Enfield, 2004) or Thai (Pacioni, 1988).

❖ Double-classifier Construction

1. *Daxin Zhuang (Southern Zhuang dialect)*

lu:ŋ² ɬu³ **lu:ŋ²** pe:ŋ² ɬu⁴ ju⁵ na:m² nəŋ²
CL₁:cloth cloth CL₂:cloth expensive buy from Nanning

‘[I] bought an expensive shirt from Nanning.’

2. *Mashan Zhuang (Northern Zhuang dialect)*

tu² mou¹ **tu²** nei⁴ kei³ ŋon² nei⁴ ʔbou³ ɣo⁴ vi⁶ma² ʔbou³
CL₁:ami pig CL₂:ami DEM several day DEM NEG know why NEG
ŋi:n⁶ kuu¹ mo:k⁷
MOD eat food

‘[We] don’t know why the pig didn’t want to eat food these days.’

3. *Jingxi Zhuang (Southern Zhuang dialect)*

ʔan¹ ma:k⁷ **ʔan¹** kei³ mi² na:u⁵ va:i¹ na:u⁵
CL₁:gen fruit CL₂:gen DEM NEG NEG sweet NEG

‘This fruit is not too sweet in taste.’

4. *Xincheng Zhuang (Northern Zhuang dialect)*

te¹ tau² po:n³ saw¹ tu² kou¹ pai¹
3sg take CL₁ book CL₂: ani 1sg PERF:go

‘He has taken away my book already.’

5. *Liujiang Zhuang (Northern Zhuang dialect)*

pu⁴ vun² tu² pi² tuok⁸ nu:ŋ⁴ ku¹.

CL₁:hum man CL₂:ani fat COP brother 1sg

‘The fat man is my younger brother.’

6. *Daxin Zhuang (Southern Zhuang dialect)*

toŋ⁶ lau² ʔan¹ ni¹ mi² foŋ²ke:n¹ la:i¹ ŋ⁴

CL₁:house building CL₂:gen DEM have room many PP

‘There are many rooms in this building.’

‘CL₁-N-CL₂-M’ is widely attested in Zhuang. CL₁ is a typical sortal classifier that individuates the kind of noun (Lyons 1977:463), while CL₂ functions as an attributive marker to link the head noun and its modification.

- In addition to a few sortal classifiers which usually occupy the slot CL₂, indefinite quantifier (ka:i⁵ / ka⁶ [some/ many]) is prone to be in this slot as well.

7. *Daxin Zhuang*

ʔan¹ pa:k⁷ ka⁶ kau¹ mo² la:i¹ ŋ⁴, mi² thin¹ ka:ŋ³ ko⁵

CL₁:gen mouth QUAN:some 1sg silly very PP, NEG MOD tell story

‘I have a clumsy mouth [I’m very silly], I can’t tell stories.’

8. *Jingxi Zhuang*

te¹ men⁶ kən² lau⁴sai¹ ka:i⁵ θeu³jo²

3sg COP CL₁:HUM teacher QUAN:some primary school

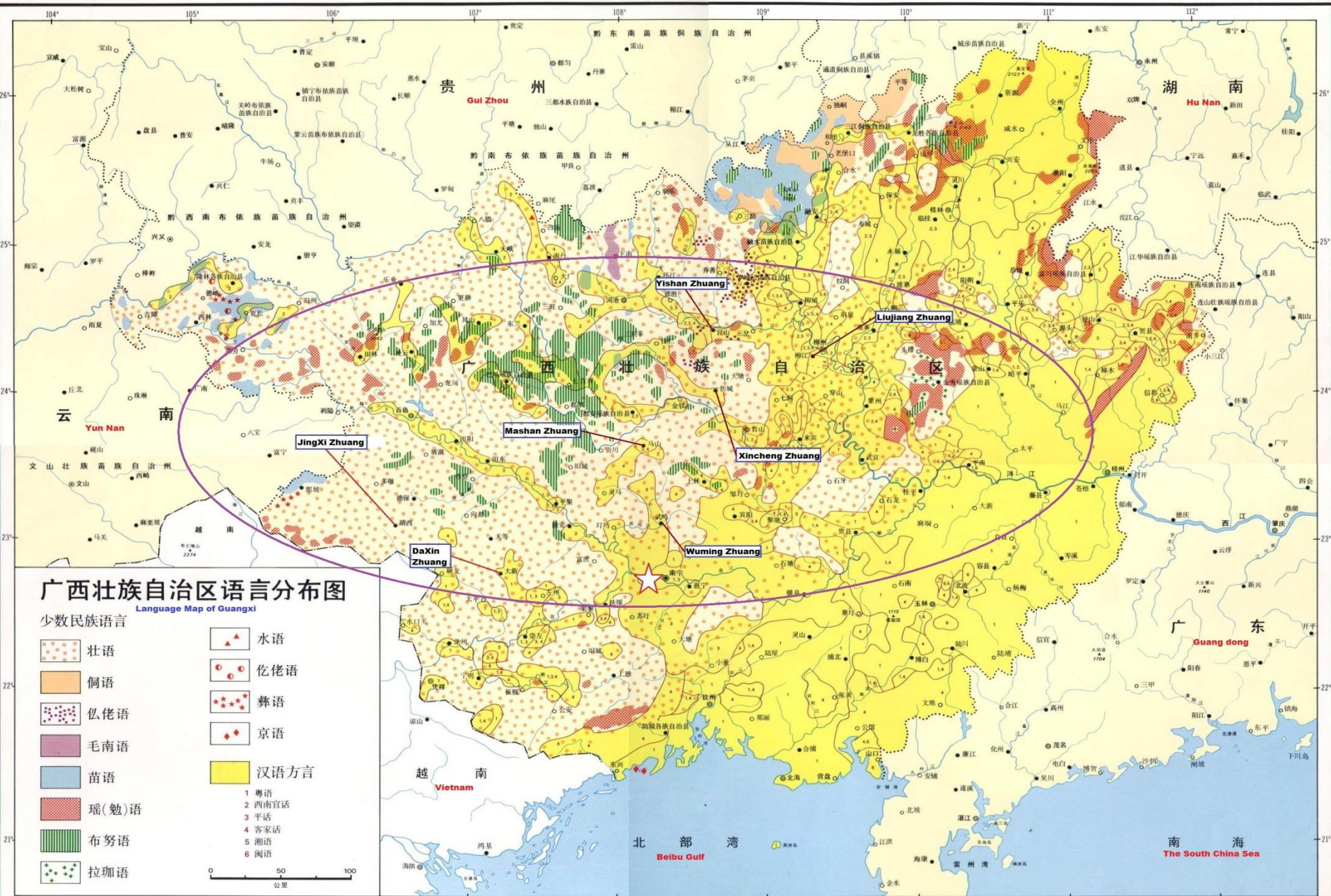
‘He is a primary school student.’

9. *Mashan Zhuang*

ka:i⁵ to⁴ka:i³ ka:i⁵ pe:ŋ² meŋ¹ tsu³ ta:u³ ɕuŋ³ mi² θa:t⁷

QUAN:some stuff QUAN:some expensive MZD all have together

‘[You can buy] some expensive goods in the Mengzhi dao [shopping mall]’

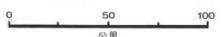


广西壮族自治区语言分布图

Language Map of Guangxi

少数民族语言

- | | | | |
|--|-------|---|------|
| | 壮语 | | 水语 |
| | 侗语 | | 仫佬语 |
| | 仫佬语 | | 彝语 |
| | 毛南语 | | 京语 |
| | 苗语 | | 汉语方言 |
| | 瑶(勉)语 | 1 | 粤语 |
| | 布努语 | 2 | 西南官话 |
| | 拉珈语 | 3 | 平话 |
| | | 4 | 客家话 |
| | | 5 | 湘语 |
| | | 6 | 闽语 |



➤ Property

Data	Construction		Modifier			
	CL ₁ -N-CL ₂ -M	CL ₁ -N-Q-M	Genitive	Adjective	Demonstrative	Relative clause
Daxin	+	+	+	+	+	+
Jingxi	+	+	+	+	+	+
Mashan	+	+	+	+	+	+
Yishan	+	-	+	+	+	/
Qincheng	+	-	+	+	+	/
Liujiang	+	-	+	+	+	+
Wuming	+	-	+	+	+	+

➤ Areal Universals or Language-specific Property

- Data from other Tai-Kadai languages in China demonstrate [CL₁-N-CL₂-M].

10. *Tai Nüa* (Zhang, 1977)

to¹ piŋ¹ to¹ dam¹
CL₁:ani leech CL₂:ani black ‘A black leech’

11. *Tai Ya* (Dao, 2005)

tom⁴³ vɔʔ⁵⁵ ʔǎn³³ hɔm³³hɔm³³ nǎn³¹
CL₁:plant flower CL₂:gen fragrant DEM
‘That flower is fragrant.’

12. *Tai Lü* (Li, 2007)

ʔǎu¹ mak⁹ hin¹ luk² nǎn⁴ ma² leu⁴
take CL₁:block stone CL₂:slice DEM come PERF
‘He come with that block of stone.’

➤ More on quantifier (ka:i⁵ / ka⁶)

- Two sets of indefinite quantifiers in Zhuang

Quantifier	Word-formation and Property			Area	Location
	ton ⁶ +N	ton ⁶ +CL	ton ⁶ + ka:i ⁵		
ton ⁶ / to ⁴	1. plural of N 2. generic reference	generic reference ton ⁶ tu ² (animal) ton ⁶ ko ¹ (plant)	means: ‘things, stuff’	Northern Zhuang	Wuming, Pingguo, Du’an, Liujiang, Tiandong, Tianyang, Qiubai, Yishan, Laibing, Guigang, Long’an
ka:i ⁵ /ka ⁶	1. plural of N 2. generic reference	generic reference ka:i ⁵ ma:k ⁷ (fruit) Ka:i ⁵ ta ⁶ (river)	/	Southern Zhuang	Daxin, Longjin, Jingxi

- Compound-word to express ‘things’ in Zhuang

	Word means ‘things, stuff’
Southern Zhuang	ku ⁵ ka:i ⁵ / khɔ:ŋ ¹ kuə ⁶ / khɔ:ŋ ¹ kuə ⁶
Northern Zhuang	toŋ ⁶ ka:i ⁵ / to ⁴ ka:i ⁵

‘khɔ:ŋ¹’ and ‘toŋ⁶’ may somewhat be similar in their grammatical function to form a word.

qaaj⁴ kham² pan⁴ poo⁴ ka⁰ daj⁴ khùang¹-khòòng³ qii¹.ñang³

o.biro K foc.pcl co.to.have **stuff-things** whatever

‘So, Aaj K got whatever stuff (he had)’ (Lao in Enfield 2003:88)

- Zhuang features its **class terms** (CT) (Grinevald, 2004) to categorise the whole compound of which they are a part (Enfield, 2004).

1). Indicate specific noun class:

ta⁶ - joŋ⁵kia:ŋ⁵

ɬu³-tuəi⁴səŋ⁵ji⁵

CT:river Yong river ‘Yong river’

CT:cloth life jacket ‘life jacket’

2). Indicate general noun class:

ton⁶-kja¹ nuŋ⁵

CL:things house DEM ‘That family’

ka:i⁵ θai⁶

CL:things thing ‘things’

ka:i⁵ to⁴ka:i⁵

CL:things stuff ‘things/ stuff’

■ In Lao, ‘khòòng³’ showcases the same strategy in morphology.

13. Lao (Enfield, 2007:193)

khòòng³ nak² mèø-ñing² bèèk⁵ bòø daj⁴

things heavy CT.Mo-woman carry.on.back NEG CAN

‘Heavy things, women can’t carry’

14. Lao (Qin & Xie, 2009)

khɔ:ŋ¹ -khvan¹

khɔ:ŋ¹ -tha:n²

CT:things mascot ‘mascots/mascot’

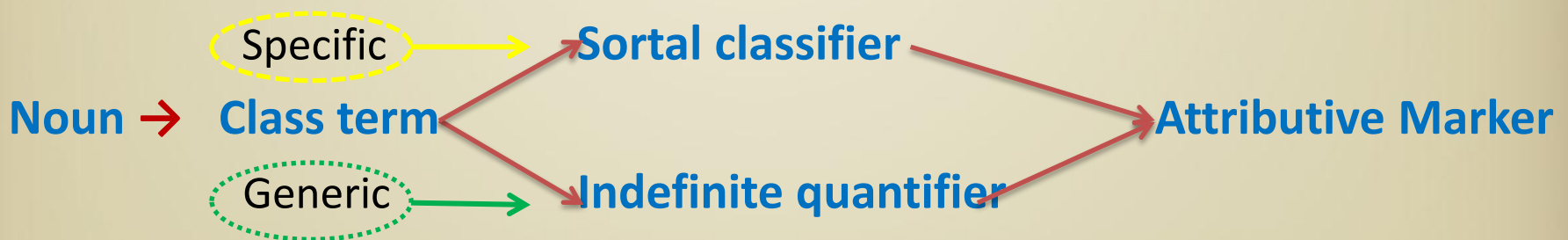
CT:things alm ‘limosna alms/alm’

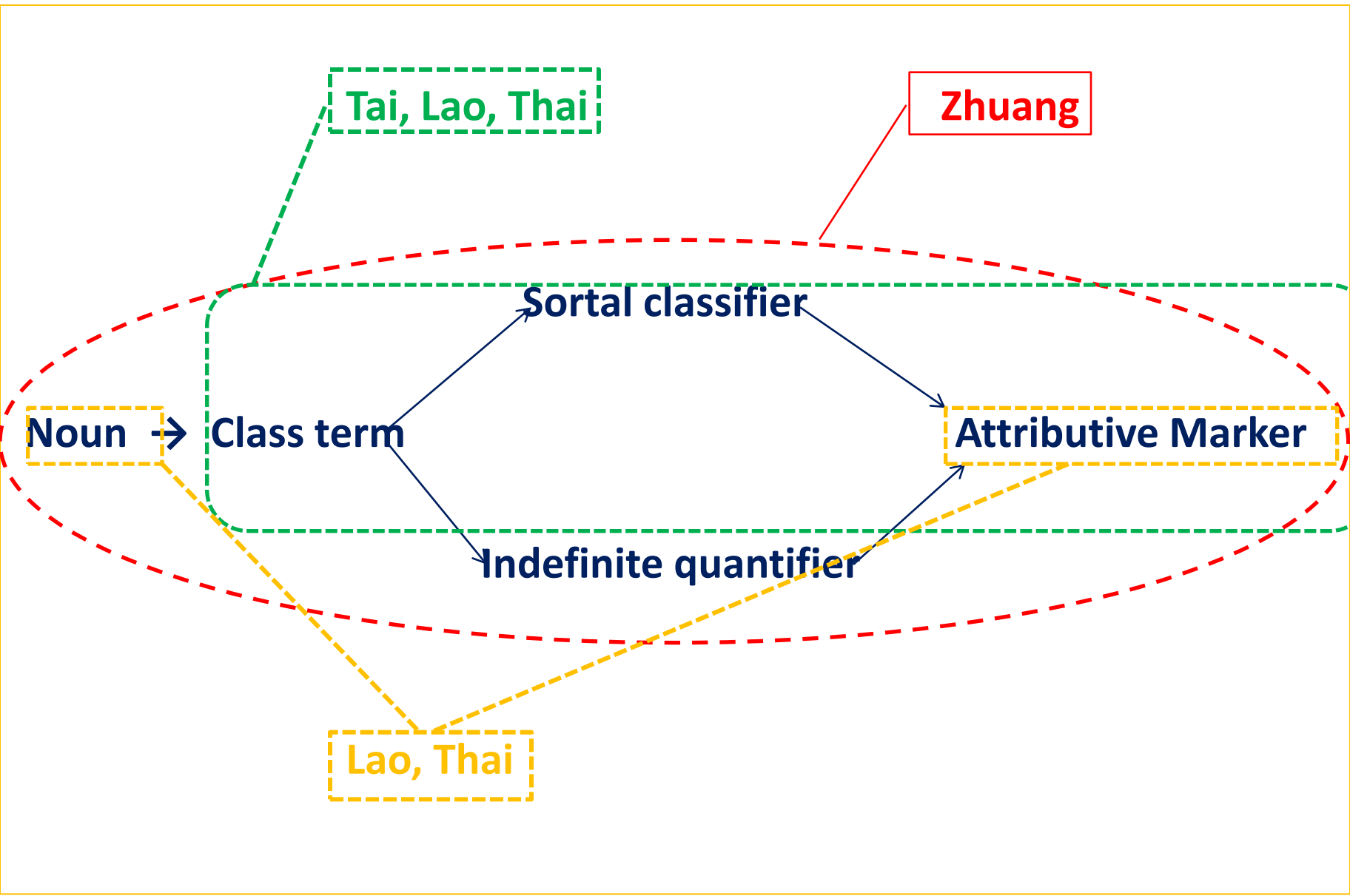
■ Hypothesis

- Etymologically speaking, 'toŋ⁶' and 'ka:i⁵' may be a further development of the class term: '*things/stuff*', which is relevant to 'khòòng³' in other Tai-Kadai languages.

❖ Evolution of Attributive Markers and Grammaticalization

1. In 'CL₁-N-CL₂-M', 'CL₂' is reanalyzed as a modifier classifier to link the N and M. This strategy triggers an analogical evolution of the indefinite quantifier that occupies the slot 2.
2. Indefinite quantifier (ka:i⁵ / ka⁶ [some/ many]) has grammaticalized as a typical attributive marker with a process of desemanticization and decategorialization (Hopper & Traugott, 2003).
3. A proposed grammaticalization path should be:





❖ Conclusion

1. The substrate of attributive markers in Zhuang should be classifiers, which is a widely attested phenomenon in Southeast Asian languages.
2. The Southern Zhuang has finished the grammaticalization path 'Classifier / Quantifier > Attributive Marker', however in most Northern Zhuang only 'Classifier > Attributive Marker' is possible (Cf. 'modifier classifiers' in Lao by Enfield, 2004).
3. Evolution of attributive markers in Zhuang sheds new light on the origin of that in other Southeast Asian languages.

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