1. Settings

Nanning 南寧 — capital of Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region.

南寧白話 Nanning Cantonese:
- Spoken primarily in the city centre of Nanning;
- First brought in by immigrants from the Pearl River Delta around the Opium Wars (mid 19th century). More Cantonese people came to Nanning from the Pearl River Delta during subsequent wars.

南寧平話 Nanning Pinghua
- Spoken primarily in suburbs and nearby rural areas;
- Associated with military personal from Shandong (including parts of modern day Henan) during the 1053 war by 宋 Sòng against the 儂志高 Nungz Ciqgau (Nóng Zhīgāo) regime.

Other languages in the area:
- Indigenous Northern Zhuang and Southern Zhuang (Tai languages) in rural area and towns further away;
- 譞州官話 Old Nanning Mandarin (SW Mandarin, speakers >70 yo, Ming dynst officials)

Schematically, in Nanning ‘traditionally’ (ignoring the moribund Old Nanning Mandarin):

Northern Zhuang

Yōng Jiāng

Pinghua

Cantonese

Southern Zhuang
Source of Data:

Nanning Cantonese: Lín & Qín 2008 (abbreviated here as L&Q), confirmed by other native speakers and what I have heard on the streets in Nanning.
Nanning Pinghua: field data collected in the suburb of 上饒 /hɛŋ˧ hiu˧/ Shàngyào;

2. **Aspect markers**
2.1 **Perfective and perfect**

Standard Mandarin: 了 le PFV (perfective), 了 le PRF (perfect; current relevance)
The two can co-occur if they are not next to each other.

1. 我 写 了 三 頁 了。
   wó xiě le sān yè le
   1SG write PFV three page PRF
   ‘I have written three pages.’

Standard Cantonese: 吃 zo² PFV, 喝 laa³ PRF
The two can co-occur.

2. 佢 食 吃 三 包 藥 喝。
   kēoi⁵ sik⁶ zo² saam¹ bau¹ joek⁶ laa³
   3SG eat PFV three packet medicine PRF
   ‘S/he has eaten three packets of medicine.’

3. 佢 食 吃 喝。
   kēoi⁵ sik⁶ zo² laa³
   3SG eat PFV PRF
   ‘S/he has eaten.’

Nanning Cantonese: 喝 lai˧ PFV (perfective), 喝 lai˧ PRF (perfect)
(≠ Standard Cantonese 喝 saai³ COMPLETIVE; see §2.2)
The two can co-occur if they are not next to each other.

4. 佢 上 个 月 结 婚 喝。
   kʰyjʰ jœŋ⁴ kɔ˨ jyt˨ kit˨ lai˧ fœŋ˥ lai˧
   3SG last CL month ‘get’ PFV marry PRF
   ‘S/he got married last month.’ (L&Q: 326)

5. 件事 我 想 喝 好 耐 喝。
   kin˨ jîŋŋ neŋ˧ lai˧ hu˧ noŋ˥ lai˧
   CL matter 1SG think PFV very long time PRF
   ‘This matter, I have been thinking about it for a very long time.’ (L&Q: 326)

Perfect 喝 lai˧ must be at the end of a clause (i.e. it cannot shift to any other positions).
6. 我们住在中国南宁，得到了三十年的晒。
南宁生活三十八年，得到三个十年的PRF

We have lived in Nanning for thirty years, we are familiar with all places in Nanning. (L&Q: 325)

However, clause final 哪 lai is not necessarily the perfect markers; the perfective marker 哪 lai can freely alternate between the post-verbal/adjectival position and the clause final position (‘可以挪到句（或者小句）末尾而意义不变’, L&Q: 326).

7. [条] 裤 长 哪 寸 半，整 短 哪 给我喂。

CL trousers long PFV inch half make short-COMP give 1SG HOR

The pair of trousers is an inch and a half too long, please make it shorter for me. (L&Q: 326)

8. 条 裤 长 寸 半 哪，整 短 哪 给我喂。

CL trousers long inch half PFV make short-COMP give 1SG HOR

The pair of trousers is an inch and a half too long, please make it shorter for me. (L&Q: 326)

9. 明日 我 落 哪 班 就去买火车票。

tomorrow 1SG get_off work then go buy railway ticket

‘Tomorrow once I have got off work I will go and buy railway tickets.’ (L&Q: 326)

10. 明日 我 落 班 哪 就去买火车票。

tomorrow 1SG get_off work then go buy railway ticket

‘Tomorrow once I have got off work I will go and buy railway tickets.’ (L&Q: 326)

Placing the aspect marker after the verb phrase (rather than after the verb) is an influence from Zhuang. Although in Northern Zhuang the perfective marker liux is placed after the verb, Tai languages tend not to like having aspect markers intervening the verb and the object, especially languages geographically further away from Sinitic languages.

Northern Zhuang

11. gwn liux haeux

eat PFV rice

‘Ate rice/ had meal’ (Wei & Qin 2006: 202)
12. เรา กิน ข้าว แล้ว

PL eat rice PRF

‘We have eaten already.’ (Smyth 2002: 68)

Northern Zhuang itself has other aspect markers which are placed after the verb phrase (e.g. experiential gvaq, durative dwk). Verbal complements are also placed after the object. Both of these traits are also seen in Nanning Cantonese (but very rarely in Nanning Pinghua). (See also Kwok 2004 on post-object complements in Nanning Cantonese.)

Northern Zhuang

13. Daxmeh gou mbouj caengz doeg saw gvaq.

mother 1SG NEG ever read book EXP

‘My Mother has never been educated.’ (Wei & Qin 2006: 203)


dye CL-cloth red PRF

‘Have dyed the cloth red.’ (Wei & Qin 2006: 229)

In Nanning Cantonese, the marker 喊 laiɬ can in fact follow other word classes or be used independently.

Nanning Cantonese

15. 我哋 第一 次 全学院 嘅 大会， 书记 讲 先，

IPL ORD-one time whole-institute MOD conference secretary speak first

书记 喊， 院长 至 讲， 院长 喊，

secretary PFV institute-head then speak institute-head PFV

啲 副院长 一 只 一 只 再 讲。

one CL one CL again speak

CL:NSG vice-institute-head one CL one CL again speak

‘Our first institute-wide conference, the secretary speaks first, the secretary finishes, and then the president speaks, the president finishes, then the vice presidents speak one by one.’ (L&Q: 327)

16. 演出 一 开始 系 大合唱，

performance one start be big-together-sing

‘At the beginning of the performance is a choir performance, after that are solo performances by female students.’ (L&Q: 326)
This is again a reflexion of the perfective marker in Zhuang (e.g. Northern Zhuang liux), that it can still be used as an independent verb.

Northern Zhuang
17. *Gienh saeh neix guh baenz couh liux lo.*
   CL matter this do complete then finish PRF
   ‘When this is done then it is finished.’ (CGYSD 2005: 721)

Nanning Pinghua: 了 liuɿ PFV (perfective), 啦 laɿ PRF (perfect)
Both can be reduced to 了 liuɿ (also see Yang 2004 on these markers in Nanning Tingzi Pinghua)
The two seldom cooccur (unlike Cantonese and Standard Mandarin).

Nanning Pinghua
18. 我开了个只窗。
   ηaɿ haiɿ liuɿ kəɿ tʃəɿ tʃəŋɿɿ
   1SG open PFV DEM CL window
   ‘I opened the window.’

19. 我开了个只窗啦。
   ηaɿ haiɿ kəɿ tʃəɿ tʃəŋɿɿ laɿ
   1SG open DEM CL window PRF
   ‘I have opened the window.’

20. *我开了个只窗啦。
   *ηaɿ haiɿ liuɿ kəɿ tʃəɿ tʃəŋɿɿ laɿ
   1SG open PFV DEM CL window PRF

21. 个只男孩子呢系了几只果系仨。
    kəɿ tʃəɿ namɿ haiɿ tʃɿɿ nəɿ həɿ liuɿ kaiɿ tʃəɿ kuɿ həɿ kəiɿɿ
    DEM CL male child TOP give PFV few CL fruit give 3
    ‘The boy gave a few pieces of fruit to them.’ (PS)

22. 就把裹好个屍呢就放落棺材。
    tʃəɿ pəɿ kuɿ hauɿ kəɿ liɿ nəɿ tʃəɿ tʃəŋɿɿ ləɿ kəiɿɿ kunɿtʃaiɿɿ
    then OBJ wrap good MOD corpse TOP then put in coffin
    就送葬啦。
    tʃəɿ tʃəŋɿɿ tʃəŋɿɿ laɿ
    then send burial PRF
    ‘Then you put the wrapped corpse into the coffin, then you send it away for burial.’ (NM)

Also unlike Nanning Cantonese, in Nanning Pinghua the perfective 了 liuɿ does not tolerate being in a clause-final position.
[Context: ‘What did he do after breakfast yesterday?’]

23. 佢 出 (了) 街 买 苹果 (*了/ *啦)。
   keoiH tʃʰət (liuH) kaiH pəŋikuH (*liuH/ *laH) 3SG exit (PFV) street buy apple (PFV/ PRF)
   ‘He went out to buy apples.’

The particle 了 liu in Nanning Pinghua is not found after words other than verbs or adjectives, or used independently, unlike Nanning Cantonese.

2.2 Completive
(= Standard Cantonese saai³ COMPL (completive))

Nanning Cantonese: 齐 tʃʰɐ CL (completive)
Can be placed after the verb, or after the verb phrase (see §2.1 above).

24. 洗 齐 唸 衫。
   tiuH tʃʰɐ tʃamH wash COMPL CL:NSG clothes
   ‘Wash all the clothes.’ (L&Q: 290)

25. 唸 妹崽 一 个 二 个 都 趨 去 听 演唱会 齐。
   tʃʰɐ muɬtʃʰɐ jɐl kɔɬ jil kɔɬ tʃʰə tʃʰə yɐl jɪmɬtʃʰɐɬwuiɬ tʃʰɐ CL:NSG girl one CL two CL all run go listen concert COMPL
   ‘Every single one of the girls went to see the concert.’ (L&Q: 290)

Nanning Pinghua 齐 tʃʰɐ CL (completive):

26. 个 个 东西 总 有 见 齐。
   aɬ kɔɬ tʃʰɐɬ tʃʰɐɬ miɬjkinH tʃʰɐ CL DEM thing all lost COMPL
   ‘All those things were completely lost.’ (SS)

27. 我 讲：「队伍 原来 资料，其他 烧 齐 啦，
   nɑɬ kɐɬ wɐŋɬtɕiɬ wɐŋʃɬiɬ tʃʰɬliuH kɐɬhɐɬ liuH tʃʰɐɬ laɬ 1SG say INCLPL original information other burn COMPL PRF
   现在 还 存 有 的 呢？」
   hinɬtʃʰɐɬ wɐŋɬ tʃʰɐɬjʊɬɬ tʃʰɐɬ nɐɬ now still preserve CL:NSG Q
   ‘I said: “Our scripts [of traditional shamanistic plays], the others have all been burnt, what about the ones we still have now?”’ (SS)

The completive 齐 tʃʰɐ CL can be used after a non-preposed object.

28. 我 吃 个 的 龙眼 齐。
   nɑɬ hɐɬ kɔɬ tʃʰɐɬ lʊɬjʊɬɬ tʃʰɐɬ 1SG eat DEM CL:NSG longan COMPL
   ‘I ate up all the longans.’
However, if it is used between a verb and a following object phrase, the form 齐 tʃi̯i l is used (齐 tʃi̯i l ‘go’).

齐 tʃi̯i l can be used as an independent verb meaning ‘finish’.

29. 我 吃 齐 去 个 的 龙眼。
etaŋ hetl tʃi̯i l koŋ tʃi̯i l koŋ.l tʃi̯i l tʃi̯i l tʃi̯i l
1SG eat COMPL go DEM CL:NSG longan
‘I ate up all the longans.’

30. 个 只 画面 就 齐 啦。
etl tʃi̯i l wȧl minl tʃi̯i l tʃi̯i l laŋ
DEM CL image then finish PRF
‘The film is then finished.’ (PS)

2.3 Durative and progressive
Nanning Cantonese
The durative marker is 住 tʃỵ l.

31. 细张 唱 住 歌 落 来。
lhci̯i-tʃœnəl tʃœnəl tʃỵ l koŋ laŋ laŋ
little-Zhang sing DUR song entre come
‘Little Zhang came in while singing.’ (L&Q: 329)

32. 扶 住 只 瓶 给 我， 有 界 跌 落 来。
ufl tʃỵ l tʃekl tʃenl kœiŋ nœŋ puŋ tʃœn kœiŋ laŋ
hold DUR CL bottle give 1SG NEG:IMP let fall down come
‘Hold the bottle and pass it to me, do not let it fall down.’ (L&Q: 330)

33. 只 壶 挂 住 喂 墙 嘣。
tʃekl hœk¹ kœəl tʃỵ l hėl tʃœnəl tiŋ
CL dipper hang DUR at wall place
‘The dipper is hung on the wall.’ (L&Q: 330)

As for the progressive marker, for most verbs the progressive marker can freely alternate between 住 tʃỵ l and 緊 kœn l. (On the other hand, in Standard Cantonese, 住 tʃỵ only means durative and 緊 gan‘ only means progressive.)

34. 地震 阵时 我啲 倾 [住/ 緊] QQ。
til hœn l tʃen tʃil nœHtiŋ kœŋ tʃil tʃỵ l kœnl kœnl
earthquake when 1PL chat [PROG/ PROG] QQ
‘When the earthquake struck we were chatting on QQ.’ (L&Q: 331)
However, for accomplishment verbs, 住 tfyɿ does not always have a progressive meaning: with non-specific objects, 住 tfyɿ has a progressive meaning, whereas specific objects reinforce a durative meaning.

Nanning Pinghua: 住 tfyɿ DUR

39. 住 tfyɿ 只 鼻子 来 住
tʃʊ kæɿ paɿ kæɿ tʃʊɿ patɿ tʃʊɿ leɿ tʃʊɿ tfyɿ
3SG use 3SG CL nose come cover DUR

个 只 流声机 只 喇叭。
ə tʃʊɿ lauɿlənɿ kæɿ tʃʊɿ laɿpaɿ
DEM CL gramophone CL speaker

‘It covers the [opening for the] speaker of the gramophone with its trunk.’ (MausLP)

40. 抱 住 只 狗 呢 就 出 外 头 去。
pauɿ tʃʊɿ tʃʊɿ kæɿ neɿ tʃʊɿ tʃʊɿ waiɿtouɿ kæɿ leɿ hold DUR CL dog TOP then exit outside go find

‘[He] held the dog and went outside to find [the frog].’ (FS)

住 tfyɿ ~ 紧 kenɿ PROG

41. 熊猫 吃 (紧/ 住) 竹 叶。
jʊɿɿ neɿɿ (kæɿ/ tʃʊɿ) tʃʊɿɿ hipɿɿ
panda eat PROG PROG bamboo leaf

‘The panda is eating bamboo leaves.’
42. 佢 坐 桌 看 （緊/ 住） 书。
   kǎiH tūH tēŋ1 hǎnH (kěŋ/- tǐài4) làiH
3SG sit chair read (PROG/ PROG) book
‘He is reading a book while sitting on a chair.’

For accomplishment verbs, a dynamic meaning is expressed by 緊 kǎn4, and a state meaning is expressed by 住 tǐài4.

43. 佢 坐 (*緊/ 住) 桌 看 书。
   kǎiH tūH (*kěŋ/- tǐài4) tēŋ1 hǎnH làiH
3SG sit (PROG/ DUR) chair read book
‘He is reading a book while sitting on a chair.’

2.4 Experiential

Nanning Cantonese: 过 kǎl experiential

The particle 过 kǎl can be placed after the verb or after the verb phrase.

44. 你 几时 请 我 食 过 饭？
   nǐH kěŋ/-fǐ1 tǐŋ/-ěŋH fǐk1 kǎl fan4
2SG when invite 1SG eat EXP rice
‘When have you invited me to a meal?’ (L&Q: 333)

45. 你 几时 请 我 食 饭 过？
   nǐH kěŋ/-fǐ1 tǐŋ/-ěŋH fǐk1 fan4 kǎl
2SG when invite 1SG eat rice EXP
‘When have you invited me to a meal?’ (L&Q: 333)

Standard Cantonese only allows the experiential 過 kǎl to be placed after the verb, whereas Northern Zhuang only allows the experiential gvaq to be placed after the verb phrase.

Northern Zhuang

46. De bae haw gai byaek gvaq.
   3SG go market sell vegetable EXP
‘S/he has gone to the market to sell vegetables before.’ (Wei & Qin 2006: 203)

In Nanning Cantonese the particle 过 kǎl also has a repetitive meaning (i.e. ‘again’), same as in Standard Cantonese.

Nanning Cantonese

47. 印 有 得 清楚， 再 印 过。
   jēŋ1 mūH tēk1 tǐŋ/-ěŋH tǐài4 jēŋ1 kǎl
print NEG get clear again print REP
‘The printing is not clear. Print again.’ (L&Q: 333)

Nanning Pinghua: 过 ku1 experiential
In Nanning Pinghua, 过 ku̍l has an experiential meaning. It probably also has a repetitive meaning, but clear examples are yet to be found (see also Yang 2002).

Nanning Pinghua
48. 因为 都 演 过，至 抄 得 出 来。
\[\text{因为 都 演 过，至 抄 得 出 来。} \]
\[\text{因为 都 演 过，至 抄 得 出 来。} \]
\[\text{because all act EXP so copy get exit come} \]
\[\text{Because I have acted in them before, I could write out [the script from memory].} \] (SS)

It must be placed after the verb, and not after the verb phrase.
49. 为 来
\[\text{为 来} \]
\[\text{为 来} \]
\[3SG go EXP Vietnam} \]
\[\text{‘S/he had been to Vietnam before.’} \]

50. *为 来 过。
\[\text{为 来 过。} \]
\[\text{为 来 过。} \]
\[3SG go Vietnam EXP} \]
\[\text{(this would be grammatical in Nanning Cantonese)} \]

2.5 Prospective
Nanning Cantonese: 想 kœŋ˨˥ PROS
51. 上 高 只 电风扇 想 跌 落 来 晒，危险 多。
\[\text{想 跌 落 来 晒，危险 多。} \]
\[\text{想 跌 落 来 晒，危险 多。} \]
\[\text{above CL electric-fan PROS fall down come PRF dangerous too} \]
\[\text{‘The electric fan above is going to fall down, it is too dangerous.’} \] (L&Q: 332)

Nanning Pinghua: 要 iu̍l PROS
Prospective aspect is most usually not marked. The prospective marker 要 iu̍l is rarely used, and its usage is very restricted. If used at all, it tends to be used when quoting second hand information. Otherwise it expresses very strong certainty of the occurrence of a future event.

52. ?? 明日 (要) 落 雨。
\[\text{明天 (要) 落 雨。} \]
\[\text{明天 (要) 落 雨。} \]
\[\text{tomorrow PROS fall rain} \]
\[\text{‘It will rain tomorrow.’} \]

53. 天气 预报 讲 明日 (要) 落 雨。
\[\text{天气 预报 讲 明日 (要) 落 雨。} \]
\[\text{天气 预报 讲 明日 (要) 落 雨。} \]
\[\text{weather forecast say tomorrow PROS fall rain} \]
\[\text{‘The weather forecast says that it will rain tomorrow.’} \]

54. 吃 了 个 的 东西 呢 你 就 (要) 死。
\[\text{吃 了 个 的 东西 呢 你 就 (要) 死。} \]
\[\text{吃 了 个 的 东西 呢 你 就 (要) 死。} \]
\[\text{eat PFV DEM CL:NSG thing TOP 2SG then PROS die} \]
\[\text{‘If you eat these things, you will die.’} \]
In addition, 要 iu¹ cannot be negated.

55. * 天气 预报 讲 明日 有 要 落 雨。
   tʰin¹hɑi¹ hɪl¹pau¹ kɑŋ¹ mɑŋ²hɑt¹ hɪl¹ iu¹ lɑk¹ hɑi¹
   ‘The weather forecast says that it will not rain tomorrow.’

3. **Negation**

3.1 ‘Not’ versus ‘not yet’

A popular theme in Sinitic linguistics is to compare
non-perfective negators, perfective negators, and existence (possession) negators.

e.g. in 汉语方言地图集:语法卷 the Grammar volume of the Linguistic Atlas of Chinese Dialects, there is one map for each of the environments:

map 028
明天 我 不 去
mìngtiān wó bù qù
tomorrow 1SG NEG go (non-perfective: 不 bù)

map 029
昨天 我 没有 去
zuòtiān wó méi²yǒu qù
yesterday 1SG NEG go (perfective: 没 (有) méi (yǒu))

map 030
他 没有 孩子
tā méi²yǒu háizi
3SG NEG:exist child (existence: 没 (有) méi (yǒu))

**Standard Cantonese**

56. 聽日 我 吱 去。
   ting⁶jat⁶ ngo⁵ m⁴ heoi³
   tomorrow 1SG NEG go (non-perfective: 咱 m⁴)

57. 琴日 我 有 去。
   kɑm⁶jat⁶ ngo⁵ mou⁵ heoi³
   yesterday 1SG NEG go (perfective: 有 mou⁵)

58. 佢 有 仔女。
   keoi⁵ mou⁵ zai²neoi²
   3SG NEG child (existence: 有 mou⁵, not *m⁴ jau⁵ or *mou⁵ jau⁵)

**Nanning Cantonese**

59. 听日 我 有 去。
   tʰin¹jɛt¹ pɔ¹h mou⁵ hy¹
   tomorrow 1SG NEG go (non-perfective: 有 muH)
This is an influence from Zhuang, which also has the same negation morph in these three situations.

Northern Zhuang

65. Gou mboj bae, mwngz gag bae lo.
   1SG NEG go 2SG only go HOR
   ‘I’m not going; you go by yourself.’ (CGYSD 2005: 803)

66. Gag mwngz mboj daej.
   only 2SG NEG come
   ‘Only you did not come.’ (Wei & Qin 2006: 190)

67. Gou miz haujli saw, mwngz mboj miz saek bonj.
   1SG exist many book 2SG NEG exist few CL
   ‘I have a lot of books; you don’t have any at all.’ (CGYSD 2005: 819)

Both Nanning Cantonese and Nanning Pinghua have a negator meaning ‘not yet’ (negation of posteriority) in the form of Ꙉ ꑱ ‘not yet’. ‘Not yet’ negators are common in Pinghua, Yue, Hakka and Min. Proto-Tai is also reconstructed as having a ‘not yet’ negator *paj^B on one hand, and the general negator *mi^A/ *baw^B (emphatic) on the other hand (Pittayaporn et al. 2011).
Nanning Cantonese: 有 muH NEG versus 盟 menL ‘not yet’ (< m... + 曾 tsenL ‘ever’)

68.  我 有 多 想 去， 实 在 有 得 闲。
ηoH muH huiH muH kengL hy1 fa-tai-fuiH huiH muH tek\henH
1SG NEG be NEG want go really be NEG free
‘It is not the case that I do not want to go, but I am really not free.’ (non-perfective) (L&Q: 288)

69.  而 家 又 有 雨， 又 有 大 水， 做乜 嘢 菜 哪 少？
ji1ka1 jauH jauH jy1H jauH muH fa-tai-fuiH tuiH meH ka1 melH kemL juiH
now also exist rain also NEG flood why vegetables so few
‘Now there is rain, and it did not flood, why are there so few vegetables [for sale]?’
(perfective) (L&Q: 399)

70.  佢 都 有 钱， 你 嫁 佢 做乜？
k\xegH tu1 muH jauH tf\i1nL nihL ka1 k\xegH tfu1m\i1
3SG any NEG exist money 2SG marry 3SG why
‘He does not have money, why do you marry him?’ (existence) (L&Q: 288)

71.  我 阿 排 时 忙 多， 重 盟 得 闲 悠 阿 件 事。
ηoH a1 p\ai1jL maH to1 tf\i1nL menL tek\henL nemL a1 kin1 fi1
1SG DEM period busy too still not yet free think DEM CL matter
‘I was too busy then, I did not yet have the time to think about that matter.’ (not yet)
(L&Q: 289)

Nanning Pinghua: 有 miH NEG versus 盟 menL ‘not yet’ (< m... + 曾 tsenL ‘ever’)

72.  狗 有 识 得 去 那 啦。
kau1 miH la\tek\ hoiH na1 ten1 la1
dog NEG know go which place PRF
‘As for the dog [I] do not know where it has gone.’ (non-perfective) (FS)

73.  小学 个 有 毕 业， 好 多 字 有 认 知。
liu1\ak\ koi1 miH put\hi1p\ hauH to1 tf\i1
tf\i1 miH n\a1\ak\ primary.school even NEG graduate very many characters even NEG recognize
‘[I] did not even graduate from primary school, and there are many Chinese characters
that I do not know.’
(first 有 miH perfective; second miH 都 tuH + 有 miH non-perfective) (G)

74.  佢 来 去 呢， 就 [...] 有 地 方 啦，
ka1H lei1 lei1 lei1 hei1 nei1 ne1 tf\i1nL miH jauH tfu1m\i1
3SG find go find TOP then NEG exist place PRF
就 坐 在 一 条 长 板 椅 个 另 一 头。
tf\i1nL tfu1H tf\i1nL tu1 liu1 tfu1\ak\ pan\ak\ koi1 lan\\\ak\ tau
then sit at one CL long bench MOD other end
‘He kept on looking, but there was no other space, then he sat at the other end of [the]
long bench.’ (existence) (G)
75. 唉！讲了 艳 多，
   aɪ kaŋ⁴ liu⁴ kæŋ⁴ tə⁴⁴
hey talk PRV so much
盟 问 你 大哥 姓 那 门 先。
men⁴ men⁴ naɪ⁴ tæ²kə⁴ laŋ¹ naɪməŋ¹ lɪn⁴⁴
not.yet ask 2SG big.bro be.surname what first
‘Hey! We have talked so much, I have not yet asked you big brother what your surname
is.’ (盟 men'L ‘not yet’) (G)

76. 至今 盟 得到 手。
   ʈʰi¹ kəm⁴ men⁴ tek¹ laʊ¹ laʊ¹
till now not.yet get arrive hand
‘Till now [I still] have not got them.’ (盟 men'L ‘not yet’) (SS)

Mandarin, on the other hand, does not have a ‘not yet’ negator, and relies on adverbials like 還 hái ‘still’.

Standard Mandarin
77. 他 没有 吃 東西。
   tâ⁵ meîyōu¹ chī dōngxi²
3SG NEG:PFV eat thing
‘S/he did not eat.’

78. 他 還 沒有 吃 東西。
   tâ⁵ hái meîyōu¹ chī dōngxi²
3SG still NEG:PFV eat thing
‘S/he has not eaten yet.’

3.2 Negative question particles
The negative question particles mark the same distinction of ‘not’ versus ‘not yet’.

Nanning Cantonese: 有呢 muHnɛ́~ 嘛 maɿ versus 盟 men'L
79. 你 见 北京 好 耍 有 呢？
   ni² kɪn¹ pɛk¹kɛn¹ hu³ fa²³ muH nɛ́
2SG feel Beijing good play NEG Q
‘Do you find Beijing fun?’ (L&Q: 365)

80. 你咁 屋 养 有 鸡 嘛？
   ni²HTɿ tɪk¹ jœn¹ jœn¹ kʊi¹ maɿ
2PL house rear exist chicken NEG:Q
‘Do you rear chickens in your house?’ (L&Q: 365)

81. 小学 都 开学 你咁 开 盟？
   liu¹hɔk³ tu¹ hɔi¹-hɔk³ lai¹ ni²HTɿ hɔi¹ men'L
primary_school all begin-school PRF 2PL begin not.yet
‘Primary schools have started, have you started?’ (L&Q: 365)
Nanning Pinghua: 咪 mei1 versus 盟 men1
82. 是 加纳 咪？是 加蓬 咪？
be Ghana NEG:Q be Gabon NEG:Q
‘Is it Ghana? Is it Gabon?’ (G)

83. 你 吃 饭 盟？
2SG eat rice NEG
‘Have you had meal?’

3.3 Negative imperative markers

Nanning Cantonese: 佢 mu1 (again...)
84. 年纪 大 唸， 佢 拣 来 拣 去 啦，
age big PRF NEG:IMP choose come choose go HOR
求其 有 得 嫁 就 得 啦。
whatever exist can marry then can HOR
‘You are already not young, do not be that picky, it is good if you can get married with whoever.’ (L&Q: 288)

Nanning Pinghua: 咪 mei1
(c.f. Standard Cantonese 咪 mei1, Northern Zhuang gaej /kaj/)
85. 狗 咬 你 狗 你 咪 走，
dog bite 2SG dog chase 2SG NEG:IMP run
你 跳 落 来 就 得 呀。
2SG squat down come then can PRF
‘When dogs bite or chase you do not run, all you need to do is squat down.’ (SS)

86. 有 病 就 得 去 医院， 咪 拖。
exist illness then get go hospital NEG:IMP delay
‘You have to go to the hospital if you are sick, do not delay’

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