SOME ASPECT AND NEGATION MARKERS IN NANNING CANTONESE AND NANNING PINGHUA

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1.   Settings

Nanning 南寧 — capital of Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region.

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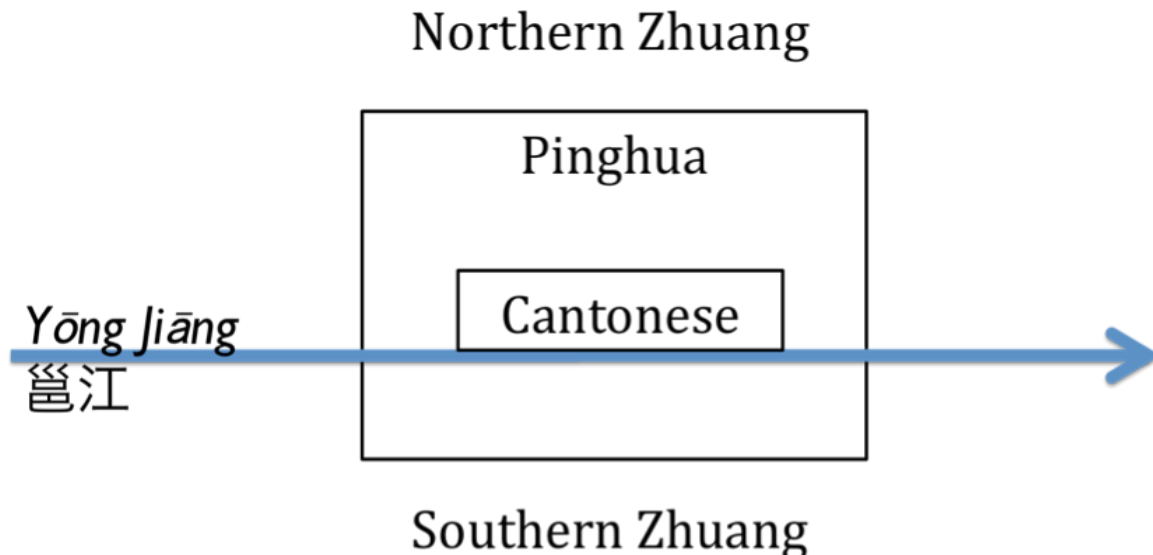
南寧平話 Nanning Pinghua
- o Spoken primarily in suburbs and nearby rural areas;
- o Associated with military personal from Shandong (including parts of modern day Henan) during the 1053 war by 宋 *Sòng* against the 儂志高 *Nungz Ciqgau* (*Nóng Zhìgāo*) regime.

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

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

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 上堯 /ɬɐŋ˨ hiu˨/ Shàngyáo;

2. Aspect markers
2.1 Perfective and perfect
Standard Mandarin: 了 *le* PFV (perfective), 了 *le* PRF (perfect; current relevance)
The two can cooccur if they are not next to each other.

1. 我 寫 了 三 頁 了。
   wǒ *xiě* *le* *sān* *yè* *le*
   1SG write PFV three page PRF
   'I have written three pages.'

Standard Cantonese: 咗 *zo²* PFV, 嘑 *laa³* PRF
The two can cooccur.

2. 佢 食 咗 三 包 藥 嘑。
   keoi⁵ *sik⁶* *zo²* *saam¹* *baau¹* *joek⁶* *laa³*
   3SG eat PFV three packet medicine PRF
   'S/he has eaten three packets of medicine.'

3. 佢 食 咗 嘑。
   keoi⁵ *sik⁶* *zo²* *laa³*
   3SG eat PFV PRF
   'S/he has eaten.'

Nanning Cantonese: 哂 ɬai˨ PFV (perfective), 哂 ɬai˨ PRF (perfect)
   (≠ Standard Cantonese 哂 *saai³* COMPLETIVE; see §2.2)
The two can cooccur if they are not next to each other.

4. 佢 上 个 月 结 哂 婚 哂 。
   kʰy˨ ʃœŋ˨ kɔ˨ jyt˨ kit˨ ɬai˨ fɐn˥ ɬai˨
   3SG last CL month 'get' PFV marry PRF
   'S/he got married last month.' (L&Q: 326)

5. 件 事 我 恁 哂 好 耐 哂，
   kin˨ ʃi˨ ŋɔ˨ nɐm˨˥ ɬai˨ hu˨ nɔi˨ ɬai˨
   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 哂 ɬai˨ must be at the end of a clause (i.e. it cannot shift to any other positions).

6. 我哋　住　喺　南宁　　得　三　十　年　哂，
　　ŋɔ꜒ti꜖ tʃy꜖ hɐi꜖ nam꜖nɪŋ꜖ tɐk꜒ ɬam꜒ ʃɐp꜖ nin꜖ ɬai꜖
　　1PL　live　at　Nanning　get　three　ten　year　PRF
　　南宁　　边　哒　地方　都　熟　　哂。
　　nam꜖nɪŋ꜖ pin꜒ tat꜖ ti꜖fɔŋ꜒ tu꜒ ʃʊk꜖ ɬai꜖
　　Nanning　which　CL　place　all　familiar　PRF
　　'We have lived in Nanning for thirty years, we are familiar with all places in Nanning.'
　　(L&Q: 325)

However, clause final 哂 ɬai꜖ is not necessarily the perfect markers; the perfective marker 哂 ɬai꜖ 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　　哂　寸　半，整　短啲　　　给　我　喂。
　　tʰiu꜖ fu꜖ tʃʰœŋ꜖ ɬai꜖ tʃʰyn꜖ pun꜖ tʃɪŋ꜒ tyn꜖꜔-ti꜒ kɐi꜒ ŋɔ꜒꜔ wɐi꜖
　　CL　trousers　long　PFV　inch　half　make　short-COMPR　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　哂，整　短啲　　　给　我　喂。
　　tʰiu꜖ fu꜖ tʃʰœŋ꜖ tʃʰyn꜖ pun꜖ ɬai꜖ tʃɪŋ꜒ tyn꜖꜔-ti꜒ kɐi꜒ ŋɔ꜒꜔ wɐi꜖
　　CL　trousers　long　inch　half　PFV　make　short-COMPR　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. 厅日　　我　落　　哂　班　就　去　买　火车　　票。
　　tʰɪŋ꜒jɐt꜖ ŋɔ꜒꜔ lɔk꜖ ɬai꜖ pan꜒ tʃɐu꜖ hy꜖ mai꜖ fɔ꜖tʃʰɛ꜒ pʰiu꜖
　　tomorrow　1SG　get_off　PFV　work　then　go　buy　railway　ticket
　　'Tomorrow once I have got off work I will go and buy railway tickets.' (L&Q: 326)

10. 厅日　　我　落　班　哂　就　去　买　火车　　票。
　　tʰɪŋ꜒jɐt꜖ ŋɔ꜒꜔ lɔk꜖ pan꜒ ɬai꜖ tʃɐu꜖ hy꜖ mai꜖ fɔ꜖tʃʰɛ꜒ pʰiu꜖
　　tomorrow　1SG　get_off　work　PFV　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)

Thai

12. เรา   กิน   ข้าว   แล้ว
    raw   kin   khâaw   lɛ́ɛw
    1PL   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 <u>gvaq</u>.*
    mother   1SG   NEG   ever   read   book   EXP
    'My Mother has never been educated.' (Wei & Qin 2006: 203)

14.   *Yumz gaiq-baengz <u>hoengz</u> lo.*
    dye   CL-cloth   red   PRF
    'Have dyed the cloth red.' (Wei & Qin 2006: 229)

In Nanning Cantonese, the marker 哂 ɬai˧ 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，
    ŋɔ˧ɬti˧ tɐi˧jɐt˥ tʃʰi˧ tʃʰyn˧-hɔk˧jyn˧˩ kɛ˧ tai˧wui˧ ʃy˥ki˧ kɔŋ˥ ɬin˥
    1PL   ORD-one time   whole-institute   MOD conference secretary speak first
    书记   <u>哂</u>，院长   至   讲，   院长   <u>哂</u>，
    ʃy˥ki˧ <u>ɬai˧</u> jyn˧˩-tʃœŋ˧˩ tʃi˧ kɔŋ˥ jyn˧˩-tʃœŋ˧˩ <u>ɬai˧</u>
    secretary PFV   institute-head then   speak institute-head PFV
    啲   副院长   一   只   一   只   再   讲。
    ti˥   fu˧-jyn˧˩-tʃœŋ˧˩   jɐt˥ tʃɛk˧ jɐt˥ tʃɛk˧ tʃɔi˧ kɔŋ˥
    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，
    jim˧˩tʃʰyt˥   jɐt˥ hɔi˥tʃʰi˧˩ hɐi˧ tai˧-hɐp˧-tʃʰœŋ˧
    performance   one   start   be   big-together-sing
    <u>哂</u>   (呢)   系   女生   独唱。
    <u>ɬai˧</u> (nɛ˥) hɐi˧ ny˧˩-ʃaŋ˥   tʊk˧-tʃʰœŋ˧
    PFV (TOP) be   female-student single-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 liu˧˩ PFV (perfective), 啦 la˧ PRF (perfect)
Both can be reduced to lə˧ (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。
　　 ŋa˧ hai˧ liu˧˩ kə˥ tʃət˥ tʃʰaŋ˥˧
　　 1SG open PFV DEM CL   window
　　 'I opened the window.'

19. 我   开   个   只   窗   啦。
　　 ŋa˧ hai˧ kə˥ tʃət˥ tʃʰaŋ˥˧ la˧
　　 1SG open DEM CL window PRF
　　 'I have opened the window.'

20. *我   开   了   个   只   窗   啦。
　　 *ŋa˧ hai˧ liu˧˩ kə˥ tʃət˥ tʃʰaŋ˥˧ la˧
　　 1SG open PFV DEM CL   window PRF

21. 个   只   男   孩子   呢   系   了   几   只   果   系   佢。
　　 kə˥   tʃət˥ nam˨ hai˨tʃi˧ nɛ˥ hɐi˨˩ liu˧˩ kəi˨ tʃət˥ ku˥ hɐi˨˩ kəi˧
　　 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，
　　 tʃəu˨ pa˥ ku˨ hau˨ kə˥ ɬi˧   nɛ˥ tʃəu˨ fʊŋ˥ lak˧ kun˥tʃai˨
　　 then OBJ wrap good MOD corpse TOP then put   in   coffin
　　 就   送   葬   啦。
　　 tʃəu˨ ɬʊŋ˥ tʃaŋ˥ la˧
　　 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 liu˧˩ 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）。
　　keoi˧˩ tʃʰət˥ (liu˧˩) kai˥˧ mai˨˦ pən˧˩ku˥˧ (*liu˧˩/ *la˥˧)
　　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 哂 saai³ COMPL (completive))

<u>Nanning Cantonese: 齐 tʃʰɐi˩ COMPL (completive)</u>
Can be placed after the verb, or after the verb phrase (see §2.1 above).

24.　洗　　齐　　　啲　　　衫。
　　ɬɐi˧˥ <u>tʃʰɐi˩</u> ti˥　ʃam˥
　　wash　COMPL CL:NSG clothes
　　'Wash all the clothes.' (L&Q: 290)

25.　啲　　　妹崽　　　一　个 二 个 都　趯　去 听　　演唱会　　　　　齐。
　　ti˥　　mui˨˦tʃɐi˧˥ jɐt˥ kɔ˧ ji˨ kɔ˧ tu˥ tɛk˥ hy˧ tʰɛŋ˥ jim˨˦tʃʰœŋ˨wui˨ tʃʰɐi˩
　　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)

<u>Nanning Pinghua 齐 tʃɐi˩ COMPL:</u>
26.　个　个　东西　　　总　　冇见　　齐。
　　ə˥　kə˥ tʊŋ˥ɬɐi˥ tʃʊŋ˧ mi˨˦kin˥ tʃɐi˩
　　DEM CL　thing　　all　lost　　COMPL
　　'All those things were completely lost.' (SS)

27.　我　讲：「伝队　　原来　　　资料，　　其他　　烧　齐　　　啦，
　　ŋa˨˦ kaŋ˧ wɛn˨tɔi˨ win˨lɛi˨ tʃi˥liu˨ ki˨tʰa˥ ɬiu˥ tʃɐi˩ la˥
　　1SG　say　1INCLPL　original　information other　burn COMPL PRF
　　现在　　还　　存有　　　的　　　呢？」
　　hin˨tʃai˨ wɐn˥˧ tʃɔn˨jəu˨ tɪk˥　nɛ˩
　　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 tʃɐi˩ can be used after a non-preposed object.
28.　我　吃　个　的　　龙眼　　齐。
　　ŋɔ˨˦ hɐt˥ kə˥ tɪk˥　lʊŋ˨ŋan˨ tʃɐi˩
　　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 齐去 tʃɐiɬ hɐiɬ is used (去 hɐiɬ 'go').

29. 　　我　　吃　　齐　　去　　个　　的　　　龙眼。
　　　　ŋoɬ　hɐtɬ　tʃɐiɬ　hɐiɬ　kə˥　tɪk˥　　loŋˌŋanɬ
　　　　1SG　eat　COMPL　go　　DEM　CL:NSG　longan
　　　　'I ate up all the longans.'

齐 tʃɐiɬ can be used as an independent verb meaning 'finish'.

30. 　　个　　只　　画面　　　就　　　齐　　　啦。
　　　　ə˥　　tʃət˥　waɬminɬ　tʃɐuɬ　tʃɐiɬ　la˥
　　　　DEM　CL　　image　　then　　finish　PRF
　　　　'The film is then finished.' (PS)

<u>2.3　　Durative and progressive</u>
<u>Nanning Cantonese</u>
The durative marker is 住 tʃyɬ.

31. 　　细张　　　　唱　　住　　歌　　落　　　来。
　　　　ɬɐiɬ-tʃœŋ˥　tʃʰœŋɬ　tʃyɬ　ko˥　　lokɬ　　lɐiɬ
　　　　little-Zhang　sing　　DUR　song　entre　come
　　　　'Little Zhang came in while singing.' (L&Q: 329)

32. 　　扶　　住　　只　　罉　　给　　我，　有　　　　畀　　跌　　落　　　来。
　　　　fuɬ　　tʃyɬ　tʃɛkɬ　tʃɐn˥　kɐi˥　ŋoɬ　muɬ　　piɬ˥　titɬ　lokɬ　lɐiɬ
　　　　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　　壳　　挂　　住　　喺　　墙　　　啲。
　　　　tʃɛkɬ　hokɬ　kʷaɬ　tʃyɬ　hɐiɬ˥　tʃʰœŋˌ　ti˥
　　　　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 tʃyɬ and 紧 kɐnɬ˥. (On the other hand, in Standard Cantonese, 住 *zy⁶* only means durative and 緊 *gan²* only means progressive.)

34. 　　地震　　　　阵时　　我哋　　倾　　[住/　　紧]　　QQ。
　　　　tiɬtʃɐnɬ　　tʃɐnɬʃiɬ　ŋoɬˌtiɬ　kʰɪŋ˥　[tʃyɬ/　kɐnɬ˥]　kʰiu˥kʰiu˥
　　　　earthquake　when　　1PL　　chat　[PROG/　PROG]　QQ
　　　　'When the earthquake struck we were chatting on QQ.' (L&Q: 331)

35. 我　　而家　　恖　　　[住/　　紧]　　老师　　喍先　　　讲　　嘅　　　话。
　　　ŋɔ˧˥ jiˌkaˑ nɐmˌˑ [tʃyˑ/ kɐnˌ˥] luˑˑʃiˑ ŋamˑkinˑ kɔŋˌˑ kɛˑ waˑ
　　　1SG now think [PROG/ PROG] teacher just_now say MOD speech
　　　'I am currently thinking about what the teacher said just now.' (L&Q: 331)

However, for accomplishment verbs, 住 tʃyˑ does not always have a progressive meaning: with non-specific objects, 住 tʃyˑ has a progressive meaning, whereas specific objects reinforce a durative meaning.

36. 我　　落　　去　　阵时，　佢　　穿　　　紧　　衫。
　　　ŋɔˑ lɔkˑ hyˑ tʃɐnˌʃiˑ kʰyˑ tʃʰynˑ kɐnˑ ʃamˑ
　　　1SG entre go when 3SG wear PROG shirt
　　　'When I went in, s/he was putting on clothes.' (L&Q: 332)

37. 我　　落　　去　　阵时，　佢　　穿　　　住　　衫。
　　　ŋɔˑ lɔkˑ hyˑ tʃɐnˌʃiˑ kʰyˑ tʃʰynˑ tʃyˑ ʃamˑ
　　　1SG entre go when 3SG wear PROG shirt
　　　'When I went in, s/he was putting on clothes.' (L&Q: 332)

38. 我　　落　　去　　阵时，　佢　　穿　　　住　　件　　衫。
　　　ŋɔˑ lɔkˑ hyˑ tʃɐnˌʃiˑ kʰyˑ tʃʰynˑ tʃyˑ kinˑ ʃamˑ
　　　1SG entre go when 3SG wear DUR CL shirt
　　　'When I went in, s/he had the shirt on.' (L&Q: 332)

<u>Nanning Pinghua</u>: 住 tʃəiˑ DUR
39. 佢　　抓　　佢　　只　　鼻子　　来　　　　　住
　　　kəiˑ ɲaˑ kəiˑ tʃətˑ pətˌtʃiˑ lɐiˑ tʰɐpˑ tʃəiˑ
　　　3SG use 3SG CL nose come cover DUR
　　　个　　只　　流声机　　　　只　　喇叭。
　　　əˑ tʃətˑ lɐuˌˑɐnˑkəiˑ tʃətˑ laˑpaˑ
　　　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　　　。
　　　pauˑ tʃəiˑ tʃətˑ kɐuˑ nɛˑ tʃɐuˑ tʃʰətˑ waiˑtɐuˑ həiˑ lɐiˑ
　　　hold DUR CL dog TOP then exit outside go find
　　　'[He] held the dog and went outside to find [the frog].' (FS)

住 tʃəiˑ ~ 紧 kɐnˑ PROG
41. 熊猫　　　吃　(紧/　　住)　竹　　　叶。
　　　jʊŋˌmɛuˑ hɐtˑ (kɐnˑ/ tʃəiˑ) tʃʊkˑ hipˌˑ
　　　panda eat PROG PROG bamboo leaf
　　　'The panda is eating bamboo leaves.'

[Context: 'What is he doing now?']

42. 佢　　坐　　凳　　看　　(紧/　　住)　　书。
    kəi˩˧　tʃu˩˧　tɐŋ˥　han˩˧ (kɐn˩/　tʃəi˩˧)　ɬəi˩˧
    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 紧 kɐn˩, and a state meaning is expressed by 住 tʃəi˩˧.

43. 佢　　坐　　(*紧/　　住)　　凳　　看　　书。
    kəi˩˧　tʃu˩˧ (*kɐn˩/　tʃəi˩˧)　tɐŋ˥　han˩˧　ɬəi˩˧
    3SG　sit　(PROG/　DUR)　chair　read　book
    'He is reading a book while sitting on a chair.'

2.4　　Experiential

Nanning Cantonese: 过 kɔ˩ experiential

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

44. 你　　几时　请　　我　　食　　过　　饭？
    ni˩˧　ki˩ʃi˩ tʃʰɐŋ˩˧ ŋɔ˩˧ ʃik˩ kɔ˩　fan˩
    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？
    ni˩˧　ki˩ʃi˩ tʃʰɐŋ˩˧ ŋɔ˩˧ ʃik˩ fan˩　kɔ˩
    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 kʷɔ˩ 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 kɔ˩ also has a repetitive meaning (i.e. 'again'), same as in Standard Cantonese.

Nanning Cantonese

47. 印　　冇　　得　　清楚，　　再　　印　　过。
    jɐn˩　mu˩˧　tɐk˥ tʃʰɪŋ˥tʃʰɔ˩˧　tʃɔi˩　jɐn˩　kɔ˩
    print　NEG　get　clear　again　print　REP
    'The printing is not clear. Print again.' (L&Q: 333)

Nanning Pinghua: 过 ku˩ experiential

In Nanning Pinghua, 过 kuꜜ 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。
　　　ɐn˥˧wəi˦　tu˥˧　im˦　kuꜜ　tʃiꜞ　tʃʰau˥˧　tɐk˦　tʃʰət˦　lɐiꜞ
　　　because　all　act　EXP　so　copy　get　exit　come
　　　'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.　佢　　去　　过　越南。
　　　kəi˥˧　həiꜜ˥˧　kuꜜ　hit˦˧nam˩
　　　3SG　go　EXP　Vietnam
　　　'S/he had been to Vietnam before.'

50.　*佢　　去　　越南　　　过。
　　　kəi˥˧　həiꜞ˥˧　hit˦˧nam˩　kuꜜ
　　　3SG　go　Vietnam　EXP　　　(this would be grammatical in Nanning Cantonese)

2.5　　Prospective
Nanning Cantonese: 想 ɫœŋ˦꜖ꜜ PROS
51.　上高　　　只　　电风扇　　　想　　　跌　落　来　　哂，危险　　　多。
　　　ʃœŋ˧kuꜞ　tʃɛk˦　tin˧-fʊŋꜞʃin˦　ɫœŋ˦꜖ꜜ　tit˦　lɔk˦　lɐiꜞ　ɫaiꜞ　ŋɐiꜞhim˦꜖ꜜ　tɔꜞ
　　　above　CL　electric-fan　PROS　fall　down　come　PRF　dangerous　too
　　　'The electric fan above is going to fall down, it is too dangerous.' (L&Q: 332)

Nanning Pinghua: 要 iuꜜ PROS
Prospective aspect is most usually not marked. The prospective marker 要 iuꜜ 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。
　　　mən꜖꜖ɲət˦˧　(iuꜜ)　lak˦˧　həiꜞ
　　　tomorrow　PROS　fall　rain
　　　'It will rain tomorrow.'

53.　天气　　　预报　讲　明日　　　(要)　　落　　雨。
　　　tʰinꜞɫhəiꜜ˧　hi˦pauꜜ　kaŋꜞ　mən꜖꜖ɲət˦˧　(iuꜜ)　lak˦　həiꜞ
　　　weather　forecast say　tomorrow　PROS　fall　rain
　　　'The weather forecast says that it will rain tomorrow.'

54.　吃　了　个　的　　东西　　呢　你　就　(要)　死。
　　　hɐt˦　liuꜟ꜖　kəꜞ　tɪkꜜ　tʊŋꜞɫhəiꜞ　nɛ　nəiꜜ˧　tʃʊuꜟ　(iuꜜ)　ɫəiꜞ
　　　eat　PFV　DEM　CL:NSG　thing　　TOP　2SG　then　PROS　die
　　　'If you eat these things, you will die.'

In addition, 要 iu˥ cannot be negated.

55. * 天气　　　预报　讲　明日　　　冇　要　落　雨。
　　　tʰin˥ʨʰei˨ hi˨pou˥ kaŋ˨ mən˩ɲət˥˩ mi˥˩ iu˥　　lak˥˩ hei˨
　　　weather　　forecast say　tomorrow　NEG PROS　fall　rain
　　　'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
　　　　　　　míngtiān wǒ　bú　qù
　　　　　　　tomorrow 1SG　NEG　go　　　(non-perfective: 不 *bū*)

map 029　　　昨天　　我　没有　去
　　　　　　　zuótiān　wǒ　méiyǒu qù
　　　　　　　yesterday 1SG　NEG　　go　(perfective: 没 (有) *méi (yǒu)*)

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

Standard Cantonese
56.　　聽日　　我　唔　去。
　　　ting¹jat⁶　ngo⁵　m⁴　heoi³
　　　tomorrow　1SG　NEG　go　　(non-perfective: 唔 *m⁴*)

57.　　琴日　　我　冇　去。
　　　kam⁴jat⁶　ngo⁵　mou⁵ heoi³
　　　yesterday　1SG　NEG　go　　(perfective: 冇 *mou⁵*)

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

Nanning Cantonese
59.　　听日　　我　冇　去。
　　　tʰiŋ˥jɐt˩　ŋɔ˦ muˍ˦ hy˦
　　　tomorrow　1SG　NEG　go　　(non-perfective: 冇 mu˦)

60. 　琴日　　　我　冇　去。
　　　kʰɐm˩mɐt˨　ŋɔ˥　mu˩　hy˧
　　　yesterday　1SG　NEG　go　(perfective: 冇 mu˩)

61. 　佢　　冇　　有　　細蚊仔。
　　　kʰy˥　mu˩　jɐu˩　ɬɐi˧mɐn˥tʃɐi˩
　　　3SG　NEG　exist　child　(existence: 冇 mu˩ + exist)

Nanning Pinghua

62. 　明日　　　我　冇　去。
　　　mən˩nɐt˥　ŋa˥　mi˩　həi˩
　　　tomorrow　1SG　NEG　go　(non-perfective: 冇 mi˩)

63. 　自日　　　我　冇　去。
　　　tʃi˩nɐt˥　ŋa˥　mi˩　həi˩
　　　yesterday　1SG　NEG　go　(perfective: 冇 mi˩)

64. 　佢　　冇　　有　　細蚊仔。
　　　kəi˥　mi˩　jəu˥　ɬɐi˧mɐn˥tʃai˥
　　　3SG　NEG　exist　child　(existence: 冇 mi˩ + exist)

This is an influence from Zhuang, which also has the same negation morph in these three situations.

Northern Zhuang

65. 　*Gou mbouj 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 mbouj daeuj.*
　　　only 2SG NEG come
　　　'Only you did not come.' (Wei & Qin 2006: 190)

67. 　*Gou miz haujlai saw, mwngz mbouj 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 盟 mɐŋ˩ '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).

<u>Nanning Cantonese:</u>　冇 mu˩˨ NEG versus 盟 mɐŋ˨˩ 'not yet' (< m...+ 曾 tsʰɐŋ˨˩ 'ever')

68. 我　　冇　　系　　冇　　想　　去，　实在　　　系　　冇　　得闲。
　　ŋɔ˩˨　mu˩˨　hɐi˨　mu˩˨　ɬœŋ˨　hy˥　ʃɐt˥tʃɔi˨　hɐi˨　mu˩˨　tɐkˈhɐn˨
　　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　冇　　发大水，　做乜嘢　菜　　嗽　少？
　　ji˩ka˥　jɐu˨　jɐu˥　jy˩　jɐu˨　mu˩˨　fat˥tai˨ʃui˥　tʃu˨mɛ˥tʃi˥　tʃʰɔi˨　kɐm˩˨　ʃiu˥
　　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　冇　有　钱，　你　嫁　佢　做乜？
　　kʰy˨　tu˥　mu˩˨　jɐu˨　tʃʰin˨　ni˩˨　ka˥　kʰy˨　tʃu˨mɐt˥
　　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　恁　阿　件　事。
　　ŋɔ˩˨　a˥　pʰai˩ʃi˩　mɔŋ˩　tɔ˥　tʃʊŋ˨　mɐŋ˨　tɐkˈhɐn˨　nɐm˩˨　a˥　kin˨　ʃi˨
　　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)

<u>Nanning Pinghua:</u>　　冇 mi˩˨ NEG versus 盟 mɐŋ˨˩ 'not yet' (< m... + 曾 tsɐŋ˨˩ 'ever')

72. 狗　冇　识得　去　那　　　啦。
　　kɐu˨　mi˩˨　ɬɐt˥tɐk˥　hɐi˨˥　na˨　tɛn˨　la˨
　　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　冇　毕业，　好　多　字　　冇　　认识。
　　ɬiu˨hak˨　kə˥　mi˩˨　pɐt˥nip˨　hau˨　tɔ˥　tʃi˨　mi˩˨　ɲɐn˨ɬɐt˨
　　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 冇 mi˩˨ perfective; second mi˩˨: 都 tu˩˨ + 冇 mi˩˨ non-perfective) (G)

74. 佢　　来　　去　呢，　就[...]冇　有　地方　　啦，
　　kəi˨　lɐi˩　lɐi˨　lɐi˨　həi˩　nɛ˨　tʃɐu˨　mi˩˨　jɐu˨　tɐi˨fɔŋ˥　la˨
　　3SG　find　go　find　come　TOP　then　NEG　exist　place　PRF
　　就　坐　在　一　条　长　板凳　个　另一　头。
　　tʃɐu˨　tʃu˨　tʃɐi˨　ɐt˨　tiu˩　tʃɛŋ˩　pan˨tɐŋ˥　kə˥　lɐn˨ɐt˨　tɐu˨
　　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　耿　多，
ai˩ kaŋ˦ liu˥˩ kɐŋ˦ tɔ˩
hey talk PRV so much
盟　　问　你　大哥　姓　　　那门　先。
mɐŋ˨ mɐn˨ nəi˥˩ tai˦kɔ˥˩ ɬɐn˩ na˦mun˨ ɬin˥˩
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 mɐŋ˨ 'not yet') (G)

76. 至　今　盟　　得　到　手。
tʃi˩ kɐm˥˩ mɐŋ˨ tɐk˦ tau˥ ɬɐu˦
till now not.yet get arrive hand
'Till now [I still] have not got them.' (盟 mɐŋ˨ '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	沒有	吃	東西。		78.	他	還	沒有	吃	東西。
	tā	*méiyǒu*	*chī*	*dōngxi*			*tā*	*hái*	*méiyǒu*	*chī*	*dōngxi*
	3SG	NEG:PFV	eat	thing			3SG	still	NEG:PFV	eat	thing
	'S/he did not eat.'						'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: 冇呢 mu˩˦nɛ˨ ~ 嘛 ma˩˥ versus 盟 mɐŋ˨

79. 你　见　北京　好　耍　冇　呢？
ni˦ kin˦ pɐk˥kɪŋ˥ hu˥˩ ʃa˩˥ mu˩˥ nɛ˨
2SG feel Beijing good play NEG Q
'Do you find Beijing fun?' (L&Q: 365)

80. 你哋　屋　养　有　鸡　　嘛？
ni˦˥ti˦ ʊk˥ jœŋ˦ jɐu˥˩ kɐi˥ ma˥˩
2PL house rear exist chicken NEG:Q
'Do you rear chickens in your house?' (L&Q: 365)

81. 小学　　　　都　开学　　哂，　你哋　开　　盟？
ɬiu˥˩hɔk˦ tu˥ hɔi˥-hɔk˦ ɬai˦ ni˦˥ti˦ hɔi˥ mɐŋ˨
primary_school all begin-school PRF 2PL begin not.yet
'Primary schools have started, have you started?' (L&Q: 365)

Nanning Pinghua: 咩 mɛ˧˩ versus 盟 mɐŋ˨

82.　　是　加纳　　咩？　是　加蓬　　咩？
　　　ɬi˧　ka˥˧nap˥˧　mɛ˧˩　ɬi˧　ka˥˧pʊŋ˨　mɛ˧˩
　　　be　Ghana　NEG:Q　be　Gabon　NEG:Q
　　　'Is it Ghana? Is it Gabon?' (G)

83.　　你　　吃　饭　盟？
　　　nəi˧˩　hɐt˧　fan˨　mɐŋ˨
　　　2SG　eat　rice　not.yet
　　　'Have you had meal?'

3.3　　Negative imperative markers

Nanning Cantonese: 冇 mu˧˩ (again...)

84.　　年纪　　大　哂，　冇　　拣　　来　拣　　去　啦，
　　　nin˩ki˥˧　tai˨　ɬai˨　mu˧˩　kɛn˥˧　lɐi˨　kɛn˥˧　hy˨　la˨
　　　age　　big　PRF　NEG:IMP　choose　come　choose　go　HOR
　　　求其　　　有　得　嫁　　就　　得　啦。
　　　kʰɐu˩kʰi˩　jɐu˧˩　tɐk˥　ka˨　tʃɐu˨　tɐk˥　la˨
　　　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 mɐi˥

(c.f. Standard Cantonese 咪 mai⁵, Northern Zhuang gaej /kaj˥/)

85.　　狗　咬　你　狗　　　你　咪　　走，
　　　kɐu˧　ɲau˧˩　nəi˧˩　kɐu˧　pɐŋ˥˧　nəi˧˩　mɐi˥　tʃɐu˧
　　　dog　bite　2SG　dog　chase　2SG　NEG:IMP　run
　　　你　踎　落　来　就　得　呀。
　　　nəi˧˩　mɐu˧　lɐk˥　lɐi˨　tʃɐu˧　tɐk˥　ə˨
　　　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。
　　　jɐu˧˩　pən˨　tʃɐu˨　tɐk˥　həi˧˩　əi˥win˨　mɐi˥　tʰɔ˥
　　　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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