

Yuè & the Sinitic Languages of the Pearl River Region — Unit 3.3

13th EACL Summer School, Universität Stuttgart

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Wednesday 29 July 2026

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Non-Sinitic influence

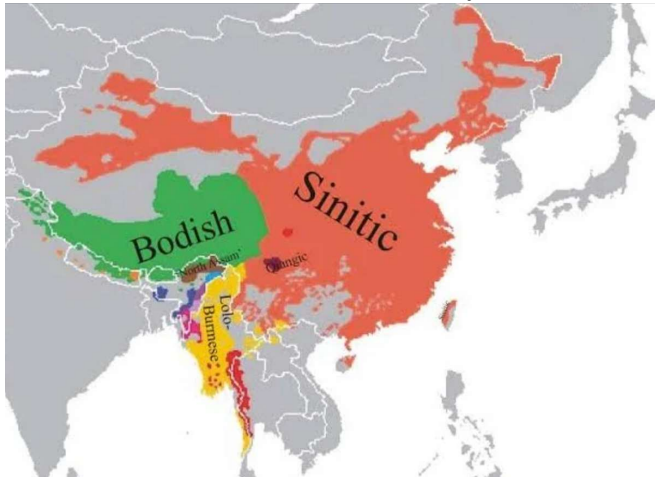
Ethnolinguistic situation before the Hàn expansion was something like this: (*i.e. there are various theories*)



Fig. 1. Ethnic divisions in South China before the Han's southward expansion. Dashed lines are the ethnic divisions. Dotted lines are the province borders. Dashed dotted lines are the country borders. Solid lines are rivers and sea lines. Important cordilleras between ethnic areas are marked in the map.

Non-Sinitic influence

Sino-Tibetan 漢藏 / Trans-Himalayan 跨喜瑪拉雅



“Tibeto-Burman” 藏緬
= non-Sinitic
Sino-Tibetan
languages
(one node?
multiple nodes?)

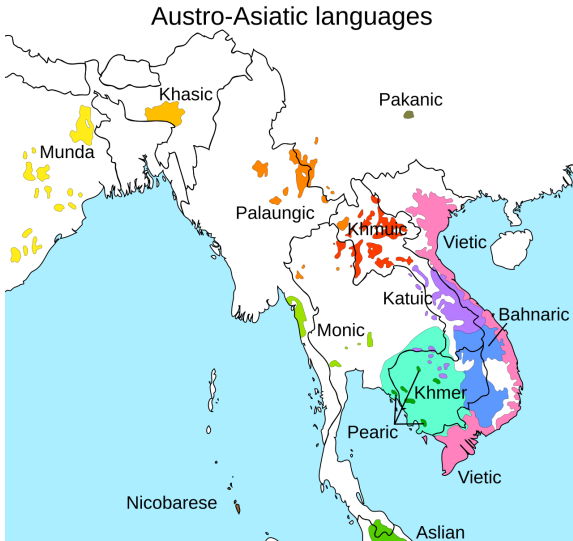
Is Sinitic a first
order branch?

Pearl River
Basin: Sinitic
and Loloish
 (“Luóluó 俣俣”,
i.e. Yí 彝 and
relatives)

Non-Sinitic influence

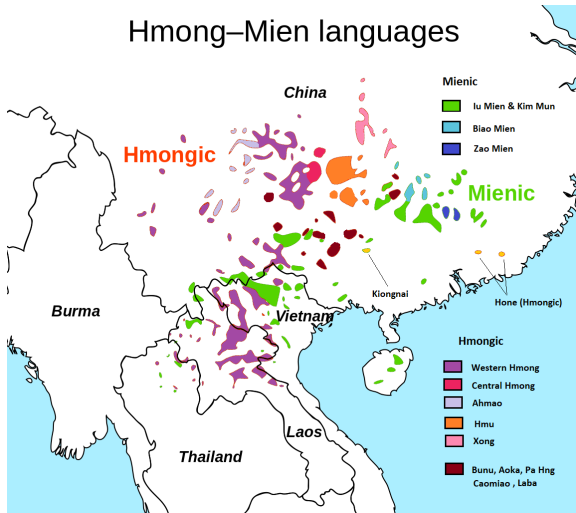
Austroasiatic 南亞

Pearl River Basin:
Bolyu 僚 (Pakanic)
Vietnamese
a little bit



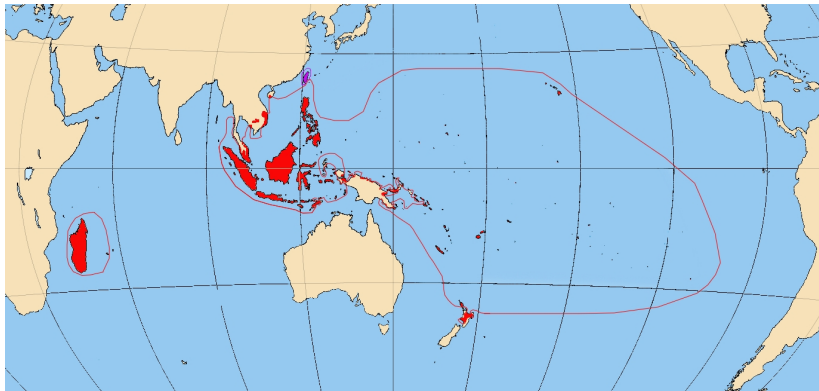
Non-Sinitic influence

Hmong-Mien 苗瑤



Non-Sinitic influence

Austronesian 南島

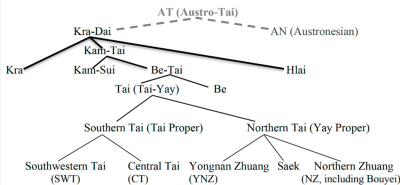


Kra-Dai influence

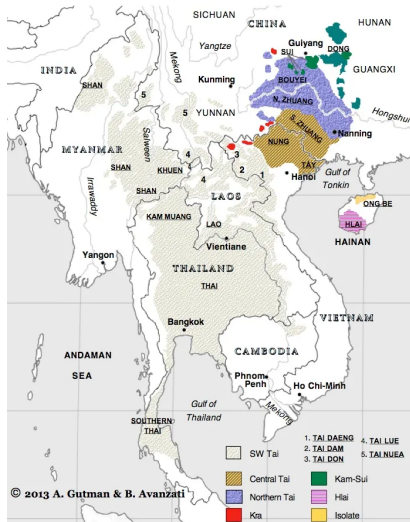
Kra-Dai (Tai-Kadai) 壯侗／侗台

- Tai 台/壯傣/傣
- Be (Ong-Be) 臨高
- Kam-Sui 侗水 (侗 dòng dung6)
- Hlai 黎
- Kra 仡央 (仡佬-布央)
- Biao-Lakkja 標-拉珈

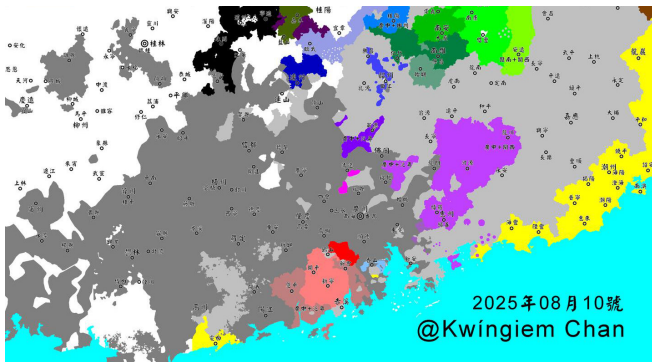
Figure 2. A Kra-Dai language family tree: Austro-Tai hypothesis (Ostapirat 2005), Kam-Tai division, and two plus three Tai taxonomy (Liao and Tai 2019).



Liao, Hanbo. 2023. Tonal Behavior as of Areal and Typological Concerns: Centering on the Sinitic and Kam-Tai Languages in Lingnan. *Languages* 8(2). 148.
<https://doi.org/10.3390/languages8020148>



Kra-Dai influence



<https://zhuanlan.zhihu.com/p/30911789139>

LAC 2012 classification:

S Pinghua 2.3m, N Pinghua 1.76m

S Zhuang 4.62m, N Zhuang 9.39m (3.82 and 9.2m in Guangxi)

Yue 59.58m (68m worldwide)

Kra-Dai influence

那 _ placenames

(Not Mandarin 那 *nà* ^{tone C} or
Cantonese *naa5* ^{tone B2})

那 _ placenames:
naa4 ^{tone A2} [https:](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A8GCPYdRmzM)

[//www.youtube.com/watch?v=A8GCPYdRmzM](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A8GCPYdRmzM)

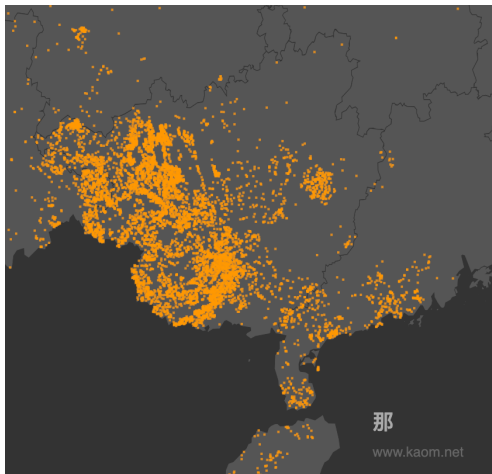
or *no4* in 四邑,
e.g. 那琴 Canto. *no4 kam4*

[https://youtu.be/C6foBnDLN48?si=](https://youtu.be/C6foBnDLN48?si=dcdGJ6RIVSRM357M&t=12)

[dcdGJ6RIVSRM357M&t=12](https://youtu.be/C6foBnDLN48?si=dcdGJ6RIVSRM357M&t=12)

Proto-Tai **na*^A ‘paddy
field’

e.g. 西雙版納 [*ɕip1 sɔŋ1*]
pan1 na:1 ‘12k fields’



Kra-Dai influence: lexicon

Standard Cantonese has Kra-Dai words in its basic vocabulary e.g.:

Tai examples given out of convenience; donor language can be from another branch of Kra-Dai

Stan. Canto.	Kra-Dai forms
han4 ^{A2} ‘to itch’	PT *ɣal ^A ‘to itch’, 北壯 han ^{A2} , 泰 คั้น k ^h ān ^{A2}
naat3 ^{DL1} ‘to scorch’	PT *dʔr:t ^D ‘to boil ^{intr} ’, 布依 da:t ^{DL1} , 泰 เตือด dūət ^{DL1}
luk6 ^{D2} ‘to scald’	PT luək ^D ‘to scald’, 龍州壯 lu:k ^{DL2} , 泰 ลวก lúək ^{DL2}
kam2 ^{B1} ‘to cover’	PB *k ^h um ^{BC1} ; PT *hʔm ^B ‘cover w/ cloth’, 泰 ห่ม hòṃ ^{B1}
lam3 ^{C1} ‘to collapse’	PT *lʔm ^C ‘to fall down’, 布依 lam ^{C2} , 泰 ล้ม lóm ^{C2}
tap6 ^{D2} ‘to pound’	PT *dup ^D ‘to pound’, 布依 tup ^{DS2} , 泰 ทับ t ^h úp ^{DS2}
dan2 ^{B1} ‘to put (down)’	Pre-Hlai *tə:nfɪ ‘to put (down)’
ngaam1 ^{A1} ‘correct’	北壯 ɲa:m ^{B1} ‘exact’, PSWT ɲa:m ^{A2} ‘nice’, 泰 งาม ɲā:m ^{A2}
hai1 ^{A1} ‘vagina’	PT *hi: ^A ‘vagina’, 上思壯 hoɣ ^{A1} , 泰 หี hī: ^{A1}
ke1 ^{A1} ‘excrement’	PT *ɕ.qwɨj ^C , 上思壯 k ^h oɣ ^{C1} , 泰 ชี้ k ^h ī: ^{C1} PB *kai:j ^{BC2} ; PKS *ke ⁴ ; PKr *kai ^C ; PHL *fia:jɿ

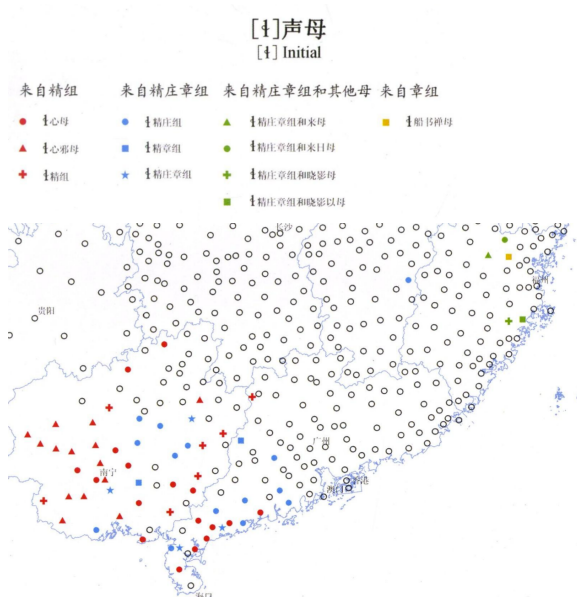
Notice: Normally, nasal/liquid onset with high tone cannot be a reflex of Middle Chinese words

Kra-Dai influence: lexicon

In Nánning Píngguà & Nán. Canto., even more Zhuàng words, e.g.:

南寧位子淥平 həj ¹ C1a ‘to give’ (心墟平 həw ¹ C1a) (亭子平 həj ¹ C1)	南寧白	壯 (邕) 北 hau ¹ C1 南 haj ¹ B2 (PT *hau ^C ‘to give’)
na:p ¹ D* ‘vexed’		na:p ^{DL1} ‘irritated’ (PT * ^h na:p ¹ D ‘coarse’)
ɬɔ:t ¹ D1 ‘buttocks’		北 ɣot ¹ DS1 南 tot ¹ DS1 (PT *k.tɔt ^D ‘fart’)
-tɪk ¹ D* ‘place’	-ti:ɪ ¹ A1 ‘place’	北 ti:ək ¹ D2 / ti:ɪ ¹ B2 (PT *di: ^B ‘place’)
nɛ:p ¹ D* ‘to hold btw’	nɛ:p ¹ DL1 ‘to hold btw’	北 nɛ:p ¹ DL1 (PT * ^h ni:p ^D ‘to pinch’)
nɛ:w ¹ A1 ‘sticky’	ni:w ¹ ~ nɛ:w ¹ A1	北 ni:əw ¹ A1 南 ni:w ¹ A1us (PT * ^h niəw ^A ‘sticky’)

Kra-Dai influence: phonology



(< 汉语方言地图集
map P046)

ɬ~θ vs. s~ʃ e.g.:

南寧白

腥 ɬɛ:ŋɿ (MC seŋ^A) vs.

聲 ʃɛ:ŋɿ (MC ɕjeŋ^A)

台山

三 ɬamɿ (MC sam^A) vs.

滲 samɿ (MC ʃim^C)

東莞謝崗

簫 ɬi:wɿ (MC sew^A) vs.

燒 ʃi:wɿ (MC ɕjew^A)

Standard Canto.

腥 = 聲 se:ŋɿ

簫 = 燒 si:wɿ

Kra-Dai influence: phonology

Having ɬ (or θ)

De Sousa (2015: 166-168):

ɬ in Sinitic languages = reflexes of MC *s

ɬ in Tai languages = reflexes of PT *s

Chin. & Thai linguists attributes Guangxi ɬ to each other's family.

Most Tai linguists reconstruct *s instead of *ɬ in Proto-Tai;

*^hl is needed, and *^hl *ɬ cannot coexist due to phonetic similarity

Liao(2023: 128-136) comments on “De Sousa’s puzzle”

PT should be reconstructed with both *^hl & *ɬ (and not *s):

1. ^hl and ɬ coexist in Southern Guangxi, e.g.

in many 邕南壯 varieties ^hlaj^{B1} ‘egg’ (Thai ไข่ k^hajɩ)

vs. ɬaj^{A1us} ‘snail’ (> 螺蛳粉)

2. *ɬ is 0 or 1 step away from its reflexes: ɬ θ ^hɩ t^h s (& s > s^h)

i.e. Tai ɬ > Sinitic ɬ in Guangxi / Guangdong

Kra-Dai influence: phonology

Vowel length distinction

The vast majority of Pan-Yue dialects have L vs. S vowels

The only Sinitic group to have vowel-length contrast.

Side note: 徽 e.g. 屯溪

<ie> 雞入 <i:ē> 蟹便

<ue> 揮毀 <u:ə> 花板發

<ye> 桂惠 <y:ē> 專兄

However, this is not vowel-length distinction:

/je/ vs. /iə/

/we/ vs. /uə/

/qe/ vs. /yə/

(Chinese linguistics traditionally writes medial glides with vowel symbols, and hence e.g. [yɛ̯] needs to be written as something other than <ye> /qe/)

Túnxī Huī:	glide (G)	nucleus (V)	coda (C)
	/j w ɥ/	/a o e ɤ ɛ/	
		/i u y a ɛ/	/ɤ w n/

(not all GV & VC combinations available; GVC: /jaw/ /jan/ /qan/)

Kra-Dai influence: phonology

Vowel length distinction

The vast majority of Pan-Yue dialects have long vs. short vowels

*iC > *ieC > eC

(/e/: something like [e] or [ə])

/e/ phonetically short; interpret as the short counterpart of /a/, which is phonetically long.

(Other sound changes created other long/short vowel pairs)

Vowel length contrast reconstructed in all branches of Kra-Dai (except Proto-Kra)

i.e. Pan-Yue having vowel-length contrast is an influence from Kra-Dai. *(Kra-Dai languages in Guangxi also have similar vowel-breaking.)*

Kra-Dai influence: phonology

Splitting of Tone D based on vowel length

A majority of Pan-Yue dialects split at least one of the D tones based on vowel length, e.g. Cantonese 筆 /pət̚/ (MC pit^D) 八 /pat̚/ (MC pət^D)

The vast majority of Kra-Dai languages also have a split in tone D based on vowel length (except most Kra and Hlai languages).

The DL-DS area of Kra-Dai and Pan-Yue are contiguous.

This phenomenon: from Kra-Dai to Pan-Yue(?) (very common in Kra-Dai, rare in Sinitic)

But note: earliest record of Cantonese having DL-DS split:

陳澧 (1851) 《東塾初學編 · 音學》

Earliest record of Thai having DL-DS split:

Pallegoix (1850) *Grammatica linguæ Thai* (Pittayaporn 2018)

Two separate events? One related event?

Kra-Dai influence: phonology

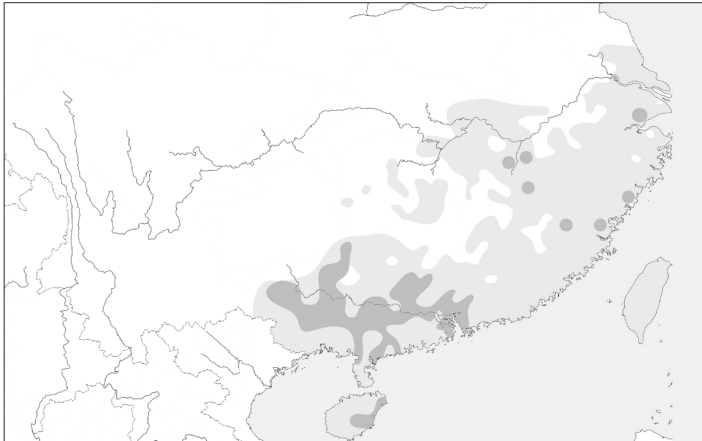


Fig. 1: Areas with nine or more allotones are highlighted in dark gray, areas with six to eight allotones in light gray. Other Si-nitic languages have two to five allotones. (Data derived from LACD Map P001).

Kra-Dai influence: phonology

调 值 类 调查点	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9	8	10
10 武鸣	24	31	55	42	35	33	55	35	33	42
11 横县	45	13	33	22	53	42	55	53 33	22	42
11 邕北	24	213	44	21	35	22	55	35 44	22	21
10 平果	314	42	55	21	35	33	55	35	21	33
11 田东	214	31	55	33	35	22	55	35	31	22 33
9 田林	13	52	45	33	24	31	55	24	22	
9 凌乐	13	31	35	54	33	22	55	33	22	
8 广南(沙)	24	44	33	31	11	53	11		44	
8 丘北	22	53	35	33	13	31	55		22	
10 柳江	42	231	53	24	33	22	55	33	24	22
10 宜山	42	231	53	24	33	11	55	44	24	11
10 环江	53	231	42	24	33	11	55	33	24	11

8 融安	53	231	54	24	44	213	55		12	
9 龙胜	53	231	42	24	33	11	55	33	13	
9 河池	54	231	31	13	33	312	55	33	13	
9 南丹	22	32	31	53	35	44	13		32	33
9 东兰	53	231	33	13	35	11	55	35	11	
10 都安	42	231	53	13	33	21	55	33	13	21
10 上林	35	13	33	31	55	42	55	33	31	42
9 来宾南	45	231	33	213	54	21	55	33	21	
10 贵港	45	13	33	13	53	31	55	33	13	31
9 连山	42	132	55	214	35	13	55	35	13	
7 钦州	33	22	55	33	31	31	55	33	31	
13 岑南	55 33	31	35	11	13	53	55	13 35	33	53 11
12 隆安	34	22	55	33	35 213	21	55	35 213	21	33
10 扶绥	35 55	33	42	42	12	21	55	12	33	21
10 上思	44	22	13	31	35	31	55	35	22	31
8 崇左	33	11	24	32	55	31	55		31	
8 宁明	33	31	35	42	55	11	55		11	
9 龙州	33	21	24	32	55	11	55		11	42
10 大新	55 53	21	13	44	42	33	55		21	33
9 德保	54	31	214	2323	45	33	55		31	33
10 靖西	54	31	2323	13	45	214	44	55	21	13
10 广南(依)	35	33	22	53	12	31	55	11	33	31
10 砚山	24	33	22	55	11	31	55	11	33	31
6 文马(土)	11	31	55	33	53	42				

Kra-Dai influence: phonology

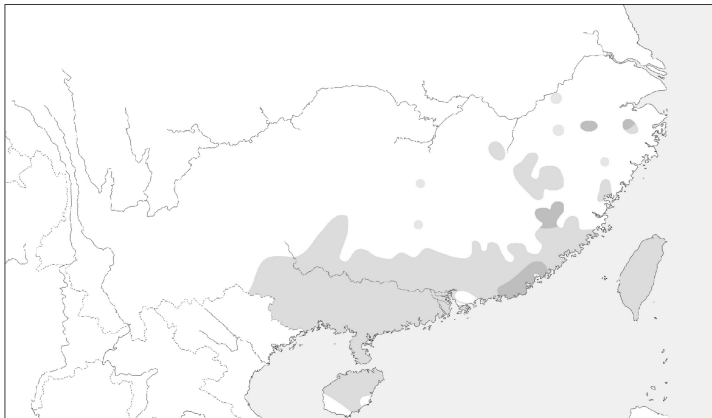


Fig. 2: Areas with *-m -n -ŋ* highlighted in light gray, and areas with *-m -ŋ* or *-m -n* in dark gray. Other Sinitic languages have *-n -ŋ*, just one of them, or in rare cases, no nasal codas. (Data derived from LACD Map P121).

Kra-Dai influence: phonology

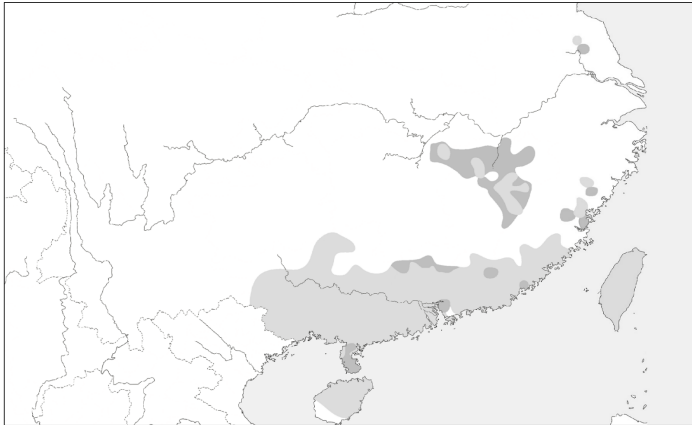


Fig. 3: Areas with three or four non-nasal codas are highlighted in light gray, areas with two non-nasal codas in dark gray. Other Sinitic languages have no non-nasal codas, a single -ʔ, or in rare cases a single -t or -l. (Data derived from LACD Map P124).

(Glide codas not included)

Kra-Dai influence: phonology



Fig. 5: Areas with neither medial glide ɥ nor vowel y are highlighted. Other Sinitic languages have both ɥ and y , or in rare cases, just one of them. (Data derived from LACD Map P117).

Kra-Dai influence: phonology



Fig. 6: Areas with no apical vowels are highlighted. Other Sinitic languages have at least one apical vowel. (Data derived from LACD Map P118).

Kra-Dai influence: grammar

Word order:

Normal SVO languages: NP slightly more left-headed, e.g. English
good book, on [top of the table], the man [who eats cake]

SVO languages in core of MSEA: NP strongly left-headed, e.g. Viet.
sách^冊 hay, trên [mặt bàn^盤], người đàn ông^翁 [ăn bánh^餅]

Sinitic l.: mainly SVO, but NP strongly right-headed:, e.g.
Canto.

hou2 syu1 好書

hai1 [*zoeng1 toi4*2 soeng6 min6*] 喺 張枱上面

[sik6 daan6 gou1] go2 go3 naam4 jan4*2 食蛋糕嗰個男人

WALS The World Atlas of Language Structures:

SVO & N Rel: 293 languages

SVO & Rel N: 4 languages (Mand., Canto., Hakka, Bái)

https://wals.info/combinations/81A_90A#2/24.3/153.0

Kra-Dai influence: grammar

Noun compounds in Cantonese:

mostly right headed (like other Sinitic languages), e.g.

冷衫 laang1 saam1 (wool clothe) ‘sweater’

素 can sou3 ken6/*2 (vegetarian canteen) ^{uni slang}

Some left-headed compounds, e.g.

魚生 jyu4 saang1 (fish raw) ‘raw fish dish, sashimi’

椰青 je4 ceng1 (coconut adolescent) ‘young coconut’

熊人 hung4 jan4*2 (ursid human) ‘bear’ (human-like ursid)

Southern Sinitic languages typically have some left-headed compounds, especially ones closer to the core of MSEA

Kra-Dai influence: grammar

Animal sex affixes:

	pullet	hen	rooster
Canto.	<u>gai1</u> hong6*2	<u>gai1</u> naa2	<u>gai1</u> gung1
N Zhuàng	<u>gaeq</u> hangh	<u>gaeq</u> meh	<u>gaeq</u> boux
Nan. Ping	haŋ↓ <u>kəj\</u>	məw↓ <u>kəj\</u>	kɔŋ↓ <u>kəj\</u>

Note: affixes need not all line up together;

they can differ by sex and/or animal

cf. Wu Yunji (2005: 105-113) on e.g. 湘 Xiang, 鄉話 Xianghua

Female affixes slightly more commonly suffixed

Kra-Dai influence: grammar

Chappell (2015)'s five Sinitic linguistic areas

Based on comparative, passive, object marking constructions:

- Northern
- Central Transitional (e.g. Jiānghuái / Lw Yangtze Mand.)
- Southeastern (e.g. core Mǐn, S Wú)
- Southwestern (primarily SW Mandarin)
- Far Southern (Yuè, Hǎinán Mǐn)

Píngguà is somewhat between Far S and SW

Chappell, Hilary M. 2015. Linguistic areas in China for differential object marking, passive, and comparative constructions. In Chappell, Hilary M. (ed.), *Diversity in Sinitic languages*, 13–52. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kra-Dai influence: grammar

Comparatives comparison of inequality:

Northern: normally [COMPARE]

[comparee COMPARE standard PREDICATE]

[X 比 Y ADJ]

ni↓ pi↓ t^ha↓ p^hjao↓ ljaŋ↓ 你比他漂亮 (Standard Mandarin)
(2SG COMPARE 3SG beautiful)

Far-Southern: normally [SURPASS]

[comparee PREDICATE SURPASS standard]

[X ADJ 過 Y]

nej↓ lɛ:ŋ↓ k^wɔ:↓ k^həu↓ 你靚過佢 (Standard Cantonese)
(2SG beautiful SURPASS 3SG)

ni↓ ljaŋ↓ ko↓ t^ha↓ 你靚過他 (Liǔzhōu SW Mandarin)

k^hun↓ suaj↓ kwa:↓ k^haw↓ คุณสวยกว่าเขา (Central Thai)

bạn đẹp hơn [anh^M/cô^F] ấy (N Vietnamese)

Kra-Dai influence: grammar

Passives:

ni↓ pej↓ (t^ha↓) jao↓ 你被(他) 咬 (Standard Mandarin)
(2SG COVER (3SG) bite)

ni↓ tsa↓ (ky↓) nɔu↓ 你著(渠) 咬 (Yùlín Yuè)
k^hun↓ t^hu:k↓^觸 (k^haw↓) kat↓ คุณถูก(เขา)กัด (Central Thai)
(TOUCH)

ni↓ ɲæ↓ (t^ha↓) ɲa↓ 你捱(他) 咬 (Liǔzhōu SW Mandarin)
(SUFFER)

nej↓ pej↓ k^həu↓ ɲa:w↓ 你畀 佢咬 (Standard Cantonese)
(2SG GIVE 3SG bite)
nej↓ pej↓ (k^həu↓) ɲa:w↓ 你被(佢) 咬 (norm in late 18th C Chin 2022: 90–95)
(2SG COVER (3SG) bite)

Kra-Dai influence: grammar

Passives:

Nánníng Wèizǐlù Píng huà:

nə:jɿ ɳa:jɿ (kə:jɿ) ɲa:wɿ 你捱 (佢) 咬 (SUFFER) (now dominant)

nə:jɿ tʃɛ:kɿ (kə:jɿ) ɲa:wɿ 你着 (佢) 咬 (TOUCH)

nə:jɿ hɛjɿ kə:jɿ ɲa:wɿ 你系佢咬 (GIVE)

Nánníng Cantonese:

ni:ɿ ɳa:jɿ (kʰy:ɿ) ɳa:wɿ 你捱 (佢) 咬 (SUFFER) (now dominant)

ni:ɿ tʃœ:kɿ (kʰy:ɿ) ɳa:wɿ 你着 (佢) 咬 (TOUCH)

ni:ɿ piɿ kʰy:ɿ ɳa:wɿ 你畀佢咬 (GIVE)

ni:ɿ kɛjɿ kʰy:ɿ ɳa:wɿ 你給佢咬 (GIVE)

Kra-Dai influence: grammar

Object marking construction (disposal construction; Mand. 把):

Standard Mandarin

wǒ bǎ shū nòng diū le 我把書弄丟了

1SG OM book make be.lost COS

‘I have lost the book.’

Standard Cantonese

(does have an OM construction marked by 將 zoeng1, but)

ngo5 m4gin3 zo2 bun2 syu1 我唔見咗本書

1SG lost PFV CLF book

‘I lost a/the book.’

Nánning Cantonese: does not have a grammaticalised OM construction

(Lin & Qin 2008: 344-348)

Chappell (2015: 22)’s Far Southern area:

Sinitic OM not used much, or at most using a non-grammaticalised or lightly grammaticalised TAKE serial verb construction; similar to e.g. Thai, Khmer, Vietnamese, Hmong (Bisang 1992).

林亦 & 覃凤余. 2008. 广西南宁白话研究. 桂林: 广西师范大学出版社.

Bisang, Walter. 1992. *Das Verb im Chinesischen, Hmong, Vietnamesischen, Thai und Khmer*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.

Kra-Dai influence: grammar

(Having some) **Post-verbal adverbials:**

Standard Mandarin

wǒ xiān [bǎ bēizi] xǐ gānjìng 我先把杯子洗乾淨

1SG first [OM cup] wash be.clean

‘I wash the cup first.’

Standard Cantonese

ngo5 sai2 gon1zeng6 [zek3 bui1] sin1 我洗乾淨隻杯先

1SG wash be.clean [CLF cup] first

‘I wash the cup first.’

go first:

heoi3 sin1 去先 (Cantonese), đi trước (Vietnamese)

bae gonq (N Zhuang), pāj kòòn ไปก่อน (Thai)

first go:

xiān qù 先去 (Mandarin), shíchi 先去 (Shanghainese)

sing-khì 先去 (Hokkien / Taiwanese)

Kra-Dai influence: grammar

Negators:

	“NON-PEFECTIVE”	“PEFECTIVE”	EXIST/POSS
Sd. Mandarin	wǒ bùl qù	wǒ méi(yǒu) qù	wǒ méi(yǒu) qián
HK Hakka	ngāi m̐ hì	ngāi m̐ hì	ngāi m̐ ciēn
Sd. Cantonese	ngo5 m4 heoi3	ngo5 mou5 heoi3	ngo5 mou5 cin4*2
化州 _{下江} 粵	ŋɔɬ mawɬ həjɬ	ŋɔɬ mawɬ həjɬ	ŋɔɬ mawɬ tʰinɬ
南寧白	ŋɔɬ muɬ hyɬ	ŋɔɬ muɬ hyɬ	ŋɔɬ muɬ jəwɬ tʃʰinɬ
南寧 _{位子} 平	ŋaɬ miɬ həjɬ	ŋaɬ miɬ həjɬ	ŋaɬ miɬ jəwɬ tʃinɬ
N Zhuang	gou mbouj bae	gou mbouj bae	gou mbouj miz cienz
C Thai	tɕʰán māj pāj	tɕʰán māj pāj	tɕʰán māj mī ɲə̌ən ^銀
Vietnamese	tôi không ^空 đi	tôi không đi	tôi không có tiền

茂名/化州 “I’m afraid that you don’t know”: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7qPuHq9AaU0&t=18s>
https://youtu.be/0HzMkeqQYI?si=x9fu_7vb_zdXqA41

Kra-Dai influence: grammar

Clusivity:

(only locally in/around Southern Guǎngxī:)

Zhuàng & Pínghuà most usually have clusivity, Yuè and Hakka most usually do not

	1SG	1PL.EXCL	1PL.INCL
N Zhuàng	kow↓	tow↓	yaw↓
Yōngnán 邕南 Zh.	kow↓	ti↓ kow↓	hlau↓
Nánníng 南寧 Píng.	ŋa↓	ŋa↓ tɔi↓	wen↓ tɔi↓
Bīnyáng 賓陽 “Píng”	ŋø↓	ŋø↓ tu↓	wən↓ tu↓
Nánníng 南寧 Canto.	ŋɔ↓	ŋɔ↓ ti↓	
Hépǔ 合浦 Yuè	ŋo↓	wen↓	
Guìgǎng 貴港 Yuè	ŋuŋ↓	nuŋ↓ tœq↓	
Xīngyè 興業 Hakka	ŋaj↓	ŋaj↓ ti↓	

wen↓ etc. < PT *Gwun^A ‘person’ (e.g. N Zhuàng wun↓, Thai คน khōn)