

The Sound System of Baha Buyang

Li Jinfang

Department of Linguistics

Central University of Nationalities

Beijing, China 100081

Buyang is a new member of the Kadai family; identified by scholars in the late 1980s. Up to now only a few papers about Buyang have been published (Liang Min 1990a, 1990b). Buyang people are distributed over Funing and Guangnan counties in Yunnan Province and in Napo County, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. There are a number of dialects. In 1994-1995, I investigated 4 Buyang dialects:

Ecun, Funing County, Yunnan

Langjia, Funing County, Yunnan

Baha, Guangnan County, Yunnan

Yalhong, Napo County, Guangxi

Recently I have written two papers: the first describes the Langjia dialect; the second describes the Yalhong dialect and includes a comparison with Langjia (Li Jinfang 1995a, 1995b). The main sound distinctions of these 4 Buyang dialects are: Langjia, Baha and Yalhong have initial aspirates ph-, th-, kh-, tsh-, which are not found in Ecun. Baha has initial voiced stops b-, d-, g-, aspirated-devoiced-stops bh-, dh-, gh-, and aspirated-devoiced-nasals mh-, nh-, nh-, gh-, and lh-, zh-, yh-, which are not found in the other dialects. Therefore Baha plays a special part among the Buyang dialects.

Baha Buyang dialect can be regarded as a key link among the Kadai languages. On the one hand Baha retains initial voiced stops b-, d-, g- like Gelao (Gelao retains b-, d-, g-, but has lost -m, -p, -t, -k). On the other hand, it retains final nasals and stops -m, -n, -ŋ, -p, -t, -k, like the Kam-Tai languages (Kam-Tai retains -m, -n, -ŋ, -p, -t, -k, but has lost b-, d-, g- in most places). In addition, Baha retains initial devoiced nasals mh-, nh-, nh-, gh-, which have been lost in most Kadai languages.

	drunk	pig	tired	listen
Baha	m̥hi ³³	m̥hu ³¹	ŋha:i ³³	n̥hi ³³
Zhuang	maŋA1	mouA1	na:iB1	n̥iA1

Therefore Baha Buyang forms a link with the Gelao group and the Kam-Tai group. We can also see some of the early Kadai sound structures and the relationship between Kadai and Austronesian through Baha Buyang.

Buyang is close to Gelao, Mulao, Yiren, Lachi/Lati, Pubiao/Laqua, and Laha. This group of languages spread from Guizhou, through Guangxi, Yunnan, into

Northern Vietnam. Buyang may be closer to Laha than the others (BH: Baha Buyang, LJ: Langjia Buyang, LH: Tan-Uyen Laha, AG: Anshun Gelao, PB: Malipo Pubiao/ Laqua).

	BH	LJ	LH	AG	PB
one	tsam ⁴⁵ /ti ⁵⁵	am ²⁴	tsam	si ³³	tṣa ³³
two	θa ³²²	ṣa ⁵⁴	sa	su ³³	ṣe ⁵¹
three	tu ³²²	tu ⁵⁴	tu	ta ³³	tau ⁵¹
four	pa ³²²	pa ⁵⁴	pa	pu ³³	pe ⁵¹
five	m̥ha ³³	ma ³¹²	ma	mpu ⁴⁴	ma ³³
six	nam ³¹	nam ⁵⁴	dram	nan ³³	ma ³³ ṇham ⁴⁵
seven	ru ³³	tu ³¹²	tho	ṣi ²⁴	ma ³³ tu ⁵¹
eight	mu ³¹	ma ⁰ ou ³¹²	mahu	vla ⁴⁴	ma ³³ zaw ³³
nine	ḍha ³³	va ¹¹	sawa	səw ²⁴	ma ³³ ṣa ²¹
ten	vat ⁵⁵	put ⁵⁴	pət	pe ²⁴	pət ²¹
rain	zin ³¹	żu:t ¹¹	kzen	-zau ⁴⁴	ṣau ²¹³
star	ron ³¹	-lon ³¹²	məlunj	lei ³¹ tsu ³³	-lunj ¹³
salt	ṇw ³¹	-ṇc ³¹²	ṇc	ṇtṣəw ⁴⁴	-ṇunj ³³
bird	nok ¹¹	ma ⁰ nuk ¹¹	manək	ntau ³¹	ṇuk ⁵⁵
crow	a:k ⁵⁵	-a ²⁴	ə:k	i ²⁴ zai ¹³	a ³⁵
ear	-ka ³²²	ta ⁰ θa ³¹²	kəha	zau ⁴⁴	ka ³³ zə ³³
mouth	mam ³¹	ŋɔŋ ³¹²	mən	ŋku ⁴⁴	ka ³³ men ⁵⁵
eye	ma ⁰ da ³³	ma ⁰ ta ⁵⁴	kə/ta	ləw ¹³ tau ³³	te ⁵³
beard	mut ¹¹	mu:m ¹¹	nut	men ¹³	mom ³⁵
blood	pe ³³	qha ²⁴	pa:t	plo ²⁴	qa ³³
blind	bwt ¹¹	?bɔn ¹¹	bət	təw ⁵⁵	lat ²¹³
deaf	ra:t ¹¹	ŋjan ³¹²	ŋjan	ŋjan ¹³	ŋjan ³⁵
high	γhw:ŋ ³³	va:ŋ ³¹²	wə:ŋ	vi ⁴⁴	sun ²¹³

A Buyang subgroup lives in two villages —Yanglian and Anshe— representing more than 600 people, in the north of Guangnan County, Yunnan Province. They call themselves pa³³ha³³ in their own language. The surrounding Zhuang call them ja:ŋ²⁴len³¹ (meaning 'single Buyang group'). Some Buyang people have intermarried with Zhuang. Most Baha Buyang people are surnamed Nong and Chen. They believe their ancestors migrated from Lammak, Lamyang to Guangnan, and that some of

them migrated to Dawtsiu, Northern Vietnam. Nowadays all Yanglian Baha (approx 500) still speak their mother tongue and adults can also speak Zhuang, but most Anshe Baha (over 100) have shifted to use Zhuang. Only the old people can still speak their mother tongue.

In this paper I describe the sound system of the Baha Buyang, as spoken in Yanglian village.

1. Initials

p	ph	b	$\ddot{b}h$	m	$\ddot{m}h$	f	v	$\ddot{v}h$
t	th	d	$\ddot{d}h$	n	$\ddot{n}h$	l	$\ddot{l}h$	
ts	tsh							
e	\ddot{o}	r		η	$\ddot{\eta}$	s	\ddot{s}	$\ddot{z}h$
k	kh	g	gh	η	$\ddot{\eta}$	y	q	qh
							?	h

b- d- g- are voiced stops, no preglottal ?; the voiced stops and nassals b- d- g- m- n- η - have the contrasting devoiced forms with strong aspirate: $\ddot{b}h$, $\ddot{m}h$, etc. The r is a trill, but its tongue position is a little farther back than standard r. The f and s occur only with loans from Zhuang and Han, for example, fa:n³³ 'ten thousand', to³¹fu³¹ 'bean curd', si³³ 'try', sam³²² 'sink'. Aspirates and aspirated-devoiced consonants occur mainly with tones 45, 33 and 322, for example, thap³³ 'narrow', tsha⁴⁵ 'thin', phuə:n³²² 'horizontal', $\ddot{m}ha$ ³³ 'five', $\ddot{d}ha$ ³³ 'nine', $\ddot{l}ham$ ³²² 'dark', ghe⁴⁵ 'bad', $\ddot{m}hoi$ ⁴⁵ 'fast'.

p	pa ³²²	four	pia ¹¹	many
ph	phuə:n ³²²	horizontal	phuen ³²²	smells good
b	baŋ ³¹	big	bio ⁴⁵	sharp
$\ddot{b}h$	$\ddot{b}he$ ⁴⁵	flat	$\ddot{b}huə$ ³³	carry on the back
m	mu ³¹	eight	mo ³¹	protruding
$\ddot{m}h$	$\ddot{m}ha$ ³³	five	$\ddot{m}hoi$ ⁴⁵	fast
f	fan ²⁴	wild deer	to ³¹ fu ³¹	bean curd
v	vat ⁵⁵	ten	vat ³³	puckery
$\ddot{v}h$	$\ddot{v}huə:n$ ³³	high	$\ddot{v}ha:n$ ⁴⁵	keen
t	taŋ ³³	flat;level	taŋ ⁴⁵	upright
th	thap ³³	narrow	tha:k ³³	to nail
d	don ⁴⁵	thousand	diek ³³	full
$\ddot{d}h$	$\ddot{d}ha$ ³³	nine	$\ddot{d}han$ ⁴⁵	pull
n	nam ³¹	six	na ³²²	thick

ŋh	ŋhung ³²² turbid (water)	ŋha:i ³³ tired
l	lam ³²² concave	le ¹¹ inclined
!h	!ha:u ²⁴ less	!ham ³²² dark
ts	tsam ⁴⁵ onc	tsam ³²² purple
tsh	tsha ⁴⁵ thin (material)	tsha:u ⁴⁵ fry
θ	θa ³²² two	θan ⁴⁵ love
ð	ða: ³¹ come back	ðun ²⁴ become mildewed
r	ru ³³ seven	ri ¹¹ long
n	nə:n ⁴⁵ put uside down	nət ³¹ slow
ŋh	ŋha:n ³³ quarrel	ŋhe ³³ sea
š	ši ³³ blue	šon ²⁴ pine
z	za ⁴⁵ help	za ²⁴ replace
žh	žhok ¹¹ easy	žhok ³³ mix
k	kɔŋ ³²² big,large	kum ³³ short
kh	khen ³²² crooked	khok ³³ thin (human being)
g	geŋ ⁴⁵ long and thin	go ⁴⁵ spiral shell
gh	gha ⁴⁵ dried	gha ³³ thirsty
ŋ	ŋa:n ⁴⁵ yellow	ŋa:k ¹¹ foolish
ŋh	ŋhu ³²² sweet	ŋha ³³ be jealous of
y	yo ⁴⁵ green	yek ³²² beatiful
q	qan ³³ hundred	qet ¹¹ smooth
qh	qhan ³³ (smoke)rise	qha ³²² dam
?r	?a:i ³²² good,rick	?i ⁴⁵ rob
h	ha ⁴⁵ peppery	ha:p ³³ blow (whistle)

2. Rhymes

a	ai	au	aw	am	an	aŋ	ap	at	ak
	a:i	a:u		a:m	a:n	a:ŋ	a:p	a:t	a:k
ia	iai							iat	
		ia:u		ia:m		ia:ŋ			ia:k
ua	uai			uam	uan			uat	uak
	ua:i					ua:ŋ			ua:k
e		eu		em	en	eŋ	ep	et	ek
						eŋ			iek
ue						ueŋ			
i		iu		im	in	iŋ	ip	it	ik
						i:ŋ	i:p		i:k
o	oi	ou		om	on	oŋ	op	ot	ok
	io					ioŋ			iok
	uo:i								
u	ui			um	un	uŋ	up	ut	uk
	u:i				u:n	u:ŋ		u:t	
w						wŋ		wt	wk
					w:n	w:ŋ		w:t	
ə	əi				ən	əŋ			ək
ue									
we									

Baha has 7 vowels : a e i o u w ə. The short a i u w can be distinguished from the long a: i: u: w:, when they are followed by a final consonant or vowel . The long vowels a: i: u: w: have a transitional feature, for example, զi:ŋ³²² ~ զiəŋ³²² 'squirrel', tsu:i¹¹ ~ tsuei¹¹ ' to twine', phu:ŋ³²² ~ phuəŋ³²² 'horizontal'. The tongue positions of e o are lower than standard e o; close to ε ɔ, especially when they act as a rhyme. ghe⁴⁵ ~ ghe⁴⁵ 'bad', yo⁴⁵ ~ yɔ⁴⁵ 'green'. Long vowel rhymes i:k, w:n have no contrasting short vowel rhyme. Some rhymes occur only with loans: wa:k, ua, un, u:n, uk, wŋ, w:t, əŋ, ue, etc.

a	θa ³²²	two	mha ³³	five	
ai	kai ⁴⁵	wide	nai ³²²	ugly	
a:i	a:i ³²²	good	kha:i ³³	to tie	
au	rau ⁴⁵	slippery	pau ³¹	busy	
a:u	a:u ⁴⁵	meat	l̥ ha:u ²⁴	little, less	
aw	θaw ³²²	clear(water)	qhonj ³²²	naw ⁴⁵	the upper part of the body
am	tsam ⁴⁵	one	nam ³¹	six	
a:m	ra:m ³³	(two or more persons)	carry	gha:m ³³	garden
an	qan ³³	hundred	ran ³³	shallow	
a:n	fa:n ³³	ten thousand	ŋa:n ⁴⁵	red	
anj	banj ³¹	huge	tanj ³³	flat	
a:ŋ	na:ŋ ⁴⁵	move backward	yha:ŋ ⁴⁵	keen	
ap	thap ³³	narrow	dap ⁵⁵	wrinkle	
a:p	ha:p ³³	blow (a horn)	a:p ³³	take a bath	
at	vat ⁵⁵	ten	lat ¹¹	late	
a:t	ra:t ³³	rough	ta:t ³³	take apart	
ak	tak ¹¹	cheap	zak ⁵⁵	hold tight	
a:k	la:k ³³	deep	ka:k ³³	hard,stiff	
ia	bhia ⁴⁵	to fly	pia ¹¹	many	
iai	piai ⁴⁵	place, arrange	piai ⁴⁵	tasteless	
ia:u	phia:u ⁴⁵	silver			
ia:m	pia:m ⁴⁵	meal (classifier)			
ia:ŋ	pia:ŋ ³³	face	pia:ŋ ³²²	finish	
iat	piat ³³	arm spread			
ia:k	pia:k ¹¹	bright	pia:k ³¹	separate	
ua	mua ³¹	thunder	pua ³²²	stone	
uai	khuai ⁴⁵	knife			
ua:i	bua:i ³³	hungry	gua:i ³³	break(a breach)	
wa:k	pua:k ¹¹	taro			
uam	muam ⁴⁵	concave			
uan	puan ³²²	kill	puan ³³	die	

ua: η	ua: η^{33} ke ³²²	palm	ma:k ³³ mua: η^{33}	plum
uat	buat ³³	lash	puat ⁵⁵	to sprinkle
uak	e ⁴⁵ la ³³ buak ³¹	magpie	pua:k ⁵⁵	bundle (small)
ua:k	bua:k ³³	cut (a rope)	bua:k ⁵⁵	cut (a tree)
e	te ⁴⁵	spread (a cloth)	re ³³	stick up
eu	teu ²⁴	accurate	reu ³¹	young
em	lem ³²²	loose	du ³³ rem ³¹	warm
en	ma:k ³³ men ³³	Chinese	toon	
er η	gen ⁴⁵	long and thin	kher η^{322}	inclined
ep	tsep ⁵⁵	cut (with scissors)	tsep ¹¹	engrave (a seal)
et	n η et ³¹	slow	qet ¹¹	smooth
ek	rek ⁴⁵	strong	yek ³²²	beautiful
ien	pien ³²² ha ³³	company		
iek	miek ⁵⁵	carrying pole	diek ³³	full
ue	que ³²²	lame person	gue ³²²	lame
uen η	phuen η^{322}	smells good	phuen η^{33}	smell
i	i ⁴⁵	small	ri ¹¹	long
iu	tsiu ⁴⁵	castrate (a pig)	n η iu ⁴⁵	than (conjunction)
im	zim ⁴⁵	tip,point		
in	lin ³³	tender	n η in ³¹	dirty
in η	yhin ³²²	wolf-grandmother	nin ⁴⁵	shoot (an arrow)
		(children's story)		
i: η	zi: η^{322}	squirrel	tsi: η^{322}	festival
ip	θip ⁵⁵	centipede	tip ⁵⁵	light (a fire)
i:p	ma:k ³³ li ⁴⁵ gi:p ³¹	pear		
it	pui ³¹⁽³²²⁾ git ⁵⁵	set on fire	n η it ¹¹	cry
i:k	ti:k ⁵⁵ ku ⁵⁵	a little bit		
o	mo ³¹	protruding	mho ⁴⁵	glad
oi	mhoi ⁴⁵	fast	hoi ²⁴	hang
ou	u ³³ nou ²⁴	elbow	khou ³³	arrive
om	om ³³	cook (in water)	pom ³¹	touch

on	kon ³³ person(classifier)	yon ³³ ŋa ¹¹ manger
onj	dɔŋ ⁴⁵ thousand	kɔŋ ³²² big
op	pop ³¹ ʐhu ³³ (urinary) bladder	
ot	θa ³²² pot ⁵⁵ twenty	ŋa ³¹ mot ¹¹ insect, worm
ok	lok ³³ white	khok ³³ thin (human being)
io	bio ⁴⁵ sharp	phio ⁴⁵ stab (with a knife)
ioŋ	tan ²⁴ pion ³²² yard	
iok	miok ¹¹ early	
uoŋ	tshuoŋ ³¹ (pig) dig earth with the snout	
u	tu ³²² three	ru ³³ seven
ui	la ⁵⁵ ŋhui ¹¹ placenta	qui ⁴⁵ cross(a river)
u:i	tsu:i ¹¹ twine	ru:i ¹¹ string (classifier)
um	kum ³³ short	pa ³³ lum ²⁴ thief
un	khun ³³ roll (classifier)	
u:n	lu:n ³²² disorder	
uŋ	ŋhun ³²² turbid	ðuŋ ²⁴ become mildewed
u:ŋ	tsu:ŋ ⁴⁵ raw	ga:ŋ ³³ gu:ŋ ⁴⁵ toad
up	ŋup ⁵⁵ ŋa:p ³¹ nod (one's head)	
ut	mut ¹¹ mau ¹¹ hair	
u:t	mu:t ⁵⁵ white ant	mu:t ¹¹ tip,end
uk	uk ³³ brain	ma:k ³³ puk ⁵⁵ pomelo
u	b <u>h</u> w ³³ carry on the back	ʐw ³¹ hold in mouth
u:n	v <u>w</u> :n ³²² answer	
uŋ	t <u>w</u> ŋ ³²² oily	
u:ŋ	v <u>w</u> :ŋ ³³ high	r <u>w</u> :ŋ ²⁴ along, with
ut	m <u>w</u> t ¹¹ feather, wool	b <u>w</u> t ¹¹ blind
u:t	k <u>w</u> t ¹¹ bundle (big)	
uk	n <u>w</u> k ³³ sticky	pa ³³ r <u>w</u> k ⁵⁵ quiet
ə	ŋ <u>e</u> ⁵⁵ that	ts <u>e</u> ⁴⁵ lead (the way)
ei	bei ¹¹ the period of the day from 11 p.m. to 1 a.m.	
ən	p <u>ə</u> n ³¹ i ³³ rice-flour noodles	v <u>ə</u> n ³¹ wind

əŋ	təŋ ²⁴	sugar
ək	nək ⁵⁵	nə ⁴⁵ dust
ue	zue ³³	take away
wa	bwa ⁵⁵	lotus root

3. Tones

Buha has 7 tones. High level 55 and high rising tone 45 are very close; tone 45 rises slightly and sounds like a level tone. Low level tone 11 falls slightly. The duration of mid falling tone 322 is longer than other tones; it falls and then levels out. Some prefixes are pronounced with a light tone '0'. Final stop rhymes occur mainly with the 4 tones: 55,33,31,11; therefore, for the most part, Baha has 4 dead tones.

Live tones:

Tone	Shape	Examples
11	low level	pia ¹¹ 'much', rə ¹¹ 'near'
322	mid falling	pə ³²² 'four', tam ³²² 'close(door)'
31	low falling	ma ³¹ 'dog', di ¹¹ ta ³¹ 'tell'
33	mid level	pə ³³ 'father', tə ³³ 'low'
24	mid rising	və ²⁴ 'go', nə ²⁴ 'food'
45	high rising	pə ⁴⁵ 'take (a hat)', ta ⁴⁵ 'break (wind)'
55	high level	nə ⁵⁵ 'that', tsia ⁴⁵ 'pound'

Dead tones:

Tone	Shape	Examples
11	low level	tak ¹¹ 'cheap', rə:t ¹¹ 'deaf'
31	low falling	tok ³¹ 'read', pha:t ³¹ 'have a fever '
33	mid level	ta:k ³³ 'to skin (an ox)', rə:t ³³ 'rough'
55	high level	ta ⁰ tak ⁵⁵ 'chest', dap ⁵⁵ 'forget'

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