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SUPERSTRATE EFFECTS OF NEGATION IN WAXIANG: A CASE STUDY OF LANGUAGE CONTACT IN NORTHWESTERN HUNAN, CHINA

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Layout

- I. Introduction on Waxiang: linguistic & cultural features
- II. Stratification in language
- III. Waxiang negation
- IV. Conclusion

Part I: Introduction

Part I: Introduction on Waxiang 瓦鄉話



- Waxiang 瓦鄉話(鄉話) one of many threatened or endangered languages spoken in a formerly remote mountainous area of northwestern Hunan, known as Xiangxi 湘西.
- predictably no written tradition

Language contact



- historically a non-Han area:
- genetically unrelated languages Hmong & Tujia
- overlapping areas of Hmong 苗語 (Hmong-Mien) & Waxiang
- Tujia 土家語 (Tibeto-Burman) to north
- area bilingual with Southwestern Mandarin 西南官话, one of the eight main varieties of the large Mandarin group of dialects
- Hunanese Xiang 湘语 located further to south

Location of Guzhang county in Hunan

Guzhang county
古文县



A3 中国少数民族

比例尺 1:13 000 000



Waxiang 瓦乡话	Chinese characters 汉字	English translation 英译	Mandarin equivalent 普通话
1. da ³³	豆	'basket for cooked rice'	'stemmed cup or bowl' (東周)
2. t ^h a ⁴¹ taŋ ¹³	铁鼎	'cooking pot'	锅
3. ts ^h oŋ ⁵⁵	铛	'a pot with handles'	有耳的炒菜 锅
4. liɛ ¹³	啼	'cry'	哭
5. k ^h uai ²⁵	犬	'dog'	狗
6. mɤŋ ³³	望	'to look'	看
7. fi ²⁵	虺	'snake'	蛇
8. ziəw ¹³ moŋ ⁵⁵	食饭	'eat'	吃饭
9. li ²⁵	履	'shoe'	鞋
10. dza ³³	字	to like	喜欢

Language contact?

- might predict language contact between the Hmong & the Waxiang peoples
- However, up to the early 20th century, Waxiang remained spoken in isolated, almost monolingual, communities, according to the local gazetteers 地方志 of the time.
- Little intermarriage reported with either Tujia or Hmong before the 1950s
- Basic vocabulary list for the *Zibiǎo* 字表 basically Sinitic – considerable number of unidentified morphemes & words: xa⁵⁵la 玩

1.1. Some cultural notes

苗族的吊腳樓 — Stilt houses



- Typical Hmong house in Xiangxi
- Waxiang communities also built these in the past as well as one-storey houses
- common in Xiangxi, Guizhou & areas of Sichuan

Waxiang houses near Taojinxi 淘金溪



Traditional clothing



- Hmong ladies waiting for bus to Jishou 吉首
- Hmong clothing is essentially no longer worn except on festival days
- quite distinct from the traditional Waxiang clothing



Huang
Xiuying,
Gaofeng
village; 94
years of age in
2012.
Headscarf &
embroidered
shoes

Baskets for different tasks: Hmong & Waxiang alike

$p^{h}au^{55}tsaŋ^{13}$



Circular graves



Waxiang festivals – some no longer practiced

- General Chinese customs observed for the Lunar New Year, Duanwu, Mid-Autumn festivals etc
- Three-day marriage ceremony follows the rite of the bridal lamentations
- Postnatal confinement for new mothers of one month with a special diet
- Shared with the Hmong is the October harvest festival
- traditionally Daoist/Buddhist priests did the rounds of the villages to thank the gods on behalf of each village and ask for a blessing for next year's crop; called 跳香 dau³³cin⁵⁵

1998 survey of language use in Guzhang

- Wu Yunji 伍雲姬 surveyed Waxiang use in the district town of Guzhang and compared her data with information from a gazetteer from 1907
- Southwestern Mandarin speaking area has expanded, encroaching on particularly the Waxiang areas
- in 1907, **78%** were exclusively monolingual in their mother tongue & **9%** bilingual in SW Mandarin
- in 1998, > **90%** of Waxiang speakers in Guzhang were bilingual in SW Mandarin

- a case of inverse proportions over 100 years
- language retention in villages higher
- In Gaofeng 高峰鄉 (李家洞), estimated 90% of the villagers including children speak 瓦鄉話 in addition to SW Mandarin (first L2) and Putonghua (second L2)
- remains viable

lingua franca – wider communication

Clearly, the superstrate language is the *lingua franca* of the Xiangxi region:

Southwestern Mandarin

- case study deals with related Sinitic languages and varieties
- language contact is not restricted to contact between unrelated languages
- includes interdialectal contact as well

Objectives of this presentation

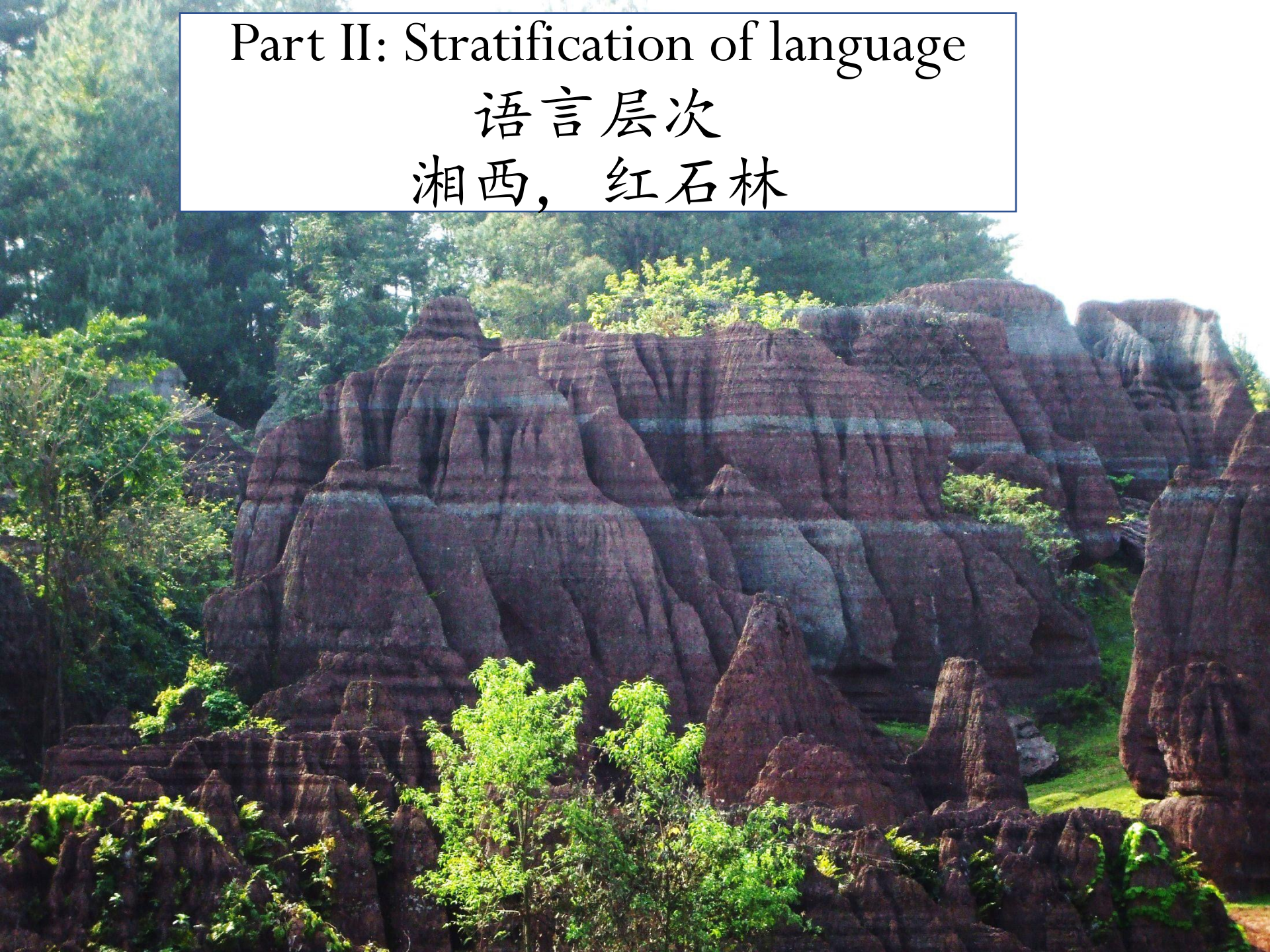
- a study of syntactic patterns for negation borrowed from Southwestern Mandarin into Waxiang
- a case of contact-induced structural change to the paradigm of negatives in Waxiang & associated syntax
- explained in terms of a hypothesis on the imposition of a superstrate
- & the following stages of linguistic integration

Stratification

- *Stratification*: co-existing strata result from borrowing the equivalent morphemes, words & structures from a second language or variety
- one is ‘superposed’ on the other in terms of association with a more prestigious language variety
- Parallel constructions arise which apparently code the same meaning (Yue-Hashimoto 1991, Zhang Min 2000, Lien 2001 *inter alia*)
- Why study negation?
- includes its close relation to interrogatives and potential verb complementation in Waxiang ... and the irrealis domain

Part II: Stratification of language

语言层次
湘西，红石林



III. Waxiang negation

- Waxiang has six negative adverbs including fused forms
- and one negative verb ‘to not have’: *ba*¹³.
- contrasts with standard Mandarin which possesses just a handful of negators, four
- e.g. it has a negative counterpart of *va*²⁵ 有 ‘to have’, ‘there is’ = ***ba*¹³** ‘to not have’ (cf. Cantonese 冇 *mou*⁵, Minnan 無 *bo*²⁴)
- typical of Central-Southern Sinitic languages –see Table 1

Table 1. Negative existential verb and negative adverbs in Waxiang

<u>Function of negative marker</u>	<u>Mandarin equivalent in meaning</u>	<u>Waxiang form</u>
1. <u>NEGATIVE VERB</u>	没有	ba ¹³ □ ba ¹³ tr ⁰ □得
2. <u>NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE ADVERB</u>	没	ba ¹³ □ + <u>VERB</u>
3. <u>IRREALIS NEGATIVE</u>	不	pu ²⁵ 不 ba ¹³ □
4. <u>NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE</u>	别	mo ²⁵ 莫
5. <u>NEGATIVE OF INABILITY</u> <u>‘will not (impossibility)’</u> , <u>‘not able’</u>	不能, 不要	zɿŋ ¹³
6. <u>IMMINENCE NEGATIVE</u> <u>‘not yet’</u>	不曾	pu ²⁵ zaŋ ²⁵
7. <u>VOLITIONAL NEGATIVE</u> <u>‘not want’</u>	不要	<u>biau</u> ³³ < ba ¹³ iau ³³ also: piau ³³ < pu ²⁵ iau ³³

Irrealis negation

- For irrealis negation, there is an overlapping of functions by **pu**²⁵ and **ba**¹³
- that is, they can both be used in certain present and future contexts to negate a predicate
- How did this seemingly superfluous doubling arise?
- this study takes up from Wu Yunji's seminal work on Waxiang (2010) and Waxiang negation (2006)

Irrealis negative adverb *pu*²⁵

- *pu*²⁵ 不 is arguably a borrowing from Southwestern Mandarin
- evident from its tonal category of 去聲 which is realised as 33

Qùshēng 去聲 falling tone category: values	Waxiang	Guzhang SW Mandarin (district chief town)	Standard Mandarin	Jishou SW Mandarin (prefectural capital)
	33	25	41	11

Negative adverbs in Waxiang

If the negative adverb, 不, were native to Waxiang, the tonal value should be realised as 33 ***pu**³³. However, language informants pronounce this adverb as **pu**²⁵

The issue:

SW Mandarin: **pu**²⁵ cannot, however, be used in all the structures in which **ba**¹³ occurs.

This presents a case of stratification which is creating a superstrate layer from SWM.

Relevant examples follow of structures in which only **ba**¹³ occurs:

3.1. Exclusive domains of **ba**¹³

(i) Negation of noun phrase
(NP) – **ba**¹³ – NP: ‘to not have’

so⁴¹-i⁴¹ niəu²⁵tʂa-zəŋ⁴¹

so women – PL

ba ¹³	si ⁴¹ -kəu	/ti ²⁵ uei ²⁵ / _{SWM}	ti
NEG.VERB	what	position	PRT

所以女子口_複，不什个地位的

(line 32, *Traditional marriage customs*)

‘So women didn’t have any social position.’

Negative adverb:

(ii) Negation of a predicate - past contexts

in ⁵⁵ uei ²⁵	ŋi ²⁵	ba¹³	sɣŋ ⁵⁵	ŋo ⁵⁵ zi
because	2SG	NEG	give:birth	child
ba¹³	tsi ²⁵	ŋ ⁵⁵		
NEG	worth	person		
ŋi ²⁵	tɕi ⁴¹ -ta	ti	pu²⁵ kan ⁴¹	ziəu ¹³
2SG	home-in	LIG	NEG dare	eat
zan ⁴¹	ti	tau ⁵⁵ ɕi		
others	MOD	things		

因为你不生伢子，不值人你室头的不敢食别人的东西。

‘Because if you ha**ven’t given birth** to a child, then you’re worthless. Your family doesn’t dare to eat other people’s things.’ (lines 45-46: *Traditional marriage customs*)

(iii) Comparatives of inequality

- only can **ba**¹³ be used to negate the simple form of the comparative of inequality

u²⁵ **ba**¹³ (*pu²⁵) lu³³ ɲi²⁵ i¹³-tsua³³
1SG NEG big 2SG one-year
'I'm not a year older than you.'

lau¹³ **ba**¹³ (*pu²⁵) ɕi⁵⁵kua⁵⁵ lu³³.
peach NEG melon big

'Peaches are not bigger than watermelons.'

Borrowed & native forms of comparative

- If the comparative is the borrowed Mandarin equivalent, then the situation is more complex:

(i) pi⁴¹比 can be negated by either adverb in simple clauses:

u²⁵ **ba¹³** / **pu²⁵** pi⁴¹ n̩i²⁵ thiau²⁵ pa⁴¹-tɕiɛ⁵⁵
1SG NEG CMP 2SG heavy eight-pounds

‘I’m not eight pounds heavier than you!’

(ii) Preferred structure is the native zero-marked form

u²⁵ **ba¹³** (***pu²⁵**) thiau²⁵ n̩i²⁵ pa⁴¹-tɕiɛ⁵⁵
1SG NEG heavy 2SG eight-pounds

3.2.

Overlapping areas for **pu**²⁵ and **ba**¹³

- In some domains both **pu**²⁵ and **ba**¹³ can be used:
- These are
 - (i) adjectives
 - (ii) cognition verbs such as ‘know’ which are semantically stative

pu²⁵ / **ba**¹³ ɛiau²⁵-tie

‘not know’

- (iii) certain present and future contexts, such as conditional clauses

(i) Negation of adjectives

Examples where both can be used.

u²⁵ ba¹³ / pu²⁵ fi¹³.
1SG NEG fat ‘I’m not fat!’

ba¹³ ʔau¹³, ba¹³ tɕyɛ³³ 不红; 不怯
pu²⁵ ʔau¹³, pu²⁵ tɕyɛ³³
NEG red NEG frightened
‘not red’, ‘not frightened’

(iii) Complex conditional sentence

In conditionals and counterfactuals, both **pu**²⁵ and **ba**¹³ can be used, depending on the syntactic context.

moŋ⁵⁵ tiau⁵⁵ dziaŋ³³ dziəw⁴¹ va²⁵
tomorrow if fall rain

u²⁵ tɕiəw²⁴ pa¹³/pu²⁵ tsɿ³³ ŋuo⁵⁵ŋiɛ
1SG then NEG do work

‘If it rains tomorrow, then I won’t work.’

3.3. The exclusive domains of pu^{25}

- pu^{25} 不 is largely restricted to modal meanings :
- **‘not willing to’** in declarative sentences in present contexts
- **modal futures** – ‘will not happen’
- but also, unsurprisingly,
and negation of modal verbs in general
also
- **generic statements**

(i) Modal verbs

36、 zε³³ zuai²⁵ ŋi²⁵ xon²⁵ tɕ^{hi}ε⁵⁵, ŋi²⁵ tɕiəu²⁵ tɕ⁴¹ k^{hɿ}33.
3SG allow 2SG visit relatives 2SG then must go
他准你行亲去，你就得去。

37、 pu¹³ zuai²⁵ ŋi²⁵ xon²⁵ tɕ^{hi}ε⁵⁵, ŋi²⁵ ia²⁵ pu¹³ tɕ⁴¹ k^{hɿ}33.
NEG allow 2SG visit relatives 2SG also NEG must go
不准你行亲，你也不得去：

38、 ŋi²⁵ ɕiŋ²⁵ k^{hɿ}33, pu¹³ tɕ⁴¹ k^{hɿ}33.
2SG want go NEG must go
你想去，不得去。

‘If they let you (= bride) visit your family, then you have to go. If they don’t let you visit home, then you may not go. Even if you want to go, you may not go.’ (Text: *Traditional marriage customs*)

(ii) Generic statements

dau³³çiŋ⁵⁵ tçiəu²⁵ zçiəu³³ tsa⁵⁵

harvest.festival then eat vegetable

For the harvest festival, the food is vegetarian.

跳香就食菜。

pu²⁵ zçiəu³³ huai⁵⁵ ti

NEG₁ eat meat DM_{CRS}

You don't eat meat. 不食荤嘢。

3.4. Arrival of *pu*²⁵

- *pu*²⁵不 has, however, encroached on some of the semantic territory of the Waxiang ‘native’ negative morpheme *ba*¹³ .
- *pu*²⁵不 doesn’t arrive alone: imports *new* syntactic structures into Waxiang
- describe its use in Waxiang
- specifically, **polar question** types and also
- **potential verb compounds** with the meaning of ‘unable to’

Negation & polar questions in Asia:

- **Polar ‘Yes-No’ questions** are intimately linked with the use of negatives in Waxiang, just as they are pan-Sinitic and in most of Southeast Asia (see Clark 1989: 208-214; Yue-Hashimoto 1991, Zhang Min 2000, Zhu Dexi 1985, 1990).
- There are two main patterns for polar questions in Sinitic (and in Asia for that matter, cf Clark 1989):

Two patterns of distribution

I. **VERB-NEG (CLAUSE - NEG)**

Southern Min and Wu dialects; Jianghuai Mandarin dialects (see Zhang Min 2000).

II. **VERB (O)-NEG-VERB (O)**

- widespread in Chinese languages with a number of subtypes

III. **K-VP**

Yue-Hashimoto (1993) lists a very large number of dialects in the Jianghuai Mandarin group also Southwestern Mandarin and Wu and a small number of Southern Min dialects.

(i) Waxiang V-NEG questions

- Waxiang speakers can use both CLAUSE-NEG and V-NEG-V, that is, both polar question patterns

Questions arising:

- Are these both native construction types perhaps with one being historically earlier?
- Or: is one native and the other borrowed ?

Waxiang CLAUSE - NEG

Example:

ai⁵⁵-kəu³³ koŋ⁵⁵tʂa ɲi²⁵
this-CL orange 2SG

ziəu¹³-ku³³ **ba**⁰?
eat-COMP NEG_Q

‘Have you finished eating the orange yet?’

□ 这个柑子你食过不？（这种桔子你吃过吗？）

Note: in **Clause – NEG**, **ba**¹³ > **ba**⁰ in final position

Waxiang V-NEG-V

However, due to the SW Mandarin superstrate, Waxiang has the V-NEG-V form as well:

Moŋ⁵⁵tiau⁵⁵ ŋi²⁵ k^həw³³ pu²⁵ k^həw³³.
tomorrow 2SG go NEG go

明天你去不去？

‘Will you go tomorrow ? **(Future context)**

N.B. Some informants disprefer this structure.

Negative adverbs in V-NEG-V

Crucial evidence: It is not possible to use ba^{13} in the V-NEG-V form:

$*k^h\text{əw}^{33} ba^{13} k^h\text{əw}^{33}$ (*去 ba^{13} 去)

The same applies for tag questions formed with the verb $ts^h\gamma^{25}$ 'to be'.

Only pu^{25} can be used in V-NEG-V.

(ii) Waxiang tag questions

wu ²⁵	t ^h oŋ ⁵⁵ tɕi ³³	ŋi ²⁵	koŋ ²⁵	
1SG	hear	2SG	say	
iau ³³	tau ³³	Ku ⁴¹ za ³³ foŋ ⁵⁵	k ^h əu ³³	,
want	to	Guzhang	go	

我听见你说要到古丈去。

‘I heard you say you want to go to Guzhang,
right?’

TAG (i): **ts^hɣ²⁵** **ba⁰?**
be NEG

TAG (ii): **ts^hɣ²⁵** **pu²⁵** **ts^hɣ²⁵?**
be NEG be

Unacceptable: ***ts^hɣ²⁵** **ba⁰** **ts^hɣ²⁵**

ba¹³ versus pu²⁵

These data provide further evidence that it is **ba¹³** which is native and **pu²⁵** which is the borrowed form.

- A second type of support for this hypothesis comes in the form of the potential verb construction PVC (能性补语) which is
- formed on the basis of the resultative verb construction RVC (述补结构).

(iii) Potential verb constructions

- In Jishou Mandarin, the complementizers are **·ti** 得 and **pu¹¹** 不 for the positive and negative forms of the PVC:

V1_{ACTION} $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \cdot\text{ti} \text{得} \\ \text{pu}^{11} \text{不} \end{array} \right\}$ V2_{RESULT}

As in other Sinitic languages, these constructions code possibility and ability to achieve a certain result.

Jishou Southwestern Mandarin PVCs

ts'ei⁵⁵ tso³⁵-**pu¹¹**-xa³⁵ ·lə. 車座不下了。

bus sit-NEG.ABLE-down CRS

‘The bus is full.’ (=‘not able to sit down’)

ts'uan⁵⁵-**ti**-ts'o 穿得著

wear-ABLE-succeed

‘can put on’ (hot weather allows it)

Note: different tonal values for 不 in Jishou SW Mandarin –
- No available data on grammar of Guzhang SW Mandarin

Negation & resultatives

- However, Waxiang does not natively possess the potential verb complement construction:
- the verb structure V_1V_2 - ambiguous between the two construction types of RVC (結果補語) and the PVC (可能結果補語)

t^hau⁵⁵ **ba**¹³ k^hua²⁵ ɕiŋ²⁵ 通口沒打成
all **NEG** hit succeed

(*Wild boars* 4)

(i) ‘unable to hit it’ ⊃

(ii) ‘did not hit it’

Negation of resultative or potential?

Similarly:

u²⁵ ba¹³ ʒiəu¹³ iɛ⁵⁵ 我口沒食饜。
1SG NEG eat full

- (i) 'I haven't eaten enough.' 我吃不饱。
(ii) 'I am unable to eat my fill.' 我没吃饱。

Southwestern Mandarin potential verb complement structure

This ambiguity is nicely resolved by adoption of the SW Mandarin

V₁不 V₂ structure which merges almost imperceptibly with the native syntax:

u²⁵ ziəu¹³ pu²⁵ iε⁵⁵ 我食不饜。

1SG eat NEG.ABLE full

‘I can’t get enough to eat.’

More on the borrowed construction

zan²⁵xan⁴¹ ia²⁵ mɣŋ³³-pu¹³-k^hɣ³³ ŋi²⁵
3PL also look-NEG-up 2SG

‘Once again, they’ll despise you.’

他们也望不起你 (line 50, *Traditional marriage customs*)

vu¹³ pu²⁵ zɛ¹³ 学不来
study NEG come_{DIR}

‘unable to learn’

Again, **ba**¹³ cannot be used in the negated potential construction: *vu¹³ ba¹³ zɛ¹³ *学□没来

3.5. Negation: an interim summary

The compartmentalization is almost watertight between the functions of **pu**²⁵ and **ba**¹³.

pu²⁵ is ‘quarantined’ it is almost exclusively used in the Southwestern Mandarin borrowed structures in Waxiang.

Except for one escape hatch:

It has moved into the territory of **ba**¹³ for the negation of stative verbs including modals, adjectives and in future or irrealis contexts.

This is summarized in the following table:

The relation between ba ¹³ and pu ²⁵	ba ¹³	pu ²⁵
NEG + Adj	+	+
NEG + V + (N) : Present, future contexts,	(+)	+
NEG + NOUN	+	-
Clause + NEG (Interrogative particle)	+	-
NEG + V + (N) Past contexts	+	-
NEG + V1 + V2 (+potential reading)	+	-
Negated comparative construction (native form)	+	-
NEG + V + NEG: tag questions < SW Mandarin	-	+
V1 + NEG.ABLE + V2 < SW Mandarin	-	+
NEG + Modal Verb	-	+
Generic & habitual statements	-	+

Possible explanations for this infiltration (渗透) which takes place via these particular verb classes and the irrealis?

3.6. Explanation of differentiation of negative use

- Negation of properties (states, adjectives) and negation of modality (capacity, permission, ability etc) are tied up with the semantic domain of **non-actuated** events and situations.
- That is, they all share the quality of **not** involving the achievement of events or actions of any kind
- as such belong to the domain of the irrealis.
- The same applies for polar questions

- the irrealis domain provides an entry point for **pu**²⁵ into the semantic territory of **ba**¹³
- since **pu**²⁵ < ‘not’, ‘will not’, ‘not willing’ is more semantically adapted for this use, including for questions – whose purpose is find out if an event has happened or not,
- or a state persists

IV. Conclusion (i)

- The ‘competition’ between negatives presents a case of *almost* complementary distribution between the two negative markers **pu²⁵** and **ba¹³**.
- It appears that Southwestern Mandarin **pu²⁵** is adopted with great ease into the Waxiang language to fill apparent structural gaps in the language
- specifically, where there is no corresponding form with SW Mandarin: potential verb compounds,
- V-NEG-V and tag questions

Conclusion (ii)

- Stratification by the regional *lingua franca*, Southwestern Mandarin, is taking place, gradually superposing a variety of structural layers over Waxiang in different domains of syntax and lexicon.
- The bilingual competence in Waxiang and Southwestern Mandarin lead to a seamless adoption of the Mandarin structures.
- Further examples are alternation between the use of kai⁵⁵跟 and pa⁴¹把 as object markers
- use of the pi⁴¹比 comparative of inequality in parallel with a polarity comparative

Conclusion (iii)

- For convergence 趋同化 *not* to take place between languages, a solid semantic division of labour needs to be maintained between the related and competing construction types
- this is *currently* the case for **pu²⁵** and **ba¹³**, - *apart from certain contexts in the irrealis domain.*
- In largely fulfilling different functions, the constructions with **pu²⁵** and **ba¹³** can continue to stably co-exist

Future of Waxiang

- In this interdialectal contact, the emerging form of the language passes through (socio-) linguistically revealing stages such as stratification and hybridization, creating intermediate phases before a possible final convergence with the superstrate language takes place
- this final stage is not, of course, mandatory and depends not only on sociolinguistic factors but also on maintenance of **functionally-differentiated** outcomes of the calquing of syntactic structures

Merci!
Thank you!

Comments welcome.

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