

LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY ALONG THE CHINA-VIETNAM BORDER*

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Abstract

The diversity of Tai languages along the border between Guangxi and Vietnam has long fascinated scholars, and led some to postulate that the original Tai homeland was located in this area. In this article I present evidence that this linguistic diversity can be explained in large part not by “divergent local development” from a single proto-language, but by the intrusion of dialects from elsewhere in relatively recent times as a result of migration, forced trans-plantation of populations, and large-scale military operations. Further research is needed to discover any underlying linguistic diversity in the area in deep historical time, but a prior task is to document more fully and systematically the surface diversity as described by Gedney and Haudricourt among others.

Keywords diversity, homeland, migration

William J. Gedney, in his influential article “Linguistic Diversity Among Tai Dialects in Southern Kwangsi” (1966), was among a number of scholars to propose that the geographical location of the proto-Tai language, the *Tai Urheimat*, lay along the border between Guangxi and Vietnam. In 1965 he had written:¹

This reviewer’s current research in Thai languages has convinced him that the point of origin for the Thai languages and dialects in this country [i.e. Thailand] and indeed for all the languages and dialects of the Tai family, is not to the north in Yunnan, but rather to the east, perhaps along the border between North Vietnam and Kwangsi or on one side or the other of this border.

This followed the publication in 1964 of Frederick Mote’s article “Problems of Thai Pre-history”, which had demonstrated that the Tai homeland could not have been the Nanzhao (Nan Chao) kingdom in north-central Yunnan, as previously believed. Gedney noted that A.-G. Haudricourt had also remarked on the great diversity among Tai dialects to the east of the Red River, in an article published in 1956,² and that Robbins Burling also had noted the following in 1965: “There is

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¹ Quoted in Gedney 1966: 805.

² Gedney 1966: 805, citing A.-G. Haudricourt (1956). What Haudricourt says is (1972: 244), “D’autre part, dans la péninsule indochinoise à l’ouest du Fleuve Rouge, ces langues sont

more diversity among the obscure but related languages of the Vietnam-China border, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that this was the center from which the Thai languages spread.”³

There are actually three propositions which are intertwined in this argument: (1) the area of greatest diversity of the Tai languages is along the eastern half of the border between China and Vietnam; (2) this linguistic diversity indicates that the original homeland of the Tai peoples, and the geographic location of proto-Tai, is in this area; (3) this is the area from which the Tai peoples and languages spread across mainland Southeast Asia, eventually reaching their present distribution. It is necessary to de-couple these three propositions. I will argue that the first is broadly true, but does not entail the second; and that the third is also probably true, but has nothing to do with the second. That is to say, the observable linguistic diversity is a result of migrations, transplantation of populations, and military campaigns in relatively recent historical time, and is not the result of any natural diversification of the proto-language over longer time scales. Furthermore, the migration of the Tai peoples into northern Southeast Asia also took place in relatively recent times, and had as its primary cause the same intrusion and gradual intensification of Chinese state power from the Tang period onward that generated much of the linguistic diversity. The southwest of present-day Guangxi, which was briefly the site of Nong Zhigao’s Southern Heavenly Kingdom during the Northern Song dynasty (1052-1054), was probably the epicentre of this mass migration.

This article will concentrate on the causes of the linguistic diversity. My argument here has been foreshadowed in a recent article by Jerold Edmondson (2002), who analysed Nùng An data from Jingxi, Cao Bǎng and Long’an, and concluded that the NT features in Nùng An speech are a result of immigration from Long’an, an area well to the north.

Gedney’s contribution was to begin to document this diversity on the China side of the border. Working with native informants, he collected systematic data on the phonological system of the following locations in the southwestern part of Guangxi:⁴

parlées par des envahisseurs conquérants et sont pratiquement homogènes sur de vastes espaces. Au contraire, dans leurs régions d’origine, à l’est du Fleuve Rouge, elles sont parlées par les paysans autochtones et varient de village à village.”

³ Cited Gedney 1966: 806, from Robbins Burling (1965). What Burling actually wrote was (pp. 93-94): “If one ... considers only the present distribution of the Thai languages, a rather different location emerges as their most likely point of origin. ... The more remote relatives are all spoken in northern Vietnam and in the adjacent regions of southern China, well to the east of what was once the Nanchao kingdom. It is tempting to look upon this area of greatest linguistic diversity as the center from which the Thai languages spread, and nothing in the known history would contradict such a guess.”

⁴ Data on the first four of these locations is given in the Central Tai Dialects volume; data on Lung Ming is given in Thomas John Hudak, (ed.) (1991). Chinese place-names are given in Gedney’s works in Wade transcription or the earlier postal system, and the maps in Gedney’s dialect series are also based on Republican-period maps and give pre-1949 provincial

- Ping Siang (Pingxiang 憑祥, now Pingxiang municipality in the far southwestern corner of Guangxi, south of Longzhou)
- Lei Ping (Leiping 雷平, formerly a separate county, now the county seat of Daxin county in the southwest of Guangxi, north of Longzhou)
- Ning Ming (Ningming 寧明, now the county seat of Ningming county along the eastern part of the border with Vietnam, southeast of Longzhou)
- Sz Lok (Sile 思樂, formerly a separate county in the eastern part of present-day Ningming)
- Lung Ming (Longming 龍茗, formerly a separate county, now a parish in the southern part of Tiandeng 天等 county, to the north of Daxin)

Gedney was writing before fieldwork became possible in China itself. Working under the conditions that prevailed at that time, he obtained his data by interviews conducted in places like Hong Kong, working closely with single informants who had left their home community and emigrated from China, in some cases many years before the interviews took place. It is not my intention here to challenge the accuracy of the data he collected, but rather to sound a note of caution about its interpretation. In particular, it is important to note that Gedney collected his data and arrived at his hypothesis about the Tai *Urheimat* two generations ago. Since then, the results of dialect surveys conducted in the 1950s and 1960s have become available, and further and more detailed local linguistic surveys have been undertaken.

1. GEDNEY'S ARGUMENT

Before proceeding it will be useful to review briefly the data and reasoning Gedney presented in his 1966 article. At the outset, he states with some assurance, "It is clear that the diversity which we are going to examine is the result of divergent local development, not of the intrusion of one or another dialect from elsewhere." (pp. 807-8) It is this judgment which I think is wrong, on the basis of evidence now available.

The rest of Gedney's article gives evidence of various kinds for what he terms the "astonishing diversity" of Tai dialects in this region. The arguments here can be very briefly summarised, since the degree of diversity in itself is not at issue here.

First in terms of tonal categories, different dialects surveyed show great differences in the way tonal splits and recombinations are conditioned by initial consonants (voiceless fricatives, voiceless unaspirated stops, voiceless glottals and pre-glottalised consonants, and voiced consonants). Gedney comments, "These six tonal systems exhibit as much variety as one might find if he compared any six widely separated Tai languages from other areas." (p.813)

boundaries. For ease of reference, I provide here the current Chinese names in characters and pinyin transcription.

In the array of initial consonants, Gedney finds “striking typological differences” among his six dialects, most notably presence or absence of aspirated initials. Original voiced obstruents in Leiping become voiceless aspirates, as in Thai and Lao but unlike the other five dialects (e.g. *khuu*⁵ ‘pair’, *khɯn*⁴ ‘person’, *phii*⁵ ‘older sibling’) (p.814). Such differences are considered “typological” because presence of aspirated initials is supposed to be one of the hallmarks of Central Tai languages, in contrast to the Northern languages, which have pervasive de-aspiration.

For vowels, Gedney notes a “spectacular set of facts covering vowels ... a great vowel shift involving diphthongisation of high vowels in ... LM, NM and SL.” (p.817) These languages preserve the distinction between -ii, -uuu, and -uu, on the one hand, and -ia, -uaa, and -ua on the other, while these distinctions are lost in LC, PS and LP. Examples he cites include:

<i>mii</i> ¹ ‘to have’	vs	<i>khia</i> ² ‘to scratch’
<i>muuu</i> ¹ ‘hand’		<i>rua</i> ¹ ‘boat’
<i>nuu</i> ⁵ ‘rat, mouse’		<i>thua</i> ² ‘bean’

Other “astonishing phenomena” include the fact that the words for ‘snake’ and ‘water tortoise’ [tortoise] have the vowel -uuu. “Dialects of this group have no right to this vowel in these words. For over thirty years, scholars have used this uuu vowel in these and a few other words as distinguishing criteria of the Tai languages of the Northern branch.” (p.818) Furthermore, “NM and SL show some other scattered features which have always been regarded as exclusively characteristic of languages of the Northern Group”. The word for ‘right hand’ has tones that reflect an original voiced initial. Gedney concedes that some of these phenomena may have resulted from “areal changes crossing language and even family boundaries”, but insists, “[T]hese Northern features in NM and SL apparently go back much farther than that, and apparently will require a revision of our views as to the basic distinctions in the major Tai branches.” (p.819)

As a matter of interest, data from the Zhuang dialect surveys conducted from the 1950s onwards, published in Zhang Junru et al. (1999), indicate that the picture for the northern dialects is by no means as clear-cut as Gedney and his contemporaries supposed.

‘Snake’ (item 154, p.617): most but not all Northern locations have *ɲu*² (*ɲuu*²), the exceptions being Tiandong (*ɲia*²), Tianlin (*ɲua*²), and Lingyun-Leye (*ɲua*²); among southern locations, *ɲu*² (*ɲuu*²) is also found in Long’an and Fusui, to the north of Ningming.

‘Cloud’ (item 6, p. 595): only Wuming, Yongning north, Pingguo, Nandan, Shanglin, and Guixian have -u³; many other localities have -u³. In the Southern areas, Long’an and Fusui have -u³. Final -a³ (-aa³) is confined to Longzhou, Daxin, Debao, Jingxi, Guangnan Nung, and Yanshan Nung; it is not characteristic of the Southern Zhuang (Central Tai) regions as a whole.

‘Water tortoise’ (Wuming fu¹, Ch. 鱉 *bie*¹, item 193 p. 623) exhibits a basically identical pattern except for the tone.

‘Right-hand’ (item 64, p. 604): kwa² is found in Long’an, and khwa² in Fusui, Shangsi, Chongzuo, and Ningming. Tone 1 with s- or ʃ- initial is only found in areas further to the west: Longzhou, Daxin, Debao, Jingxi, Guangnan Nung, Yanshan Nung, and Wenshan and Malipo.

While the Zhuang dialect survey data may have shortcomings, it should be sufficiently clear that the phenomena which Gedney regarded as characteristic of the Southern area as a whole are found only in one part of the Southern area, and that the phenomena he recorded for Ningming and Sile (Szelok) are found also in other Southern Zhuang-speaking counties. Gedney was writing on the basis of information then available about Tai dialects in China. While he was able to consult the French data for northern Vietnam, he did not have access to the data from the Zhuang dialect surveys, which were published only in 1999.⁵ Nor did he have access to more detailed data on sub-groups that have recently become available.

Nevertheless, Gedney was correct in detecting Northern features in his data for Ningming and Sile. I believe he was wrong, however, about the causes for it and its historical depth. In the rest of this article I will present evidence that shows that the linguistic diversity along the border between Guangxi and Vietnam can in large part be explained not by “divergent local development”, but by the intrusion of dialects from elsewhere as a result of migration, forced transfer of populations, and military operations in relatively recent centuries. Further research may indeed reveal the need to reconsider “the basic distinctions between the Tai branches”, and further field research is definitely needed to discover any underlying linguistic diversity in the area in deep historical time, but the idea that the surface diversity as described by Gedney and others is evidence for the location of the *Urheimat* of the Tai peoples cannot be sustained.

2. MOBILITY AND HOMOGENEITY

In historical linguistics, taking broader social and historical factors into account is often of critical importance. The effect of looking at linguistic features in isolation is often to assume unthinkingly that all other variables remain the same. For the Tai, an important socio-historical factor was a relatively high degree of mobility. Evidence both from lineage registers of Zhuang families in Guangxi and from comparative data on Tai communities in mainland Southeast Asia indicates that both village-level and family-based mobility was of a fairly high level, and has been so for as long as there have been historical records, certainly over the last five or six centuries. Tai villagers, under certain circumstances, were prepared to pack up and leave their villages at the behest of their village headmen and migrate to locations often hundreds of kilometres upstream or downstream (Holm 2009). In some cases whole villages moved; in others only part of a village population, or a smaller group formed by the entourage of young men of influential families.

⁵ It is not clear whether he had access to the survey data on Bouyei collected in the *Buyiyu diaocha baogao* 佈依語調查報告 [Report of an investigation into the Bouyei language], published in 1959.

While pre-modern lineage registers usually do not comment on the circumstances prompting village-level migration in Tai society in Guangxi, the work of Karl Izikowitz on Tai communities in Laos provides insights into the circumstances triggering such mobility there.⁶ In fact, Izikowitz witnessed the initial stages of a Tai village-level migration, and collected evidence of other movements of village populations, often over very large distances. This evidence shows that the idea of largely static populations which expanded locally, with no admixture of incoming migrants from other areas, does not really fit the evidence for the Tai.

It is often imagined that rural communities in the past were homogenous, that all members of villages were peasants tied to the land, and that all members of such homogenous communities spoke in a similar way and were exposed to a homogenous set of linguistic influences. These rationalist default assumptions result in a greatly over-simplified picture of the cultural geography of rural areas. An additional source of mobility and thus linguistic differentiation is widespread participation in non-agricultural livelihoods. Izikowitz observed that some Tai villages in Laos specialised in particular handicraft or sideline (i.e. non-agricultural) activities. Typically, the whole village would be involved in the same activity or craft specialisation. The same pattern can be found in China.

Tiandeng is a mountainous county in the southwestern part of Guangxi. Formerly, the territory was divided among the Republican-period (1911-1949) counties of Longming 龍茗, Xiangdu 向都 and Zhenjie 鎮結,⁷ and before that, the smaller-scale native chieftaincies of Xiangwu 向武, Dukang 都康, Shangying 上映, Longying 龍英, Quanming 全茗, Mingying 茗盈, Xinlun 信倫, Zhenyuan 鎮遠, Jie'an 結安, and Dujie 都結.⁸ The Tai dialect in Longming in the south of Tiandeng was the focus of William Gedney's *The Tai Dialect of Lungming* (Hudak 1991).

Tiandeng forms part of the karst highlands between the Youjiang and Zuojiang rivers. Limestone peaks are found throughout the county, with valleys running in a ENE-WSW direction. While wetfield and dryfield agriculture is found everywhere, with rice in wetfields and maize as the main dryfield crop, and soybeans, peanuts and sugarcane as economic crops, other specialisations are found, in spite of what were very difficult land communications in pre-modern times. In Jinjie 進結 parish, Longfeng 隆鳳 village has a concentration of blacksmiths, while silversmiths are concentrated in Minyuan 民元 village; the men in both these villages frequently travel widely in order to pursue these sidelines (*Tiandeng xianzhi* 1991: 37). In Jinyuan township in the northeast of the county, most men travel outside their villages in order to pursue sideline trades; the formerly well-known stone masons of Zhenjie 鎮結 were concentrated here,

⁶ Most notably, Karl Gustav Izikowitz, 'Notes about the Thai' (1962), repr. in Izikowitz (1985).

⁷ See *Tiandeng xianzhi* (1991: 26) for a map of former county boundaries.

⁸ *Tiandeng xianzhi* (1991: 24-25). The smallest of these domains was quite small, comprising only 32 villages (Quanming).

and Gengxun 更訓 hamlet produced many blacksmiths.⁹ In Xiangdu 向都 township in the northwest of the county, gold is found in the “Ninety-nine Peaks” (九十九嶺), and in that area and in Pingyao 平堯 most of the inhabitants engaged in panning for gold. Villagers in Miaocun 苗村 in Fuxin 福新 parish specialised in orchard cultivation, with 5134 mu (342 hectares) of Chinese anise trees producing some 5,500 kilograms of anise oil per year.¹⁰ Some of these activities involved villagers in extensive travel outside their immediate area; others involved villagers in frequent market transactions.

Such patterns of village-level economic specialisation are found also in the Han Chinese parts of the Chinese empire. Among the Tai, however, such specialisations often involved sub-ethnic distinctions in culture and language, and restricted patterns of intermarriage with other groups. In Ningming 寧明 county in the far south of Guangxi on the border with Vietnam, for instance, the Zhuang (Tai) were divided into a number of recognisable subgroups of this type. Ningming is another area from which William J. Gedney’s informants were drawn.

3. NINGMING

Like Tiandeng, the modern county of Ningming was formed by the amalgamation of a number of Republican-era counties: namely Ningming 寧明 in the west, Mingjiang 明江 in the middle, and Sile 思樂 in the east.¹¹ These were amalgamated in 1951.¹² Also like Tiandeng, the Republican-era counties were formed from a welter of smaller chieftaincies and administrative units, including Mingjiang branch prefecture 明江分州, Ningming subprefecture 寧明州, Sizhou subprefecture 思州, Upper Shixizhou 上石西州, Lower Shixizhou 下石西州, Silingzhou 思陵州, and Qianlongdong 遷隆洞.¹³ The fact that counties like Ningming and Tiandeng along the southwestern border of Guangxi were until recently divided into numerous small native chieftaincies or subprefectural units is likely to have been a significant factor in fostering linguistic diversity.¹⁴

A reflection of this diversity is the presence of identifiable sub-groups. The following information on Zhuang subgroups in Ningming comes from the recently published county gazetteer. The Tai currently classified as Zhuang (Zhuangzu 壯族) in Ningming are divided into five subgroups: the Cun 村, the

⁹ *Ibid.* This parish has a high population and relatively little arable land. In fact, carpenters from Zhenjie 鎮結 were also known as far afield as Tiandong, where they were referred to as *boux gawq* ‘people of the saw’ (Luo Hantian 2007: 161).

¹⁰ *Tiandeng xianzhi* (1991: 37). Anise oil production was also a specialisation of villagers in Peiguang 佩光 village in Shangying 上盈 parish (*ibid.* p. 38).

¹¹ For maps showing location see *Ningming xianzhi* (1988: 84-86).

¹² *Ningming xianzhi* (1988: 87).

¹³ *Ningming xianzhi* (1988: 78-80).

¹⁴ While outside the scope of the present article, the correlation between such jurisdictions and linguistic variation would be well worth investigating.

Tun 屯, the Nong 垌, the Zao 灶, and the Wancheng 萬承.¹⁵ The county gazetteer gives the following information about them:

The Cun 村 (lit. ‘village’) people inhabit the area within 15 kilometres of the county seat of Ningming.

The Tun 屯 (lit. ‘hamlet’) people live in the five hamlets of Shangyang 上央, Xiayang 下央, Lilong 黎龍, Angling 盎另 and Zengkun 增坤 near the border with Vietnam. Before the Republican period the Tun wore distinctive clothing, the men wearing short tops and going barefoot, and the women wearing short tops with narrow sleeves and short trousers baring the knee. During the Republican period the Tun gradually adopted the standard dress of other Tai in the surrounding area.

The Nong 垌 (lit. ‘mountain hollow’) people lived deep in the mountains. Under the native chieftaincies, the Nong plaited bamboo mats and bamboo grain storage bins, collected firewood and made charcoal. They did not have any wetfields, and ate maize and miscellaneous grains the year round. Both women and men wore short tops and went barefoot, very much like the Tun. The women’s tops were very short, and went down only to the navel. To prepare for marriage, young women prepared finely embroidered skirts and upper garments, and wore as many as seven or eight pairs of bone ornaments around their arms. Both their costumes and their ornaments were quite distinctive. After the beginning of the Republican period, they came under the influence of the Cun and Tun, and gradually became like other Zhuang villagers, gradually turning to agriculture and devoting themselves to plaiting bamboo and straw items.

The people in Beizhang 北丈 hamlet are called the Zao 灶 (lit. ‘kiln’) people, so-called because they are well-known for engaging in firing earthenware vats and tiles in kilns. After the Xianfeng reign period (1851-1861), they switched to agriculture as a livelihood. Their customs are similar to those of the Zhuang, but their speech is quite unlike that of ordinary Zhuang.

The Wancheng 萬承 people live in the villages of Dongsì 洞四, Baima 百馬, Banlüe 板略, Namò 那麼, Duopai 馱排, Kejing 可敬, Niansheng 念省, Kulong 枯龍, Kuiluo 墟落, Lüchai 綠柴, Banjiu 板就, Pucheng 漣城, Shangdian 上店, and Du’e 度扼. They are Tai who came originally from Wanchengzhou 萬承州 in present-day Daxin 大新 county over a hundred years ago (i.e. the latter part of the 19th century). Their language and customs are similar to those of the indigenous Zhuang population.

The Zhuang language in Ningming has three main sub-dialects, centred on Ningming, Mingjiang and Haiyuan 海淵. Apart from these dialects, the following nine speech varieties are found: Zhong 仲話, Shao 哨話, Wancheng 萬承話, Duan 段話, Zhai 寨話, Nong 垌話, Zao 灶話, Qianlong 遷隆話, and Dong 東話 (the latter possibly a contraction for Dongluo 東羅, a place-name in Guangxi).¹⁶

The following information is provided on the distribution of these speech varieties (see Map 1):

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 665.

¹⁶ *Ningming xianzhi* (1988: 670).

Zhong 仲 is spoken in the villages of Naguo 那果 and Nalü 那綠 in Banliang 板亮 brigade in Zhai'an 寨安 Commune.

Shao 哨 is spoken in the villages of Banliang 板亮 and Nabian 那便.

Wancheng 萬承 is spoken in Shangdian 上店 and Du'e 度扼 villages in Zhai'an 寨安 commune; Banwang 板王, Kuijiang 槓江, Baima 百馬, Banlüe 板略, and Dongsi 洞四 villages in Mingjiang 明江 commune; and Kejing 可敬 village in Zhilang 峙浪 Commune.

Duan 段 is spoken in the villages of Nalei 那雷, Banjun 板均, Banli 板立, Dongmen 東門, Beishan 北山, Banzhou 板宙, and Kousan 扣三.

Nong 弄 is spoken in the villages in the Panlong 攀龍 area in Duolong 馱龍 Commune.

Zhai 寨 is spoken in the villages of Zhaiban 寨板, Hongmi 宏密, Ganfeng 干逢, and Pugua 漣瓜.

Zao 灶 is spoken in the village of Beizhang 北丈.

Qianlong 遷隆 is spoken by people in the villages of the Qianlong 遷隆 area, and resembles the speech of Shangsi 上思 (the adjoining county to the east).

Dong 東 is spoken in some of the villages in Na'nan 那楠 Commune.

The gazetteer comments:

The above varieties of Zhuang basically have the same vocabulary, and among these groups people can communicate with each other. It is only that there are a few differences in vocabulary and pronunciation, and differences in the pitch and dynamics of the tones. For example, for the word for 'clothing', the Zhai speakers say *swjvaq* [tʰw³ va⁵], as do most of the Zhuang people in the county. But in Qianlong the word is *swjhoq* [tʰw³ ho⁵], with the pronunciation very close to that of Shangsi. Again with the word 'head', the Zhai speakers say *hu* [hu¹], while Qianlong speakers say *laeuj* [læu³]. For 'sweet potato' the Zhai speakers say *maksawz* [ma:k⁷ tʰæu²], while the Qianlong speakers say *maenz* [mæn²], and the Dong speakers say *kai* [kai¹]. For 'sweet wine' the Zhai speakers and most other Zhuang in the county say *laeujnaz* [læu³ na²], but Qianlong speakers say *laeujvan* [læu³ va:n¹], and Dong speakers say *laeujbanduk* [læu³ pa:n¹ tuk⁷].¹⁷

At best, only part of this linguistic variety can be attributed to processes of internal differentiation. Some language varieties have clearly come to Ningming as a result of migration. Migrants from Wancheng not only moved to Ningming, but also to other parts of Guangxi and Vietnam. They are known in the literature as the Nung Fan Slihng, 'Nung Fan Slihng' being the self-designation of the people and 'Fan Slihng' the way in which the vernacular pronunciation of the place-name 'Wancheng' was represented.¹⁸ When scholars such as Janice E. Saul and Nancy Freiburger Wilson worked on Nung Fan Slihng material, they did not comment on this, noting simply that "The Nung Fan Slihng people are originally

¹⁷ *Ningming xianzhi* (1988: 670-671).

¹⁸ Cf. Standard Zhuang Fanhewngz (fa:n⁶ ɕwɨŋ²). The Fusui Pinghua pronunciation is man¹³ sen²¹ (Li Lianjin 2000: 248 item 2473, 324 item 3236).



Map 1. Zhuang Subgroups in Ningming County

from the Kwangsi province of southern China and the Vietnam-China border areas of Lang Son, Bac Giang and Cao Bang.”¹⁹

Wancheng was one of the larger native chieftaincies in the area of present-day Daxin county. According to tradition, it was established in the Huangyou 皇祐 reign period of the Song dynasty (1049-1054), and from the Ming period (1368-1644) onwards was ruled by chieftains of the Xu 許 lineage until it collapsed at the beginning of the Tongzhi 同治 reign period (1862).²⁰ The turmoil surrounding the collapse of the chieftaincy seems to have taken place at more or less the same time as a wave of migration of Wancheng people to other localities. An additional factor may have been a severe drought in the 1866, in which at least 500 people died of starvation in the neighbouring chieftaincy of Yangli 養利 alone (*Daxin xianzhi* 1989: 3).

Wancheng is no longer found on modern maps. The seat of the Wancheng chieftaincy was located at modern-day Longmen 龍門 in the northeastern part of Daxin. During the period 1929-1951, Wancheng was the name of a county in the same general area (*Daxin xianzhi* 1989: 25-26).

The names of other local languages in Ningming suggest that they also may have come from outside the immediate locality. Zhong 仲 is a common designation of the people also known as the Bouyei, who are most numerous in Guizhou province and in northern Guangxi adjacent to Guizhou. We know that Bouyei did in fact migrate down into southern Guangxi, eastern Yunnan and northern Vietnam.²¹ Shao 哨, literally ‘sentry’ or ‘sentry-post’ is a unit of local military command, and indicates a population descended from garrison settlements.²² Likewise Zhai 寨, literally ‘stockade’ or ‘fortified settlement’, is likely to refer to garrison populations. Qianlong 遷隆 is a place-name in the eastern part of present-day Ningming, which until recently was a special military district under direct provincial administration. Other names clearly derive from occupations (Zao 灶, the ‘kiln’ people), or environmental niches or landforms (Nong 弄, ‘mountain hollow’). Duan 段 is likely to be derived from a surname, possibly the surname of the founding ancestor of the original village or villages.

4. JINGXI

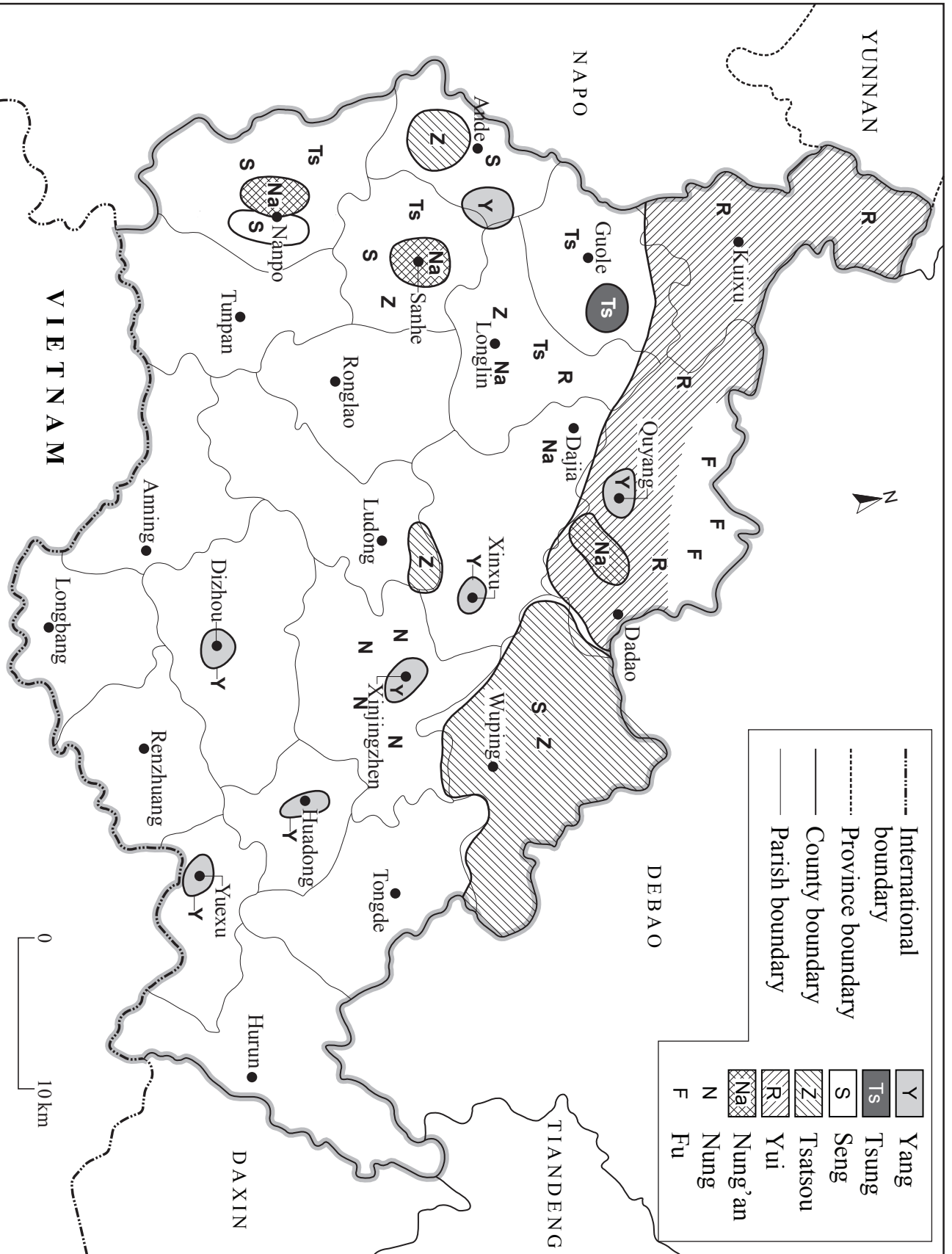
This situation is not dissimilar to other counties along the border between Guangxi and Vietnam. Further to the west in Jingxi 靖西, for instance, the

¹⁹ See Vy Thị Bé, Janice E. Saul, and Nancy Freiburger Wilson, (eds.) (1982: v). The authors’ informant came from the village of Nam Son in Tuyen Duc province (now Lam Dong) in southern Vietnam. Thus their entry (under ‘fạn’) on p. 80 explains ‘Nohng Fạn Slihng’ as ‘name of a dialect of Nung’.

²⁰ *Guangxi Zhuangzu shehui lishi diaocha*, vol.4 (1987: 104-123), ‘Wancheng tusi’ 萬承土司 [The Wancheng native chieftaincy]. The actual date of conversion to direct Chinese rule was 1912.

²¹ They are found for example in Jingxi.

²² The *shao* were established during the Ming dynasty, and were directly antecedent to the Qing dynasty *tang* 塘 ‘local garrisons’ in the *xuntang* 汛塘 system. On which see Qin Shucui (2004: 100-102).



Map 2. Approximate Distribution of Zhuang Subgroups in Jingxi County

following speech varieties are found: Yang 仰, Nong 儂, Zong 宗, Long'an 隆安, Sheng 省, Rui 銳, Zuozhou 左州, and Fu 府. Within Jingxi county, their distribution is described as follows (see Map 2):²³

Yang speakers are found in the county seat and in most towns and larger settlements, including parish seats. Yang, as the language of the marketplace, is the *lingua franca* in the county.

Nong (Nung) is the dialect most closely related to Yang. It is spoken in villages around the county seat. It is like Yang except more conservative in its phonology.

Zong (Tsong) is found in the parishes of Longlin 龍臨, Sanhe 三合, Guole 果樂, and Nanpo 南坡.

Long'an (Nung'an) is found in the parishes of Longlin, Sanhe, Dajia 大甲, and Dadao 大道.

Sheng (Seng) is found in the parishes of Wuping 武平, Sanhe, Ande 安德 and Nanpo (Dingjin 定金).

Rui (Yui) is found in the parishes of Quyang 渠洋, Longlin, and Kuixu 魁墟.

Zuozhou (Tsatsou) is found in the parishes of Longlin, Ande 安德, Sanhe and Wuping.

Fu is found in the parish of Quyang.

Again, the presence of so many speech varieties in the county is not the result of internal differentiation of a static population. Rather, most of these varieties are spoken by the descendants of migrants from outside the county. Some in fact should be classified basically as Northern Zhuang dialects, rather than Southern.

Nung'an is spoken by the descendants of migrants from Long'an 隆安, a county on the lower reaches of the Youjiang 右江 not far upriver from the provincial capital Nanning (former Yongzhou 邕州). Long'an is on the borderline between the Southern and Northern Zhuang-speaking areas.

Tsatsou is spoken by the descendants of migrants from the sub-prefecture of Zuozhou 左州, the seat of which was near present-day Zuozhou 左州 in the northeastern part of the present-day county of Chongzuo. Formerly it was part of Taipingfu 太平府, and was located on the Zuojiang 左江 river, from which the name Zuozhou is derived (Lei Jian 1996: 63-64).

Fu 府 is spoken by the descendants of people who migrated from the neighbouring county of Debao 德保 (formerly the Republican-era counties of Tianbao 天保 and Jingde 敬德) to the north of Jingxi. The name Fu 府 'prefecture' refers to the former prefecture Zhen'anfu 鎮安府, which had its seat at Tianbao, the present-day county seat of Debao.

Seng and Yui are also dialects from outside. Sheng 省, literally 'province', refers to the speech of descendants who came probably from the environs of

²³ *Jingxi xianzhi* (2000: 743). The names in parentheses represent local Jingxi pronunciations of these ethnonyms, and will henceforth be used to prevent confusion between ethnonyms and place names: thus Zuozhou (the place), but Tsatsou (the sub-group). On these pronunciations, see below, p. 33.

Nanning during the Yuan or Ming, though this needs to be corroborated.²⁴ Rui (銳) is a variant of the same designation as Bouyei and the Yay, and refers to Northern Tai-speaking groups.

Immediately to the west of Jingxi in present-day Napo 那坡 county (former Zhen'an fu 鎮安府), many of the same subgroups are found. The *Zhuangyu fangyan tuyu yinxi* entry for Napo (1994: 394) includes information on these groups and their self-designations (autonyms). Caqcu (Tsatsou) is the self-designation for groups from Zuozhou 左州, Lungz'an for those from Long'an 隆安, Fanhsingz that of sub-groups from Wancheng 萬承 in present-day Daxin, and Gvaedaek for those from Guide 歸德 in present-day Pingguo 平果 county. There also there are groups called Ngangmin, speakers of the Yang dialect, but the Yang here are said also to have distinctions among themselves and do not speak in the same way in every place.²⁵

The above Zhuang self-designations mostly represent Pinghua pronunciations of the place-names. *Caqcu* in Fusui Pinghua is tsa³³ tsou⁵³.²⁶

In many cases, dates for major migrations of incoming settlers can only be arrived at following detailed fieldwork. In some cases, however, the historical record offers a fairly consistent picture. This is the case for example with Wancheng.

5. FAMINE IN WANCHENG

There are a number of serious disasters recorded for the late Qing period in the Wancheng area.

In the autumn of the 9th year of the Xianfeng reign period (1859), there was a drought that struck the chieftaincies of present-day Daxin county, causing 'extremely heavy losses' (*sunshi shen zhong* 損失甚重). The chieftaincies of Yanglizhou (present-day Taocheng, Xinzhen, and Encheng parishes), Taipingshou (Leiping, Zhenxing, Lanxu, and Baoxu parishes), Wancheng zhou (Longmen, Wushan, Changming, and Fulong parishes), and Anping zhou were all affected.²⁷

In spring of the fourth year of the Tongzhi reign period (1865), Yangli, Taiping and Wan-cheng suffered a severe drought. Drinking water for men and animals was in short supply, and people ate wild plants, tree-bark and the roots of grasses in order to assuage their hunger. A good many people starved to death, and others "surged out to other country districts" (*liulang ta xiang* 流浪他鄉). According to figures from the five parishes of Yangli, the number of those who starved to death because of this drought reached 500.²⁸

²⁴ Ling Shudong, personal communication, March 2008.

²⁵ The same source notes that the Zhuang dialect material came from a speaker in Pingmeng xiang 平孟鄉 in the 4th District of Mubian 睦邊 county (the name of the county during the 1950s), from a speaker who described himself as *gangj cuengh* ('speaking the Tsung dialect').

²⁶ Li Lianjin (2000: 2 item 15 and 163 item 1628).

²⁷ Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu Tongzhiguan (1995: 56).

²⁸ Ibid.

In the 28th year of the Guangxu reign period (1902), and in the 29th year, Anping, Taiping, Xialei, and Wancheng zhou suffered another severe drought. All the crops that had been planted withered and died, and people ate wild plants and tree-bark. Of the 71 households in the hamlet of Pailin 派林屯 in Wenming 文明 village in Wancheng Native Subprefecture, 54 households fled, leaving 17 households to assuage their hunger with wild plants and “*dai kou zhang*” 袋扣漲 (a Zhuang phrase, referring to putting rice in a small cloth bag, putting the bag into the pot for one or two minutes in which wild plants are being cooked, then taking the bag out to use again). Among the masses the following saying gained currency: “In the years *renyin* and *guimao* there was a big drought, Rice-grains we planted all died out. The tree-bark and grass-roots have all been eaten. With empty bellies we have no option but to leave and flee the disaster area.” (“*Renyin guimao tian da han, Zhongxia daosu quan siguang. Shupi caogen dou chijin, Dukong zhi de qu taohuang*” 壬寅癸卯天大旱，種下稻粟全死光。樹皮草根都吃盡，肚空只得去逃荒)²⁹ The year dates in this saying, given in traditional cyclical characters, refer to 1902 and 1903.

Thus two of the major droughts of the late Qing period are explicitly said to have resulted in outmigration of refugees. Clearly also, the severity of these disasters was entirely sufficient to have produced large-scale outflows of desperate people.

Two other localities which we know also produced identifiable immigrant communities (and language isolates) in neighbouring counties in southwestern Guangxi are Zuozhou and Long’an. In fact, Zuozhou in the northwestern corner of present-day Chongzuo and the parishes of Bingshan and Buquan in southwestern Long’an are contiguous with Wancheng, and may well have suffered from the same famines.

The records for Long’an indicate that there were droughts in 1852, 1853, 1864, each year between 1900 and 1903, and then again in 1907 and 1908. The drought in the third year of the Xianfeng period (1853) was especially severe: “Most people ate grasses and tree-[bark] for food, and very many people died” (民多以草木為食，飢死者甚多).³⁰ 1864 was also bad. During the Republican period, there were droughts and resulting famines in 1928 and 1932. In the 1928 famine the harvest was halved. 1932 was also severe, and the Nanning special office sent an investigation team.³¹ Which of these famines triggered outflows of refugees to surrounding areas is something that could probably be established by on-the-spot investigation. Outflows of refugees into mainland Southeast Asia seem to have begun some centuries ago, at least: an 18th century source on northern Vietnam (on which see below) indicates that groups from these localities were present already by that time.

The historical records do not indicate which parts of Nong’an county were affected. However, this also could be investigated locally. Also, linguistic data for

²⁹ Ibid. This ‘oral saying’ (*koutou yao* 口頭謠) is given in Chinese in the original source.

³⁰ Ibid. p. 33.

³¹ Ibid.

the Long'an (Nong'an) people in Jingxi can be compared with data collected in Long'an during the 1950s and 1960s.³²

For Zuozhou, and other parts of present-day Chongzuo, records go further back. Droughts explicitly said to have caused outflows of refugees are recorded for 1516 and 1641 during the Ming, and again in 1649, 1683, 1757, 1835, 1836, 1861 during the Qing, and 1942 during the Republic.³³ In the years in between, there are many years when droughts caused severe hardship or widespread starvation. Droughts in which “most people died” or “very many people died” took place in 1517, 1618, 1650, 1651, 1671, 1853, 1854, 1886, 1895, and 1922. Local gazetteers record instances of cannibalism, corpses littering the roads, and people waiting listlessly to die.³⁴ Again, investigations in the field will be needed before the dates of refugee flows from Zuozhou can be determined.

6. THE NUNG IN VIETNAM

There is further evidence in Vietnam that linguistic diversity resulted from migration. In Vietnam, subgroups of the Nung characteristically went by designations that indicated their place of origin. An 18th century work by the Vietnamese writer Lê Quý Đôn (Li Guidun 黎貴惇), the *Kiến Văn Tiểu Lục* (Jianwen xiaolu 見聞小錄, A little record of things seen and heard) records that in the province of Tuyên Quang 宣光, the Nung had come from twelve different native chieftaincies within China, and that the names of these subgroups were connected with their original homelands in China:³⁵

The Zhao (Zhaonong 昭儂): the Zhuang, Dai and Nung along the border between Vietnam and China referred to Longzhou 龍州 in southwestern Guangxi as Zhao, i.e. zhou 州 ‘sub-prefecture’. (Longzhou as an administrative centre was first established in the Tang. The ancestors of this group had migrated to Vietnam from Longzhou.)

The Wancheng (Wanchengnong 萬承儂) had migrated to Vietnam from Wancheng. This sub-prefecture had been established in the Tang. Among local people two branches were distinguished by costume: one branch was called the ‘spotted kerchief Wancheng’ (huaban toujin Wancheng 花斑頭巾萬承), because the married women wore indigo-dyed kerchiefs decorated with white spots. The other branch were called the ‘short-tunic Wancheng’ (duanyi Wancheng 短衣萬承), because the married women wore a short upper garment that reached down only to their buttocks, as well as indigo-dyed kerchiefs decorated with white stripes. This latter branch was also called the ‘big river Nong’ (jiangnong 江儂).

The An (An Nong 安儂) had migrated to Vietnam from Jie'an sub-prefecture (Jie'anzhou 結安州). (This sub-prefecture had been set up during the

³² The data from Long'an come from Xiaolin 小林 parish on the north bank of the Youjiang 12 kilometres southeast of the county seat (*Zhuangyu fangyan tuyu yinxi* 1994: 329)

³³ Ibid. p. 51

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Fan Honggui (1999: 167). The information in parentheses about the administrative history of these places is provided by Fan Honggui.

southern Song, when it was called Jie'andong 結安洞. From the Yuan dynasty onward it was designated as a sub-prefecture or native sub-prefecture. It was located at present-day Jinjie 進結 township in Tiandeng county, where there is still a village called Jie'an.)

The Ying (Ying Nong 英儂) had migrated to Vietnam from Longying sub-prefecture (Longyingzhou 龍英州). (Longying was first established during the northern Song, and was first called Longyingdong 龍英洞. From the Yuan dynasty afterward it was converted to a native sub-prefecture. Its location is in present-day Longming 龍茗 parish in Tiandeng county.)

The Lei (Leinong 雷儂) had migrated to Vietnam from Xialei sub-prefecture 下雷州. (This administrative centre was first established in the northern Song, and at the end of the Yuan or beginning of the Ming became known as Xialeidong 下雷洞; the designation was changed back to Xialeizhou at the end of the Ming. This place is present-day Xialei parish in Daxin county.)

The Guishun (Guishun Nong 歸順儂) migrated to Vietnam from Guishunzhou 歸順州. (The designation Guishunzhou dates from the beginning of the Yuan. This place is present-day Jingxi county.)

The Chongshan (Chongshan Nong 崇善儂) migrated to Vietnam from Chongshan 崇善 county. (A Chongshan county was first established during the northern Song. In 1951 this county was amalgamated with Zuozhou 左州 county to form present-day Chongzuo 崇左 county.)

The Fu (Fu Nong 富儂), from Fuzhou 富州. (Fuzhou was first established at the beginning of the Yuan. The name was changed to Fuzhou county in 1913, and currently is Funing 富寧 county in Yunnan.)

The Ying (Ying Nong 營儂) came to Vietnam from Yunnan. A local chieftain called Ying led a multitude of people down into Vietnam, hence the designation.³⁶

Apart from this, there were groups called after their distinctive costumes such as the 'Black Nong' (Wu Nong 烏儂) so-called after the tubular pleated skirts worn by women. There are other groups the provenance of which is unclear, such as the Nongshuang 儂爽, the Nongyuan 儂元, and the Nongzhu 儂主.

Diguet (1907: 68) in his monograph on the Montagnards also notes a similar situation, and provides names of twelve different sub-groups found in Cao Bằng. On the general phenomenon, he reports:

Ils se divisent en plusieurs tribus dont les idiomes, les coutumes et les vêtements des femmes présentent d'assez grandes dissemblances. Les noms qu'elles se donnent pur se distinguer les unes des autres, sont ceux des chêu du Quang Si d'où elles proviennent et où elles ont dû séjourner pendant des siècles avant d'accomplir leur dernière étape.

On the sub-groups found in Cao Bằng, he lists the following (Diguet 1907: 68):

1° Celle des Nung Hin qui parle un idiome se rapprochant beaucoup de celui des Thô. Leur origine est le chêu de Lung Hin au N.-O. de Tai Ping Fou.

³⁶ Ibid. 167-8.

- 2° Celle des Nung Han dont le dialecte et le costume sont assez distincts de ceux des autres. Ils sont venus du châu de Lung Han.
- 3° Celle des Nung Loi, qui se rapprochent des Nung Hin et sont entrés depuis peu au Tonkin.
- 4° Celles des Nung Châu dont la langue ressemble beaucoup à celle des Thô et qui sont originaires de Long Châu.
- 5° Celle des Nung Kenh Lai dont la langue et les coutumes sont semblables à celles des précédents.

No information is given about the other groups (6° -12°) which include the Nung Phan Sênh, the Piang, the Giang, the Nung An, the Min, the Ngan, and the Giui.

Linguistic complexity also resulted from the direct action of the Chinese state along the border with Vietnam. State actions such as large-scale military campaigns led to the displacement of populations along the border, and state-sponsored forced migration of military households led directly to the formation of language isolates. The effects of the resulting linguistic differences were remarkably persistent over time. To this we will turn in the next sections.

7. NINGMING ROADS AND GARRISONS

State intrusion was at its greatest along the major communication routes between the Chinese state and Annam. Over time, overland connections between Guangxi and Annam came to form the chief conduit between the two states, replacing older routes by sea and the land route via Yunnan. The picture is one of a slowly intensifying state presence along the Guangxi border over the last thousand years or so.

During the Yuan dynasty (1206-1368), travel between the court and Annam took place mainly via the route from Yunnan leading south along the Red River. There was also a land route through present-day Guangxi, but before the Yuan it was not yet the main communication route between the two countries. In 1259, Wuliang Hetai 兀良合台 led Mongol troops down from Yunnan to attack Jiaozhi 交趾 (Annam), but subsequently left Jiaozhi and arrived back in Tanzhou 潭州 via Yongzhou (present-day Nanning) and Guizhou 桂州 (present-day Guilin). It is clear from this that the route through southwestern Guangxi was already open at this time, though only as a minor road (*biandao* 便道) used for military purposes: emissaries travelling between the Yuan court and Annam still took the postal route south from Yunnan.

According to the “Annan zhuan” 安南傳 in the Yuan dynastic history, in the 1278, Chaichun 柴椿, Minister of the Board of Rites (*libu shangshu* 禮部尚書)³⁷, went forth on a mission to Annam. Previously the old route had been taken, but on this mission, on the orders of the Yuan Shizu 世祖 emperor, Chaichun went from Jiangling 江陵 (Jiangling in Hubei) straight to Yongzhou and then on to Jiaozhi. Arriving at Yongpingzhai 永平寨 to the southwest of Yongzhou,³⁸

³⁷ The translation given for this and subsequent Chinese official titles follow Hucker (1985).

³⁸ Yongpingzhai was to the southeast of present-day Lạng sơn 諒山 in Vietnam. See Tan Qixiang (1982-87), vol.7 p. 33, co-ordinates ⑦ 3. See also the map on p. 32 of *Nanning shizhi*:

Chaichun there received a despatch from the king of Annam protesting that he had not come by the conventional route. The Yuan mission subsequently arrived in the capital Daluocheng 大羅城 (Đại La Thành).³⁹ Subsequently, the route through Yongzhou to Yongpingzhai became more frequently used by both emissaries and military expeditions.

The impact on the area was far from negligible. In 1282, the Yuan court began to establish formal postal stations and to send troops to be stationed along the road from Yongzhou 邕州 (present-day Nanning) through Yongpingzhai to Daluocheng, “establishing a stockade (*zhai* 寨) every thirty *li*, a postal station (*yi* 驛) every sixty *li*, with three hundred troops stationed at each stockade and station to garrison and patrol the place. They also ordered [Liu 劉] Shiying 世英 to establish blockhouses (*bu* 堡) and serve specially as Superintendent in charge of all matters concerning the stockades and stations (*tidu zhai yi gongshi* 提督寨驛公事).”⁴⁰ Along the route very strict measures were taken to secure the route: “The encampments, stations and bridges of Yongzhou frequently directly adjoined each other.” From Daluocheng to the Yuan capital Dadu was a total of 7700-odd *li*, along which some 115 postal stations were established, with one station established every 60 *li* or so. As a result of the establishment of these fortifications, the Yongzhou postal route became the major route linking the Yuan court with Annam. When the Yuan court launched major expeditionary forces against Annam, which it did twice, in the 22nd and 24th years of the Zhiyuan period (1285 and 1287), on both occasions it did so via the Yongzhou postal route. A poem by the Annamese writer Li Ze 黎崱 dating from the Yuan contains the following lines:

Departing south from Guilin one reaches Jiaozhou,
Coconut fronds and areca nut palms darken the postal towers.
桂林南去接交州，椰葉檳榔暗驛樓。

The *Annan zhilüe* 安南志略 also contains five poems “Annam emissaries on the topic of the Guilin postal stations” (安南進奉使題桂林驛); these all provide further evidence that the route from Daluocheng via Yongzhou to Guilin and points north was the major route linking the Yuan court and Annam after the establishment of the postal stations, and that the state presence along the postal

Junshi zhi, 1993. This source notes also that the *zhai* 寨 was a military administrative unit under the Song. The Song dynasty geographic encyclopedia *Yudi jisheng* 輿地紀勝 106:4a gives the following entry under “Yongzhou, Qi dong zhou xian” 邕州溪洞州縣: 至州十程領州洞八皆係熟地溪洞口口。 “It [Yongpingzhai] is ten day’s march distant [from Yongzhou], and administers eight subordinate sub-prefectures and grottoes, all of which are settled lands. The streams and grottoes ...”

³⁹ Fang Tie (2003: 566). According to the *Jiaqing chongxiu yitongzhi* 嘉慶重修一統志 (553: 15a, repr. p.27211), Daluocheng was located outside the walls of Jiaozhou prefecture 交州府. It was the seat of the commandery of Jiaozhi 交趾郡 during the Han and the protectorate of Annam 安南都護府 during the Tang. It was built by Zhang Boyi 張伯儀 under the Tang, and expanded by Gao Pian 高駢. See also Đào Duy Anh (1964: 74, 90, 94, 95, 98).

⁴⁰ Fang Tie (2003: 566).

route between the border and Yongzhou in present-day southwestern Guangxi was already intense.⁴¹

According to the *Annan tuzhi* 安南圖志 [Illustrated gazetteer of Annam], during the Ming there were three roads leading from Yongzhou to Annam, all three of which went from Yongzhou to the environs of present-day Chongzuo 崇左 in Guangxi, where they then split off: the northern route went via Longzhou 龍州 (present-day Longzhou); the middle route went via Pingxiang prefecture 憑祥府 (present-day Pingxiang municipality); and the southern route went via Siming prefecture 思明府 (in the eastern part of present-day Ningming county 寧明縣) and then entered Annam via Siling prefecture 思陵府 and Luping prefecture 祿平府. All three routes came together on the northern bank of the Shiqiaojiang River 市橋江 (Thị Cầu Giang)⁴² in Anyue county 安越縣 (An Việt huyện) in Annam. After the Yuan established postal stations along the road from Yongpingzhai 永平寨 to Daluocheng 大羅城 (Đại La Thành) in 1285, the southern route was the primary route between Guangxi and Annam.⁴³ During the Yuan expeditions against Annam, Siming prefecture was used as a military base.

After the end of the war in the 24th year of the Zhiyuan period, relations between the Yuan court and Annam returned to normal, but from time to time there was still conflict between the two sides along the Guangxi border region. In the third year of the Taiding reign period (1326), “Annam violated [the territory of] Siming circuit 思明道”.⁴⁴ Subsequently, the Yuan court set up military settlements and garrisons along the southern border of Guangxi in order to strengthen military preparedness. Earlier, following a petition in 1282 from the Overseer (xingsheng 行省) of Tanzhou 潭州, the Yuan court established a Route Command (zongguanfu 總管府) “to settle and garrison [the area] in a unified fashion” (*yitong zhenshu* 一同鎮戍).⁴⁵ The Pacification Vice-Commissioner (xuanwei fushi 宣慰副使) of the Liangjiang circuit 兩江道 in Guangxi, Wugu Sunze 烏古孫澤, opened 522 *qing* 頃 of wetfields for cultivation in Leibo 雷白, set up ten-odd stockades along the border with Annam, and registered 4600-odd households to cultivate them.⁴⁶ This move was clearly calculated to strengthen the military presence along the border.⁴⁷

All these measures taken to pacify the borderlands must have resulted in disruption of the local inhabitants. Implantation of thousands of colonists along the border would inevitably have led to the formation of language isolates.

⁴¹ Fang Tie (2003: 566), quoting Li Ze 黎崱, *Annan zhilüe* 安南志略 [Brief gazetteer of Annam], fasc. 15, “Wuchan” 物產 [Material products]; fasc. 18 “Annan mingren shi” 安南名人詩 [Poems by famous Annamese].

⁴² See Đào Duy Anh (1964: 130).

⁴³ Fang Tie (1987: 76). The Longzhou and Pingxiang routes to the northwest which are mentioned in Ming dynasty sources were not yet open during the Yuan.

⁴⁴ Fang Tie (2003: 567), quoting *Yuanshi* [Yuan history] fasc. 29, 30 “Taiding di ji” 泰定帝紀 [Record of the Taiding emperor].

⁴⁵ Fang Tie (2003: 567), quoting *Yuanshi* fasc. 99 “Bing er” 兵二 [Troops chapter 2].

⁴⁶ The *qing* 頃 was a unit of land area equal to one hundred *mu*. See footnote 60 below.

⁴⁷ Fang Tie (2003: 567).

Particularly significant in this regard in its longer term effects was the Huang Shengxu rebellion, which took place from 1295 to 1324.

8. THE HUANG SHENGXU REBELLION

In the earlier centuries after Annam achieved de facto independence the border was not demarcated, and was a constant source of friction. Some of the native chieftains in the Guangxi area sought to make use of the complex relations between the Yuan court and Annam in order to manoeuvre for personal advantage. Huang Shengxu 黃勝許 is an example. Huang was a native official in the Zuojiang area, and after he submitted himself to the Yuan (*neifu* 內附), the Yuan court bestowed on him the office of sub-prefectural magistrate of Shangsi sub-prefecture. But Huang “heroically occupied an entire area, and falsely established a name and title” (*xiong ju yi fang, wei li ming hao* 雄據一方，僞立名號). Linking up with Annam for outside support, he amassed an army of 20,000 men and laid waste to ninety-two hill forts (*shanzhai* 山寨) in the environs of Shangsi, and “publicly declared that he was going to take Yongzhou [Nanning]” (*shengyan qu Yongzhou* 聲言取邕州). In 1295, the Yuan general Liu Guojie 劉國傑 led 20,000 troops deep into his territory and defeated him. Huang Shengxu left his followers behind and fled to Annam. Liu Guojie three times sent emissaries to Annam requesting Huang’s extradition, and Annam was “terrified” (*huangju* 惶惧), but nevertheless continued to harbour him. Huang Shengxu subsequently concluded a marriage with the family of the Xingdao King (*xingdaowang* 興道王) of Annam, and refused the Yuan court’s calls for him to surrender. In the following year, Huang invaded Siguangzhai 思光寨 in Shuikou 水口 in Guangxi, and the Governor of Huguang attacked and defeated him. Huang then fled to Shangya 上牙 and Liuluo 六羅. Annam sent a messenger to make overtures to him, and Huang Shengxu once again escaped into Annam. In 1297, Huang sent his son Zhibao 志寶 to surrender to the Pacification Commission (*Xuanweisi* 宣慰司) of Liangjiang 兩江道 circuit in Guangxi, but not long afterward he rebelled again. In 1305, Huang Shengxu sent an emissary bearing local products as tribute, requesting that they restore his son’s official position, but the Yuan court refused on the grounds of his inconstancy. In 1310, the Yuan court ordered the governor of Huguang to make overtures to him. In 1314 Huang attacked Zhongzhou 忠州 and killed the sub-prefectural magistrate. Later, in 1323, Huang Shengxu was still repeatedly creating disturbances along the border, and the Yuan court again sent an emissary to make overtures to him. In the same year, Huang’s son-in-law attacked and laid waste the counties in the Yongzhou district. In the following year, Huang Shengxu and the renegade native official Cen Shixing 岑世興 petitioned to be allowed to send their sons to the court to present tribute, and the Yuan court gave its permission. Cen Shixing subsequently sent his younger brother to the Yuan court. The Yuan court then appointed Cen Shixing as Generalissimo of Huaiyuan (*Huaiyuan da jiangjun* 懷遠大將軍), at the same time extending his appointment as Route Commander (*zongguan* 總管) of Lai’an Route 來安路. It also appointed Huang Shengxu as

Generalissimo of Huaiyuan (Huaiyuan da jiangjun 懷遠大將軍), and designated his son Zhishu 志熟 as his heir to his post as sub-prefectural magistrate of Shangsi zhou.⁴⁸

The account of this campaign in the Yuan dynastic history provides additional detail, and notes crucially the transfer of native troops from Qingyuan (present-day Yishan in north-central Guangxi) to provide a permanent garrison presence.⁴⁹

At that time Huang Shengxu of Shangsi sub-prefecture laid waste to the border region, relying on the fact that it was inaccessible and distant, and taking Jiaozhi as his backstop. In the 29th year, the emperor ordered Guojie to punish him. The bandits were numerous and they were strong and fierce, going in and out of their caves and bamboo thickets as fast as flying birds. They let fly poisoned arrows, and nobody who was struck by one recovered. Guojie personally led his troops into all-out battle, and the bandits, unable to withstand their assault, fled to Xiangshan. The mountain was near Jiaozhi, and was all deep forest, which nobody could enter. So he measured their comings and goings, set up a bamboo palisade to surround them, and then cut a path into the mountain, fighting as he went. In two years, he had uprooted their stronghold. Shengxu took himself off and fled to Jiaozhi, and [Guojie] captured his wife and children and killed them. Guojie wrote three times to Jiaozhi, blaming them and demanding the return of Shengxu, but Jiaozhi continued to harbour him and did not give him up. In the summer, the army returned [north], and he seized the land on which the bandits' nest had been situated for garrison fields, and recruited all the Zhuang people from Qingyuan to cultivate them, thereby creating a barrier for the Two Rivers. Afterwards the barbarians referred to these settlements as 'provincial lands', and nobody dared infringe upon them. The emperor ordered an emissary to go to the army and bestow a jade belt on him [Liu Guojie].

時知上思州黃勝許恃其險遠，以交趾為表裏，寇邊。二十九年，詔國傑討之。賊眾勁悍，出入巖洞篁竹中如飛鳥，發毒矢，中人無愈者。國傑身率士奮戰，賊不能敵，走象山，山近交趾，皆深林，不可入，乃度其出入，列柵圍之，徐伐山通道，且戰且進，二年，拔其寨。勝許挺身走交趾，擒其妻子殺之。國傑三以書責交趾索勝許，交趾竟匿不與。夏，師還，盡取賊巢地為屯田，募（度）慶遠諸撞人耕之，以為兩江蔽障。後蠻人謂屯為省地，莫敢犯者。詔遣使即軍中以玉帶賜之。

Incidentally, this passage is one of the first recorded mentions of the designation 撞 'Zhuang' for the Tai-speaking peoples in Guangxi—in this case, it refers to the relatively sinified population living in the environs of the Chinese administrative centre at Qingyuan, as opposed to the more intransigent Tai-speakers (called Lao僚 or Shanlao 山僚 'mountain Lao') of the more remote mountain valleys.⁵⁰ According to the geographic treatise in the Yuan history, Qingyuan had been set up as a Pacification Commission (anfusi 安撫司) in the 13th year of the Zhiyuan

⁴⁸ Fang Tie (2003: 568).

⁴⁹ *Yuanshi* [Yuan history] fasc. 162, 'Liu Guojie zhuan' 劉國傑傳, *Zhonghua shuju* edn., vol. 13 p. 3810.

⁵⁰ On which see Bai Yaotian (1988: 71-72).

reign period, and was upgraded to a ‘route’ (lu 路) in the 16th year.⁵¹ Qingyuan had its seat at present-day Yizhou 宜州 (also called Yishan 宜山) in north-central Guangxi. Yizhou was in the Longjiang 龍江 river valley to the west of the major administrative centre of Liuzhou 柳州, and was an area which had been brought within the ambit of Chinese cultural influence from very early times.⁵² Yizhou is well within the Northern Zhuang-speaking area (at least now and presumably then), and the Zhuang dialect spoken there is currently classified as belonging to the Liujiang lect (Liujiang tuyu 柳江土語).⁵³

Secondly, even though we are not told how many people were recruited for this transplantation, the use of the inclusive pluraliser ‘all’ (*zhu* 諸) with ‘Zhuang people’ suggests that this was a sizeable recruitment. Thirdly, it is clear that this settlement was intended to be permanent, and that it was military in nature. Finally, the fact is mentioned that the local inhabitants (the man 蠻 barbarians) referred to the garrison fields as ‘overseen lands’ (*sheng di* 省地). In fact, this was a general term for settled lands under the control of the imperial authorities.⁵⁴ The fact that there is a migrant group in many counties along the southern border of Guangxi called ‘Sheng’ 省 may well be related to this designation.

The Huang Shengxu disturbance, though not nearly as disruptive or as widespread as the more famous rebellion by Nong Zhigao 侬智高 in the early years of the Northern Song, nevertheless was a major event which left a permanent presence. Troop numbers of 20,000 on each side are mentioned, and the disturbances lasted from 1295 to 1324, a period of nearly thirty years.

The transplantation of the garrison from Qingyuan would be sufficient in and of itself to explain northern features in the dialects of Ningming.

But this case is strengthened by the fact that this was by no means an isolated instance, but rather a standard feature of Chinese frontier management in the far south. In nearby Shangsi 上思 to the east of Ningming, in the 42nd year of the Wanli 萬曆 reign (1614), 300 troops were brought in from Yongning 永寧 in Zuojiang zhen 左江鎮, Xunzhou 潯州 and Zhaoping 昭平 to garrison the newly-established Left and Right Camps at Natang 那堂左右營. The garrison in the sub-prefectural seat was augmented by 100 troops from Zuojiang zhen 左江鎮 in 1681.⁵⁵

⁵¹ *Yuanshi* fasc. 63, ‘Dilizhi’ 地理志 [Treatise on geography].

⁵² Holm (2003). Liuzhou itself was consolidated during the Tang. Archaeological finds from the Six Dynasties period (420-589) in the Longjiang valley testify to Chinese cultural influence there during the Northern and Southern Dynasties period (420-589 CE).

⁵³ Zhang Junru et al. (1999). For a description, based on the speech of Luodong 洛東, see pp. 81-83.

⁵⁴ *Song shi* 宋史 [Song history], ‘Xinan qidong zhuman zhuan’ 西南溪峒諸蠻傳 [Account of all the barbarian tribes of the mountain valleys of the Southwest], quoted in Xie Qikun 1801 [1989], 4643. The passage quoted refers to the ‘overseen lands’ in Quanzhou 全州 in the far northeast of Guangxi, and the term is used by an official in contradistinction to the Yao who inhabit remote mountain valleys.

⁵⁵ *Shangsi xianzhi* (2000: 519). Natang camp was at present-day Natang hamlet in Changdun 昌墩. Xunzhou is present-day Guiping 桂平 in east-central Guangxi, while Zhaoping is Zhaoping

9. NATIVE TROOPS AND GARRISON COMMUNITIES

Even as early as the Southern Song (1127-1279), native troops (*tubing* 土兵) were employed in regular warfare by the Chinese imperial armies, as well as for garrison duties, though accounts of actual campaigns are rare (Gu Youshi 1989: 262). Subsequently, during the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), deployment of native troops became a standard feature of military campaigns throughout Guangxi, and indeed throughout the empire.

The case for using native troops was put eloquently in an imperial rescript dating from the 7th year of the Xuanhe 宣和 reign (1125):⁵⁶

The lands of the Eastern and Western Circuits of Guangnan [Guangdong and Guangxi] are distant and the mountains are precipitous, and there are bandits and brigands that issue from them without warning. Garrison troops from the interior commanderies have gone there to settle and hold the area, but have mostly fallen prey to miasma, fevers and sickness, and are not up to seizing the bandits. Moreover, they are unfamiliar with the mountains, streams, roads and districts, and the many twists and turns in the forests and valleys, and therefore they are not able to prohibit banditry. We could order each patrol station (*xunjian* 巡檢) to recruit healthy, brave and swift-footed men from among the native population, to make up half the numbers of the garrison soldiers. If they participate in guarding the passes and warding off attacks, it will be easy to apprehend [the bandits].

The deployment of large numbers of native troops began very soon after the foundation of the Ming in 1368, and included garrisons of native troops on the outskirts of major administrative centres such as Guilin, Liuzhou and Wuzhou. Around Guilin, according to historical records, native garrisons were drawn mainly from the chieftaincies of Donglan, Nadi, Nandan, Zhenan, Hurun, Siming, Tianzhou, Si'en, Jiangzhou, Shangying, and Xialei, with 3000 fresh troops brought in every year on a three or four-year rotation. Such native garrisons were not housed within the city walls, but encamped outside the walls in rough matsheds. Outside major cities, other locations of strategic importance also had native garrisons, such as Deshengzhai 德勝寨 in Qingyuan 慶遠 (present-day Yishan), which was garrisoned with troops drawn from the chieftaincies of Donglan, Nandan and Nadi, with 300 troops recruited each year on a one-year rotation (Gu Youshi 1989: 266).

Another use of native troops was to put down popular rebellions. An early instance was the disturbances that began in Tianzhou 田州 (present-day Tianyang 田陽) in 1384, for which some 38,900 native troops from Tianzhou and Sicheng 泗城 (present-day Lingyun 凌雲) were called up (Gu Youshi 1989: 266). The middle period of the Ming witnessed a series of large-scale and long-term uprisings as well as many smaller disturbances. In some cases large areas, several

county in eastern Guangxi. It is very likely that the troops from Xunzhou and Zhaoping were re-deployed native garrison troops from the native chieftaincies in northwestern and western Guangxi that participated in the suppression of the rebellions there. On which, see below.

⁵⁶ Xie Qikun 1801 [1989] 4641, citing the *Songshi* [Song history], 'Bingzhi' [Treatise on the Military].

prefectures or counties in extent, remained outside imperial control for decades, and in one or two cases over a century. The most important were:

The Yao rebellion in east-central Guangxi during the period 1442-1539, centered on the mountainous region either side of the lower and middle reaches of the Qianjiang 黔江 River, from present-day Wuxuan 武宣 to Guiping 桂平. It was called the Datengxia 大藤峽 ('Great Vine Gorge') rebellion because of a vine bridge across the canyon of the Qianjiang 黔江 river in the western part of Guiping that was used by the Yao rebels. This was the largest of the rebellions in Guangxi during the Ming (Zhang Yigui and Xu Shuru 1988: 78).

The Gutian 古田 rebellion, centered on the then county of Gutian (present-day Yongfu 永福) in northeastern Guangxi, which began around 1377 and lasted until 1571. This was a forested mountain area with a mixed Zhuang, Yao and Han population (Zhang and Xu 1988: 49-63).

The Fujiang 府江 rebellion, centered on the middle reaches of the Lijiang 漓江-Guijiang 桂江 river in northeastern Guangxi (present-day Lipu 荔浦, Pingle 平樂, and Zhaoping 昭平 counties). Rebellion first broke out in this area in 1405 and lasted until 1582 (Zhang and Xu 1988: 102-4).

The Bazhai 八寨 ("Eight Forts") rebellion of Yao and Zhuang peoples centered on an inaccessible karst mountain region at the border of present-day Laibin 來賓, Shanglin 上林 and Xincheng 忻城 counties in central Guangxi. The flag of rebellion was first raised around 1376, and rebellion lasted until 1580 (Zhang and Xu 1988: 64-77).

The Maping 馬平 rebellion of the local Zhuang people in the Liuzhou and Liujiang 柳江 area in central Guangxi, which lasted from 1371 to 1582 (Zhang and Xu 1988: 123-133).

The methods used by the Chinese state to suppress these rebellions effectively created ideal conditions for the creation of language isolates.

First, the state used large numbers of native troops. Bringing in troops from other provinces was costly, and, once they arrived in the sub-tropical south, Northern troops lost condition and fell prey to tropical miasma (*zhangqi* 瘴氣). In any case Ming military strength gradually declined from its high point in the beginning years of the dynasty, to the point where troop numbers were inadequate. As Wang Shouren 王守仁 complained in the 1580s, the state lacked both generals and troops, and had no option but to call up native troops (Gu Youshi 1989: 263). Native troops were mobilised mainly from the native chieftaincies in the north and west of the province, and were often led into battle by the native chieftain himself, his wife, or one of his closest clansmen. Native troops were known by various names, including 'native troops' (*tubing* 土兵) and 'wolf troops' (*langbing* 狼兵), the latter being a designation for partly sinified Zhuang troops from the native chieftaincies that first made its appearance in the early Ming (Bai Yaotian 1988: 65-76).

Militarily, in their operations against rebel strongholds, the Chinese armies adopted methods reminiscent of those used by Liu Guojie against Huang Shengxu during the Yuan, sometimes called "making the walls solid and clearing the

fields” (*jianbi qingye* 堅壁清野). Additionally, they refined the methods of bandit extermination called *diaojiao* 雕剿 and *zhengjiao* 征剿. The first method, literally “eagle extermination”, involved small numbers of troops and targeted individual rebel villages. Having surreptitiously scouted out the terrain, imperial troops would quietly surround a village, kill all the inhabitants, men, women and children, and then quickly return to base, often before inhabitants in neighbouring villages had time to realise what was happening. As a contemporary source explained it, “For the ‘eagle’, the army does not move, but they go in suddenly and come out suddenly, just like an eagle seizing a rabbit.”⁵⁷ The other method, “campaign extermination”, involved attacking rebel areas with very large numbers of troops, crushing any resistance, and laying waste to an entire area. With an “army like a moving dragon”, resistance was crushed “like Taishan mountain squashing an egg”.⁵⁸ After the Jingtai period (1450-1456), the latter strategy was used more frequently. Imperial armies killed everyone or almost everyone in the target area, often making up the numbers by killing law-abiding villagers in their path, and all movable property was taken away by soldiers as booty. In the wake of successful campaigns, this led to large areas, sometimes several hundred *li* in extent, which were entirely denuded of population and laid waste.

After the rebels had been exterminated, the lands laid waste were carefully surveyed and then re-populated with military garrison populations, often composed of contingents of native troops from the bandit-suppression armies themselves, or populations brought in specially from native chieftaincies both near and far.⁵⁹ Each family of settlers was given a share of land, such as 40 *mu* 畝, tax-free for three years and taxed thereafter at the rate of three *sheng* 升, and granted exemption from labour duties (Zhang and Xu 1988: 117). In some cases new native chieftaincies were established in areas recovered from rebels, with chieftains drawn from the same chiefly families as had supplied the native troops. In quite a few cases the garrisoned lands were placed under the administration of native chieftains; in one case a franchise chieftaincy was set up. Nandan wei 南丹衛 was transferred from its previous location and set up at Sanli 三里 in Shanglin county; this was a franchise of the powerful Mo 莫 family chieftaincy at Nandan in the central north of the province (see Map 5). Such arrangements absolved the Ming state of having to exercise direct control over these areas. Any surviving inhabitants, and the surrounding population, were subjected to harsh military rule under these franchises. Other measures were also taken to ensure pacification, and the historical records confirm that officials were required to check which of the measures were actually implemented (Zhang and Xu 1988: 116-17).

⁵⁷ Mao Kun 茅坤, ‘Fujiang ji shi’ 府江紀事 [Record of events in Fujiang], in *Yuexi wenzai* 粵西文載 [Compendium of documents on Guangxi], fasc. 35, quoted in Zhang and Xu (1988: 20). See *Yuexi wenzai* (1990, 3: 68).

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ The lands entirely denuded of population were called *juetian* 絕田 ‘cut-off fields’ (Zhang and Xu 1988: 63).

The area under such military colonies (*tuntian* 屯田) increased dramatically during the Ming. According to official figures, the area within Guangxi increased from 513 *qing* 頃 and 40 *mu* 畝 at the beginning of the dynasty to 4610 *qing* and 30 *mu*, a nearly tenfold increase.⁶⁰

In Gutian alone, 659 *qing* and 24 *mu* were cleared and measured after the suppression of the rebellion, not counting large areas that had been entirely cleared of the original inhabitants (Zhang and Xu 1988: 63).

Almost all of the native troops deployed for these military colonies were what we would now call ethnic Zhuang from the native chieftaincies in the western part of Guangxi. They owed their presence in the locality, and their land, to an imperial policy of “using barbarians to control barbarians” (*yi yi zhi yi* 以夷治夷). Thus, even though both they and the surrounding population were Zhuang-speaking, there was no incentive to develop feelings of ethnic solidarity. On the contrary, there are cases where the subject populations subsequently rebelled against the harsh rule of the bandit suppression regimes.⁶¹

Historical records in many cases provide us with information about which chieftaincies supplied troops for the suppression campaigns, and which chieftaincies supplied military colonists.

For Datengxia, native Zhuang troops from the Zuojiang and Youjiang areas were deployed in the campaign to suppress the rebels (Gu Youshi 1989: 263).

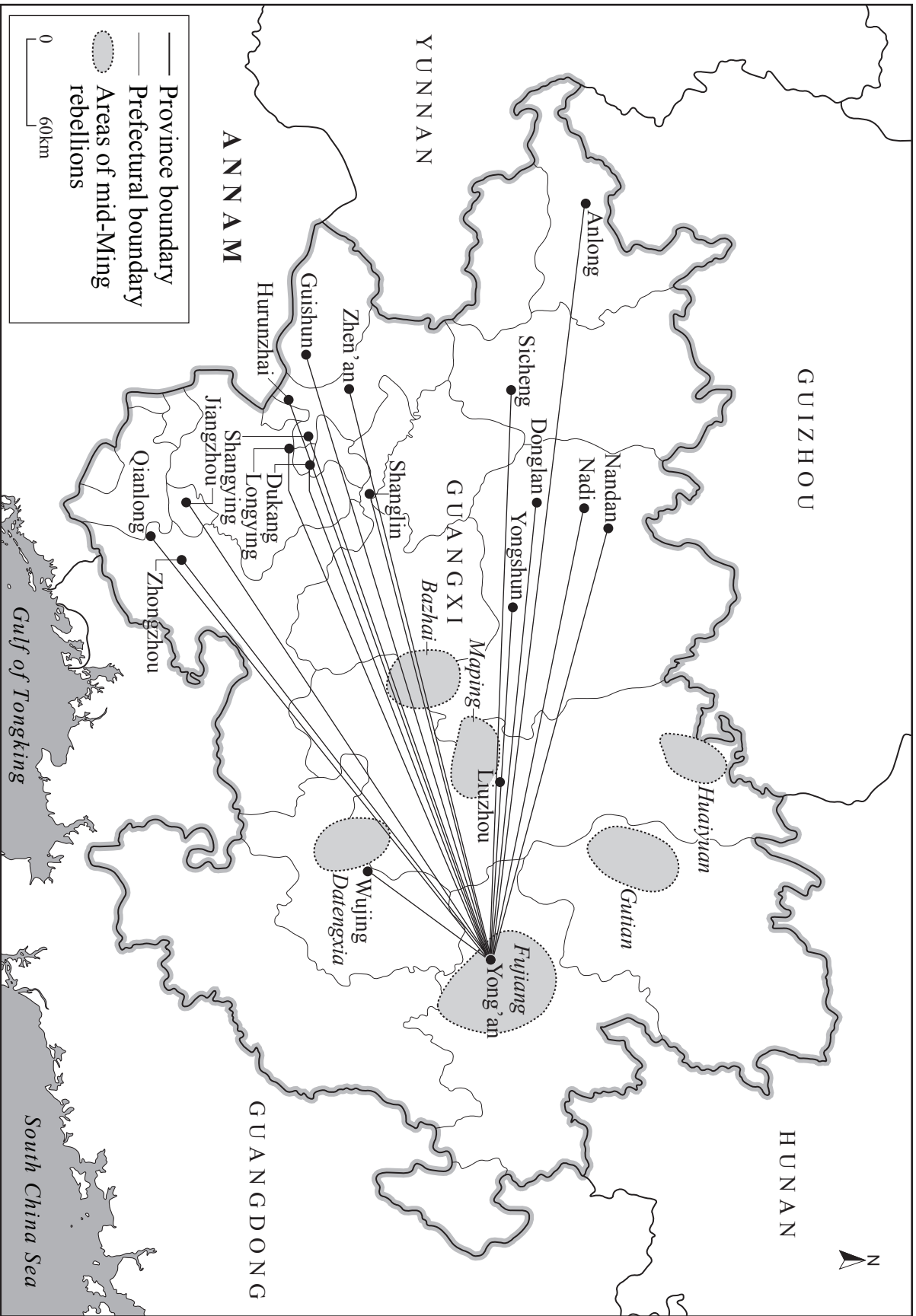
In Fujiang, the rebellion was put down with the help of native troops from twenty native chieftaincies: Donglan 東蘭, Longying 龍映, Sicheng 泗城, Nandan 南丹, Guishun 歸順, Jiangzhou 江州, Wujing 武靖, Zhongzhou 忠州, Tu Shanglin 土上林, Si'en 思恩, Dukang 都康, Zhen'an 鎮安, Nadi 那地, Yongshun 永順, Shangying 上映, Hurun 胡潤, Qianlong 遷隆 and Anlong 安隆 (See Map 3).⁶²

For Gutian, native troops from the chieftaincies of Tianzhou 田州, Xiangwu 向武, and Dukang 都康 were deployed against the rebels (Gu Youshi 1989: 263-64).

⁶⁰ Zhang and Xu 1988: 24. The *qing* was equal to 100 *mu*; the size of the *mu* as a unit of land area varied, but during the Qing was defined as 240 *bu* (paces), each pace being 5 square *chi* (feet). During the Ming the value of the *chi* for land measurement was 32.7 cm (*Hanyu dacidian* vol.12 p. 6). Thus the *mu* was equivalent to around 125.8 m². These figures amount to an increase from around 6.5 square kilometres to 58 square kilometres.

⁶¹ Historical records make it clear that the native troops lacked even the minimum of military discipline in a Chinese sense (they had their own traditions) and were often responsible for the worst atrocities inflicted on the subjected population—pillage, rape, and gratuitous slaughter of innocents. For the rebellion in Wudu 五都 which broke out in 1582 against the harsh rule of the native chieftaincies established after the suppression of the Maping rebellion, see Zhang and Xu 1988: 132-133, citing *Wanli wugong lu* 萬曆武功錄 [Record of military attainments of the Wanli reign], ‘Maping Wei Wangpeng zhu zhuang liezhuan’ 馬平韋王朋諸壯列傳 [Biographies of Wei Wangpeng and all the braves of Maping].

⁶² Gu Youshi 1989: 264.



Map 3. The Fujiang Rebellion: recruitment of native troops

For Bazhai, native troops taking part in the suppression campaigns included contingents from some thirty-five native chieftaincies, including Tianzhou 田州, Nadi 那地, Xialei 下雷, Anding 安定, Jiangzhou 江州, Longying 龍英, Guishun 歸順, Qianlong 遷隆, Sicheng 泗城, Donglan 東蘭, Zhen'an 鎮安, Siming 思明, Wancheng 萬承, Tu Shanglin 土上林, Shangying 上映, Dukang 都康, Baishan 白山, Nama 那馬, Yongshun 永順, Zhongzhou 忠州, Xinglong 興隆, Xincheng 忻城, Nandan 南丹, Hurun 胡潤, Xiawang 下旺, Guling 古零, Xiangwu 向武, Luoyang 羅陽, Anlong 安隆, Jiucheng 舊城, Wujing 武靖, Guide 歸德, Guohua 果化, Duyang 都陽, and Dingluo 定羅 (Gu Youshi 1989: 264).

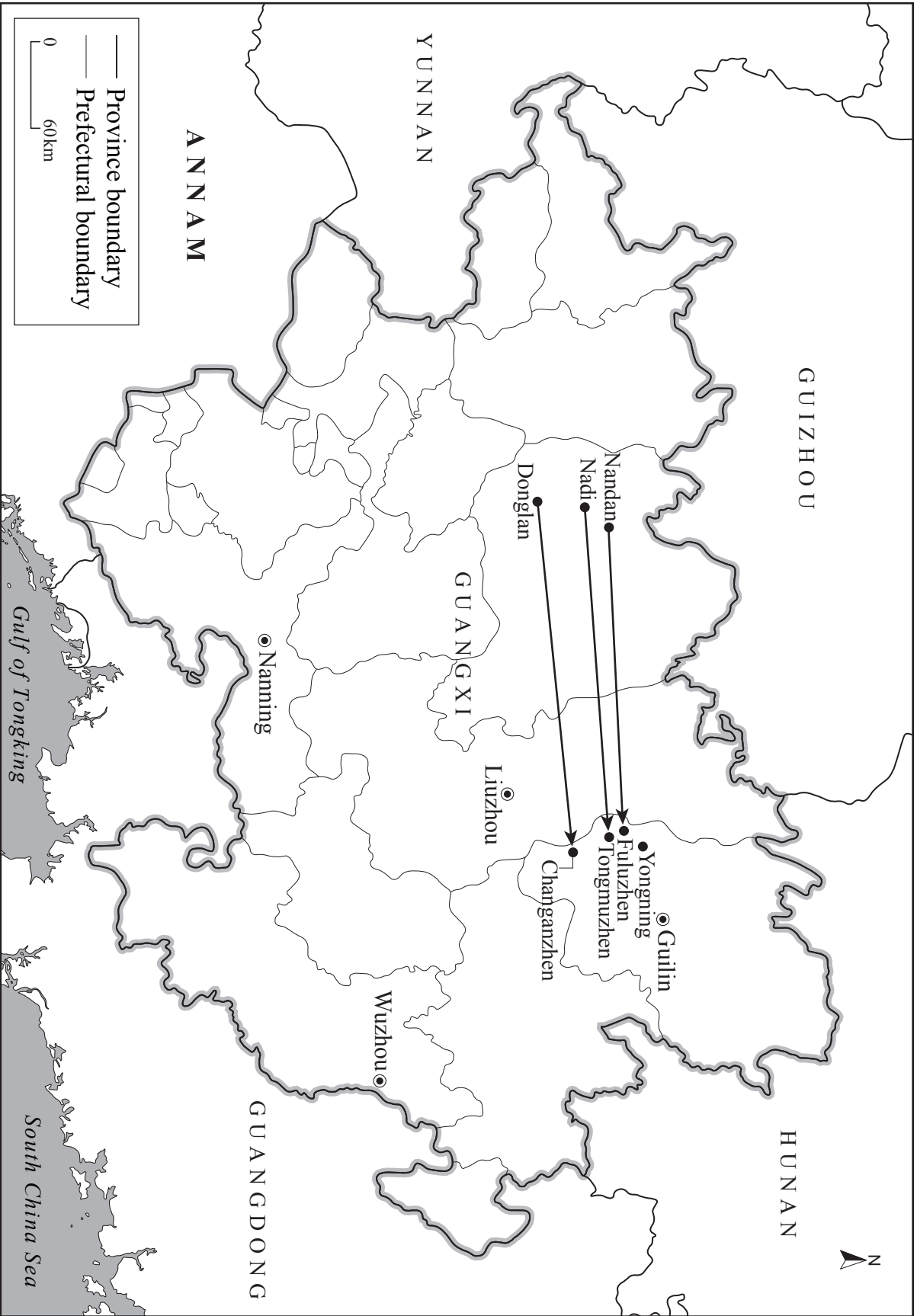
The Huaiyuan 懷遠 rebellion of Yao, Kam (Dong) and Zhuang, which began in 1572 and was centered on present-day Sanjiang 三江 county in far north-central Guangxi, was put down with the aid of 100,000 native troops from twenty-one native chieftaincies.⁶³

Moreover, in many cases the historical records provide information on the provenance of permanent garrison troops. In the case of the Gutian rebellion, the newly-established sub-prefecture of Yongning 永寧 ('perpetual peace') was converted from direct rule (liuguan xunjian 流官巡檢) to a native chieftaincy (tusi xunjian 土司巡檢); the Nandan chieftain Mo Luo 莫羅 was put in charge of garrisoning Fuluzhen 富祿鎮, along with the native troops that he had brought to suppress the rebellion; the Donglan chieftain Wei Xianzhong 韋顯忠 and his troops garrisoned Chang'anzen 常安鎮; the Nadi native chieftain Luo Yongshan 羅永山 and his troops garrisoned Tongmuzhen 桐木鎮 (see Map 4).⁶⁴

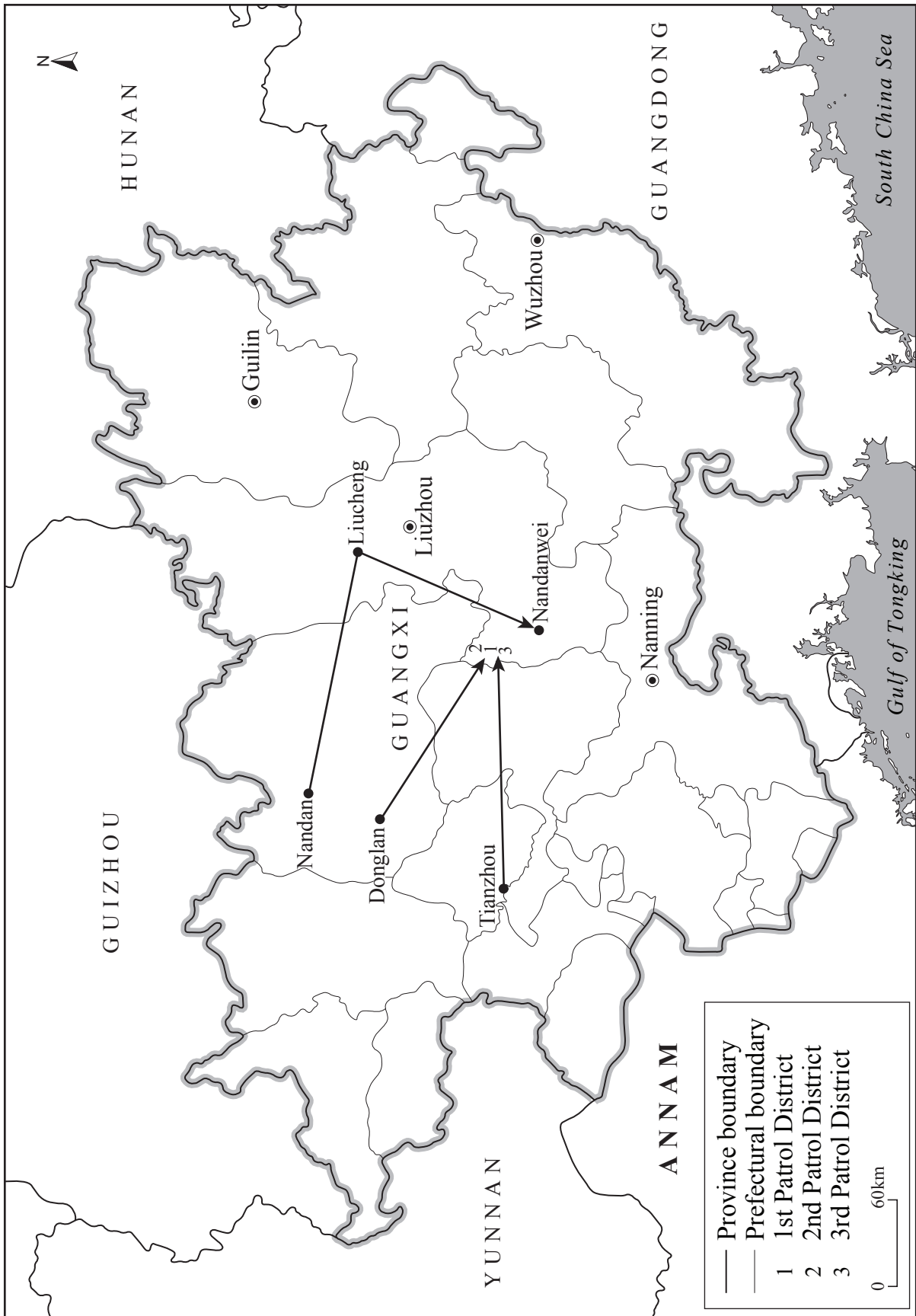
In the case of the Eight Forts rebellion, the same "three garrisons" (sanzhen 三鎮) strategy was adopted, and three patrol districts (xunjiansi 巡檢司) were established: the first at Zhou'an 周安 and Gumao 古卯, the second at Siji 思吉, Gubo 古鉢 and Luomo 羅墨, and the third at Duzhe 都者, Gupeng 古蓬 and Boding 剥丁. A walled encampment was built at each place. The Donglan chieftains Wei Yingkun 韋應鯤 and Wei Xianneng 韋顯能 and the Tianzhou overseer (zongmu 總目) Huang Feng 黃馮 were appointed as patrol commanders (xunjian 巡檢), each with a force of a thousand crack troops; they were brought with their families and settled in the district in perpetuity, and were provided with land, agricultural implements, and livestock. Additionally, the Nandan wei 南丹衛 was moved from Liucheng 柳城 county near Liuzhou to Sanli 三里 in Shanglin (see Map 5), and the land around Xunye 循業, Fu'an 撫安 and Sanli, "regardless of whether it was in military or civilian cultivation, was cut off with the Yangdu 楊渡水 river as the boundary, and made into garrison fields for the Nandan wei".

⁶³ Gu Youshi 1989: 264. A list of chieftaincies is given.

⁶⁴ Zhang and Xu 1988: 63, citing *Yongfu xianzhi* 永福縣志 [Yongfu county gazetteer] fasc. 3.



Map 4. Military Colonies in Yongning after the Gutian Rebellion



Map 5. Military Colonies in Xincheng and Shanglin after the Eight Forts Rebellion

The remaining civilian inhabitants were allowed to cultivate the land on the same terms as the soldiers, receiving an allocation of thirty *mu* per person, six *dan* of seedgrain, and tax exemption for three years.⁶⁵

Just to the northeast, the rebellion in Maping 馬平 county was followed by the establishment of garrison settlements of troops from Sicheng 泗城, Donglan, Nandan and Nadi (Zhang and Xu 1988: 132).

The area along the Vietnam border was not immune from such rebellions, or the application of comparable military strategies. In Shangsi sub-prefecture, at the very beginning of the Ming dynasty (1369), a major uprising involving 10,000 rebel troops spread as far east as Yulin sub-prefecture 鬱林州 in the southeast of the province, and rebels besieged the walled city of Yulin for half a month. After a counter-attack, the rebels retreated to the mountains to the south of Shangsi, and a decisive battle there led to the defeat of the rebellion. As usual, thoroughgoing reprisals followed (*Shangsi xianzhi* 2000: 532).

10. FORMATION OF LANGUAGE ISOLATES

The military operations of the Chinese state within Guangxi were such as to cause large-scale movements of population. Populations were forcibly cleared out of large areas in order to deny support to rebellious forces, troops—often native Zhuang-speaking troops from other areas in Guangxi—were deployed in large-scale military operations, and native troops and their families were settled at specific locations within the pacified areas. Indeed, in some cases, as in present-day Shanglin county in central Guangxi, troops from three different chieftaincies in the western part of Guangxi were deployed to garrison three separate valleys. This pattern of franchised deployment led naturally to the creation of language isolates, since hostility between the garrison troops and the surrounding population would only have dissipated with the passing of generations.⁶⁶ Chinese historical records, at least in the case of many of the rebellions of the Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties, provide us with detailed information about the provenance of the garrison populations and the locations in which they were settled.

Even 400 years later, the garrison communities often form proud enclaves of Zhuang culture, maintaining their language, promoting education, and articulating pride in their separate identity as Zhuang. This is particularly noticeable in such areas as Hexian 賀縣 in the eastern part of Guangxi, where local Zhuang communities are primarily the descendants of *langbing* (Liu Xiaochun 1995).

11. LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE

Linguistic evidence from recent surveys of Zhuang sub-dialects can be used to show that linguistic diversity along the border between Vietnam and China results in large part from internal migration and the displacement of populations. Our

⁶⁵ Zhang and Xu 1988: 76-77, citing Zhang Ren 張任, 'Shizhai houshu' 十寨善後疏, from *Yuexi wenzai*, fasc. 9. See *Yuexi wenzai* [1990], 1:231.

⁶⁶ Shanglin to this day has three recognisable Zhuang "sub-groups" (D. Holm, fieldwork, Shanglin county, March 1993).

evidence comes from Jingxi county, where a substantial wordlist for Zhuang subgroups in Jingxi was recently compiled by the Language Commission in the Jingxi county government office (see Appendix).

This wordlist relates to the following Jingxi subgroups:

1. The Yang (洋 or 佯), locally called the p^hu¹³ jaŋ⁵⁴ (Yang).
Dialect material has been collected from the county town Xinjingzhen 新靖鎮.
2. The Zong (宗), or Zhuang (壯), locally called the p^hu¹³ tsuŋ²¹⁴ (Tsong).
Material has been collected from Nanpo 南坡 parish in the far southwest of Jingxi county, on the border with Napo county.
3. The Nong'an (農安), locally called the noŋ³¹ an⁵⁴ (Nung'an).
Material has been collected from Longlin 龍臨 parish in the central western part of Jingxi county.
4. The Zuozhou (左州), locally called the p^hu¹³ tsa⁵⁴ tsou⁵⁴ (Tsatsou).
Material has been collected from Wuping 武平 parish in the northeastern part of Jingxi county bordering on Debao county.
5. The Rui (銳), locally called the p^hu¹³ jui²³²³ (Yui).
Material comes from Kuixu 魁墟 parish in the far northwestern corner of Jingxi county, on the border with Napo county to the west, Funing county in Yunnan to the northwest, and Debao county to the north and east.
6. The Sheng (省), locally called the p^hu¹³ θeŋ²³²³ (Seng).
Material comes from Nanpo 南坡 and Dingjin 定金 administrative village (8.6 kilometres to the southwest of the Nanpo parish seat).⁶⁷

The tone values in these local varieties are given in the following table:

tone category	1	2	3	4	5	6	7L	7S	8L	8S
<i>proto-Tai</i>	A1	A2	C1	C2	B1	B2	D1L	D1S	D2L	D2S
<i>Standard Zhuang</i>	24	21	55	42	35	33	35	35	33	42
<i>Yang</i>	54	31	2323	13	45	214	55; 44	44	13	21
<i>Tsong</i>	34	44	24	54	33	42	44	55	31	55
<i>Nung'an</i>	45	21	24	44	212	42	353	55; 454	55	11
<i>Tsatsou</i>	34	21	24	42	2323	31	33	55	11	11
<i>Yui</i>	24	44	25	42	33	31	31	55	21	43
<i>Seng</i>	24	21	34	43	31	42	55	44	54	33

Table 1. Tone Values in Jingxi Sub-groups

There is clear evidence of Northern Zhuang and Southern Zhuang lexical items in the Jingxi subgroups. This is given in Table 2.

In Table 2, Wuming represents Northern Zhuang.⁶⁸ Many other examples could have been selected from the available data; items shown here are simply a sub-set in which the contrast between Northern Zhuang and Southern Zhuang

⁶⁷ *Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu Jingxi xian dimingzhi* 1985: 93.

⁶⁸ For a description of the phonology of the Wuming dialect, based on the market town of Shuangqiao 雙橋, see Zhang et al. 1999: 50 ff. Shuangqiao is on the main road between Wuming and the provincial capital Nanning. This is the dialect on which Standard Zhuang is based.

E word	佯 Yang	宗 Tsung	儂安 Nung'an	左州 Tsatsou	銳 Yui	省 Seng	武鳴 Wuming
stomach	mok ⁴⁴	mok ⁵⁵	tuj ⁴⁴	mok ⁵⁵	mok ⁵⁵	tuj ⁴³	tuj ⁴²
head	t ^h u ⁵⁴	t ^h u ²⁴	rau ²⁴	t ^h u ³⁴	t ^h u ²⁴	cau ³⁴	yau ⁵⁵
tiger	ʃur ⁵⁴	ʃe ³⁴	kuk ⁴⁴	ʃur ³⁴	du ⁴² ʃur ⁴²	kuk ⁴⁴	kuk ⁵⁵
knee	t ^h u ⁵⁴ k ^h au ⁴⁵	t ^h u ²⁴ k ^h au ⁴⁴	rau ²⁴ ho ⁴²	t ^h u ⁵⁵ k ^h au ³⁴	t ^h u ²⁴ k ^h au ⁴⁴	hau ³⁴ ho ²¹	yau ⁵⁵ ho ³⁵
clothes	ʃi ²³²³	ʃe ²⁴	pu ⁴² wa ²⁴	ʃur ²⁴	ʃur ²⁴	po ⁴²	pu ³³
six	k ^h ɔk ⁴⁴ , k ^h ok ⁴⁴	hok ⁴⁴	rok ²¹	hok ⁵⁵	ɣok ⁴⁴	rok ³³	yok ⁵⁵
ox	mo ³¹	mo ⁴⁴	tsu ²¹	mo ²¹	mo ³³	ɣu ²¹	ɣu ³¹
spider	k ^h ɔau ⁵⁴	zi ⁵⁵ hau ²⁴	k ^h ɔ ²⁴ k ^h ɔau ²¹	tsi ³⁴ hau ²⁴	ja ³¹ nau ³¹	rum ⁴² rau ²⁴	kɔau ²⁴
fly	mɛŋ ³¹	mɛŋ ⁴⁴ k ^h eu ²⁴	nɛŋ ²¹	mɛŋ ²¹	mɛŋ ³³	nɛŋ ²¹	nɛŋ ³¹
tall	θuŋ ⁵⁴	θoŋ ³⁴	θaŋ ⁴⁵	θoŋ ³⁴	θoŋ ²⁴	θaŋ ²⁴	θaŋ ²⁴
long	lei ³¹	hi ³³	rai ²¹	θei ²¹	hi ³³	rai ⁴²	yai ³¹
big	luŋ ⁵⁴	luŋ ³⁴	huŋ ²¹	luŋ ³⁴	ruŋ ²⁴	huŋ ²⁴	huŋ ²⁴
distant	kwaɪ ⁵⁴	kwaɪ ³⁴	kjai ⁴⁵	kwaɪ ³⁴	kwaɪ ²⁴	tsai ²⁴	kjai ²⁴
yesterday	wan ³¹ wa ³¹	wan ³³ wa ³³	ŋon ²¹ run ²¹	wan ²¹ wa ²¹	ŋon ³³ wa ³³	ŋon ²¹ lu:n ²¹	ŋon ³¹ lu:n ³¹
house	an ⁵⁴ lun ³¹	hu:n ⁴⁴	ran ²¹	θum ³⁴	ru:n ³³	ran ²¹	yan ³¹

Table 2. Northern and Southern Zhuang Dialect Words in the Lexicon of Jingxi Zhuang Sub-Groups

lexical items is particularly clear-cut. For many of these items, Northern Zhuang and Southern Zhuang have different morphemes for the same lexical referent (see Table 3 below). The overall distribution of some of the items in the above table is given in the distribution maps included in Zhang Junru et al. (1999);⁶⁹ these maps serve to confirm that the morphemes presented here are broadly representative of Northern and Southern Zhuang respectively.

<i>Item</i>	<i>Southern Zhuang</i>	<i>Northern Zhuang</i>
'stomach'	mok ⁷	tun ⁴
'head'	t ^h u ¹	kjau ³
'tiger'	tu ¹	kuk ⁷
'clothes'	ti ³	pu ⁶
'ox'	mo ²	cu ²
'yesterday'	wa ²	lu:n ²

Table 3. Different northern and southern morphemes

For other lexical items listed in Table 2, the difference between Southern and Northern Zhuang is not morphemic, but of contrastive phonological development:

<i>Item</i>	<i>Southern Zhuang</i>	<i>Northern Zhuang</i>
'knee'	k ^h au ⁵	ho ⁵
'six'	k ^h jok ⁷	rok ⁷
'fly'	meŋ ²	ne:ŋ ²
'tall'	θun ¹	θa:ŋ ¹
'long'	lei ²	rai ²
'big'	luŋ ¹	huŋ ¹
'distant'	kwai ¹	kjai ¹
'house'	lu:n ²	ra:n ²

Table 4. Contrastive phonological development

Overall, the evidence from Table 2 indicates that Nung'an and Seng are sub-dialects with strong Northern Zhuang affiliations in their lexicon.

The case is further strengthened, and further refinement is possible, by looking at available data on location words found in the Jingxi sub-group dialects. This is given in Table 5.

A point to note first is the remarkable variety among sub-groups for some of the lexical items (though not all: the word for 'behind' in all Jingxi sub-groups are all close variations of each other). Secondly, at least for several items—'here', 'there' and 'beside', the variety results from different morphemes being employed (with variation in both first- and second-syllable positions). Thirdly comparison of these words with Zhuang dialect data from other parts of Guangxi and Yunnan provides further evidence for the argument that this variation is the result of in-

⁶⁹ The distribution of 'head' is found on the map on page 335, that for 'tiger' is found on page 332, that for 'clothes' is found on page 333, and that for 'yesterday' is found on page 331.

migration, and more specifically, that the primary affinities of Nung'an and Seng in particular are with Northern dialects of Zhuang.

Many of the items on this table show a contrast between Nung'an and Seng, on the one hand, and the other Jingxi sub-groups on the other. For 'right' and 'left', for example, Nung'an and Seng clearly resemble Wuming, while the other sub-groups have θa^1 and $\theta a:i^4$ respectively. Even more interesting is the variety found in the location word morphemes.

Take, for example, those in the words for 'here' and 'there'. There are seven different location word heads (the first morpheme in a bisyllabic compound) used for 'here' and 'there': ʔa:m^5 , ke^6 , ko^4 , ʔi^5 , miŋ^5 , meŋ^5 , and kon^3 . Of these, kon^3 in Seng is probably formed from ko^4 with the addition of final [-n] by assimilation with following initial [n-], and miŋ^5 and meŋ^5 are probably variants of the same morpheme (possibly related to the initial syllable of 'there' in Wuming, mun^5). According to the available data in Zhang Junru et al. (1999: 802, item 1421), these morphemes have the following incidence in other Zhuang dialects:

ʔa:m^5	not attested outside Jingxi
ke^6 , ko^4	Wuming, Pingguo, Liujiang, Huanjiang, Hechi, Nandan, Donglan, Laibin, Yongning south ⁷⁰
ʔi^5	Ningming, Longzhou, Wenshan and Malipo (Yunnan), Qinzhou, Guangnan (Nong)
miŋ^5 , meŋ^5	Longsheng, Rong'an, Fusui

Of these morphemes, ʔa:m^5 'place' may derive from a homophonous morpheme meaning 'lump, mouthful' (Zheng Yiqing 1996: 101); ke^6 and ko^4 are possibly transformations of ki^2 (ku^2) 'place', ʔi^5 is of unknown provenance (but may be related to ʔju^5 (or ʔji^5) 'to be at', which is not uncommonly used as a location head),⁷¹ while miŋ^5 is likely to be related to miŋ^1 , a morpheme which means variously 'small stream' and 'locality; domain' in Jingxi Zhuang (Standard Zhuang *mieng*).⁷² These are tentative identifications and need to be verified by fieldwork.

The locations in which variations of ke^6 are found are in the Northern Zhuang dialect area, with the exception of Yongning South; these link Tsung, Nung'an and Seng with northern dialects. The locations in which ʔi^5 is found are exclusively in the Southern Zhuang dialect area, in a wide band stretching from Qinzhou in the east to Wenshan and Malipo in Yunnan to the west; thus the presence of this morpheme in the Yui word for 'here' is a Southern Zhuang feature. Locations in which variations of are found are widely scattered both the

⁷⁰ Long'an county has ke^6 but this is likely to be a contraction of $\text{ki}^2 \text{han}^4$ 'that place' rather than directly related to ko^4 or kon^3 .

⁷¹ In Hengxian, Chongzuo, Daxin, and Wenshan and Malipo (Yunnan). See Zhang et al. 1999: 802-3, items 1420, 1425.

⁷² Zheng Yiqing 1996: 72. Cf. the well-known word muəŋ^5 'domain' common in southwestern Tai dialects.

E word	佯 Yang	宗 Tsung	儂安 Nung'an	左州 Tsatsou	銳 Yui	省 Seng	武鳴 Wuming
here	ʔam ⁴⁵ ten ¹³	ke ⁴² nai ²⁴	ko ⁴⁴ ʔdei ²⁴	a:m ³⁴ kin ²⁴	i ³³ kin ⁴²	kon ³⁴ nei ³⁴	ki ³¹ nai ⁴²
there	ʔam ⁴⁵ paŋ ²¹⁴	ke ⁴² mu:n ²⁴	meŋ ²³²³ pai ²³²³	a:m ³⁴ p ^h aŋ ³¹	miŋ ³³ paŋ ⁴²	kon ³⁴ nu:m ³⁴	mu:n ³⁵ nu:ŋ ³⁵
right	θa ⁵⁴	θa ³⁴	k ^h wa ²¹	θa ³⁴	θa ²⁴	kwa ²¹	pai ³³ kwa ³¹
left	θai ¹³	θai ⁴²	θui ⁴⁴	θai ⁴²	θai ⁴⁴	θui ⁴²	pai ³³ θuəi ⁴²
in.front	to ⁴⁵ na ²³²³	toi ³⁴ na ²⁴	toi ⁴⁵ na ²⁴	to ³⁴ na ²⁴	toi ³³ na ⁴⁴	toi ²¹ na ³⁴	taŋ ³⁵ na ⁵⁵
behind	lap ²¹ laŋ ⁵⁴	lam ³⁴ laŋ ³⁴	lap ¹¹ pjaŋ ⁴⁵	lap ⁵⁵ laŋ ³⁴	lap ⁴³ laŋ ²⁴	lap ⁴⁴ laŋ ²⁴	pai ³³ laŋ ²⁴
beside	jen ³¹ k ^h jaŋ ²³²³	hen ³³ haŋ ²⁴	hen ²¹ pin ⁴⁵	hen ²¹ haŋ ²⁴	jiu ³² ɕau ⁴⁴	hem ²¹	hen ³¹
outside	ʔam ⁴⁵ no:k ¹³	no:k ³¹	rok ⁴⁵⁴	no:k ¹¹	no:k ²¹	no:k ³¹	yo:k ²²

Table 5. Variety among Location Words in the Lexicon of Jingxi Zhuang Sub-Groups

north and south: Longsheng and Rong'an are in the far northeast of the province, and Fusui is along the Zuojiang just to the west of Nanning.

The second morpheme in each of the words for 'here' and 'there' is usually a deictic meaning 'this' or 'that'. Thus $tən^4$ is the proximal deictic in Yang, meaning 'right here', while nai^{24} , $ʔdei^{24}$, and nei^{34} are all dialect realisations of the common morpheme nai^4 (Standard Zhuang *neix*) 'this'; Tsatsou and Yui $kin^{24(42)}$ is possibly a contraction for $ki^2 nai^4$ 'this place'. In words for 'there', $paŋ^6$ is the Yang distal deictic, 'over there', while Nung'an $-pai^{2323}$ is unidentified but may be related to pai^6 'place', a common location noun head in Northern Zhuang.

These words do not provide conclusive evidence for the provenance of subgroup dialects. The words for 'here' and 'there' found in Jingxi Zhuang subgroups do not correspond neatly to those found elsewhere; rather, the same morphemes or what appear to be variants of the same morphemes are found, in various combinations, in other localities. A more exact correspondence is found for the word 'beside' in Nung'an, where $hen^2 pin^1$ is the same as the word for 'beside' found in Long'an, Yongning south, and Lianshan (Zhang et al. 1999: 604).⁷³ This points to Long'an county on the lower reaches of the Youjiang river as the origin of the Nung'an sub-dialect as spoken in Jingxi, as Jerold Edmondson has argued. By comparison, $k^hja:ŋ^3$ (Jingxi Yang 'beside') as a final syllable is found in Debao and Ningming as well as in Jingxi Yang, while $ha:ŋ^3$ is found also in Longzhou. By contrast, nothing similar to Yui $çau^2$ is found except in Tianlin ($tçai^3$) in the far northwest of Guangxi and Yanshan Nung ($tç^h a:ŋ^3$) in Yunnan (Zhang et al. 1999: 604).

12. CONCLUSION

Both the historical and linguistic evidence indicates that linguistic diversity along the border with Vietnam is not primarily the result of long sustained phonological change and gradual diversification. The historical record indicates that there was considerable state intrusion and disruption along the border over at least the last eight centuries, owing partly to military expeditions and bandit-suppression campaigns and partly to the effects of natural disasters: droughts, floods, and famines. The military campaigns were sometimes on a very large scale, as when the Yuan and Ming courts invaded Vietnam, and more frequently on a smaller scale. Similarly, natural disasters were sometimes so severe as effectively to denude whole areas of almost all inhabitants, and more frequently were severe enough to result in outmigration on a smaller scale. In the more severe cases a record is usually found in Chinese historical sources. Very rarely mentioned in the historical record are village-level or entourage-level migrations based on a desire for a better life elsewhere, or mobility resulting from handicraft or other specialist occupations.

In terms of Bob Dixon's model of historical linguistic development, in which long stages of equilibrium are seen as alternating with more periods of

⁷³ In this compound, hen^2 is the indigenous Tai word for 'along, beside', while pin^1 is a Zhuang borrowing from Chinese 邊, MSC *bian*¹ 'side, border, edge'.

punctuation in which more rapid change occurs (Dixon 1997), the Vietnam-Guangxi border area is best characterised as a region marked by very frequent and severe periods of punctuation, either more or less localised. Under such circumstances, to quote Tony Diller, the “branching structures that are well-accounted for by the comparative method” are subjected to massive contact, “obliterating evidence of the former branching structures and of the protolanguages presumably giving rise to them” (Diller 2004).

So where does this leave us in solving Gedney’s question, identifying the geographical location of the proto-Tai language, the Tai *Urheimat*? We would have to say that the evidence is not yet sufficient to make a determination. If the area along the border is now linguistically diverse primarily because of state intrusion, migration and mobility, we have seen that the Zhuang-speaking areas in the rest of Guangxi were subject to many of the same historical processes, albeit to varying degrees. The balance of equilibrium and punctuation will be found to differ from region to region, and from locality to locality. Assessing the balance of slow differentiation and rapid change for each locality will require detailed surveys, at a level of geographic density far exceeding the dialect surveys of the past.

We can further speculate, and hypothesise that once we have accounted for all the linguistic effects of such population mobility and state intervention, and identified in each locality the communities which have a long and unbroken history of residence, that it will be possible to get down to some kind of bedrock, in which the underlying level of linguistic diversity of the Tai languages can be re-calibrated and the relationship between the three branches of Tai can be reconsidered. The difficulty of such an enterprise should not be underestimated, given an underlying cultural tendency to mobility that in all likelihood pre-dated the massive state intervention of the last 800 years.

Returning very briefly to the third question raised at the outset of this article, the place of origin of the Tai migrations across mainland Southeast Asia, we can at least make the general point that such movements of peoples are likely to have been triggered by many of the same kinds of causes that we have been discussing here. The critical factor here is likely to have been the increasing intensity of Chinese state presence in the southwest of what is now part of China. Guangxi is a more likely place to start looking than neighbouring provinces because the consolidation of direct Chinese presence in Guangxi took place earlier there than in Guizhou or Yunnan, and after the Tang-Song interregnum, was particularly intense because of the border with Vietnam (Annam). The earliest major intrusion of Chinese state power into the area was the Qin invasion of 221 BCE, but more likely stimuli for organised mass exodus probably started with the aftermath of the rebellion of the Huang chieftains under the Tang, which is said to have convulsed a hundred chiefly domains; the aftermath of the Nong Zhigao rebellion during the Northern Song; and the military expansion of the Mongols under the Yuan. In any case we should be looking at historical time, rather than the distant past. For the Huang rebellions and the Nong Zhigao rebellion, the southwestern

Guangxi area was most heavily involved and subsequently most heavily garrisoned, so we would hypothesise that this is the area from which at least a substantial proportion of the migrating peoples came. Further investigation would undoubtedly enable us to refine such hypotheses quite considerably. In this endeavour, the key disciplines will be military history (a proper military history of Guangxi has yet to be written) and historical geography, as well as linguistics.

Then, at that point, we can turn again to the vexed question of the classification of the three (or two) branches of Tai, and answer questions about their inter-relationship more confidently and less speculatively. We should be mindful, however, of the high degree of mobility along the border, and between Northern Tai and Central Tai areas. It may well be that the relationship between the various branches of Tai has been partially misconstrued. The high degree of mobility meant in any case that they were far from hermetically sealed.

In any case, for the Zhuang, and probably for other Tai languages, it is time to abandon the idea that dialect surveys based on broad regional or county-based sampling are an adequate basis for description. The extent to which the data at any particular location can be used to represent the speech of a larger area needs to be radically re-considered in light of empirical evidence about village history, collected on a village by village basis. For Zhuang, at any rate, a dialectology that assumes a high rate of mobility and makes use of the ample information in the historical record as a point of departure—that uses, for example, the information in Ming-dynasty sources to target areas of linguistic diversity—is likely to be much richer in explanatory power than current models. This means, in turn, that there is much fieldwork that remains to be done, preferably before current state intrusions and village-level mobility erase the evidence.

APPENDIX
Jingxi Zhuang Subgroups Wordlist

	E word	佯 Yang	宗 Tsung	儂安 Nung'an	左州 Tsatsou	銳 Yui	省 Seng
1	hungry	mok ⁴⁴ ja:k ⁵⁵	mok ⁵⁵ ja:k ⁴⁴	tuŋ ⁴⁴ ju:k ⁴⁴	mok ⁵⁵ ja:k ³³	mok ⁵⁵ ju:k ⁴³	tuŋ ⁴³ ju:k ³¹
2	full	əm ⁴⁵	im ²⁴	im ⁴⁴	im ²¹	im ³³	im ⁴²
3	thirsty	wɔ ³¹ k ^h o:i ⁴⁵	ho ³³ k ^h au ²⁴	ho ²¹ ka:n ⁴⁵	wɔ ²¹ k ^h au ²³²³	ho ⁴⁴ k ^h au ³³	ho ²¹ hau ²¹
4	old man	kən ³¹ ke ⁴⁵	kən ³³ ke ³³	pou ⁴² lau ⁴²	k ^h ən ²¹ ke ²³²³	p ^h o ⁴⁴ ze ³³	hɯn ²¹ ke ⁴³
5	umbrella	ki:ŋ ²³²³	an ³⁴ zu:ŋ ²⁴	ruŋ ²⁴	luŋ ²³²³	ruŋ ²⁵	luŋ ³⁴
6	open (an umbrella)	k ^h ai ⁵⁴ ki:ŋ ²³²³	k ^h ai ³⁴ zu:ŋ ²⁴	hoi ²¹ ruŋ ²⁴	k ^h ai ³⁴ luŋ ²³²³	k ^h ai ²⁴ ruŋ ²⁵	hui ²⁴ luŋ ³⁴
7	tired	pak ²¹	pak ⁵⁵	pak ¹¹ ŋek ⁴⁴	p ^h ak ¹¹	me ⁴⁴	pak ⁴⁴
8	rest	hit ⁴⁴ pak ²¹	ji:t ⁴⁴ pak ⁵⁵	hit ³⁵ pak ¹¹	hit ⁵⁵ p ^h ak ¹¹	ji:t ⁴³ za:i ³¹	hit ⁴⁴ pak ⁴⁴
9	bark	ma ⁵⁴ hau ⁴⁵	ma ³⁴ hau ³³	ma ⁴⁵ rau ⁴²	ma ³⁴ hau ²³²³	ma ²⁴ hau ³³	ma ²⁴ hau ³¹
10	leg	k ^h a ⁵⁴	k ^h a ²⁴	ha ²¹	k ^h a ³⁴	k ^h a ²⁴²⁴	ha ²⁴
11	head	t ^h u ⁵⁴	t ^h u ²⁴	rau ²⁴	t ^h u ³⁴	t ^h u ²⁴	cau ³⁴
12	(head) hair	p ^h jam ⁵⁴	cəm ³⁴	p ^h jam ²¹	p ^h ju:m ³⁴	k ^h on ⁴² t ^h u ²⁴	p ^h jam ²⁴ rau ³⁴
13	arm	ʔba ⁴⁵	k ^h en ²⁴	mou ²¹	k ^h en ³⁴	cen ⁴²	mə ²¹
14	girl	lok ²¹ ʔa:u ⁵⁴	lok ³¹ ʔa:u ³⁴	lik ²¹ ʔa:u ⁴⁵	lok ¹¹ ʔa:u ³⁴	lok ³³ ʔa:u ⁴²	lu:k ⁴⁴ ʔa:u ²⁴

	E word	佯 Yang	宗 Tsung	儂安 Nung'an	左州 Tsatsou	銳 Yui	省 Seng
15	tiger	ʃuː ⁵⁴	ʃə ³⁴	kuk ⁴⁴	ʃuː ³⁴	du ⁴² ʃuː ⁴²	kuk ⁴⁴
16	yellow	hen ³⁴ 34	hen ²⁴	hen ²⁴	hen ²⁴	hen ⁴²	hen ³⁴
17	tail	t ^h aːŋ ⁵⁴	t ^h aːŋ ³⁴	t ^h uŋ ²¹	t ^h aːŋ ³⁴	teu ³³ t ^h aŋ ²⁴	t ^h uŋ ³⁴
18	eye	t ^h a ⁵⁴	t ^h a ³⁴	t ^h a ⁴²	t ^h a ³⁴	t ^h a ²⁴	t ^h a ²⁴
19	fish	pja ⁵⁴	tsa ³⁴	pja ³³	p ^h ja ³⁴	pja ²⁴	pa ²⁴
20	star	ʔdaːu ⁵⁴ ʔdei ⁴⁵	ʔdaːu ³⁴ ʔdi ³³	ʔdaːu ⁴⁴ ʔdei ⁴⁵	ʔdaːu ³³ ʔdei ²¹	ʔdaːu ²⁴ ʔdi ³³	ʔdaːu ²⁴ ʔdei ⁴²
21	saddle	aːn ⁵⁴	aːn ³⁴	aːn ²¹²	aːn ²¹	aːn ²⁴ ma ⁴²	aːn ²⁴
22	medicine	jeː ⁵⁴	jeː ³⁴	juː ²¹²	jeː ²¹	jeː ²⁴	jeː ²⁴
23	tree leaf	ʔboi ⁵⁴ mai ¹³	ʔbau ²⁴ mai ⁴²	ʔbai ²¹ mai ⁴⁴	ʔbau ²¹ mai ⁴²	ʔbau ²⁴ mai ⁴²	ʔbau ²⁴ mai ⁴²
24	fly	ʔban ⁵⁴	ʔbin ³⁴	ʔbin ²¹²	ʔbin ²¹	ʔbin ²⁴	ʔbin ²⁴
25	person	kən ³¹	kən ⁴⁴	huŋ ²¹	k ^h ən ²¹	kon ³³	hən ²¹
26	man	po ²¹ 4, tsaːi ³¹	p ^h u ³⁴ cai ⁴⁴	huŋ ²¹ θaːi ⁴⁴	t ^h oɪ ³³ p ^h o ²¹	p ^h u ³³ cai ³³	hən ²¹ ʔai ²⁴
27	hand	moŋ ³¹	mu ⁴⁴	mo ²¹	mo ²¹	muŋ ³³	ʔbau ²¹
28	jaw	kaŋ ³¹	kaŋ ⁴⁴	kim ²¹ kaːŋ ²¹	k ^h aːŋ ²¹	tau ³³ kaŋ ³³	kaŋ ²¹
29	neck	wɔ ³¹	ho ⁴⁴	ho ²¹	ho ²¹	ho ³³	ho ²¹
30	sun	t ^h a ⁵⁴ wan ³¹	t ^h a ²⁴ wan ⁴⁴	t ^h aŋ ⁴⁴ ŋon ²¹	t ^h a ³⁴ wan ²¹	t ^h a ²⁴ ŋon ³³	t ^h a ²⁴ ŋon ²¹

	E word	佯 Yang	宗 Tsung	儂安 Nung'an	左州 Tsatsou	銳 Yui	省 Seng
31	snake	ŋou ³¹	ŋu ⁴⁴	ŋu ²¹	ŋou ²¹	ŋu ⁴⁴	ŋu ²¹
32	rice straw	faŋ ³¹	faŋ ⁴⁴	fuŋ ²¹	faŋ ²¹	fuŋ ³³	fuŋ ²¹
33	knee	t ^h u ⁵⁴ k ^h au ⁴⁵	t ^h u ²⁴ k ^h au ⁴⁴	rau ²⁴ ho ⁴²	t ^h u ⁵⁵ k ^h au ³⁴	t ^h u ²⁴ k ^h au ⁴⁴	hau ³⁴ ho ²¹
34	egg	kjai ⁴⁵	hai ⁴⁴	rai ⁴²	hai ³⁴	k ^h ai ³³	rai ²¹
35	new (clothes)	moy ⁴⁵	ɿbau ⁴⁴	mo ²¹²	mau ²³²³	moi ³³	mo ²¹
36	awl	ɿiu ⁴⁵	ɿiu ⁴⁴	ɿiu ²¹²	ɿiu ³⁴	ɿiu ³³	ɿiu ²¹
37	chicken	kjai ⁴⁵	kai ³³	kai ²¹²	kai ²³²³	kai ³³	kai ²¹
38	old (of people)	ke ⁴⁵	ke ³³	ke ²¹²	ke ²³²³	tse ³³	ke ²¹
39	shoulder	ɿba ⁴⁵	ɿba ³³	ɿba ²¹²	ɿba ³¹	ɿba ³³	ɿba ²¹
40	curse	ɿda ⁴⁵	ɿda ³³	ɿda ²¹²	ɿda ³¹	ɿda ³³	ɿda ²¹
41	father	pa ⁴⁵	te ³⁴	koŋ ⁴⁵ ko ⁴⁵	t ^h e ²⁴	ba ²⁵	te ³⁴
42	elder brother	o ⁴⁵	ko ³⁴	o ⁴⁵	ko ³⁴	o ²⁵	ko ³⁴
43	sit	naŋ ²¹⁴	naŋ ⁴²	naŋ ⁴²	naŋ ²¹	naŋ ⁴²	naŋ ⁴²
44	to steam	nəŋ ²³²³	zəŋ ³⁴	tsiŋ ⁴⁵	tsəŋ ²³²³	nəŋ ²⁵	tsuŋ ³⁴
45	to leak	lu ²¹⁴ (L)	ho ⁴²	ro ⁴²	ɿu ³¹	ru ⁴²	ru ⁴²
46	clothes	ɿi ²³²³	ɿe ²⁴	pu ⁴² wa ²⁴	ɿu ²⁴	ɿu ²⁴	po ⁴²

	E word	佯 Yang	宗 Tsung	儂安 Nung'an	左州 Tsatsou	銳 Yui	省 Seng
47	wine	lau ²³²³ (L)	lau ²⁴	lau ²¹²	lau ²⁴	lau ²⁵	lau ³⁴
48	face	na ²³²³	na ²⁴	na ²⁴	na ²⁴	na ²⁵	na ³⁴
49	tooth	k ^h eu ²³²³	k ^h eu ²⁴	neu ²⁴	k ^h eu ²⁴	ceu ²⁵	heu ³⁴
50	rice plant	fa:ŋ ³¹	fa:ŋ ⁴⁴	ha:u ⁴⁴	k ^h au ²⁴ ko:k ³³	fuŋ ³³	fuŋ ²¹
51	resemble	lom ²³²³	zi ⁵⁵	lu ²⁴	lu ²³²³	lum ²⁵	ɬja:ŋ ²¹ lu ³⁴
52	give	hoi ²³²³ , ho:y ³¹	hu:u ²⁴	hai ²⁴	hu:u ²⁴	hau ²⁵	hau ³⁴
53	cry	hai ²³²³	hai ²⁴	tai ²⁴	hai ²⁴ lai ²¹	hai ²⁵	tai ³⁴
54	nine	kau ²³²³	kau ²⁴	kou ²⁴	kau ²⁴	kau ²⁵	kou ³⁴
55	banana	kuy ²³²³	zui ²⁴	kjoi ²⁴	tsui ²⁴	kui ²⁵	tsoi ³⁴
56	rice seedling	kja ²³²³	za ²⁴	kja ²⁴	kja ²⁴	za ²⁵	tsa ³⁴
57	thread	mai ⁵⁴	mai ³⁴	mai ⁴⁵	mai ³⁴	mai ²⁴	mai ²⁴
58	village	man ²³²³	ɬba:n ²⁴	ɬba:n ²⁴	ɬba:n ²⁴	ɬba:n ²⁵	ɬba:n ³⁴
59	horse	ma ¹³	ma ⁵⁴	ma ⁴⁴	ma ⁴²	ma ⁴²	ma ⁴²
60	beef	ni ¹³ mo ³¹	nə ³⁴ mo ³³	no ⁴² tsu:u ²¹	nu:u ⁴² mo ²¹	nu:u ⁴² mo ⁴²	no ²¹ cu:u ²¹
61	buffalo	wai ³¹					
62	tongue	len ¹³	lin ⁵⁴	lin ⁴⁴	lin ⁴²	lin ⁴⁴	lin ⁴³

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63	wood	mai ¹³	mai ⁵⁴	mai ⁴⁴	mai ⁴²	mai ⁴²	mai ⁴³
64	water	nam ¹³ (orig ³¹)	nam ⁵⁴	nam ⁴⁴	nam ⁴²	nam ⁴²	nam ⁴³
65	hundred	pa:k ⁴⁴	pa:k ⁴⁴	pa:k ²¹	pa:k ³³	pa:k ³¹	pa:k ⁴⁴
66	break	eu ²³²³	eu ²⁴	eu ²¹²	eu ²³²³	eu ²⁵	eu ³⁴
67	six	k ^h jok ⁴⁴ , k ^h ok ⁴⁴	hok ⁴⁴	rok ²¹	hok ⁵⁵	co:k ⁴⁴	rok ³³
68	bite	k ^h ap ⁴⁴ , kjap ⁴⁴	k ^h ap ⁴⁴	hap ²¹	k ^h əp ⁵⁵	k ^h ap ⁴⁴	hap ⁴⁴
69	flea	mat ⁴⁴	min ³⁴	mat ⁴⁴	mat ⁵⁵	mat ⁴⁴	mat ⁴⁴
70	dig	wa ²¹⁴	wan ⁴²	hut ²¹	wan ²¹	wan ³¹	hu:t ⁵⁵ , wan ⁴²
71	vegetable	p ^h jak ⁴⁴	ca:k ⁴⁴	p ^h jak ²¹	p ^h jak ⁵⁵	p ^h jak ⁴⁴	p ^h ak ⁴⁴
72	seven	tsat ⁴⁴	tsat ⁵⁵	cat ²¹	tsit ⁵⁵	ce:t ⁴⁴	cat ⁴⁴
73	eleven	ʔəp ⁴⁴ ʔat ⁴⁴	θip ⁵⁵ ʔat ⁵⁵	ci:p ²¹ ʔit ²¹	θip ⁵⁵ ʔit ⁵⁵	θip ⁴⁴ ʔit ⁵⁵	ci:p ⁴⁴ ʔit ³³
74	give birth	ŋa:ŋ ³¹	θe:ŋ ³⁴	lei ⁴⁴	θe:ŋ ³⁴	θe:ŋ ²⁴	θe:ŋ ³⁴
75	cut with scissors	ta:t ⁴⁴ , də:k ⁵⁵	te:t ⁵⁵	ta:t ⁴⁴	ta:t ⁵⁵	te:t ⁴⁴	ta:t ³³
76	pain	tsap ⁴⁴	ze:p ⁵⁵	ʔin ²¹	tsip ⁵⁵	ce:p ⁴⁴	ʔin ²⁴
77	bird	nok ²¹	nok ⁵⁵	nok ²¹	nok ¹¹	nok ⁴³	nok ³³
78	deep	ʔdə:k ⁴⁴	ʔdə:k ⁵⁵	lak ²¹	nak ⁵⁵	lak ⁴³	lak ³³

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79	ant	mo:t ¹³	mo:t ⁵⁵	ma:t ²¹	mət ⁵⁵	mo:t ⁴³	mu:t ⁴⁴
80	ragged	k ^h a:t ⁴⁴	k ^h a:t ⁴⁴	ka:t ²¹	k ^h a:t ³³	k ^h a:t ⁴³	ru:t ⁴² , k ^h a:t ³¹
81	carry	t ^h a:p ⁴⁴	t ^h a:p ⁴⁴	t ^h a:p ⁴⁵⁴	t ^h a:p ³³	t ^h a:p ⁴³	t ^h a:p ³¹
82	beard	mo:m ²¹⁴ , məm ²¹⁴	məm ⁴²	məm ⁴⁴	məm ²¹	mum ²¹	mum ⁴²
83	guest	k ^h ek ⁴⁴	k ^h e ³³	hek ³⁵	k ^h ek ⁵⁵	cek ⁴³	hek ⁵⁵
84	dry in sun	ta:k ⁴⁴	ca:k ⁴⁴	t ^h a:k ³⁵³	t ^h a:k ³³	t ^h a:k ⁴³	t ^h a:k ⁵⁵
85	sunlight	ʔdet ⁴⁴	ʔdet ⁴⁴	ʔdit ²¹	ʔdet ¹¹	ʔdet ⁵⁵	ʔdet ³¹
86	bone	ʔduk ⁴⁴	ʔduk ⁵⁵	ʔdok ⁴⁵⁴	ʔdok ¹¹	ʔduk ⁴³	ʔdo:k ³¹
87	blood	lu:t ¹³	lu:t ³¹	lu:t ⁴⁴	lu:t ¹¹	lu:t ²¹	lu:t ³³
88	outside	ʔa:m ⁴⁵ no:k ¹³	no:k ³¹	rok ⁴⁵⁴	no:k ¹¹	no:k ²¹	no:k ³¹
89	leech	pəŋ ⁵⁴	piŋ ³⁴	piŋ ³³	pin ³⁵	piŋ ²⁴	piŋ ³⁴
90	mouth	pa:k ⁴⁴	pa:k ⁴⁴	pa:k ²¹	pa:k ³³	pa:k ⁴³	pa:k ⁴⁴
91	nose	ʔdaŋ ⁵⁴	ʔdaŋ ³⁴	ʔdaŋ ²¹	ʔdaŋ ²¹	ʔdaŋ ²⁴	ʔdaŋ ²⁴
92	head-louse	t ^h au ⁵⁴	t ^h au ³⁴	t ^h au ²¹	t ^h au ³⁴	t ^h au ²⁴	t ^h au ²⁴
93	hair	k ^h o:n ⁵⁴	k ^h un ³⁴	p ^h un ²¹	k ^h un ³⁴	k ^h on ²⁴	p ^h un ²⁴
94	elbow	koŋ ⁴⁵ ʔok ⁴⁴	koŋ ²⁴ ʔok ⁵⁵	tsuk ⁴⁴	koŋ ²³²³ ʔok ⁵⁵	ʔok ⁴³	ko:k ³³ ʔok ⁴⁴

	E word	佯 Yang	宗 Tsung	儂安 Nung'an	左州 Tsatsou	銳 Yui	省 Seng
95	saliva	na: ³¹	na: ³⁴	na: ²¹	na: ²¹	na: ³³	na: ²¹
96	palm	p ^h a moŋ ³¹	p ^h a mu ³⁴	p ^h a mou ²¹	p ^h a mou ²¹	p ^h a muŋ ³³	p ^h a mu ²¹
97	forehead	p ^h ja:k ⁴⁴	na ²⁴ ca:k ⁴⁴	p ^h ja:k ⁴⁵⁴	na ²⁴ p ^h ja:k ⁵⁵	p ^h ja:k ⁴³	na ³³ p ^h ja:k ⁴⁴
98	wing	pək ⁴⁴	pik ⁵⁵	fut ⁴⁵⁴	pik ⁵⁵	pik ⁴³	fut ⁴⁴
99	waist	i:u ⁵⁴	i: ³³ iu	i: ²¹ iu	i: ³⁴ iu	ja:u ³³	i:u ²⁴
100	chest	ak ⁴⁴	ək ⁵⁵	ak ²¹	u:k ⁵⁵	ak ⁴³	ak ⁴⁴
101	liver	tap ⁴⁴	tap ⁵⁵	tap ⁴⁴	tap ⁵⁵	tap ⁵⁵	tap ⁴⁴
102	navel	nuŋ ⁴⁵ ni ²³²³	ɿdoŋ ³⁴ ɿdi ²⁴	nuŋ ⁴⁵ ni ³⁵	nuŋ ²³²³ ni ²⁴	noŋ ²⁴ ni ²⁵	ɿduk ⁴⁴ ɿdi ³⁴
103	sole of foot	tən ⁵⁴	p ^h a k ^a	ha ²¹	la:n ⁵⁵ k ^a	p ^h a tin ²⁴	p ^h a ²¹ ha ²⁴
104	heel	kiu ²³²³ k ^a ⁵⁴	θu:n ²⁴ kjo: ²⁴	kiu ²⁴ ha ²¹	θu:n ²⁴ kiu ²⁴	tin ²⁴ zeu ²⁵	θan ³⁴ kiu ³⁴
105	sky	fa ¹³	fa ⁴⁴	ɿbu:n ²¹	fa ⁴²	ŋon ⁴⁴	ɿbu:n ³⁴
106	moon	hai ⁵⁴	hai: ²⁴	ɿbeŋ ⁴⁴ hai: ²⁴	hai: ³⁴	hai: ²⁴	hai: ³⁴
107	cloud	wən ³¹ p ^h a ²³²³	wən ³⁴ p ^h a ²⁴	p ^h u ²⁴	wən ²¹ p ^h a ²⁴	fui ²⁴	ɿbu:n ²⁴
108	land surface	na ²³²³ tam ⁵⁴	ti ⁴²	tei ³³ təm ³³	na ²⁴ tu:m ⁵⁵	na ²⁵ na:m ⁴²	na ³⁴ tam ²⁴
109	earth	tei ²¹⁴	ti ⁴²	tei ³³	t ^h ei ³¹	ti ⁴²	tei ⁴²
110	river	ta ²¹⁴	ta ⁴²	ta ⁴²	t ^h a ³¹	k ^h a ²⁵ ta ⁴²	k ^h a ²⁴ ta ⁴²

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111	mountain	^h i ⁵⁴ p ^h ja	ca ²⁴	^h i ²⁴ p ^h ja	^h i ³⁴ p ^h ja	^h i ²⁴ p ^h ja	^h a ²⁴ p ^h a
112	chop up	^h i ⁴⁴ k ^h ik	^h ek ⁴⁴	^h ek ⁴⁵⁴ pak	^h ik ⁵⁵ k ^h ik	pa ³¹	ɿba ⁴² , pa.k ⁵⁵
113	forest	ɿdoŋ ⁵⁴ mai ¹³	ɿdoŋ ³⁴	ɿdoŋ ²¹	ɿdoŋ ²¹	ɿdoŋ ²⁴ mai ⁴⁴	ɿdoŋ ²⁴ mai ⁴²
114	mist	mo:k ⁴⁴	mok ⁴⁴	ɿbok ²¹	mo:k ³³	mok ⁴³	mok ⁴⁴
115	rain	^h o:n ⁵⁴	^h u:n ⁴⁴	^h u:n ²¹	^h ən ³⁴ p ^h ən	^h on ²⁴ p ^h on	^h u:n ³⁴ p ^h u:n
116	to flash (lightning)	fa ¹³ mep ¹³	mep ⁴⁴	^h i ²⁴ mep ¹¹ p ^h ja	fa ⁴² mep ⁵⁵	pja ²⁴ meu ⁴²	^h a ³⁴ map ⁴⁴ p ^h a
117	to thunder	fa ¹³ naŋ ⁵⁴	ɿdaŋ ³⁴	^h i ²⁴ nai ²¹ p ^h ja	fa ⁴² naŋ ³¹	pja ²⁴ ron ³³	^h a ³⁴ nai ⁴² p ^h a
118	rock	^h ən ⁵⁴ t ^h ən	^h in ⁴⁴ t ^h in	^h in ²¹ t ^h in	^h i ³⁴ t ^h in	^h in ²⁴ t ^h in	^h i ³⁴ t ^h in
119	cliff	nan ⁴⁵	ɿdan ³⁴	tain ²⁴	nan ²¹	puŋ ²⁴ nan ³³	tat ⁵⁵
120	pond	^h am ⁵⁴ t ^h am	^h əm ²⁴ t ^h əm	tam ²¹	^h əm ³⁴ t ^h əm	k ^h um ²⁴	tam ²¹
121	wood, tree	mai ¹³	mai ⁵⁴	mai ⁴⁴	mai ⁴²	mai ⁴²	mai ⁴²
122	to sleep	mo:n ⁴⁵	θa:ŋ ⁴⁴	ten ⁴⁴ nin ²¹	t ^h ap ¹¹	tap ²¹ non ³³	θa:ŋ ⁴²
123	coverlet	mok ²¹	fa ⁴⁴	^h a ²⁴ tok ¹¹ p ^h a	^h u:n ³⁴ fa ⁴² p ^h u:n	^h en ³³ main ²⁴ p ^h en	^h a ⁴⁴ tok ⁴⁴ p ^h a
124	tree trunk	ko:n ⁴⁵ mai ¹³	kok ⁵⁵ mai ⁵⁴	ko ³⁵ mai ⁴⁴	ko ³⁴ mai ⁴²	ko ²⁴ mai ⁴⁴	ko ²⁴ mai ⁴²
125	branch	ŋaŋ ¹³ mai ¹³	ŋa:ŋ ⁴² mai ⁵⁴	ŋaŋ ⁴⁴ mai ⁴⁴	ŋa:ŋ ²¹ mai ⁴²	ŋa ³³ mai ⁴⁴	ŋe ²¹ mai ⁴²
126	dog	ma ⁵⁴	ma ³⁴	ma ²⁴	ma ³⁴	ma ²⁴	ma ²⁴

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127	cat	meu ³¹	meu ³³	meu ²¹	meu ²¹	meu ³³	meu ²¹
128	chicken	kai ⁴⁵	kai ³³	kai ²¹²	kai ²⁴	kai ³³	kai ²¹
129	hen	kai ⁴⁵ me ²¹⁴	kai ³³ me ⁴²	kai ²¹² ha:ŋ ³³	kai ²⁴ me ⁴²	kai ³³ ha:ŋ ³¹	kai ³⁴ ha:ŋ ⁴²
130	young cockerel	kai ⁴⁵ ma:u ⁴⁵	kai ³³ po ⁴²	kai ²¹² po ³³	kai ²⁴ p ^h o ²¹	kai ³³ po ⁴²	kai ³⁴ po ⁴²
131	capon	kai ⁴⁵ man ⁴⁵	kai ³³ ma:n ³⁴	kai ²¹² i ²¹²	kai ²⁴ man ²³²³	kai ³³ ton ²⁴	kai ³⁴ ton ³⁴
132	pullet	kai ⁴⁵ k ^h iŋ ⁴⁵	kai ³³ k ^h iŋ ⁴⁵	kai ²¹² ha:ŋ ³³	kai ²⁴ me ⁴²	kai ³³ ha:ŋ ³¹	kai ³⁴ ha:ŋ ⁴²
133	buffalo	wai ³¹	wai ⁴⁴	wai ²¹	wai ²¹	wai ³³	wai ²¹
134	ox	mo ³¹	mo ⁴⁴	tsu ²¹	mo ²¹	mo ³³	ctu ²¹
135	sheep	me ²³²³	me ²⁴	ʔbe ²⁴	me ²⁴	ʔbe ²⁵	me ³⁴
126	goat	me ²³²³	me ²⁴	ʔbe ²⁴	me ²⁴	ʔbe ²⁵	me ³⁴
137	rat	nou ⁵⁴	nu ³⁴	nou ²⁴	nou ³⁴	nu ²⁴	nou ²⁴
138	frog	kap ⁴⁴	kap ⁵⁵	kap ⁵⁵	kəp ⁵⁵	ko:p ⁵⁵	kap ⁴⁴
139	small frog	kwe ²³²³	kwe ²⁴	k ^h e ²⁴	kwe ²⁴	ce ^t ⁴³	op ⁴⁴
140	crow	ka ⁵⁴	ka ³⁴	ka ³⁵	ka ³⁴	a ²⁴	ka ²⁴
141	spider	k ^h ja:u ⁵⁴	zi ⁵⁵ ha:u ²⁴	k ^h iŋ ²⁴ k ^h ja:u ²¹	tsi ³⁴ ha:u ²⁴	ja ³¹ na:u ³¹	rum ⁴² ra:u ²⁴
142	locust	t ^h ak ⁴⁴	rum ⁴²	lum ⁴⁴	lum ²¹	t ^h ak ⁵⁵	rum ²¹

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143	millipede	kuɯŋ ⁴⁵ k ^h ɰap ⁴⁴ , ki: t ^h ɛ:p	zi ⁵⁵ het ⁴⁴	tsi ²⁴ ret ¹¹	kuɯŋ ³⁴ k ^h ɰap ⁵⁵	cep ⁵⁵ faɪ ³³	zi ³⁴ li ⁴⁴
144	fly	me:ŋ ³¹	meŋ ⁴⁴ k ^h eu ²⁴	neŋ ²¹	meŋ ²¹	meŋ ³³	neŋ ²¹
145	porcupine	mun ²³²³	mu ³⁴ za:u ⁴²	tseŋ ⁴⁴	ceŋ ³¹		ceŋ ⁴²
146	bear	muɪ ⁵⁴	muɪ ³⁴	muɪ ³⁵	muɪ ³⁴	muɪ ²⁴	muɪ ²⁴
147	tortoise	kwei ⁵⁴		kwei ³⁵	kwei ³⁴	kwaɪ ²⁵	kwei ³⁴
148	pig	mou ⁵⁴	mu ³⁴	mou ³⁵	mou ³⁴	mu ²⁴	mou ²⁴
149	turtledove	nok ²¹ k ^h ɰau ⁵⁴					nok ⁴⁴ kou ²⁴
150	mango	ma:k ⁴⁴ muŋ ²¹⁴		ma:k ³⁵ muŋ ²⁴			
151	green bean	t ^h u ⁴⁵ θa:i ⁵⁴ θi ²³²³	t ^h u ³⁴ ŋa:ŋ ⁴²	tu ²¹ no ²¹	t ^h u ³⁴ θa:i ³⁴ θi ²⁴	t ^h u ³³	t ^h u ²¹ ŋa:ŋ ²¹
152	chilli	ma:k ⁴⁴ p ^h at ⁴⁴	ma:k ⁴⁴ p ^h at ⁴²	tsiu ³⁵	ma:k ³³ p ^h at ¹¹	ma:k ⁴³ ma:n ²¹	tsiu ²⁴
153	cabbage	p ^h ɰak ⁴⁴ k ^h a:u ⁵⁴	ka:t ⁴⁴ k ^h a:u ²⁴	p ^h ɰak ¹¹ pu:k ⁵⁵	p ^h ɰak ⁵⁵ ka:t ³³	p ^h ɰak ⁵⁵ ha:u ²⁴	p ^h ɰak ⁴⁴ ka:t ⁴⁴ k ^h a:u ³⁴
154	mustard leaf	p ^h ɰak ⁴⁴ ka:t ⁴⁴		ka:i ²⁴ ca:i ²⁴		p ^h ɰak ⁵⁵ ka:t ⁴³	p ^h ɰak ⁴⁴ ka:t ⁴⁴
155	garlic	θun ⁴⁵	t ^h u ²⁴ θun ³⁴	rau ²⁴ θun ²¹	ja:ŋ ³⁴ θo:n ²⁴	t ^h u ²⁴ hu ²⁴	θun ²¹
156	eggplant	lok ²¹ ki ²¹		lək ¹¹ ki ²¹	lok ¹¹ k ^h i ²¹		
157	tomato	ma:k ⁴⁴ ŋuŋ ³¹	ma:k ⁴⁴ juŋ ³⁴	ma:k ³⁵ ŋuŋ ²¹	ma:k ³³ ŋoŋ ²¹	ma:k ³³ ŋuŋ ³³	ma:k ⁵⁵ ŋuŋ ²¹

	E word	佯 Yang	宗 Tsung	儂安 Nung'an	左州 Tsatsou	銳 Yui	省 Seng
158	pomelo	ma:k ⁴⁴ pa:ŋ ³¹	ma:k ⁴⁴ pa:ŋ ³⁴	ma:k ³⁵ pok ¹¹	ma:k ³³ p ^h ok ⁵⁵	ma:k ³³ pa:ŋ ⁴⁴	ma:k ⁵⁵ puk ⁴⁴
159	guava	kwa ⁵⁴ ko: ⁵⁴		kwa ⁴⁵ ko ⁴⁵	kwa ³⁴ ko ³⁴	kwa ²⁴ koŋ ⁴⁴	mok ⁴⁴ kwa ²⁴
160	peanut	t ^h u ⁴⁵ tam ⁵⁴	t ^h u ³⁴ tum ³⁴	tu ⁵⁴ tam ⁴⁵	t ^h u ³⁴ tam ³⁴	t ^h u ³³ na:m ³¹	t ^h u ⁴² tam ²⁴
161	ginger	k ^h joŋ ⁵⁴	k ^h woŋ ²⁴	hiŋ ²¹	k ^h jin ³⁴	ci:ŋ ²⁴	hiŋ ³⁴
162	mother	me ²¹⁴	me ³⁴	me ²¹⁴	me ³⁴	me ⁴²	me ⁴²
163	grandmother	p ^h o ⁵⁴	ja ⁴²	pu ²¹	ja ³⁴	ja ⁴²	ja ⁴²
164	grandfather	koŋ ta ⁴⁵	koŋ ta ³³	ta: ⁴⁵	ta ³⁴	ta ³³	ta ²⁴
165	grandmother	ta:i ⁴⁵	ja ta:i ³³	ta:i ⁴⁵	ta:i ³⁴	ta:i ³³	ta:i ²⁴
166	father's OB	je ³¹	je ³⁴	je ²¹	je ²¹	te ⁴⁴ ze ³³	je ²¹
167	father's OB's wife	mo:u ¹³	pa ²⁴	pek ³⁵	pa ²⁴	me ⁴² ze ³³	la:u ⁴²
168	mother's YSi	na ²¹⁴	na ⁴²	me ⁵⁴ hei ²¹	na ⁴²	na ⁴²	na ⁴²
169	father's YB	co:k ⁴⁴	co:k ⁴⁴	θuk ⁴⁴	co:k ⁵⁵	co:k ⁵⁵	co:k ⁴⁴
170	father's YSi	ku ⁴⁵	a ³³	me ⁵⁴ ko ⁴⁵	a ⁴²	u ²⁵	ku ²⁴
171	wife	mi ³¹	me lu ³³	me ⁵⁴ ja ²¹	me lu ⁴²	pai ⁴⁴	me lu ⁴² lu ²¹
172	MBW	na ¹³ po:i ¹³	na lu ³³	me ⁵⁴ kim ⁵⁵	na ²⁴ poi ⁴²	me ⁴² na ⁴²	na ⁴² lu ²¹
173	mother's brother	na ¹³ k'i ⁵⁴	je ³³	koŋ ⁴⁵ niŋ ²¹	k ^h ou ²⁴	po ⁴² na ⁴²	ko ⁴⁵

	E word	佯 Yang	宗 Tsung	儂安 Nung'an	左州 Tsatsou	銳 Yui	省 Seng
174	husband	po ¹³ p ^h u ⁵⁴	k ^h ui ²⁴	ku ⁴⁵ je ²¹	k ^h ui ²⁴	la:u ⁴⁴ k ^h ui ²⁴	lu:k ⁴⁵ ku:i ¹²
175	grandchild	la:n ⁵⁴	lan ³⁴	lan ⁴⁵	lan ³⁴	lan ²⁴	lan ²⁴
176	daughter-in-law	po:i ¹³	me ⁴² lu ³³	pai ⁴⁴	pa:u ⁴²	pai ⁴⁴	me ⁴³ lu ²¹
177	son-in-law	lok ²¹ k ^h i ⁵⁴	luk ⁴⁴ k ^h ui ²⁴	ko ⁴⁵ je ²¹	k ^h ui ²³²³	luk ²¹ k ^h ui ²⁴	lu:k ⁴⁴ k ^h ui ²¹
178	tall	θuŋ ⁵⁴	θoŋ ³⁴	θa:ŋ ⁴⁵	θoŋ ³⁴	θoŋ ²⁴	θa:ŋ ²⁴
179	short	tam ⁴⁵	tam ³³	tam ²¹	tam ²³²³	tem ³³	tam ⁴²
180	fat	pei ³¹	pi ⁴⁴	pei ²¹	p ^h ei ²¹	pi ³³	pei ⁴²
181	swollen	fok ²¹	fok ⁵⁵	fok ¹¹	fok ¹¹	fok ⁴³	fok ⁴⁴
183	skinny	heu ⁴⁵	heu ³³	p ^h jom ²¹	heu ³⁴	heu ³³	heu ³¹
183	black	nam ⁵⁴	ʔdam ³⁴	ʔdam ²¹	ʔdam ²¹	ʔdam ²⁴	ʔdam ³⁴
184	white	k ^h a:u ⁵⁴	k ^h a:u ²⁴	pu:k ⁵⁵	ka:u ³⁴	k ^h a:u ²⁴	k ^h a:u ²⁴
185	pretty	θa:u ⁵⁴ nai ⁵⁴	θa:u ³⁴ ʔdai ³⁴	θa:u ³³ ʔdei ²¹	θa:u ³⁴ ʔdai ²¹	ʔdai ²⁴	θa:u ²⁴ ʔdei ²⁴
186	handsome	ma:u ⁴⁵ nai ⁵⁴	ʔba:u ³³ ʔdai ³⁴	ʔba:u ³³ ʔdei ²¹	ʔba:u ²¹ ʔdai ²¹	ʔdai ²⁴	ma:u ⁴² ʔdei ²⁴
187	disgusting	tsaŋ ³¹	t ^h ok ⁴⁴ caŋ ³⁴	t ^h a:u ³ jen ²⁴	t ^h ok ⁵⁵ caŋ ²¹	t ^h uk ⁴³ caŋ ³³	hu:u ³¹
188	long	lei ³¹	hl ³³	rai ²¹	θei ²¹	li ³³	rai ⁴²
189	short	tan ⁴⁵	tin ²⁴	tin ²⁴	tin ²⁴	ti ²⁵	tin ³⁴

	E word	佯 Yang	宗 Tsung	儂安 Nung'an	左州 Tsatsou	銳 Yui	省 Seng
190	round	mo:n ³¹	ɿbu:n ³³	mu:n ²¹	mu:n ²¹	mo:n ³³	mu:n ²¹
191	thick	na ⁵⁴	na ³⁴	na ⁴⁵	na ³⁴	na ²⁴	na ²⁴
192	dirty	nən ⁴⁵	nu:n ³⁴	jin ⁴⁵	nu:n ³⁴	uŋ ²⁵	θam ³⁴
193	clean	θo:i ⁵⁴	θau ³⁴	tsen ⁴²	θau ³⁴	ka:n ²⁴ ciŋ ⁴²	ceŋ ⁴²
194	dry	k ^h o:i ⁴⁵	ha:u ²⁴	hou ⁴²	k ^h au ³⁴	k ^h au ³³	ha:u ⁴²
195	damp	təm ³¹	tum ³³	pu:t ¹¹	t ^h əm ²¹	cum ⁴²	pu ³⁴
196	red	neŋ ⁵⁴	ɿdeŋ ³⁴	ɿdiŋ ²⁴	ɿdeŋ ²¹	ɿdeŋ ²⁴	ɿdiŋ ²⁴
197	green	lok ²¹	k ^h eu ²⁴	lok ¹¹	lok ¹¹	lok ⁴³	ciŋ ³⁴
198	youth	lok ²¹ ma:u ⁴⁵	lok ⁴⁴ ɿba:u ³³	hu:n ²¹ θa:i ⁴⁵	lok ¹¹ ma:u ²¹	luk ²¹ ma:u ⁴⁴	luk ⁴⁴ ma:u ²⁴
199	old	kau ⁴⁵	kau ³³	kau ²⁴	kau ³⁴	kau ³³	kau ³¹
200	new	mo:i ⁴⁵	ɿbau ³³	mo ²⁴	mau ²³²³	mau ³³	mo ⁴²
201	hot	nu:t ⁴⁴	ɿdtu:t ⁴⁴	ɿdtu:t ⁵⁵	ɿdtu:t ¹¹	ɿdtu:t ⁴³	ɿdtu:t ⁴⁴
202	cold	na:ŋ ²³²³	ɿda:ŋ ²⁴	ɿdit ⁵⁵	ɿda:ŋ ²⁴	cok ⁵⁵	ɿdit ⁴⁴
203	big	luŋ ⁵⁴	lu:ŋ ³⁴	huŋ ²¹	luŋ ³⁴	ruŋ ²⁴	huŋ ²⁴
204	small	eŋ ⁵⁴	eŋ ³⁴	i ²⁴	i ²³²³	eŋ ⁴²	eŋ ²⁴
205	far	kwai ⁵⁴	kwai ³⁴	kjai ⁴⁵	kwai ³⁴	kwai ²⁴	tsai ²⁴

	E word	佯 Yang	宗 Tsung	儂安 Nung'an	左州 Tsatsou	銳 Yui	省 Seng
206	nearby	k ^h jo ⁱ : ²³²³	zau ²⁴	kan ³³	cau ²⁴	cau ⁴⁴	tsau ³⁴
207	thin	ma:ŋ ⁵⁴	ʔba:ŋ ³⁴	ʔba:ŋ ²⁴	ʔba:ŋ ²¹	ʔba:ŋ ²⁴	ʔba:ŋ ²⁴
208	right	θa ⁵⁴	θa ³⁴	k ^h wa ²¹	θa ³⁴	θa ²⁴	kwa ²¹
209	left	θa:i ¹³	θa:i ⁴²	θu ⁴⁴	θa:i ⁴²	θa:i ⁴⁴	θu ⁴²
210	in front	to ⁴⁵ na ²³²³	to ³⁴ na ²⁴	to ⁴⁵ na ²⁴	to ³⁴ na ²⁴	toŋ ³³ na ⁴⁴	to ²¹ na ³⁴
211	behind	lap ²¹ laŋ ⁵⁴	lam ³⁴ laŋ ³⁴	lap ¹¹ pjaŋ ⁴⁵	lap ⁵⁵ laŋ ³⁴	lap ⁴³ laŋ ²⁴	lap ⁴⁴ laŋ ²⁴
212	beside	jen ³¹ h ⁱ : ²³²³ ka:ŋ	hen ³³ ha:ŋ ²⁴	hen ²¹ pin ⁴⁵	hen ²¹ ha:ŋ ²⁴	jiu ³² cau ⁴⁴	hem ²¹
213	hard	ken ⁴⁵	ken ³³	ken ²¹²	ken ²³²³	zen ³³	ken ²¹
214	soft	o:n ⁴⁵	o:n ³³	on ²³²³	on ²¹	on ³³	un ³¹
215	hateful	nok ⁴⁴	ʔdok ⁵⁵	ʔdok ¹¹	ʔdok ¹¹	ʔdok ⁵⁵	ʔdok ⁴⁴
216	early morning	noi ⁵⁴ tsau ⁴⁵	naur ³⁴ cau ⁴²	huut ¹¹ tsau ⁴⁴	ʔdau ³⁴ tsau ⁴²	cau ⁴²	cau ⁴³
217	breakfast	k ^h au ²³²³ tsau ⁴⁵	moi ³³ cau ⁴²	mui ²¹ tsau ⁴⁴	k ^h au ²⁴ na:ŋ ²⁴	k ^h au ²⁵ cau ⁴²	ŋai ²¹ cau ⁴³
218	late	tsi ³¹	laŋ ³⁴	kja:ŋ ⁴⁵	laŋ ³⁴	tok ⁴⁴ laŋ ²⁴	θa:i ²⁴
219	noon	ŋai ³¹ ja ⁴⁵	pin ³³ ŋai ³³	pan ²¹ ŋai ²¹	p ^h i ²¹ leŋ ²¹	pan ³³ ŋai ³³	pan ²¹ ŋai ²¹
220	daytime	an ⁵⁴ wan ³¹	et ⁴⁴ wan ³³	ej ²¹ ŋon ²¹	an ²¹ wan ²¹	an ²⁴ ŋon ⁴⁴	ŋon ²¹
221	night	an ⁵⁴ jam ⁴⁵	et ⁴⁴ ham ⁴²	ej ²¹ ham ²³²³	an ²¹ ham ²¹	an ²⁴ ham ⁴²	ham ⁴²

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223	afternoon	pan ³¹ leŋ ³¹ ŋai ^{31, 45} ja	ŋai ^{44, 33} ja	pan ²¹ riŋ ²¹	ŋai ^{21, 24} ja	pan ³³ leŋ ³³	ŋai ^{21, 24} ja
224	late afternoon	pai ³¹ jam ²¹⁴	wai ³³ ham ⁴²	wai ²⁴ ham ³³	p ^h ai ²¹ ham ²¹	lap ⁵⁵	wai ³⁴ ham ⁴²
225	dinner	k ^h au ²³²³ pjau ³¹	moi ³³ zau ³³	tsau ²¹	k ^h au ²⁴ pjau ²¹	k ^h au ²⁵ piu ³³	cau ⁴²
226	yesterday	wan ³¹ wa ³¹	wan ³³ wa ³³	ŋon ²¹ ruŋ ²¹	wan ²¹ wa ²¹	ŋon ³³ wa ³³	ŋon ²¹ luŋ ²¹
227	next year	pei ⁵⁴ pjok ²¹	pi ²⁴ zok ⁴⁴	pei ⁴⁵ na ²⁴	pei ^{34, 24} na ²⁴	pi ²⁴ kwa ³³	pei ²⁴ na ³⁴
228	new year	pei ⁵⁴ moi ⁴⁵	mi ²⁴ mau ³³	pei ⁴⁵ mo ²⁴	pei ³⁴ mau ³⁴	pi ²⁴ mau ³³	pei ²⁴ mo ³¹
229	tomorrow	wan ³¹ pjok ²¹	wan ³³ zok ⁴⁴	ŋon ²¹ tsok ⁵⁵	wan ^{21, h} jək ¹¹	non ³³ pik ²¹	ŋon ²¹ zok ⁴⁴
230	today	wan ³¹ kei ⁴⁵	wan ³³ puŋ ⁴²	ŋon ²¹ θuŋ ²¹	wan ²¹ kau ²³²³	non ³³ cin ⁴⁴	ŋon ²¹ nei ³⁴
231	empty room	lun ³¹ pjau ⁴⁵	θom ²⁴ zau ³³	ran ²¹ pjou ²⁴	θuŋ ²¹ pjau ²³²³	rok ⁴² piu ³³	ran ²¹ pjau ⁴²
232	smoke	won ³¹ fai ³¹	hau ²⁴ fai ³³	on ²³²³ fai ²¹	wan ²³²³ lau ²¹	hon ³³ fai ³³	hon ²¹ fai ²¹
233	brush-knife	pja ¹³ pjak ⁴⁴	mak ³¹ za ⁵⁵	tʂa ⁴² pjak ¹¹	pja ²³²³ pjak ¹¹	pja ⁴⁴ k ^o ²⁴	ca ⁴²
234	cooking pan	mo ²³²³	an ³³ mo ²⁴	rek ⁴⁴	mo ²⁴	mo ²⁵	mo ³⁴
235	sour	θam ²³²³	θuŋ ²⁴	θam ²⁴	θəm ²⁴	θam ²⁵	θam ³⁴
236	sweet	wan ⁵⁴	wan ³⁴	tim ²¹	wan ³⁴	wan ²⁴	wan ²⁴
237	salty	naŋ ⁴⁵	ʔdaŋ ³³	kjuŋ ²¹	ʔdaŋ ²¹	ham ³³	k ^h an ⁴²
238	salt	kji ⁵⁴	zə ³³	kju ⁴⁵	tsu ³⁴	ku ²⁴	tsu ²⁴

	E word	佯 Yang	宗 Tsung	儂安 Nung'an	左州 Tsatsou	銳 Yui	省 Seng
239	scissors	ma:k ¹³ ta:u ⁵⁴	ma:k ⁴⁴ keu ³³	keu ²¹	keu ²¹	ta:u ²⁴	kiu ³¹
240	syrup	nam ¹³ h ⁵⁴ ij ⁵⁴	ʔdam ⁴⁴ t ^h uŋ ²⁴	ʔdam ⁴⁴ tuŋ ²¹	ʔdam ²³²³ t ^h uŋ ³⁵	ʔdam ⁴⁴ t ^h uŋ ²⁴	ʔdam ⁴² tuŋ ²¹
241	husk of grain	lep ¹³ k ^h au ²³²³	hep ⁴⁴	rep ⁴⁴ ha:u ⁴⁴	θep ¹¹	ram ³³	lep ⁴⁴ ha:u ⁴³
242	taro	p ^h i:k ⁴⁴	cu:k ⁴⁴	p ^h ju:k ⁴⁴	p ^h tuŋ ³⁴	p ^h tu:k ⁴³	p ^h tu:k ⁴⁴
243	tomato	ma:k ⁴⁴ ŋuŋ ³¹	ma:k ⁴⁴ joŋ ³³	ma:k ¹¹ ŋuŋ ²¹	ma:k ³³ ŋuŋ ²¹	ma:k ⁴³ ŋuŋ ⁴⁴	
244	window	pa:k ⁴⁴ ta:ŋ ⁴⁵	pa:k ⁴⁴ ca:ŋ ³³	pa:k ¹¹ ca:ŋ ³³	pa:k ³³ ta:ŋ ³⁴	pa:k ⁴³ ca:ŋ ³³	tu ²⁴ ca:ŋ ³⁴
245	house	an ⁵⁴ ju:n ³¹	hu:n ⁴⁴	ra:n ²¹	θum ³⁴	ru:n ³³	ra:n ²¹
246	door	an ⁵⁴ tu ⁵⁴	tu ³⁴	tu ⁴⁵	tu ³⁴	tu ²⁴	tu ²⁴
247	bedroom	an ⁵⁴ lok ²¹	θum ²⁴	ten ⁴²	t ^h ei ³⁴ non ²¹	rok ²¹	rok ⁴⁴
248	sweep	pat ⁴⁴	pat ⁵⁵	θa:u ²¹²	pat ⁵⁵	kwat ⁴³	θa:u ⁴²
249	brush	juŋ ³¹ pat ⁴⁴	θa:u ³³ pat ⁵⁵	pu:t ¹¹ θa:u ²¹²	juŋ ²¹ pat ⁵⁵	ŋu ³³ pat ⁵⁵	pat ⁴⁴ θa:u ⁴²
250	look	koi ⁵⁴	ziu ³³	liu ²⁴	meŋ ²¹ koi ³⁴	ju ³¹	ja:u ³⁴
251	steam	ja:i ⁵⁴ nam ⁴⁵	ja:i ³⁴ nam ⁴²	θu ⁴⁵	ja:i ²¹	ja:i ²⁴ nam ⁴²	ja:i ²⁴
252	want	au ⁵⁴	au ³⁴	au ²⁴	au ²¹	au ²⁴	au ²⁴
253	laugh, smile	k ^h u ⁵⁴	hu ³⁴	riu ²⁴	hu ³⁴	k ^h u ²⁴	tai ³⁴
254	come	ma ³¹	ma ⁴⁴	ma ⁴⁵	ma ²¹	ma ³³	ma ²⁴

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255	go	pai ⁵⁴	pai ³⁴	pei ⁴⁵	pei ³⁴	pai ²⁴	pei ²⁴
256	die	t'ai ⁵⁴	t'ai ³⁴	t'ai ²¹	t'ai ³⁴	t'ai ²⁴	t'ai ²⁴
257	cockcrow	kai ⁴⁵ h ⁵⁴ an ⁵⁴	kai ³³ h ⁴⁴ an ⁴⁴	kai ²¹ han ²¹	kai ²³²³ h ³⁴ an ³⁴	kai ³³ h ²⁴ an ²⁴	kai ⁴² han ²⁴
258	weave	tam ⁴⁵ h ⁵⁴ paj ⁵⁴	tam ³³ h ²⁴ pai ²⁴	tam ²⁴ h ⁴⁴ ok ⁴⁴	tam ³⁴ h ⁵⁵ ok ⁵⁵	tam ³³ h ⁴³ ok ⁴³	tam ³⁴ h ³¹ pai ³¹
259	run	nei ⁵⁴	ni ³⁴	ei ⁴⁴	nei ³⁴	ni ²⁴	len ⁴²
260	leap	teu ³¹	teu ⁴⁴	tiu ²⁴	t'eu ²¹	teu ⁴⁴	jet ⁴⁴
261	go first	p'jai ²³²³ kon ⁴⁵	pai ³⁴ kon ³³	p'jai ²⁴ kon ²⁴	p'jai ²⁴ kon ²³²³	p'jai ²⁴ kon ³³	p'ai ³⁴ kon ³¹
262	go later	p'jai ²³²³ laɲ ⁵⁴	nem ³³ laɲ ³⁴	p'jai ²⁴ laɲ ⁴⁵	tok ⁵⁵ laɲ ³⁴	p'jai ²⁴ laɲ ²⁴	p'ai ³⁴ laɲ ²⁴
263	sleep	non ³¹	non ³³	nin ²¹	non ²¹	non ³³	nin ²¹
264	nod off	t'a ⁵⁴ mo:i ²³²³	ta ³⁴ ɾbau ²⁴	t'au ²⁴ nin ²¹	ta ³⁴ ɾbau ²⁴	t'a ²⁴ mau ²⁵	t'au ³⁴ nin ²¹
265	forget	ləm ³¹	lam ³³	lum ²¹	ləm ²¹	lum ³³	lum ²¹
266	cut grass	ho:n ⁵⁴ na ²³²³	kwe ³⁴ ja ²⁴	hon ²¹ na ²⁴	k ^h au ³⁵ na ⁵⁵ 35=55?	au ²⁴ na ²⁵	au ²⁴ ju ⁴³
267	sell	k'ai ⁵⁴	k'ai ³⁴	hai ²¹	k ^h ai ²³²³	k ^h ai ²⁴	hai ²⁴
268	buy	θei ⁴⁵	θu ⁴²	tsou ⁴⁴	θau ⁴²	θau ⁴²	cau ⁴³
269	plant	nam ⁵⁴	ɾdam ³⁴	ɾdam ²¹	ɾdam ²¹	ɾdam ²⁴	ɾdam ²⁴
270	select	le ²¹⁴	luɲk ³¹	ken ²¹²	le ²¹	le ⁴²	le ⁴²

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271	to bark	ma ⁵⁴ hau ⁴⁵	ma ³⁴ hau ³³	ma ⁴⁵ rau ⁴²	ma ³⁴ hau ²³²³	ma ²⁴ hau ³³	ma ²⁴ hau ³¹
272	wait for	t ^h a ²³²³	t ^h a ²⁴	taɲ ²⁴	t ^h a ²⁴	te ³³	taɲ ³⁴
273	embrace	əm ²³²³	əm ²⁴	um ²⁴	əm ²⁴	um ²⁵	um ³⁴
274	carry on shoulder	me:k ⁴⁴	ʔbe:k ⁴⁴	ku:k ⁴⁴	ʔbe:k ¹¹	jaʊ ⁴⁴	ku:t ⁴⁴
275	carry betw 2 people	t ^h a:m ⁵⁴	ʔbe:k ⁴⁴	t ^h a:m ²⁴	t ^h a:m ³⁴	t ^h a:i ³³	t ^h a:m ²⁴
276	kill	k ^h a ²³²³	k ^h a ²⁴	ka ²⁴	k ^h a ²⁴	ka ²⁵	ka ³⁴
277	thief	je ³¹ lak ²¹	hat lak ⁵⁵	ca:k ¹¹	lak ¹¹	hok ⁵⁵ lak ⁴³	ca:k ⁴⁴
278	walk	p ^h ja:i ²³²³	ca:i ²⁴	p ^h ja:i ²⁴	p ^h ja:i ²⁴	p ^h ja:i ²⁵	p ^h a:i ³⁴
279	here	a:m ⁴⁵ tən ¹³	ke ⁴² nai ²⁴	ko ⁴⁴ ʔdeɲ ²⁴	a:m ³⁴ kin ²⁴	i ³³ kin ⁴²	kon ³⁴ nei ³⁴
280	there	a:m ⁴⁵ paɲ ²¹⁴	ke ⁴² mu:n ²⁴	meɲ ²³²³ pa:i ²³²³	a:m ³⁴ p aɲ ³¹	miɲ ³³ paɲ ⁴²	kon ³⁴ nu:m ³⁴
281	farmer	kən ³¹ hai ⁴⁵ na ³¹	kən ³³ het ⁴⁴ koɲ ²⁴	je ²¹ noɲ ²¹	k ^h ən ²¹ hai ³⁴ na ²¹	hok ⁵⁵ koɲ ²⁴	
282	fire bed	po ⁵⁴ fai ³¹	po ³³ fai ⁴⁴	po ⁴⁵ fei ²¹	po ³⁴ fai ²¹	cau ⁴² fai ³³	po ²⁴ fei ⁴²
283	hot water	nam ¹³ nut ⁴⁴	ʔdam ⁵⁴ ʔdu:t ⁴⁴	nam ⁴⁵ ʔdu:t ⁴⁴	ʔdam ⁴² ʔdu:t ⁵⁵	nam ⁴² ʔdu:t ⁴³	ʔdam ⁴³ ʔdu:t ⁴⁴
284	cold water	nam ¹³ kat ⁴⁴	ʔdam ⁵⁴ cam ⁵⁴	nam ⁴⁵ tsap ⁴⁴	ʔdam ⁴² kat ⁵⁵	nam ⁴² cot ⁵⁵	ʔdam ⁴³ ha:m ³⁴
285	boiled water	nam ¹³ ko:n ²³²³	ʔdam ⁵⁴ kun ²⁴	nam ⁴⁵ kon ²⁴	ʔdam ⁴² kon ²⁴	nam ⁴² za ³³	ʔdam ⁴³ kon ³⁴
286	hungry	ja:k ⁴⁴	ja:k ⁴⁴	ju:uk ⁴⁴	ja:k ³³	ju:uk ⁴³	ju:uk ³³

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