Kra : The Tai Least-Known Sister Languages

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ク　　ラ
──知られざるタイ・カダイ言語群──

ウィーラ・オスタピラート

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This paper introduces a group of languages called *Kra*, which includes the following six languages and their varieties: Gelao, Lachi, Laha, Paha, Buyang and Pubiao.   These lesser known languages are spoken in Yunnan, Guangxi and Guizhou provinces of China, and Ha Giang, Lao Cai and Son La provinces of Vietnam.   Linguistic evidence is given to demonstrate that they are related to the Tai languages, and form an independent subgroup within the *Kra-Dai* (or Tai-Kadai) stock. The many varieties of these *Kra* languages are further divided into sub-branches based on several phonological criteria.   Etymologies of the terms *Kra* and *Kra-Dai* are simultaneously discussed.

　小稿は，Gelao, Lachi, Laha, Paha, Buyang 及び Pubiao の6言語から成る Kra 言語群に関する概観を示そうとするものである。この言語群は中国雲南省，広西壮族自治区，貴州省及びベトナムの Ha Giang, Lao Cai, Son La 県に分布し，タイ諸語と系統関係が認められるタイ・カダイ語族の中の有力な下位言語群と考えられ，また，東アジアの言語グループの枠組みを再検討するにあたって興味深い研究材料を提供してくれる。

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0.　Introduction

Southeast Asia hosts varieties of languages. Some are well-known national languages, namely, Burmese, Thai, Malay, Cambodian and Vietnamese, but hundreds of smaller languages are also spoken in the area. Linguistically, speakers of these languages are considered to belong to one of the five language families: 1. Sino-Tibetan, represented by such languages as Chinese, Tibetan and Burmese, 2. Austroasiatic, which includes Khmer (Cambodian), Mon and Vietnamese, 3. Austronesian, which includes Cham of Central Vietnam, Malay, Indonesian, Tagalog and various languages spoken on the islands of the Pacific Ocean, 4. Hmong-Mien (also known as Miao-Yao), whose speakers scatter throughout the vast area of southern China and northern parts of Vietnam, Laos and Thailand, 5. Tai-Kadai or Kra-Dai, which is the topic of this study.

The Kra-Dai stock consists of various branches, the most well-known of which is of course the Tai group. Figure 1 shows a rough scheme of this Kra-Dai language family.

Since the end of the 19th century a number of anthropological accounts and missionary work have reported on various ethnic Tai groups outside the Kingdom of Thailand. These include some controversial classics like Dodd (1923), which stirred up an idea of a united Tai race beyond political borders. Such reports covered, among others, the Shan of Burma, Nung in Northern Vietnam and Lue in Yunnan province of China. They also usually listed concise linguistic material. Serious linguistic studies of comparative Tai may have started with Maspéro (1912), but the real progress came in the mid 20th century when quality field-work was carried out on various Tai dialects, both in Thailand and other countries. (See, among others, Brown 1965 for dialects in
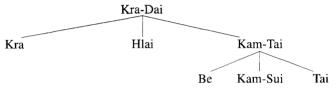

Fig. 1　Rough scheme of Kra-Dai family

Thailand; Anonymous 1959 and Li 1940, 1956 for dialects in China, and Gedney 1964, 1965, 1970 for dialects in Thailand, Laos and Vietnam.) According to Li (1960), the Tai group is divided into three branches. The Northern branch includes the Buyi group in Guizhou and Northern Zhuang in Guangxi. The Central branch includes Tay and Nung ethnic groups in Vietnam and Southern Zhuang in China. Lastly, the Southwestern branch includes Standard Thai, Lao, Black Tai and White Tai in Vietnam, Shan of Burma, Lue in Yunnan and Ahom in Assam of India.

For decades, we have owed our knowledge on the Kam-Sui group of languages (also known as Dong-Shui in Chinese) to the work of Li Fang-Kuei, who has published material on the Mak (1948a), Sui (1948b, 1965) and Then (1968) languages. Chinese scholars have worked on various Kam-Sui languages since the 1950s, but most publications only became accessible to the outside world in the 1980s. These include the material on three additional languages, i.e. Kam, Mulam and Maonan (e.g. Wang 1984). The six Kam-Sui languages are divided into two branches: Kam and Mulam belong to the Kam branch, and Sui, Mak, Maonan and Then belong to the Sui branch. They are mainly spoken in the eastern part of the Guizhou province (Kam, Sui, Mak and Then) and the northern part of Guangxi (Mulam and Maonan). By showing regular correspondences of shared vocabulary between the Kam-Sui and the Tai languages, Li (1965) has demonstrated beyond doubt that the two groups are closely related.

Both Be and Hlai groups are found on Hainan Island. Reports on both groups appeared as early as the end of the 19th century (e.g. Swinhoe 1871, Parker 1890; Jeremaissen 1892). Listing a concise list of vocabulary, Parker (1890) had already suggested that the Be languages were related to Thai. (Incidentally, he thought that the languages were Hlai.) However, it was not until the mid 20th century that Haudricourt (1965) made available substantial material on the Be language and offered comparative evidence that conclusively confirmed the relation of Be to Tai. Extensive material on different locations of Be was then published in the 1980s (e.g. Hashimoto 1980 on the Lingao dialect and Zhang et al 1985 on the Lingao, Chengmai, and Qingshan dialects). All are closely related varieties and spoken in the northern part of Hainan Island.

The Hlai group (also known as Li in Chinese and early records) occupies most of the western and central parts of Hainan Island and is considered by most as native to the island. Extensive linguistic records on the Hlai languages have been available since the early 20th century (cf. Savina 1931; Stübel 1937), but transcriptions are often uncertain. Recently, Ouyang and Zheng (1983) have provided us with the most comprehensive material on nine dialects of Hlai proper. Working on this material, I have suggested elsewhere to divide the Hlai group into three branches: Northern (Xifang, Baisha and Yuanmen

dialects), Central (Baoding, Zhongsha, Tongshi, Qiandui and Baocheng dialects) and Southern (Heitu dialect). (See Ostapirat 1993.)

The last branch of the Kra-Dai stock, Kra, is also the least-known language group. It is to this group of languages that we turn our attention in the remainder of this paper. We consider the following six languages (and their varieties) to belong to the Kra group: Gelao, Lachi, Laha, Paha, Buyang and Pubiao. (Locations where these languages are spoken are shown in Map 2 and Map 3.) All the languages except Laha can be found in China, but only Gelao has been officially recognized as a separate minority language group by the Chinese government. Others are mostly assigned to the Zhuang group. Anthropological reports on these groups of people have appeared since the early 20th century (see especially Bonifacy 1905, 1906, 1908; Lajonquière 1906). However, linguistic material is often too meager and ambiguous transcription has left much to desire. I have recently collected first-hand material on a number of these languages and am presenting some of it here.

It is one purpose of this paper to put these Kra languages in a comparative Kra-Dai context. In the first two sections following this introductory note, we present linguistic evidence that defines Kra as a distinct group within the Kra-Dai family. We will then discuss the terms *Kra* and *Kra-Dai*, and in the last section, the varieties of each of the six Kra languages.

1.　Kra as Kra-Dai Languages

Three Kra languages, Gelao, Lachi and Laqua (＝Pubiao), plus the Hlai languages of Hainan were grouped together as a linguistic stock called Kadai by Benedict (1942), who proposed them to be related to the Tai language. (The Laha language was later included in Benedict (1975) as a Laqua dialect.) Of these, only the Hlai language has been reported in great quantity and with reliable quality (e.g. Wang and Qian 1951; Ouyang and Zheng 1983). Few scholars have doubted the relation of Hlai to Tai, though phonological correspondences between them have yet to be worked out. According to our present knowledge, however, this Hlai language has to be considered a separate branch from the other three. (See also Table 2 for evidence that Hlai does not belong to our Kra language group.) The relation between Benedict's other Kadai languages and Tai, however, has remained dubious to many students of comparative Tai, partly due to the meager data available on the former languages and to a number of doubtful etyma proposed by Benedict, based on limited and low-quality material. Recently, Chinese and Vietnamese scholars have gathered more data on these lesser known languages, including some other related languages hitherto unknown (e.g. Buyang in China). But none has yet presented more rigorous evidence than just a random list of a few forms to bind the whole family together.

238

We are offering in Table 1 a list of 40 selected Kra-Dai etyma (including seventeen items from the Swadesh 100 basic word-list) to demonstrate that the Kra languages and the other Kra-Dai languages belong to the same linguistic stock. The list is not intended to be exhaustive, yet just browsing through its first fourteen body part etyma will probably leave little doubt as to the genetic relationship among these languages. On the other hand, Table 1 is not a mere list of raw material or look-alikes, but includes already well-analysed data. In other words, we consider them as valid cognates provable by their regular phonological correspondences established elsewhere (see Ostapirat 2000 for the phonological reconstruction of Proto-Kra).

These selected etyma are also offered as a handlist for determining whether a certain language belongs to the Kra-Dai family. They cover examples of all four possible proto tones, and thus are also intended to serve as a tonal checklist for fieldworkers to figure out the tonal system of a certain Kra language in a historical and comparative context.

The representative varieties of the languages in Table 1 are as follows: Wanzi (Gelao), Jinchang (Lachi), Nong Lay (Laha), Yanglian (Paha), E-Cun (Buyang), Pufeng (Pubiao), Baoding (Hlai), Sanchong (Sui) and Siamese (Tai). When the related forms are unavailable in the representative dialects, forms from other varieties may be cited. These are indicated by parenthesized abbreviations as follows: (Qs) = Qiaoshang dialect of Gelao, (Lz) = Laozhai dialect of Gelao, (Tm) = Ta Mit dialect of Laha, (Lj) = Langjia dialect of Buyang, (L) = Lao dialect of Tai.

Material on the Wanzi dialect of Gelao is from He (1983); Nong Lay Laha from Solntseva and Hoang (1986), Ta Mit Laha from Dang et al (1972), Hoang and Vu (1992), and Gregerson and Edmondson (1997); Hlai dialects from Ouyang and Zheng (1983); and Sanchong Sui dialects from Zhang (1982). Material on the rest is from my own fieldwork. The tones are indicated according to their proto-tone categories by the letters *A, *B, *C and *D[1]. The numbers 1 and 2 following these proto-tone symbols refer respectively to early voiceless and voiced onsets in the respective languages. Irregular reflexes with respect to tones, initials, vowels or finals in any given language will be flagged with the following symbols after the forms: -t (irregular tone), -i (irregular initial), -v (irregular vowel) and -f (irregular final).

Table 1   Selected Kra-Dai etyma

	1. Blood	2. Bone	3. Ear	4. Eye	5. Excrement
Gelao	plɒ D1	taŋ D2	zau A2	tau A1	qɒ C1
Lachi	pjo D1	tɦjɒ D2	lu A2	tju A1	ka̠ C1
Laha	plaat D1	dak D2	khlaa A2	taa A1	kai C1
Paha	pɛɛ D1-f	—	kaa A1	ʔdaa A1	qɛɛ B1-t

Buyang	—	—	ðaa A2	taa A1	—
Pubiao	—	ʔdak D1	rɦaa A2	tee A1	—
Hlai	ɬaaƫ D	vɯɯk D	(zai A)	tshaa A	haai C
Sui	phjaat D1	laak D1	qhaa A1	ndaa A1	qee C2
Tai	lɯat D2	duuk D1	huu A1	taa A1	khii C1/2

	6. Fart	7. Fingernail	8. Hand	9. Intestine	10. Knee
Gelao	tæ D1 (Lz)	kle D1	mpau A2	sai C1	qo B1 (Lz)
Lachi	tɕ̬ D1	lɛ D1	m̩ A2	ɕi C1	kwɛ B1
Laha	—	kləp D1	maa A2	si C1	ʁo B1
Paha	ðat D1	ɣap D1	—	ðɦii B1-t	ʁo B1
Buyang	tut D1	lip D2	—	—	huu B2
Pubiao	tɑt D1	(kan A1)	m̥ii B1-it	sai C1	qau B1
Hlai	thuut D	liip D	meɯ A	raai C	—
Sui	tət D1	ljap D1	mjaa A1/2	haai C1/2	quu B1
Tai	tot D1	lep D2	mɯɯ A2	sai C1	khau B1

	11. Leg	12. Liver	13. Navel	14. Shoulder	15. Bear
Gelao	qau A1	tæ D1 (Lz)	z̥o A2 (Qs)	—	mi A2 (Lz)
Lachi	ku A1	tja̬ D1	tɦjo A2	pɦu B2	mɒ A2
Laha	kaa A1	tap D1	dau A2	baa B2	mɛ A2
Paha	ɣaa A1	tap D1	naau A1	maa B1	mii A1
Buyang	ʔaa A1	tap D1	ʔduə A1	ʔbaa B1	—
Pubiao	—	tjap D1	ʔnau A1	m̥aa B1	mɦje A2
Hlai	haa A	—	veɯ A	vaa B	mui A
Sui	paa A1	tap D1	ʔdwaa A1	—	ʔmii A1
Tai	khaa A1	tap D1	dɯɯ A1	baa B1	mii A1

	16. Bird	17. Chicken	18. Dog	19. Flea	20. Horn
Gelao	ntau D2	qai A1	mpau A1	mpe D1	qa A1
Lachi	njo̬ D2	kɛ A1	m̩ A1	ma̬ D1	kwɛ A1
Laha	nok D2	kə A1	maa A1	—	kou A1
Paha	nɦook D2	qai A1	maa A2	mɦat D2	ɣuu A1
Buyang	nuk D2 (Lj)	ʔai A1	—	mat D1	ʔuu A1
Pubiao	nok D2	qai A1	m̥aa A1	m̥at D1	qau A1
Hlai	—	khai A	pou A	poot D	hau A
Sui	nok D2	qaai B1	m̥aa A1	m̥at D1	paau A1
Tai	nok A2	kai B1	maa A1	mat D1	khau A1

	21. Head louse	22. Pig	23. Tail	24. Cogongrass	25. Sesame
Gelao	ta A2-t	mpa A1	tshan D1	qe A1 (Qs)	ŋklau A2
Lachi	—	mje A1	sɛ D1	ku A1	—
Laha	tou A1	məu A1	cot D1	khaa A2-it	—
Paha	ðɦuu A1	muu A2	jɛt D1	qaa A1	ŋaa A2
Buyang	tuu A1	muu A1	ɕut D2	ʔaa A1	ŋaa A2
Pubiao	—	m̥uu A1	sɑt D1	qaa A1	ŋɦɯɑ A2
Hlai	fou A	pou A	tshuɬ D	hjaa A	keɯ A
Sui	tuu A1	m̥uu B1	hət D2	jaa A1	ʔŋaa A1
Tai	hau A1	muu A1	—	khaa A2	ŋaa A2

	26. Yam	27. Field	28. Fire	29. Road	30. Bitter
Gelao	mbø A2 (Qs)	—	pai A1	qen A1	qan A1
Lachi	mɦa A2	nu A2	pje A1	khĩ A1	kã A1
Laha	mal B2-t	naa A2	pəi A1	hon A1	kam A1
Paha	man A2	—	pui A1	—	qam A1
Buyang	man A2	naa A2	fii A1	hun A1	ʔam A1
Pubiao	mɦən A2	nɦee A2	pei A1	qxwan A1	(ʔdaai B1)
Hlai	man A	taa B-t	fei A	kuun A	hoom A
Sui	man A2	—	vii A1	khwən A1	qam A1
Tai	man A2	naa A2	fai A2	hon A1	khom A1

	31. Deep	32. Dry	33. Far	34. Old	35. Raw
Gelao	laŋ D2	xau B1	lai A2	qa B1	te D2
Lachi	lɦip̬ D2	ku B1	lje A2	kwe B1	tɦje̱ D2
Laha	lak D1	—	kləi A2	kou B1	kthop (Tm)
Paha	lɦak D1	qɦaa B1	ðɦii A1	quu B1	—
Buyang	lak D1	haa B1	lii A2	ʔuu B1	ʔdip D1
Pubiao	ɬak D1	qɣaa B1	qxai A2	qau B1	ʔdap D1
Hlai	ɬook D	kheɯ B	lai A	khau B	viip D
Sui	—	—	ʔdii A1	qaau B1	ʔdjup D1
Tai	lɯk D2	khaɯ B1 (L)	klai A1	kau B1	dip D1

	36. Thick	37. Dream	38. Fall	39. Laugh	40. Grand-mother
Gelao	ntau A2	pan A1	tau D1	sa A1	zɒ C2
Lachi	nju A2	pã A1	tjo̱ D1	ɕu A1	zu̠ C2
Laha	naa A2	pan A1 (Tm)	tok D1	sɔ A1	jaa B1
Paha	naa A1	van A1	tɔk D1	ðɦɯɯ A1	jɦaa C2
Buyang	naa A2	pan A1	tuk D1	θoo A1	jaa C2

241

Pubiao	nɦee A2	pan A1	—	θaau A1	—
Hlai	naa A	fen A	thok D	raau A	tsaɯ 3
Sui	ʔnaa A1	vjan A1	tok D1	kuu A1	jaa C2
Tai	naa A1	fan A1	tok D1	hua A1	jaa B2

2. Kra as a Well-defined Kra-Dai Branch

In this section, we will demonstrate that the Kra languages constitute a well-defined subgroup separate from the other branches of Kra-Dai. The task here is thus to show that these languages share some features lacking in the other sister languages.

Benedict (1942) noted a score of examples, numerals apart, which were intended to serve to tie his Kadai group together. Most items, however, also have related forms in Tai; thus the basis for defining a distinct group was somewhat shaky. Moreover, his original Kadai stock does not cover the same languages as our Kra here; as we will see from Table 2, Hlai does not belong to our Kra group.

Liang (1990) has included some of our Kra languages as a group he called Ge-Yang. Referring to the percentages of shared cognates among the languages (based on about 200 words), he claimed that these languages share higher percentages among themselves than each of them does with other members of the family. However, he did not show examples of the proposed cognates, on which he based his statistics, thus provided no evidence for us to evaluate.

We are offering here some qualitative evidence, showing thirty etyma found exclusively in the Kra languages. The list is selected to include only etyma which have reflexes in at least four member languages in order to make sure that they descend from the Proto-Kra stage. While there is a possibility that future research may suggest some of these etyma as non-exclusively Kra, we believe that the majority of them will stand as valid subgrouping criteria. Note that the other sister branches do not necessarily have the related forms among themselves for these etyma.

Table 2　Special Kra etyma

	1. Pus	2. Meat/Flesh	3. Deaf	4. Fat	5. Good
Gelao	ŋka B1	ʔɒ C1	ŋan C2	nan A2	ʔɒ A1
Lachi	ŋɦũ B2	ʔo̰ C1	n̩ɦa C2	nɦja A2	ʔa A1
Laha	—	ʔəu C1	ŋal C2	mnal B2-t	ʔai A1
Paha	ŋɦuu B1	ʔaau C1	—	nan A2	ʔaai A1
Buyang	muu B1	ʔuə C1	ŋan C2	nɛn A2	—
Pubiao	hau B1	ʔjau C1	ŋan C2	nɦin A2	ʔai A1

Hlai	gwiu C	gom C	łook D	gwei C	łen A
Sui	sok D2	naan C2	ʔdak D1	pii A2	ʔdaai A1
Tai	nɔŋ A1	nɯa C2	nuak D1	phii A2	dii A1

	6. Itchy	7. Ripe	8. Satiated	9. Smelly	10. White
Gelao	tau D2	ŋka B1	tshai B1	mpa B2	ʔau D1 (Lz)
Lachi	—	n̪i B1	sɛ B1	mɦĩ B2	ʔi D1
Laha	dok D2	n̪əu B1-i	ci B1	məu B2	ʔuk D1
Paha	dɔk D1	muu B1	—	mɦuu B2	lɔk D1
Buyang	ʔduk D1	muu B1	θii B1	—	ʔɔk D1
Pubiao	—	—	—	mɦuu B2	—
Hlai	khom A	fui A	khɯɯm A	—	khaau A
Sui	ʈit D1	sok D2	tjaŋ B1	n̪uu A1	paak D2
Tai	khan A2	suk A1	ʔim B1	men A1	khaau A1

	11. Wildcat	12. Hawk	13. Star	14. Water	15. Wind
Gelao	qa C1	li C2	zoŋ A2 (Qs)	ʔəɯ C1	ven A2
Lachi	kwɛ C1	lɦi C2	lɦei A2	ʔi C1	—
Laha	—	klaaŋ C2	kluŋ A2	ʔuŋ C1	van A2
Paha	quu C1	ðaaŋ C2	ðɔŋ A2	ʔɔŋ C1	vɯɯn A2
Buyang	ʔuu C1	laaŋ C2	lɔŋ A2	ʔɔŋ C1	vən A2
Pubiao	qau C1	laaŋ C2	lɦuuŋ A2	ʔɔn C1	—
Hlai	huui C	ŋaau A	raau A	nom C	hwoot D
Sui	peu B1	n̪aau A2	zət D1	nam C1/2	zum A1/2
Tai	—	jiau B2	daau A1	naam C2	lom A2

	16. Do	17. Forget	18. Give	19. Go	20. Hatch
Gelao	tha A2	te D2	ni D2	vu C2	qan C1
Lachi	tɦje A2	tɦja D2	—	vu C2	kã̄ C1
Laha	dəu A2	dap D2	nak D2-v	vaa C2	—
Paha	duu A1	dap D1	nɦaak D2	vaa C2	qam C1
Buyang	ʔduu A1	ʔdap D1	naak D2	vaa C2	ʔam C1
Pubiao	—	ʔdjap D1	—	—	qam C1
Hlai	vuuk D	lɯɯm B	tɯɯŋ B	hei A	phook D
Sui	hee C2	laam A2	haai A1	paai A1	pjam A1
Tai	tham A2	lɯɯm A2	hai C1	pai A1	fak D2

	21. Have	22. Hear	23. Plant (v.)	24. Steal	25. Wear
Gelao	ʔo A1 (Lz)	tsaŋ D2	tan C1	len C2	lai C2
Lachi	ʔĩ A1	jṵ D2	tjã̄ C1	lɦĩ C2	lɦjo C2

243

Laha	ʔan A1	jak D2	tam C1	—	lɛ C2
Paha	ʔan A1	jɦak D2	tam C1	lɦam C2	lɦii C2
Buyang	ʔan A1	—	tam C1	luəm C2	lee C2
Pubiao	ʔan A1	tɕak D2	tap C1	—	—
Hlai	tsau B	pleɯ A	gwaa A	zok D	tshat D
Sui	me A2	di C1	mba A1/2	ljak D1/2	tan C1
Tai	mii A2	-yin A2	pluuk D1	lak D2	sai B1

	26. Nest	27. Sieve	28. Y.Brother	29. Two	30. Four
Gelao	tsɒ C1	vi A2	tsəɯ B2	su A1	pu A1
Lachi	to�group C1	vei A2	ʑɦo B2	su A1	pu A1
Laha	—	—	jau B2	saa A1	paa B1-t
Paha	ðaau C1	vaaŋ A2	—	θaa A1	paa A1
Buyang	—	vaaŋ A1	juə B2	θaa A1	paa A1
Pubiao	θoo C1	—	—	ɕee A1	pee A1
Hlai	ruuk D	doŋ C	guuŋ A	ɬau C	tshau C
Sui	kuŋ A1	doŋ C1	nu C2	ɣa A1/2	ɕii B1
Tai	raŋ A2	doŋ C1	nɔŋ C2	sɔŋ A1	sii B1

3.　Kra as 'Human Being' Autonym

We have called the language group under study here *Kra*, and we are obliged to explain our choice.　It has already been mentioned in previous sections that the existing term "Kadai" is not proper for our purpose, since it does not refer precisely to the same language group we are working with.　Moreover, since its inception in 1942, the term has been elusively used in many different senses both by Benedict himself and by others.　It is sometimes used as a cover term to vaguely refer to any languages other than the more well-known groups such as Tai and Kam-Sui.　It is also sometimes used to refer to the whole family (in this sense, many lesser known languages are often loosely dubbed as 'Kadai outlier languages' without necessarily implying close affiliation among them).

Our term *Kra* does intend to refer to the well-defined distinct group we have demonstrated in the previous section.　In addition, the term is, we are proposing, a reconstructible form used as an autonym in a number of Kra languages.　This autonym means 'person, human being' in many varieties, and could be the original meaning of the term.

We will first show that *Kra* is the common form of autonyms used by various Gelao dialects.　Three varieties representing different Gelao branches will be taken as examples here (for subgrouping of Gelao dialects, see Section 5).　These are Wanzi, Qiaoshang and Laozhai, which respectively represent Central, Northern and Southwestern groups.　The autonyms in these varieties

are as follows: Wanzi /klau^{55}/, Qiaoshang /ɣe^{45}/ and Laozhai /ʔlɣɯ^3/. The Qiaoshang form also means 'human being'.

First, all these forms belong to the same tone class: C1.

	Tone class	Wanzi	Qiaoshang	Laozhai
"Kra"	C1	klau 55	ɣe 45	ʔlɣɯ 33
Water	C1	ʔəɯ 55	ʔau 45	ʔm̩ 33
Plant (v.)	C1	tan 55	tø 45	tã 33
Excrement	C1	qɒ 55	qai 45	qæ 33
Interstine	C1	sai 55	sei 45	ɕi 33

Second, all these forms go back to proto rime *-a. Since Gelao languages have undergone relatively drastic changes of rimes, and no representative varieties here reflect this proto rime faithfully as -a, we are also providing below the Laha or Buyang (By) forms for comparison.

	Proto-rime	Wanzi	Qiaoshang	Laozhai	Laha
"Kra"	*-a	klau C1	ɣe C1	ʔlɣɯ C1	khlá
Cogon	*-a	(saŋ B1)	qe A1	qɣɯ A1	ʔaa A1 (By)
Light (a.)	*-a	xau C1	xe C1	qɣɯ C1	khaa C1
Snake	*-a	ŋkau A2	ŋge A2	ŋɣɯ A2	ŋaa A2
Dry	*-a	xau B1	—	qɣɯ B1	haa B1 (By)
Bran	*-a	pau B1	—	pɣɯ B1	paa B1

For the complex onset, *kr-, the Wanzi and Laozhai varieties show modern reflexes of the medial as -r- only when followed by shwa. Otherwise their reflexes have completely merged with those of *kl-. In Qiaoshang, the two onsets are generally distinguished: kw- for *kl- and ɣ- for *kr-.

		Wanzi	Qiaoshang	Laozhai
"Kra"	*kr-	klau C1	ɣe C1	ʔlɣɯ C1
Head	*kr-	klɒ B1	ɣai B1	ʔrə B1
House	*kr-	qɚ A1	ɣai A1	ʔrə A1

Contrast with:

		Wanzi	Qiaoshang	Laozhai
Close eye	*kl-	kle D1	kwa D1	ʔlæ D1
Lazy	*kl-	kle D1	kwï D1	ʔlæ D1
Grandchild	*kl-	klu A1	kwai A1	—

The common ancestor of the Gelao, we have thus demonstrated, called themselves *kra C, whose original meaning is 'human being'.

The Laha people of Vietnam often use the autonym /khlá/ followed by different attributions to designate verieties. For instance, Khlá Phlạo (literally "Dry Laha") refers to the Laha at Nong Lay (Nl) location (Map 2, Location

#5).

The initial *kr-, with -r- inducing aspiration, becomes Laha khl-, contrasting with *kl- which becomes Laha kl-.

		Tone class	Laha (Nl)	Gelao (Wz)	Gelao (Qs)	Gelao (Lz)
"Kra"	*kr-	C1	khlá	klau	ɣe	ʔlyɯ
Grandson	*kl-	A1	klaal	klu	kwai	—
Close eye	*kl-	A1	klap	kle	kwa	ʔlæ

The rime correspondence presents no difficulty. Laha -a is the straightforward reflex of proto *-a. Examples have been already provided in the previous comparative table with those of Gelao dialects. The material available, unfortunately, does not indicate tones for this Laha form /khlá/ in the system which we may reliably interpret. Another variety of Laha at the Ta Mit (Tm) location has the corresponding autonym /la33 ha21/. The first morpheme /la-/ is prefixed to a number of words designating human relations, and is most likely a reduced form of /laak34/ 'child, offspring'. It is the latter morpheme /ha 21/, which corresponds to Nong Lay Laha /khlá/. The correspondence Nong Lay *khl-* vs Ta Mit *h-* is regular. For instance, Nong Lay /khlaa2/ Tamit /ka33 hu33/ 'ear'; Nong Lay /khlaat1/ Ta Mit /ko212 haat34/ 'crab'. (Ta Mit /ka-/ is prefixed to a number of body parts, e.g. ka33 ma33 'hand'; while /ko-/ is commonly prefixed to many animal forms, e.g. ko212 kap23 'duck'.)

These Laha forms /khlá/ and /ha^{21}/ thus seem to unmistakably represent the common autonym with those of Gelao *kra C.

The Lachi form for 'human being' is /(ʔa) hu 33/. We suggest that this form, too, is of common origin with those Gelao and Laha autonyms. Both Lachi /-u/ as a reflex of proto vowel *-a and Lachi tone /33/ as a reflex of tone class C1 are completely regular.

-Lachi tone /33/ and proto tone class C1

	Tone class	Lachi	Gelao (Wz)	Laha (Nl)
"Kra"	C1	hu̧ 33	klau 55	khlá
Water	C1	ʔi̧ 33	əɯ 55	ʔuŋ 6
Plant (v.)	C1	tjḁ 33	tan 55	tam 6
Excrement	C1	kḁ 33	qɒ 55	kai 6

-Lachi rime /u/ and proto rime *-a

	Tone class	Lachi	Gelao (Wz)	Laha (Nl)
"Kra"	C1	hu̯ C1	klau C1	khlá
eye	A1	tju A1	tau A1	taa A1
leg	A1	ku A1	qau A1	kaa A1
bran	B1	pu B1	pau B1	paa B1

Lachi h-, however, is not a regular reflex found in native etymologies. The normal Lachi reflex of *kr- is /kh-/.

		Lachi	Gelao (Wz)	Gelao (Lz)
Head	*kr-	khja B1	klɒ B1	ʔrə B1
House	*kr-	kho A1	qɚ A1	ʔrə A1

In this case, the initial may be assumed to be influenced by the following vowel. Other Lachi dialects in Vietnam from early records show initial /kh-/ for this word.

	Tone class	Jinchang	Bonifacy (1906)	Robert (Ban Phung) (1913)
Person	C1	hu̯ 33	khu	k'ou
Head	B1	khja 45	khá	kha
House	A1	kho 55	—	k'ò

The Paha people call themselves /pa44 haa 44/, which also means 'human being'. The first morpheme also appears prefixed to a few other kinship terms indicating 'male', e.g. /pa33 jɦu 213/ 'son-in-law', and is most likely of the same etymology as /paa 44/ 'father'. The latter morpheme /haa 44/ should appear to be straightforwardly relatable to the form *kra. The correspondences are, however, somewhat irregular. The initial /h-/ is not normally found in native words. For the complex initials *kr- and *kl-, Paha often has /q-/ as a reflex and there does not seem to be an apparent condition for its variant occurrence as /h-/ in this etymon.

		Paha	Laha (Nl)	Gelao (Wz)	Lachi
House	*kr-	qaan A1	—	qɚ A1	kho A1
Sun	*kl-	qaaŋ A1	klaaŋ A1	klei A1	—

Despite the irregularity in this last form, we feel that our proposal to use the term *Kra* to designate this group of languages and people has been justified. The fact that other sister languages such as Buyang do not appear to share this common etymon does not necessarily vitiate the proposal.[2] The term is

247

unique and represents a majority of speakers of the language group (including the Gelao who are the most diverse and the most numerous). A similar scenario can be referred to in the Tai branch, where the term "Tai" has well represented the whole group although several varieties have used other names as their autonyms (such as "Yi/Yay" in most Northern Tai varieties or "Nung" in a number of Central Tai varieties).

4. Kra and Kra-Dai

We propose to call the whole language stock, to which Kra and other sister languages belong, *Kra-Dai*. The term follows the popular tradition of juxtaposing two big language members of the family, which sometimes are also linguistically distant enough from each other to give the feel of the whole family (cf. Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Mon-Khmer, etc.). Such "dual" names appear to have proved practical; the longer names have seemed to be less successful in competition. For instance, the term "Kam-Tai" which represents the Tai and Kam-Sui branches have quickly taken over the older names such as "Tai-Kam-Sui-Mak" (the last three members belong to the Kam-Sui branch).

The motivation for picking up the "Dai" part of the term is obvious. It is the reconstructed form for autonyms of various Tai groups (variable as /tai A2/, /thai A2/ or /dai A2/. Included among these are also ethnic groups sometimes known in Chinese as Zhuang and Bu-Yi.) Of all family members, Tai is undoubtedly the most well-known and most numerous, and has achieved the most complex political and cultural entity. Any term for this family which omits Tai would be just like Sino-Tibetan without the Chinese (Sino-).

The pick for "Kra" is supported by the fact that this language group includes quite diverse members, which geographically span a vast area second only to Tai (from Guizhou province of China in the north to Son La province of Vietnam in the south). Another equally diverse group is probably Kam-Sui, but it unquestionably forms a group with Tai (i.e. Kam-Tai), and this has to be indicated at a lower level. The Hlai branch is just represented on Hainan Island, and includes closely related varieties (especially in term of shared lexicon, though phonologically fairly diverse). The Be group is found in an even more limited area (some counties in the northern part of Hainan Island), and includes a few very closely related varieties.

For the Thai people who share two-thirds of the family population, we also propose the Thai term ข้าไท/khaa C1 thai A2/ for this language family. This is most likely the Thai reflex of the term "Kra-Dai" */kra C1 dai A2/. The latter morpheme of course is the autonym of the Thais themselves.

The word ข้า/khaa C1/ in Thai typically means 'slave, servant', but could be etymologically related to "Kra", the autonym which originally means 'human being'. The word is also used as a first-person pronoun, though it is now

248

often considered obsolete and vulgar in Standard Thai. In several dialects, the pronoun may imply humility or inferiority of the speaker toward the hearers, such as the Lao term /khaC1 nɔi C2/ (the latter morpheme means 'small') 'little I/man'.

We also offer this term ข้าไท/kha thai/ as a substitute for ไทกะไต/thai kadai/, which has been transliterated from the term "Tai-Kadai" and introduced into Thai during the last decade. The morpheme กะไต/kadai/ may mean 'ladder' in Thai, and thus /thai kadai/ often carries an amusing notion of 'Tai+ladder'. We are hoping that our proposed term ข้าไท/khaaC1 thaiA2/ would become the alternative which will prove to be both historically proper and synchronically practical to the Thais.

5.   Varieties of the Kra Languages

5.1   Gelao Varieties

The Gelao varieties are quite diverse and may be divided into three branches: Southwestern, Central, and Northern. In general, Southwestern dialects retain better voicing distinction of initials with fewer tones, while Northern dialects have distinctive spirantal reflexes of what we have reconstructed as the Proto-Gelao retroflex initial series. In Table 3 and Table 4, the Laozhai, Wanzi and Qiaoshang varieties are taken as representatives of Southwestern, Central and Northern branches respectively. (Laozhai voiced stops and affricates are phonetically accompanied by slight prenasalization, i.e. /b-/=[mb-] etc.)

Table 3   Gelao voiced stops and affricates

	Tone class	Southwestern	Central	Northern
		Laozhai	Wanzi	Qiaoshang
cave	A2	boŋ 35	phʊ 44	poŋ 31
father	A2	ba 35	phɒ 44	pɒ 31
do	A2	di 35	tha 44	tɣu 31
count	C2	dau 33	ta 31	tɣu 33
bone	D2	dæ 31	taŋ 13	tɒ 21
fall	D2	dɣu 31	ta 13	tɣu 21
chopstick	C2	dzɑu 33	tsəɯ 31	tso 33
louse	A2	dzʮ 35	tshen 44	tʂø 31
brother	B2	ʐu 31	tsəɯ 13	so 21
tear (n.)	C2	ʑi 33	tsau 31	se 33

Table 4　Gelao retroflex consonants

	Tone class	Southwestern Laozhai	Central Wanzi	Northern Qiaoshang	
egg	A1	to 45	tan 33	zø 44	*ʈ-
eye	A1	ti 45	tau 33	ze 44	*ʈ-
raw	D2	dæ 31	te 13	zĩ 21	*ɖ-
crow (v.)	A2	doŋ	thaŋ 44	zã 31	*ɖ-
teach	A1	tʂl̩ 45	səɯ 33	zɒ 44	*tʂ-
mountain	A2	dʐl̩ 35	tsha 44	zɣu 31	*dʐ-
bird	D2	ni 31	ntau 13	zau 21	*ɳ-
snow	A2	ȵi 35	ntai 44	zɪ 31	*ɳ-
near	C2	lɣɯ	lau 31	ze 33	*ɭ-

There are more records of Gelao varieties than of any other Kra languages. However, material on several dialects has often been too terse and at times of uncertain quality. To avoid being overwhelmed with details coming from such ambiguous records, we will have to selectively comment on only a few varieties where data are more extensive and better transcribed.

Three languages from Zhang (1993) may be mentioned first: Niupo (Liuzhi county), Dagouchang (Pingba county), and Longli Mulao (Majiang county). According to the criteria for dialect subgrouping outlined above, we may include these varieties in the Southwestern, Central and Northern branches respectively. Examples are given in Table 5 and Table 6. (Zhang's transcriptions of tones may be problematical. Our records of a few languages which Zhang has also worked on disagree quite often with his transcription in this respect.)

Table 5

	Tone class	Southwestern		Central	
		Laozhai	Niupo	Wanzi	Dagouchang
father	A2	ba 35	bɑ 33	phɒ 44	phɒ 55
do	A2	di 35	dɑ 31	tha 44	thɒ 33
chopstick	C2	dʑɑu 33	dʑɑɯ 55	tsəɯ 31	tsə 21
louse	A2	dʑu 35	dʑuŋ 31	tshen 44	tshen 55
tear (n.)	C2	ʑi 33	ʑɯ 55	tsau 31	tsɑu 21

Table 6

	Tone class	Southwestern	Central	Northern	
		Laozhai	Wanzi	Qiaoshang	Longli
egg	A1	to 45	tan 33	zø 44	ʑe 31
eye	A1	ti 45	tau 33	ze 44	zo 31
bird	D2	ni 31	ntau 13	zau 21	zɑu 53
fat	A2	noŋ 35	nan 44	zø 31	ze 31
thick	A2	ni 35	ntau 44	ze 31	zo 31
near	C2	lɣɯ 33	lau 31	ze 33	zɑ 31
earth	B2	—	la 13	zɣu 21	zɑu 33

Qiaoshang and Longli also appear to share the further devoicing of what Central dialects show as a voiced spirant /v-/. For these etymologies, which are reconstructible as Proto-Gelao *vj- and *vr-, Southwestern varieties often have spirantal reflexes of medial resonants (e.g. z-, ʐ- or ɣ-):

Table 7

	Tone class	Laozhai	Wanzi	Qiaoshang	Longli
tall	A2	ʐu 35	vi 44	fy 31	fə 53
wind	A2	ʐu 35	ven 44	fy 31	fɑi 33
fly (n.)	A2	ʐo 35	van 44	fy 31	fe 31

Zhang (1993) divided the Gelao languages into four groups: Central, North-Central, Southwestern and Western. His Central group partially agrees with ours in including such dialects as Wanzi and Dagouchang (also known as the Gao group). So is his Southwestern group which includes such varieties as Laozhai and Niupo (also known as the Duoluo group). However, he included the Qiaoshang variety in his Central group, and considered Longli Mulao as a separate language from Gelao. Both these dialects belong to our Northern branch.

Zhang's North-Central group included the Yangliu and Banli varieties, both spoken in Renhuai county. (The former is also known as Green Gelao or Hagei and the latter as Red Gelao). Very limited material has been made available on these dialects, so it is difficult to justify their exact positions in relation to others. Another variety he included in this group is Sanchong (Longlin county, Guangxi province), on which a concise corpus was also provided by Edmondson and Thurgood (1992). Scanty data on another Hagei variety at Qinglong were reported by He (1983). Both Sanchong and Qinglong pattern with Southwestern varieties in retaining voiced stops and affricates (variably prenasalized).

Table 8

	Tone class	Southwestern	Hagei	
		Laozhai	Qinglong	Sanchong
cave	A2	boŋ 35	bu 21	—
father	A2	ba 35	—	mba 13
do	A2	di 35	dau 21	—
bone	D2	dæ 21	daŋ 42	ndaŋ 33
body louse	A2	dzu 35	dzɛ 21	ndzɿ 31

It is dubious if we should set up a separate branch for these Hagei varieties. (Remember, however, that data available on these dialects have remained limited.) We will temporarily classify them as a Southwestern sub-branch. It is noteworthy that Sanchong and Qinglong appear to share a unique feature hitherto unobserved: they have the same reflexes for proto tone classes B and C (Table 9). It will be interesting to see whether such tonal merger may be found in other Hagei locations and is thus to be considered as a characteristic of the group.

Table 9

	Tone class	Southwestern	Hagei	
fire	A1	pai (Wz)	pai 55	pai 35
tree	A1	ti 45	tai 55	tai 35
chicken	A1	qei 45	kai 55	kai 35
cook	B1	to 21	taŋ 42	—
old	B1	qɤu 21	—	kaau 53
water	C1	ʔm̩ 33	ŋ 42	ŋ 53
hatch	C1	qo 33	kaŋ 42	—
excrement	C1	qæ 33	—	ko 53
rain	A2	myn 35	məŋ 21	mən 31
snake	A2	ŋɤɯ 35	ŋo 21	ŋo 31
cow	A2	ȵi 35	ȵe 21	ȵai 31
face	B2	lau 13 (Wz)	—	mble 33
hemp	B2	lɒ 13 (Wz)	lie 42	—
horse	C2	ȵi 33	—	ȵo 33
rice	C2	mɑu 33	muŋ 42	—
steal	C2	lã 33	leŋ 42	—

Zhang's Western group included the Pudi variety (Dafang county) and

Bigong variety (Zhenning county). According to the record, the Pudi variety has prenasalized voiceless stops corresponding to the prenasalized voiced stops of several Southwestern varieties (but the author also noted that the sounds might variably become prenasalized voiced stops in certain environments). This feature is shared by a Duoluo variety at Dingyinshao (Zhenning county) reported by He (1983). It is likely that both these varieties may also belong to the Southwestern branch.

Table 10

	Tone class	Pudi	Laozhai	Sanchong
field	C2	mpaŋ 55	ᵐbo 33	—
father	A2	mpɑ 33	ᵐba 35	mba 13
chopstick	C2	ntso 33	ⁿdzɑu 33	—

	Tone class	Dingyinshao	Laozhai	Sanchong
cave	A2	mpau 21	ᵐboŋ 35	—
do	A2	nta 21	ⁿdi 35	—
bone	D2	nta 35	ⁿdæ 21	ndaŋ 33
language	A2	ntoŋ 21	ⁿdoŋ 35	—
body louse	A2	ntoŋ 21	ⁿdẓu 35	ndzɿ 31

The Bigong material provided by Zhang is simply too scanty. But additional data on this location recently reported by Solnit (1999) seem to suggest that this dialect is somewhat close to the Northern varieties. A few unique features observed from the limited data include its spirant reflex of early retroflexed stops and the development of dorsal initials (ŋ-/ŋq-, with tones series 2) from early voiceless labial nasals (Table 11).

Table 11

	Tone class	Northern		Central	Southwestern
		Bigong	Qiaoshang	Wanzi	Laozhai
eye	A1	zew 33	ze 44	tau 33	ti 45
raw	D2	zɛ 11	zɿ 21	te 31	dæ 21
dog	A2	ŋqew 11	ŋqwau 31	mpau 33 (A1)	m̩ 45 (A1)
pig	A2	ŋɔ 11	ŋɣu 31	mpa 33 (A1)	hɣũ 45 (A1)
flea	D2	ŋwej 11	ŋqwa 21	mpe 24 (D1)	m̩æ 21 (D1)

On the other hand, there are also certain disagreements between Bigong and other Northern varieties. For instance, Bigong simply has nasal /n-/ for

what Qiaoshang and Longli show as the spirant reflex /z-/, which would suggest the early retroflexed nasal (Table 12). Yet, it still seems advisable to include Bigong as a Northern variety.

Table 12

	Bigong	Qiaoshang	Longli
thick	neu 33	ze 31	zo 31
bamboo shoot	neu 55	—	zen 53
bird	nu̧ 11	zau 21	zɑu 53

An additional branch called A-Ou was reported by He (1983). A small amount of data on the representative variety of this group at the Longjia location (Zhijin county, Guizhou) suggests that it may also belong to our Northern branch. Table 13 exhibits certain interesting and unique developments in this variety where it shows the voiceless spirantal counterparts of what Longli or Qiaoshang show as voiced spirants. It may also be worth noting that the Longli Mulao calls themselves /o 53/ or /ɣo 53/, which is probably a related form of the name A-Ou.

Table 13

	Longjia	Longli	Qiaoshang
fire	fe 33	vɑ 31	pa 44
tree	se 33	zɑ 31	ti 44
eye	sɣu 33	zo 31	ze 44
ax	xei 33	xɑ 31	ɣai 44
road	xeŋ 33	xe 24	ɣen 44

We summarize in Table 14 our discussions of Gelao subgroupings, in comparison to Zhang's and He's proposals. As we have pointed out from time to time, several varieties which were listed in Zhang (1993) and He (1983) may not include supporting material for us to evaluate. It should thus be emphasized that each branch in different proposals does not necessarily cover exactly the same dialects. The varieties listed in the figure are mainly those we have discussed in this section (those we have not are parenthesized).

There are no extensive linguistic records of Gelao varieties in Vietnam, though anthropological accounts of the groups which include a small amount of linguistic material have been reported since the beginning of the century (e.g. Bonifacy 1905; Lajonquière 1906). Three kinds of Gelao have been recognized in Vietnamese records: White Gelao (Tu Du), Green Gelao (Ho Ki) and Red Gelao (Voa De) (cf. Nguyen 1972 and Hoang 1994 among others).

Concise data on a variety of White Gelao at Ban Ma Che (Ha Giang province) were recently reported by Chang and Edmondson (1994), and there is no doubt that this is a similar variety to that spoken at the Laozhai location in China. Material on the other two varieties is very limited and transcriptions are often uncertain. Still, according to the autonyms used by these groups of people, it is possible that the Green Gelao (Ho Ki) may belong to the Hagei group. And all these varieties most likely belong to the Southwestern branch. (In fact, this appears to be the only Gelao branch whose members have been found outside Guizhou province of China.)

Table 14

Gelao Branches (Ostapirat 2000)	Zhang (1993)	He (1983)	Varieties
Central	Central	Gao	Wanzi, Dagouchang, Xinzai
Northern	Central, Western, Mulao	Ao	Qiaoshang, Bigong, Longli, Longjia
Southwestern	Southwestern	Duoluo	Laozhai, Niupo, (Moji), (Datiezai), (Jianshan), Dingyinshao, Ban Ma Che
	Western	Ao	Pudi
	North-Central	Hagei	Sanchong, Qinglong

5.2 Lachi Varieties

The main Lachi variety represented in this study is spoken at the Jinchang location (Maguan county, Yunnan). The speakers of this variety are also known as Flowery Lachi. Other locations in China where the Lachi were allegedly found are Nanlao (Bag Lachi), Renhe and Jiahanqing (Han Lachi), and Xiaobazi (Red Lachi); all in Maguan county (Liang 1990b). No linguistic material has ever been reported from these latter varieties, however.

In Vietnam, the Lachi people were reported to live in four locations: Ban May, Ban Pang, Ban Phung and Ban Diu (all in Xin Man county, Ha Giang province). Limited linguistic material (with uncertain transcriptions) was made available on the Ban Phung and Man P'ang (=Ban Pang) variety by Robert (1913). A handful of forms (from unspecific locations) was also found in earlier anthropological accounts of these people (cf. Bonifacy 1906; Lajonquière 1906). Recently, additional material on the Ban Phung and Ban Diu varieties has been provided by Chang and Edmondson (1994) and Edmondson and Loi (1997), while material on the Ban Pang variety studied by Vietnamese scholars has remained largely unavailable in published form.

We may divide the Lachi languages into three groups according to their reflexes of early voiced stops as respectively breathy, aspirated or voiceless

unaspirated stops[3]. These are closely related varieties, in fact, and their separation from each other must not have been very long, especially in comparison with the internal complexity of the Gelao subgroups.

Table 15

Lachi groups	Locations	Also known as
Northern	Jinchang	Flowery Lachi
Central	Ban Pang	White Lachi
Southern	Ban Phung	Long-haired Lachi
	Ban Diu	Black Lachi

The Jinchang forms are from our own fieldwork; the Ban Phung and Ban Pang forms are from Edmondson and Loi (1997), except one marked with (r) which is from Robert (1913). Bonifacy's unspecified variety seems to pattern with the Ban Pang variety in this respect.

Table 16

	Jinchang	Ban Phung	Ban Pang	(Bonifacy)
shoulder	pɦu B2	phu 31	pu 35	pù 2
navel	tɦjo A2	thjɔ 52	—	—
body louse	tɦjã A2	tha 31	tie 55	—
tiger	tɦje A2	the 33	tie 13	ti
raw	tɦjḛ D2S	thɛ 52	—	—
bone	tɦjɒ D2S	thɔ 52	tiua 33	—
deer	tɦje D2L	the 31	tî (r)	—

5.3 Laha Varieties

The Laha languages are only found in Vietnam, mainly in a few villages of Lao Cay and Son La provinces. We may divide the languages into two groups: Northern, represented by the Ta Mit variety in Lao Cai, and Southern, represented by the Nong Lay variety in Son La. The only extensive material on the languages is the report on the latter variety presented by Solntseva and Hoang (1986). On the former variety, limited linguistic data may be found in some early work by Vietnamese scholars (e.g. Dang et al 1972), recently complemented by Gregerson and Edmondson (1997).

Similar to the case of Lachi, a characteristic which defines the Northern and Southern Laha varieties is the distinctive reflexes of early voiced stop initials. The sounds remain voiced in the latter variety but have become voiceless aspirated in the former variety. Forms followed by (v) are gleaned from

256

various unpublished Vietnamese sources. (For 'raw', cf. Laozhai Gelao dæ D2.)

Table 17

	Tone class	Nong Lay	Ta Mit	Early Laha
navel	A2	dau 2	thau 33	*d-
body louse	A2	mdal 1 (v)	than 33	*d-
boat	A2	—	tha 33	*d-
thunder	A2	daŋ 2	than 33-f	*d-
swallow (v.)	C2	dəl 3	ma than 5 (v)	*d-
forget	D2	dap 1	ka thap 5 (v)	*d-
raw	D2	—	k t'óp (v)	*d-
bone	D2	dak 1	thak 32	*d-

Ta Mit, on the other hand, has newly developed modern voiced stops from different sources, including early voiceless nasals (Table 18) and a velar cluster *kl- (Table 19). Pubiao forms are also provided for comparison in Tables 18 and 18a.

Table 18

	Tone class	Nong Lay	Ta Mit	Pubiao
dog	A1	maa 3	ba 343	m̥aa 42
pig	A1	məu 3	bu 343	m̥uu 42
flea	D1	mat 1 (v)	bat 32	m̥at 33
six	A1	—	dam 343	n̥am 42

Contrast with:

Table 18a

	Tone class	Nong Lay	Ta Mit	Pubiao
new	A2	maal 2	man 33	—
wet field	A2	naa 2	na 33	nɦee 33
salt	A2	nɔ 2	nɔ 33	nɦuu 33
snake	A2	ŋaa 2	ŋa 33	ŋɦɯɑ 33

257

Table 19

	Tone class	Nong Lay	Ta Mit	Early Laha
grandchild	A1	klaal 3	daan 24	*kl-
grass/leaf	A1	klau 3	dau 343	*kl-
flow	A1	kləi 3	dəi 1 (v)	*kl-
close eye	D1	klap 4	dap 32	*kl-
sun/bright	A1	klaaŋ 3	dang 1 (v)	*kl-

Contrast with:

Table 19a

	Tone class	Nong Lay	Ta Mit	Early Laha
far	A2	kləi 2	ka33 luɪi 33	*k-l-
star	A2	kluŋ 2	ma33 luŋ 33	*k-l-
child	D2	laak 1	laak 34	*l-

5.4 Buyang Varieties

The Buyang languages are spoken in eight villages of Gula township, Wenshan prefecture, Yunnan. Among these, the speech used at the Langjia location is considered by the Buyang speakers to be most different from the others. Yet, linguistically speaking, the Langjia dialect is still very close to those at the other locations, with differences between them falling mainly in their modern tonal reflexes. Material on the representative variety in this study is collected from the E-Cun location.

Another related language called Yalhong was reported to be spoken in Napo county, Guangxi (Liang 1990a; Li 1996). While the language is unmistakably a variety of Buyang, it has adopted a number of phonological innovations to the degree that we may set it up as a subgroup (Southern Buyang) separated from Buyang proper (Northern Buyang).

A few Yalhong innovations include the further devoicing of the fricative z- (>ɬ-), which in turn came from early /r-/ (Table 20). The main differences between Southern and Northern varieties fall in the area of their rime reflexes, however. Yalhong modern vowel reflexes have wandered greatly from the originals, while those of Buyang proper normally remain relatively unchanged. (Note, for instance, that while the rime *-oo has become Yalhong -aau, the rime -uu has merged with *-ii and become -aai! cf. Table 21.) Also velar endings (*-ŋ and *-k) often got lost after long vowels in Yalhong (The final *-k was usually weakened into -ʔ in syllables which early initials were voiceless. cf. Table 21a).

Table 20

	Tone class	Yalhong	E-Cun	Pubiao
ear	A2	ɫou 31	ðaa 44	rɦaa 33
bee	A2	ɫaa 53	ðee 44	rɦaai 33
sick	C2	ɫaai 12	ðii 213	rai 45
wet	D2	ɫak 31	ðak 53	rak 45

Table 21

	Tone class	Yalhong	E-Cun	Early Buyang
eye	A1	tau 53	taa 24	*-aa
two	A1	θau 53	θaa 24	*-aa
rat	A1	tsaai 53	θii 24	*-ii
short	C2	taai 12	tii 213	*-ii
horn	A1	kaai 53	ʔuu 24	*-uu
three	A1	taai 53	tuu 24	*-uu
neck	A2	ʑaau 31	joo 44	*-oo
salt	A2	ɲaau 31	ɲoo 44	*-oo
body	A2	vaa 31	vaai 44	*-aai
love	B/A1	maa 33	maai 24	*-aai

Table 21a

	Tone class	Yalhong	E-Cun	Early Buyang
leaf	A1	ʔdja 53	ʔdiaŋ 24	*-iiŋ
tooth	A1	tsuə 53	θɔŋ 24	*-uuŋ
water	C1	uə 12	ʔɔŋ 42	*-uuŋ
root	A1	tsja 53	ɕaaŋ 54	*-aaŋ
mosquito	A2	ʑiə 31	jaaŋ 44	*-aaŋ
hand	D2L	ɲiə 31	ɲiak 53	*-iik
mad	D2L	pɛɛ 33	paak 53	*-aak
excrement	D1L	iəʔ 53	ʔiak 45	*-iik
dry in sun	D1L	tɛʔ 53	taak 45	*-aak
white	D1L	uəʔ 53	ʔɔk 45	*-uuk

The most interesting feature of Yalhong, however, is its alveolar stop ending /-t/ in a set of words where Buyang and most other Kra languages show alveolar nasal /-n/.   We have found that Southern Laha varieties usually have final -l for this set of words, and thus Yalhong -t in such words can be considered as an evidence of its retention of the distinction between early endings *-n and *-l. (See also Ostapirat 1995 for discussions on the Laha final -l.)

Table 22

	Tone class	Yalhong	Buyang	Laha
new	A2	maat 31	maan 44	maal 2
fat	A2	nɔt 31	nɛn 44	mnal 1-t
body louse	A2	ʔdɔt 53	tɛn 44	mdal 1 (v)
slippery	A1	tɔt 31	—	tal 3
deaf[4]	C2	iit 53	ŋan 213	ŋal 3
yellow	C2	ŋaat 31	ŋaan 213	ŋil 3

Contrast with:

Table 22a

	Tone class	Yalhong	Buyang	Laha	
ten	D1	pɔt 33	put 45	pɣt 23 (Tm)	*-t
tail	D1	tsɔt 31	ɕut 53	cot 4	*-t
road	A1	qhon 53	hun 24	hon 5	*-n
wind	A2	van 31	vən 44	van 2	*-n

5.5　Summary

The Paha and Pubiao languages do not appear to have internal subgroups. Paha is only found spoken in a few villages in Guangnan county of Yunnnan. The Paha speech used in this study is from the Yanglian location.

Likewise, Pubiao communities are found in only a few villages in Malipo county of Yunnan on the Sino-Vietnam border.　Just across from that settlement in China, the Pubiao people are reported to live mainly in a few villages of Dong Van, Yen Minh and Meo Vac districts in Vietnam.　Recordings of the Pubiao language at Pho La commune, Dong Van district in Vietnam (Hoang and Vu 1992) reveal that it is very much the same variety as that we have collected at Pufeng hamlet of Malipo in China.

We summarize here the picture of the Kra languages and varieties we have discussed, together with their locations indicated on the maps.　Abbreviations are read as follows: n＝Northern branch, c＝Central branch, s＝Southern branch, and sw＝Southwestern branch of any given language.

NOTES

1)　These tonal symbols *A, *B, *C and *D are normally used in historical and comparative Tai and Chinese linguistics to refer to early tonal categories.　The traditional Thai grammar divides syllables into two types: *Kham Pen* 'live syllables' (syllables ending with a vowel or a nasal); and *Kham Taai* 'dead syllables' (syllables ending with a stop).　'Live syllables' may further belong to one of the three tonal categories: *sǎaman* 'basic', *ʔèek* 'primary', or *thoo* 'secondary'.

These three tones were respectively represented in the earliest inscription (13th century) as: no mark, |, and + (the latter two are now written /'/ and /˅/ over a vowel). These syllable divisions may be summarized as follows:

Syllable types	/Kham Pen/ 'live syllables'			/Kham Taai/ 'dead syllables'
Tonal categories	/săaman/ 'basic'	/ʔêek/ 'primary'	/thoo/ 'secondary'	
Symbols	no mark	ı	˅	no mark

In his *Handbook of Comparative Tai* (1977), Li, following the traditional Thai tone order, assigned symbols A, B, and C for the Proto-Tai tonal categories which correspond to Thai tones 'basic', 'primary', and 'secondary' respectively. The 'dead syllables' were then assigned as the D tone class, because it is impossible to identify it with any of the other tones which have been set up for the other syllable type (p. 25).

On the other hand, modern tonal reflexes are usually described according to the system proposed by Chao (1930). The system uses the numbers from 1 to 5 to represent various pitch height from low to high. Tonal contours are then indicated by juxtaposing any two numbers from this 5-level scale. For instance, [11] represents a low-level tone, [33] a mid-level tone, [55] a high level tone, [13] a low-rising tone, [53] a high-falling tone, and so on.

2) For Pubiao, Hoang and Vu (1992) recorded a form /qa gɯa³/ 'people', which might be related. The velar initials often offglide before the open low vowel /-a/ in Pubiao, while tone 3 in their transcriptions can be a reflex of either C1 or A2 tone. This may also be a source of the Sino-Vietnamese term *La Qua* used to designate the Pubiao people in some early records, where /la-/ is probably a reduced form of /laak/ 'child, offspring' (cf. Laha).

3) Reports on the Jinchang variety by Liang (1990) and Zhang (1993) transcribe our breathy stops as simply voiceless unaspirated stops. Whether or not this may be the case with the records on such varieties as Ban Pang remains unclear.

4) For another example of Yalhong ŋ->ø-, note Yalhong /iiə 53/ Buyang /ŋaai 24/ 'maggot'.

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        BIHP   Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology
        ICSTLL   International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics

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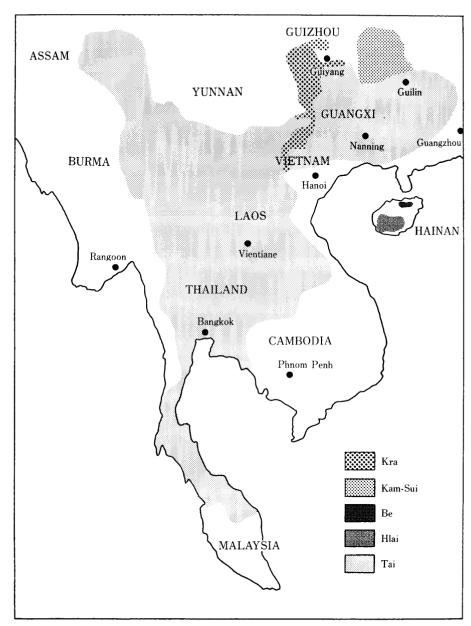
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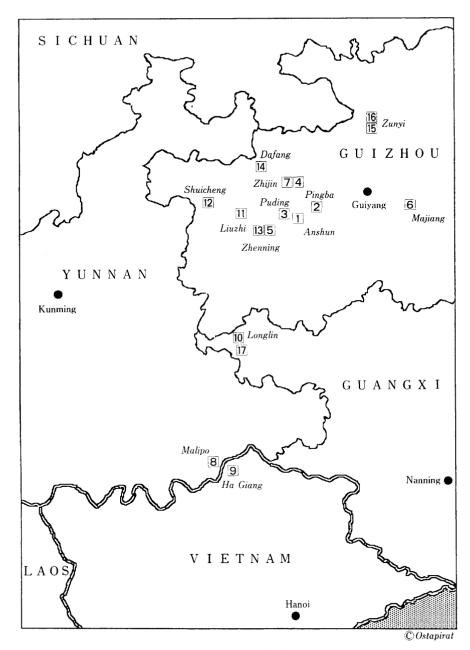
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Map 1 Geographical distribution of the Kra-Dai languages

S I C H U A N

GUIZHOU

16
15 *Zunyi*

G U I Z H O U

Dafang
14

Zhijin 7 4

Shuicheng *Pingba*
12 *Puding* 2
11 3 1 ● *Majiang*
Liuzhi 13 5 *Guiyang* 6
Anshun
Zhenning

Y U N N A N

●
Kunming

10 *Longlin*
17

G U A N G X I

Malipo
8
9 ● *Nanning*
Ha Giang

V I E T N A M

L A O S

Hanoi
●

ⓒ *Ostapirat*

Map 2　Gelao varieties

Legends of Map 2

Branches	Varieties	Locations (Counties, Provinces)
Central	1 . Wanzi	Anshun, Guizhou
	2 . Dagouchang	Pingba, Guizhou
	3 . Xinzai	Puding, Guizhou
Northern	4 . Qiaoshang	Zhijin, Guizhou
	5 . Bigong	Zhenning, Guizhou
	6 . Longli	Majiang, Guizhou
	7 . Longjia	Zhijin, Guizhou
Southwestern	8 . Laozhai	Malipo, Yunnan
	9 . Ban Ma Che	Dong Van, Ha Giang
	10. Moji	Longlin, Guangxi
	11. Niupo	Liuzhi, Guizhou
	12. Datiezai	Shuicheng, Guizhou
	13. Dingyinshao	Zhenning, Guizhou
	14. Pudi	Dafang, Guizhou
	15. Jianshan	Zunyi, Guizhou
	16. Qinglong	Zunyi, Guizhou
	17. Sanchong	Longlin, Guangxi

(**All** locations are in China, except location 9 which is in Vietnam.)

SICHUAN

GUIZHOU

●
Guiyang

YUNNAN

●
Kunming

GUANGXI

6

Guangnan

Funing 7

8

Malipo 10 9

Maguan 11 Napo

1 Nanning ●

2 Ha Giang

3

Lao Cai 4

VIETNAM

LAOS

Son La 5

Hanoi ●

ⒸOstapirat

Map 3　Other Kra languages

Legends of Map 3

Languages	Varieties	Locations (Counties, Provinces)
Lachi (n)	1 . Jinchang	Maguan, Yunnan
Lachi (c)	2 . Ban Pang	Xin Man, Ha Giang
Lachi (s)	3 . Ban Phung	Xin Man, Ha Giang
Laha (n)	4 . Ta Mit	Than Uyen, Lao Cai
Laha (s)	5 . Nong Lay	Thuan Chau, Son La
Paha	6 . Yanglian	Guangnan, Yunnan
Buyang (n)	7 . E-Cun	Funing, Yunnan
	8 . Langjia	Funing, Yunnan
Buyang (s) (Yalhong)	9 . Rongtun	Napo, Guangxi
Pubiao	10. Pufeng	Malipo, Yunnan
	11. Pho La	Dong Van, Ha Giang

(Locations 1 and 6–10 are in China. The rest are in Vietnam.)