The Central and Southern Loloish Languages of Vietnam Author(s): Jerold A. Edmondson Proceedings of the Twenty-Eighth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society: Special Session on Tibeto-Burman and Southeast Asian Linguistics (2002), pp. 1-13

Please see "How to cite" in the online sidebar for full citation information.

Please contact BLS regarding any further use of this work. BLS retains copyright for both print and screen forms of the publication. BLS may be contacted via http://linguistics.berkeley.edu/bls/.

The Annual Proceedings of the Berkeley Linguistics Society is published online via <u>eLanguage</u>, the Linguistic Society of America's digital publishing platform.

The Central and Southern Loloish Languages of Vietnam

JEROLD A. EDMONDSON *University of Texas at Arlington*

1. Introduction.

In Three Tibeto-Burman languages of Vietnam (2004) I outlined the Vietnam locations and situations of three Northern Loloish languages—Phu Kha (Phù Lá), Xá Phó, and Lôlô. In this paper I present data and analysis on the remaining TB groups of that country—the Côông, the Sila, the Lahu, and the Hani, all found in Lai Châu Province in the far northwest and all belonging to the Central and Southern sub-groupings of the Loloish language. Like the three Northern Loloish language, all these are found very near the border with China and all—except possibly Sila—are presumed to have ultimately come from the north. However, we are only beginning to understand the obviously complex language history that has led to many linguistic groups living in close proximity and the sequencing of migration and conflict that are woven into the intricate tapestry of Mường Te District.² Indeed, until now there has been very little known in general about these four languages aside from basic information about their home territory, numbers, and some cultural features. That is not to say that all these languages have been points of utter darkness. The Lahu and Hani languages of Thailand and China, for example, have been described and analyzed in great depth. The work of Matisoff 1973, 1978 is especially notable for Lahu, and Hansson 1989 and Li and Wang 1981 have published much on Hani. But information about the other two languages—the smaller groups, Côông and Sila—has been brief and incomplete. These places do not allow of a full statement about any of these languages, but I hope, nevertheless, to provide more details about all these languages and how they compare to language forms outside Vietnam, cf. also my website³ for a tabulation of about 500 items taken from my field study of language of this area.

In the following, I will first discuss Côông and Sila and then go on to Lahu and

-

¹ The research reported on here has been sponsored by a 1995 grant NEH RT-21754-95 from the National Endowment for the Humanities and by the grants SBR 9511285 and SBR9729043 from the National Science Foundation to the author and Dr. Kenneth J. Gregerson all entitled "Languages of the Vietnam-China Borderlands". I wish also to acknowledge the assistance of Profs. Nguyễn Văn Lợi, Hoàng Văn Ma, To Văn Thang, who arranged and accompanied me on the field trips that led to the data and analysis here. Many thanks as well are due Pete Unseth, who spent many hours digitizing the data from my original tape recordings, and Trần Thuần for help with some of the Vietnamese data. Most of all I wish to thanks Graham Thurgood who was able to unlock the system of tonal development in all of these languages.

² Lai Châu province has the most complex linguistic situation of any place in Vietnam and much of that complexity is due to the number of groups in Mường Te. In addition to the Tibeto-Burman groups, one finds there White Thái farmers and the little studies Mon-Khmer grouping – Mång.

³ http://ling.uta.edu/~jerry/.

Jerold Edmondson

Hani. All these groups live in Lai Châu Province, Mường Te District on the China and Lao borders, regarded as territory among the most difficult of access in all Vietnam. To reach our field location one full day of bone shattering jeep travel was necessary from Điện Biền Phu, passing the then flooded provincial capital at Lai Châu, then tracing the course of the Black River to road's end at Mường Te District capital. This remote site has allowed retention of a traditional lifestyle and the development of a linguistic microcosm of unexpected diversity and vitality at the end of a long and hard road.

2. The Côông.

The Côông people of Mường Te District live in five villages: Bo Lếch (Can Hồ Commune), Nậm Khao, Nậm Pục (Nậm Khao Commune), Tác Ngá (Mường Mồ Commune), and Nậm Kè (Mường Tong Commune). Their population was given as 1261 in the last official census 1989. The population is estimated to have reached 1560 by the year 2000 PV (1998:21). It is said that their ancestors originally came from China, but our informant, Mr. Lý Văn Làng, about 55 years of age in June 1999, had no information about the time or source of this migration. Bradley (1977:68) states that the Côông probably fled China as a consequence of the Moslem uprisings in Yunnan Province during the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century and then were resettled during the wars between the Burmese and Vietnamese into NW Vietnam.

The Côông autonym is also a puzzlement. In EMPV (363) it states that the most widely used name is a toponym from one of their villages, Bo Lêch, a White Thái designation meaning 'iron mine'. Thus the Côông refer to themselves in their own language as [sam³³ khoŋ³³ (tshaŋ³³ a³¹)] 'iron mine people'. The [tshaŋ³³ a³¹] is used to designate 'people, group, ethnicity', such as [a³¹ kha³³ tshaŋ³³ a³¹] 'Hani' and [za³³ zɛ³³ tshaŋ³³ a³¹] 'Yao'. At Nâm Khao and Nâm Puc the autonym [phui³³ a³¹] is known but little used. It also resembles the name the Côông use for the Lahu [kha⁵⁵ phuii³³]. A number of people have also suggested the name *Côông Lồ Ma*, which is said to refer to a place in China where they once lived.

Bradley regards Côông to be a language closely related to Phunoi (1977:68, 1979, 1997), "In Vietnam, the Phunoi are called Côông, and speak a slightly different dialect..." Côông was first recorded by LeFèvre-Pontalis 1892, which we have not consulted. We, however, have been able to examine Bradley's word list. In his description of Phunoi Bradley (1979:45-7) notes the existence of minor syllables, as the *ja* in *ja* -ba³³ 'elephant', initial voiceless nasals /hm hn hŋ hmj/, a voiceless lateral /hl/, and a voiceless palatal glide /hj/. Phunoi, moreover, has final consonants /-p -t -m -n/ and four tones described as high level, mid level, low level and low rising. The vowel nuclei are /i w u e ə o ai a au/. Of the minor syllables, Bradley says (47) that the word for hand *là* also appears as a minor syllable [lə] in some compounds.

2.1. Distinctive features of Côông.

The Côông of Vietnam has a high level tone (55), a mid-falling tone (31), and a

⁴ I was also able to listen to data recorded in the 70's in Vientiane, Laos by Jimmy G. Harris. There were about 1000 items in that list. Harris later trained this speaker how to write his language in a romanized script and how to organize a dictionary.

mid-level tone (33) corresponding to the tones of the parent language *1,*2, and *3. There appear also to be some cases of a rising tone. Initials are:

Rhymes include /i w u im in iŋ wm wn wŋ ø e o ɔ a am an aŋ/ in our list of about 500 words.

2.2. Comparative comments.

We are now able to state that Côông appears to be a language of significantly different properties from Phunoi, as the comparisons below show.

Phunoi

- a. minor syllables take the tone of the main syllable but has no independent tone
- b. voiceless nasals, laterals, palatals
- c. final consonants /-p -t -k/

Côông

first syllable is often unstressed but has independent tone no voiceless nasals, laterals or palatals no final oral stop consonants, only /-m -n -ŋ/

Côông also demonstrates several innovations not found in the Phunoi data at our disposal. Bradley's 1977 Phunoi material shows the <u>voiced stops</u> /b d/corresponding to Côông /m/ and /l/ or /n/. This feature is very important as many of these examples stem from Proto-Loloish vocabulary with *C-nasal initials, which in Bisoid languages (the sub-branch to which Bradley assigns Phunoi and presumably Côông) regularly develop into voiced stop initials. Côông fails to reflect voiced stops and instead exhibits nasals. Perhaps Côông has undergone a recent mutation changing voiced stops to nasals or perhaps it fails to have this landmark features but is still a Bisoid language. Below are some comparisons that show the voiced stops-nasal alternation.

Gloss	Phunoi	Côông
woman	khă <u>b</u> ja³¹	taŋ³¹ kha³¹ <u>m</u> a³¹
daughter	je ¹³ <u>b</u> i ³³	$za^{31} \underline{m}i^{31}$
fire	bi^{31}	<u>m</u> i ³¹
dream	jup³¹ <u>b</u> a³³ ba³³	$zu^{31} ma^{33}$
black	$7\tilde{a}^{55} da^{33}$	na³³ <u>l</u> a³³
eye	7ã⁵⁵ <u>b</u> ia³³	те ³³ <u>п</u> ш ³³
elephant	jə <u>b</u> a³³	$za^{31} ma^{33}$
a fly	ma ³¹ <u>b</u> a ³³	nшŋ⁵⁵ <u>m</u> a³³
river	lä⁵⁵ <u>b</u> a³³	u ³¹ <u>m</u> a ³³
near	$7\tilde{a}^{55} di^{31} a^{33}$	ni ³¹ <u>n</u> i ³¹ a ³¹

Jerold Edmondson

Phunoi <u>nasal finals</u> have often disappeared where they are preserved in Côông:

Gloss	Phunoi	Côông
	mo ³¹ ni ³³ si ³¹	тш <u>п</u> ³¹ пшŋ ⁵⁵
mushroom	hmu⁵⁵	mu <u>ŋ</u> ⁵⁵

<u>Voiceless onset</u> nasals, palatal continuants, and laterals can begin a syllable, but Côông cognate vocabulary evidences only nasals, palatals, and laterals that are voiced or sometimes /h/.

Gloss	Phunoi	Côông
forget	<u>hm</u> in³³ la³¹ tse³³	min³³ ka³¹ li³⁵
buy	hne ³³ ce ³³	$hu^{33}e^{33}$
red	7ã⁵⁵ <u>hn</u> e⁵⁵	ne ⁵⁵ <u>l</u> e ⁵⁵
today	<u>hn</u> a³³ mi⁵⁵ ni³³	<u>n</u> am³³ loŋ³¹ koŋ³³
mushroom	hmu ⁵⁵	muŋ⁵⁵
beard	ban³¹ <u>hm</u> ot	man ³¹ <u>m</u> w ³¹
hot	?ã⁵⁵ <u>hl</u> ã⁵⁵	$loj^{55}e^{55}$

Phunoi final voiceless stops are lost in Côông:

	Phunoi	Côông
lightning	mo ³¹ biap ³¹ sat ³¹ ce ³³ phat ³¹ ce ³³ hlat ³³	mɯŋ³¹ mian³¹
kill	sa <u>t</u> ³¹ ce ³³	se ³¹ i ⁵⁵
vomit	pha <u>t</u> 31 ce33	phe³¹ hai³⁵
shirt	hla <u>t</u> ³³	a ⁵⁵ kha ³³

Phunoi <u>rime -au</u> corresponds to Côông -ø:

Gloss	Phunoi	Côông
bone	7ã⁵⁵ jau³¹	?aŋ³¹ jø³¹
horn	7ã⁵⁵ chau⁵⁵	?aŋ³¹ kh <u>ø</u> ⁵⁵
sweet	?ã⁵⁵ chau⁵⁵	teh <u>ø</u> 55 lø55
nine	cau ³¹	$k\underline{o}^{31}$
sugarcane	pon³¹ chau⁵⁵	pon³¹ tɕh <u>ø</u> ⁵⁵
shout	hau ⁵⁵ ce ³³	$h\underline{\varrho}^{55} e^{55}$
steal	khau³¹ ce³³	$kh\underline{\sigma}^{\scriptscriptstyle 31}e^{\scriptscriptstyle 33}$
widow	bəchau³¹	ma³³ te³³ tɕh <u>ø</u> ³¹

Phunoi <u>minor syllables</u> possess a limited inventory of initials, schwa vowels, and a tone the same as the following main syllable. Côông word structure has some features of a weak first syllable; it is, for example, iambic with a somewhat shortened first vowel for many words. This vowel is frequently not schwa and the

first syllable can have its own fully independent tone. On the other hand, the tone categories of the two languages also match closely in value and distribution.

Gloss	Phunoi	Côông
comb		tu³¹ kha³³
navel	məcha ^{31?}	pe ⁵⁵ to ^{33?}

There are also a great many lexical differences between Phunoi and Côông. Our vocabulary is at present limited, so caution is in order. Phunoi and Côông are, of course, in contact with Lao and Vietnamese respectively and loanwords may be the source of these differences (e.g. for 'year' and 'four'). It also appears that that the palatal glide j has changed to z under Vietnamese influence.

Gloss	Phunoi	Côông
daughter	jə ¹³ <u>b</u> i ³³	za ³¹ mi ³¹
dream	jup ³¹ <u>b</u> a ³³ ba ³³	$zu^{31} ma^{33}$
fish	$ta^{33} te^{33}$	loŋ³¹ te⁵⁵
crab	wəcha³¹	laŋ⁵⁵ to³¹
eye	7ã⁵⁵ bịa³³	те ³³ пш ³³
year	hi ³³ pi ³³	$xo^{33} la^{31}$
four	si ³¹	шn³¹
nine	te ³¹	$k o^{31}$
teeth	she phe ⁵⁵	?aŋ³³ so³¹
otter	?ш55 bo31	laŋ⁵⁵∫am⁵⁵
star	bŏkw⁵⁵ si³¹	pi ³¹ kw ⁵⁵

Phunoi of Laos has been thought to be a rather diverse group, and the recent survey by Shintani et al 1999 has confirmed that suspicion. However, none of the studied Phongsaly locations yet studied seems strongly to resemble Côông of Vietnam. While much more fieldwork study of both Phunoi and Côông is in order, it appears that Côông and the Phunoi recorded by Bradley are no longer very close.

3. Sila.

The Sila people of Vietnam believe their ancestors came from Laos. According to their old people, they once lived in the high mountainous areas near Mường U and Mường Lá of Phongsaly Province, Laos. Owing to harsh conditions and exploitation, seven families left about 175 years ago for Vietnam under the leadership of Hù Chà Hoa. They first settled in Mường Tùng and then moved again several times until they reached their current homelands. A part of this story can be confirmed, as a quick comparison of Sila data from Vietnam with the Sila of Laos (Shintani et al 1999) shows—contra the results with Côông—a very strong resemblance. Today the Sila—numbering about 700 people (589 in the 1989 census)—are found in three villages: Seo Hay and Xì Theo Chai (Can Hồ Commune) and Nậm Sín (Mường Nhé). According to Chazée (1999:166), the Lao Sila population call themselves *Sila* or *Sida*, our informant, Ms. Vàng Kó Ùm of Can Hồ Commune, about 35 years of age, informed us that she uses the Sila autonym [ko³5 za³³ su³¹] 'Sila male' or [ko³5 za³³ ma³¹] 'Sila female', though even the old

people are uncertain of its meaning, EMPV (1977:369).

3.1. Distinctive features of Sila.

The initials of Sila show five places of articulation, labial, dental, palatal, velar, and glottal with manners of articulation unaspirated, aspirated, and voiced (/d/ is not represented in our corpus).

Rimes in Sila are always simple, that is to say there are no syllable codas, only the nuclear vowels

Sila has tone contour 35 corresponding to *1 of the parent language;⁵ tone contour 31 corresponding to *2, and tone contour 33 corresponding to *3. Closed-syllable word shapes CVC occur in pitch contour 31, 33, or 35 all accompanied with creaky glottal constriction at the end of the syllable, which largely disappears when followed closely by a second syllable in a compound. We indicate it with a tilde under the last digit of the tone, e.g. va^{32} 'pig'.

3.2. Comparative comments.

Bradley (1997:45) assigns this language a position in Southern Loloish quite close to Hani/Akha and our data support this decision. The tone shapes of Sila are identical to those of Viet Hani. Sila, like Hani, also has strong decay of original syllable codas. There are today no nasals or stops word finally.

Like Côông, Sila has experienced some influenced from Vietnamese. For example, Sila /ph-/ has mutated to /f-/, as in fe^{31} 'rooster' (<*po¹), fo^{35} 'silver' (<*plu¹), ft^{31} 'day after tomorrow' (<*prak^H), fa^{31} 'leaf' (*C-pak¹), ft^{35} 'chili pepper' (<*C-pat¹), fe^{31} 'frog' (<*k-/-pa²).

Sila is also quite a lot like Hani lexically. The similarity in the construction of compounds is especially evident in these pairs of Sila and Hani items: $pht^{35} kho^{31} la^{31} lu^{31} vs. pht^{31} xo^{33} lha^{33} ya^{31}$ 'clothing'; $ze^{33} ju^{35} ze^{31} vs. za^{31} xjo^{337} za^{31}$ 'son'; $ze^{33} mt^{35} ze^{31} vs.$

⁵ Although the pitch trajectory rises from mid to high in this tone category, it may be because the high or 55 tone shape must begin at mid-level at syllable onset.

 za^{31} mt^{31} za^{31} 'daughter'. Although the position of the Sila language appears quite close to Hani, the people have clothing, customs, and practices that confirm a separate ethnic identity.

4. Lahu.

There are three kinds of Lahu spoken in Vietnam: Yellow Lahu, Black Lahu, and White Lahu We were able to study only the Black Lahu of this area. The total Lahu population in 1989 was 5,319 and estimated by PV to have reached 6,600 by 2000. The Lahu have many names in Mường Te. The Black Lahu group often refer to themselves as *Khucong* or [khu³³ tshɔ³³]. They look down on their Yellow Lahu neighbors, calling them contemptuously [ne⁵³ tu³³] 'Jungle Spirits'. According to the EMPV (354) the local White Thai majority term all the Lahu in Mường Te Xá *Toong Lương*, White Thai for 'Spirits of the Yellow Banana Leaves'. Other scornful exonyms are Xá Quỷ meaning 'Devil Savages'. In addition to these names the Lahu living in the two communes Pa Vệ Sủ and Pa U as well as in the villages of Là Pé, Nhu Tè, and Hóm Bô of the Ca Lăng Commune, (2) *La Hủ Na* or Black Lahu (living in the village of Nậm Phìn, as well as Nậm Khao, Nậm Câu, Phìn Hò, Nậm Xà of Ca Lăng commune), and (3) *La Hủ Phung* or White Lahu (living often together with the Yellow Lahu in the villages of Xà Hô, Ú Ma, Pha Bu, Pa Û and Khò Ma of Pa Û commune as well as Hà Xe of Ca Lăng commune), It is reported that the Lahu originally came from the Jīnpíng area of Yúnnán Province, China.

4.1. Distinctive features of Lahu.

Since Lahu has been so exhaustively described in Matisoff 1973 and 1988 and Bradley 1978, I will dispense with sketching is features and simply note that it has the following inventory of initial consonants /p t t ϵ k q ph th t ϵ h kh qh b dz g m n ϵ l f ϵ h v j ϵ l/ and vowels /i ϵ i u u e ϵ 0 o ϵ 1 a ϵ 2. The seven tones for Vietnam Black Lahu are 33, 35 53, 31 212, 537 and 317.

4.2. Comparative comments.

The Lahu of Mường Te speak a language that differs some from the Black Lahu recorded in Matisoff 1988 and the Zàngmiǎnyǔ yǔyīn hé cíhuī 1991 in many respects. These differences seem focused mostly in the lexical domain.

One major difference is the variation of velar and uvular stops.

Gloss	Matisoff 1988	Viet Lahu	Semao Lanchang
mountain	qhə ³³	qhə³³	_
excrement	qhε⁵³	khe ⁵³	
return	qə ^{31?}	<i>q</i> ∂ ^{31?}	
ashes	qhε ⁵³ qo ³¹⁷ qho ³¹⁷ qo ³³ qha ⁵³⁷	qə ^{31?} qha ^{31?} ya ^{31?} qə ³³ qha ^{53?}	
road	<i>q</i> ə ³³	γα ^{31?} qə ³³	
village	qha ^{53?}	qha ^{53?}	
ditch	γш ³¹ qha ⁵³ qhə ^{31?}	ш³¹ kha⁵³	yw³¹ qha⁵³ qhə³¹?
year	qhə ^{31?}	qho³¹?	qhə ^{31?}

 $^{^6}$ The form ne^{53} in Matisoff 1988 is defined as 'spirit, demon'.

Thora	ora	alaa	como	dittarances	110	ragard	ta	MOIOING
LUCIC	$a_{1}c_{1}$	aiso	SOILE	differences		162410	1()	voncing
		*****	001110				•	, 0101115.

Gloss	Matisoff 1988	Viet Lahu	Semao Lanchang
walk	dzu ⁵³ γο ³¹	tsu ⁵³	dzu ^{53?}
pull	γo^{31}	$g o^{31}$	γo^{31}
crow chicken		bo^{31}	bu ³¹
stand	vu^{35} $q\varepsilon^{317}$	xu^{35}	
scrape, skin	$q\varepsilon^{31?}$	$kharepsilon^{\scriptscriptstyle 31?}$	$qarepsilon^{31?}$ $tsh\eta^{53?}$
wash clothes	tshw ⁵³	tshw ⁵³	
earrings	na ¹¹ γο ⁵³ dzu ³¹ u ³⁵ gε ⁵³	na ²¹² pə ⁵³ teu ³¹	$na^{31} \gamma \sigma^{53}$ $u^{35} g \varepsilon^{53}$
pillow	$u^{35} g \varepsilon^{53}$	u ³⁵ ko ⁵³	$u^{35} g \varepsilon^{53}$

Some voiced stops and affricates have become pre-nasalized, while others have devoiced entirely. Velar fricative x is h. It is probable that Viet Lahu has undergone some influence through language contact. For example, Black Lahu $ph\hat{\imath}$ $l\hat{a}$ ("dog-tiger") kind of small wildcat that eats pigs or dogs in Vietnam Black Lahu it is fu^{53} la^{53} with the meaning $ch\acute{o}$ $s\acute{o}i$ $nh\acute{o}$ 'small wolf'. The change $ph \rightarrow f$ is typical kind of change effected in other minority language from Vietnamese.

Sun 1992 mentions several ways in which Kucong of Yunnan with the same autonym as the Viet Lahu) shows special features not found more widely in Lahu. These differences were not sufficient to prevent a decision on August 9, 1987 to incorporate the Kucong of Yunnan (30,000 population) into the much larger Lahu nationality. Some items of difference concern nasal codas that have developed in harmony with nasal initials at syllable onset. The Kucong data we gathered from Vietnam, however, shows mostly the Lahu proper forms and not China Kucong forms, cf. China vs. Vietnam Kucong: 'spider' a^{55} kay^{33} lay^{33} vs. $a(y)^{55}$ ka^{33} la^{33} , 'sweet' t_5hay^{33} vs. t_5ho^{33} , 'sell' xay^{31} vs. ho^{31} . Also some Kucong forms in China show vowel raising, $a \rightarrow v$, e.g. China vs. Vietnam Kucong 'bamboo' vv^{53} vs. va^{53} , 'cloth' phv^{33} vs. pha^{33} , 'good' nv^{33} vs. na^{33} . In all these cases, however, Viet Kucong agrees with Lahu generally and not with China Kucong. But for the other cases of vowel raising $a \rightarrow o$, then Viet Kucong agrees with China Kucong, 'high' mo^{33} for both, not * mo^{33} , 'horse, sky, old' mo^{31} not * mo^{31} as well as people t_5ho^{33} not * t_5ho^{33} .

By and large Viet Lahu/Kucong differs only very minimally from the larger concentrations in China, Thailand, and Laos.

5. Hani (Hahni).

The Hani people of Vietnam are found in two provinces, Lai Châu at Mường Te and Phóng Thổ Districts as well as in Lào Cai Province at Bát Xát District. All the Hani people of Vietnam are thought to have migrated from Jīnpíng and Lüchūn Counties of Yunnan Province, China. The earliest pioneering families – perhaps five or six in number – came to Vietnam about 325 years ago and settled in Lai Châu Province at Mường Te. The Phóng Thổ and Bát Xát Hani entered Vietnam much later, 175 years ago. Despite geographic distance, bad weather, and bad roads, the Hani of Vietnam say they are able to communicate with each other in the Hani language. The villages where they live are: Sín Thấu, Chung Chải, Mù Cả, Ca Lăng, and Thu Lũm (Mường Te) and Y Tí and A Lù (Bát Xát). In Mường Te (cf. map), the Hani settlement areas are separated by more than 50 km with no land or

river links and found on both banks of the Black River (Song Da). There are also some villages very near the China border in the far northwest of Murong Te District. Those in the Phóng Thổ District of Lai Châu Province and Bát Xát District of Lào Cai are the Black Hani or Hà Nhì Đen, which we were not able to study. We did, however, interview two speakers from two differing Murong Te locations, Ms. Po Go Su of Bản Mù Cả of Mù Cả, age 50, member of the Hà Nhì Cổ Chồ clan, and Ms. Lò Mi Sõ of Bản Chang Chau Pa of Xạ Hua Bun, age 42,member of the Hà Nhì La Mí clan. Their forms of the Hani language were quite similar but not identical. Mostly they differed lexically. The system of tones, initials, and finals was effectively the same. Both speakers agreed on the autonym [ha³³ ni⁵⁵ za³¹]. With regard to tones, their speech had three tones in smooth syllables: 55 (corresponding to *1 of the parent), 31 (corresponding to *2 of the parent), and 33 (corresponding to *3 of the parent). There were also two syllables shapes that ended in strong glottal constriction, one transcribed as [317] and the other as [337].

The initials of Vietnam Hani are:

p ph b	pj phj bj		t th d	tj thj dj		k kh
U	OJ.	ts tsh dz	ч	uj	te teh dz	g
m	mj		n l lh	ŋ		ŋ
f			S	б j		X

According to Zàngmiǎnyǔ yǔyīn hé cíhuī 1991 there are three kinds of Hani attested in China.

5.2. Comparative notes.

The Hani of Vietnam differ from the Akha described by Hansson (1989:55-89) in several important ways. The first difference involves <u>voicing</u> of the syllable initial. Many items of Vietnam Hani have lost voicing of the initial consonant that is found in Akha of Thailand.

Gloss	Viet Hani	Hani (Luchun)	Akha (Thai)
thunder	tei ³¹	dji ³³	dje ³³
copper star	kw ³¹ kw ⁵⁵ mi ³¹ tsa ³¹ na ³¹ pɔ ⁵⁵	gw³¹	gw³¹
star	kw ⁵⁵	gw ⁵⁵	gw ⁵⁵
fire	mi ³¹ tsa ³¹	mi ³¹	mi³¹ dza³¹
ear	na³¹ pə⁵⁵	$b o^{55}$	na³¹ bə⁵⁵

The second difference concerns the <u>loss of final nasal codas</u>. In Vietnam all final velar nasals have disappeared, whereas in Akha (Thailand) one finds -aŋ and

 $-m.^{7}$

Gloss	Viet Hani	Hani (Luchun)	Akha (Thai)
hair	tshe ⁵⁵ khə ⁵⁵	tshe⁵⁵ khaŋ⁵⁵	tshe⁵⁵ khaŋ⁵⁵
thread	sa³¹ khw⁵⁵ə⁵⁵	sha³¹ khaŋ⁵⁵	sha³¹ khaŋ⁵⁵
heavy	i ³³ khə ³³	jə ³³ khaŋ ³³	khaŋ³³
day before yesterday	xu ³¹ nə ³³	fu31 naŋ³³	hu31 naŋ³³
name	tshə ⁵⁵ mi ⁵⁵ ə ⁵⁵	tshə ⁵⁵ mjaŋ ⁵⁵	tschə ⁵⁵ mjaŋ ⁵⁵

The third difference is the presence of the partially voiced or breathy lateral initial lh-.

Gloss	Viet Hani	Hani (Luchun)	Akha (Thai)
wind	$u^{33} hl \varepsilon^{55}$	li ⁵⁵	$larepsilon^{55}$
tongue	hla ⁵⁵ ma ³³	hla ⁵⁵	la^{55}
hot	hlə⁵⁵	$l extstyle{\delta^{55}}$	laŋ⁵⁵
boat	hlə³¹	hlu³¹	J
river	lə⁵⁵ ba³¹	lo ⁵⁵	$l \Lambda^{55}$

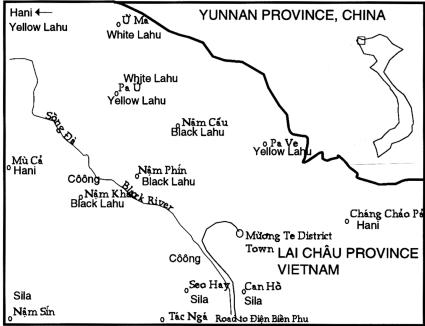
When preceded by a vowel, as in 'wind', this item sounds as if it were [ul³³ hε⁵⁵]. This feature is found occasionally in the vocabulary of Yunnan (1959, as cited in Hansson 1989) and less in the Akha of Thailand.

Finally, it is worth noting that Southern and Central Loloish show a regular pattern of tonal development, whereby one tone value corresponds, generally, to one proto tone category. Lahu with seven tones has developed some extra splitting and thus has the most complex reflexes of the proto categories

6.0 Conclusion.

As the above sketches and comparisons have shown, the Sila, Lahu, and Hani languages of Vietnam held no real surprises. Côông might be regarded as a bit of a surprise, as it appears to be more different from Phunoi than had been suspected. Nevertheless, it has been relatively easy to decide where to situate this group of languages within the overall Loloish pattern, unlike the languages reported on in Edmondson 2004, northern Loloish of Vietnam, which were and remain guite challenging in regard to the details of their genetic affiliation. In these southern and central Loloish languages is was important to obtain certainty that the familiar names did not conceal any unfamiliar linguistic entities We can now confirm that Lahu and Hani are what we supposed, Sila is quite close to Hani, and Côông is perhaps not as close to Phunoi as was thought.

⁷ I am, of course, not referring to the glottal constriction residue of original stops, which is still present in Vietnam.



Map of Mừơng Te District, Lai Chau Province, Vietnam

Jerold Edmondson

References

- Benedict, Paul K. 1972. Contributing editor James A. Matisoff. *Sino-Tibetan: a conspectus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bradley, David. 1978. Lahu dialects. Canberra.
- . 1979. *Proto-Loloish*. Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series, No.39. London: Curzon Press Ltd.
 - . 1996. Tibeto-Burman languages of PDR Lao. *LTBA* 19:1.19-27.
- _____. 1997. Tibeto-Burman languages and classification in Papers in Southeast Asian linguistics, no.14: Tibeto-Burman languages of the Himalayas, ed. by David Bradley, 1-72. Pacific Linguistics, Series A-86. Canberra: The Australian National University.
- _____. 1999. Language endangerment in China: The Yi of Kunming. *La Trobe Papers in Linguistics* 10, 1-15, La Trobe University, Department of Linguistics.
- Chazee, Laurent. 1999. *The Peoples of Laos: Rural and Ethnic Diversities*. Bangkok: White Lotus Press.
- DEMG. 1975. Về vấn đề xác định thành phần các dân tộc thiểu số ở miến bắc Việt Nam. Hà Nội: Nhá Xuất Bản Khoa Học Xã Hội. [On determining the groupings of ethnic minorities of northern Vietnam].
 Đỗ Phượng. 1996. Việt Nam hình ảnh cộng đồng 54 dân tộc. Hà Nội: Nhà Xuất
- Đỗ Phượng. 1996. *Việt Nam hình ảnh cộng đồng 54 dân tộc*. Hà Nội: Nhà Xuất Bản Văn Hóa Dân Tộc. [Vietnam images of the community of 54 ethnic groups. Hanoi: The Ethnic Cultures Publishing House.]
- Edmondson, Jerold A. 2002. Three Tibeto-Burman languages of Vietnam. In Bradley and Thurgood (eds.) *Festschrift for James A. Matisoff.* Pacific Linguistics Series. Canberra: Australian National University.
- EMPV. 1978. Các dân tộc ít người ở Việt Năm (Các tỉnh phía Bắc) [Ethnic minority peoples of Vietnam (the northern provinces)]. Abbreviated reference: EMPV.
- Hansson, Inga-Lille. 1989. A comparison of Akha, Hani, Khatu, and Pijo. *LTBA* 12:1.6-91.
- Haqniq pyulniul soqmiav niq pyu hu zzaol e nilgevnei soqhhavq/Hāní-Hàn suízhào xiǎo cíhuī. 1959. Kùnmíng.
- Harris, Jimmy G. 1970. Field recordings of Phunoi. Vientiane, Laos.
- Hemmet, Christine. 1995. *Montagnards des Pays d'Indochine*. Paris: Édition Sépia.
- Lâm Tâm. 1985. Sơ lược giới thiệu người Cò Xung. *Tập chí Dân tộc học* 14:29. Lajonquière, Lunet de. 1906. *Ethnographie du Tonkin septentrional, redigée sur l'ordre de M. P. Beau*. Paris: E. Leroux.
- Lê Quý Dôn. 1962. *Kiến văn Tiểu Lục*. Hà Nội. [Things seen and heard, first published in the mid 1700's].
- LeFevre-Pontalis. P, 1892. Notes sur quelques populations du nord de l'Indochine. *Journal Asiatique* 8 (séries) 19:237-69
- Lǐ Yǒngsuì and Wấng, Ěrsōng. 1981. *Hāniyǔ Jiǎnzhì*. Běijīng: Mínzú chūbǎnshè. Lục Bình Thủy and Nòng Trung. 1975. Người Phù Lá ở Lào Cai. *Tập chí Dân tộc học* 1:80.
- Mai Thanh Sơn. 1995. Một vài tư liêu về lịch sử người Phù Lá (qua viếc tìm hê tộc danh). *Tập chí Dân tộc học* 3:58-64. [Some materials about the history of the

Phù Lá people (work based on the perspective of their names.)].

. 1998. Đôi nét về tập quán ăn uống của người Phù Lá. *Tập chí Dân tộc học* 1:61-65. [Two features in the customs of eating and drinking of the Phù Lá people.]

Matisoff, James A. 1972. *The Loloish tonal split revisited*. Research monograph no.7. Berkeley: Center for South and Southeast Asia Studies.

____. 1973. *The grammar of Lahu*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

. 1988. *The dictionary of Lahu*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London:

University of California Press.

. 1991. Sino-Tibetan Linguistics: Present state and future prospects. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 20:469-504. Palo Alto: Annual Reviews Inc.

Nguyễn Ngọc Tuấn. 1974. Vàt vần đề về người La Hủ ở Việt Nam. *Tập chí Dân tộc học* 3:71-72. [On questions regarding the Lahu nationality in Vietnam.]

Nguyễn Văn Huy. 1975. Bước đầu tìm hiểu mối quan hệ tộc người giữa hai nhóm Phù Lá và «Xà Phó». [A first step to understanding the differences between the Xa Pho and other Pho La groups.] In *DEMG*, 415-28.

___. 1985. Văn hóa và nếp sống Hà Nhi, Lô Lô. Hà Nội: Nhà Xuất Bản Văn Hóa.

[Culture and life style of the Hani and Lolo.]

PV 1998. *The peoples of Vietnam*. Asian Minorities Outreach. Darawan Printing: Chieng Mai, Thailand.

Qiu, Fuyuan. 1998. A phonetic and phonological overview of the Yi (Lolo) language. MA thesis, The University of Texas at Arlington.

SDSRV 1991. Tổng Cục Thổng Kế "General Office of Statistics'. *Số liệu thổng kế Cộng hòa XHCN Việt Nam* [Statistical data of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam 1976-1990]. Nhà Xuất bản Thổng kế "Statistical Publishing House'. Hà Nội. Abbreviated reference: SDSRV 1991.

Shintani, Tadahiko, et al. 1999. *Basic vocabularies of the languages spoken in Phongsaly, Lao P.D.R.* Tokyo: Institute for the Studies of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.

Sun Jianyi. 1992. Lāhùyǔ Kūcónghuà de ruògān tèdiǎn. *Minzú Yǔwén* 5.68-73. [Some featues of Kucong speech of the Lahu language.]

Thurgood, Graham. 1982. Subgrouping one the basis of shared phonological innovations: a Lolo-Burmese case study. *BLS* 8:251-60.

VNA.1996. Thông Tấn Xã Việt Nam. [Vietnamese News Agency.] *Việt Nam: Hính ảnh cộng đồng 54 dân tộc.* [Vietnam: Image of the community of 54 ethnic groups.] Hà Nội: Nhà Xuất Bản Văn Hóa Dân Tộc. [The Ethnic Cultures Publishing House.] [Abbreviated reference: VNA.].

Zàngmiănyǔ yǔyīn hé cihuī. 1991. Běijīng: Zhōngguó Shèhuì Kēxué Chūbănshè.

Jerold A. Edmondson Program in Linguistics University of Texas at Arlington Arlington, TX 76019-0559

edmondson@uta.edu