

# MIAO AND YAO LINGUISTIC STUDIES

Selected Articles in Chinese, Translated by  
Cheng Yu-tung and Chu Kwo-ray

Edited by Herbert C. Purnell, Jr.



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## THE CORNELL UNIVERSITY SOUTHEAST ASIA PROGRAM

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## FOREWORD

The linguistic history of the Miao-Yao peoples has long been a matter of interest to linguists. It has also been something of a mystery, in large part because of the scarcity of reliable data. Nevertheless, in recent years considerable progress has been made toward the reconstruction of a Proto Miao-Yao which would allow systematic investigation of questions concerning the possible wider relationships of Miao-Yao to other language families. But much remains to be done, both in internal relationships within the group and in its external relationships.

Central to any linguistic study is reliable data. In order to help fill this need in Miao-Yao studies the Southeast Asia Program earlier published both a Yao and a Miao (Meo) dictionary (Data Paper number 69 and 75). We are pleased now to be able to continue this effort by publishing this collection of translated articles.

Chinese linguists have done a great amount of work with the languages of minority groups in China but their publications are not accessible to many interested linguists. For this reason the Southeast Asia Program has felt it important to publish these translations of Chinese articles on Miao and Yao in order to make these important data more generally available, and, we hope, to hasten the day when we may have a definitive study of Miao-Yao linguistic history to which we shall have made a contribution.

Robert B. Jones

Cornell University  
August, 1972

## PREFACE

Miao and Yao Linguistic Studies contains eleven articles on the Miao and Yao languages. They were originally published in the People's Republic of China in two linguistic journals, Chung kuo yü wen (CKYW) and Yü yen yen chiu (YYYC), and a collection of papers on minority peoples, Shao shu min tsu yü wen lun chi (SSMTYWLC), Volume 1. Nine of the articles here were translated by Chang Yü-hung between 1967 and 1969, the two articles on a Miao secret language by Chu Kwo-ray in 1970. They are presented here in edited form as a contribution to the study of the Miao-Yao language family.

The Miao and Yao peoples are found in southeastern China and northeastern Southeast Asia, from Hunan in China to Pitsanuloke in north-central Thailand and Banmethuot in South Vietnam. Although they are most numerous in China, there are also some large concentrations in North Vietnam and northern Laos. There are no accurate population figures for the two groups; informal estimates range up to 2,700,000 Miao and 800,000 Yao.

Both the Miao and the Yao are known by a bewildering variety of ethnonyms, changing from locality to locality and according to the nationality of the denominating group (Chinese, Vietnamese, Lao, French, German, British, etc.). Frequently, the primary feature used in such informal classifications was a cultural trait which captured the attention of the designators, often some detail of the women's dress (e.g., Black, Blue, Green, Red, White, Flowery, Striped, Big Board). Something of the confusion this has caused in attempting to sort out subgroups among the Yao, for example, can be imagined from the very extensive list of Yao ethnonyms provided by Cushman (1970). Fortunately, the articles presented here eschew informal labels, choosing to designate groups by village location and/or by the terms the particular Miao and Yao groups use for themselves. Some clarity is lost in the articles on Yao, however, by the authors' use of the same term for three levels within the language hierarchy. For example, the Yao language is divided in Mjen, Pu nu, and Lak kja. Dialects of Mjen are given as Mjen, Dzau min, and Bjau min; and the Mjen subdialects are listed as Mjen, Kim mun, and Piao man. However the level intended is usually fairly obvious from the context.

In recent years, the Miao and Yao languages have been of growing interest to a small group of western scholars, primarily linguists and anthropologists. Activity has centered mainly in the field of historical linguistics in an attempt to gain information which would help them in their study of ethnic and linguistic groups found in East and Southeast Asia.

Thus, works reconstructing Proto-Miao, Proto-Yao, and Proto-Miao-Yao have appeared (e.g., Chang 1953, 1966; Downer 1963; Haudricourt 1954, 1966; Purnell 1970), and attempts have been made to link Miao-Yao with the Sino-Tibetan family (LeBar, Hickey, and Musgrave 1964) and the Austroasiatic family (Benedict 1966; Haudricourt 1966). Synchronic studies of Miao and Yao, on the other hand, have lagged far behind except in the area of phonology. Several dictionaries have been produced (e.g., China 1958a, 1958b; Heimbach 1969; Lombard and Purnell 1968; Lyman 1972; Savina 1926), although some are rather inaccessible. Information on syntax is difficult to find, and the material on semantics, discourse structure, dialectology, language contact, and the like, is virtually nonexistent.

The addition of these eleven articles to the literature on Miao-Yao in western languages increases our knowledge of these two languages considerably, both in breadth and in depth. Published over a six-year period, from 1956 to 1962, they were written by competent linguists and contain a wealth of material that is unavailable outside of China. Naturally, they do not answer all the questions being posed by western Miao-Yao specialists, but they do contribute accurately transcribed data, interesting and thoughtful general observations, and detailed descriptions and discussions of various aspects of the two languages, all of which are valuable and most welcome.

All the articles present synchronic data in varying proportions, ranging from general phonological descriptions (particularly emphasizing the relationship between tones and initial consonants) to sketches of word composition and syntax. Also included are detailed treatments of Miao classifiers, descriptive words (including intensifiers), and four-syllable coordinate constructions. These contain material on reduplication and some discussion of parts of speech. The article by Wang on Wei ning classifiers is especially interesting. He demonstrates that the phonological feature of tone is closely linked to grammar (p. 85), semantics (p. 14, 124, 127), and discourse structure within various situational contexts (p. 124, 140, 159).

The two general articles on Miao and Yao (p. 1-25, 239-255) provide the most up-to-date information available on ethnolinguistic divisions, locations, population figures, and dialect differentiation within Miao and Yao. Such data will be welcome by anthropologists and ethnohistorians as well as by linguists. Nevertheless, one wishes there were also articles containing more information about history and migrations and more extensive word lists from a greater variety of Mien Yao dialects.

An area which greatly interested many of the authors is that of language contact, both current and historical. Mao and Chou, for example, point out that there are large groups of ethnic Yao which do not speak what is generally thought of

as 'Yao' (Mjen). Instead, some speak a type of Miao (Pu nu) or a type of Chuang-T'ung (Lak kja), besides those who speak only Chinese. This fact is important in any consideration of Yao ethnic identity. Of greater interest to the authors, however, is the relationship between Chinese and the Miao-Yao languages. Information is given on types of Chinese loans in Miao and Yao, both early and recent, and ways in which these lexical and structural loans have spread and affected both languages. The interconnection between current language contacts and the goals of the Chinese government's policy regarding minority languages can be noted here, too, along with some general indications of its progress in the late 'fifties and early 'sixties.

The two short notes on a Miao 'secret language' have been included, not so much for the slight descriptive information they contain but in order to show a subsystem within the language which has some sociolinguistic importance. That is, in Miao, as in perhaps every other language, there is at least one pattern whereby ordinary speech is modified for specific purposes. Such modification underscores the truism that language is an extremely complex phenomenon, and serves as a reminder that there is more to a language than is covered by a general description or a reconstruction of its presumed earlier stages.

Historical linguistics has received a great deal of attention by several of the authors, and substantial contributions to the reconstruction of Proto-Miao have been made. It is unfortunate that the Yao material is not extensive enough for a corresponding contribution to the reconstruction of Proto-Yao and Proto-Miao-Yao to have been made.

The articles have been grouped according to the language described, nine on Miao and two on Yao. Within each group the progression has been from the more general to the more specific, without regard to the original date of publication. The titles of some of the articles differ slightly from those found in Chang's bibliographical article (1968), but present no problems of cross-identification.

As for the translations themselves, their primary purpose was to provide additional research materials for me to use in my dissertation. The initial translations, which attempted to render the original material as accurately as possible, have been edited for ease of reading and presentation, and though perhaps less than polished their intrinsic value is such that it was felt desirable to make them more generally available.

Editing has included several departures from the original texts, primarily for typographical convenience and ease of comparison within the collection. Accordingly, the format

for some charts has been altered, footnotes have been numbered consecutively within each article, and typographical errors have been corrected when there was obvious internal evidence. All corrections and editorial comments have been indicated by an asterisk. The unavailability of typographical symbols for the vowels ɿ and ɻ necessitated their being written as ɿ and ɻ, respectively. In addition, cases of alternate symbolization for the 'same' phonological unit have been regularized for ease of comparison. For example, vowel length, written V: by some authors and VV by others (e.g., a: and aa), has been arbitrarily regularized as VV; tones are everywhere indicated by numbers (33, 31, etc.) rather than by graphs (˧, ˨, etc.); and palatal consonants as n̪, h̪, etc., instead of n̪, q̪, etc., found in some of the articles. Names of places and ethnic or linguistic groups have been underlined. Excepted, however, are the upper level terms in these categories, such as names for provinces (Hunan, Kwangsi) and major languages (Miao, Chinese).

The following abbreviations and additional symbols have been used:

adj.	adjective	part.	particle
asp.	aspirated	pl.	plural
aux.	auxiliary	sg.	singular
clf.	classifier	vd.	voiced
desc.	descriptive of, description of	vls.	voiceless
esp.	especially	>	changes to
indef.	indefinite	<	changed from
intens.	intensifier		

Finally, I would like to thank the Cornell Southeast Asia Program and the Cornell China Program for their financial assistance which has made the production of this volume possible. To both translators I owe an obvious debt of gratitude, for without their excellent work this volume would never have appeared. Special thanks, too, are due to Professor Robert B. Jones for his many helpful suggestions and for seeing the manuscript through its final stages. For any editorial errors of fact or interpretation which remain, however, I alone must be responsible.

Herbert C. Purnell, Jr.

Chiangmai, Thailand  
June, 1972

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A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE MIAO LANGUAGE

by

Miao Language Team

Division of Minority Languages

Institute of Races, Chinese Academy of Sciences

The Miao people are found in the provinces of Kweichow<sup>1</sup>, Hunan, Yunnan, Kwangsi, Szechwan, Kwangtung, and Hupeh. Their number is estimated at more than 2,600,000. The greatest concentration of Miao is found in Kweichow - over 1,500,000 persons, most of whom live in the Ch'ien tung nan Miao and T'ung Autonomous chou, the Ch'ien nan Pu-i and Miao Autonomous chou (An shun ch'ü and Hua chieh ch'ü), the city of Kweiyang, and the Sung t'ao Autonomous hsien in T'ung jen ch'ü. Most of the 430,000 Miao in Hunan live in the Hsiang hsi T'u-chia and Miao Autonomous chou and the Ch'eng pu Miao Autonomous hsien. There are about 380,000 Miao in Yunnan, most of whom are found in the Wen shan Chuang and Miao Autonomous chou, the Hung ho Ha-ni and Yi Autonomous chou, and in Chao t'ung ch'ü. Approximately 220,000 Miao live in the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous ch'ü, most of them in the Ta miao shan Miao Autonomous hsien, the San chiang T'ung Autonomous hsien, the Lung sheng Multinational Autonomous hsien, and the Lung lin Multinational Autonomous hsien. The majority of the 100,000 Miao in Szechwan live in the hsien of Hsü yung, Ku lin, Ch'ang ning, Chün lien, and Hsiu shan. There are some 10,000 Miao living in Kwangtung, primarily in the hsien of Ch'iung chung, Pao t'ing, and Yüeh tung in the Hainan Li and Miao Autonomous chou. Hupeh has about 10,000 Miao, living primarily in the hsien of Lai feng and Hsüan en in En shih ch'ü.

With the exception of the Ch'ien tung nan Miao and T'ung Autonomous chou in Kweichow and the Hsiang hsi T'u-chia and Miao Autonomous chou, where the Miao live separated from other peoples, most Miao live mixed in with Han Chinese. In some places they also live mixed in with the Pu-i, T'ung, T'u-chia, Chuang, Li, and Yi peoples. Even in those areas in which there is a heavy concentration of Miao, Han Chinese and other peoples can also be found living there.

The Miao in Hua yüan, Feng huang, and Pao ching in Hunan and in the Sung t'ao Miao Autonomous hsien in Kweichow refer to themselves as qɔ 35 ɔɔ 35.<sup>1</sup> Those in Lü ch'i,

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<sup>1</sup>Numerals in examples indicate tone values (e.g., 35 is mid rising).

Ku chang, and Lung shan in Hunan call themselves sɔ 53 or qɯ 22 suan 53. The Miao living in the Ch'ien tung nan Miao and T'ung Autonomous chou refer to themselves as mhu 33, mo 33, mu 13, or mx 33.<sup>2\*</sup> In western Kweichow, southern Szechwan, and eastern Yunnan, the Miao call themselves moŋ 43, mjau 44, a 55 məu 55, məŋ 22, or mjo 31. These names are all cognate.

In communicating with others, most Miao use their own language. There are, however, about 70,000 Miao in the Ch'eng pu Miao Autonomous hsien and Sui ning hsien in Hunan and in the Lung sheng Multinational Autonomous hsien and Tzu yün hsien in the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous ch'ü who speak Chinese. Another 30,000 Miao in T'ien chu hsien in Kweichow also speak Chinese. The type of Chinese spoken by the Miao is very different phonologically from the Chinese spoken in the area. In addition, there are about 35,000 Miao in the T'ung tao T'ung Autonomous hsien, Hunan, in Li p'ing hsien, Kweichow, and in the San chiang T'ung Autonomous hsien in the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous ch'ü who speak the T'ung language. Finally, there are more than 10,000 Miao in the Hainan Li and Miao Autonomous chou in Kwangtung who speak the kim 11 mun 11 dialect of the type of Yao called "Mjen".<sup>3</sup>

The Miao language belongs to the Miao branch of the Miao-Yao family of the Sino-Tibetan phylum. Among the Sino-Tibetan languages, Miao is closest to the type of Yao called "Pu nu" in both vocabulary and grammar, although it also shares many cognates with the Mjen type of Yao.<sup>4</sup>

On the basis of differences in phonology, lexicon, and grammatical features, the Miao language may be divided into three dialects: Hsiang hsi, Ch'ien tung, and Ch'uan ch'ien tien. The Hsiang hsi dialect has two subdialects, the Ch'ien tung dialect three. The Ch'uan ch'ien tien dialect is quite diverse having seven subdialects, Ch'uan ch'ien tien proper, Tung pei tien, Kweiyang, Hui shui, Ma shan, Lo p'o River, and Ch'ung an River. The Ch'uan ch'ien tien subdialect has two further subdivisions, the Kweiyang subdialect three, and the Hui shui and Ma shan subdialects four each.

1. The Hsiang hsi dialect is spoken primarily in the hsien of Hua yüan, Feng huang, Chi shou, Ku chang, Lü ch'i,

<sup>2</sup>The Miao of Ch'ien tung nan ch'ü call themselves qa 55. nəu 13.

\*The vowel symbol x is used here to replace the original y.

<sup>3-4</sup>For Pu nu and Mjen, see "The Role of the Chinese Language in the Enrichment and Development of the Yao Language", CKYW, No. 10-11, 1961. [Translated here, pg. 257.]

and Pao ching in Hunan, and in the Sung t'ao Miao Autonomous hsien in Kweichow. There are approximately 440,000 speakers of this dialect.

2. The Ch'ien tung dialect is spoken mainly in the hsien of K'ai li, Lei shan, Ma chiang, Huang p'ing, Chien ho, Chin p'ing, Li p'ing, Ts'ung chiang, and Jung chiang in Kweichow, in the Ta miao shan Miao Autonomous hsien and the San chiang T'ung Autonomous hsien in the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous ch'ü, and in the T'ung tao T'ung Autonomous hsien in Hunan. There are about 900,000 speakers of this dialect.

3. The Ch'uan ch'ien tien dialect is spoken primarily in southern Szechwan, western and south-central Kweichow, eastern Yunnan, and the western part of the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous ch'ü. Speakers of this dialect number approximately 1,150,000.

We shall now describe briefly the phonological, lexical, and grammatical features of Miao, some of which are common to the Sino-Tibetan languages, some common to the Miao-Yao family, and some distinctively Miao.<sup>5</sup>

## I. Phonology

1. There are limitations on the types of initial and final clusters which may occur. For example, in Ta nan shan the only initial clusters are those in which a nasal precedes an obstruent.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, the point of articulation of the nasal and obstruent in such clusters must be the same; that is, mp, mpl, nts, nt, ntl, nt, nts, ntç, ŋk, Nq. As final sattelites, only i, u, n, and ŋ may occur: ei, ai, eu, au,

<sup>5</sup> Examples used in this article have been drawn from data collected at the following survey points: (1) La yi p'ing, Hua yüan hsien, Hunan (Hsiang hsi dialect); (2) Yang hao, K'ai li hsien, Kweichow (Ch'ien tung dialect); (3) Ta nan shan, Hua chieh hsien, Kweichow (Ch'uan ch'ien tien subdialect of the Ch'uan ch'ien tien dialect); (4) Shih men k'an, Wei ning Yi, Hui, and Miao Autonomous hsien, Kweichow (Tung pei tien subdialect of the Ch'uan ch'ien tien dialect); (5) Chia ting, Hui shui hsien, Kweichow (Hui shui subdialect of the Ch'uan ch'ien tien dialect); (6) Chiao yi, Tzu yün hsien, Kweichow (Ma shan subdialect of the Ch'uan ch'ien tien dialect); (7) Yeh chi p'o, Fu ch'üan hsien, Kweichow (Lo p'o River subdialect of the Ch'uan ch'ien tien dialect), and (8) Lao chün chai, K'ai li hsien, Kweichow (Lo p'o River subdialect of the Ch'uan ch'ien tien dialect).

<sup>6</sup> Obstruents include stops and affricates.

ou, en, aŋ, oŋ.

2. With the exception of the Ch'ien tung dialect, all varieties of Miao have prenasalized obstruents, such as mp, nts, nt, etc.<sup>7</sup> In the Ch'uan ch'ien tien dialect, prenasalized obstruents occur in syllables having any of the tones. In the Hsiang hsi dialect, on the other hand, prenasalized obstruents in native Miao words occur only in syllables with odd-numbered tones. For example, Ta nan shan has eight tones: 43, 31, 55, 21, 44, 13, 33, and 24. Prenasalized obstruents may occur in syllables having any of these tones. La yi p'ing has six tones: 35, 31, 44, 33, 53, and 42. Prenasalized obstruents in native Miao words occur only in syllables having tones 35, 44, or 53 (i.e., the first, third, and fifth tones).

3. All dialects and their subdivisions have, in general, voiced obstruent phones, but with the exception of the Tung pei tien and Lo p'o River subdialects of the Ch'uan ch'ien tien dialect, none of the dialects or their subdivisions have voiced obstruent initial phonemes.<sup>8</sup>

4. Except for the Ma shan subdialect of the Ch'uan ch'ien tien dialect and some particular types of Miao spoken in Kweichow, all dialects or their subdivisions have the uvular stops q and qh.

5. Sets of aspirated and unaspirated obstruents are in contrast. In Yang hao, for example, there are seven contrasting pairs:

p	ts	t	t̪	tʂ	k	q
ph	tsh	th	t̪h	tʂh	kh	qh

6. The Lo p'o River subdialect of the Ch'uan ch'ien tien dialect has contrasting plain and preglottalized voiced nasals, lateral, and fricatives. Yeh chi p'o, for example, has the following seven contrasting sets:

?m	?n	?ŋ	?l	?w	?wŋ	?z
m	n	ŋ	l	w	wŋ	z

7. Generally, there is but a single nasal final, transcribed n after front vowels and ŋ after back vowels. Since, however, n and ŋ are separate initial phonemes, occurring before the same vowels to form different syllables, we have

<sup>7</sup>According to our present data, in the Ch'uan ch'ien tien dialect, only a small number of Miao near An shun City, Kweichow have no prenasalized obstruents in their language.

<sup>8</sup>The voiced obstruents in the Lo p'o River subdialect occur only in clusters with nasals.

also distinguished them in final position even though their occurrence is determined by the preceding vowel. In some areas (such as in parts of Hua yüan hsien, Hunan and Hui shui hsien, Kweichow), there are no nasal finals, only nasalized vowels. In certain other areas (such as in north-western Kweichow and northeastern Yunnan), not only are there no nasal finals but the occurrence of nasalized vowels is very limited (primarily in onomatopoetic words).

8. Every syllable has a specific tone which serves to distinguish lexical meaning. With the exception of the Lo p'o River subdialect of the Ch'uan ch'ien tien dialect which has only three or four tones, most types of Miao have more than five tones. For example, La yi p'ing has six tones, Yang hao and Ta nan shan eight each, and Chiao yi eleven.

9. The manner of articulation of the initials is closely related to the tones. Thus, in the native Miao words of Yang hao, aspirated initials such as ph, th, kh, fh, sh, m̥h, nh, ŋ̥h, and lh occur only in syllables having tones 33, 35, 44, or 55 (the odd-numbered tones), whereas the unaspirated initials occur in syllables having any of the tones. Moreover, splits in Miao tones are closely related to the manner of articulation of the Ancient Miao initials.<sup>9</sup> See Chart I.

10. With the exception of the Ch'ien tung dialect and the Ch'ung an River subdialect of the Ch'uan ch'ien tien dialect, all types of Miao have tone sandhi. There is more tone sandhi in the Ch'uan ch'ien tien dialect than in the other dialects. For the most part, the preceding syllable affects the following syllable, at times causing secondary changes in the initials or finals. The tone sandhi found in the Hsiang hsi dialect is simpler: in most cases, the following syllable affects the preceding syllable.

11. In the northern subdivisions of the Hui shui subdialect of the Ch'uan ch'ien tien dialect, some prefixes and roots rhyme when they combine to form disyllabic words, the final of the prefix changing to match the final of the root. In Chia ting, for example

qa 13 (prefix)	za 24 (stone)	"stone"
qə 13	plhə 24 (hail)	"hail"
qō 13	mphō 43 (dust)	"dust"
qə 13	zə 22 (rock)	"rock"

<sup>9</sup>The term "Ancient Miao" does not mean the Miao language in ancient times. It merely refers to the stage of the language preceding "Modern Miao". We are not sure of the time depth involved in "Ancient Miao".

Chart I. The relationship between tones and initials in Miao

Anc. Miao Tone Cate- gories	A			B			C			D		
Anc. Miao Initial <sup>10</sup> Categories	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Chiao yi	22	32	53	232	42	11	35	55	13	44	21	
Yang hao	33	55		35	11		44	13	53		31	
Lao chün chai	31			55			24			33		

- |                |               |          |
|----------------|---------------|----------|
| li 31 (prefix) | i 24 (one)    | "first"  |
| lə 31          | ə 24 (two)    | "second" |
| la 31          | pa 24 (three) | "third"  |
| lo 31          | plo 24 (four) | "fourth" |

To illustrate the phonological system of one type of Miao, let us examine the initials, finals, and tones of Tan nan shan.

#### A. Initials

p	ph	mp	mph	m	m̥	v	f	w
pl	plh	mpl	mplh					
ts	tsh	nts	ntsh			s		
t	th	nt	nth	n	n̥			
tł	tłh					l	ł	
t	th	nt	n̥th					
tʂ	tʂh	ɳtʂ	ɳtʂh			ʐ	ʂ	
tç	tçh	ɳtç	ɳtçh	ɳ	ɳ̥	ڇ	ڏ	
k	kh	ɳk	ɳkh	ɳ				
q	qh	Nq	Nqh					

<sup>10</sup>Category 1 includes voiceless fricatives, nasals, and laterals (e.g., \*f, \*m̥, \*ł), voiceless aspirates (e.g., \*ph, \*tsh, \*tłh), and voiceless prenasalized aspirates (e.g., \*mph, \*ntsh, \*ntłh). Category 2 includes voiced preglottalized fricatives, nasals, and lateral (e.g., \*w, \*m, \*ł).

Notes on the initials:

1. w occurs only in Chinese loanwords.
2. In native Miao words, initials of the p, mp, m, and v columns occur in syllables having any of the tones. All other initials occur only in syllables having tones 43, 55, 44, or 33 (i.e., tones 1, 3, 5, or 7).
3. When initials of the p, mp, m, or v columns occur with tone 21 (tone 4) or tone 13 (tone 6), they become voiced aspirates (therm and v columns simply add the feature of aspiration since they are already voiced). For example, po 21 "thorn" is pronounced [bho 21] and noŋ 13 "bird" is pronounced [nhoŋ 13].
4. Syllables beginning with a vowel are actually preceded by a glottal stop (e.g., au 43 "two" is pronounced [ʔau 43].

B. Finals

e	a	o	ə	ei	ai	eu	au	ou	en	əŋ	oŋ
i	ie					iau	iou	ien	iŋ		
u	ue	ua		uei	uai			uen	uŋ		

Notes on the finals:

1. ə, ei, ie, iau, iou, ien, iŋ, ue, uei, uai, uen, and uŋ occur only in Chinese loanwords.
2. i is realized as ɨ when it occurs with initials of the ts row, as ɿ with initials of the tʃ row, and as zero with initials of the pl row (l becoming the syllabic). Thus, tsi 55 "fruit" is [tsɿ 55], tʃi 44 "not" is [tʃɿ 44], and pli 33 "wildcat" is [pl 33].
3. u, ue, and uen are realized as y, ye, and yen, respectively, when they occur with initials of the tç row. For example, tçu 31 "business, situation" is [tçy 31], zue 31 "to surpass" is [zye 31], and tçuen 43 "military" is [tçyen 43].
4. eu is phonetically [ew]. nteu 55 "book", for example, is pronounced [ntew 55].

C. Tones

Tone categories:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Tone values:	43	31	55	21	44	13	33	24

---

\*?1), voiceless nonaspirates (e.g., \*p, \*ts, \*tɿ, \*?), and voiceless prenasalized nonaspirates (e.g., \*mp, \*nts, \*ntɿ). Category 3 includes voiced fricatives, nasals, and lateral (e.g., \*v, \*m, \*l), voiced obstruents (e.g., \*b, \*dz, \*dɿ), and voiced prenasalized obstruents (e.g., \*mb, \*ndz, \*ndl).

## Notes on the tones.

## 1. Tone sandhi rules.

a. 43 + 31 → 43 + 13 (voiceless initials become voiced aspirates, voiced nasals, lateral, and fricatives become aspirates). thoŋ 43 (bucket) tle 31 (water) "water bucket" → [thoŋ 43 dl̥he 13].

b. 43 + 55 → 43 + 44. ntou 43 (cloth) sa 55 (blue) "blue cloth" → [ntou 43 sa 44].

c. 43 + 21 → 43 + 13. qan 43 (bottom) zau 21 (village) "below the village, the lower part of a village on a slope" → [qan 43 z̥hau 13].

d. 43 + 44 → 43 + 33. au 43 (two) pua 44 (hundred) "two hundred" → [?au 43 pua 33].

e. 43 + 24 → 43 + 13. i 43 (one) t̥lai 24 (piece) "a piece of" → [?i 43 dl̥hai 13].

f. 31 + 31 → 31 + 13. Nqai 31 (meat) no 31 (cattle) "beef" → [Nqai 31 n̥ho 13].

g. 31 + 55 → 31 + 44. ku 31 (ditch) t̥se 55 (house) "covered drainage ditch" → [ku 31 t̥se 44].

h. 31 + 21 → 31 + 13. nto 31 (sky) tsa 21 (cool) "autumn" → [nto 31 dz̥ha 13].

i. 31 + 44 → 31 + 33. mplon 31 (leaf) nton 44 (tree) "leaves of a tree" → [mplon 31 nton 33].

j. 31 + 24 → 31 + 13. t̥qua 31 (nine) t̥cou 24 (ten) "ninety" → [t̥qua 31 dz̥hou 13].

2. With loans from Chinese, the value of the Chinese yin p'ing tone and voiced, nonstopped shang tone is 43 in Ta nan shan. The value of the Chinese yang p'ing tone is 31, the shang tone 55, and the ch'ü tone 24. For example, ti 43 "low", li 43 "li, mile", thi 31 "topic", ti 55 "bottom", and ti 24 "earth".

3. Except for the syllable o 31 "case", all syllables having zero initial occur only with tones 43, 55, 44, or 33 (i.e., the odd-numbered tones).

## II. Lexicon

1. Almost every syllable has either a lexical meaning or a grammatical meaning. There are very few simple polysyllabic words.

2. There are two types of compounds. The first type is composed of a prefix and a root.

La yi p'ing:

qɔ 35 (prefix) šõ 35 (Miao) "Miao people"

a 35 (prefix) pa 3 (father) "father"

Yang hao:

qɑ 33 (prefix) fhu 35 (head) "head"  
 qɑ 33 (prefix) yan 55 (summit) "summit"

Shih men k'an:

ɑ 33 (prefix) jndzhau 35 (mouth) "mouths"  
 li 33 (prefix) fau 33 (head) "head"

The second type of compound is composed of roots in coordinative, attributive, or action-goal relationships.

La yi p'ing:

tçhi\* (stomach) s̄e 35 (liver) "heart" (coordinative)  
 qɑ 44 (dung) z̄o 31 (dragon) "moss" (attributive)  
 çx 44 (lift) tx 53 (foot) "to set out for"  
 (action-goal)

Yang hao:

jnəŋ 55 (year) jnu 44 (year) "age" (coordinative)  
 əu 33 (water) ho 33 (thunder) "fog" (attributive)  
 tçhen 35 (lift) pi ll (hand) "to begin" (action-goal)

Shih men k'an:

qau 55 (agriculture) lau 33 (agriculture) "agricultures" (coordinative)  
 ka 33 (soup) ma 33 (eye) "tears" (attributive)  
 s̄ey 55 (lift) tey 33 (foot) "to set out for"  
 (action-goal)

3. There are many coordinate words and phrases.

La yi p'ing:

qɔ 35 (prefix) ntha 53 (endowment) qɔ 35 (prefix)  
 za 42 (intelligence) "endowment, skill"  
 qɔ 35 (prefix) mrw 33\*\* (fish) qɔ 35 (prefix)  
 za 31 (meat) "food" (primarily meat)

Yang hao:

fəŋ 55 (bright) moŋ ll (go) tsəu 53 (dark) lo ll  
 (come) "to go early and return late"

\* The tone is missing.

\*\* The symbol r replaces the symbol x used in the original article.

li 55 (field) ki 11 (drought) la 13 (earth)  
 kə 53 (hard) "dry, arid soil"

Shih men k'an:

thau 33 (use) dlhaw 35 (strength) thau 33 (use)  
 zo 53 (strength) "to work hard"

ŋgha 35 (house) dhu 35 (upper floor) ngħha 35  
 (house) va 33 (tile) "a tiled house with two or more  
 stories"

4. Among the dialects, there is a great deal of variation in the lexicon, due in large part to the fact that part of the roots (the great majority of which are full words, including early Chinese loans) are not cognate. Since words composed of noncognate roots are naturally different, all the dialects have a number of words which are restricted to specific localities. On the basis of a comparison of more than 1,100 roots in La yi p'ing (Hsiang hsi dialect), Yang hao (Ch'ien tung dialect), and Ta nan shan (Ch'uan ch'ien tien dialect), the differences in the lexicons of the three dialects are listed in Chart II.

Chart II. A comparison of roots in three Miao dialects

Dialects compared	La yi p'ing/ Yang hao	La yi p'ing/ Ta nan shan	Yang hao/ Ta nan shan
Roots compared	1177	1175	1177
Cognate roots	Number	431	384
	Per cent	36.62	32.68
Non-cognate roots	Number	746	791
	Per cent	63.38	67.32

Some cognate and noncognate roots from these three representative areas are given below.

a. Cognate roots

	<u>La yi p'ing</u>	<u>Yang hao</u>	<u>Ta nan shan</u>
Miao people	çō 35	mhu 33	mon 43
earth	tw 35	ta 33	te 43
sun	ŋħe 35	ŋħe 33	ño 43
moon	lħa 53	lħa 44	li 44
two	w 35	o 33	au 43
three	pu 35	pi 33	pe 43

	<u>La yi p'ing</u>	<u>Yang hao</u>	<u>Ta nan shan</u>
four	prei 35	lu 33	plou 43
to eat	non 31	naŋ 55	nau 31
to drink	hu 44	həu 53	hou 33
to patch	mpa 44	pu 35	ntsi 55
yellow	qwei 31	fəŋ 55	tłəŋ 31
white	qwi 35	ləu 33	tleu 43
black	qwe 35	lɛ 33	tłɔ 43

b. Noncognate roots

heaven	pra 35	vɛ 55	nto 31
mountain	qɔ 33	pi 11	ton 43
meal	lhe 53	ka 35	tçua 13
older brother	na 35	pə 35	ti 31
a plow	li 31	kha 33	vɔŋ 24
word (spoken)	tu 53	xhə 33	lo 21
eggplant	kwā 53	tçɑ 55	lu 21
duck	ʂu 44	ka 13	o 33
to speak	phu 44	mha 44	hai 33
to look	Nqhe 44	ŋi 44	nua 24

5. The terms used to designate the months of the lunar calendar are not identical in all dialects and subdialects.

Ta nan shan:

- i 43 (one) li 44 (month) "first month"
- au 43 (two) li 44 (month) "second month"
- ŋo 31 (ox) li 44 (month) "eleventh month"
- luɑ 55 (rabbit) li 44 (month) "twelfth month"

La yi p'ing:

- lha 53 (month) a 44 (one) "first month"
- ha 53\* (month) w 44 (two) "second month"
- lha 53 (month) tɔ 35 (winter) "eleventh month"
- lha 53 (month) zo 33 (winter sacrifice) "twelfth month"

month"

---

\*The form probably should be lha 53, as in the other examples.

Chiao yi.

zaŋ 53 (dragon) li 35 (month) "first month"  
 na 32 (snake) li 35 (month) "second month"  
 so 42 (tiger) li 35 (month) "eleventh month"  
 la 42 (rabbit) li 35 (month) "twelfth month"

6. The primary source of loanwords is Chineseh There are two types of Chinese loans, early and modernh There are fewer early loans, most of which are monosyllabic. Some early loans have become basic vocabulary within the Miao lexicon. Modern loans are more numerous, most of them poly-syllabic. The Miao pronunciation of early loans is very different from the pronunciation of the type of modern Chinese spoken in the area. The tones of early loans correspond to the tones of Miao. That is, the Chinese yin p'ing tone corresponds to the first Miao tone, the yang p'ing tone to the second tone, the yin shang tone to the third tone, the yang shang tone to the fourth tone, etc. Even if the same word was borrowed into several dialects or subdialects, the tone categories correspond regularly. The Miao pronunciation of modern loans from Chinese, on the other hand, is basically the same as the pronunciation of the Chinese living in the surrounding territory, the tones being borrowed phoneticallyh For instance, in the Yang hao area, the Chinese yang p'ing tone is a low fall phonetically, so words having this tone are borrowed into Yang hao with a low falling tone, although the Miao low falling tone in Yang hao is the eighth tone (rather than the second tone). In the La yi p'ing area, the yang p'ing tone is pronounced as mid level. Words with this tone borrowed into La yi p'ing retain the mid level pronunciation, even though the mid level tone is the fourth tone (rather than the second). Again, in the Ta nan shan area, the Chinese yang p'ing tone is pronounced as low falling. Words with this tone are borrowed into Ta nan shan with a low falling tone which happens to be the second Miao tone in this subdialecth Thus, the same Chinese words with the yang p'ing tone are distributed among three Miao tones (eighth, fourth, or second), depending upon the borrowing dialects.

Some examples of early and modern loans are given belowh

a. Early loans (the Miao tone category is given in parentheses)

	<u>Yang hao</u>	<u>La yi p'ing</u>	<u>Ta nan shan</u>
street	qa 33(1)	ca 35(1)	ka 43(1)
thousand	shan 33(1)	tshɛ̃ 35(1)	tsha 43(1)
bridge	tçu 55(2)	cw 31(2)	tçhau 31(2)

	<u>Yang hao</u>	<u>La yi p'ing</u>	<u>Ta nan shan</u>
year	nan 55(2)	---	na 31 <sup>12</sup> )
liquor, wine	tçu 35(3)	tçw 44(3) <sup>11</sup>	tçeu 55(3)
bushel	to 35(3)	tw 44(3)	teu 55(3)
old	lu 11 <sup>14</sup> )	---	lou 21 <sup>14</sup> )
mortar	tçø 11(4)	tçø 33(4) <sup>11</sup>	tçø 21(4)
charcoal	thø 44(5)	the 53(5)	then 44(5)
place	tçhu 44(5)	---	tçheu 44 <sup>15</sup> )*
chopsticks	tu 13 <sup>16</sup> )	tw 42 <sup>16</sup> )	teu 13 <sup>16</sup> )
to sell	me 11(4!) <sup>12</sup>	me 42 <sup>16</sup> )	mua 13(6)
to insert	tha 53(7)	tsho 44(7) <sup>11</sup>	thai 33 <sup>17</sup> )
to drink	həu 53(7)	hu 44(7)	hou 33(7)
ink	me 31(8)	me 33(8) <sup>11</sup>	me 24(8)
winter sacrifice	lo 31(8)	zo 33(8)	---

b. Modern loans

	<u>Yang hao</u>	<u>La yi p'ing</u>	<u>Ta nan shan</u>
sample	mo 31 fε 35	mo 33 hwε 35	mu 31 fan 24
hero	zen 33 çon 31	zé 44 çõ 33	zen 43 çon 31
automobile	tçhi 35 tshei 33	tçhi 35 the 44	tçhi 24 tshai 43
airplane	fei 33 tçi 33	hwei 44 tçi 44	fei 43 htçi 43
commune	kɔŋ 33 sei 35	kõ 44 še 35	kɔŋ 43 šai 24
labor	lau 31 toŋ 35	lo 33 tõ 35	lau 31 toŋ 24
democracy	mien 31 tsu 55	mĩ 33 tu 53	mien 31 tṣu 55
freedom	tsi 35 zu 31	tsi 35 zw 33	tsi 24 zou 31

IIIh Grammar<sup>13</sup>

1. For the most part, grammatical meaning is expressed in Miao by means of word order and grammatical functors. In

<sup>11</sup>Tone 44 of La yi p'ing corresponds to the third and seventh tones of Ta nan shan and its tone 33 corresponds to the fourth and eighth tones of Yang hao and Ta nan shan. We have marked the third or seventh tones for 44 and the fourth or eighth tones for 33 in La yi p'ing on the basis of the tone correspondences.

<sup>12</sup>! indicates that the tone category does not correspond.

<sup>13</sup>Except when noted, the examples are from Ta nan shan.

addition, some dialects or subdialects employ certain types of morphological alternation to indicate grammatical meaning. For example, in Yang hao random action or an imperfect state is indicated by preposing to verbs or adjectives a syllable having the same tone and initial as the verb or adjective but with u as its final. Thus,

ma 31 "to hack"	:	mu 31 ma 31 "to hack at random"
ti 33 "to hit"	:	tu 33 ti 33 "to hit at random"
co 53 "red"	:	cu 53 co 53 "impure red"
zo 53 "green"	:	zu 55 zo 55 "impure green"

Moreover, in Shih men k'an of the Tung pei tien subdialect, for example, classifiers, nouns, verbs, adjectives, and descriptive words are all involved in morphological alternations.

#### a. Morphological alternation with classifiers

Each regular classifier has five forms, indicating the size, appearance, and definiteness of an object. Note, for example, the changes in lu 55 "clfr for round or hollow objects".

lu 55 (definite or indefinite, large, attractive)  
 lai 55 (definite, ordinary)  
 la 55 (definite, tiny)  
 lai 35 (indefinite, ordinary)  
 la 35 (indefinite, tiny)

Plural and auxiliary classifiers also have morphological alternates.

#### b. Morphological alternation with nouns

Only polysyllabic nouns with prefixes have alternate forms. Each polysyllabic noun has two forms. These indicate whether a thing is definite or indefinite.

a 55 ma 53 "eye" (definite)  
 a 55 mu 55 a 55 ma 53 "eye, eyebrow" (indefinite)  
 li 33 phy 55 "bottle" (definite)  
 li 33 phu 55 li 33 phy 55 "some bottles" (indefinite)

#### c. Morphological alternation with verbs and adjectives

The pattern of alternation in Shih men k'an is the same as that already mentioned for Yang hao, except that the prefixed syllable has the high level tone to indicate indefiniteness.

nha 31 "to look" (definite)  
 nu 55<sup>14</sup> nha 31 "to glance at" (indefinite)

---

<sup>14</sup>If the final of a verb or adjective is u, the final of the added syllable is changed still further to i. If the final of the verb or adjective is y, o, au, or ey, the final of the added syllable may be either ru or i.

le 55 "red" (definite)  
 lu 55 le 55 "reddish" (indefinite)

d. Morphological alternation with descriptive words  
 (see below)

2. Analyzed according to their semantic and grammatical features, there are thirteen parts of speech: nouns, pronouns, demonstratives, numerals, classifiers, verbs, adjectives, descriptive words, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, auxiliaries, and interjections. A word of explanation concerning demonstratives and descriptive words is necessary.

As a general rule, Miao demonstratives cannot be used as subjects (although pronouns can be so used) and have a modifying function which differs from that of pronouns. They thus form a separate category. The following examples illustrate the use of demonstratives:

lo 43 na 55 zau 13 ton 31  
 clf. this be desk  
 "this is a desk"

contrasted with kau 31 zau 13 mon 43  
 you be Miao  
 "you are a Miao"

pen 55 nteu 55 na 55  
 clf. book this  
 "this book"

contrasted with ko 55 le 33 nteu 55  
 I possessive book  
 "my book"

The part of speech called "descriptive words" is a class of words modifying verbs or adjectives to indicate characteristics such as speed, sound, situation, color, taste, etc. The function of descriptive words is thus similar to that of adverbs, but adverbs precede verbs and adjectives whereas descriptive words follow them. Furthermore, in some dialects and subdialects descriptive words can occur as predicates. For these reasons descriptive words have been considered a separate category.

lua 13 lau 44  
 laugh desc. of sudden laughter  
 "to burst out laughing"

nts'en 55 lau 44  
 turn over desc. of a sudden turning  
 "to turn over suddenly"

la 43 tsua 21  
 red degree of red  
 "very red"

ntau 55 nto 44  
 make a noise type of sound  
 "to make a ding-dong type of noise"

In the Tung pei tien subdialect, descriptive words alternate morphologically. Such descriptive words usually have two forms: a basic form and a changed form. The basic form indicates a definite regular action or state, and for this reason it can be designated the "definite" form. The changed form, on the other hand, indicates an irregular action or state and can thus be termed the "indefinite" form. Both forms can occur with auxiliaries indicating smallness. Some stative descriptive words can also occur with auxiliaries denoting intensity. A descriptive word may thus have up to four or six possible forms. Note the following examples from Shih men k'an:

a. Variants of ta 55 (descriptive of a motionless state with verbs such as zhau 31 "to sit", py 33 "to recline", i 55 "to lean against", la 55 "to lie on one's side", etc.):

ta 55 (definite, ordinary)  
 tu 55 ta 55 (indefinite, ordinary)  
 ta 55 {aux.} ta 55 (definite, small)  
 ta 55 {aux.} tu 55 ta 55 (indefinite, small)

b. Variants of bw 31 (descriptive of cleanliness with adjectives such as xu 55 "clean", ntshe 55 "clear", etc.):

bw 31 (definite, ordinary)  
 bu 55 bw 31 (indefinite, ordinary)  
 ta 55 {aux.t} bw 31 (definite, small)  
 ta 55 {aux.} bu 55 bw 31 (indefinite, small)  
 ndhu 35 {aux.} bw 31 (definite, intensified)  
 ndhu 35 {aux.} bu 55 bw 31 (indefinite, intensified)

3. With the exception of the Hsiang hsi dialect, classifiers may occur as single modifiers of nouns to indicate definite singularity.

to 31 no 31  
 clf. ox  
 "a cow, an ox"

lo 43 mau 24

clf. hat  
"a hat, a cap"

4. In the Hsiang hsi dialect many nouns have two forms, one with a prefix, the other without. The latter form can modify other nouns and can itself be modified by numeral-classifier and descriptive phrases. The former, on the other hand, occurs primarily in simple sentences or in lists. In a sentence, it cannot be used to modify other nouns nor, as a rule, can it be modified by either numeral-classifier or other descriptive phrases. The most common prefixes are qɔ 35 and ta 35. qɔ 35 precedes inanimate nouns, whereas ta 35 precedes animate nouns such as birds, beasts, worms, insects, etc.<sup>15</sup> In La yi p'ing, for example,

a. ntu 53 (tree) + qɔ 35 (prefix) ntu 53 "tree"

nu 31 (leaf) ntu 53r(tree) "leaves of a tree"  
(because ntu 53 modifies the noun nu 31 it is not prefixed)

a 44 (one) tu 43 (clf.) ntu 53 "a tree" (ntu 53 is not prefixed since it is modified by the classifier phrase a 44 tu 43)

ntu 53 qwa 31 (peach) "peach tree" (ntu 53 has no prefix because it is modified by the noun qwa 31)

mw 31 (you) me 31 (have) qɔ 35 nā 35 (what)  
"What do you have?" qɔ 35 (prefix) ntu 53 "A tree", or  
we 33 (I) me 31 (have) (qɔ 35) (prefix) ntu 53 "I have a tree/trees."

As a single word occurring in isolation, ntu 53 is prefixed. In a sentence in which it is neither being modified nor being used as a modifier, however, the prefixation is optional.

b. mpa 53 (pig) + ta 35 (prefix) mpa 53 "pig"

na 31 (meat) mpa 53 "pork" (mpa 53 is not prefixed because it modifies the noun na 31)

w 35 (two) ño 33 (clf.) mpa 53 "two pigs"  
(mpa 53 is not prefixed because it is modified by the numeral-classifier phrase w 35 ño 33)

a 44 (one) ño 33 (clf.) nei 44 (this) ji 42 (be)  
qɔ 35 nā 35 (what) "What is this?" ta 35 (prefix) mpa 53  
"A pig." or a 44 (one) ño 33 (clf.) nei 44 (this) ji 42 (be)  
(ta 35) (prefix) mpa 53 "This is a pig." (The prefixation is

<sup>15</sup>The terms for the Miao and Han Chinese people, çō 35 and ta 33, respectively, are also preceded by the prefix qɔ 35 and are pronounced qɔ 35 çō 35 and qɔ 35 ta 33.

optional when the noun is neither modifying nor being modified.)

5. Main phrase types (phrases are underlined in the following examples)

a. Coordinate phrases

(1) tau 24 nte 31 pe 43 tsi 44 mua 31  
formerly we not have

la 31 te 43 "In the past, we had no fields (irrigated or  
field earth dry)."

(2) qou 24 tse 55 mua 31 ntoŋ 44 tsi 55  
behind house have tree fruit

kheu 43 tha 43 ntoŋ 44 tsi 55 tlua 31 "There are plum  
plum tree fruit peach and peach trees  
behind the house."

b. Attributive phrases

(1) ko 55 mua 31 nteu 55 tleu 43 "I have  
I have paper white white paper."

(2) ko 55 le 33 tshau 44 na 43 hau 55  
I possessive clothes locative place

na 55 "My clothes are here."

this

c. Action-goal phrases

(1) lai 31 la 31 zau 13 ko 55 le 33 no 24  
plow field be I possessive work  
"Plowing is my job."

(2) keu 24 nteu 55 zau 13 i 43 tçen 24 zon 44  
read book be one clf. good

no 24 "Studying is a good thing."

work

d. Subject-predicate phrases

ko 55 mo 21 la 21 zon 44 kau 31 lo 21 la 21  
I go also good you come also

zɔŋ 44 "I can go (to your place) or you can come (to mine)—it makes no difference."<sup>r</sup>  
good

e. Prepositional phrases

- (1) ni 21 tua 31 pe 31 tçen 43 tua 31  
he from Peking come  
"He came from Peking."
- (2) ko 55 ti 31 saŋ 44 tɔu 44 ko 55  
I older brother send for I

i 43 pen 55 nteu 55 "My older brother gave me a book."  
one clf. book

f. Auxiliary phrases

- (1) to 21 na 55 zau 13 ko 55 le 33  
clf. this be I possessive  
"This is mine."
- (2) kau 31 le 33 jau 43 hau 55 tu 13  
you possessive be at place which  
"Where's yours?"

6. Main types of word order

a. The most common word order in a sentence is subject-predicate-object.

- (1) ko 55 lai 31 la 31 "I plow the fields."<sup>r</sup>  
I plow field
- (2) kau 31 seu 43 ke 55 "You work on the  
you repair road roads."<sup>r</sup>

b. A numeral-classifier phrase used as an attributive phrase occurs after the subject.

lau 43 si 43 qhua 43 ko 55 au 43 çon 44  
old master teach I two year  
te 21 "The teacher has taught me for two years."<sup>r</sup>  
completive

c. A numeral-classifier phrase or a personal pronoun (with or without a structural auxiliary) occurs before the noun it modifies.

- (1) plou 43 pua 44 ki 55 mi 44 mau 13  
     four       hundred   catty   small   wheat  
     "Four hundred catties of wheat."
- (2) ji 21 ti 31                     "His older brother."  
     he       older brother
- (3) ko 55 le 33                     nteu 55    "My book."  
     I       possessive   book

d. A noun used as a genitive attribute of another noun precedes the head noun; a noun used as a descriptive attribute modifying another noun follows the head noun.

- (1) ti 31                     le 33             pi 31  
     older brother   possessive   pen  
     "Older brother's pen."
- (2) Nqai 31    jo 31  
     meat          ox  
     "beef"

e. An adjective follows the noun it modifies.

- (1) paŋ 31 la 43    "red flower"  
     flower   red
- (2) ntou 43 sa 55    "blue cloth"  
     cloth   blue

f. A demonstrative follows the classifier it modifies.

- (1) lo 43 na 55    "this one"  
     clf.   this
- (2) to 21 i 55      "that one"  
     clf.   that

g. A numeral precedes the classifier it modifies.

- (1) i 43 lo 43      "one ..."  
     one   clf.
- (2) au 43 to 21     "two ..."  
     two   clf.

h. When a numeral-classifier-demonstrative phrase<sup>16</sup> (a type of attributive phrase) modifies a noun, the numeral and classifier precede the noun while the demonstrative follows the noun.

- (1) au 43 pen 55 nteu 55 na 55  
 two clf. book this  
 "these two books"

- (2) pe 43 lo 43 tsi 55 i 55  
 three clf. fruit that  
 "those three pieces of fruit"

i. An auxiliary precedes the verb it modifies.

- (1) tseu 31 hai 33 "can speak"  
 able to say

- (2) kan 55 ua 44 "dare to do"  
 dare do

j. An adverb precedes the verb it modifies (although in the Tung pei tien subdialect there are certain adverbs which may either precede or follow a verb, as, for example, Shih men k'an khi 55 ntshi 11 (hurry up) xu 33 (sing) can also be said as xu 33 khi 55 ntshi 11, both meaning "to hurry up and sing"), an adverb generally precedes the adjective it modifies, except in the case of certain adverbs which may either precede or follow the adjective.

- (1) ts̄i 44 mo 21 "not going"  
 not go

- (2) z̄ou 24 tua 31 "to come again"  
 again come

- (3) tsuei 24 z̄on 44 "the best"  
 most good

- (4) z̄on 44 hen 55 ~ hen 55 z̄on 44 "very good"  
 good very very good

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<sup>16</sup>With the exception of the Hsiang hsi dialect and the northern dialects of the Hui shui subdialect of the Ch'muan ch'ien tien dialect, the numeral "one" usually does not cooccur with the demonstrative in modifying the classifier. Or one could say that when the demonstrative and "one" co-occur, "one" is omitted. In most dialects and subdialects the numeral in these phrases is not "one".

## 7. Sentence types

### a. Structural typology

#### (1) Simple sentences

(a) *ŋi* 21 *lo* 21 *te* 21

he come compleative  
"Hets come." (subject-predicate)

(b) *au* 43 *to* 21 *lua* 33 *lai* 31 *la* 31

two clf. youth plow field  
"Two youths are plowing the field." (subject-predicate-object)

(c) *ŋi* 21 *la* 43 *t̪si* 44 *no* 24 *tou* 43 *t̪seu* 31

he what work all able to

*ua* 44 "He can do anything." (subject-object-predicate)  
do

(d) *ko* 55 *səŋ* 44 *ŋi* 21 *i* 43 *pen* 55 *nteu* 55

I send he one clft book  
"I gave him a book." (subject-predicate-object)

(e) *ko* 55 *ua* 44 *taŋ* 21 *te* 21

I do finished compleative  
"I've finished doing it." (subject-predicate-complement)

(f) *ŋi* 21 *qhuə* 43 *ko* 55 *i* 43 *li* 44 *te* 21

he teach I one month compleative  
"He has already taught me for one month."

(subject-predicate-object-complement)

(g) *lo* 21 *naŋ* 13 *te* 21

fall rain compleative  
"It's raining." (predicate-object)

#### (2) Compound sentences

##### (a) Coordinate compound sentences

(i) *no* 24 *la* 21 *za* 44 *ua* 44 *nteu* 55 *la* 21

work also must do book also

*za* 44 *keu* 24 "(I) must work and study." (combinative  
must read relationship)

(ii) *ni* 21 *tṣi* 44 *taŋ* 55 *çɔ* 31 *çi* 31  
he not only learn

*zɔŋ* 44, *kɔŋ* 43 *tṣo* 31 *la* 21 *zɔŋ* 44  
good, work also good  
"He is not only good at learning things, but he also works well." (progressive relationship)

(iii) *kau* 31 *mo* 21 *ha* 31 *si* 24 *ni* 21 *mo* 21  
you go or he go  
"Are you going or is he going?" (selective relationship)

(b) Subordinate compound sentences

(i) *tṣi* 44 *kuaŋ* 55 *ua* 44 *tçaŋ* 21 *nau* 44  
despite do how cold  
*pe* 43 *ha* 31 *za* 44 *mo* 21 *seu* 43 *ke* 55 *lou* 44  
we still must go repair road iron  
"No matter how cold it is, we still have to work on the railroad." (reverse relationship)

(ii) *za* 44 *ko* 13 *tṣi* 44 *qhe* 43 *huei* 24  
if not hold a meeting  
*pe* 43 *tou* 24 *mo* 21 *ua* 44 *no* 24  
we thus go do work  
"If the meeting is not to be held, we will go to work." (subjunctive relationship)

(iii) *tṣo* 13 *mua* 31 *tsen* 43 *tça* 43  
only have increase  
*sen* 43 *tshaŋ* 55 *le* 44 *thi* 31 *kau* 43 *sen* 43 *ho* 31  
produce then elevate life  
"Only by increasing production can we raise our standard of living." (conditional relationship)

(iv) *zen* 43 *wei* 24 *ni* 21 *kɔŋ* 43 *tṣo* 31  
because he work  
*zɔŋ* 44 *ni* 21 *le* 44 *taŋ* 43 *lau* 31 *ton* 24 *mu* 31 *fɑŋ* 24  
good he then fitting labor example  
"Because he did a good job he is the hero of labor." (cause-and-effect relationship)

## b. Mood typology

## (1) Declarative sentence

pe 43 žuen 43 žuen 43 n̄to 13 koŋ 24 t̄shaŋ 55  
we forever follow Communism

taŋ 35 mo 21 "We shall follow the Communist Party forever."  
party go

## (2) Interrogative sentence

kau 31 n̄a 24 jaŋ 43 t̄se 55 t̄si 44 jaŋ 43  
you mother be at house not be at  
"Is your mother home?"

## (3) Imperative sentence

kheu 33 kau 31 le 33 pen 55  
pretransitive verb you possessive clf.

nteu 55 i 55 qe 55 t̄ou 44 ko 55 "Lend me that book of  
book that lend give I yours."

## (4) Exclamatory sentence

o 44 žo 21 tu 55 t̄shaŋ 31 n̄a 55 p̄au 43  
wow wall this collapse

leu 24 te 21 "Wow! The wall collapsed!"  
go compleitive

All of the Miao dialects have been influenced by Chinese. The Chinese language has played an important role in the full development of Miao. The Miao language has absorbed many loanwords from Chinese, especially since the Liberation. The new terminology used in politics, economics, culture, and science has all been borrowed from Chinese. Only a very few words have been coined according to native Miao roots. Along with these loans have come new initials and finals to be added to the Miao phonological system and new rules to cause some changes in the Miao grammar. Probably the most outstanding change has been the borrowing by all the Miao dialects of clause connectives or conjunctions. This has made Miao compound sentences tighter in structure and more precise in meaning. In the great struggle to establish socialism, relations between Han Chinese and Miao have been reciprocal. In the course of meeting the needs of production and life, it has become a necessity for the Miao people to master

the Chinese language and writing system. Since it is the vehicle of communication, Chinese will assume an increasingly important role and, under these conditions, is destined to play an even more important role in the full development of the Miao language.

In the past, most Miao people had no writing system for their own language, except for the imperfect alphabetic system designed by missionaries which had a limited use among the Miao in the Tung pei tien chiu. After the Liberation, the Party and the Government formed a Miao language survey team and made a general survey of the Miao language, following the wishes of the Miao people themselves. In October 1956, a scientific seminar on the problems of the Miao language and its writing system, in which Miao representatives participated, was held in Kweiyang. At that seminar a resolution was passed to the effect that the shape and the usage of the letters adopted for the Miao language should be as similar as possible to those designed for the Chinese language. Only from the time of this seminar can the Miao people be said to possess a writing system which accurately represents their language.



A PRELIMINARY COMPARISON OF THE PHONOLOGY OF THE  
MIAO DIALECTS IN SOUTHEASTERN KWEICHOW

by

Ma Hsüeh-liang and T'ai Chhang-hou

I. Introduction

Among the minority peoples in China, the Miao are the most populous group. Their language belongs to the Miao-Yao family of the Sino-Tibetan phylum. They live in the provinces of Kweichow, Hunan, Szechwan, Yunnan, Kwangtung, and Kwangsi and have a total population of about 2,500,000 people. Kweichow, with some 1,400,000 Miao, has the largest concentration. Outside of China there are many Miao in Vietnam, Burma, Thailand, and Laos.

Historically, the Miao are a people who have been suppressed and discriminated against for a long time. During the years of the reactionary regime of the Kuomintang, the political inequality and economic suppression reached its height. For this reason, the Miao economy was poor and backward before the Liberation.

During the five years since the Liberation, however, the Miao people have experienced a rapid and complete development in every respect under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Government: by the end of 1951, the land reform movement had been completed in most of the areas inhabited by the Miao, and cooperatives for agricultural production had been organized. Recently, in just over one year, one agricultural cooperative after another was established. A whole series of reforms and organizational changes completely altered the naturally backward micro-economic situation of the Miao people, gradually leading their entire life into the sphere of socialism. Politically, the Miao are not only free from the persecution and discrimination experienced during the eras of reactionary regimes, but also, under the enlightened nationalities policy of Chairman Mao, the Hsiang hsi Miao Autonomous chou in Hunan, the Ta miao shan Miao Autonomous hsien in Kwangsi, and the Lu shan, T'ai chiang, Tan chai, and Lei shan Miao Autonomous hsien in Kweichow have been formed. This has fulfilled the dream of the Miao people who have wanted to be masters of themselves. Their cultural life has kept pace with their economic development, undergoing great changes. In many areas minority primary and secondary schools have been established. Under these very favorable conditions, the

Miao people are not only able to send their children to the local minority schools but have even seen some of their young people go on to higher educational institutions in the capital and in other large cities.

In order to be able to establish a socialist society, the Miao anticipate getting their pioneer experiences and gaining their skills through the medium of their own writing system. In the past, suppressed by the ruling classes, the Miao had only their spoken language and, generally speaking, were without their own writing system. The exceptions are two so-called "Po ko li" writing systems for the Miao created by the Christian Church in Wei ning and Ch'uan nan in Kweichow. A church in the coastal area of Lu shan, east of Kweichow, invented, according to the Miao speakers there, an orthography in which the Bible was published. These "writing systems", however, do not represent the Miao language accurately, and, except for a few people who have learned one or another of them, they are unacceptable to most Miao.

The Miao people are in great need of a writing system. In early 1955, when the Miao Language Learning Team of the Central College of Races was leaving the Miao area, the Miao people gave its members a blank banner. They said, "We do not know how to express our feelings. When you create a Miao writing system you can write our feelings to you on this banner. This comment shows how eager the Miao are to have a writing system of their own.

In order to prepare for the creation of a Miao writing system, we had to understand the features of the Miao phonological system. Thus, in the fall of 1952, the Institute of Minority Languages of the Chinese Academy of Sciences along with the Central College of Races sent us to Kweichow to survey the Miao language in the southeastern section. We recorded the language of speakers in Chen yüan, Chiut chou and Chia pa in Huang p'ing hsien, K'ai t'ang and Chou ch'i in Lu shan, Chin chung and Hsin ch'iao in Shih k'ang hsien, T'ai kung chai and Shih tung in T'ai chiang hsien, Yung an, T'ai yung, and Wu ch'a in Chien ho hsien, Huang li in Lei shan hsien, Wu lo, P'ai t'ing, Ma chiang, Ts'ung chiang, San tu, San sui, and Chin p'ing in Chou chai hsien. Later, at the Central College of Races, we also recorded a set of data from Ching hsien, Hunan. Altogether we obtained data from twenty-one survey points.

The grammatical structure and basic vocabularies of these various types of Miao are identical. In this article we shall describe only the phonological features. Because of the short time during which the survey was conducted and the small number of survey points recorded, our data are not so abundant as we would like. We do not feel that we have enough data for a comparative phonological study. In this article, therefore, we can merely introduce some basic fea-

tures of and differences among the phonological systems, using this introduction as a reference source for further surveys of the Miao language in these areas.

## II. Features of the Phonological Systems

In order to arrive at a complete understanding of the Miao language spoken in these areas, we shall describe the general features of Miao phonology first.

1. Analyzed according to their points of articulation, there are labial, apical, palatal, velar, uvular, and glottal consonants: r, p, t, t̪, k, q, h.

2. Analyzed according to the manner of articulation, there are stop, nasal, lateral, fricative, and affricate consonants: p, m, l, f, ts.

3. In most areas, the voiceless bilabial, apical, and palatal stops, fricatives, and affricates have both unaspirated and aspirated phonemes: r, p, ph, ts, tsh, f, fh, s, sh, ç, çh.

4. In most areas, the bilabial, apical, and palatal nasals are represented by two phonemes each, voiced and devoiced.\* m, m̄, n, n̄, ñ, ñ̄.

5. There are no voiced phonemes except with nasals, laterals, and fricatives.

6. Most areas have eight tone categories. Using the T'ai kung chai dialect of T'ai chiang as an example, the eight tones are as follows:

- |          |                        |
|----------|------------------------|
| 1. ki 33 | "horn"                 |
| 2. ki 53 | "to cry"               |
| 3. ki 44 | "rich or greasy food"  |
| 4. ki 22 | "drought"              |
| 5. ki 35 | "to freeze"            |
| 6. ki 23 | "to appear"            |
| 7. ki 13 | "to cut with scissors" |
| 8. ki 21 | "to dig"               |

The data show that tones and initials are interrelated.

Unaspirated initials occur with all eight tone categories. Aspirated and devoiced initials can occur only with

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\* "Devoiced" is used to describe voiceless continuants. Aspiration appears to be part of the articulation—and devoiced initials are grouped with the aspirates—but the authors evidently wanted to keep them separate from the aspirates.

Chart I.

Groups	Tc	Hp	Lu	Le	Ch	Tc	Hp	Lu	Le	Ch	Tc	Hp	Lu	Le
A i n i t i a l s	p	p	p	p	p	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t
	m	m	m	m	m	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
	f	f	f	f	f	s	s	s	s	s	ç	ç	ç	ç
	w										z	z	z	z
B i n i t i a l s	ph	ph	ph	ph	ph	th	th	th	th	th	th	th	th	th
	ɸ	ɸ	ɸ	ɸ	ɸ	ɸ	ɸ	ɸ	ɸ	ɸ	ɸ	ɸ	ɸ	ɸ
	fh	fh	fh	fh		tsh		tsh	tsh	tsh	tçh	tçh	tçh	tçh
						sh	sh	sh	sh		çh	çh	çh	çh

Note: The symbols l̪, ɬ, and ʃh represent palatal laterals and lateralized fricatives. Although they do not occur in the IPA chart, they have been introduced here on the analogy of symbols used for other palatal sounds.

## Initials\*

Ch	Tc	Hp	Lu	Le	Ch	Tc	Hp	Lu	Le	Ch	Tc	Hp	Lu	Le	Ch**
ʈ	k	k	k	k	k	q	q	q	q	q					
ɳ	ɳ	ɳ	ɳ	ɳ	ɳ										
ɿ															
ڏ															
tʂ															
ڇ															
ڙ	γ	γ	γ	γ	γ										
ʈh	kh	kh	kh	kh	kh	qh	qh	qh	qh	qh	□	□	□	□	□
tʂh	x	x	x	x	x						h	h	h	h	h

\*The abbreviations for the five groups represent T'ai chiang, Huang p'ing, Lu shan, Lei shan, and Chien ho, respectively.

\*\*The use of the symbol □ is not explained in the text. Although the text did not include h in this chart, it has been added here since it occurs in all five groups.

tones 1, 3, 5, and 7, not with tones 2, 4, 6, or 8 (although there are exceptions in tone 4). Since this type of relationship exists, we shall call the nonaspirates "A-initials" and the aspirates and devoiced initials "B-initials". At the same time we shall divide the tones into two groups: those which occur with B-initials are "I-tones", whereas those which do not occur with B-initials are "II-tones".

According to our data, the phonological systems of the Miao language spoken in these areas are all basically the same. There are, of course, slight differences from place to place. On the basis of these differences, we may divide the dialects into five groups. The places representing these five main groups are:<sup>\*</sup>

T'ai chiang Group: T'ai kung chai, Yung an, and Shih tung k'ou kung chai in T'ai chiang, K'ai t'ang in Lu shan, Chen yüan, Wu ch'a in Chien ho, and Chin chung in Shih k'ang. The T'ai chiang will be represented by T'ai kung chai.

Huang p'ing Group: Chiu chou and Chia pa in Huang p'ing, and Hsin chtiao in Shih k'ang. This group is represented by Chiu chout.

Lu shan Group: Chou ch'i of Lu shan and Hsüan wei chen in Ma chiang. The group is represented by Chou ch'i.

Lei shan Group: Huang li in Lei shan and Wu lo in Tan chait. The Lei shan group will be represented by Huang li.

Chien ho Group: T'ai yung and Ts'ung chiang in Chien ho, P'ai t'ing, San tu, San sui, and Chin p'ing in Tan chai, and Ching hsien in Hunan. This group will be represented by T'ai yung.

The following differences have been found in the phonological systems of these five representative points (see Charts I-III):

1. T'ai chiang, Huang p'ing, and Lu shan have m, n, ŋ, tŋ, tandtŋ, Lei shan and Chien ho have only m, n, and tŋ, lacking ŋ, tŋ, and ndtŋ.

2. T'ai chiang, Huang p'ing, Lu shan, and Lei shan have f, fh, s, tsh, tʂ, ʈh, ʂ, and çh. Chien ho has only f, s, ʈh, and ʂ, lacking fh, sh, ʈʂ, and çh. x and h are aspirated everywhere. Since there are no unaspirated counterparts to these two sounds, we use tʂ and h for the aspirates.

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\* Some of the locations given for the places in these groups are different from those listed for the same places in the introduction above (see pp. 28).

Chart II. Finals\*

	T'ai chiang	Huang p'ing	Lu shan	Lei shan	Chien ho
Monophthongs	i e ε a o u ε	i e ε a o ɔ x ε	i e ε a o u	i e ε a ɔ u x	i e ε a o u
Diphthongs	εi εu au ou	ei au xu ye	eo au ou	ei au ou xu	ei εi au ou xu
Nasal finals	en aŋ on	aŋ oŋ	erŋ aŋ on		en aŋ orŋ

3. Lu shan has w, nz, and jʒh. Lei shan and Chienho have hz. All these sounds are missing in T'ai chiang and Huang p'ing.

4. There is no ts or tsh in Huang p'ing.

5. T'ai chiang, Huang p'ing, Lu shan, and Chien hoh have final ŋ. Lei shan, on the other hand, has no final consonants.

6. T'ai chiang and Lei shan have eight tone categories, Huang p'ing and Lu shan seven, and Chien ho six.

In charts I-III, the initials are arranged according to whether they are A-initials or B-initials; the finals according to whether they are monophthongs, diphthongs, or nasal finals; and the tones according to their tone categories.

### IIIh Phonological Correspondences in the Areas Surveyed

As shown above, there are some differences in the phonological systems of the Miao dialects in these areas, although for the most part they are identical. According to our present data, these differences can be seen to be systematic and can be explained by phonological correspondence rules. For this reason, the Miao people in these various areas do not have much difficulty communicating with each

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\*The symbol x is used here to replace the symbol hʒ in the text. The Lei shan diphthong au was misprinted ou in the text.

Chart III. Tones

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	T'ai chiang		Huang p'ing		Lu shan		Lei shan		Chien ho	
Tone category	Tone value	Example	Tone value	Example	Tone value	Example	Tone value	Example	Tone value	Example
1	33	ki horn	33	ka fry	33	ta answer	33	ki horn	33	tu bloom
2	53	ki musical instrument	55	ka drag	55	ta come	53	ki musical instrument	53	tu footstep
3	44	ki greasy	44	ka a meal	44	ta long	44	tsa house	44	tu stupid
4	22	ki drought	22	ka short	22	ta lose	22	ka drought		
5	35	ki freeze	13	ka grab	13	ta frost	35	ki cupboard	35	tu six
6	23	ki manifest	21	ka duck	23	ta dead	23	ki manifest		
7	13	ki cut	53	ki cut	53	ta wing	13	ki cut	13	tu laugh
8	21	ki dig					21	mai chop, hew	21	tu straddle

other using their own dialects. We shall now describe the features which are different.

The T'ai kung chai dialect will be used as a reference point for comparison with the dialects in other places. The differences will be described in terms of initials, finals, and tones.

#### A. Initials

1. The devoiced nasals m, n, and ŋ of T'ai kung chai correspond to hm, hn, and n in Chin chung, Ma chiang, T'ai yung, P'ai t'ing, Ts'hung chiang, San sui, Chin p'ing, San tu, and Ching hsien, and to h in Huang li.

	tooth	night	sun	listen	heavyh	sweat
T'ai kung chai	mi 3	maŋ 5	na 1	naŋ 3	noŋ 3*	naŋ 7*
Chin chung	mi 3	maŋ 5	ne 1	naŋ 3	---	naŋ 7
Huang li	hi 3	hɪ 5	ha 1	hɪ 3	hou 3	hɪ 7
Ma chiang	me 3	maŋ 5	ne 1	naŋ 3	noŋ 3	naŋ 7,8
T'ai yung	mi 3	maŋ 5	na 1	naŋ 3	noŋ 3	naŋ 6,7
Ts'hung chiang	maŋ 3	maŋ 5	na 1	naŋ 3	noŋ 3	naŋ 7
P'ai t'ing	mei 3	maŋ 5	ne 1	naŋ 3	noŋ 3	naŋ 7,8
San sui	mi 3	maŋ 5	nei 1	naŋ 3	noŋ 3	naŋ 7
Chin p'ing	me 3	maŋ 5	na 1	naŋ 3	noŋ 3	naŋ 7
San tu	me 3	maŋ 5	nei 1	---	naŋ 3	naŋ 4,7
Ching hsien	me 3	mau 5	na 1	naŋ 3	noŋ 3	---

2. fh in T'ai kung chai corresponds to f in T'ai yung, Ts'ung chiang, P'ai t'ing, San sui, Chin p'ing, San tu, and Ching hsien

T'ai kung chai	T'ai yung	Ts'ung chiang	P'ai t'ing	San sui	Chin p'ing	San tu	Ching hsien
be light	fhe 1	fe 1	fe 1	fe 1	fɛ 1	fei 1	fa 1
rub in hands	fha 1	fa 1	fa 1	fa 1	fa 1	fa 1	fa 1

\* The T'ai kung chai forms were listed in the text as noŋ 3 and naŋ 7.

3. sh and çh in T'ai kung chai correspond to s and ç  
in Ts'ung chiang, P'ai t'ing, San sui, and Ching hsien, and  
to tsh and tçh in T'ai yung. sh corresponds to s in Chin  
p'ing.

	T'ai kung chai	Ts'ung chiang	P'ai t'ing	San sui	T'ai yung	Chin p'ing	Ching hsien
end	shei 3 sa 3	sa 3	se 3	tsha 3	sa 3	sa 3	sa 3
thousand	shan 1 saŋ 1	se 1	sa 1	tshan 1	sa 1	---	---
song	çha 7 çi 7	ça 7,8	ça 7	tçha 6,7	---	---	---
erase	çhan 5 çan 5	çan 7,8	---	tçhan 6,7	---	çan 7	---

4. qh and qh\* in T'ai kung chai corresponds to l and l̥  
in Ma chiang, San tu, San sui, and Ching hsien.

	T'ai kung chai	Ma chiang	San tu	San sui	Ching hsien
moon	qha 5	la 5	la 5	lue 5	lei 5
iron	qhau 5	lə 5	lou 5	ləo 5	lou 5
big	qh l**	lu 1	ləu 1	lu 1	lou 1

5. s in T'ai kung chai corresponds to ts in San sui  
and Chin p'ing.

	T'ai kung chai	San sui	Chin p'ing
early	sau 3	tsau 3	tsou 3
skinny	so 5	tsau 5	tsau 5

6. q in T'ai kung chai corresponds to s in Ching hsien.

	T'ai kung chai	Ching hsien
beg	qe 5	sa 5
four	qo 1	sau 1

7. ts and tsh in T'ai kung chai correspond to tors and sh  
in Chen yüan, Wu ch'a, and Shih tung, and to tç and tçh in  
Chiu chou, Chia pa, and Hsin ch'iao.

\* The text has lh.

\*\* The final is missing in the text.

	T'ai kung chai	Chen yüan	Wu ch'a	Shih tung	Chiu chou	Chia pa	Hsin ch'iao
house	tse 3	se 3	sa 3	se 3	tçih 3	tçi 3	tçi 3
five	tsa 1	sei 1	sa 1	sei 1	tça 1	tça 1	tça 1
stamp	tsho 5	sha 5	sho 5	---	tçho 5	tçhou 5	tçho 5
fish basket	tsha 5	sha 5	sha 5	sha 5	tçha 5	---	---

8. x in T'ai kung chai corresponds to kh in Chen yüan, Shih tung, and San tu.

	T'ai kung chai	Chen yüan	Shih tung	Santu
new	xi 1	khi 1	khi 1	khe 1
quick	xa 5	khi 5	khi 5	khe 5

9. ŋ in T'ai kung chai corresponds to ŋ in Ma chiang.

	T'ai kung chai	Ma chiang
lazy	ŋi 4	ŋi 4
slanting	ŋa 2	ŋi 2

10. t and th in T'ai kung chai correspond to tç and tçh in Chia pa and Ching hsienh

	T'ai kung chaih	Chia pa	Ching hsien
crab	tɔ 1	tçau 1	tçau 1
chopsticks	tou 6	tçau 6	tçø 6
shave	thi 5	tçhi 5	tçhi 5
change	tħe 3	---	tçhu 3

11. tç and tçh in T'ai kung chai correspond to t and th in San sui.

	T'ai kung chai	San sui
medicine	tça 1	ṭa 1
succeed	tçan 2	ṭe 2
cloth	tçhu 1	ṭhen 1
wipe	tçħe 1	ṭħe 1

12. q and qh in T'ai kung chai correspond to k and kh in San tu.

	T'ai kung chai	San tu
dung	qa 3	ka 3
chicken	qa 1	kε 1
tie up	qha 1	kha 1
empty	qhoŋ 5	khanŋ 5

13. y in T'ai kung chai corresponds to tz in Chen yüan, San sui, and Chia pa.

	T'ai kung chai	Chen yüan	San sui	Chia pa
stone, rock	γe 1	ze 1	ze 1	ze 1
vegetable	γo 1	zo 1	zau 1	zau 1

14. The unaspirated stops and affricates occurring in syllables having tone 8 in T'ai kung chai correspond to the aspirated stops and affricates in Yung an, Huang li, and Chou ch'i.

	T'ai kung chai	Yung an	Huang li	Chou chti
cat	pɛi 8	phe 8	phe 8	phe 7,8
see	pu 8	phu 8	phu 8	phen 7,8
pocket	tɛ 8	tha 8	tha 8	tha 7,8
bucket	ti 8	ṭhi 8	ṭhi 8	ṭhe 7,8
pot	khanŋ 8	khanŋ 8	khe 8	khanŋ 7,8
sour liquid	qanŋ 8	---	qhu 8	qhanŋ 7,8
piece of cloth	tsanŋ 8	---	tshei 8	---
ten	tçe 8	tchu 8	tchu 8	tchau 7,8

15. The voiceless unaspirated fricatives—labial, apical, and palatal—occurring in syllables having tone 8 in T'ai kung chai correspond to the respective aspirated counterparts in Chou ch'i.

	T'ai kung chai	Chou ch'i
harelip	fi 8	fhi 7,8
a piece	fa 8	fe 7,8
drag	fo 8	ɸo 7,8
wet	çe 8	çhau 7,8

16. f and ts occurring in syllables having tone 2 in T'ai kung chai correspond to fh and sh in Chen yüan, Wu ch'a, and Shih tung.

	T'ai kung chai	Chen yüan	Wu ch'a	Shih tung
hand up	fi 2	fhe 2	fhi 2	fhi 2
bright	fanj 2	fhang 2	fhō 2	fhanj 2
meeting	sou 2	shu 2	shou 2	shou 2
money	sei 2	she 2	shei 2	shei 2

With the exception of the abovementioned regular correspondences among the Miao dialects spoken in the area, the phonological differences are not consistent. An initial in one place may correspond to two or more initials in another place, apparently without statable conditioning factors. These differences are as follows:

1. Some words with n- and ŋ- in T'ai kung chai correspond torn- and rŋ- whereas others correspond to nz- and ŋz- in Wu lo, Chou ch'i, P'ai t'ing, Ts'ung chiang, and San tu; some correspond torn- and ŋ- whereas others correspond to z- in Yung an, Huang li, and T'ai yung.

	many	man	green	grass	boat
T'ai kung chai	ne 5	nei 2	nau 2	naŋ 2	naŋ 2
Wu lo	no 5	na 2	nzau 2	nzanŋ 2	naŋ 2
Chou ch'i	no 5	ne 2	nzo 2	nzanŋ 2	ŋzanŋ 2
P'airt'ing	no 5	ne 2	nzau 2	nzanŋ 2	naŋ 2
Ts'ung chiang	nau 5	na 2	nzau 2	nzanŋ 2	naŋ 2
San tu	na 5	ne 2	nzau 2	nzanŋ 2	naŋ 2
Yung an	no 5	ne 2	zo 2	zaŋ 2	naŋ 2
Huang li	no 5	na 2	zo 2	zə 2	ŋi 2
T'ai yung	no 5	na 2	zau 2	naŋ 2	naŋ 2

2. Initial y in T'ai kung chai sometimes corresponds to ry- and at other times torw- in Chou ch'i; in Ching hsien it corresponds to both rž- and v-.

	T'ai kung chai	Chou ch'i	Ching hsien
stone	ye 1	yi 1	zei 1
vegetable	yo 1	wau 1	zau 1
guard	ye 3	wo 3	vou 3
dragon	yon 2	yon 2	von 2

3. Initial ɸh in T'ai kung chai sometimes corresponds to ɸ- and sometimes to l- in Ts'ung chiang, Chia pa, T'ai yung, and P'ai t'ing.

	T'ai kung chai	Ts'ung chiang	Chia pa	T'ai yung	P'ai t'ing
moon	ɸha 5	le 5	li 5	le 5	la 5
marrow	ɸhe 1	lɛ 1	lue 1	ɸa 1	la 1
string, rope	ɸhe 5	ɸa 5	ɸa 5	ɸe 5	ɸa 5

4. Initial ɸ in T'ai kung chai sometimes corresponds to ɸ- and sometimes to l- in Ts'ung chiang and San tu.

	T'ai kung chai	Ts'ung chiang	San tu
beg	ɸe 5	le 5	le 5
four	ɸo 1	ɸau 1	ɸa 1

5. çh in T'ai kung chai corresponds to both ç and kh in Chia pa.

	T'ai kung chai	Chia pa
sour	çho 1	çø 1
blood	çhan 3	çan 3
fear	çha 1	khi 1
song	çha 7	kha 7

Chart IV presents the initial correspondences among the twenty-one survey points in the five regions. The arrangement of the initials is based on the correspondences. Blanks indicate that the survey point in question has an initial identical with that of T'ai kung chai.

## B. Finals

The system of finals is basically the same in each of the places recorded. We shall take the same representatives of the five regions (T'ai chiang, Huang p'ing, Lu shan, Lei shan, and Chien ho) to illustrate the similarities and differences between the types of finalsr

1. Finals which are identical in all places: -on in T'ai chiang, Huang p'ing, Lu shan, and Chien ho; -o in T'ai chiang, Lu shan, and Chien ho, and -u and -ou in T'ai chiang and Lei shan.

2. Finals which are different but which correspond regularly: -ou in T'ai chiang corresponds to -ə in Huang p'ing, -eo in Lu shan, and -o in Chien ho (except in "basket"

#### Chart IV. Initial correspondences

## T'ai chiang Group

## Huang p'ing Group

Chiu chou  
Chia pa  
Hsin ch'iao

## Lu shan Group

# Chou ch'i Ma chiang

Lei shan Group

Huang li  
Wu lo

# Chien ho Group

T'ai yung  
Ts'ung chiang  
P'ai t'ing  
San sui  
San tu  
Chin p'ing  
Ching hsien

T'ai chiang Group

T'ai kung chai	p	t	tʂ	tʂʰ	k	q
K'ai t'ang						
Yung an	p/ph	t/th	t/tʂ		k/kh	q/qh
Chin chung						
Chen yüan						
Wu ch'a						
Shih tung						

Huang p'ing Group

Chiu chou						
Chia pa						
Hsin ch'iao						

Lu shan Group

Chou ch'i	p/ph	t/th	t/tʂ	tʂ/tʂʰ	k/kh	q/qh
Ma chiang						

Lei shan Group

Huang li	q/qh	t/th	t/tʂ	tʂ/tʂʰ	k/kh	q/qh
Wu lo						

Chien ho Group

T'ai yung						
Ts'ung chiang						
P'ai t'ing						
San sui						
San tu					k	
Chin p'ing			tʂ	tʂʰ		
Ching hsien			tʂ	tʂʰ		

T'ai chiang Group

T'ai kung chai	ts	tç	tsh	tçh	f	s
K'ai t'ang						
Yung an		ts/tsh	tç/tçh			
Chin chung						
Chen yüan	s		sh		f/fh	s/sh
Wu ch'a	s		sh		f/fh	s/sh
Shih tung	s		sh		f/fh	s/sh

Huang p'ing Group

Chiu chou	tç	tçh
Chia pa	tç	tçh
Hsin ch'iao	tç	tçh

Lu shan Group

Chou ch'i	l	tç/tçh	f/fh	s/sh
Ma chiang				

Lei shan Group

Huang li	ts/tsh	tç/tçh
Wu lo		

Chien ho Group

T'ai yung			
Ts'ung chiang			
P'ai t'ing			
San sui	t	th	ts
San tu			
Chin p'ing			ts
Ching hsien			

<sup>1</sup>According to the correspondence rules, ts in T'ai kung chai should be ts/tsh in Chou ch'i, and n in T'ai kung chai should be n/nz or n/z in Huang li, Wu lo, T'ai yung, Ts'ung chiang, P'ai t'ing, and San tu. However, the correspondences are missing in the data and need to be investigated further.

T'ai chiang Group

T'ai kung chai	ɸ	ç	n	ɳ	m̪	n̪	j̪	f̪
K'ai t'ang								
Yung an								
Chin chung					m	n	j	
Chen yüan								
Wu ch'a								
Shih tung								

Huang p'ing Group

Chiu chou								
Chia pa								
Hsin ch'iao								

Lu shan Group

Chou ch'i	ɸ/ɸh	ç/çh	n/nz	ɳ/ɳz				
Ma chiang					j			

Lei shan Group

Huang li		n/z	l		h	h	h	
Wu lo		n/nz	l					

Chien ho Group

T'ai yung		n/z	l		m	n	j	f
Ts'ung chiang	ɸ/l	n/nz	l		m	n	j	f
P'ai t'ing		n/nz	l		m	n	j	f
San sui					m	n	j	f
San tu	ɸ/l	n/nz	l		m	n	j	f
Chin p'ing					m	n	j	f
Ching hsien	s				m	n	j	f

T'ai chiang Group

T'ai kung chai	sh	ɸh	ɸh	çh	v	qh	x
K'ai t'ang							
Yung an							
Chin chung							
Chen yüan					z	kh	
Wu ch'a							
Shih tung						kh	

Huang p'ing Group

Chiu chou							
Chia pa							
Hsin ch'hiao							

Lu shan Group

Chou ch'i					v/w		
Ma chiang	l	l					

Lei shan Group

Huang li							
Wu lo							

Chien ho Group

T'ai yung	tsh	ɸ/l					
Ts'ung chiang	s	ɸ/l					
P'ai t'ing	s	ɸ/l					
San sui	s	l	l		z		
San tu	s	l	l			kh	kh
Chin p'ing	s	ɸ/l		ç/kh	z		
Ching hsien	s	l	l		z/v		

which is irregular everywhere).

3. A single final in T'ai chiang corresponds to several finals in other regions. There are, however, conditioning factors for the correspondences: -ɛ in T'ai chiang corresponds in Huang p'ing to -i after labials, affricates, and the palatal nasal, but to -a elsewhere (of the 28 words in the survey chart, there are two exceptions: "pocket" and "awry"); in Lu shan to -i after labials, -e after affricates, and -a elsewhere; and in Lei shan to -ɛ after labials and -a elsewhere.

4. A single final in Ttai chiang corresponds to several finals in other regions, but without statable conditioning factors. This problem cannot be solved until we collect more data and conduct additional research. From the present data, however, we do note one fact: among the various corresponding finals there is always one with a predominant number of examples. To take one such case, -i, -e, -a, and -o in Chien ho all correspond to -e in T'ai chiang, but examples of -e in the survey chart are more numerous (36) than those having the other vowels: -o (2), -a (2), and -i (1). Furthermore, this phenomenon is basically the same throughout the four regions.\* For example, the predominant correspondence for T'ai chiang -au is -o in Huang p'ing and Lu shan, -ɔ in Lei shan, and -au in Chien ho. However, there is also a regular correspondence of T'ai chiang -au to Huang p'ing -au, Lu shan -au, Lei shan -ɔ, and Chien ho -ɔ.

We shall now list the final correspondences, giving examples from the five regions: T'ai chiang, Huang p'ing, Lu shan, Lei shan, and Chien ho. Only one example each is given for those sets which correspond to a single final in T'ai chiang.

	T'ai chiang	Huang p'ing	Lu shan	Lei shan	Chien ho
female	mi 8	mi 7,8	mi 7,8	mi 8	mi 4,8
board	pi 6	pi 6	pi 6	pi 6	pi 6,7
pustule	ʈi 2	ʈye 2	ʈɛ 2	ʈi 2	ʈen 2
shun	mi 3	ma 3	mi 3	mi 3	ma 3
drought	ki 4	ke 4	kɛ 4	ka 4	ka 4,8
gall	çɪ 1	çan 1	çen 1	çɪ 1	çen 1

\* That is, that a final in one area corresponds to several finals in the other area with one final statistically predominant.

	T'ai chiang	Huang p'ing	Lu shan	Lei shan	Chien ho
knife for wood	se 5	sa 5	se 5	se 5	se 5
many	ne 5	no 5	no 5	no 5	no 5
guest	qhe 5	qha 5	qhe 5	qhe 5	qhe 5
decay, rot	le 2	lye 2	la 2	la 2	le 2
lure	qhe 3	qhxu 3	---	qhe 3	---
pockmarks	tçe 8	tçi 7,8	tçhe 7,8	tçhe 8	tçi 4,8
a meal	ke 3	ka 3	ki 1	---	ke 3
three	pe 1	pi 1	pi 1	pe 1	pei 1
house	tse 3	tçi 3	tse 3	tsa 3	tse 3
answer	te 1	te 1	ta 1	ta 1	ta 1
lose	te 4	ta 4	ta 4	ta 4	tei 4
burn	phe 3	phi 3	phi 3	phe 3	phei 3
pocket	te 8	tye 7,8	tha 7,8	tha 8	te 4,8
wife	ve 3	ve 3	vi 3	ve 3	vci 3
melon	fa 1	fa 1	fa 1	fa 1	fa 1
slanted	ŋa 8	ŋi 7,8	ŋi 7,8	ŋi 8	ŋi 4,8
join	sa 7	sei 7,8	se 7,8	sei 7	sei 6,7
chicken	qa 1	qeि 1	qe 1	qei 1	qeি 1
this	na 3	nan 3	nan 3	nou 3	non 3
sun, day	ŋa 1	ŋa 1	ŋe 1	ha 1	na 1
two	o 1	ɔ 1	wau 1	ɔ 1	o 1
axe	to 5	tɔ 5	to 5	tɔ 5	to 5
needle	tçu 1	tçxu 1	tçau 1	tçu 1*	tçu 1
soft, de- cayed	mu 7	mau 7,8	mau 7,8	mu 7	mu 6,7
pain	mu 1	maŋ 1	men 1	mu 1	mou 1
bridge	tçu 2	tçx 2	tçau 2	tçu 2	tçu 2
carry in arms	pe 6	po 6	po 6	pɔ 6	po 6,7
six	te 5	ṭau 5	ṭau 5	ṭu 5	ṭu 5

\*The tone is missing in the text.

	T'ai chiang	Huang p'ing	Lu shan	Lei shan	Chien ho
road	kə 3	ki 3	ki 3	ke 3	ke 3
ten	tçə 8	tçɪ 7,8	tçhau 7,8	tçhu 8	tçu 4,8
only	tçə 4	tçɪ 4	tçɪ 4	tçə 4	tçɪ 4,8
go	mə 4	mɔŋ 4	məŋ 4	mə 4	mou 4,8
we	pəi 1	pe 1	pi 1	pi 1	pi 1
fall down	pəi 2	pɛ 2	pɛ 2	pa 2	pi 2
mother	məi 6	mi 6	mɛ 6	məi 6	mei 6,7
man	nəi 2	nɛ 2	nɛ 2	na 2	na 2
flock, herd	məi 4	məŋ 4	məŋ 4	məi 4	məŋ 4,8
fruit	tseɪ 3	tçəŋ 3	tseŋ 3	tseɪ 3	tsei 3
money	seɪ 2	sei 2	se 2	sei 2	sei 2
want	eu 3	au 3	au 3	xu 3	xu 3
pungent	seu 1	so 1	---	sɔ 1	sxu 1
eat	nəu 2	nəŋ 2	nəŋ 2	nəu 2	nəu 2
cold	səu 1	səŋ 1	se 1	sxu 1	sxu 1
early	sau 3	so 3	so 3	sɔ 3	sau 3
hold	tau 7	tau 7,8	tau 7,8	txu 7,8	txu 7,8
little, few	çou 7	çə 6	çeo 6	çou 6	çə 6,7
basket	lou 2	lə 2	lo 2	lo 2	lxu 2
mat	ṭen 4	ṭe 4	ṭen 4	ṭe 4	ṭen 4,8
flat	qəŋ 2	qye 2	qəŋ 2	qei 2	qəŋ 2
arise	çhen 1	çhan 1	çhen 1*	çhe 1	tçhen 1
fill up	tçen 6	tçɪ 6	tçəŋ 6	tçəŋ 6	tça 6
walk	heŋ 1	hɛ 1	haŋ 1	he 1	hau 1
flower	paŋ 2	pe 2	paŋ 2	pe 2	paŋ 2
eagle	ɸaŋ 3	ɸe 3	ɸaŋ 3	ɸei 3	ɸau 3
night	məŋ 5	məŋ 5	məŋ 5	hx 5	məŋ 5
frog	qaŋ 3	qɛ 3	qaŋ 3	qe 3	qau 3
fine, thin	məŋ 4	məŋ 4	məŋ 4	mou 4	məŋ 4,8
wooden urn	thon 1	thon 1	thau 1	thou 1	thon 1

\*The tone is missing in the text.

## C. Tonesh

In the Miao language of this area, there are basically eight tones, although in some places there are only six or seven. The tone correspondences will be set forth here.

All the survey points within each of three regions (T'ai chiang, Huang p'ing, and Lu shan) are identical in their respective tones and tone valuesh. Each region, therefore, can be represented by a single placeh. T'ai kung chai, Chiu chou, and Chou ch'i will be used to represent the T'ai chiang, Huang p'ing, and Lu shan regions, respectively.

1. Chiu chou and Chou ch'i have seven tones eachh. The original seventh and eighth tone categories have merged and have the value 53.

	<u>T'ai kung chai</u>	<u>Chou ch'i</u>	
Tone 7	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ta \ 13 \\ te \ 13 \end{array} \right\}$	~	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ta \ 53 \\ \dot{t}o \ 53 \\ \dot{t}he \ 53 \\ za \ 53 \end{array} \right\}$
Tone 8	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ti \ 21 \\ \dot{z}a \ 21 \end{array} \right\}$		$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} father's \ sister \\ to laugh \\ bucket \\ eight \end{array} \right\}$
	<u>T'ai kung chai</u>	<u>Chiu chou</u>	
Tone 7	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ta \ 13 \\ ya \ 13 \end{array} \right\}$	~	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} tei \ 53 \\ yi \ 53 \end{array} \right\}$
Tone 8	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} t ei \ 21 \\ t eu \ 21 \end{array} \right\}$		$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} tan \ 53 \\ tau \ 53 \end{array} \right\}$
			$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} father's \ sister \\ to hide \\ to step on \\ beans, peas \end{array} \right\}$

2. San tu also has seven tones, the fourth and seventh tone categories having merged with the value 35.

	<u>T'ai kung chai</u>	<u>San tu</u>	
Tone 4	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} me \ 22 \\ pa \ 22 \end{array} \right\}$	~	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} morj \ 35 \\ pa \ 35 \end{array} \right\}$
Tone 7	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} porj \ 13 \\ ta \ 13 \end{array} \right\}$		$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} panj \ 35 \\ te \ 35 \end{array} \right\}$
			$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} to \ go \\ unburned \ bricks \\ waste \ cotton \\ father's \ sister \end{array} \right\}$

3. Ching hsien also has seven tones, the fourth and eighth tone categories having merged with the value 22.

	<u>T'ai kung chai</u>	<u>Ching hsien</u>
Tone 4	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} pa \ 22 \\ naŋ \ 22 \end{array} \right\}$	~
Tone 8	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} pu \ 21 \\ təu \ 21 \end{array} \right\}$	~

4. P'ai t'ing has seven tones, the seventh and eighth tone categories having merged with the value 53.

	<u>T'ai kung chai</u>	<u>P'ai t'ing</u>
Tone 7	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} tə \ 13 \\ xə \ 13 \end{array} \right\}$	~
Tone 8	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} tə \ 21 \\ ti \ 21 \end{array} \right\}$	~

5. Chin p'ing has seven tones, the fourth and eighth tone categories having merged with the value 13.

	<u>T'ai kung chai</u>	<u>Chin p'ing</u>
Tone 4	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ma \ 22 \\ ka \ 22 \end{array} \right\}$	~
Tone 8	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} təi \ 21 \\ mi \ 21 \end{array} \right\}$	~

6. T'ai yung has six tones. The fourth and eighth tone categories merged with the value 21, and the sixth and seventh tone categories merged with the value 13.

	<u>T'ai kung chai</u>	<u>T'ai yung</u>
Tone 4	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} tə \ 22 \\ tçə \ 22 \end{array} \right\}$	~
Tone 8	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} tə \ 21 \\ tçə \ 21 \end{array} \right\}$	~

	<u>T'ai kung chai</u>	<u>T'ai yung</u>	
Tone 6	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} tə 23 \\ tçə 23 \end{array} \right\}$	$\sim$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} tu 13 & \text{sedan chair} \\ tçø 13 & \text{upper reaches of} \\ & \text{a stream} \end{array} \right.$
Tone 7	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} tə 13 \\ tçə 13 \end{array} \right\}$		$\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} tu 13 & \text{to laugh} \\ tçø 13 & \text{to sprout} \end{array} \right.$

We shall now list the tones of the areas to illustrate the various mergers. In order to present the facts clearly, we have kept eight tone categories for all the locations. Thus, in those places where mergers have occurred we find two tones with the same value. These will be parenthesized. Where four tones have merged into two, the value for one of each set will be parenthesized, the other bracketed.\* Blanks indicate that both the tone category and tone value are the same as those of T'ai kung chai (see Chart V).

#### IV. Conclusion

From the analysis and comparative data presented above we see that the phonological systems of the Miao dialects in the southeast of Kweichow are basically the same. With regard to the initials, it was noted that there are labial, apical, palatal, velar, uvular, and glottal places of articulation, aspiration and voicing are distinctives. In all the dialects eight tone categories can be posited, so the tone categories are identical. There are some minor differences, of course, even with such major similarities. For example, in the phonological systems of Chin chung and Huang li and the dialects of the Chien ho region there are no devoiced initials. In San tu there are no uvular initials. Nevertheless, upon examining these differences we find that there are systematic correspondences. Furthermore, even though one initial in a certain locale corresponds to several initials in another place the correspondences are basically able to be explained by rules. Some dialects have seven tones whereas others have six. By comparing these dialects with a dialect having an eight tone system, however, we are able to note the regularity of the mergers. For example, the seventh and eighth tone categories merged yielding seven tones in the Huang p'ing and Lu shan groups, and the fourth and eighth tone categories merged, as did the sixth and

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\* In the original chart, however, parentheses were used for all mergers.

Chart V. Tone correspondences

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<u>T'ai chiang Group</u>								
T'ai kung chai	33	53	44	22	35	23	13	21
K'ai t'ang								
Yung an								
Chin chung								
Chen yüan								
Wu ch'a								
Shih tung								
<u>Huang p'ing Group</u>								
Chiu chou	55				13	21	(53)	(53)
Chia pa	55				13	21	(53)	(53)
Hsin ch'iao	55				13	21	(53)	(53)
<u>Lu shan Group</u>								
Chou ch'i	55				13		(53)	(53)
Ma chiang					13		(53)	(53)
<u>Lei shan Group</u>								
Huang li					13	(13)	23	
Wu lo					13	(13)		
<u>Chien ho Group</u>								
T'ai yung				(21)		[13]	[13]	(21)
Ts'ung chiang	(35)	55			(35)	21	23	53
P'ai t'ing								
San sui						13	23	
San tu		13	35	22	21	35	32	
Chin p'ing	55		23			(53)	(53)	
Ching hsien	13	33	(22)		53	35	(22)	

seventh tone categories, yielding six tones in the dialects of the Chien ho region. In the present data we find no exceptions to the tone rules. Types of finals also correspond. T'ai chiang -ɛ corresponds to Huang p'ing and Lu shan -i after labials, -e after affricates, and -a elsewhere; and to Lei shan -e after labials and -a elsewhere. Because our materials are limited, however, we are unable to make a more detailed study. There are still conditioning factors for the correspondence sets which we have not been able to uncover.

Comrade Stalin told us, "The grammatical structure and vocabulary of a language are its foundation and the essence of its distinctiveness."<sup>2</sup> We compared over 1,300 words and found that over 90 per cent of the words were cognates and less than 4 per cent were noncognates. Of the 100 grammatical patterns compared, all dialects had identical structures. Since the vocabulary and grammatical structure of all the survey points are so much alike, and since the phonological systems are also basically the same, the Miao people in these areas experience no difficulty communicating with each other, despite the slight phonological differences. Thus, the Miao language is the primary means of communication in these areas, the slight phonological differences serving only to characterize the subdialects.

A writing system must be worked out on the basis of a dialect. It is now possible to consider the Miao language spoken in the southeast of Kweichow to be a single dialect and proceed to work out a writing system for the Miao people. As for questions concerning the Miao language throughout China—how many dialects there are and how to consider the Miao writing system as a whole—we are unable to come to any conclusions until an overall survey of the Miao language throughout China is completed. This task is being carried out. We believe, therefore, that these questions will be answered soon.

### Epilogue

In this article we have described the phonology of the Miao language spoken in the southeast of Kweichow and have expressed some opinions about Miao phonology. There may be some mistakes in our analysis, and we hope to receive critical comments from other linguistic workers.

A Miao youth, Comrade P'an Ch'ang-jung, also a linguistic worker, went with us to Kweichow in 1952 to survey

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<sup>2</sup>Stalin, Marxism and Problems in Linguistics, Jen-min Chu-pan-she, 1953, pg. 24.

the Miao language. In 1954 he became sick and died on his way home to rest. We would like to express our grief over Comrade P'an Ch'ang-jung's death.

Finally, we would like to thank the Party and political leaders in Kweichow and the Miao comrades who took part in this endeavor. It was only through their correct guidance and hearty assistance that we were able to successfully finish the survey in the short period of four months. They earnestly hope that the Miao people will be able to learn advanced experiences and techniques through a writing system of their own in order that they may contribute to the establishing of a socialist society. We all firmly believe that under the leadership of the Party and Chairman Mao, the great leader of all races, this work will be realized before long.

## CHINESE LOANWORDS IN MIAO

by

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From ancient times the Miao people have been influenced by Chinese culture. In the same way, the Miao language has absorbed a great number of loanwords from Chinese. Chinese loanwords (hereafter called simply "loans") have been continuously absorbed into Miao and exhibit special phonological features. Since we have no historical records of the Miao language, we must conduct our analysis on the basis of the spoken Miao data alone.<sup>1</sup> In order to simplify our presentation we shall divide the Chinese loans into two rough groups: earlier loans and later loans.

The earlier loans came into Miao in ancient times. Most of these are monosyllabic, primarily nouns in categories such as the names of metals, measures, domestic animals, poultry, tools, etc. In addition, there are also verbs and adjectives. These words have very nearly become part of the core vocabulary in all Miao dialects and subdialects. For example,

<sup>1</sup> The Miao data used in this article comes from the following nine areas:

1. Yang hao, K'ai li hsien, Kweichow (Ch'ien tung dialect).
2. La yi p'ing, Hua yüan hsien, Hunan (Hsiang hsi dialect).
3. Ta nan shan, Hua chieh hsien, Kweichow (Ch'uan ch'ien tien subdialect of the Ch'uan ch'ien tien dialect).
4. Shih men k'an, Weining Yi, Hui, and Miao Autonomous hsien, Kweichow (Tung pei tien subdialect of the Ch'uan ch'sien tien dialect).
5. Pai t'o, Ch'ing yen, Kweiyang City, Kweichow (Kweiyang subdialect of the Ch'uan ch'ien tien dialect).
6. Chia ting, Hui shui hsien, Kweichow (Hui shui subdialect of the Ch'uan ch'ien tien dialect).
7. Feng hsiang, Huang p'ing hsien, Kweichow (Ch'ung an chiang subdialect of the Ch'uan ch'ien tien dialect).
8. Chiao yi, Tzu yün hsien, Kweichow (Ma shan subdialect of the Ch'uan ch'ien tien dialect).
9. Yeh chi p'o, Fu chüan hsien, Kweichow (Lo p'o River subdialect of the Ch'uan ch'sien tien dialect).

	pint	copper	a peck	tile	broken
	chén 1 <sup>2</sup>	təu 2	to 3	iŋi 4	te 5
Yang hao					
La yi p'ing	---	tõ 2	tɯ 3	wa 6**	te 5
Ta nan shan	ʂa 1	toŋ 2	teu 3	wua 4	to 5
Shih men k'an	ʂi 1	dhaʊ 2	ty 3	va 4	to 5
Pai t'o	sen 1	ten 2	tau 3	ʂo 4	ton 5
Chia ting	ʂe 1	tõ 2	tə 3	va 4	tẽ 5
Feng hsiang	ʂen 1	toŋ 2	tau 3	va 4	ton 5
Chiao yi	ʂæ̃i 1II*	taŋ 2	to 3	wəa 4	ton 5
Yeh chi p'o	sen A	ʂoŋ A	tu B	wa B	taŋ C
	chopsticks	lacquer	hundred	ink	strength
Yang hao	ʈu 6	ʂhei 7	pa 5	mɛ 8	ʐə 6
La yi p'ing	tɯ 6	tʂha 7	pa 5	mɛ 8	ʐo 6
Ta nan shan	teu 6	tʂhai 7	pua 5	mei 8	ʐo 6
Shih men k'an	---	tʂhai 7	pa 5	---	zo 6
Pai t'o	ʈau 6	sai 7	po 5	---	vau 6
Chia ting	tə 6	ʂe 7	pa 5	mɔ̃ 8	ʐə 6
Feng hsiang	tʂɛ 6	ʂɛ 7	pa 5	mɛ 8	ʐau 6
Chiao yi	tɯ 6	se 7II	pa 5I	meĩ 2	ʐu 6
Yeh chi p'o	ʐo C	tshe D	pi C	mie D	wju C

If we compare these loans with the Ch'ieh-yün rhyme tables, we find that the tones have been borrowed by Miao primarily on the basis of the p'ing, shang, ch'ü, and ju tone categories. In most cases, the borrowing also agrees with the feature of voicing and can be subdivided into two categories. That is, the Chinese tones yin-p'ing, yang-p'ing, yin-shang, yang-shang, yin-ch'ü, yang-ch'ü, yin-ju, and yang-ju correspond to the Miao tones 1 through 8 respectively. Voiceless initials occur with odd-numbered tones (i.e., yin tones) whereas voiced initials occur with even-numbered tones (i.e., yang tones). The values of the Miao

<sup>2</sup>Numbers following the phonetic transcription indicate the Miao tones. Single numbers indicate tone categories (e.g., chen 1 indicates the first tone). Chiao yi tones 1, 3, 5, and 7 have two subcategories each. In Yeh chi p'o, tone A corresponds to tones 1 and 2 in other places, tone B to tones 3 and 4 elsewhere, etc.

\*The subcategories are called I and II here for convenience.  
\*\*The tone probably should be tone 4.

of the Miao tones vary from place. Consequently, the values of the tone categories of the earlier loans may likewise vary. See Chart I. There are two irregular features in the tone correspondences. The first is the shift which sometimes occurs between the yin and yang tones of the same tone categories in which, for the most part, yang tones are changed into yin tones. For example, in Yang hao

yang p'ing → tone 1	ha 1 "shoes"
	hu 1 "pitcher"
yang ch'ü → tone 5	ha 5 "the twelfth Earthly Branch"
	chu 5 "to receive"
yang ju → tone 7	chu 7 "to ransom"

The second is the shifting which occurs within the yin or yang tones. In Yang hao,

yin shang → tone 5	shan 5 "umbrella"
yang p'ing → tone 8	tan 8 "sugar"
yang shang → tone 6	pə 6 "to embrace"
yang shang → tone 2	ŋu 2 "the seventh Earthly Branch"

The initial and final correspondences are more complicated than the tone correspondences. The proportion of loans occurring with the initial and final categories of the Ch'ieh-yün is very uneven. In some initial or final categories there is but a single loan in Miao. In other categories there are no loans at all. The various splits and mergers are confused. In some cases, several Ch'ieh-yün initials correspond to one loan initial in Miao. In some other cases, several loan initials correspond to one Ch'ieh-yün initial. To illustrate, we list here part of the Ch'ieh-yün-Yang hao initial correspondences. See Chart II.

In the sets of Ch'ieh-yün finals in Chart III, one can see the same problem which was present in the initials. In some cases, several Ch'ieh-yün finals correspond to a single loan final. In other cases, however, several loan finals correspond to a single Ch'ieh-yün final.

The complexity of the correspondences indicates that the borrowing has taken place over a very long period of time and from different stages of Ancient Chinese. It is very possible that some of the loans were borrowed from different Chinese dialects during the course of ancient Miao migrations. There are several features which can be studied by using the joint approaches of both Chinese history and Chinese dialectology.

Chart I. Chinese and Miao tone correspondences

Chinese tone initial Miao tone cate- gory Location and tone value	P'ing			Shang				
	Vls.		Vd.	Vlsr		Vd.		
	Pri- mary clear	Second- ary clear		Pri- mary clear	Second- ary clear			
	I	II	2	I	II	4		
	1			3				
	A			B				
Yeh chi p'o	31			55				
Yang hao	33		55	35		11		
La yi p'ing	35		31	44		33		
Ta nan shan	43		31	55		21		
Shih men k'an	55		35	55		13 33		
Pai t'o	55		54	13		32		
Chia ting	24		55	13		31		
Feng hsiang	33		24	53		13		
Chiao yi	32	22	53	42	232	11		

Ch'u				Ju				<u>Notes</u>	
Vls.		Vd.	Vls.		Vd.				
Pri-mary	Second-ary		Pri-mary	Second-ary					
I	II		I	II					
5		6	$\frac{5}{7}$		6	$\frac{8}{8}$		Some ju tone words were distributed into Miao tones 5 and 6, others into tones 7 and 8.	
C			$\frac{C}{D}$						
24			$\frac{24}{31}$					D has the same values as A and C.	
44	13		$\frac{44}{53}$		$\frac{13}{31}$				
53	42		$\frac{53}{44}$		$\frac{42}{33}$			3 and 7 and 4 and 8 have the same value.	
44	13		$\frac{44}{33}$		$\frac{13}{24}$				
33	$\frac{53}{31}$		$\frac{33}{11}$		$\frac{53}{31}$			1 and 3 and 6 and 8 have the same value. Some tone 4 words have tone 5 value.	
43	21		43		$\frac{21}{54}$			2 and 8 and 5 and 7 have the same value.	
43	22		43		$\frac{22}{55}$			2 and 8 and 5 and 7 have the same value.	
55	31		$\frac{55}{53}$		$\frac{31}{13}$			3 and 7 and 4 and 8 have the same value.	
55	35	31	$\frac{55}{44}$	$\frac{35}{13}$	$\frac{13}{31}$			6 and 7II have the same value.	

Chart II. Chinese and Miao initial correspondences

<u>t-</u>	<u>th-</u>	<u>dh-</u>	<u>l-</u>
t təu 1 fifth day of fifth month	th the 5 charcoal	t təu 2 copper	l lo 2 house with two or more stories
(t) to 3 a peck	(th) than 5 scald; chicken	(t) ton 2 of the same mind	(l) lu 2 mule
ten 5 a shop	thi 5 to sub- stitute	ten 6 a stable	li 4 Chinese mile, li
to 1 a stone house		ten 2 to stop	laŋ 2 grain, food
	lh lhəu 5 iron	l lu 8 to snatch away	γ γa 2 pear
	lh u 7 to take off	(l) li 2 field	γə 6 strength
		len 2 flute <sup>3</sup>	γoŋ 2 dragon
			γu 2 cage

<sup>3</sup>Miao has nasal finals but no stop finals. Some ju tone words which are borrowed into Miao become open syllables, such as lhəu 5 "iron", lh u 7 "to take off", lu 8 "to snatch away", so 6 "chisel, punch", etc., whereas others become closed syllables with nasal finals. In borrowed words having a back vowel the final nasal is -ŋh, such as shan 5 "tin". In borrowed words having a front vowel, however, the final nasal is -n, as in len 8 "flute", tchen 7 "to cut", ghen 7 "the eleventh of the Earthly Branches", etc.

<u>ts-</u>		<u>tsh-</u>		<u>dzh-</u>	<u>s-</u>
tç tçu 3 wine		tçh tçhen 7 to cut and scrape			
ç ço 1 burned çi 5 rice steamer		çh çhi 1 clear	ç çan 6 craftsman	çh çha 3 to write çhen 7 the eleventh of the Earthly Branches	
		tsh tshu 5 vinegar tshei 1 to urge			
s so 5 stove se 3 the first of the Earthly Branches	sh	sha 1 bulky she 5 to build with clay or bricks	s san 2 stratum so 6 chisel	sh shu 3 lock shaŋ 5 tin	
<u>k-</u>		<u>kh-</u>		<u>gh-</u>	<u>ŋ-</u>
tç tcəŋ 1 catty tçəŋ 3 book, roll	tçh	tçhi 5 air	tç tçə 2 eggplant tçə 6 sedan chair	ŋ ŋi 2 silver	
q qə 1 street qa 5 price	qh	qha 5 guest qhon 5 leisure		ŋ ŋu 2 the seventh of the Earthly Branches	ŋi 4 tile
f fa 1 melon fa 5 to go past					

Chart IIIh Chinese and Miao final correspondences

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Hsiao rhyme, unrounded <u>Division I</u>	Hsiao rhyme, unrounded <u>Division II</u>	Hsiao rhyme, unrounded <u>Division III</u>
ə pə 6 to embrace		ə tçə 6 sedan chair
o mo 6 hat, cap	o mo 4 the fourth of the Earthly Branches	o ço 1 burned
lo 2 prison	po 1 to wrap	
u lu 4 old		u tçu 2 bridge çu 1 banana tree

Shan rhyme, unrounded <u>Division I</u>	Shan rhyme, unrounded <u>Division II</u>	Shan rhyme, unrounded <u>Division III</u>	Shan rhyme, unrounded <u>Division IV</u>
ɛ the 5 charcoal	ɛ pɛ 1 class, to retreat		i ɿ 2 field
en en 1 saddle			en tɛn 2 to fill zɛn 1 smoke
aŋ shan 5 umbrella		aŋ saŋ 2 a cent	aŋ shan 1 thousand
a sa 1 Bodhisatva	a tçɑ 8 chaff knife		əu lhəu 5 iron

Shan rhyme, rounded Division I		Shan rhyme, rounded Division III	
en	shen 5 to calculate	ɛ	fhe 3 against
əŋ	təŋ 3 to revolve	əŋ	vəŋ 2 round
u	lu 8 to snatch away lhu 7 to take off.	u	tçu 7 to dig

For example, comparing Peking and Yang hao, fei 4 "boiling" > pu 5 and fen 4 "a share" > pen 6, both with bilabial initials; chung 1 "middle"s > ton 1 and chu 4 "chopsticks"s > tu 6, with alveopalatal initials; and huang 2 "emperor" (Ancient Chinese initial y) > vəŋ 2 and wei 2 "to encircle" (Ancient Chinese zero initial, Division III)s > ve 2, with the same initial.

It is very difficult to distinguish earlier loans from native Miao words. Besides the fact that the tone categories are the same, the mutual restrictions between initials and tones and the patterns of tone sandhi are also the same. In Yang hao, for example, initials occurring with syllables having tone 6 are accompanied by voiced aspiration, such as ken 6 "throne"s > [kʰen] 13.<sup>4</sup> The same change occurs with early loans, such as sspe 6 "to embrace"s > [phə] 13] 3. In Ta nan shan, when a tone 1 syllable is followed by a tone 2 syllable, the tone 2 syllable is changed to tone 6 and its initial is accompanied by voiced aspiration. This same rule applies to early loans in Ta nan shan, such as par 2 (flower) ko 1 (gold) na 2 (silver) "gold and silver flowers" > [paŋ] 31 ko 43 nha 13] 3. The lexical characteristics of the early loans also correspond to those of Miao words. For instance, nouns in isolation or unmodified in sentences must have an appropriate affix (in which case the loans actually become roots) or classifier. Thus, Yang hao qa 1 (prefix) len 2 (sickle, scythe) "sickle, scythes", ju 8 (pair of) tu 6 (chopsticks) "chopsticks", təŋ 1 (clf.) the 1 (to push) "a plane", La yi p'ing ta 1 (prefix) szo 2 (dragon) "dragon", qɔ 1 (prefix) lu 2 (large open basket) "large open basket made of bamboo", ma 2 (prefix) nɛ 2 (difficult) "the difficult one", Ta nan shan qa 1 (prefix) zou 5 (young) "child", etc.

<sup>4</sup>The two numbers following the phonetic transcription indicate the tone values. For example, 13 is a low-mid rise, 31 a mid-low fall, 53 a high-mid fall, etc.

Some of the early loans were borrowed into Miao in very ancient times and, thus separated from the course of Chinese phonetic changes, participated in the phonetic changes taking place in Miao, becoming elements of the Miao language with differing characteristics in the various Miao dialects. Chinese, too, underwent many changes in its long process of development. Both the words and phonology of modern Chinese differ from those of ancient Chinese so that the features of Miao stated above are understandable.

The great majority of modern loans are from southwestern Mandarin and are terms from politics, economics, and culture shared by all dialects and subdialects. Most of these terms are disyllabic words. The loans refer to a wide range of items, from words borrowed several decades ago, such as "soap", "matches", "socks", "school", etc., to words borrowed a few years ago, such as "club", "radio", "middle school", "college", etc; from words borrowed before the Liberation, such as "headman of a ward", "assistant headmen of a ward", "a man of military age", etc., to words borrowed after the Liberation, such as "land reform", "cooperative", "industrialization", "to learn (Marxism, etc.)", "progress", "people's commune", etc. There are all sorts of words used in every aspect of social life. From the above terms we are able to note some of the changes which have occurred in the life of the Miao people. Since the Liberation, not only are the borrowed words numerous, they also are popularized very rapidly. According to our statistics of the year 1959, out of more than 5,000 common words in Yang hao, La yi p'ing, and Ta nan shan, there was an average of over 1,700 modern loans in each dialect, about one-third the total number of words used. Most of these modern loans have been borrowed after the Liberation. Also, the three dialects borrowed the same words.

Basically, modern loans use Miao initials, finals, and tones to reflect southwestern Mandarin phonology. The following charts compare the initials, finals, and tones of modern loans in Yang hao, La yi p'ing, and Ta nan shan with the corresponding initials, finals, and tones of Chinese.

Miao has more initials and tones than Chinese and includes, by and large, all the initials and tones found in southwestern Mandarin. Miao has fewer finals, however. Some survey points lack nasal finals. In polysyllabic loans in which there are nasal finals and the initial of the syllable following the nasal is a stop or affricate, the nasal final is shifted to prenasalize the stop or affricate with no juncture between the two syllables. In Shih men k'an, for example, kung ch'an tang "Communist Party" → ku 35 ŋtsa 33 ntaw 33 and min ping "people's militia" → mi 31 mpi 55. In general, Miao does not have finals with medial -i-, palatal or palatalized initials frequently being used to

Chart IV. Initial correspondences of modern Chinese loans in Yang hao, La yi p'ing, and Ta nan shan

Peking	Yang hao	La yi p'ing	Ta nan shan	Examples			
Local Chinese	Loans	Local Chinese	Loans	Local Chinese	Loans		
p	p	p	p	<u>p</u> pj	p	p	to protect to change
ph	ph	ph	ph	<u>ph</u> pjh	ph	ph	cannon piece
			b	<u>b</u> <u>(b)</u>			dish
				<u>mpj</u> <u>(bj)</u>			a ladle
m	m	m	m	<u>m</u> mj	m	m	hair a second
f	f	f	f	<u>hw</u> (f)	f	f	fat, lard
t	t	t	t	<u>t</u> <u>tʂ</u> (t)	t	t	substitute electricity
th	th	th	th	<u>th</u> <u>tʂh</u> (th)	th	th	to get past ladder
			d	<u>nt</u> (d)			same
				<u>ntʂ</u> (dʒ)			to lift up
n	n	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	woman
		l	l	l	l	l	to accept
l	l	l	l	l	l	l	labor
		ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	advantage
	n	ŋ	n	ŋ	n	ŋ	plan
k	k	k	k	k kw	k	k	high to hang

Peking	Yang hao	La yi p'ing	Ta nan shan	Examples			
	Local Chinese	Loans	Local Chinese	Loans	Local Chinese	Loans	
kh	kh	kh	<u>kw</u> g	<u>khw</u> <u>ŋkw</u> (gw)	kh	kh	to trust to praise crazy
h	h	h	h	<u>h</u> hw	h	h	good barren
cç	tç	tç	tç	<u>tç</u> (ç)	tç	tç	to cross
	k	k	k	k	k	k	to loosen
tçh	tçh	tçh	<u>tçh</u> dʒ	<u>kh</u> ntç (dʒ)	tçh	tçh	skillful certainly a group of
ç	<u>ç</u> h	<u>ç</u> h	<u>ç</u> h	<u>ç</u> h	<u>ç</u> h	<u>ç</u> h	school shoe
	tch	tch	dz	<u>ntç</u> (dʒ)	tçh	tch	detailed
ts	ts	ts	ts	<u>ts</u> tç	ts	<u>ts</u> ts	to contest crowds to specialize
tsh	tsh	tsh	<u>tsh</u> dz	<u>th</u> <u>nt</u> (d)	tsh	tsh	beginning to exit to eliminate to investigate
s	s	s	s	<u>s</u> <u>(ç)</u> s	s	s (s)	to live to discuss community
z	z	z	z	<u>z</u>	z	<u>z</u> (z)	to disturb be content
	z	z	z	z	z	z	

Peking	Yang hao	La yi p'ing	Ta nan shan	Examples
	Local Chinese	Loans	Local Chinese	Loans
	Local Chinese	Loans	Local Chinese	Loans
ts	ts	ts	—	ts ts early t (ts) tç tç to organize
ts	—	—	tsh th (tsh)	tsh tsh to make tçh (tsh) family, race
tsh	tsh	tsh	—	tsh tsh to partici- dz nts (dz) tsh tsh pate
s	s	s	s	s s Soviet
∅	w	v (w) v	w w	w w to guard v v business
∅	z	— z z	—	z z to enter- z z tain
∅	n	i	n	n n to cure γ γ j j one's duty
	y	γ	η	η η to love η (η) to hate

Chart V. Final correspondences

Peking	Yang hao	La yi p'ing	Ta nan shan		Examples		
	Local Chinese	Loans	Local Chinese	Loans	Local Chinese	Loans	
a	a	α	a	α	a	— ua	to investi- gate number
ə	<u>ie</u> <u>ɛ</u>	<u>ei</u> <u>ɛ</u>	e	e	ai	ai	community therefore
	o	o	o	o	o	o	close by
ai	ɛ	ɛ	si <u>(a)</u>	ɛ (a)	ai	ai	to compete vegetable
			e	e			hundred
ei	ei	ei	<u>ei</u> uei	ei	<u>ei</u> uei	<u>ei</u> uei	to fit category
	i	i	i	i	i	i	to prepare
au	au	<u>au</u> (o)	au	ɔ	au	au	hair
əu	əu	əu	əu	ɯ	əu	ou	state
an	<u>ɛ</u> iɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	an	uŋ	to produce ammunition
en	en	en	əŋ	eĩ	en	en	man
aŋ	aŋ	aŋ	aŋ	ã	aŋ	aŋ	political party
əŋ	<u>en</u> oŋ	en	əŋ	eĩ ð	en	en	to contest
	oŋ	oŋ	oŋ	ð	oŋ	oŋ	the wind
uəŋ	<u>oŋ</u> yŋ	oŋ	<u>oŋ</u> yŋ	õ	<u>oŋ</u> yŋ	oŋ	work be content
er	ə	ə	ə	ə	ə	ə	son
i	<u>i</u> ei	i	i	i	i	<u>i</u> ei	machine to analyze
ia	ia	α	ia	α	ia	α	house

Peking	Yang hao	La yi p'ing	Ta nan shan		Examples		
	Local Chinese	Loans	Local Chinese	Loans	Local Chinese	Loans	
ie	ie — <u>i</u> (e) <u>ie</u>	ie	e — e (ie)	ie	e	to borrow	
						iron	
						steps	
						careful	
iau	iau — au	<u>iau</u> (io) au	iau — au	o	iau — au	iau — au	surface school to bite
iau	io	o	io	o	io	o	foot
iəu	iəu	əu	iəw	w	iou	ou	(a surname)
ian	ie — i (e) (ie)	i̚ —	ɛ	ian yan	ien en uen	to change thread fresh	
in	in — ien	en —	i̚ —	in	en — ien	to believe guest	
ian	ian — an	ian — an	~ a	ian — an	ian — an	grain neck	
iəŋ	in — yn	ien — en	in — yn	i̚ —	in yn	ien uen	flat to incline
u	u	u	u	u	u	u	earth
ua	ua	ua	ua	ə	ua	ua	to hang
uə	o — uε (ε)	o — ue	o — e	o — uai	o — uai	o — uai	to speak country
uai	uε — (ua)	uε (ε)	uei	ɛ	uai	uai	fast

Peking	Yang	hao	La	yi	p'ing	Ta	nan	shan	Examples
	Local Chinese	Loans	Local Chinese	Loans	Local Chinese	Loans	Local Chinese	Loans	
uei	uei	—	uei	uei	ei	uei	uei	uei	regulation team
uan	uɛ	—	uɛ (ua)	uɛ	ɛ	uan	uan	uan	regiment to specialize
uen	uen	uen	—	uəŋ	eĩ	uen	uen	—	tired to discuss
uaŋ	uaŋ	uaŋ	uaŋ	ã	uaŋ	uaŋ	uaŋ	uaŋ	the light
y	y	i	—	y	i	y	—	u	empty bureau
ye	—	i	—	ye	e	ye	ue	—	to lack to decide
ye	y	—	—	—	—	ie	e	—	blood
—	io	o	—	io	o	yai	ue	—	to scrape
—	—	—	—	—	—	io	o	—	plan certainly
yan	ie	i	—	yɛ	ɛ	yan	uen	—	to elect whole
yn	yn	uen	—	yn	i	yn	uen	—	troops group of
yəŋ	yəŋ	oŋ	—	yəŋ	ɔ	yəŋ	oŋ	—	male, hero

Chart VI. Tone correspondences

Peking	Yang hao	La yi p'ing	Ta nan shan	Examples			
	Local Chinese	Loans	Local Chinese	Loans	Local Chinese	Loans	
55	33	33	45	44	55	43	low
	31	31	33	33	31	31	seven
35	31	31	33	33	31	31	to lift up
214	55	55	53	53	53	55	bottom
	31	31	33	33	31	31	pen, pencil
51	13	35	24	35	13	24	earth
	31	31	33	33	31	31	past

indicate -i-. In some particular locations, such as Chia ting, where there is neither -i- nor palatalized labials, clusters of labials and laterals are used to indicate yodized labials. For example, Chinese yu p'iao "postage stamp" → zɔ 31 plho 13, mien "flour" → mle 13, and min ping "people's militia" → mi 31 mpli 43. Miao also lacks syllables with medial -u-. In some areas, labialized initials are used to indicate -u-. In La yi p'ing, for example, kuang yung "honorable, glorious" → kwa 44 zo 33. In some places where there are no labialized initials, -u- is simply omitted. In Chia ting, for instance, kua shuai "to lead, to govern" → ka 13 she 13. Since such a great number of loanwords have been borrowed into Miao, it has become necessary to clearly distinguish their meanings. As a result, Miao has had to borrow finals with -i- and -u- in addition to various particular finals which do not occur in Miao. The number of such loans varies from place to place, but the number of finals involved is usually between six and twenty. There are very few dialects which have borrowed initials. The borrowed initials are just ts, tsh, f, and z. As the number of Miao who master Chinese grows, the Chinese-speaking area is continuously expanding and the borrowing of Chinese phonemes becomes more and more common every day.

A few modern loans are different phonemically from the local Chinese dialect. For example, there are no retroflex initials in the dialect of Chinese spoken near La yi p'ing and Chia ting, but the dental and affricate initials of Chinese are pronounced as retroflexed initials in these two places. The young people, however, tend to pronounce the

words in accordance with the local Chinese pronunciation.

Aside from these two types of borrowings, there are a few loanwords which were borrowed in the period between the two. For the most part, these are bisyllabic words and some particular polysyllabic words which were in common use in late Chineser. They are official titles of feudalrrulers, names of processed foods, trade words, production terms, and general everyday words. These loans are not in general use in the various dialects. The same loanwords are not used uniformly to express the same semantic content. The phonological structure of these loans is different from that of both the early loans and the later loans. The tones are particularly confusingr. Some of them correspond to the tone categories of Miao and some do not. In a polysyllabic word the tone category of one syllable will correspond to the Miao tone category but the tone of another syllable will not. The syllable whose tone category does not correspond to the Miao tone category also differs from that of the modern local Chinese dialect. The same problem also occurs in the initials and finals. It is probable that these words were borrowed into Miao at different times and from different Chinese dialects. There are very few loans of this type but the situation is so complex that we have been unable to formulate a rule. The following are some examples:

Yang hao

laŋ 55 pa 33  
ho 31 çhanj 44  
təu 31 həu 44

La yi p'ing

lha 53 pa 35  
tu 53 lu 33  
pa 33 ntə 35 sei 35

Ta nan shan

fua 43 tai 33  
te 21 lo 43  
pai 31 tou 43 çen 43

Pai t'uo

la 43 pa 55  
ke 21 lo 55

Peking

la 3.5 pa 1 trumpet  
ho 2 shang 4 monk  
tou 4 fu 3 bean curd

Peking

la 3.5 pa 1 trumpet  
t'o 2 luo 2 top (toy)  
pei 3 tou 3 hsing 1 Ursus  
Major

Peking

huang 2 ti 4 emperor  
t'o 2 luo 2 top (toy)  
pei 3 tou 3 hsing 1 Ursus  
Major

Peking

la 3.5 pa 1 trumpet  
ke 2.5 luo 2 top (toy)  
(t'o 2 luo 2)

Chia t'uopm 13 km 22

tu 31 lu 22

ta 13 nku 13

Feng hsiang

hou 55 çan 55

tan 31 fu 55

Chiao yi

pi 53 sǣ 35

tu 31 sei 35

Yeh chi p'o

hu 55 saŋ 31

then 55 tsen 55

Peking

pao 1 ku 3.5 maize

(yū 4 mi 3)

t'o 2 luo 2 top (toy)

tan 1 ko 1 delay

Peking

ho 2 shang 4 monk

tou 4 fu 3 bean curd

Peking

pai 3 hsing 4 civilian

tou 4 shih 4 salted beans

Peking

ho 2 shang 4 monk

t'ien 1 ching 3 courtyard

Borrowing has played quite an important role in the development of the Miao language. Its influence on Miao is pervasive, some areas of which will be mentioned briefly below.

The most obvious influence of loanwords on Miao is in the area of phonology. We have already mentioned that modern loans have added many finals and a few initials to Miao. In addition, we may discuss two other points. First, modern loans have brought about a change in the restrictions on the cooccurrence of Miao initials and tones. For example, there were originally no voiceless aspirated stops or affricates with tones 55 or 31 in Yang hao. After the introduction of modern loans with shang and yang-p'ing (including ju) tones, voiceless aspirated stops and affricates began to occur with these two tones: Peking chhang 3 "factory" → tshan 55, t'ao 3 "to punish" → thau 55, ts'e 4.5 "plan" → tshe 31, and t'u 2 "picture, chart" → thu 31. In La yi p'ing initials with tone 33 were accompanied by voiced aspiration but there were no voiceless fricatives. The yang-p'ing (including ju) tone occurring in modern loans has altered this relationship however: Peking shih 2 ch'en 2 "hour, time" → si 33 sen 33 with fricative initials and pi 3.5 "pen'h" → pi 33 with an initial lacking voiced aspiration. In Ta nan shan no fricatives or voiceless aspirated stops or affricates occurred with tones 31 or 24. However, with the introduction of modern loans with yang-phing (including ju) and chhū tones, these initials are now found with both Miao tones: Peking fang 2 "to defend" → fan 31, tsho 4 "mistake" → tsho 24, and t'ao 4 "loop" → thau 24. Modern loans have also brought about changes in the original tone sandhi rules in some dialects and subdialects. For instance, in La yi p'ing tone 35 changes to 31 when preceding another

35: "vegetable" is zei 35 (vegetable) sɔ 35 (green), pronounced [zei 31 sɔ 35]. Modern loans, on the contrary, do not undergo tone changes: Peking yün 4 tong 4 "movement" → [tɔ 35 tɔ 35]. In Ta nan shan tone 31 changes to 13 following another 31, the initial of the changed syllable becoming a voiced aspirate: Peking tao 4 hsieh 3.5 "rice leaves" is mplon 31 (leaf) mple 31 (rice), pronounced [mplon 31 mbl̥e 13]. Modern loans, on the other hand, do not change: Peking jen 2 min 2 "people" → [zɛn 31 mien 31]3

The most obvious phonological changes are those mentioned above. It is difficult at present to see how earlier loans influenced Miao phonology as it developed historically since such loans were borrowed into Miao a long time ago. Nevertheless, in our data we find a few syllable types which occur only in loanwords. For example, Yang hao: zɔŋ 2 "goat, sheep" and fəŋ 3 "wide"; Ta nan shan: zəŋ 2 "goat, sheep; to winnow" and pua 5 "hundred; friend", etc. Moreover, there are relatively few Miao syllables with initial aspirates, and most of these are Chinese loans. It is possible that aspirates were added to the Miao system through the influence of loanwords. More study is needed on this point, however.

The influence of loanwords on the Miao lexicon has been direct. In the first place, loanwords enrich the Miao lexicon and, at the same time, effect some changes in it. The Miao language absorbs loanwords primarily in order to express new ideas and denote new objects which cannot be expressed or denoted by Miao words. In order to deal with new linguistic situations a language borrows new words to express specific ideas even though there are already old words in use (it may be that these Miao words are early Chinese loans). The new loans compete with the old words, either replacing them as hsüeh 2 hsiao 4 "school" and fei 2 tsao 4 "soap" replaced hsüeh 2 t'ang 2 and yang 2 yen 2, or becoming synonymous with them. For example, in all Miao dialects there is a general term denoting all those people who cure diseases which might be translated literally as "medical craftsmen"r After the liberation another word, i 1 sheng 1 "doctor"r was borrowed. The original term "medical craftsman" is now used only for physicians who use medicinal plants to cure people, whereas "doctor" is used for physicians in hospitals.

Some newer loans exist alongside old words as synonymns. We have examples of such synonymns in the following folk songs:

Yang hao: ta 35 tça 33 qan 44 mu 55 zə 11  
everyone to carry manure to sow  
"Let's all carry the fertilizer."

qan 44 phen 44 ti 44 nəu 55 ju 11  
to carry powdered to cause leaf green  
fertilizer

Carry the fertilizer to make the leaves green.

tan 55 to 11 ε 44 lei 44 lo 11  
everybody to do to come to come  
Everyone does his part.

mu 55 tshε 55 tsa 33 pa 44 tan 11  
Miao acre to produce five hundred half  
Each acre yields 550 [catties?]."

La yi p'ing: na 31 phu 44 tci 31 sx 35 to 44 ze 31 ze 31  
only to say (prefix) happy laugh desc. of  
laughing

"I can only say that we are happy and smiling broadly.

çi 53 si 35 tshε 35 nε 31 lo 33 tε 44 prw 44  
happy affair thousand year to come arrive house  
A joyful occasion occurring once in a thousand years  
has come to our homes.

tça 44 tça 44 tsan 44 tei 44 zw 35 kwa 35  
every household to display lantern also to hang

tshe 53  
colorful decorations

Every household decorates with lanterns and colored  
hangings.

prw 44 prw 44 zi 33 tce 33 tci 31 tçw 53 tw 33  
every household to welcome (prefix) raise hand  
Every household welcomes with upraised hands.

zei 33 zei sei 44 tch'i 53 le 33 zu 33 se 35  
everybody to apply for come enter commune  
Everybody is applying to join the commune.

le 35 le 35 tsei 44 çε 44 tçhan 53  
each one to strive to progress to struggle  
for

te 35 ntw 33  
to lead head

Everybody strives to lead,

lu 53 li 33 sei 44 tshε 53 tsε 44  
to endeavor to produce to bring together

tci 35 we 53  
strength to do

endeavoring to produce with all his might.

thu 35 thu 35 nε 31 nε 31 tch'i 35 hon 44  
everywhere every year to celebrate rich

zw 44

harvest

Each year abundant harvests are celebrated every-  
where."

Before the liberation the Miao people also adopted loan  
translations from Chinese in addition to phonemic loans. These  
loan translations form some new words and phrases and are found

in all dialects. For example,

	"red eyes" (jealous)	"to eat white" (without paying)
<u>Yang hao</u>	çø 53 mæ 13 red eye	---
<u>La yi p'ing</u>	jñhi 53 qe 35 red eye	---
<u>Ta nan shan</u>	mua 13 la 43 eye red	tłeu 43 nau 31 white eat
<u>Shih men k'an</u>	---	tley 55 nhau 35 white eat
<u>Pai t'o</u>	qen 13 mu 21 len 55 (prefix) eye red	?lau 55 nau 54 white eat
<u>Chia ting</u>	tã 24 mã 22 le 24 (prefix) eye red	nõ 55 tla 24 eat white
<u>Chiao yi</u>	mon 13 læ 32 eye red	---
<u>Yeh chi p'o</u>	?len 31 ma 24 red eye	non 31 te 31 qlo 31 eat (prefix) white

Loan translations from Chinese have given Miao words or morphemes new meanings. Although "red" and "white" originally indicated only colors, the words "jealous" and "to eat without paying" have added new meanings to "red" and "white". This means that the usages of these color terms have been expanded. Again, the Miao morpheme "to beat", also occurring as "to knock", can now be extended in most areas to include phrases such as "to beat the telephone" [i.e., to phone], "to beat a wager" [i.e., to bet], "to beat a needler" [i.e., to give an injection], "to beat the semimonthly meat meal" [i.e., to enjoy a feast gratuitously], "to beat wine" [i.e., to buy wine], etc., none of which were native to Miao. Although "to buy wine" is used in some areas instead of "to beat wine", the latter is in general use already. The uses of "to beat" mentioned above are obvious loan translations from Chinese.

As a result of numerous borrowed words and phrases coming into the language, some new grammatical patterns have been introduced into Miao with concomitant changes in some rules. These have added new modes of expression to the grammar. For instance, loanwords have brought about changes in Miao word structure. In Miao, names of trees, flowers, melons, fruits, vegetables, buildings, etc., are often preceded by general categorizers. Even though the Chinese loanwords of this type already have general categorizers included in the word (in Chinese the general categorizer follows the subcategorizer), Miao general categorizers are added on as well. For example,

Yang hao: vi 11      sa 33 (sand) ko 33 (cooking pot)  
 cooking pot    earthenware pot  
 "earthenware pot"

tsen 35      zan 31 (occidental) zi 35 (taro)  
 fruit            potatoes  
 "potatoes"

u 35      ta 35 (big) zi 33 (clothes)  
 clothes        overcoat  
 "overcoat"

tse 35      lan 31 (cool) ten 33 (pavilion)  
 house          arbor, summer house  
 "pavilion"

La yi p'ing: çe 35      nto 31 (paint tree) zo 31 (oil)  
 oil            oil of the seeds of the dryandra tree  
 "wood oil"

pi 44      tçä 35 (soya) kwa 44 (cucumber)  
 fruit          pickled cucumber  
 "tomato"

z 44      tshei 35 (underneath) zi 44 (clothes)  
 clothes        underwear  
 "underwear"

prw 44      za 33 (occidental) hwa 33 (house)  
 house          foreign style house  
 "a foreign style house"

Ta nan shan: ntçe 44      mau 43 (cat) as 43 (ear)  
 mushroom      cat's ear  
 "edible fungus found on trees"

tsi 55      mu 31 (tree) kan 43 (orange)  
 fruit          orange  
 "orange"

tshau 44      tshan 31 (long) san 43 (shirt)  
 clothes        long gown  
 "a long gown"

tse 55      ço 31 (learn) cau 24 (school)  
 house          school  
 "school"

This type of word structure has emerged, of course, as a result of linguistic borrowing. Loans adopted after the liberation, such as "sweatshirt" and "auditorium", are Chinese forms completely, no Miao general categorizers being added. Thus, a new pattern has been added to Miao grammar: subcategorizers followed by general categorizer.

In Miao grammar the specifier or modifier--no matter whether in a word or in a phrase--follows the item which is specified or modified. (In most dialects and subdialects there are a few adjectives, such as "good", "bad", and "old"

--but not "new"--which precede the item modified, of which La yi p'ing zu 53 (good) ne 31 (man), Ta nan shan huai 24 (bad) nen 43 (man), and Shih men k'an qu 55 (old) tsho 33 (clothes) are examples.) Loanwords have introduced Chinese word order into Miao by placing the specifier or modifier before the item specified or modified in attributive phrases and compound words. For example,

#### Native Word Order

- Yang hao: tu 55 na 55 "civil or military court"  
door public office
- Ta nan shan: mpe 44 nteu 55 "school name"  
name book
- Shih men k'an: tu 55 si 55 "guardian spirit"  
person genii
- Pai t'o: pei 43 lau 55 "older generation"  
generation old
- Chiao yi: lae 53 ŋka 22 "dry field"  
field dry
- Yeh chi p'o: qhon 55 pei 55 "nuptial chamber"  
hole room

#### New Word Order

- Yang hao: hon 31 tchi 31 "red flag"  
red flag
- Ta nan shan: thu 28\* hou 44 "bald head"  
bald head
- Shih men k'an: zhow 35 tw 55 nw 55 "occidental person"  
goat man
- Pai t'o: khu 43 zan 43 "shoe form"  
shoe form
- Chiao yi: zan 21 tcho 55 "western type shovel"  
occidental shovel
- Yeh chi p'o: nti 55 mien 31 "long life"  
long life

Loan words often combine with native Miao words to form compound words or phrases. This phenomenon can be seen in the above examples (in which the underlined words are loans). Loan words can also combine with native Miao words to form idiomatic phrases. For example,

- Yang hao: ton 55 xhi 33 ton 55 yə 13  
same heart same strength  
"with united forces"

\*A misprint; there is no tone "28".

shəŋ 33 nəŋ 55 vəŋ 13 n̥hu 44  
 1,000 year 10,000 year  
 "countless ages"

sha 33 lo 33 sha 33 pi 11  
 coarse foot coarse hand  
 "awkward and clumsy"

Among these idiomatic phrases are many which have been translated literally, character by character, from Chinese and which have Chinese structures. Still others are partly phonemic loans and partly loan translations with the Chinese structure preserved. There are numerous cases of Chinese structures having been borrowed into Miao. These are most clearly seen in Chinese fixed phrases such as the negative verb-complement structures in common use in all Miao dialects: "unreliable", "almost the same", etc. These set phrases are borrowed as complete phonemic loans in some dialects, partly phonemic loans and partly loan translations in others, and complete loan translations in still others. For example,

	"unreliable"	"almost the same"
Pekingr	khao 4 pu 5 chu 4 rely on not stay*	ch'ə 4 pu 5 to 1 differ not much
Yang hao:	khəu 35 pu 31 tsu 35	tçha 33 a 55 ne 44
La yi p'ing:	khə 35 pu 33 tu 35	tsha 44 pu 33 to 44
Ta nan shan:	khəu 24 tṣi 44 tsu 24	tsha 43 pu 31 to 43
Shih men k'an:	khəu 31 hi 33 tsu 31	tsha 55 hi 33 tçau 55
Pai t'o:	khəu 13 pu 21 tsu 13	tsho 55 ma 53 ntu 43
Chia ting:	ntə 24 mal3 ku 43	t̥a 43 ma 13 tu 43
Feng hsiang:	khəu 13 ma 24 qou 31	tçha 33 ma 24 nteu 55
Chiao yi:	ntə 11 mon 32 tɔ 44 arrive	tsha 55 pu 21 to 55
Yeh chi pro:	khəu 24 men 31 tçhi 55	tsha 55 pu 31 to 55

Miao has also borrowed some Chinese functors. As a result of these borrowings new patterns of expression have been added to the Miao grammar. For instance, the borrowing of Chinese conjunctions has added compound sentences to Miao making the sentence structure tighter and the meaning more precise. The two Yang hao compound sentences below both use conjunctions borrowed from Chinese to link clauses.

zen 33 vei 35 nen 55 ki 35 ki 35 sei 55 ε 44 yu 44  
 because he all sorts also do well,  
 so 55 zi 55 nen 55 tçə 31 phien 31 san 35 ε 33 tçen 35  
 so he only then considered progressive

\*Glosses are the same as for Peking unless noted otherwise

koŋ 35 tso 31 tsɛ 55.

worker

"He did everything well so that he was considered an innovator."

nen 55 lu 11 noŋ 35 lu 11 ho 11      kho 55 si 35  
 he old this old modal auxt but

nen 55 te 11 n̥he 33 n̥he 33 moŋ 11 yu 35 ε 44 qəu 33.  
 he still everyday go slope do work

"Even though he is old like this, he climbs up the hill to work every day."

Some dialects have even borrowed the Chinese structural auxiliary de (genitive marker, adjective formative, adverb formative) the pronunciation and functions of which are identical with the local Chinese. In Ta nan shan for instance,

lo 43 na 55 zau 13 tsha 43 le 33  
 clf. this is new adj. formative  
 "This is new."

pe 43 i 43 no 43 i 43 no 43 le 33      zon 44  
 we one day one day adv. formative well

ʂeu 55 lo 21  
 stand come

"We become better with each passing day."

ni 21 zau 13 pe 43 le 33 lau 43 si 43  
 he is we gen. marker teacher  
 "He is our teacher."

There are still other types of influence due to borrowings which are not just morphological or syntactic. For example, cardinal and ordinal numbers were identical in most Miao dialects. Some dialects have borrowed Chinese ti 4 "ordinal prefix" using it before Miao cardinal numbers to form ordinal numbers, whereas other dialects borrowed phonemically the Chinese forms ti 4 i 1 "first", ti 4 êrh 4 "second", ti 4 san 1 "third", ... The names for the lunar months are not the same in all dialects. The Hsiang hsi and Ch'tien tung dialects show that originally Miao numbers followed the form for "month": "month one", "month two", "month three", ... In the Ch'uan ch'i'en tien dialect, however, with the exception of a few particular areas in which names for the symbolic animals of the twelve Earthly Branches are used in place of numbers and follow the form for "month", most areas put the animal terms or cardinal numbers before the form for "month". Thus, one finds "mouse month", "ox month", "tiger month", ..., or "number one month", "number two month", "number three month", ... Pai t'o has borrowed the Chinese month designations in their entirety. In referring to the first ten days of a month, the Ch'tuan ch'tien tien dialect generally follows the Chinese pattern: "beginning one" (first day of the month), "beginning two" (second day of the month), "beginning three" (third day of the month), etc., where "beginning" is a Chinese loanword.

Loanwords have enriched the Miao lexicon. As a result of the influence of loanwords, not only in the lexicon but in the phonology and grammar as well, the number of elements common to Chinese and Miao has increased. At the same time the number of elements common to all Miao dialects has also increased. This increase of elements in common is very useful in mutual communication and the exchange of ideas. Looked at from this trend in development one can see that the number of common elements is increasing without interruption. The study of Chinese loans in Miao helps us to understand the history of language contact between the Miao and Han peoples. It also enables us to discover some rules for the joint development of the Miao and Chinese languages. The present article provides only a preliminary introduction to Chinese loans in Miao. There are many problems which require further research before they can be solved.



SOME PROBLEMS CONCERNING INITIALS AND  
TONES IN THE MIAO LANGUAGE

by

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This article uses data from Miao dialects found in twenty locations (see Chart 14). The data were collected between June 1956 and March 1957 during a survey conducted by the Second Survey Team of the Minority Languages, Chinese Academy of Sciences. The writers participated in the survey.

In Miao, initials and tones are interrelated. The present paper raises and briefly discusses the following five problems: I. the nature of the yang\* tones and the initials; II. the development of the proto voiceless unaspirated and voiceless aspirated initials and the proto yin\*\* tones; III. the relationship between the changes which took place in the proto prenasalized obstruents and the tones; IV. the presence or absence of prenasalization and changes in the yin tones, and V. types of continuants and yin or yang tones.

### I. The Nature of the Yang Tones and the Initials

There were four tones in Proto-Miao. These we shall call A, B, C, and D. In the modern Miao dialects, these four tones have often split into two tones each, depending on the feature of voice in the initials. These eight tones are designated 1 through 8 (where A has split into 1 and 2, B into 3 and 4, C into 5 and 6, and D into 7 and 8). The tones designated 1, 3, 5, and 7 are yin tones and occurred with proto voiceless initials. Those designated 2, 4, 6, r and 8 are yang tones and occurred with proto voiced initials. In some of the dialects, the voiced initials have been preserved, whereas in others they have been devoiced. Chart 1 shows the nature of the initials occurring with yang tones in five dialects, one of which is Shih men k'an in Wei ning.

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\* Yang tones are lower register tones.

\*\* Yin tones are upper register tones.

All the Shih men k'an initials occurring with yang tones are voiced, either aspirated or unaspirated. The aspiration is conditioned by the word classes. This topic will not be treated in the present paper, however.

In the Shui wei dialect (in Lung li), the initials which occur with yang tones are all voiced, with the exception of the prenasalized obstruents. (The voicing of a prenasalized obstruent refers to the voicing given the stop or affricate which occurs after the nasal; e.g., mp- is voiceless, mb- voiced.)

In the Hsien chin dialect (in Pi chieh), the initials which occur with tones 2 and 8 are voiceless unaspirated obstruents and voiced continuants. Initials which occur with tones 4 and 6 are voiced aspirates.

The Chi wei dialect (in Hua yüan) has voiceless unaspirated obstruents and voiced continuants occurring with tone 2. The initials which occur with tones 4, 6, and 8 are voiceless obstruents having voiced aspiration or voiced continuants.

The Tsung ti dialect (in Tzu yün) has voiceless unaspirated obstruents and both voiceless and voiced continuants occurring with tones 2 and 8. The initials which occur with tones 4 and 6 are voiceless aspirates, voiceless and voiced continuants with voiced aspiration, and voiceless prenasalized obstruents.

To summarize, then, we may make the following statements:

1. Except in Tsung ti, the yang tones (2, 4, 6, and 8) occur only with voiced initials or voiceless unaspirated initials.

2. The initials occurring with tones 4 and 6 share some features, but they are very different from those which occur with tones 2 and 8. If the other dialects are taken into consideration, it can be seen that tone 2 initials (except in Shih men k'an) and tone 8 initials (except in Shih men k'an and Chi wei) are generally unaspirated, whereas initials occurring with tones 4 and 6 (and especially with the latter) are generally aspirated with voicing. Although initials with tones 2 and 8 are voiceless unaspirated, in some dialects they have become voiced aspirates or voiceless initials with voiced aspiration. On the other hand, the yin tones (1, 3, 5, and 7) never have initials which change from voiceless to voiced. It can be seen, then, that the nature of the voiceless initials with tones 2 and 8 is different from that of the voiceless initials which occur with yin tones. Accordingly, we have sufficient evidence for assuming that the initials of words occurring with yang tones were voiced in the protolanguage.

Chart 1. Comparison of initials with yang tones<sup>1</sup>

Tone	Shih men k'an	Shui weir Hsien chin	Chi wei	Tsung ti
door	dlhau 35	z <sup>d</sup> on 31	ton 32	saŋ 42
nine	dʒha 35	z <sup>dʒ</sup> a 31	tçə 32	tçə 42
2 mouth	ndʒhau 35	ntçə 31	ntçəu 32	ntçəu 42
field	lhe 35	len 31	la 32	len 42
dragon	zhau 35	wjon 31	zəŋ 32	zəŋ 42
fire	dey 33 <sup>2</sup>	ð <sup>d</sup> o 55	dheu 21	t <sup>h</sup> x 22*
wait	dho 13	ð <sup>d</sup> on 55	dhaʊ 21	t <sup>h</sup> əŋ 22
4 fish	mbə 33	mpi 55	ndʒhe 21	mr <sup>h</sup> w 22
horse	nw 33	ma 55	nheŋ 21	mpz <sup>h</sup> e 11
granary	zu 33	wjan 55	zho 21	m <sup>h</sup> e 22
die	da 31 <sup>2</sup>	ð <sup>d</sup> a 35	dhw 13	t <sup>h</sup> a 42
hold in arms	ba 53	v <sup>b</sup> a 35	bhw 13	p <sup>h</sup> u 42
6 hemp	nda 53	nta 35	ndhw 13	n <sup>h</sup> o 42
bird	nau 53	no 35	nhoŋ 13	n <sup>h</sup> uŋ 42
strength	zo 53	wju 35	zho 13	z <sup>h</sup> o 42
ten	ghau 31	γ <sup>g</sup> o 31	kəu 24	k <sup>h</sup> u 22
8 bite	dho 31	ð <sup>d</sup> u 31	to 24	t <sup>h</sup> o 22
narrow	NGħae 31	Nqe 31	Nqai 24	ŋ <sup>h</sup> a
eight	žhi 31	ža 31	ži 24	ž <sup>h</sup> i 22
				ži 31

<sup>1</sup>Numbers are used to indicate tone values. That is, 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 indicate low, mid-low, mid, mid-high, and high, respectively. Also, 11 is low level, 31 is low falling, 55 is high level, etc.

<sup>2</sup>In Shih men k'an, the phonetic value of tone 4 is [13] with verbs and [33] with nouns; that of tone 6 is [31] with verbs and [53] with nouns.

\*In the original article, x is given as r, and -r is given as -x.

## II. The Proto Primary and Secondary Clear Initials and the Split Tones

In most Miao dialects, the yin tones (1, 3, 5, and 7) have remained four in number. However, in Tsung ti and Szu ta chai (in Tzu yün) and in Hsin ch'rang and Hsiao miao chai (in Lo tien), the yin tones have split into two tones each (see Chart 14 for the total number of tones in the various dialects). As shown in Chart 2, the tones of Shui wei do not split and are used as a frame of reference with which the tones of Tsung ti and the other dialects are compared.

We may say that in Shui wei the Proto-Miao distinction in the initials between "primary clear" and "secondary clear" has been preserved. Voiceless unaspirated stops and glottalized unaspirated prenasalized obstruents and continuants are equivalent to the proto primary clear initials, voiceless aspirated stops and glottalized continuants and aspirated prenasalized obstruents are equivalent to the proto secondary clear initials (see section V below).

The initials of Tsung ti are either aspirated (voiced or voiceless) or unaspirated (initial h belongs to the unaspirated set, initial h̄ to the aspirated set). Unaspirated initials belong to the proto primary clear category, aspirated initials belong to the proto secondary clear category. From Chart 2 we can see that unaspirated initials (i.e., from the proto primary clear category) occur only with yin tones X, whereas aspirated initials (i.e., from the proto secondary clear category) occur only with the yin tones Y.

The situation in Szu ta chai and Hsiao miao chai is identical to that in Tsung ti.

Hsien ch'rang has initials which occur both with and without voiced aspiration. Initials without voiced aspiration (primary clear) occur with yin tones X, initials with voiced aspiration (secondary clear) occur with yin tones Y.

From these facts we see that in Tsung ti, Szu ta chai, Hsien ch'rang, and Hsiao miao chai, the odd-numbered tones have each split into two tones with the result that words from the proto primary clear category have one tone and words from the proto secondary clear category have another. We shall label these two categories X and Y, respectively.\*

According to our present data, there are also other dialects in which the yin tones have split into X and Y.

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\*The terms used by the authors are tzü and ch'ou, referring to the first and second "earthly branches". "X" and "Y" have been used here to simplify the designations.

For example, tones 1, 3, and 7 of Pai suo (in Ch'ang shun), tones 3 and 5 of Yüeh k'uan (in Wang mou), tones 3 and 7 of Yu chien (in Lo tien), tones 5 and 7 of Hsi kuan (in P'ing t'lang), and tone 5 of P'ing yen (in Lo tien) all have split into two tones on the basis of the feature of aspiration. It is just that in these dialects the pattern is not so symmetrical as that in Tsung ti, Szu ta chai, Hsien ch'ang, and Hsiao miao chai. Examples are given in Chart 3 to Chart 7.

Chart 2. The split yin tones in four locations

	Tsung ti	Szu ta chai	Hsin ch'ang	Hsiao miao chai	Shui wei chai
	32	33	44	Tone 1X 35	31
body hair	plo	plou	prau	tçeu	plu
deep	to	tø	tɔ	tau	tu
know	pø	pou	pau	pəu	---
green	mpza	mpjɔ	mpro	---	m?pa
straight	jntçan	ntaŋ	ntʂon	---	j?tçan
pain	maŋ	maŋ	maŋ	mau	?moŋ
classifier	noŋ	nə	nu	lɔŋ	?laŋ
red	lan	lɛi	lɛi	laŋ	?leŋ
vegetable	zø	zou	zau	γəu	?wju
	22	13	23	Tone 1Y 15	31
blow (wind)	pz'a	pj'ɔ	pr <sup>h</sup> o	pj'au	p'a
boil (water)	t'o	t'ø	t <sup>h</sup> ɔ	t'au	---
root in dirt	p'əu	---	p <sup>h</sup> u	---	---
thread (a needle)	tç'on	tç'on	ʂ <sup>h</sup> ɔŋ	s'an	tç'on
leggings	ɳt <sup>h</sup> aŋ	nts <sup>h</sup> ax	nts <sup>h</sup> əw	nt'aŋ	ɳ?t'ɔŋ
Miao people	m <sup>h</sup> aŋ	m <sup>h</sup> ax	m <sup>h</sup> əŋ	m'an	mø
sun	n <sup>h</sup> oŋ	n <sup>h</sup> au	n <sup>h</sup> uŋ	n'an	ɳa
brain	l <sup>h</sup> əu	l <sup>h</sup> u	l <sup>h</sup> u	l'əu	lu
tall, high	z <sup>h</sup> an	z <sup>h</sup> ɛi	z <sup>h</sup> ɛi	x'ai	sen

	Tsung ti	Szu ta chai	Hsin ch'tang	Hsiao miao chai	Shui wei
	43	44	Tone 3X 24	53	55
house	p <sub>ç</sub> a	pja	pra	pjei	pi
full	poŋ	pau	puaŋ	pəŋ	parŋ
liquor	tçə	sa	tθa	səu	tçɔ
road	ka	ka	ka	kei	tçi
rice crust	ntçə	nti	ntso	---	ŋ?ka
long	nta	nta	nta	ntei	n?ti
dung	ha	ho	xo	kau	qa
waist	la	tłɔ	tłɔ	tçau	qla
this	na	no	na	na	?noŋ
short	loŋ	lau	luŋ	loŋ	?laŋ
	243	34	Tone 3Y 14	31	55
bone	s <sup>h</sup> anŋ	s <sup>h</sup> anŋ	tθ <sup>h</sup> anŋ	s'ɔŋ	ts'orŋ
blood	nts <sup>h</sup> ua	ntç <sup>h</sup> onŋ	nts <sup>h</sup> unŋ	r'enŋ	n?ts'enŋ
ginger	h <sup>h</sup> an	h <sup>h</sup> ei	x <sup>h</sup> ei	k'enŋ	qw'tenŋ
hole	h <sup>h</sup> onŋ	h <sup>h</sup> onŋ	x <sup>h</sup> onŋ	k'anŋ	q'onŋ
head	ho	hou	---	---	xu
hear	n <sup>h</sup> ø	n <sup>h</sup> onŋ	n <sup>h</sup> ɔ	n'aiŋ	---
heavy	n <sup>h</sup> ø	n <sup>h</sup> anŋ	n <sup>h</sup> a	n'ɔŋ	ŋoŋ
tooth	mj <sup>h</sup> e	mj <sup>h</sup> ei	m <sup>h</sup> i	m'ai	meŋ
intestines	n <sup>h</sup> onŋ	n <sup>h</sup> au	n <sup>h</sup> unŋ	n'au	ŋenŋ

Tsung Szu ta Hsin Hsiao miao Shui wei  
ti chai ch'ang chai

	Tone 5X				
	45	13	33	33	35
foot	tə	ta	ta	---	to
kill	ta	tɔ	to	tau	---
axe	tɔ	tou	tau	təu	tu
snow	mponj	mpau	mpuŋ	mpəŋ	m? paŋ
pig	mpa	mpɔ	mpo	mpai	m? pi
name	mpa	mpa	mpa	mpei	m? pi
boiling	mpɔ	mpou	---	mpəu	mpu
egg	ha	ha	xa	kəi	qwe
good	zəŋ	zaŋ	zəŋ	yan	? wionj
fly, soar	jua	zəŋ	zəŋ	zəŋ	? jenj
	Tone 5Y				
	24	11	21	42	35
shoe	k'ɔ	k'ou	kʰau	s'au	k'u
charcoal	t'an	t'ei	tʰi	t'a	t'anj
smoke out	jntʂʰɔ	jntʂʰɔ	---	r'au	j? tʂ'u
night	mʰonj	mʰonj	mʰɔ	m'anj	mɔŋ
smell, sniff	mjʰen	mjʰau	mʰi	m'ai	mɛŋ
meal	nʰɔ	nʰonj	nʰɔ	---	---
moon	lʰi	lʰei	lʰi	l'a	lɑ
iron	lʰu	lʰou	lʰu	l'au	lɔ
rope, string	lʰa	lʰɔ	lʰo	l'ai	li

Tsung Szu ta Hsin Hsiao miao Shui wei  
ti chai ch'ang chai

	Tone 7X				
	33	31	33	44	31
gnaw	kə	kə	kə	---	---
wing	te	tei	ti	ta	ta
dark	p̣ẓu	plou	pru	p̣jau	p̣ø
flatus	pu	pou	pu	pau	po
mole	tan	ṭei	ṭei	---	---
laugh	šo	ṣø	ṭšø	tau	tu
take off	lə	la	la	---	?lo
join	sə	ṣø	ṭθø	sə	tse
	Tone 7Y				
	13	11	21	24	31
itch	k'o	---	k̄u	---	k'o
daughter	mpj̄n̄ε	mpj̄n̄ε	mpj̄n̄ε	---	m̄p'e
paint on	s̄n̄ε	s̄n̄ε	t̄θn̄ε	---	ts'e
cough	n̄an̄	n̄ax̄	n̄on̄	---	no
cut	l̄n̄ε	l̄n̄ε	l̄n̄ε	---	le
drink	w̄n̄o	hou	b̄n̄u	x'aū	xo
scrape off	t̄ç's̄	t̄ç's̄	t̄çn̄ε	s'a	t̄çte
shut	š̄n̄ə	s̄n̄a	t̄θn̄a	s'əu	---
flute	w̄n̄an̄	w̄n̄an̄	v̄n̄an̄	w̄'an̄	---

Chart 3. Tone splits in Pai suo

Tone 1

X 33

Y 23

know	pau	cleave, chop	p'ei
to steam	tçəŋ	float	v'a
green	mpjo	boil water	t'ø
scald	kŋŋ	root with snout	p'u
winnowing basket	wŋŋ	blow (wind)	pj'o
shower	ntŋŋ	sift	z'a
be present	jñ	gather, harvest	ç'a
agriculture	xan	rub in hands	s'o
answer	ta	wipe	tç'a
to sun	zəŋ	voice	z'o

Tone 3

X 35

Y 24

tail	tu	bone	s'an
rice crust	ntçø	head	v'au
full	pŋŋ	hear	n'ø
short	lŋŋ	hole	x'øŋ
long	nta	heavy	j'a
father	tçi	tooth	m'ei
early	ntsø	intestines	j'əu
this	nŋŋ	blood	ntç!uŋ
house	pja	ginger	x'en
road	ka	bellows (forge)	t'an

## Tone 7

X 22

Y 12

gnaw	ka	scrape off	tç'e
remove lid	tçə	select, elect	z'e
pile up	ntçə	fall into	v'a
beat	ntaw	shut	s'a
dig	ntçə	examine	k'ra
take off	la	itch	k'au
join together	so	to cut	l'e
laugh	tsə	flute	w'ă
to scratch	ko	drink	v'u
dig with hoe or spade	kaw	insert	ts'rau

Chart 4. Tone splits in Yüeh k'uan

	X 54	Tone 3	Y 44
tail	tu	bone	ts'ei
rice crust	ntçɑ	head	v <sup>h</sup> ɔ
liquor	tçɑ	hear	n <sup>h</sup> ɔ
full	pɔŋ	hole	x <sup>h</sup> ɔŋ
short	nɔŋ	heavy	ŋ <sup>h</sup> e
long	nta	tooth	m <sup>h</sup> i
father	pi	intestines	ŋ <sup>h</sup> oŋ
early	ntau	blood	ntç <sup>h</sup> o
this	na	ginger	x <sup>h</sup> ai
house	pja	bellows (forge)	t'ɛŋ

	X 54	Tone 5	Y 44
axe	tɔ	shoe	k' <sup>h</sup> ɔ
egg	xa	rope, string	l <sup>h</sup> a
boiling	mpɔ	moon	l <sup>h</sup> is
snow	mpɔŋ	charcoal	t'ai
pig	mpa	iron	l <sup>h</sup> o
good	zew	smoke out	jntç <sup>h</sup> ɔ
name	mpai	night	m <sup>h</sup> ɔ
fly, soar	zɔ	guest	x <sup>h</sup> a
kill	ta	retreat	t' <sup>h</sup> ɔ
foot	ta	vomit, spit	nt'ei

Chart 5. Tone splits in Yu chien

	Tone 3		
	X 35		Y 15
tail	tu	head	v <sup>h</sup> o
rice crust	ntçɔ	hear	n <sup>h</sup> ɔ
liquor	tçɑ	hole	x <sup>h</sup> ɔ
full	pʊŋ	heavy	j <sup>h</sup> a
short	ləŋ	tooth	mɛ
long	nta	intestines	j <sup>h</sup> uŋ
father	tçi	blood	ntç <sup>h</sup> uŋ
early	ŋtçɔ	ginger	x <sup>h</sup> eŋ
house	pla	bellows (forge)	t <sup>h</sup> aŋ

	Tone 7		
	X 54		Y 31
laugh	tʂɔ	to paint	s <sup>h</sup> e
gnaw	ka	cough	n <sup>h</sup> əŋ
mole	teŋ	daughter	mpj <sup>h</sup> o
flatus	pu	drink	w <sup>h</sup> u
dark	pru	cut	l <sup>h</sup> e
take off	la	shut	s <sup>h</sup> a
wing	tai	insert	tʂ'au
beat	ntau	shave	tç'e
join together	ʂe	touch	s <sup>h</sup> ɔ

Chart 6. Tone splits in Hsi kuan

	Tone 5		
	X 44	Y 24	
axe	t <sup>b</sup>	shoe	k' <sup>b</sup>
egg	q <sup>ε</sup>	meal	n' <sup>oŋ</sup>
boiling	mp <sup>b</sup>	moon	l' <sup>i</sup>
six	t <sup>ʂ</sup> o	charcoal	t'e
snow	mpe	iron	l' <sup>o</sup>
pig	mpa	full, enough	ts' <sup>ʐ</sup> u
good	z <sup>oŋ</sup>	smell, sniff	n' <sup>oŋ</sup>
fly, soar	ʐa	night	m' <sup>oŋ</sup>

	Tone 7		
	X 44	Y 24	
gnaw	k <sup>iu</sup>	mole	k'o
wing	ti	daughter	ntʂ'i
dark	plo	to paint	s'i
flatus	po	cut	l' <sup>i</sup>
mole	teŋ	drink	ho
laugh	t <sup>ʂ</sup> o	scrape off	k'i
duck	?o	insert	ts'i
beat	ntʂu	rob, steal	ha

Chart 7. Tone split in P'ing yen

	X 53	Tone 5	Y 31
axe	t <u>ə</u>	shoes	t <u>ç'</u> <sup>ɔ</sup>
egg	ki	meal	m <u>ə</u>
boiling	mp <u>ə</u>	moon	l' <sup>ʌ</sup>
six	t <u>ʂ</u> o	charcoal	t' <sup>ʌ</sup>
snow	mp <u>oŋ</u>	iron	l' <sup>o</sup>
pig	mp <u>ɛ</u>	full, enough	t <u>ʂ'</u> <sup>ɔ</sup>
good	γ <u>a</u>	smell, sniff	m <u>ə</u>
fly, soar	z <u>ɛ</u>	night	m <u>ɒ</u>

### III<sup>t</sup> The Relationship Between Developments in the Proto Prenasalized Obstruents and in the Tones

Proto-Miao had prenasalized obstruents (stops and affricates). These are reflected in the modern dialects in various ways (see Chart 8).

Shih men k'an has three types of prenasalized obstruents: voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated, and voiced. We may state, therefore, that Shih men k'an has preserved all three types of proto prenasalized obstruent initials. Voiceless unaspirated prenasalized obstruents are equivalent to the proto primary clear prenasalized obstruents, voiceless aspirated ones to the proto secondary clear category, and voiced prenasalized obstruents to the proto "muddy" category. We shall use this classification to compare the other dialects with Shih men k'an in order that the various ways in which the proto prenasalized obstruents developed in the modern Miao dialects may be seen.

Hsien chin also has a three-way contrast with prenasalized obstruents, but no voiced members of the set occur with tones 2 or 8, except as realizations of tone sandhi.

Pai chin has voiceless aspirated and unaspirated prenasalized obstruents. The proto voiced members of the set have been devoiced, being realized as voiceless (those occurring with tones 4 or 6 are accompanied by voiced aspiration). Thus, the Pai chin voiceless unaspirated prenasalized obstruents have two sources: the proto primary clear category and the proto muddy category. The voiceless aspirated members of the set, on the other hand, have but a single source: the proto secondary clear category. In Chart

8, the development of the phonemic changes in the prenasalized obstruents which took place in T'uan p'o and Shui wei is shown to be the same as that which took place in Pai chin. The devoicing of these sounds in the subdialects of south-central Kweichow, central Kweichow, southern Kweichow, and the Lo p'o River area is of the same type as that in Pai chin.

The prenasalization of the voiceless aspirated prenasalized obstruents occurring with yin tones is unstable in T'uan p'o and tends to be lost. That is, the proto secondary clear prenasalized obstruents are each reflected as either voiceless aspirated or voiceless unaspirated obstruents.

Prenasalization is optional with glottalized voiceless aspirated and unaspirated prenasalized obstruents in Shui wei in that they tend to become oral aspirates or nonaspirates, respectively. The nonglottalized voiceless unaspirated prenasalized obstruents are very stable. In other words, the proto primary and secondary clear prenasalized obstruents can be articulated either as voiceless oral aspirates or nonaspirates.

In Chi wei, the proto primary and secondary clear categories occurring with yin tones are reflected as voiceless unaspirated or aspirated prenasalized obstruents, respectively (mra 35 "green" with tone 1 is an exception). There are no prenasalized obstruents occurring with yang tones. All the proto voiced prenasalized obstruents have lost the obstruent element, becoming nasals of the same or similar points of articulation.

The proto primary clear prenasalized obstruents have become voiced nonaspirates in Tung t'ou chai (in Lü ch'i). The prenasalization of the proto secondary clear category is unstable and tends to be lost. That is, the proto secondary clear prenasalized obstruents each can be articulated either as voiceless aspirated or voiceless unaspirated oral obstruents. The obstruent element of the proto voiced prenasalized obstruents have been lost, leaving only nasals of the same or similar points of articulation.

Hsiao chang does not have prenasalized obstruent initials. Proto primary clear prenasalized obstruents have changed to the corresponding voiced oral initials (mostly obstruents) with yin tones. The proto secondary clear initials have changed to the corresponding voiceless aspirated oral obstruents, also with yin tones. Proto voiced (muddy) prenasalized obstruents have changed to the corresponding nasal initials with yang tones.

Yang hao is another dialect lacking prenasalized obstruent initials. Those of the proto primary clear category have changed to the corresponding voiceless unaspi-

Chart 8. The relationship between changes in the

		Shih men k'an	Hsien chin	Pai chin	T'uau p'o
1	mushroom	ŋtçi 55	ŋtçe 43	ŋtçe 42	ŋtçɑ 44
3	salt	ŋtʂə 55	ŋtʂe 34	ntsi 13	ntsa 13
5	snow	mpu 33	mpo 44	mpuŋ 44	mpəw 33
7	to prick	ŋtçey 11	ŋtçeu 33	ŋtçəx 44	ŋtçau 33
1	leggings	?ɑ 55 t'ɑu 55	ŋt'ɔŋ 43	ŋt'ɪŋ 42	(n)tç'ei 44
3	blood	ŋtʂ'aŋ 55	ŋtʂ'aŋ 54	nts'aŋ 13	(n)ts'ɔŋ 13
5	to wash clothes	nts'a 33	nts'ɒ 44	ntsta 44	(n)tsto 33
7	daughter	nts'æ 11	nts'ai	mpj'æ 44	(m)pj'ai 33
2	ear	?ɑ 33 mbhə 35	ŋtʂe 32	mpřE 55	mpɑ 55
4	lazy	ŋghw 13	ŋghen 21	ŋtʂʰin 31	ŋkʰi 33
6	hemp	ndɑ 53	ndhɒ 13	ntʰɑ 33	ntʰo 21
8	tongue	?ɑ 55 ndlħae 31-13	mplai 24	mplæ 55	mplei 55

<sup>3</sup>Phones in parentheses are optional. Thus, (n)tsi 55 is pronounced either tsi 55 or ntsi 55. 31-13 indicates that the tone is 31 in isolation, but in combinations, after ?ɑ 55 here, the tone is 13.

proto prenasalized obstruents and the tones<sup>3</sup>

Shui wei	Chi wei	Tung t'ou chai	Hsiao chang	Yang hao
(n)?tʂi 33	ŋkw 35	ŋgu 33	gəw 21	tʂi 33
(n)?tsi 55	ŋtʂw 44	dʐw 44	zəw 55	ʂi 35
(m)?paŋ 35	mpe 53	mbe 22	bi 13	pɛ 44
(n)?tʂu 44	ŋtʂu 44	ŋdʐa 34	---	tʂu 53
(n)?t'ɔŋ 31	nt'u 35	(n)t'w 53	ts'u 53	t'u 33
(n)?ts'en 55	ntʂ'en 44	(n)ts'e 55	ts'ei 55	ʂ'an 35
(n)?ts'a 35	nts'o 53	(n)ts'ɔ 33	---	s'o 44
(m)?p'e 31	mp'a 44	(m)p'a 34	p'a 24	p'i 53
mpi 31	mrw 31	mjw 21	məw 21	zɛ 55
ŋkan 55	ŋʰe 22	ŋe 55	ŋen 55	ŋʰi 11
nta 35	nʰo 42	nɔ 22	nəi 13	nʰo 13
mple 31	mrʰa 44	mja 24	mja 24	ni 21

rated oral obstruents or continuants (no 44 "many" with tone 5 is an exception; cf. Pai chin nto 44) with yin tones. Those of the proto secondary clear category have changed to the corresponding voiceless aspirated oral obstruents or continuants with yin tones. Prenasalized initials of the muddy category have changed to the corresponding voiced nasals or voiced fricatives with yang tones. The z- in Yang hao corresponds regularly to a nasal in other dialects in eastern Kweichow. For example,

Tone		Yang hao	K'ai t'ang <sup>4</sup>
4	fish	zε 11	næ 11
2	ear	zε 55	næ 53
2	grass	zaŋ 55	naŋ 53

#### IV. The Presence or Absence of Prenasalization and Tonal Developments

In the Tung t'ou chai dialect, all yin tones have split into two tones each (the method of splitting is different from that in Tsung ti and other places; see Chart 9). The yin tones in Chi wei do not split and are therefore used as a frame of reference for comparing those of Tung t'ou chai.

From the forms compared in Chart 9, one can see that the yin tones of Tung t'ou chai fall into two subcategories: one with prenasalization, the other without. At present, the prenasalization of the proto secondary clear category is unstable in Tung t'ou chai. That is, each prenasalized obstruent in this category is articulated either as a voiceless prenasalized aspirate or as a voiceless oral aspirate. In the yang tones, nothing of the proto voiced prenasalized obstruents remain. The obstruent elements have been lost, leaving only the nasal elements. The present-day reflexes are thus voiced nasals. The only stable voiced prenasalized initials are reflexes of the proto primary clear category (see section III above).

The values of tones occurring with proto primary clear nonprenasalized obstruents and those occurring with proto secondary clear initials are the same if they belong to the same subcategory of tones.\* The values of tones occurring with proto primary clear prenasalized obstruents are different from those occurring with other proto clear initials. We shall designate the former group I, the latter group II.

<sup>4</sup> K'ai ttang is also in Lu shan, 30 kilometers from Yang hao.

\* That is, either X or Y.

Chart 9. Tone splits in Tung t'ou chai

	I		II		
Tone	Tung t'ou chai	Chi wei	Tung ts'ou chai	Chi wei	
1	deep	tɔ 53	to 35	mushroom	ŋgu 33
	chicken	qa 53	qa 35	middle	ndɯ 33
	three	pɔ 53	pu 35	to cut with scissors	ndzi 33
	devil	qwe 53	qwei 35	wet	nde 33
	needle	ku 53	tçu 35	cloth	ndi 33
3	dog	qu 55	qwu 44	long	ndu 44
	road	ku 55	kw 44	paper	nda 44
	tail	ta 55	tw 44	to mend pans	mba 44
	full	pe 55	pe 44	salt	ndzu 44
	short	li 55	le 44	early	ndzo 44
5	sleep	pɑ 33	pɪ 53	pig	mba 22
	year	tso 33	tçu 53	skinny	ndʒi 22
	month	la 33	la 53	to ride	ndzə 22
	six	tɔ 33	to 53	to beat	ndə 22
	shoes	k'o 33	ço 53	tree	ndo 22
7	wing	ti 34	tx 44	navel	nda 24
	to cut	la 34	l'a 44	to weave	ndo 24
	to laugh	tɔ 34	to 44	to cut	NGa 24
	flatus	po 34	pu 44	to prick	ndʒa 24

tot

In like manner, tones 1 and 5 of Hsiao chang and tones 1 and 3 of Wu chia chai all have split into two tones. Examples are given in Charts 10 and 11.

Hsiao chang voiced initials occurring with tones 1 and 5 are reflexes of proto primary clear prenasalized obstruents (see section III above). With yin tone words, the proto prenasalized obstruents lost the nasal element in Hsiao chang, but the cause of the two-way split is the same as that for Tung t'ou chai and Wu chia chair.

Chart 10. Tone splits in Hsiao chang

Tone 1

I: 53

II: 21

vegetable	?i	mushroom	gəw
brain	la	wet	dei
thick	tɛ	to float	de
high, tall	çe	reeds	Gu
far	qəw	cloth	dei
to thread	tç'an	scissors	zi
needle	ku		

Tone 5

I: 33

II: 13

axe	to	snow	bi
charcoal	t'en	skinny	zen
egg	qəw	to pound (metal)	dan
guest	q'e	name	bu
to sleep	pa	boiling	bo
to split	p'a	pig	bei
moon	la	tree	du
shoes	k'o	to ride	dzan

Chart 11. Tone splits in Wu chia chai

Tone 1

I: 53

II: 33

body hair	pi	wet	ntei
vegetable	z̞ei	mushroom	ŋkʷ
high, tall	sei	middle	ɳtʂan
sour	so	medicine	ɳka
far	qu	scissors	ntsir
deep	t̞ə	cloth	ntei
black	qwei	sleeping	Nqwei
to thread	tʂ'en	gold	ɳtʂi

Tone 3

I: 33

II: 35

ripe	se	early	ntsə
house	plw	long	ntw
liquor	tsw	rice crust	ŋkʷ
fruit	pi	salt	ntsə
louse	tei	knife	ntɛ
rabbit	la	to mend (clothes)	mpa
dog	qu	book	nto
short	lei	to wash (hands)	ntsə

## V. Types of Continuants and Yin or Yang Tones

Nasals, laterals, and fricatives are all continuants. As used here, "type" indicates the three categories of initials: primary clear, secondary clear, and muddy.

In the Lo p'o River dialects, tones are not distinguished according to the yin-yang dichotomy. In most areas there are three tones, although in some areas there are four. There are, however, a considerable number of initials. Continuants occur with three manners of articulation. Of the continuants, the nasals and laterals present the most symmetrical pattern. Examples from Shui wei are given in Chart 12. Although Shui wei does not distinguish between yin and yang tones, it does preserve the three types

of proto continuants: glottalized, voiceless, and voiced. The first two types occur in words with yin tones in those dialects which distinguish yin and yang tones (the first two are seen, therefore, to have been in the clear category in the protolanguage). The third type occurs in words with yang tones (and thus was the muddy category of the proto-language). Compare the tone categories occurring with the three types of continuants in both Shui wei and Yang hao in Chart 13.

In those dialects in which tones are subcategorized into X and Y, the first type of continuant (i.e., glottalized) occurs with subgroup X (and thus primary clear in the protolanguage), whereas the second type (i.e., voiceless) occurs with subgroup Y (and thus secondary clear in the protolanguage). Compare the Shui wei words in Chart 12 with the same words in the other dialects (Charts 2 to 7). For example, in Tsung ti, Szu ta chai, Hsin ch'ang, and Hsiao miao chai (Chart 2), in Yüeh k'uān (Chart 4), in Hsi kuan (Chart 6), in P'ing yen (Chart 7), and in other dialects, "good" (Shui wei: ?wjon 35(C)) has tone 5X throughout, whereas "moon" (Shui wei: la 35(C)) has tone 5Y throughout.

During the time we were out surveying some of the dialects, we came up against a problem: voiced prenasalized obstruents and voiceless prenasalized obstruents with voiced aspiration generally do not occur with yin tones. That being so, why were there so many voiced continuants actually occurring with those tones? It was only in the Shui wei initials that the clue was found, enabling us to discover that in most dialects the voiced continuants occurring in words with yin tones have a source different from that of the corresponding voiced continuants in words with yang tones.

Furthermore, Shui wei also has three types of prenasalized initials: glottalized voiceless unaspirated (e.g., m<sup>p</sup>, n<sup>t</sup>s, and n<sup>t</sup>t), glottalized voiceless aspirated (e.g., m<sup>p'</sup>, n<sup>t's'</sup>, and n<sup>t'</sup>t'), and nonglottalized voiceless unaspirated (e.g., mp, nts, and nt). We see, then, that in the dialects which distinguish between yin and yang tones, the sources of the nasal elements in prenasalized initials in words with yin tones are different from those in prenasalized initials in words with yang tones. In addition, we now know why voiced nasals can occur in words with yin tones.

Chart 12. Three types of continuants in Shui wei<sup>5</sup>

Glottalized continuants	Voiceless continuants	Voiced continuants
pain                   ?mɔŋ 31(A)	tooth                 mɛŋ 55(B)	horse                 ma 55 (B)
late                   ?mɔŋ 55 (B)	night                mɔŋ 35 (C)	eye                   ma 35 (C)
this                   ?nɔŋ 55 (B)	sun                   nɔ 31\$A)	to eat               nor 31(A)
to press              ?nɛŋ 31(D)	to hear              nɛ 55 (B)	to inquire           na 35 (C)
to dwell              ?nɔŋ 31(A)	heavy                nɔŋ 55 (B)	silver               nɛŋ 31 (A)
to use                ?nɔŋ 55 (B)	intestines           nɛŋ 55 (B)	meal                  na 35 (C)
to pour               ?lu 31(A\$)	big                   lɛ 31\$A)	old                   lu 55 (B)
short                  ?laŋ 55 (B)	moon                 la 35 (C)	look                  laŋ 35 (C)
good                   ?wɔŋ 35 (C)	high, tall           seŋ 31\$A)	dragon               wɔŋ 31 (A)
vegetable             ?wju 31 (A)	to count             so 55 (B)	urine                wja 55 (B)

<sup>5</sup>The numbers following each word indicate tone values. The letters A, B, C, or D in parentheses indicate tone categories. For example, lu 55(B) indicates that the tone of the word is B, said with a 55 pitch.

Chart 13. The relationship between the three types of continuants and the yin and yang tones

	Shui wei	Yang hao
pain	?monj 31(A)	munj 33(1)
this	?noŋj 55(B)	nuŋj 35(3)
to dwell	?ŋonj 31(A)	ŋɔŋj 33(1)
to pour	?lu 31(A)	lu 33(1)
good	?wjonj 35(C)	yu 44(5)
night	mɔŋj 35(C)	m'ɔŋj 44(5)
sun	nɑ 31(A)	n'ɛ 33(1)
heavy	ŋɔŋj 55(B)	ŋ'wŋj 35(3)
big	l̥u 31(A)	l̥'ə 33(1)
to count	sor55(B)	x'i 35(3)
eye	ma 35(C)	me 13(6)
to eat	noŋj 31(A)	nanj 55(2)
silver	jneŋj 31(A)	.ni 55(2)
old	lu 55(B)	lu 11(4)
dragon	wjonj 31(A)	yur 55(2)

### Conclusion

Proto-Miao had three categories of initials: primary clear, secondary clear, and muddy, together with four tone categories: A, B, C, and D. The changes which have taken place in the tones and initials may be stated as follows:

#### A. Changes in tones (see Chart 14)

1. In some areas the tones do not split. Consequently, there are no restrictions on the occurrence of any initial with any tone (A, B, C, or D). All proto primary clear, secondary clear, and muddy initials may occur with all four tones.

2. In some localities the tones split into yin and yang (thus producing eight tones) based on the presence or absence of voicing in the proto initials. Yin tones (1, 3, 5, and 7) occur only with words having proto voiceless initials (i.e., either primary clear or secondary clear). Yang tones (2, 4, 6, and 8) occur only with words having proto voiced initials (i.e., muddy).

3. In some places the yin tones each split into the subcategories X and Y (yielding eight yin tones) on the basis of the presence or absence of aspiration in the proto initials. If one includes the four yang tones, the total number of tones is twelve. Yin-X tones (1X, 3X, 5X, and 7X) occur only with words having proto primary clear initials. Yin-Y tones (1Y, 3Y, 5Y, and 7Y), on the other hand, occur only with words having proto secondary clear initials. Yang tones (2, 4, 6, and 8) occur only with words having proto muddy initials.

4. In other areas the yin tones split into the subcategories I and II (yielding eight yin tones). We recognize this split because the tones of words having primary clear prenasalized obstruent initials are different from the tones of those words having other voiceless initials. This split has produced twelve tones, if the four yang tones are included. Yin-I tones (1I, 3I, 5I, and 7I) occur only with words having proto secondary clear initials or proto primary clear nonprenasalized initials. Yin-II tones (1II, 3II, 5II, and 7II) occur only with words having proto primary clear prenasalized initials. Yang tones (2, 4, 6, and 8) occur only with words having proto muddy initials.

5. There are tone mergers as well as tone splits. Thus, in the twenty Miao dialects included in Chart 14, the number of tones in a particular dialect may run from three to twelve.

#### B. Main points in the development of the initials

1. In some localities the distinction between the proto primary clear, secondary clear, and muddy categories is preserved. There is no distinction between yin and yang for any of the tones. As a result, there are no restrictions on the occurrence of initials with tones.

2. In other areas the initials are of two types, one the result of a merger of proto muddy and proto primary clear initials, the other the reflex of proto secondary clear initials. In these areas, the tones have split into yin and yang. Reflexes of proto primary clear and proto muddy initials occur with both yin and yang tones, but reflexes of proto secondary clear initials occur only with yin tones.

3. With regard to the proto clear prenasalized obstruent initials, the proto secondary clear initials have often lost the nasal element, preserving only the obstruent element. (If the obstruent was an affricate, generally only the fricative element was retained.) These occur in words with yin tones. On the other hand, the proto muddy prenasalized obstruent initials have often lost the obstruent element, preserving only the nasal element.

Chart 14. Tones of twenty

Dialect	Location	Tone value	Tone category	A	
				I	II
			X	Y	
Shui wei, Lung li, Kweichow		3		31	
Hsien chin, Pi chieh, Kweichow		8		43	32
Pai chin, Hui shui, Kweichow		6		42	55
T'uan p'o, Tzu yün, Kweichow		5		44	55
Chi wei, Hua yüan, Hunan		6		35	21
Yang hao, Lu shan, Kweichow		8		33	55
K'ai t'ang, Lu shan, Kweichow		8		33	53
Shih men k'an, Wei ning, Kweichow		7		55	35
Tsung ti, Tzu yün, Kweichow		11		32   22	42
Szu ta chai, Tzu yün, Kweichow		8		33   13	35
Hsin ch'ang, Lo tien, Kweichow		9		44   23	45
Hsiao miao chai, Lo tien, Kweichow		9		35   15	31
Pai suo, Ch'ang shan, Kweichow		10		33   23	55
Yüeh k'uan, Wang mou, Kweichow		7		33	45
Yu chien, Lo tien, Kweichow		9		33	53
Hsi kuan, P'ing t'ang, Kweichow		8		33	53
P'ing yen, Lo tien, Kweichow		6		24	24
Tung t'ou chai, Lü ch'i, Hunan		8		33   53	21
Hsiao chang, Lü ch'i, Hunan		6		21   53	21
Wu chia chai, Lung shan, Hunan		4		33   53	33

## Miao linguistic areas

B		C		D							
3		4		5		6		7		8	
X	Y	X	Y	X	Y	X	Y	X	Y	X	Y
I	II	I	II	I	II	I	II	I	II	I	II
	55				35				31		
54		21		44		13		33		24	
13		21		44		33		44		55	
13		33		33		213		33		55	
44		22		53		42		44		22	
35		11		44		13		53		21	
45		11		344		23		13		21	
55		33/13/11		33		53/31		11		53/31	
43	243	11		45	24	13		33	13	31	
44	34	33		13	11	44		31	11	53	
24	14	55		33	21	32		33	21	55	
53	31	213		55	42	24		44	24	213	
35	24	13		13		43		34	31	53	
54	44	24		54	44	33		13		31	
35	15	13		13		43		54	31	533	
55		22		44	24	13		44	24	21	
13		13		53	31	31			55		44
44	55	55		22	33	22		24	34		24
55		55		13	33	13			24		24
35	33	35		11		11			11		11

These nasals occur in words having yang tones.

It is obvious that the relationship between initials and tones in Miao is a very close one indeed. It would be impossible to recognize tones without initials, and vice versa.

THE CLASSIFIER IN THE WEI NING DIALECT OF  
THE MIAO LANGUAGE IN KWEICHOW

by

Wang Fu-shih

The Wei ning dialect of the Miao language in Kweichow belongs to the same dialect area as the type of Miao spoken in northeastern Yunnan. In the autumn of 1952, the writer went to the village of Shih men k'an, 8th ch'ü, Wei ning (100 kilometers northwest of the county seat) to collect linguistic material. The present paper reports only on classifiers. I here acknowledge the help received from Comrade Wang Te-kuang (a Miao) who supplied some examples while I was writing this article.

### I. Numerals and Demonstratives

In the Wei ning dialect of the Miao language (hereafter referred to simply as "Miao"), classifiers modify nouns along with either numerals or demonstratives. In order to understand the use of classifiers it is necessary to first examine the numerals and demonstratives.

A. Numerals. The main Miao numerals are the following:

ntaw 33	ts'ae 33	daw 31	one-half	
i 55	1	a 55	2	
tsɿ 55	3	tɿau 55	4	
pw 55	5	tɿau 33	6	
çaw 33	7	z'i 31	8	
dɿ'a 35	9	g'au 31	10	
ni 31	ng'au 31	20	tsɿ 55 dɿ'au 31/13*	30
tɿau 55	dɿ'au 31/13	40	pw 55 dɿ'au 31/13	50
tɿau 55	dɿ'au 31	60	çaw 33 dɿ'au 31	70
z'i 31	dɿ'au 31	80	dɿ'a 35 dɿ'au 31/13	90
pa 33	100		ts'ie 55 1,000	
vau 53	10,000		pi 55 dɿau 53 several	

\*Wherever two tones are given for a syllable the first tone is the basic tone, the second the changed tone.

tçau 55 many                    ts'a 33 each, every

The following characteristics of Miao numerals should be noted:

1. The structural pattern of compound numerals is the same as that found in Chinese.

76:	çaw	33	d <u>z'</u> au	31	tlau	33
	7		10		6	
105:	i	55	pa	33/11	l'ø y	31
	1		100		0	
2538:	a	55	ts'ie	55	p <u>w</u>	55
	2		1,000		5	
			d <u>z'</u> au	31/13	z'i	31
			10		8	
49637:	tlau	55	vau	53/133*	d <u>z'</u> a	35
	4		10,000		9	
			tlau	33	pa	33
			6	3	ts'ie	55
					d <u>z'</u> au	31/13
					çaw	33
					10	
						7
- 365784:	ts'ie	55	d <u>z'</u> au	31/13	tlau	33
	3		10		6	
			p <u>w</u>	55	pa	33
			5	ts'ie	33	z'i
			1,0003	55	100	31
			d <u>z'</u> au	31	8	
			10	tlau		
				55		
				4		

2. pa 33 (100) and vau 53 (10,000) do not occur by themselves before a classifier. In order to occur before a classifier they must be preceded by some other numeral. The tone of these two numerals changes under the influence of the preceding numerals. The changed tones (pa 33 > pa 11 and vau 53 > v'au 13, v'au 31) themselves cause further tone changes in the classifiers. The patterns of tone change of these numerals are shown in Chart I.

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\*The use of the symbol for aspiration(') after a changed tone indicates that the initial consonant gains aspiration when the tone of the syllable is changed.

Chart I. Tone changes of pa 33 (100) and  
vau 53 (10,000) following other numerals

Tone of preceding one or two syllables	55	33	31	35	13	11	53	33, 31
Changed tone values								
pa 33 >	11	33	33	11			11	
vau 53 >	13'	31'	13'	13'	31'	31'	13'	31'

Some examples of tone changes with pa 33 and vau 53 preceded by other numerals are the following:

i 55 pa 33/11 100  
 a 55 pa 33/11 200  
 tlau 33 pa 33 600  
 z'i 31 pa 33 800  
 dʒ'a 35 pa 33/11 900  
 pi 55 dʒau 53 pa 33/11 several hundred

i 55 vau 53/13' 10,000  
 a 55 vau 53/13' 20,000  
 tlau 33 vau 53/31' 60,000  
 z'i 31 vau 53/13' 80,000  
 dʒ'a 35 vau 53/13' 90,000  
 tsɿ 55 dʒ'au 31/13 vau 53/31' 300,000  
 i 55 pa 33/11 vau 53/31' 1,000,000  
 tlau 33/11 dʒ'a 31 vau 53/31' 600,000  
 pi 55 dʒau 53 vau 53/13' several ten thousands

3. There are five monosyllabic numerals with high-level tone which can occur alone before classifiers, i 55, a 55, tsɿ 55, tlau 55, and pw 55. Two numerals -- tssie 55 and tçau 55 -- cannot occur alone before classifiers. They must be preceded by another numeral in order to occur in that position (e.g., i 55 tssie 55 lu 55 "1,000 '3, and pw 55 dʒ'au 31/13 tçau 55 lu 55 "fifty-odd ").

4. If the numeral preceding vau 53 (10,000) is polysyllabic and the tones of the last two syllables are 33 and 31, the combined influence of these two tones (rather than simply the tone of the last syllable) produces a tone change in vau 53. For this reason, two tones were given in the first row of the seventh column of Chart I (33,31)3. Thus 600,000 would be tlau 33 dz'au 31 vau 53/31' and 3,700,000 would be tsi 55 pa 33/11 cau 33 dz'au 31-  
vau 53/31', but 3,800,000 would be tsi 55 pa 33/11 z'i 31-  
dz'au 31 vau 53/133.

5. Not all Miao classifiers can occur with the numeral "one-half". The numeral most often used for "one-half" is ntaw 33. For the most part, classifiers which are names of containers or which are derived from containers can occur with ntaw 33. Few other classifiers can occur with ntaw 33. Besides ntaw 33, however, there are two other numerals also meaning "one-half": ts'ae 33 and daw 31. These two numerals can precede classifiers other than those which occur with ntaw 33. In Appendix I the particular form for "one-half" is given in parentheses following the gloss for the main classifiers. The absence for a form for "one-half" indicates that the classifier cannot follow any of the three numerals for "half". The forms ntaw 33 and ts'ae 33 usually are preceded by the numeral "one" when they occur with classifiers. After "one", ntaw 33 > ntaw 11 and ts'ae 33 > ts'ae 11.

#### B. Demonstratives. The main Miao demonstratives are:

ni 55	this (near)
v'ae 35	that (far)
i 55	that (not present; i.e., the topic is invisible or absent)
b'i 35	that (on the slope above; i.e., the topic is on the same plane as the speaker but at a higher elevation)
nd'u 35	that (on the slope below; i.e., the topic is on the same plane as the speaker but at a lower elevation)
ts'ae 35	that (to the side; i.e., the topic is on the same plane as the speaker and at the same elevation but cannot be seen by the speaker)
ts'au 35	that (further than <u>ts'ae 35</u> )
d'i 35	that (in front)

- b'i 31 d'i 35 that (same as d'i 35)  
 nd'ae 35 that (inside)  
 dy 31 what, which (interrogative demonstrative)

## II. Categories and Tone Changes of Classifiers

A. Categories of Classifiers. The Miao classifiers can be categorized and divided into seven groups according to the voicing of the initials and the pitch of the tones.

I. Voiceless high level group A	Voiceless initial, high level tone
II. High rising group	Voiced initial, high rising tone
III. Voiceless high level group B	Voiceless initial, high level tone
IV. Voiceless mid level group	Voiceless initial, mid level tone
V. Voiced mid level group	Voiced initial, mid level tone
VI. High falling group	Voiced initial, high falling tone
VII. Voiced high level group	Voiced initial, high level tone

There is a classifier tu 33 (indicating long, hard, solid, inanimate things; abstract things; and all animals) which belongs to Group IV according to its initial and tone. Because of a peculiar pattern of tone change, however, it is sometimes discussed separately.

The above seven groups of classifiers may be called "general classifiers".

There are two other classifiers ti 55 and tsi 55. The tone change of ti 55 is different from that of the general classifiers. In addition, it can indicate only things which are plural in number. We shall call it the "plural classifier" for convenience of description. The tone change of tsi 55 is simpler. It has two uses. One of these is the same as part of the uses of the general classifiers. Its other use is as an auxiliary placed after another classifier. The former use is limited to masculine human beings; the latter use is more common and is its primary use. We shall call this classifier the "auxiliary classifier".

### B. Tone Changes of the Classifiers

1. Chain tone sandhi. A general classifier often changes its own tone following numerals or the plural classifier. This phenomenon does not fall within the regular system of tone sandhi in Miao. We consider this type of tone change to be peculiar to classifiers.

a. See Chart II for the tone sandhi patterns of the general classifiers following numerals, noting the following points:

(1) If the tones of the last two syllables of a polysyllabic numeral are 33 and 31, the tone of the classifier changes according to the column marked "33, 31" instead of the column marked "31". For instance, "60 rivers" is tłau 33 dz'au 31 baw 33/31 dl'i 35, instead of tłau 33- dz'au 31 baw 33/31' dl'i 35.

(2) High level tone numerals which by themselves cannot immediately precede classifiers (i.e., ts'ie 55 and tçau 55) do not influence the tone changes of the classifiers. Rather, it is the combination of one of these high level tone syllables and the tone of its preceding syllable that influences the tone changes. In other words, one should not use the column marked "55" to determine the tone changes of the classifiers merely because these two numerals occur before the classifiers as part of a compound numeral. Instead one should use the column marked "X, 55", where X can be any tone. For instance, "1,000 rivers" in Miao is i 55 ts'ie 55 baw 33/13' dl'i 35 instead of i 55- ts'ie 55 baw 33/31 dl'i 35, and "thirty-odd rivers" is tsi 55 dz'au 31/13 tçau 55 baw 33/13' dl'i 35 instead of tsi 55 dz'au 31/13 tçau 55 baw 33/31 dl'i 35. If, however, one of the high level tone numerals which can immediately precede a classifier (i.e., i 55, a 55, tsi 55, tłau 55, and pw 55) occurs at the end of a compound numeral, it is that single numeral rather than the compound numeral which affects the tone of the classifier. For example, "31 rivers" is tsi 55 dz'au 31/13 i 55 baw 33/31 dl'i 35, and "65 rivers" is tłau 33 dz'au 31 pw 55 baw 33/31 dl'i 35.

(3) From our knowledge of other dialects, we know that the classifiers with tone 55 and voiceless initials originally did not belong to a single tone category. In the Wei ning dialect there are actually two categories as well. One of these does not undergo tone change no matter what the tone of the numeral with which it occurs. The other, however, undergoes tone change according to the tone of the co-occurring numerals. For this reason they are treated separately in the chart. If we see a classifier with voiceless initial and high level tone but without a

Chart II. Tone changes of general classifiers occurring with numerals

Tone of preceding one or two syllables	55	33	31	35	13	11	53	33, 31	X, 55
Classifiers	Changed tone values								
Voiceless	I 55 >	55	55	55	55	55	55	55	55
	III 55 >	33	55	55	33	55	55	33	55
	IV 33 >	11	33	33	11	33	33	11	33
Voiced	II 35 >	55	35	35	55	35	35	55	35
	V 33 >	31	33	13'	13'	31	31	31	13'
	VI 53 >	13'	31'	13'	13'	31'	31'	13'	31'
	VII 55 >	55	35	35	55	35	35	55	55

numeral preceding it, we have no way of knowing which category it belongs to. That is, we are unable to determine whether it belongs to Voiceless high level group A or to Voiceless high level group B.

b. When the classifier tu 33 occurs with numerals, both its initial and its tone are changed. The phonetic changes are shown in Chart III.

Chart III. Phonetic changes of tu 33 following numerals

Tone of preceding one or two syllables	55	33	31	35	13	11	53	X, 55
tu 33 >	du 31	du 33	d'u 13	d'u 13	d'u 13	d'u 13	d'u 13	d'u 13

(N.B. The symbol "X" represents any tone, as in Chart II.)

Some examples of the classifier tu 33 preceded by numerals are the following:

1 tu 33 (animal; long, thin thing; etc.)	is	i 55 du 31
6 tu 33	is	t <sub>l</sub> a <u>u</u> 33 du 33
each tu 33	is	ts'a 33 du 33
8 tu 33	is	z'i 31 d'u 13
9 tu 33	is	dz'a 35 d'u 13
30 tu 33	is	ts <sub>l</sub> 55 dz'au 31/13 d'u 13
60 tu 33	is	t <sub>l</sub> a <u>u</u> 33 dz'au 31 d'u 13
100 tu 33	is	i 55 pa 33/11 d'u 13
several tu 33	is	pi 55 dzau 53 d'u 13
1,000 tu 33	is	i 55 ts'ie 55 d'u 13
20,000 more tu 33	is	a 55 vau 53/13' t <sub>ç</sub> au 55 d'u 13

c. General classifiers also occasionally change tones following the plural classifier. These tone changes are shown in Chart IV.

Chart IV. Tone changes of general classifiers following the plural classifier

Basic tone	Voiceless			Voiced			
	I	III	IV	II	V	VI	VII
	55	55	33	35	33	53	55
Changed tone	55	55	11	35	31'	31'	55

d. Following the plural classifier, tu 33 changes to d'u 13.

2. Formal changes. The phonemic shapes of Miao classifiers undergo change.

a. Besides having a basic form, a general classifier has four changed forms. See Chart V.

Chart V. Formulae for changes of general classifiers

Basic form	Formal changes		
CVT	Formal changes with basic tone	AE change	CAET
		A change	CAT
	Formal changes with high rising tone	AE change	CAE 35
		A change	CA 35

Several points concerning the above changes of general classifiers should be kept in mind.

(1) C represents any initial, V any vowel, and T any tone.

(2) If V is i or ie, AE is iae and A is ia. If V is ishy, AE is yae and A is ishya. If V is any other vowel, AE is ae and A is a.

(3) 35 is the high rising tone.

Examples of the formulae

(1) Let C be f, V be aw, and T be 55. Then CVT is faw 55 (classifier for plants). Substituting faw 55 for CVT in Chart V, we get Chart VI.

Chart VI. Changes of the classifier faw 55

Basic form	Formal changes		
<u>faw 55</u>	Formal changes with basic tone	AE change	<u>fae 55</u>
		A change	<u>fa 55</u>
	Formal changes with high rising tone	AE change	<u>fae 35</u>
		A change	<u>fa 35</u>

(2) Let C be k, V be i, and T be 33. Then CVT is ki 33 (a catty). Substituting ki 33 for CVT in Chart V, we get Chart VIIh

Chart VII. Changes of the classifier ki 33

Basic form	Formal changes		
ki 33	Formal changes with basic tone	AE change	kiae 33
		A change	kia 33
	Formal changes with high rising tone	AE change	kiae 35
		A change	kia 35

(3) Let C be s, V be ie, and T be 33. Then CVT is sie 33 (classifier for strings of things, such as maize, garlic, etc.). Substituting sie 33 for CVT in Chart V, we get Chart VIII.

Chart VIII. Changes of the classifier sie 33

Basic form	Formal changes		
sie 33	Formal changes with basic tone	AE change	siae 33
		A change	sia 33
	Formal changes with high rising tone	AE change	siae 35
		A change	sia 35

(4) Let C be ndz', V be y, and T be 35. Then CVT is ndz'y 35\* (classifier for piles, such as firewood, etc.). Substituting ndz'y 35 for CVT in Chart V, we get Chart IX. Note that the formal changes with a basic high rising tone are identical to the formal changes with high rising tone.

(5) Let C be ntç, V be a, and T be 33. Then CVT is ntça 33 (a li, about 1890 feet). Substituting ntça 33 for CVT in Chart V, we get Chart X. Note that if the vowel of the classifier is a, the A formal change with the basic tone is identical to the basic form of the classifier.

(6) Let C be t', V be ae and T be 33. Then CVT is t'ae 33 (classifier for steps on stairs or rungs on ladders). Substituting t'ae 33 for CVT in Chart V, we get Chart XI. Note that if the vowel of the classifier is ae,

\*The text has ndç'y 35.

Chart IX. Changes of the classifier ndʒ'y 35

Basic form	Formal changes		
ndʒ'y 35	Formal changes with basic tone	AE change	ndʒhyae 35
		A change	ndʒ'ya 35
	Formal changes with high rising tone	AE change	ndʒ'xae 35
		A change	ndʒ'ya 35

Chart X. Changes of the classifier ntç'a 33

Basic form	Formal changes		
ntç'a 33	Formal changes with basic tone	AE change	ntçae 33
		A change	ntç'a 33
	Formal changes with high rising tone	AE change	ntçae 35
		A change	ntç'a 35

the AE formal change with the basic tone is identical to the basic form of the classifier.

Chart XI. Changes of the classifier t'ae 33

Basic form	Formal changes		
t'ae 33	Formal changes with basic tone	AE change	t'ae 33
		A change	t'a 33
	Formal changes with high rising tone	AE change	t'ae 35
		A change	t'a 35

b. The changes of the classifier tu 33 are rather peculiar. See Chart XII.

Chart XII. Changes of the classifier tu 33

Basic form	Formal changes		
tu 33	Formal changes with basic tone	AE change	tae 33
		A change	ta 33
	Formal changes with high rising tone	AE change	dae 35
		A change	da 35

c. For the changes of the plural classifier ti 55, see Chart XIII.<sup>1</sup>

Chart XIII. Changes of the plural classifier ti 55

Voiceless change		
Basic form	ti 55	
Formal changes with basic tone	AE change	tae 55
	A change	ta 55
Voiced change		
Formal changes with low falling tone	di 31	
Formal changes with high rising tone	AE change	dae 35
	A change	da 35

d. For the changes of the auxiliary classifier tsi 55, see Chart XIV.

<sup>1</sup>In some areas (such as in T'ien sheng chiao, Wei ning), the voiceless AE and A changes of the plural classifier with the basic tone are pronounced as tiae 55 (or tie 55) and tia 55, respectively; the voiced AE and A changes are pronounced as diae 35 and dia 35, respectively.

Chart XIV. Changes of the auxiliary classifier  
tsi 55

Basic form	tsi 55
AE change	tsae 55
A change	tsa 55

Notes on the above charts of formal changes.

(1) In the charts, the formal changes with the basic tone indicate that after the changes the original tone is retained. Changes with the high rising tone indicate that after the changes the classifiers have the high rising tone. Formal changes with the low falling tone indicate that after the changes the classifiers have the low falling tone. Formal change AE indicates that after the changes the classifier has the vowel ae (or iae, yae), whereas formal change A indicates that the classifier has the vowel a (or ia, ya) after the changes.

(2) In Chart XIII, "Voiceless change" means that the initial is voiceless. "Voiced change", on the other hand, means that the initial is voiced.

(3) General classifiers which appear in the basic form or the forms described as formal changes with high rising tone may be preceded by numerals. When they appear in the forms described as formal change with basic tone, however, they may never be preceded by numerals.

(4) The voiceless change of the plural classifier cannot be preceded by numerals, but it can be followed by demonstratives. The voiced change can be preceded by the numeral i 55, but it can never be followed by demonstratives.

(5) When the basic form or the voiced formal changed form with low falling tone of the plural classifier modifies a noun, the classifier indicates that the thing is grand and imposing.<sup>2</sup> The same qualities are indicated when the classifier is used as a pronoun. When the basic form occurs sentence finally, however, it does not necessarily imply that the object is grand or imposing. The characteristics of the object indicated by the classifier must be determined from the context.

<sup>2</sup>By "grand and imposing" is meant "good, healthy, pretty", or even that which is considered by the speaker to be good although it is not good in itself.

(6) When the AE formal changes in the charts modify a noun, the noun is understood to represent something ordinary. Used as pronouns, the forms also represent ordinary objects.

(7) When the A formal change forms given in the charts modify a noun, the noun is understood to represent something delicate, small in number, or lovable. Used as pronouns, the forms indicate these same characteristics.

(8) Nouns modified by the following forms of classifiers represent objects which are definite or are known by the addressee:

(a) The basic form of general classifiers (when not preceded by numerals).

(b) The formal change forms with high rising tone of the general classifiers, provided that they are preceded by any numeral greater than two and are followed by a demonstrative.

(c) The formal change forms with basic tone of the general classifiers.

(d) The voiceless change forms of the plural classifier (including both the basic form and the formal change forms with basic tone).

(e) Classifier phrases which include the auxiliary classifier.

(9) Nouns modified by the following forms of classifiers represent objects which are indefinite or are not yet known by the addressee. These same characteristics are indicated when the forms are used as pronouns.

(a) The basic form of general classifiers (when preceded by numerals).

(b) The formal change forms with high rising tone of the general classifiers (with the exception of those cases covered in (8b) above).

(c) The voiced change forms of the plural classifier (including those with both low falling and high rising tones).

### III. The Uses of Classifiers

#### A. The Uses of General Classifiers (or simply "classifiers" in this section)

##### 1. Uses of the basic form of a classifier

a. The basic form of a classifier modifies the noun it precedes.

(1) The basic form of a classifier, without co-occurring numerals or demonstrative, may modify a noun and its optional modifiers. In such a construction, the noun is represented as singular. Even the classifiers used for collections of things, such as mb'o 35 (a group of), gæe 33 (a team of), ngæy 53 (a pair of), etc., indicate just one group of, one team of, one pair of, etc. If a measure is used to categorize things, the use is similar to that of the definite article in Indo-European languages and cannot be translated into English. If the classifier is a standard unit of measurement or a collective classifier, a demonstrative must be added to the translation when rendering it in Chinese. For example,

lu 55 li 33 fau 33  
clf. head  
"a head"

lu 55 li 33 p'y 55 ku ll                      lo 55  
clf. bottle                adj. marker big  
"a big bottle"

tu 33 j'u 35  
clf. cattle  
"cow, ox"

tu 33 jnu 35\* dz'ae 35 (changes to dzae 55)  
clf. cattle spotted  
"a spotted cow"

tu 33 sie 55 nd'y 31  
clf. thoughts  
"thoughts"

mb'o 35 nw 33/53  
group horse  
"this (or that) herd of horses"

ki 33 nG'ae 35  
catty meat  
"this (or that) catty of meat"

(2) The basic form of a classifier along with either numerals or a demonstrative modifies the noun. When it occurs with both numerals and a demonstrative it also modifies the noun. The noun may have additional modifiers as well. When, however, the noun is preceded by a demonstrative, the numeral preceding the basic form of the classifier may not be i 55. For example,

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\*The aspiration is missing in the text.

i 55 faw 55 ntau 33  
 one clf. tree  
 "a tree"

i 55 faw 55 ntau 33 ku ll lo 55  
 one clf. tree adj. marker big  
 "a big tree"

i 55 tu 33 (changes to du 31) dz'ae 35 nau 53/13'  
 one clf.  
 "an hour"

te 55 b'aaw 35 jni 55  
 clft flower this  
 "this flower"

te 55 b'aaw 35 ku ll lie 55 jni 55  
 clf. flower adj. marker red this  
 "this red flower"

a 55 dz'o 35 (changes to dzo 55) ki 55 b'i 35  
 two clf. road that  
 "those two roads (on the slope above)"

a 55 dz'o 35 (changes to dzo 55) ki 55  
 two clf. road

ku ll pi 55 la 31 nd'o 35 b'i 35  
 adj. marker we ever walk that  
 "those two roads (on the slope above) on which  
 we used to walk"

b. The basic form of a classifier together with a numeral forms a numeral-classifier construction. In this type of construction the basic form of the classifier is used as a pronoun. For example,

ku 55 zy 31 n'a 31 maw 33 v'ae 31 jni 55  
 I count see look place this

m'a 35 pi 55 dzau 53 tu 33 (> d'u 13) jnu 35, i 55  
 have several clf. cattle one

tu 33 (> du 31), a 55 tu 33 (> d'u 31), ts'i 55 tu 33  
 clf., two clf., three clf.,

( > du 31), t<sub>l</sub>au 55 tu 33 ( > du 31), p<sub>w</sub> 55 tu 33  
 four clf., five clf.,

( > d'u 31), t<sub>l</sub>au 33 tu 33 ( > du 33), çaw 33 tu 33  
 six clf., seven clf.,

( > du 33), z'i 31 tu 33 ( > d'u 13), dz'a 53 tu 33  
 eight clf., nine clf.,

( > d'u 13), xu 55 bw 53 m'a 35 dz'a 35 tu 33  
 altogether have nine clf.

( > d'u 13). "Let me count how many cows are here: one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine. Altogether there are nine."

The things which are represented by the basic form of the classifier in a numeral-classifier construction are not necessarily grand or imposing. In the example above, however, the noun represented is considered grand and imposing because from the very beginning the classifier modifying n'u 35 is tu 33. Thus, we know that cattle are considered grand and imposing by the speaker. If, on the other hand, the passage had begun, ku 55 zy 31 n'a 31 maw 33 v'ae 31 ni 55 m'a 35 pi 55 dzau 53 dae 35 n'u 35, followed by i 55 tu 33 ( > du 31), a 55 tu 33 ( > du 31\*), etc., one would know that the cattle referred to by the classifiers in the numeral-classifier constructions were ordinary cattle.\*\*

c. The basic form of a classifier together with its modifiers can form the following constructions:

Classifier-adjective construction: basic form of classifier → adjectival phrase or clause.

Classifier-demonstrative construction: basic form of classifier → demonstrative.

Classifier-adjective-demonstrative construction: basic form of classifier → adjectival phrase or clause → demonstrative.

Numeral-classifier-adjective construction: numeral → basic form of classifier → adjectival phrase or clause.

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\* Aspiration is not always marked consistently in the text. In the above example, for instance, tu 33 > d'u 31 after a 55, whereas here the aspiration is missing.

\*\* The first tu 33 was replaced by the plural classifier dae 35.

Numeral-classifier-demonstrative construction:  
numeral → basic form of classifier → demonstrative.

Numeral-classifier-adjective-demonstrative construction: numeral → basic form of classifier → adjectival phrase or clause → demonstrative.

In all of these constructions the basic form of the classifier is used as a pronoun. For example,

(1) Classifier-adjective construction

faw 55                ku ll                lo 55  
 clf. for plants    adj. marker    big  
 "this (or that) big one (i.e.s plant)"

faw 55                ku ll                ku 55    dzo 31  
 clf. for plants    adj. marker    I            plant  
 "this (or that) one (i.e.s plant) which I  
 planted"

(2) Classifier-demonstrative construction

tu 33                 ni 55  
 clf. for animals, etc.    this  
 "this one"

tu 33                 v'ae 35  
 clf. for animals, etc.    that  
 "that one"

(3) Classifier-adjective-demonstrative construction

lu 55                 ku ll                lie 55  
 clf. for round things    adj. marker    red

ni 55 "this red one"  
 this

lu 55    ku ll                m'a 13    i 55  
 clf.      adj. marker    buy            that  
 "that one (not present) which I bought"

(4) Numeral-classifier-adjective construction

a 55 baw 33/31    ku ll                nts'ie 55  
 two    clf.                adj. marker    clear  
 "two clear ones (i.e., rivers)"

tlau 55 baw 33/31 ku 11 nti 55  
 four clf. adj. marker long  
 "four long ones (i.e., rivers)"

## (5) Numeral-classifier-demonstrative construction

tsi 55 dz'o 35 (> dzo 55) ni 55  
 three clf. this  
 "these three (i.e., roads, strings of things)"

tlau 33 dz'o 35 v'ae 35  
 six clf. that  
 "those six (i.e., roads, strings of things)"

## (6) Numeral-classifier-adjective-demonstrative construction

a 55 tso 33/11 ku 11 lie 55 ni 55  
 two clf. adj. marker red this  
 "these two red ones (i.e., threads)"

çaw 33 tso 33 ku 11 tlu 55 v'ae 35  
 seven clf. adj. marker black that  
 "those seven black ones (i.e., threads)"

Illustrative sentences

(1) v'ae 31 ni 55 m'a 35 a 55 dz'i 53/13'  
 place this have two clf.

dz'aw 35. dz'i 53 ku 11 tlaey 55 ku 11 ku 55  
 bedh clf. adj. marker white is I

bie 53, dz'i 53 ku 11 v'aw 35 ku 11 ku 55  
 possessiveh clf. adj. marker yellow is I

a 55/31 m'au 31 bie 53. "There are two beds here. The  
 older brother possessive  
 white one is mine and the yellow one is my older brother's."  
 (Classifier-adjective construction)

(2) v'ae 31 ni 55 m'a 35 a 55 faw 55 ntau 33.  
 place this have two clf. tree

faw 55 ni 55 ku 11 i 55 faw 55 ly 53 ç'aw 35, faw 55  
 clf. this is one clf. willow clf.

ku 11            lo 55    v'ae 35    ku 11    i 55    faw 55  
 adj. marker   big      that        is        one      clf.

hi 11 nau 11. "There are two trees here. This one is a cypress

willow. That big one is a cypress."

(Classifier-demonstrative and classifier-adjective-demonstrative constructions)

(3) gi 31    tə 55    b'aw 35    hi 33/55    lie 55,  
 you        clf.      flower     not        red

ku 55    m'a 35    tsı 55    tə 55/33    ku 11            lie 55  
 I        have      three      clf.        adj. marker    red

ta 55 die 31. "Your flower is not red. I have three very very

red ones."

(Numeral-classifier-adjective construction)

(4) v'ae 31    ni 55    m'a 35    pw 55    lu 55  
 place      this      have      five      clf.

li 33 p'y 55, a 55 lu 55 ni 55    ku 11    gi 31    bie 53,  
 bottle      two      clf.      this      is        you      possessive,

tsı 55 lu 55 v'ae 35    ku 11    qa 55 dy 31/13'    bie 53.  
 three      clf.      that      is        who        possessive

"There are five bottles here. These two are yours. Whose are those three?"

(Numeral-classifier-demonstrative construction)

(5) v'ae 31    ni 55    m'a 35    tsı 55    tso 33/11  
 place      this      have      three      clf.

so 55. tso 33    ku 11            lie 55 ni 55    ku 11    ku 55  
 thread    clf.    adj. marker    red        this    is      I

bie 53,        a 55    tso 33/11    ku 11            v'aw 35 ni 55  
 possessive,    two    clf.        adj. marker    yellow    this

ku 11 n'i 13    bie 53.        "There are three threads here.  
 is        he        possessive

This red one is mine. These two yellow ones are his."r"

(Classifier-adjective-demonstrative and numeral-classifier-

adjective-demonstrative constructions)

d. The basic form of a classifier together with the auxiliary classifier form a classifier phrase. This type of phrase must be accompanied by a numeral greater than one in order to modify a noun. A demonstrative may also be present. The classifier phrase made up of the basic form of a classifier and the auxiliary classifier can form, with its modifiers, the following constructions:

Numeral-classifier-adjective construction: numeral (greater than one) → classifier phrase (basic form of classifier → auxiliary classifier) → adjectival phrase or clause.

Numeral-classifier-demonstrative construction: numeral (greater than one) → classifier phrase (basic form of classifier → auxiliary classifier\$) → demonstrative.

Numeral-classifier-adjective-demonstrative construction: numeral (greater than one) → classifier phrase (basic form of classifier → auxiliary classifier\$ → adjective phrase or clause → demonstrative.

The classifier phrase comprised of the basic form of a classifier plus the auxiliary classifier is used as a pronoun in all the above constructions. For examples, see "Uses of the Auxiliary Classifier" below.

e. The basic form of a classifier together with the plural classifier form a classifier phrase which modifies a noun. When the classifier phrase is formed with any of the voiceless change forms of the plural classifier, a demonstrative can co-occur to modify the noun. A numeral can not co-occur with such a phrase, however. When, on the other hand, the classifier phrase is formed with any of the voiced change forms of the plural classifier, the numeral "one" - but not a demonstrative\$ - can co-occur. This type of classifier phrase formed with the basic form of a classifier and the plural classifier can enter, with its modifiers, into the following constructions:

Classifier-adjective construction: classifier phrase (any form of the plural classifiers → basic form of classifier\$ → adjectival phrase or clause.

Classifier-demonstrative construction: classifier phrase (any voiceless change form of the plural classifier → basic form of classifier) → demonstratives.

Classifier-adjective-demonstrative construction: classifier phrase (any voiceless change form of the plural classifier → basic form of classifier\$ → adjectival phrase or clause → demonstratives

Numeral-classifier-adjective construction: numeral (only "one") → classifier phrase (any voiced change

form of the plural classifier → basic form of classifier) → adjectival phrase or clause.

In all these constructions, the classifier phrase comprised of the basic form of the classifier plus the plural classifier is used as a pronoun. For examples, see "Uses of the Plural Classifier" below.

f. The basic form of a classifier becomes a negative pronoun when it is preceded by the numeral "ones" (understood) and followed by the syllable ka 55. In such cases, the negative adverb hi 33 "not" must also be used. For example,

gi 31 m'a 35 tsɿ 35\* tu 33 (> du 31) n'u 35,  
you have three clfs ox,  
ku 55 tu 33 (> du 31) ka 55 tu 33 hi 33 m'a 35.  
I clfs suffix even not have  
"You have three oxens I don't have even one."

n'i 13 hi 33/55 pau 55 ntʂɿ 33/11 ka 55  
he not know a little suffix  
qa 55 sɿ 33. "He does not know a thing."  
what

(N.B. ntʂɿ 33 is equivalent to tiĕnr in Chinese i tiĕnr "a few". In Miao it is also a classifier. When ntʂɿ 33 is followed by ka 55 it becomes a negative pronoun modified by the following interrogative pronouns ntʂɿ 33 ka 55. Should not be considered the modifier of qa 55 sɿ 33.)

g. The basic form of a classifier becomes an abstract noun when it is preceded by the syllable a 33. The addition of a 33 to the basic form of the classifier often produces a tone change on either a 33 or the classifier. As a general rule, the tone changes occur as follows:

When a 33 precedes classifiers of groups II, III, or IV, no tone change occurs either on a 33 or on the classifier.

When a 33 precedes classifiers of group I, a 33 changes to the high level tone (55). The tone of the classifier does not change.

When a 33 precedes classifiers of group VII, its tone is unchanged. The classifier changes to the high rising tone (35).

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\* Elsewhere, "three" has tone 55.

When a 33 precedes classifiers of groups V or VI, it changes to the high level tone (55). The classifier changes to the low falling tone (31). At the same time, the initial of the classifier changes from voiced unaspirated to voiced aspirated.

These various changes are shown in Chart XV.

Chart XV. Tone changes of the basic form of classifiers when preceded by a 33

Tone value of a <u>33</u>	Tone value of classifier			Tone changes	Result
33	voiced consonants	I	55	a 33 changes	55, 55
		III	55	neither changes	33, 55
		IV	33	neither changes	33, 33
	voiced consonants ed	II	35	neither changes	33, 35
		V	33	both change	55, 31'
		VI	53	both change	55, 31'
		VII	55	classifier changes	33, 35'

The tone changes mentioned above can be seen in the following examples:

- |                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| a 33/55 faɯ 55     | abstraction of plants                                 |
| a 33 tə 55         | abstraction of flowers,<br>leaves, sheets of paper    |
| a 33 tso 33        | abstraction of threads                                |
| a 33 dz'o 35       | abstraction of roads, ropes,<br>belts                 |
| a 33/55 baw 33/31' | abstraction of rivers                                 |
| a 33/55 dzi 53/31' | abstraction of tables, beds,<br>chairs, bridges, etc. |
| a 33 lu 55/353     | abstraction of round or<br>hollow inanimate objects   |

When the classifier tu 33 is preceded by a 33, neither tone is changed. The initial of tu 33 changes from voiceless to voiced, however. Thus, a 33 tu 33 becomes a 33 du 33. a 33 tu 33 (> du 33) is the abstraction of animals; long, hard, solid inanimate objects; or abstract things.

Examples

tae 55 faɯ 55 zau 55 ni 55 lw 31  
 some clf. vegetable this by

a 33/55 faɯ 55 dae 31.

abstraction of plants sell

"These (few) vegetables are sold by the stalk."

tae 55 tə 55 b'aw 35 ni 55 a 33 tə 55  
 some clf. flower this abstraction of  
 lo 55 ta 55 die 31.

flowers big very

"The buds of these (few) flowers are very big."

tae 55 tso 33/11 so 55 ni 55 a 33 tso 33  
 some clf. thread this abstraction of  
 l'o 35 ta 55 die 31.

threads bulky very

"These (few) threads are very bulky."

ku 55 tae 55 dz'o 35 la 33/11 ni 55  
 I some clf. string this  
 a 33 dz'o 35 lu 55 la 55 tu 55 gi 31  
 abstraction of strings short compared with you

bie 53. "These (few) strings of mine are shorter than  
 possessive yours."

dl'i 35 lw 31 a 33/55 baw 33/31' zy 31.  
 river by abstraction of rivers count  
 "Rivers are counted by streams."

ki 33 q'au 35 lw 31 a 33/55 dzɿ 53/31' zy 31.  
 table by abstraction of tables count  
 "Tables are counted individually."

ku 55 tae 55 lu 55 tsı 55 ni 55 a 33 lu 55/31  
 I some clf. fruit this abstraction of  
 lo 55 la 55 tu 55 gi 31 bie 53.  
 fruits big compared with you possessive  
 "These (few) pieces of fruit of mine are bigger than yours."  
 tae 55 tlı 55 ni 55 a 33 tu (> du 33) lo 55  
 some dog this abstraction of dogs big  
 lae 55! "How big these (many) dogs are!"  
 exclamation marker

## 2. Uses of the formal change forms with basic tone of a classifier

a. The formal change forms with basic tone of a classifier modify the noun they precede.

(1) Formal change forms with basic tone can occur without either numerals or demonstratives, modifying nouns directly. Their uses are the same as those of the basic form of classifiers, except for the implied nature of the things represented by the nouns which they modify. That is, the things represented by nouns modified by the basic form of classifiers are considered grand and imposing, whereas the things represented by nouns modified by AE formal change forms with basic tone are considered ordinary, and the things represented by nouns modified by A formal change forms with basic tone are considered few in number, delicate, or lovable. For example,

lae 55 li 33 fau 33  
 clf. head  
 "head"

la 55 li 33 fau 33  
 clf. head  
 "head"

tae 33 n'u 35  
 clf. ox  
 "ox"

ta 33 n'u 35  
 clf. ox  
 "ox"

tae 33 sie 55 nd'y 31 ku ll zau 33  
 clf. thought adj. marker good  
 "good thoughts"  
 tae 33 sie 55 nd'y 31 ku ll ntʂ'æ y 33  
 clf. thoughts adj. marker love

v'u 31 ʐ'i 13. "patriotic thoughts"  
 country

mb'ae 35 nɯ 33  
 group horse  
 "the herd of horses"

mb'a 35 nɯ 33  
 group horse  
 "the herd of horses"

kiae 33 nG'ae 35  
 catty meat  
 "the catty of meat"

kia 33 nG'ae 35  
 catty meat  
 "the catty of meat"

(2) The formal change forms with basic tone of classifiers can modify a noun along with a demonstrative. The noun may have other modifiers as well. For example,

fae 55 ntau 33 ʐ'i 55  
 clf. tree this  
 "this tree"

fa 55 ntau 33 ʐ'i 55  
 clf. tree this  
 "this tree"

tae 55 b'aɯ 35 ku ll lie 55 v'ae 35  
 clf. flower adj. marker red that  
 "that red flower"

ta 55 b'aɯ 35 ku ll lie 55 v'ae 35  
 clf. flower adj. marker red that  
 "that red flower"

- lae 55 ng'a 35 va 33/53 ts'ae 35  
 clf<sub>h</sub> house tile that  
 "that tile-roofed house on the side"
- la 55 ng'a 35 va 33/53 ts'ae 35  
 clf. house tile that  
 "that tile-roofed house on the side"
- bae 33 dli 35 ku ll nts'ie 55 nq'u 35  
 clf. river adj. marker clear that  
 "that clear river down the slope"
- ba 33 dl'i 35 ku ll nts'ie 55 nq'u 35  
 clf. river adj. marker clear that  
 "that clear river down the slope"
- tsae 33 so 55 ku ll j'i 13 dz'o 35  
 clf. thread adj. marker he use
- i 55 "that thread (not present) he used"  
 that
- tsa 33 so 55 ku ll j'i 13 dz'o 35  
 clf. thread adj. marker he used
- i 55 "that thread (not present) he used"  
 that
- dz'ae 35 ki 55 ku ll zau 33 nd'o 35  
 clf. road adj. marker good walk
- b'i 35 "that road on the slope above which is easy to  
 walk"  
 that
- dz'a 35 ki 55 ku ll zau 33 nd'o 35  
 clf<sub>h</sub> road adj. marker good walk
- b'i 35 "that road on the slope above which is easy to  
 walk"  
 that
- dzae 53 dz'aw 35 ku ll v'aw 35 d'i 35  
 clf. bed adj. marker yellow that  
 "that yellow bed in front"

dza 53 dz'aɯ 35 ku ll v'au 35 d'i 35  
 clf. bed adj. marker yellow that  
 "that yellow bed in front"

tae 33 nw 33/13' dy 31  
 clf. horse whichr  
 "which horse"

ta 33 nw 33/13' dy 31  
 clf. horse which  
 "which horse"

b. The formal change forms with basic tone of a classifier together with their modifiers enter into the following constructions:

**Classifier-adjective construction:** formal change form with basic tone of the classifier → adjectival phrase or clause.

**Classifier-demonstrative construction:** formal change form with basic tone of the classifier → adjectival phrase or clause.

**Classifier-adjective-demonstrative construction:** formal change form with basic tone of the classifier → adjectival phrase or clause → demonstrative.

In all of the above constructions, the classifier is used as a pronoun. For example,

(1) **Classifier-adjective construction**

fae 55 ku ll sie 55  
 clf. for plants adj. marker high  
 "the tall one (plant)"

fa 55 ku ll ku 55 dzo 31  
 clf. for plants adj. marker I plant  
 "the one (plant) I planted"

(2) **Classifier-demonstrative construction**

tae 33 ni 55  
 clf. for animals, etc. this  
 "this one (animal)"

ta 33 ni 55  
 clf. for animals, etc. this  
 "this one (animal)"

## (3) Classifier-adjective-demonstrative construction

lae 55                    ku ll                    lie 55  
 clf. for round objects   adj. marker   red

ni 55   "this (round) red one"  
 this

la 55                    ku ll                    ku 55  
 clf. for round objects   adj. marker   I

m'a 13 i 55   "the (round) one (not present) I bought"  
 buy   that

Examples

v'ae 31 ni 55 m'a 35 a 55 dz'aw 35,  
 place   this   have   two   bed,

dzae 53 ku ll            tløy 55            ku ll   ku 55 bie 53,  
 clf.   adj. marker   white        is            I            possessive,h

dzae 53   ku ll            v'aw 35   ku ll   ku 55  
 clf.      adj. marker   yellow      is          I

a 55/31 m'au 31 bie.

older brother   possessive

"There are two beds here. The white one is mine. The  
 yellow one is my older brother's."  
 (Classifier-adjective construction)

v'ae 31 ni 55 m'a 35 a 55 fa 35 ntau 33,  
 place   this   have   two   clf.   tree,

fa 55   ni 55   ku ll   i 55   fa 35   ly 53   z'aw 35,   fa 55  
 clf.      this      is      one      clf.      willow,      clf.

ku ll                    m'a 35   a 33   ndlau 35   ntsa 55   v'ae 35   ku ll  
 adj. marker   have      leaf                    greenh      that            is

i 55 fa 35 hi ll nau ll.

one   clf.      cypress

"Here are two trees. This one is a willow. That one with  
 the green leaves is a cypress."

(Classifier-demonstrative and classifier-adjective-demon-  
 strative constructions)

### 3. Uses of the formal change forms with high rising tone

a. Formal change forms with high rising tone of a classifier modify the noun they precede. The noun may have additional modifiers other than demonstratives which may not co-occur. In these constructions, the thing represented by the noun modified by these classifier forms is specified as singular indefinite and is not yet known by the addressee. Thus, these classifier forms are similar to the indefinite articles in the Indo European languages and may be glossed as "some" or "any". With the exception of grand and imposing things which are modified by the basic form of the classifier, when a speaker mentions a thing to an addressee for the first time, and that object is ordinary, delicate, or lovable, it is modified by the AE or A formal change forms having the high rising tone. After the object has been mentioned to the addressee, however, it can no longer be modified with these AE and A forms. It must now be modified by the AE and A formal change forms having the basic tone of the classifier because the specification has been changed from indefinite to definite ("definiteness" being one of the characteristics of the formal change forms having the basic tone) to correlate with the fact that the addressee is now acquainted with the object. For example,

(1) v'ae 31 ni 55 m'a 35 dae 35 n'u 35  
          place      this      have      clf.      ox  
      ku 11      dlo 31,      tae 33      n'u 35      ni 55      ku 11      ku 55  
      adj. marker      fat,      clf.      ox      this      is      I  
      tsa 55      mbœy 33      bie 53.  
      clf.      male affinal cousin      possessive

"Here is an ox (previously unknown to the addressee). It belongs to my cousin."

(2) ku 55 m'a 35 l'a 35 li 33 p'y 55, la 55  
      I      have      clf.      bottle,      clf.  
      li 33 p'y 55 i 55 ku 11 ku 55 tsa 55 ky 55  
      bottle      that      is      I      clf.      younger brother  
      saw 33      t'aut33 kut55.  
      give as gift      give      I

"I have a bottle (previously unknown to the addressee). It (not present) was given to me by my younger brother."

b. Formal change forms with high rising tone and a numeral may together modify a noun. The noun may have other modifiers as well, but a demonstrative may not occur. This is basically the same structure as that described in a. above, with the exception that the object represented by the noun so modified is singular in a.. That is, a. is identical to b. except for the specification of the numeral "one". In this section, however, plurality is indicated unless the numeral is "one". When the numeral is "one", as in a., the speaker must use the formal change forms with basic tone to modify the noun after it has been mentioned to the addressee. When the numeral is greater than one, the speaker generally uses the numeral and a classifier phrase comprised of the basic form of the classifier plus the AE or A formal change forms of the auxiliary classifier to modify the noun after it has been mentioned to the addressee. Sometimes, however, the noun is modified by the numeral and formal change forms with high rising tone (see section c. below). For example,

(1) v'ae 31 .ni 55 m'a 35 a 55 dae 35 nau 53  
          place    this    have    two    clfs    bird  
 a 55 tu 33 (> du 31) tsae 55 nau 53 .ni 55 zau 33  
 two clf.             aux. clf.   bird    this    good  
 n'a 31 ta 55 die 31.  
 look                very

"Here are two birds (previously unknown to the addressee). They are very pretty."

(2) ku 55 m'a 35 tsɻ 35 na 35 ntœy 55,  
          I      have    three    clf.    book,  
 tsɻ 55 nau 33/31 tsa 55 ntœy 55 .ni 55 ku 11 ku 55  
 three clf.         aux. clf.  book    this    is    I  
 a 11/31 m'au 31 saw 33 t'au 33 ku 55.  
 older brother    give as gift give I

"I have three books (previously unknown to the addressee)s They were given to me by my older brother.s"

c. A noun may be modified by the formal change forms with high rising tone together with a numeral greater than one and a demonstrative. This use of the formal change forms with high rising tone is completely different from the uses described in a. and b.. This is a simplification of the classifier phrase formed by the basic form of a

classifier plus the AE or A formal change forms of the auxiliary classifier. The object represented by the noun so modified is definite (i.e., known by the addressee). For example,

(1) m'au 13 ndo 31 ku 55 k'œy ll a 55  
go for I carry two  
l'ae 35 (= lu 55 tsae 55) k'o 55 və 55 i 55 l'o 13.  
clf. clf. aux. clf. bowl that come  
"Go get those two bowls (not present but known to the addressee) for me."

(2) ku 55 a 55 na 35 (= nau 33/31 tsa 55)  
I two clf. clf. aux. clfs  
ntœy 55 ku ll lie 55 ni 55 ku ll m'a 13  
book adj. marker red this I buy  
l'o 13 mu 55 ti 55.  
come Chao t'ung (place name)

"I bought these two red books (known by the addressee) in Chao t'ung."

d. The formal change forms with high rising tone of a classifier together with possible modifiers enter into the following constructions:

Classifier-adjective construction: formal change form with high rising tone → adjectival phrase or clauses

Numerical-classifier-adjective construction:  
numeral → formal change form with high rising tone → adjectival phrase or clause.

Numerical-classifier-demonstrative construction:  
numeral (greater than one) → formal change form with high rising tone → demonstrative.

Numerical-classifier-adjective-demonstrative construction: numeral (greater than one) → formal change form with high rising tone → adjectival phrase or clause → demonstrative.

In all the above constructions, the formal change forms with high rising tone are used as pronouns. Note the following examples:

## (1) Classifier-adjective construction

fae 35                ku ll                lo 55

clf. for plants   adj. marker   big  
"a big one (plant)"

fa 35                ku ll                m'a 35

clf. for plants   adj. marker   have

a 33 ndl'au 35   ntsa 55   "one with green leaves"  
leaf                green

## (2) Numeral-classifier-adjective construction

i 55   lae 35                ku ll

one    clf. for round objects   adj. marker

lie 55   "a red one (round object)"  
red

a 55   la 35                ku ll

two    clf. for round objects   adj. marker

ntsa 55   "two green ones (round objects)"  
green

## (3) Numeral-classifier-demonstrative construction

a 55   dae 35                (= tu 33 > du 31)

two    clf. for animals    clf.

tsae 55 ) .ni 55   "these two (animals)"  
aux. clf.   this

ts‡ 55   da 35                (= tu 33 > du 31)

three   clf. for animals    clf.

tsa 55 ) v'ae 35   "those three (animals)"  
aux. clf.   that

## (4) Numeral-classifier-adjective-demonstrative construction

a 55   dz'ae 35                (= dz'o 35 > dzo 55)

two    clf. for roads      clf.

tsae 55 ) ku ll faw 55 ni 55 "these two wide  
aux. clfh adj. marker wide this ones (roads)"

tsi 55 dz'a 35 (= dz'o 35 > dzo 55  
three clfh for roads clf.

tsa 55 ) ku ll zau 33 nd'o 35 v'ae 35  
aux. clfh adj. marker good walk that  
"those three (roads) on which it is easy to travel"

### Examples

(1) no 55 tsi 55 faw 55 tsae 55 ntau 33  
locative three clf. aux. clfh tree  
ni 55 pi 55 ntaw 55, m'a 35 fae 35 ku ll hi 33  
this in, have clfh adj. marker not  
m'a 35 a 33 ndl'au 35, m'a 35 a 55 fae 35 ku ll  
have leaf, have two clf. adj. marker  
m'a 35 a 33 ndl'au 35 ntsa 55.  
have leaf green

"Of these three trees one has no leaves and two have green leaves."

(Classifier-adjective and numeral-classifier-adjective constructions)

(2) v'ae 31 ni 55 m'a 35 tlau 55 da 35  
place this have four clf.

mpa 33, a 55 da 35 (= tu 33 > du 31 tsa 55 ) ni 55  
pig, two clf. clf. aux. clfh this

ku ll ku 55 bie 53, a 55 da 35 (= tu 33 > du 31  
is I possessive, two clf. clf.

tsa 55 ) ku ll tlaey 55 v'ae 35 ku ll  
aux. clf. adj. marker white that is

n'i 13 bie 53.

he possessive

"Here are four pigs. These two are mine and those two white ones are his."

## B. The Uses of the Plural Classifier

### 1. Uses of the voiceless change forms

a. The voiceless change forms of the plural classifier modify the noun they precede. The object represented by the noun so modified is either nonenumerable or inconvenient to count.

(1) Any voiceless change form of the plural classifier can be used without a demonstrative to modify a noun. The noun itself may have other modifiers. Since, however, the object represented by the noun so modified is definite, a demonstrative will be used in the glosses. For example,

ti 55 tu 55 ts‡ 55  
some soldier  
"these (numerous) soldiers"

tae 55 t‡œy 55  
some liquor  
"liquor"

ta 55 a 33 ndl'au 35 ntau 33/11  
some leaf tree  
"(many) leaves (of trees)"

(2) A voiceless change form and a demonstrative may together modify a noun. The noun may have other modifiers as well. For example,

ti 55 au 55 ni 55  
some water this  
"this water"

tae 55 ndl'i 35 ni 55  
some rice this  
"this rice"

ta 55 ki 55/31 ndz'au 31 ku 11  
some ant adj. marker

tlu 55 v'ae 35 "those (numerous) black ants"  
black that

b. The voiceless change forms of the plural classifier together with its modifiers enter into the following constructions:

Classifier-adjective construction: voiceless change form of plural classifier → adjectival phrase or clause.

Classifier-demonstrative construction: voiceless change form of plural classifier → demonstrative.

Classifier-adjective-demonstrative construction: voiceless change form of plural classifier → adjectival phrase or clause → demonstrative.

In the above constructions, the voiceless change forms of the plural classifier are used as pronouns. For example,

(1) Classifier-adjective construction

ti 55 ku 11 t<sup>l̥</sup>ey 55

some adj. marker white

"the white ones (things which are either non-enumerable or difficult to count, such as water, liquor, rice, etc., or things which are too numerous to be counted accurately, such as large herds, houses, cattle, sheep, ants, bees, etc.)"

tae 55 ku 11 zau 33 hau 11

some adj. marker good drink

"the ones that are good to drink"

ta 55 ku 11 ntau 11 ndz̩i 33

some adj. marker fight\* tease\*

"the ones (enumerable but too many to be counted accurately) that are fighting"

(2) Classifier-demonstrative construction

ti 55  
tae 55 } ni 55  
ta 55 }

some this

"this; these (things which are nonenumerable or are too numerous to be counted accurately)"

(3) Classifier-adjective-demonstrative construction

---

\* Rough glosses. The text has no glosses for any of the forms in this example.

ti 55      }  
 tae 55      }  
 ta 55      }      ku ll      tlaey 55      ni 55  
 some      adjs marker white this  
 "this white one; these white ones (things which  
 are nonenumerable or are too numerous to be counted  
 accurately)"

Examples

(1) mu 33 na 33 ku 55 tau 55s hau ll a 55  
 today I \* drink two  
 tsaw 55/33 tlaey 55, ti 55 ku ll lie 55 ae 55  
 kind liquor, some adj. marker red very  
 zau 33 hau ll, ti 55 ku ll tlaey 55 mb'u 31  
 good drink some adj. marker white hot (taste)  
 ta 55 die 31.  
 very

"I drank two kinds of liquor today. The red kind was good,  
 but the white kind was very harsh."  
 (Classifier-adjective construction)

(2) v'ae 31 ni 55 m'a 35 a 55 tsaw 55/33  
 place this have two kind  
 qau 55, tae 55 ni 55 ku ll ndl'si 35, tae 55 v'ae 35  
 grain, some this is rice, some that  
 ku ll ts'u 55.  
 is millet

"Here are two kinds of grain. This one is rice and that  
 one is millet."  
 (Classifier-demonstrative construction)

(3) v'ae 31 ni 55 m'a 35 a 55 ts'a 35  
 place this have two kind  
 ki 55/31 ndz'au 31, ta 55 ku ll tlu 55 ni 55  
 ant some adj. marker black this

---

\* The gloss is missing in the text.

hi 33 dz'æ y 35 d'o 31 tw 55 nw 55, ta 55 ku 11  
 not able bite people, some adj. marker

v'aw 35 v'ae 35 dz'æ y 35 d'o 31 tw 55 nw 55.  
 yellow that able bite people

"Here are two kinds of ants. These black ones do not bite people, but those yellow ones do."

(Classifier-adjective-demonstrative construction)

c. Any of the voiceless change forms of the plural classifier plus the basic form of a classifier together form a classifier phrase. The object represented by a noun so modified is enumerable, but the speaker does not have the time to actually count.

(1) This type of classifier phrase can modify a noun directly. No demonstrative is needed. The noun may have other modifiers, but none of these may be a numeral. For example,

ti 55 lu 55 tw 55 nw 55

some clf. people  
 "those (few) people"

tae 55 tu 33 (> d'u 13) n'u 35

some clf. ox

v'aw 35 (> vaw 55) "those (few) oxen"

yellow

ta 55 lu 55 li 33 p'y 55 ku 11 lie 55

some clfh bottle adj. marker red  
 "these (few) red bottles"

(2) This type of classifier phrase may modify a noun together with a demonstrative. The noun may have other modifiers, but none of these may be a numeral. For example,

ti 55 lu 55 tu 55 tsɻ 55 ni 55  
 some clf. soldier this  
 "these (few) soldiers"

tae 55 tu 33 (> d'u 35) nw 33 v'ae 35  
 some clf. horse that  
 "those (few) horses"

ta 55 lu 55 li 33 p'y 55 ku 11  
 some clf<sub>h</sub> bottle adj. marker

lie 55 i 55 "those (few) bottles (not present)"  
 red that

d. Together with its modifiers, the classifier phrase comprised of the voiceless change forms of the plural classifier plus the basic form of a classifier enters into the following constructions:

Classifier-adjective construction: classifier phrase (any voiceless change form of the plural classifier → basic form of a classifier) → adjectival phrase or clause.

Classifier-demonstrative construction: classifier phrase (any voiceless change form of the plural classifier → basic form of a classifier) → demonstrative.

Classifier-adjective-demonstrative construction: classifier phrase (any voiceless change form of the plural classifier → basic form of a classifier) → adjectival phrase or clause → demonstrative.

In all the above structures, the classifier phrase is used as a pronoun. For example,

(1) Classifier-adjective construction

ti 55 lw 55 ku 11 n'au 35 va 53  
 some clf<sub>h</sub> adj. marker eat meal

saw 33 "those (few) men who have finished eating"  
 completive

tae 55 tu 33 (> d'u 13) ku 11 tlu 55  
 some clf. adj. marker black  
 "those (few) black ones (animals, etc.)"

ta 55 lu 55 ku 11 ku 55 m'a 35  
 some clf. adj. marker I buy  
 "those (few round objects) that I bought"

(2) Classifier-demonstrative construction

ti 55 lw 55 ni 55  
 some clf. this  
 "these (few people)"

tae 55 tu 33 (> d'u 13) v'ae 35  
 some clf. that  
 "those (few animals, etc.)"

ta 55 lu 55 i 55  
 some clf. that  
 "those (round objects not present)"

(3) Classifier-adjective-demonstrative construction

ti 55 lw 55 ku ll gey 31 ntay 55  
 some clf. adj. marker read book

tsi 55 law 55 ni 55 "these (few) who are reading"  
 in the process of this

tae 55 tu 33 (> d'u 13) ku ll  
 some clf. adj. marker

nti 55 v'ae 35 "those (few) long ones"  
 long that

ta 55 lu 55 ku ll ntsa 55 i 55  
 some clf. adj. marker green that  
 "those (few round) green ones (not present)"

Examples

(1) xu 33 ti 55 lw 55 ku ll hi 33/55  
 call some clf. adj. marker not

b'o 31 n'au 35 va 53 d'a 35 n'au 35 lo 31!  
 see eat meal come eat exclamation marker  
 "Tell those (few people) who have not yet eaten to come  
 eat!"  
 (Classifier-adjective construction)

(2) tae 55 tu 33 (> d'u 13) ni 55 ku ll ku 55  
 some clf. this is I

bie 53, tae 55 tu 33 (> d'u 13) v'ae 35 ku ll  
 possessive, some clf. that is

n'i 13 bie 53.  
 he possessive.

"These (few animals) are mine. Those (few animals) are his."

(Classifier-demonstrative construction)

(3) ta 55 lu 55 ku 11 lie 55 ni 55 ae 55  
some clf. adj. marker red this very

zau 33 n'a 31, ta 55 lu 55 ku 11 ntsa v'ae 35  
good look at, some clf. adj. marker green that

tṣi 55 n'a 31 ta 55 die 31.  
bad look at very

"These (few round) red ones are very pretty. Those (few round) green ones are very ugly."

(Classifier-adjective-demonstrative construction)

## 2. Uses of the voiced change forms

a. The voiced change forms of the plural classifier modify the noun they precede. The noun may have other modifiers, but none of these may be a demonstrative. The plural classifier may be preceded by the numeral "one". The object represented by a noun so modified is either non-enumerable or cannot be counted easily. For example,

(i 55) di 31 tʷ 55 nw 55\*  
one some people  
"some people (numerous)"

(i 55) dae 35 tçœy 55  
one some liquor  
"some liquor (much)"

(i 55) da 35 a 33 ndl'au 35 ntau 33/11  
one some leaf tree  
"some leaves (not many)"

b. Together with their modifiers, voiced change forms of the plural classifier may form the following constructions:

Classifier-adjective construction: plural classifier (any voiced change form) → adjectival phrase or clause.

Numeral-classifier-adjective construction: numeral (one) → plural classifier (any voiced change form) → adjectival phrase or clause.

\*The text has di 35 tʷ 55 nw 55.

In these two constructions, the voiced change forms of the plural classifier are used as pronouns. In fact, the two constructions are identical in usage and meaning, the only difference being the optional use of "one". For example,

- (i 55) di 31 ku ll tlu 55  
 one some adj. marker black  
 "some black ones (which are nonenumerable or are too numerous to be counted accurately)"
- (i 55) dae 35 ku ll v'aw 35  
 one some adj. marker yellow  
 "some yellow ones (which are nonenumerable or are too numerous to be counted accurately)"
- (i 55) da 35 ku ll tlœy 55  
 one some adj. marker white  
 "some white ones (which are nonenumerable or are too numerous to be counted accurately)"

Example

no 55 lu 55 so 55/33 ndl'au 35 və 55  
 locative clf. summer leaf stone

ndl'au 35 ntau 33/11 ku ll gi ll ntsa 55  
 leaf tree is functor green

mi 55 sie 55, γ'u 13 dzo 31 lu 55 ki 33 ts'ə 33,  
 intens. of green, just arrive clf. autumn,

m'a 35 (i 55) di 31 ku ll tl'i ll gi ll  
 have one some adj. marker change functor

v'aw 35 ki 55 zie 55, m'a 35 (i 55) di 31  
 yellow intens. of yellow, have one some

ku ll tl'i ll gi ll lie 55 ki ll nd'a 13.  
 adj. marker change functor red intens. of red

"In summer all the leaves are very green, but as soon as autumn comes, some (numerous) change to yellow and some (numerous) to red."  
 {(Numeral-) classifier-adjective construction)

c. The voiced change forms of the plural classifier combine with the basic form of a classifier to comprise a classifier phrase which modifies a noun. The noun may have additional modifiers. The numeral "one" may optionally precede the classifier phrase. The object represented by a noun so modified is enumerable, but the speaker finds it inconvenient to actually count it. For example,

(i 55) di 31 lw 55 tw 55 nw 55  
 one some clf. people  
 "some (few) people"

(i 55) dae 35 tu 33 (> d'u 13) n'u 35  
 one some clf. ox  
 "some (few) oxen"

(i 55) da 35 lu 55 li 33 p'y 55  
 one some clf. bottle  
 "some (few) bottles"

d. A classifier phrase comprised of a voiced change form of the plural classifier plus the basic form of a classifier enters, with its modifiers, into the following constructions

Classifier-adjective construction: classifier phrase (voiced change form of the plural classifier → basic form of a classifier) → adjectival phrase or clause.

Numeral-classifier-adjective construction: numeral (one) → classifier phrase (voiced change form of the plural classifier → basic form of a classifier) → adjectival phrase or clause.

In the above constructions, the classifier phrase is used as a pronoun. The two constructions are identical in usage and meaning, differing only in the optional presence of "one". For example,

(i 55) di 31 lw 55 ku 11 n'au 35  
 one some clf. adjs marker eat

va 53 saw 33 "some (few) who are finished eating"  
 meal compleutive

(i 55) dae 35 tu 33 (> d'u 13) ku 11  
 one some clf. adj. marker

v'au 35 "some (few) yellow ones"  
 yellow

(i 55) da 35 lu 55 ku ll lie 55  
 one some clf. adj. marker red  
 "some (few) red ones"

Example

ŋo 55 tae 55 tw 55 nw 55 ni 55 pi 55 ntaw 55  
 locative some people this in

m'a 35 (i 55) dae 35 lw 55 ku ll l'o 35  
 have one some clf. adj. marker come

mu 55 ti 55, m'a 35 (i 55) dae 35 lw 55 ku ll  
 Chao t'ung, have one some clf. adj. marker

l'o 13 a 55 nie 53 lau 53/31.  
 come K'un ming

"Among these (many) people, there are some (not many) from Chao t'ung and some (not many) from K'un ming."  
 ((Numeral-) classifier-adjective construction)

C. The Uses of the Auxiliary Classifier

1. When the auxiliary classifier is used as a general classifier, it modifies a noun specified as being male. In those constructions entered into by the auxiliary classifier and its modifiers, it is used as a pronoun, also specified as being male. So far as its functions are concerned, the basic form of the auxiliary classifier and its AE and A formal change forms are identical with the classifier lw 55 in its basic form (not preceded by a numeral) and its AE and A formal change forms with basic tone (lae 55 and la 55), respectively. The only difference between the two classifiers is that lw 55 can also refer to females. This difference can be seen in Chart XVI.

2. When the auxiliary classifier is used with the basic form of a classifier, it carries no objective meaning as such, but has two functions. First, it indicates that the object is definite. When the classifier phrase comprised of the auxiliary classifier plus the basic form of a classifier modifies a noun, it indicates that the object represented by the noun so modified is definite (i.e., is already known by the addressee). When the classifier phrase occurs with its own modifiers (not modifying a noun), it also indicates that the object is definite (i.e., is known by the addressee). Second, it indicates that the object is grand and imposing or ordinary, delicate, or attractive. In describing two or more definite objects, a speaker generally uses a classifier phrase containing the basic form of

Chart XVI. Contrasting uses of the auxiliary classifier tsi 55 in its basic and formal change forms tsi 55, tsae 55, and tsa 55, and the classifier lu 55 in its basic form and formal change forms with basic tone lu 55h, lae 55h, and la 55

M A L E	tsi 55 a 55 zəy 53	a man
	tsi 55 v'ae 31	father
	tsa 55 tu 55	son
	tsae 55 tu 55 k'o 33 ndz'au 35	doctor
	tsa 55 ndau 53 ni 55	this young man
	tsi 55 ku ll d'a 35 mu 55 ti 55	the man from Chao t'ung
	tsae 55 ni 55	this man
	tsa 55 ku ll dz'əy 35 xu 33 ng'au 35 i 55	that (absent boy) who can sing
F E M A L E	lu 55 a 33 b'o 35	a woman
	lu 55 nhie 31	mother
	lah55 ntshae 11	daughter
	lae 55 tu 55 k'o 33 ndz'au 35h	lady doctor
	la 55 ti 55 ng'au 35 (> ngau 55) ni 55	this young lady
	lu 55 ku ll d'a 35 mu 55 ti 55	the lady from Chao t'ung
	lae 55 ni 55	this lady
	la 55 ku ll dz'əy 35 xu 33 ng'au 35 i 55	that (absent girl) who can sing

a classifier and the auxiliary classifier either to modify the nouns representing these objects directly or, with its own modifiers, to represent the objects itself. In these cases, the characteristics of the things represented (grand and imposing, ordinary, delicate, or attractive) are indicated by the auxiliary classifier. If an object is grand and imposing, the basic form of the auxiliary classifier is used. If the object is ordinary, the AE formal change is used. If the object is delicate or attractive, the A formal change is used.

a. A classifier phrase comprised of a numeral (greater than one), the basic form of a classifier, and the auxiliary classifier modifies a noun. The noun may have other modifiers as well. For example,

a 55 lu 55 ts‡ 55 p'o 55 zo 55  
two clf. aux. clf. vehicle  
"two cars"

a 55 lu 55 tsae 55 p'o 55 zo 55 lau 33/11  
two clf. aux. clf. vehicle iron  
"two trains"

a 55 lu 55 tsa 55 p'o 55 zo 55 ni 55  
two clf. aux. clf. vehicle this  
"these two cars"

b. A classifier phrase made up of the basic form of a classifier and the auxiliary classifier can enter, with its modifiers, into the following constructions:

Numeral-classifier-adjective construction: numeral (greater than one) → classifier phrase (basic form of a classifier → auxiliary classifier) → adjectival phrase or clause.

Numeral-classifier-demonstrative construction: numeral (greater than one) → classifier phrase (basic form of a classifier → auxiliary classifier) → demonstrative.

Numeral-classifier-adjective-demonstrative construction: numeral (greater than one) → classifier phrase (basic form of a classifier → auxiliary classifier) → adjectival phrase or clause → demonstrative.

In these constructions, the classifier phrase is used as a pronoun. For example,

## (1) Numeral-classifier-adjective constructions

a 55 tu 33 (> du 31) ts‡ 55 ku 11  
 two clf's aux. clf. adj. marker

ku 55 m'a 13 "the two which I boughts"  
 I buy

ts‡ 55 faw 55 tsae 55 ku 11 lo 55  
 three clf. aux. clf. adj. marker big  
 "three big ones (plants)"

tlau 55 lu 55 tsa 55 ku 11 lie 55  
 four clf. aux. clf's adj. marker red  
 "four red ones (round objects)"

## (2) Numeral-classifier-demonstrative construction

a 55 tu 33 (> du 31) ts‡ 55 ni 55  
 two clf. aux. clf. this  
 "these two (animals, etc.)"

ts‡ 55 faw 55 tsae 55 vae 35  
 three clf's aux. clf. that  
 "those three (plants)"

tlau 55 lu 55 tsa 55 i 55  
 four clf. auxs clf. that  
 "those four (round things not present)"

## (3) Numeral-classifier-adjective-demonstrative construction

pw 55 tu 33 (> du 31) ts‡ 55 ku 11  
 five clf. aux. clf. adjs marker

ku 55 m'a 13 ni 55 "these five which I boughts"  
 I buy this

tlau 33\* faw 55 tsae 55 ku 11  
 six clf. aux. clf. adj. marker

gi 31 dzo 31 v'ae 35 "those six which you planted"  
 you plant that

---

\*The text has 55.

çaw 33 lu 55 (> l'u 35) tsa 55 ku 11  
 seven clf. aux. clf. adj. marker  
 lie 55 i 55 "those seven red ones (not present)"  
 red that

Examples

(1) v'ae 31 ni 55 m'a 35 pw 55 fae 35 ntau 33,  
 place this have five clf. tree,  
a 55 faw 55 tsae 55 ku 11 hi 33 m'a 35  
 two clf. aux. clf. adj. marker not have  
a 33 ndl'au 35 ku 11 ly 53 z'aw 35, ts‡ 55 faw 55  
 leaf is willow, three clf.  
tsae 55 ku 11 m'a 35 a 33 ndl'au 35 ntsa 55.  
 aux. clf. adj. marker have leaf green  
 ku 11 hi 11 nau 11.  
 is cypress

"There are five trees here. The two without leaves are willows. The three with green leaves are cypress trees."  
 (Numeral-classifier-adjective construction)

(2) ku 55 m'a 35 tlau 33\* na 35 ntœy, ts‡ 55  
 I have six clf. book, three  
naw 33/31 tsa 55 ni 55 ku 11 ku 55 z'u 13 m'a 13  
 clf. aux. clf. this is I self buy  
z'u 13, ts‡ 55 naw 33/31 tsa 55 v'ae 35 ku 11  
 self, three clf. aux. clf. that is  
 ku 55 zae 53 la 31 saw 33 t'au 33 ku 55.  
 I friend give as gift give I

"I have six books. I bought these three myself. Those three are from my friend."  
 (Numeral-classifier-demonstrative construction)

\* The text has 55.

(3) v'ae 31 ni 55 m'a 35 z'i 31 tu 33 (> d'u 13)  
 place this have eight clf.

nw 33, a 55 tu 33 (> du 31) tsɻ 55 ku ll  
 horse, two clf. aux. clf. adj. marker

tlœy 55 ni 55 ku ll ku 55 bie 53, tlau 33 tu 33  
 white this is I possessive, six clf.

(> du 33) tsɻ 55 ku ll lie 55 v'ae 35 ku ll  
 aux. clf. adj. marker red that is

ku 55 zae 53 la 31 bie 53.

I friend possessive

"Here are eight horses. These two white ones are mine.

Those six red ones belong to my friend."

(Numeral-classifier-adjective-demonstrative construction)

In the above sections we have described the uses of Miao classifiers (including general classifiers, the plural classifier, and the auxiliary classifier). However, what we described was only the uses of the various forms of a classifier. We disregarded the use of classifiers several times in an utterancer. Since this is an important point in describing how classifiers are used, we will discuss it here.

We have already seen that in a description of the characteristics of an object, a Miao classifier has three forms. One of these is the basic form. (With the plural classifier, besides the basic form there is also a formal change form with low falling tone.) The basic form either modifies a noun or is used pronominally to represent a grand or imposing thing. A second form is the AE formal change form used either as a noun modifier or as a pronoun to represent an ordinary thing. The third form is the A formal change form used in the same way as the AE formal change forms but referring to things which are delicate, few in number, or attractive. Although there are, in fact, objective criteria for an object to be considered grand or imposing, ordinary, delicate, or attractive, the subjective point of view of the observer must also be considered. A thing may be grand and imposing to A but very ordinary to B; an object may be attractive to B but not to A. Nevertheless, a person's consideration of a thing must be constant within a short period of time. That is, within a short period of time, a person who is describing an object should have a consistent view of the characteristics

of that object. He cannot consider the object grand and imposing in the first sentence but ordinary in the second sentence. For this reason he should not mix the basic form, the AE formal change form, and the A formal change form in a single description of an object. If a speaker introduces an object by using the basic form of a classifier (or the formal change form with low falling tone of the plural classifier) to modify it, he must continue to use the basic form thereafter in referring to that object. If he introduces an object by using the AE or A formal change forms with high rising tone to modify it, he must use the AE or A formal change forms with basic tone, respectively, whenever the thing is mentioned again. It is only in this way that the addressee can get a clear idea of the object being described. Otherwise, he will feel that the speaker is contradicting himself and making himself unable to be understood.

Moreover, in situations involving flattery or humility, the speaker purposefully deviates from the objective facts or from his own appraisal of an object and uses either an incorrect classifier or one he would not ordinarily use. For instance, in order to flatter someone he would use the basic form of the classifier for that person's object, even though that object might obviously be ordinary or very bad. Conversely, the speaker would use the AE formal change form for his own object which might actually be very good. Still, even when using flattery or humility, the speaker must be consistent. He cannot use flattery in the first sentence and then stop using it in the second sentence. He cannot be humble in the first sentence without continuing to be so in the second sentence. Thus, a speaker must be consistent in his use of classifiers or he will offend the hearer's ear.

To sum up, in using classifiers, a speaker must maintain a consistent evaluation of an object (e.g., grand and imposing, ordinary, minute).

One further word of explanation is necessary. Miao women do not ordinarily use the basic form of a classifier. Although an object might be grand and imposing, or considered to be so by a woman, she would nevertheless use the AE formal change form instead of the basic form. This is not an absolute rule, however, since there are women who do use the basic form of a classifier. We can only say that women tend to use classifiers in this way.

We must also say something about the glosses given for the examples in this article. It is clear that in Miao AE formal change forms modify nouns representing ordinary things, basic forms modify nouns representing grand and imposing things, and A formal change forms indicate delicate,

attractive things or things that are few in number. In glossing the nouns, however, we have not specified whether the object is grand, beautiful, good, small, few, attractive, etc. For example, lae 55 li 33 fau 33 means an ordinary head. We have glossed it merely as "a head". Similarly, lu 55 li 33 fau 33 means a grand and imposing head and la 55 li 33 fau 33 means a small head, but we have glossed them both as "a head". Apparently these three types of heads are different in some way. For the sake of brevity, however, we have glossed all three in the same way.

Two passages containing classifiers are given below. From these it is possible to see how classifiers are actually used. We have taken these selections from other materials rather than deliberately composing them to explain how classifiers are used. For this reason, we have been unable to include all the forms of individual classifiers. The reader should be able to understand the uses of classifiers from a consideration of these two selections.

1. da 35 li 55 a 55 ndo 31 dae 35 a 33 dy 33  
clf. crow and clf. fox

m'a 35 i 55 da 35 li 55 a 55 zau 33 tsæy 11 i 55  
have one clf. crow fly perch one

dzi 33/31' ntau 33. n'o 55 v'ae 31 j'i 13 la 55  
clf. tree. locative inside he clf.  
a 33 ndz'au 35 tae 11 m'a 35 i 55 ts'ae 33/11 nG'ae 35  
mouth hold have one clf. meat

tçie 33. ts'ae 55 j'i 13 ta 55 die 31 daw 11. j'i 13  
stay. hungry he very part.. he

ntsæy 33\* n'au 35 ts'ae 33 nG'ae 35 ni 55. t'au 33  
think eat clf. meat this. time

i 55 m'a 35 i 55 dae 35 a 33 dy 33 d'æy 31 d'a 35.  
that have one clf. fox exit come.

tae 33 a 33 dy 33 ni 55 la 11 ae 55 ts'ae 55 daw 11,  
clf. fox this also very hungry part.,s

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\*The text has nts'æey 33.

i 55 vie 33 n'i 13 nt'ie 55 hi 33 tau 33 qw 55  
 but he look for not get food

qa 55 sɿ 33 n'au 35. n'i 13 b'o 31 ts'ae 33 nG'ae 35  
 anything eat. he see clf. meat

ku 11 no 55 v'ae 31 ta 33 li 55 a 55 la 55  
 adj. marker locative place clf. crow clf.

a 33 ndz'au 35 i 55, n'i 13 tae 11 z'u 13 hi 11  
 mouth that, he therefore self say

z'u 13 lu 33 gi 11 pi 55 dəy 55 "ku 55  
 self utterance functor intens. for muttering "I  
 to oneself

ae 55 die 31 la 55 n'au 35 ts'ae 33 nG'ae 35 ni 55.  
 definitely want eat clf. meat this."

a 33 li 33 ni 55, n'i 13 ndo 31 ta 33 li 55 a 55  
 do according to this, he toward clf. crow

hi 11, "die 11 gi 31 zau 33 no 55? tsa 55  
 say, "question marker you good locative? clf.

a 55/31 m'au 31 li 55 a 55, gi 31 ae 55  
 older brother crow, you very

nd'i 31/35 z'aw 31 ma 11, die 11  
 well-dressed exclamation marker, question marker

gi 31 saw 55 a 33 qw 33 zau 33 hi 33 zau 33?  
 you voice throat good not good?

die 11 gi 31 dz'əy\* xu 33 ng'au 35?" ta 33  
 question marker you able sing song?rclf.

li 55 a 55 no 55 ku 11 tae 33 a 33 dy 33 tsau 55  
 crow hear adj. marker clf. fox praise

n'i 13, n'i 13 a 55 sie 55 la 31 ta 55 die 31, n'i 13  
 he, he heart pleased very, he

---

\* The tone is missing.

ta 33 a 33 lo 33 tṣo 33 saw 55 xu 33 hi ll, "a 33,  
 open mouth shout loudly sing say, "ah,  
 a 33..." tsṣae 33 nG'ae 35 tau 33 pau 55 tla 33  
 ah..." clf. meat get drop reach  
 pi 55 ti 55 l'œy 31 daw 33.  
 below go part..  
tae 33 a 33 dy 33 la 31 tu 33 hi 33/55 la 31  
 clf. fox thank at all not thank  
 i 55 lo 33/11, tae ll ts'ae 33 nG'ae 35 gi 11  
 one sentence, hold clf. meat functor  
 ntçu ll tla 33 ng'a 35 l'œy 31 daw 11.  
 desc. of walking reach house go part..

### Translation

#### The Crow and the Fox

A crow was perched on a branch. In his mouth he held a piece of meat. He was very hungry and thought he would eat the piece of meat. Just then a fox came out. He too was very hungry, but he had been unable to find anything to eat. Seeing the piece of meat in the crow's mouth, he muttered to himself, "I am going to get that piece of meat to eat." So he said to the crow, "How are you, brother crow? You are dressed up beautifully. Are you in good voice? Can you sing a song?" The crow was very flattered when he heard the nice things the fox said about him. He opened his mouth and sang loudly, "Ah, ah,..." - and dropped the piece of meat.

Without saying a word of thanks, the fox grabbed the meat and returned home satisfied.

2. mb'a 35 lie 55 n̄do 31 ti 55 kau 11  
 group monkey and some hat  
 m'a 35 i 55 g'au 35 (> gau 55) i 55 lae 35  
 have one time one clf.  
 tw 55 nw 55 t̄ 11 i 55 n'ie 31  
 person carry on back one big

g'æy 31<sup>3</sup> kau 11 tç'au 33 v'ae 31 i 55 lu 55 tau 55.  
 basket hat pass place one clf. mountain.  
 nu 55 i 55 nd'u 35 ae 55 so 55, n'i 13 tl'a 11  
 day that sky very hot, he tired  
 ta 55 die 31, z'u 13 hi 11 z'u 11, "nd'u 35 ae 55  
 very, self say self, "sky very  
 so 55, lae 55 g'æy 31 kau 11 ni 55 la 11 ae 55  
 hot, clf. basket hat this also very  
 ñam 55 ta 55 die 31. so 33 v'ae 31 lae 55 ko 55  
 heavy very. rest place clf. root  
 a 33 zau 33 ni 55 ndl'ae 31 ntsau 55 i 55 mbæy 53/13'  
 woods this avoid shade one moment  
 hie 55!"  
 exclamation marker!"

no 55 v'ae 31 lae 55 ndlo 53 ko 33 a 33 zau 33  
 locative place clf. inside root woods  
 ni 55, tça 33 ts'a 55 gi 11 ntsie 55 ntsie 55,  
 this, wind blow functor intens. for blowing,  
 tae 11 m'a 35 nau 53/31 G'a 35 gi 11  
 also have snake bird call functor  
 nto 55 nd'w 13. tsae 55 tw 55 nw 55 ni 55  
 make noise intens. for noiset clf. person this  
 z'au 31 v'ae 31 fae 35 qaw 55 ntau 33/11 tau 33 py 33  
 sit place clf. bottom tree get sleep  
 l'æy 31. lu 55 nu 55 t'au 33 v'ae 31 ta 55  
 go. clf. sun from place clf.

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<sup>3</sup>In Chinese, g'æy 31 also occurs in a classifier position. In Miao, however, the shapes of classifiers and nouns are sometimes different. g'æy 31 is a nominal form. The classifier derived from it regularly should be gæy 53 or, if preceded by the numeral "one", g'æy 13. It occurs

a 33 ndl'au 35 ntau 33/11 pi 55 ntaw 55 d'a 31 t<sup>o</sup>y 33  
leaf tree inside kick foot

t<sup>o</sup>i 33 tau 33 n'i 13. tsae 55 tw 55 nw 55 ni 55  
shine at he. clf. person this

t'au 33 v'ae 31 lae 55 g'ey 31 k'ey 11 d'ey 31  
from place clf. basket take exit

i 55 lu 55 kau 11 l'o 13 ntau 33 t<sup>o</sup>ie 33, a 33  
one clf. hat come wear on head erect, do

li 33 ni 55 lu 55 nu 55 tae 11 t<sup>o</sup>i 33 hi 33/55  
like this clf. sun so shine not

dau 31/53 n'i 13 daw 11.  
resultative he part..

tsae 55 tw 55 nw 55 ni 55 tl'a 11 ta 55 die 31,  
clfs person this tired very,

n'i 13 py 33 gi 11 l'ey 31 zo 31, m'a 35  
he sleep functor desc. of sound sleep, have

li 33 ku 11 a 55 ts<sup>o</sup> 55 tu 33 (> du 31)  
approximately two three clf.

dz'ae 35 nau 53/13', ta 55 l'ie 13 dz' 31 l'o 13.  
hour, only then wake up come.

n'i 13 tsa 55 b'o 31 lae 55 g'ey 31 gi 11 g'u 13  
he only see clf. basket functor empty

t<sup>o</sup>a 55 tw 55 v'ae 31 n'i 13 saw 55  
desc. of emptiness locate place he sides

li 33 taw 55 ta 55, ti 55 kau 11 hi 33/55 b'o 31  
rib only, some hat not see

in the nominal form here so we have not considered it a classifier.

l'æy 31 daw 11. ti 55 kau 11 ni 55 tla 33 q'o 55  
go part.. some hat this reach place

dy 31/53 l'æy 31 lae 55? qa 55 d'y 31/13  
what go question marker? who

k'æy 11 l'æy 31 lae 55?  
take go question marker?

tsae 55 tw 55 nw 55 ni 55 sœy 55 l'o 13 nt'ie 55  
clf. person this get up come look for

tau 33 ts'a 33 q'o 55, nt'ie 55 tau 33 tae 55 qaw 55  
at every place, look for at clf. bottom

ntau 33/11, nt'ie 55 tau 33 tae 55 G'au 31 ntau 33,  
tree, look for at clf. back tree,

i 55 vie 33 n'i 13 nt'ie 55 hi 33 tau 33.  
but he look for not get.

n'i 13 tau 33 tsaw 33 li 33 fau 33 n'a 31 tau 33  
he get raise head look at

ntau 33 a 55 sa 55, m'a 35 i 55 mb'a 35<sup>4</sup> lie 55  
tree above, have one group monkey

no 55 v'ae 31 a 55 dz'i 31 ntau 33 a 55 sa 55,  
locative place branch tree above,

ts'a 33 tu 33 (> du 33) lie 55 tu 33 ntau 33  
each clf. monkey all wear on head

kau 11 tl'ie 33 m'au 13 tl'ie 33 l'o 13 v'ae 31  
hat jump go jump come place

a 33 dz'i 31 ntau 33 a 55 sa 55.  
branch tree above.

tsae 55 tw 55 nw 55 ni 55 tç'i 33 ta 55 die 31,  
clf. person this angry very,

<sup>4</sup> mb'a 35 is the A formal change form with high rising tone of mb'o 35.

n'i 13 xu 33 hi ll, "ma 55 ku 55 tae 55<sup>5</sup> kau 11  
 he call say, "take I some hat

tae 11 t'au 33 ku 55, ma 55 ku 55 tae 55 kau 11  
 return give I, take I some hat

tae 11 t'au 33 ku 55!" i 55 vie 33 mb'a 35\*<sup>6</sup> lie 55  
 return give I!" but group monkey

tlo 11 ntqie 33 n'i 13 ta 55. tsae 55 tw 55 nw 55  
 laugh stare at he only. clf. person

ni 55 v'ae 13 ntq'i 11 i 55 di 33/31 a 55 dz'i 13  
 this grab immediately one handful crushed things

a 55 və 55 l'a 35 gi ll pi 33 ntq'i 55 pi 33 nka 55  
 stone throw functor descr for scattering by throwing or exploding

m'au 13 ntau 11, mb'a 35<sup>7</sup> lie 55 tae 11 tli 33  
 go hit, group monkey so pick

a 55 lu 55 tsı 55 tloey 33 l'a 35 lau 33 l'o 13  
 fruit walnut throw down come

ntau 11 n'i 13. tsae 55 tw 55 nw 55 ni 55  
 hit he. clf. person this

dz'au 13 pi 55 lau 53 saw 33, bøy 33 tl'u 33  
 in difficulty drop, face

b'a 13 vo 31 daw 11.  
 sad part..

n'i 13 k'øy ll ntq'i 55 n'i 13 lu 55 kau 11 l'a 35  
 he take suddenly he clf. hat throw

<sup>5</sup>The narrator considers the hats grand and imposing so he uses ti 55 for the plural classifier. The owner of the hats in the story, however, is humble and treats the hats as being rather ordinary so he uses the form tae 55.

\*The text has mb'a 13. See note 6 below.

<sup>6</sup>This occurrence of mb'a 35 is the A formal change form with basic tone of mb'o 35.

<sup>7</sup>See note 6 above.

tl'a 55                    saw 33 pi 55 ti 55 ha ll,  
 desc. of throwing drop      down      on the one hand,  
 n̄ie 55 gi ll qa 33 l'œy 13. mb'a 35\*<sup>8</sup> lie 55 la ll  
 cry      functor desc. of crying. group      monkey also  
 zau 31 n'i 13 ly 55      kau ll l'a 35 saw 33  
 learn    he      take off hat      throw drop  
 ha ll,                    tae ll zau 31 n'i 13 n̄ie 55.  
 on the other hand, also    learn    he      cry.

tsae 55 tw 55 nw 55 ni 55 la 31 gi ll tl'ie 33  
 clf.      person      this      pleased      functor      jump  
 tl'w 55,                  n'i 13 tae ll s̄au 33 ti 55 kau ll  
 desc. of jumping, he      so      collect some hat  
 nd'i 31 tau 33 lae 55 g'œy 31 tçie 33, a 55 sie 55  
 pack      in      clf.      basket      erect,      heart  
 la 31 ta 55 die 31 ha ll,                    sœy 55 l'œy 31  
 pleased    very      on the one hand, get up go  
 daw ll.  
 part..

### Translation

#### The Monkeys and the Hats

Once upon a time, a man carrying a big basket of hats on his back was passing a hill. It was very hot that day. Feeling very tired, he said to himself, "It's very hot and this basket of hats is very heavy. I think I'll rest in the woods to get out of the sun for a while."

In the woods, the breeze was blowing and all sorts of birds were singing. The man sat down under a tree and went to sleep. The sun was still shining on him through the leaves so he took a hat out of the basket and put it on to keep the sun off him.

\* The aspiration is missing in the text.

<sup>8</sup> See note 6 above.

The man was very tired and was soon sound asleep. He woke up about two or three hours later. He saw that the basket beside him was empty. There were no hats. Where did the hats go? Who took them?

The man got up and searched everywhere. He looked under the tree. He looked behind the tree. But he could not find the hats.

He raised his head and looked up into the tree. There he saw a group of monkeys in the branches. Each of them was wearing a hat and was jumping around on the branches.

The man was very angry. He shouted to them, "Give my hats back! Give my hats back!" But the monkeys only looked at him and laughed. The man picked up a stone and threw it at them. The monkeys picked some walnuts and threw them down at the man. There was nothing the man could do. He was very sad.

The man could stand it no longer so he threw his hat down on the ground and began to cry. The monkeys imitated this too, so they threw their hats to the ground and began crying.

The man was very happy. He picked up the hats, put them back in the basket, and went on his way feeling very pleased.

#### IV. The Functions of Classifiers

Miao classifiers have two primary functions. One of these is the same as that of Chinese classifiers, except that the characteristics of grandness, commonness, smallness, etc., which in Miao are indicated by the use of formal change forms, are manifested in Chinese (Mandarin) by the retroflexion of adjectives and nouns. Since there are no basic differences between Miao and Chinese in the use of classifiers, with the exception of the relative position of demonstratives and other modifiers used with classifiers, we shall say nothing further about this function. The other function of Miao classifiers is the same as the function of the articles in Indo-European languages. We shall present a brief discussion of this function. See Chart XVII.

It can be seen from Chart XVII that Miao classifiers are very similar to the articles in Indo-European languages. There are some differences, however. First, some Indo-European articles indicate gender. We do not take this to be the main difference between Miao classifiers and Indo-European articles, however, because although the articles determine the gender of nouns in some Indo-European languages, the gender of a noun does not necessarily correspond to the nature of the object represented by the noun.

Chart XVII. A comparison of Miao classifiers with articles in English, French, and German (Part 1)

Miao	English	French	German
dzae 53 ki 33 q'au 35	the table	la table	der Tisch
tae 55 ki 33 q'au 35	(the) tables	les tables	die Tische
dzae 35 ki 33 q'au 35	a table	une table	ein Tisch
nae 33 ntæy 55	the book	le livre	das Buch
tae 55 ntæy 55	(the) books	les livres	die Bücher
nae 35 ntæy 55	a book	un livre	ein Buch
tae 33 pi 31	the pen	la plume	die Feder
tae 55 pi 31	(the) pens	les plumes	die Federn
dae 35 pi 31	a pen	une plume	eine Feder

Strictly speaking, therefore, in the Indo-European languages the division of nouns into masculine or feminine, or into masculine, feminine, and neuter, is simply a division of nouns into two or three categories. In this respect, the classifiers in Miao indicate many categories, at least several dozen categories. Part of a Miao classifier is, in fact, a label for categorizing nouns. Although there are many classifiers in Miao which categorize things, there are not many in everyday use (i.e., the frequency of occurrence is not at all equal). The classifier tu 33 is used with any animal, any long, hard, solid inanimate object, or any abstract thing; the classifier lu 55 of Group VII is used with any round or hollow inanimate object, the classifier lw 55 of the same group is used with human beings, and the classifier faw 55 of Group I is used with all plants. Nevertheless, considering everything in the world, if a thing is not substantive it is abstract; if a substantive thing is not animate it is inanimate; if an animate thing is not an animal it is a plant; if an animal is not a human being it is a lower animal; if an inanimate object is not solid it is hollow; and if an inanimate object is not long it is round. Thus, the four classifiers tu 33, lu 55, lw 55, and faw 55 can categorize almost everything in the world. Anything which cannot be categorized by these four classifiers is, unfortunately, counted as an exception. The Miao language, then, actually divides things into four categories, similar to the way in which things are divided into two or three categories in Indo-European languages.

The main difference between Miao classifiers and Indo-European articles is that the former indicates an evaluation of an object (grand and imposing, ordinary, small, etc.), whereas the latter indicates caseh Case makes the relationship between words in a sentence unambiguoush In Miao and Chinese, on the other hand, the word order is fixed, theh relationship between words in a sentence cannot be ambiguous. By distinguishing between evaluations of an object one's speech can be made more colorful and refined. In Miao, the use of classifiers alone is sufficient for the addressee to get a clear idea of the thing described by the speakerh The Indo-European articles cannot do all that Miao classifiers can do. Instead, affixes must be added to the noun or adjectives must be used to modify the noun. This difference between the function of Miao classifiers and that of Indo-European articles can be seen in Chart XVIII.

The relationship between classifiers and nouns is closer in Miao than that between articles and nouns in Indo-European languages. In Indo-European languages, the article is usually deleted if the noun is preceded by modifiers. In Miao, on the other hand, the classifier is usually not deleted. See Chart XIX.

Besides the two major functions mentioned above,h Miao classifiers have two minor functions. One of these is to distinguish between homophones, the other is to derive nominal constructions from verb-object constructionsh The former function is relatively unimportant since there are not many homophones in Miao. The derivational function is used in talkingh about an object previously unknown to the Miao. If the Miao do not want to borrow thehword representing the object in the donor language, they use a verb-object construction to describe the object's function following a classifier describing the object's shape and nature. In this way the verb-object construction is nominalized by the classifierh Until recently this derivational process had not been widely used. We shall provide some examples to illustrate these two minor functions.

1. The use of a classifier to distinguish homophones

- a. tsa 55 ky 55 "younger brother"
- la 55 ky 55 "younger sister"
  
- b. fae 55 ntau 33 "tree"
- tae 33 ntau 33 "materials made of wood"
- lae 55 ntau 33 "coffin"

Chart XVIII. A comparison of Miao classifiers  
with articles in English, French,  
and German (Part 2)

Miao	English
nae 33 ntæy 55	the book
na 33 ntæy 55	the booklet
naw 33 ntæy 55	the nice book
tae 33 nau 53	the bird
ta 33 nau 53	the birdie, the little bird
tu 33 nau 53	the nice bird
dzae 53 ki 33 d'au 35	the table
dza 53 ki 33 d'au 35	the small table
dz̩ 53 ki 33 d'au 35	the nice table
French	German
le livre	das Buch
le livret	das Büchel, das Büchelchen, das Büchlein
le bon livre	das gute Buch
l'oiseau	der Vogel
le petit oiseau	das Vögelein, das Vögelchen
le bon oiseau	der gute Vogel
la table	der Tisch
la petite table	das Tischlein, das Tischchen
la bonne table	der gute Tisch

c. tae 55 b'aw 35 "flower"

dlae 53 b'aw 35 "picture"

d. tae 33 dz'ae 35 nau 53/133 "hour, time"

lae 55 dz'ae 35 nau 53/13' "clock, watch"

Chart XIX. A comparison of Miao classifiers with articles in English, French, and German (Part 3)

Miao	English
tae 33 nw 33/13' ku 55 tae 53 nw 33/13' gi 31 tae 53 nw 33/13' n'i 13 tae 33 nw 33/13'	the horse my horse your horse his horse
dzae 53 ki 33 q'au 35 ku 55 dzae 53 ki 33 q'au 35 gi 31 dzae 53 ki 33 q'au 35 n'i 13 dzae 53 ki 33 q'au 35	the table my table your table his tables
tae 33 nu 33/13' ku 55 tae 33 nu 33/13' gi 31 tae 33 nu 33/13' n'i 13 tae 33 nu 33/13'	the goose my goose your goose his goose
French	German
le cheval mon cheval ton cheval son cheval	das Pferd mein Pferd dein Pferd sein Pferd
la table ma table ta table sa table	der Tisch mein Tisch dein Tisch sein Tisch
l'oie mon oie ton oie son oie	die Gans meine Gans deine Gans seine Gans

- e. dzae 53 ki 33 q'au 35 "desk"  
           tae 33 ki 33 q'au 35 "bench"

2. The use of a classifier to nominalize a verb-object construction

- a. ntsa 55 tl'u 33  
     wash     face  
     "to wash one's face"  
     lae 55 ntsa 55 tl'u 33  
     clf.    wash     face  
     "wash basin"  
     dlae 53 ntsa 55 tl'u 33  
     clf.    wash     face  
     "towel"

Note that in these examples the classifiers not only nominalize a verb-object construction but also distinguish between homophones.

- b. b'o 31 ki 55  
     see     road  
     "to see the road, to be bright"  
     lae 55 b'o 31 ki 55  
     clf.    see     road  
     >window"  
     c. n'a 31 tl'u 33  
     look    face  
     "to look at one's face."  
     lae 55 n'a 31 tl'u 33  
     clf.    look    face  
     "mirror"  
     d. g'au 35 a 55 ma 53  
     encircle   eye  
     "to encircle the eyes"  
     lae 55 g'au 35 a 55 ma 53  
     clf.    encircle   eye  
     "eyeglasses"

### Appendix I. Important Classifiers

(The item occurring in parentheses after the gloss for a classifier is the form of the numeral "half" which may precede the classifier.)

#### I. Voiceless High Level Group A

faw 55	clf <sub>h</sub> for plants
fw 55	10 grams ( <u>ntaw 33</u> )
law 55	a small bunch of (pine sticks used as a torch when walking at night)
ku 55	clf. for butting with the horns
naw 55	a sack of (esp. grain; <u>ntaw 33</u> ), an ear of (grain)
nu 55	day ( <u>daw 31</u> )
ju 55	a jar of (esp. water, wine; <u>ntaw 33</u> )
tç'y 55	a pile of (grass, hay)
ntçhi 55	clf <sub>h</sub> for twigs
p'aw 55	clf <sub>h</sub> for river banks
p'o 55	clf <sub>h</sub> for blankets, quilts, rainclothes
saw 55	clf. for the four cardinal directions, millstones, boards, flagstones
so 55	a hive of (bees)
s‡ 55	clf <sub>h</sub> for arrows, a handbreadth (for measuring the thickness of things, esp. pork fat)
sa 55	a unit of measurement for the shuttle of a loom (as wide as four hemp threads)
sqe y 55	clf <sub>h</sub> for meat (on a string)
ts'a 55	a small jar of (esp. oil, liquor; <u>ntaw 33</u> )
t'au 55	a barrel of (esp. water; <u>ntaw 33</u> )
ts'‡ 55	a piece of (board, flagstone)
vaw 55	clf <sub>h</sub> for anything that can be kept in a shallow bamboo container ( <u>ntaw 33</u> )
xau 55	clf. for anything (esp. oil) that can be kept in a large jar having a small mouth ( <u>ntaw 33</u> )

## II. High Rising Group

dl'i 35	a lump of (silver money), a grain of (rice)
dz'au 35	a bush of; a clump of (grass, shrubbery)
dz'ie 35	1/160th of a catty
dz'o 35	clf. for roads, rope, belts, laces
dz'a <u>w</u> 35	clfr for fires
dz'ae 35	season, hour
g'au 35	time, turn
mb'a 35	clf. for spankings
nd'a <u>w</u> 35	a section of (fence); a bundle of (rope)
nd'u 35	clf. for blows (e.g., with fist or hammer)
ndl'a <u>w</u> 35	a fathom (length of the two outstretched arms)
ndz'u 35	clf. for thread sewn onto clothes
ndz'y 35	a tent-shaped pile of (firewood)
ng'a 35	a houseful or roomful of ( <u>ntaw 33</u> )
ng'o 35	a boatful of ( <u>ntaw 33</u> )
zaw 35	clf. for matters; a row of

## III. Voiceless High Level Group B

faw 55	a piece of cloth
fw 55	a big sack of
ky 55	a load (carried on the shoulder; <u>ntaw 33</u> )
n <u>w</u> 55	clf. for shots with a bow
nqə 55	a mouthful of (something to drink)
nts <u>au</u> 55	a vertical pile of (firewood)
nts <u>i</u> 55	a piece or section of (orange or meat of a walnut)
qə 55	a bend (In measuring length by using the legs, one takes a step and then kneels on the front leg. The distance between the heel of the back foot and the knee of the front leg is called "a step and a bend". In measuring by using the hand, one stretches out the thumb and the index finger on the object to be measured, and then bends the index finger - holding the tip steady - forward until its second joint

touches the surface of the object. The distance between where the tip of the thumb was and where the second joint of the index finger is touching is called "a small span (tlo 33) and a bend". If one uses the middle finger instead of the index finger, measuring in this way, the distance obtained is called "a large span and a bend"s In measuring by using the arms, one stretches out the arms and then, keeping the fingertips of one hand steady, bends the arm forward until the elbow touches the surface. This distance from where the fingertips of the other hand had been to where the elbow is touching is called "a fathom (ndl'aw 35) and a bend".)

qo 55	a bundle of (grass)s
q'a <u>w</u> 55	a unit of length (between two rows of grain in a field)
q'o 55	a place (a locality)
q'æy 55	a package of; a bundle of (thin string noodles; <u>ntaw</u> 33)
ty 55	a bushel of ( <u>ntaw</u> 33)
tə 55	clf. for flowers, leaves, pieces of paper
tçae 55	a basket of (maize, charcoal, etc., carried on the back; <u>ntaw</u> 33)
tçø 55	a piece of (rice crust, land)
tç'a <u>w</u> 55	clf. for rooms
t <u>l</u> au 55	a pile of (firewood); a large piece of (land, stained cloth)
t <u>l</u> ie 55	a small ladleful of (rice, food, oil; <u>ntaw</u> 33)
t <u>l</u> o 55	a ball of (thread); a pile or clump of (firewood, grass)
t <u>ṣ</u> aw 55	a category of
t <u>ṣ</u> 'o 55	clf. for bends of a river
zaw 55	a section of (bamboo, written composition)

#### IV. Voiceless Mid Level Group

çau 33	year ( <u>ts'ae 33</u> )
ki 33	a catty of ( <u>ts'ae 33</u> )
k'æy 33	clf. for things which can be held up to the chest, using both hands
lo 33	a mcuthful of (rice, soup, water, medicine); a sentence
li 33	month ( <u>ts'ae 33</u> )
ly 33	a sheepskin bag of (grain, etc.)
mo 33	night ( <u>daw 31</u> )
nk'ə 33	a row of (mounds of grain); a string of
nq'au 33	a bunch of (grapes, etc.)
ntau 33	a large handful of (hemp threads), equal to 10 <u>nts'a 33</u>
ntaw 33	clf. for things carried on the back (esp. grain, charcoal, coal)
ntça 33	a <u>li</u> (approx. 1/3 mile)
ntça 33 ntau 11 a 55 və 55	the longest distance a stone can be thrown (changes are made only in the first syllable)
ntça 33 so 33	the distance walked between rest stops when carrying things on the back (changes are made only in the first syllable)
ntça 33 xu 33	the longest distance over which a call or shout can be heard (changes are made only in the first syllable)
ntsɻi 33	a bit of (generally occurring only after the numeral "one" to indicate that the items are few or nonenumerable)
ntsɻ'a 33	a handful of (hemp threads)
p'au 33	a pot of (rice, food; <u>ntaw 33</u> )
po 33	a piece of (cloth) the length of which is twice the width
qae 33	clf. for tassel or pendant; a column of (soldiers, students)
qæy 33	clf. for beatings with a club

- qəy 33 so 33 the distance walked between rest stops when carrying things on the back (same as ntə 33 so 33, changes being made only in the first syllable)
- q'əy 33 a can of (oil, sweet wine; ntaw 33)
- sie 33 a stringhof (grain, ears of maize)
- tau 33 a handful of (esp. sauerkraut)
- təy 33 clf. for kicks; a pile of (dung)
- ti 33 a stratum or layer of (stone, earth); the maximum number of hemp threads which a woman weaver can tie around her hand
- t'ae 33 a step (of stairs)
- t'au 33 a piece of (land, dung)
- tç'əy 33 an item of (cloth)
- tlo 33 a span (the distance between the thumb and either the middle finger or the index finger - about 5 or 6 inches. The distance between the tip of the index finger and the tip of the thumb is called na ll (small) tlo 33, whereas the distance between the tip of the middle finger and the tip of the thumb is called n'ie 31 (large) tlo 33.  
Both na ll tlo 33 and n'ie 31 tlo 33 can be preceded by a numeral. In such cases, however, tlo 33 does not change, either in tone or in form, and no classifier is used. It is only when tlo 33 is used alone that it is changed in both tone and form for it is used as a classifier; ntaw 33)
- tsau 33 a bundle of (firewood, grass)
- tso 33 a piece of (thread)
- ts'ae 33 clf. for one of a pair of shoes, hands, feet, eyes, ears, etc; a piece of (meat), a piece of (woolen piece of cloth worn on the shoulders of a colorful Miao costume)
- ts'ɿ 33 a generation
- tsəy 33 the amount (esp. of powders) able to be picked up with three fingers (the thumb, index finger, and middle finger)
- tsu 33 a steaming boiler of (esp. rice)

V. Voiced Mid Level Group

baw 33	clf. for rivers
dae 33	a large bowl of ( <u>ntaw 33</u> )
di 33	a handful of
do 33	a section of (the body, the upper section being above the waist, the lower section below the waist)
dla 33	a meal of
dza 33	clf. for things (esp. firewood, grass) which may be carried in the arms
dzau 33	a group of (people)
dzi 33	a leg of (meat, i.e., a leg section); clf. for strung looms; clf. for trees
ma 33	a bundle of (spun hemp threads for weaving)
mm 33	a pigsty of
mbey 33	a part of; an occurrence of
naw 33	clf. for books
ndey 33	a bunch of (chopsticks, vegetables, pine sticks for torches)
ndza 33	"once" (An object <u>A</u> is placed on a longer object <u>B</u> to measure <u>B</u> . Measuring with <u>A</u> one time is called a "once". Measuring with <u>A</u> twice is called "two onces". Thus, if <u>A</u> equals one foot, a "once" equals one foot.)
ngau 33	a set of (Ten ladles is a set. Ten bowls is also a set. Three iron posts used for propping up a cooking pot is a set. A cut up sheep consisting of the head, four limbs, stomach, and intestines is a set.)
ngə 33	a distance run
ngey 33	an item of (skirts)
və 33	clf. for nests (birds); clf. for fields surrounded by banks (e.g., paddy fields)
zo 33	clf. for wind, rain, hail; clf. for villages

VI. High Falling Group

ba 53	clf. for anything which can be held in theh arms
bœy 53	a pile of (esp. dung, coal, charcoal, dirt, potatoes, etc., but not firewood or grass)
da 53	a kick
da 53	a step (in walking)
dla 53	clf. for books, pieces of paper, letters
dzi 53	clf. for tables, chairs, beds, scales, bridges
dzi 53	clf. for times asleep
dza 53	clf. for streets, valleys
li 53	1/16 of a catty
lu 53	10 bushels
ndo 53	a section of (ground)
ndu 53	a unit to measure the width of the shuttle of a loom (forty hemp threads wide)
ndzae 53	a bundle of (harvested wheat)
ndzi 53	a circle ( <u>ntaw</u> 33)
ngœy 53	a pair of (things which come in pairs); a couple (people)
vau 53	a plowshare of (i.e., a row of earth turned over in plowing across a field)
zae 53	a set of (rolls on a loom used for wrapping threads around; 4 rolls make a set)
zi 53	clf <sub>h</sub> for households

VIIh Voiced High Level Group

lu 55	clf. for round or hollow inanimate objects
lw 55	clf. for persons (Preceded by a numeral, <u>lw 55</u> may refer to any male or female occupation (e.g., teacher, doctor, blacksmith, section chief) or kin (e.g., father, mother, husband, wife, son, daughter, aunt, uncle). Without a preceding numeral, <u>lw 55</u> can be used only with nouns referring to females. Used as a pronoun in any construction formed by it and its modifiers, <u>lw 55</u> can refer only to females.)

## Appendix II. Wei ning Miao Phonological Charts

A. Initials

		Oral				Nasal or Nasalized			
		Vls. Asp.	Vls. Asp.	Vd. Asp.	Vd. Asp.	Vlsh	Vls. Asp.	Vd.	Vd. Asp.
Obstruents	Stops	p	p'	b	b'	mp	mp'	mb	mb'
	Alveolar	t	t'	d	d'	nt	nt'	nd	nd'
	Retro-flexed	t	t'	ɖ	ɖ'	ɳt	ɳt'	ɳd	ɳd'
	Velar	k	k'	g	g'	nk	nk'	ng	ng'
	Uvular	q	q'	G	G'	nq	nq'	nG	nG'
Affricates	Dental	ts	ts'	dz	dz'	nts	nts'	ndz	ndz'
	Retro-flexed	tʂ	tʂ'	dʐ	dʐ'	ntʂ	ntʂ'	ndʐ	ndʐ'
	Alveo-palatal	tç	tç'	dʒ	dʒ'	ntç	ntç'	ndʒ	ndʒ'
	Alveolar	tɬ	tɬ'	dɬ	dɬ'	ntɬ	ntɬ'	ndɬ	ndɬ'
Continuants	Fricatives	f		v	v'				
	Dental	s		z	z'				
	Retro-flexed	ʂ		ʐ	ʐ				
	Alveo-palatal	ç		ʒ	ʒ'				
	Velar	x		ɣ	ɣ'				
	Uvular	χ							
	Glottal	h		h					
Semivowels and Liquids	Labial					m		m	m'
	Alveolar	l		l	l'	ɳ		n	n'
	Retro-flexed					(ɳ)l		ɳ	ɳ'
	Palatal					j		ŋ	ŋ'
	Velar					ɳ		ɳ	ɳ'
	Labial			w					

B. Finals

## 1. Simple nuclei

i   a   o   u   y   ɯ   ə   ɪ   ɿ   ɿ   ɿ

## 2. Compound nuclei

ie   ae   au   ɯɯ   əy

## 3. Glides

i   (u   y)

C. Tones

55	high level
53	high falling
35	high rising
11	low level
31	low falling
13	low rising
33	mid level

## Appendix III. Notes On The Symbols Used In This Article

1. A syllable without an initial, but having a final and tone, is actually preceded by [?] which has been omitted here. Thus, i 55 is [?i 55], and a 55 is [?a 55]s.

2. The position of the tongue for the obstruent elements of the affricates is the same as that of the following fricative or lateral elements. To simplify the description, we have used t or d for the obstruent element, leaving the following element to indicate the point of articulation. For example, ts is [ts], tʂ is [tʂ], tç is [tç], tɿ is [tɿ], dʐ is [dʐ], dq is [dq], dz is [dz], and dl is [dl].

3. The position of the tongue for the nasal element of the prenasalized stops is the same as that of the following stop element. To simplify the description, we have used m for the nasal element preceding labial stops and n for the nasal element preceding all other stops. For example, mp is [mp], nt is [nt], nt is [ɳt], nk is [ɳk], nq is [Nq], mb is [mb], nd is [nd], nd is [ɳd], ng is [ɳg], and nG is [NG].

4. The position of the tongue for the nasal element of the prenasalized affricates is the same as that of the following stop and fricative or lateral elements. We have used

<sup>1</sup> ɳ has been deduced from the overall phonological system. Since it has not actually been recorded, however, it has been parenthesized.

n for the nasal element throughout to simplify matters. Thus, nts is [nts], ntṣ is [ntṣ], ntç is [ntç], ntl is [ntl], ndz is [ndz], ndz̥ is [ndz̥], ndz̥̥ is [ndz̥̥], and ndl is [ndl].

5. When the apostrophe is used with voiceless initials, it represents voiceless aspiration; when it is used with voiced initials, it represents voiced aspiration. For example, p' is [ph], b' is [bh], t' is [th], and d' is [dh].

6. When a occurs as a simple nucleus, it has the phonetic value [A]. When it is followed by r, its value is [a]. When it is followed by u or w, its value is [a]. Thus, ta is [tA], tae is [tae], tau is [tau], and tau is [tau].

7. The i in ie is short.

8. o is nasalized [ø].

9. With mid level, high falling, or low falling tones, the stop element of voiced unaspirated stops is voiceless (e.g., mbœy 33 is [mbœy 33], ndzae 53 is [ndzae 53], and ndlau 31 is [ndlau 31]).

10. With the high rising tone, voiced aspirate initials in syllables which undergo tone change not only lose the feature of aspiration but also become voiceless. For example, after undergoing tone change mb'œy 35 is [mœy 55], ndz'aw 35 is [ndzaw 55], and ndlrau 35 is [ndlrau 55].

11. The phonetic value of the high rising tone 35 is actually [24]. Since there is no higher rising tone, we have marked the tone as 35. Likewise, although the low rising tone is phonetically [12], we have marked it 13 for there is no other low rising tone. The low level tone is phonetically [22] and the low falling tone is phonetically [21], but since there are no other low level or low falling tones we have marked them as 11 and 31, respectively. We have made these adjustments so that the tones would be easier to distinguish.

12. According to the conventions followed for marking tones, a changed tone is written to the right of a slash, whereas the basic tone is written to the left of the slash. For example, i 55 bau 33/31 indicates that when bau 33 occurs after i 55, its tone is changed from 33 to 31, and i 55 pa 33/11 indicates that when pa 33 occurs after i 55, its tone is changed from 33 to 11. If the initial of a syllable is basically voiced unaspirated but is changed to voiced aspirated after its tone is changed, the symbol for aspiration' is added to the right of the changed tone value. That is, i 55 vau 53/13' indicates that vau 53 changes to [v'au 13] after i 55, tlau 33 lu 55/35' indicates that the syllable lu 55 changes to [l'u 35] after

t<sub>l</sub>au 33, and çaw 33 dz<sub>ł</sub> 53/31' indicates that the syllable dz<sub>ł</sub> 53 changes to [dz'<sub>ł</sub> 31] after çaw 33. On the other hand, if, after a tone change, a voiceless initial becomes voiced or a voiced aspirated initial loses its aspiration, the change in form is shown in parentheses immediately after the basic form of the syllable. This convention has been adopted because the changes cannot be conveniently marked on the value of the changed tone. For example, i 55 tu 33 (> du 31), and i 55 dz'o 35 (> dzo 55\*).

\*On the basis of section 10 above, one would expect dzrō 35 to change to tso 55.



A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF DESCRIPTIVE WORDS IN  
THE MIAO LANGUAGE OF EASTERN KWEICHOW

by

Ts'ao Ts'ui-yün

I. General Introduction

While learning or investigating the Chrien tung Miao language (hereafter referred to simply as "Miao"), students often encounter certain syllables occurring after verbs and adjectives. These syllables are sometimes incomprehensible to the Chinese comrades who study Miao. Even when they do understand these syllables, it is very difficult for them to translate the Miao meaning into Chinese. Nevertheless, the expressive power of these syllables is great. In some linguistic environments they are practically indispensable. Without such syllables the language would be much less colorful. On the one hand, a speaker would be unable to express his specific thoughts and feelings. A hearer, on the other hand, would consider the conversation dull.

The following examples provide a general introduction to these syllables (the present article is based on the type of Miao found in K'ai t'ang, K'ai li hsien, Kweichow):

1. mun 55 tei 11 tei 33 nun 35 man 44 man 44  
you clf. child this night night

sei 55 ceu 12 mje 35 tsε 44 tsc 44.  
all chew tooth desc. of continuous exertion of  
all one's strength

"You [naughty] child, grinding your teeth [and making such a noise] all night."

2. p'au 44 to 35 to 23 pε 44 qε 44 pe 44-  
firecracker paper explode sound of continuing  
qε 44. "The firecrackers keep exploding."  
explosions

3. lju 11 to 35 i 33 jo 55 fu 11 fu 11  
clf. paper that float in air sound of con-

meu 11 jan 55.

tinuous fluttering go compleutive

"That piece of paper kept fluttering as it floated away."

4. nei 55 au 23 lei 55 ci 44 kan 21 pje 11  
he two clf. together drag hand

tju 35 ta 35 mun 11 jan 55.

desc. of rapid upward go compleutive  
movement

"They grabbed each other's hand and went away."

5. sei 44 vi 55 keu 11 4eu 11 ta 55  
dark sky desct of darkness come

jan 55. "The sky has become very dark."

completive

6. pei 21 tçen 33 haŋ 35 ne 35 fan 35 fan 33  
Peking place that wide place

tjeu 11 jeu 11.

desc. of spaciousness

"The area around Peking is a very broad plain."

7. tçau 55 ke 35 nuŋ 35 ña 23 kau 33 tç'au 33:  
clft road this day desc. of rolling  
dust due to excessive dryness

"This road is so very dry."

8. nei 55 4o 33 mi 23 kun 11 tun 11.  
he white face desct of whiteness

"He is [as] pale [as a ghost]."

From the above examples it can be seen that verbs and adjectives in Miao can be followed by descriptive syllables, and that by means of these syllables a speaker is able to describe actions and states of being with precision. For instance, in examples 1-4 tse 44 tse 44, pe 44 4e 44, fu 11 fu 11, and tju 35 describe sounds or actions associated with chewing, exploding, floating, and dragging, respectively. In examples 5-8, on the other hand, keu 11 4eu 11, tjeu 11 jeu 11, kau 33 tç'au 33, and kun 11 tun 11 describe

the states of being dark, wide, dry, and white, respectively. These syllables occur either immediately after verbs and adjectives or separated from them by other words. See examples 1, 4, 5, 6, and 8.

## II. Descriptive Syllables are Aspect Words

In the above section we discussed briefly the fact that Miao verbs and adjectives are often followed by certain types of syllables. Because there is a close relationship between such syllables and verbs and adjectives, they co-occur rather frequently. For this reason, some people have taken these descriptive syllables to be suffixes of verbs and adjectives, not [independent] words. Others have considered them words which could be treated as adverbs. I agree with the latter opinion and consider these syllables to be words, but I feel that they are very different from adverbs. I therefore tentatively suggest that these syllables be treated as a separate category of words called "aspect words". We shall discuss first the reasons for considering these syllables words.

A. In the great majority of cases, other words may be inserted between these syllables and the verbs or adjectives they modify.

Looking at the grammar of Miao, we note that neither simple words nor compound words are further divisible. For instance, no item may be inserted between the syllables of simple words such as tc'u 35\* tc'at 44 "itchy", ci 44 ceu 33 "hungry", can 35 quŋ 35 "disgusted", tei 44 muŋ 23\*\* "fragment", tsuŋ 33 tuŋ 33 "madman", tau 35 mo 23 "maternal grandmother", etc., or between the syllables of compound words such as nan 55 (name) pje 44 (name) "name", fan 33- (place) van 11 (village) "villaget", kan 44 (fast) na 23- (diligent) "diligent", qa 33 s'a 33 (paddy) ne 55 (paddy) "paddy", o 35 (clothes) pun 23 (quilted cover) "cotton clothes", qan 33 (sweet) xi 33 (heart) "happy", etc. Only phrases are able to be expanded. For example, neu 35 (eat)-ka 35 (meal, rice) "to have a meal" can be expanded to neu 55 (eat) i 33 (one) can 35 (bowl) ka 35 (rice) "to eat a bowl of rice", and keu 35 (clf. for flowers) pan 55- (flower) nun 35 (this) "this flower" can be expanded to keu 35 (clf. for flowers) pan 35 (flower) çau 12 (red)-nun 35 (this) "this red flower".

\* The text has tc'u 34.

\*\* The text has muŋ 22.

If we reexamine, on the basis of the evidence presented above, the fact that additional words may be inserted between verbs or adjectives and the descriptive syllables which follow them, we find that these syllables cannot be considered to be bound to the preceding verbs or adjectives as unitary words. Instead, they must be treated as parts of phrases. Note the following examples:

- 1.a. ma 55            t'au 33 t'au 33  
                        slap, knock desc. of continuous knocking  
                        "to keep knocking on"
- b. ma 55 ta 55    t'au 33 t'au 33  
                        table  
                        "to keep banging on the table"
- 2.a. tçrau 33    tju 35  
                        pick up desc. of rapid upward movement  
                        "to pick up quickly"
- b. tç'au 33 pen 55 to 35    tju 35  
                        clf. book  
                        "to pick the book up quickly"
- 3.a. 4o 33    kje 12 xje 12  
                        white descr of pure white  
                        "pure white"
- b. 4o 33 mi 23    kje 12 xje 12  
                        face  
                        "the face is absolutely white"
- 4.a. çau 12    ki 33 li 33  
                        red descr of a degree of redness  
                        "reddish"
- b. çau 12 mi 23    ki 33 li 33  
                        face  
                        "the face is reddish"

B. Some of these syllables can be used as predicates.

No affixes may occur as free forms. Some of these descriptive syllables, however, do occur independently as predicates in Miao.

1. nei 55 nei 33 nei 33 keu 33 ljeu 33  
 he day day desc. of walking slowly  
 naŋ 11 keu 33 ljeu 33 t̄ceu 23.  
 down desc. of walking slowly up

"Her walks slowly up and down every day."

2. nei 55 pau 35 tjau 35 kje 35 nuŋ 35  
 he desc. of standing stillr road this  
pau 35 tjau 35 kje 35 i 33.  
 desc. of standing still road that

"He just stands around, sometimes here, sometimes there  
 (i.e., he is restless)."

3. nei 55 pun 35 t̄cun 35 pje 11  
 he desc. of staring up  
pun 35 t̄cun 35 t̄e 33.  
 desc. of staring down

"He stared up and down with his eyes wide open."

(For a detailed analysis of these examples, see  
 section IV below.)

C. Some of these syllables occur with two or more verbs or adjectives.

The range of occurrence of these descriptive syllables is very restricted. It is not at all unusual for certain types of these syllables to co-occur only with a specific verb or adjective. Those people who propose to treat such syllables as affixes often take this fact to be conclusive. Actually, however, this pattern of co-occurrence is perfectly natural and understandable. Since the meaning of these syllables is so precise, the permissible range of modification will undoubtedly be restricted. Not all of these syllables are limited to occurring with a single verb or adjective, however. According to our preliminary findings, some may occur with several semantically related verbs or adjectives. Some even co-occur with both verbs and adjectives. For example,

1.a. ki 55 hen 23 hen 23  
 weep sound of continuous sobbing  
 "to sob continuously"

- b. teu 21 nuŋ 23 heŋ 23 heŋ 23  
 curse sound of continuous cursing with  
                   a low voice  
 "to keep on cursing in a low voice"
- 2.a. tc'au 33 tju 35  
 pick up desc. of rapid upward movement  
 "to pick up quickly"
- b. kje 35                   tju 35  
 carry on shoulder  
 "to carry away quickly"
- c. gaŋ 44                   tju 35  
 lift up  
 "to lift up quickly"
- d. kaŋ 21                   tju 35  
 hold  
 "to grasp quickly"
- e. te 33                   tju 35  
 answer  
 "to answer quickly"
- 3.a. sei 44 keu ll ɬeu ll  
 dark desc. of darkness  
 "dark (of a dull, cloudy day)"
- b. tseu 12 keu ll ɬeu ll  
 dark  
 "dark (of the period after nightfall)"
- 4.a. pi 23 tjeu ll jeu ll  
 flat desc. of flatness  
 "very flat"
- b. faŋ 35 tjeu ll jeu ll  
 wide desc. of width  
 "very wide"
- c. nau 55 tjeu ll jeu ll  
 green desc. of a large area almost completely  
                   green  
 "a large area almost completely green"

- d. kau 23 tjeu 11 jeu 11  
 fall desc. of a large area in which every-  
 thing had been flattened  
 "a large area which has been flattened out"
- e. jan 44 tjeu 11 jeu 11  
 fly desc. of flying about  
 "to fly around with extended wings"
- 5.a. tjeu 12 kje 12 xje 12  
 laugh desc. of a beautiful laugh  
 "smiling"
- b. ɬo 33 kje 12 xje 12  
 white desc. of perfect whiteness  
 "absolutely white"
- c. xen 44 kje 12 xje 12  
 cool desc. of comfort  
 "nice and cool"
- d. qan 33 xi 33 kje 12 xje 12  
 sweet heart desc. of happiness  
 "very happy"
- 6.a. ɬjan 35 gau 33 t'au 33  
 fall desc. of falling and rolling over  
 "to fall and roll over slightly"
- b. ta 23 gau 33 t'au 33  
 die desc. of dying immediately after  
 rolling over  
 "to turn over and die immediately"
- c. peu 44 gau 33 t'au 33  
 make a sound desc. of making a noise by  
 rolling over  
 "to roll over and make a noise"
- d. lei 35 gau 33 t'au 33  
 short desc. of an object short enough to roll  
 "to be so short that it will roll"

D. These syllables have concrete lexical meanings.

Some people have said, "The meanings of the descriptive syllables are very abstract. Considered separately from the verbs or adjectives with which they occur, they are difficult to understand. Thus, these syllables can be treated only as affixes."<sup>t</sup> It is recognized that the lexical meanings of functors are generally not concrete. It is possible to maintain that they do not have lexical meanings at all, only grammatical meanings. Their meanings cannot be determined apart from the context. No one, however, claims that because of this functors are not words. We see, therefore, that the boundary between words and non-words does not lie in the realm of semantics (i.e., whether or not the meaning of the item is concrete). In our preliminary research we have found that these syllables in Miao are not without lexical meaning. They do have lexical meanings which are both precise and concrete, at least more concrete than the meanings of adverbs. For example,

1. ₄o 33 "white" can be followed by descriptive syllables such as kje 12\* xje 12, kuŋ 11 tuŋ 11, and gau 35-p'au 35, all indicating different types of "white".

a. ₄o 33 kje 12 xje 12

white desc. of perfect whiteness  
"perfectly white (and attractive)"

b. ₄o 33 kuŋ 11 tuŋ 11

white desc. of a degree of whiteness  
"white"

c. ₄o 33 gau 35 p'au 35

white desc. of a degree of whiteness which is  
not pretty  
"all white (but unattractive)"

2. ₄ei 33 "black" can be followed by syllables such as ken 12 tçen 12, tjen 11 njen 11, and keu 35 meu 35, all indicating different types of "black".

a. ₄ei 33 ken 12 tçen 12

black desc. of perfect blackness  
"perfectly black (and attractive)"<sup>t</sup>

b. ₄ei 33 tjen 11 njen 11

black desc. of a degree of blackness  
"black"

---

\* The text has kje 13.

c. iei 33 keu 35 meu 35

black desc. of a degree of blackness which is  
not pretty  
"all black (but ugly)"

3. nau 55 "green" can be followed by syllables such as pun 33 jwŋ 33, keu 23 s'eu 23, and keu 35 s'eu 35, all indicating different types of "green".

a. nau 55 pun 33 jwŋ 33

green desc. of bright green  
"grass-green; bright green"

b. nau 55 keu 23 s'eu 23

green desc. of a degree of deep green which  
is pretty  
"deep green (and attractive)"

c. nau 55 keu 35 s'eu 35

green desc. of a degree of green which is  
not pretty  
"all green (but ugly)"

The above examples of different colors illustrate the type of syllables used to modify adjectives. If the adjectives had occurred alone, we would have had no way of knowing how white, how black, or how green the object was. Only from the descriptive information supplied by the syllables following the adjectives can the sense of "attractive" or "ugly" be determined for "white", etc. This, then, shows that these syllables have very concrete and precise lexical meanings. Their lexical meanings can also be clearly seen when they co-occur with verbs, as in the following examples:

1. to 33 "to put; to place" can be followed by syllables such as pen 12, ken 12, and q'e 33, all indicating various manners in which an object is placed on something.

a. to 33 pen 12

put desc. of gentleness  
"to put down carefully"

b. to 33 ken 12

put desc. of stability  
"to place something so that it is steady"

c. to 33 q'e 33

put desc. of unconcern  
"to put down carelessly"

2. fa ll "to arise, to get up" can be followed by syllables such as tsan ll, po 23 4o 23, and keu 33 ljeu 33, all describing different ways of getting up.

a. fa ll tsan ll

get up desc. of haste  
"to get up in a hurry"

b. fa ll po 23 4o 23

get up descr of jumping up in haste  
"to spring up suddenly"

c. fa ll keu 33 ljeu 33 keu 33 ljeu 33\*

get up desc. of a slow, steady movement  
"to get up with a slow, steady movement"

3. pje 44 "sleep" can be followed by syllables such as pen 12, keu 33 4eu 33, kan ll lan ll, and q'au 33\*\*, describing various ways of sleeping.

a. pje 44 pen 12

sleep desc. of stillness  
"to sleep quietly"

b. pje 44 keu 33 4eu 33

sleep desc. of a carefree manner  
"to sleep peacefully"

c. pje 44 kan ll lan ll

sleep desc. of exhaustion  
"to sleep exhaustedly (with legs stretched out)"

d. pje 44 q'au 33

sleep descr of lightness  
"to sleep lightly"

4. tjeu 12 "to laugh" can be followed by syllables such as ts'rei 55 and ha 35 to indicate different types of laughter.

a. tjeu 12 ts'eis 55 ts'eis 55

laugh sound of continuous light laughter  
"to laugh continuously with a low voice"

\*The text has lieu 33.

\*\*The text has q'au 32.

b. tjeu ll ha 35 ha 35

laugh sound of continuous loud laughter  
"to laugh continuously with a loud voice"

It can be readily seen from the above examples that if the verb occurred alone, the precise aspect of the actions "to put", "to get up", "to sleep", and "to laugh" could not be determined. Only by means of the descriptive syllables following the verbs can the precise actions "to put down hurriedly", "to place something so that it is steady", and "to put down carelessly" be indicated. To sum up, these syllables, whether they occur with adjectives or verbs, clearly manifest their lexical meaningss

E. The rules for linking these descriptive syllables to verbs and adjectives are the same as those for linking descriptive attributes with their heads. For example,

1. Verbs as attributes

a. ŋa 35 jen 33

meat salty  
"salted meat"

b. ne ll sau 23

fish grain from a distillery  
"fish put into grain to cure; salted fish"

c. yi 33 ɿjan 35

stone roll  
"stone roller"

d. qa 33 te 35 mje ll

tail plait  
"pigtail"

2. Adjectives as attributes

a. tse 35 ɿ'jau 33

house big  
"big house"

b. o 35 xi 33

clothes new  
"new clothes"

- c. nei 55 yeu 44  
 person good  
 "good person"
- d. tçu 33 tei 33 tjan 23  
 child fat  
 "fat child"

### 3. Nouns as attributes

- a. tsε 35 ni ll  
 house tile  
 "tile-roofed house"
- b. ŋa 55 pa 44  
 meat pig  
 "pork"
- c. ts'e*i* 35 tjeu ll  
 words Han Chinese  
 "Chinese language"
- d. ts'e*i* 35 mu 33  
 words Miao people  
 "Miao language"

In the above examples, verbs, adjectives, and nouns used as attributes follow the head word. The aspect syllables under consideration here follow verbs or adjectives, describing particular characteristics of the action or state of being, respectively. The word order is exactly the same as that shown in the examples above. For this reason, it is reasonable to consider these descriptive syllables to be words.

In native Miao word order there is not only the pattern exemplified above in which verbs, adjectives, nouns, demonstratives, and interrogatives occurring as attributes follow the head, there is also a pattern in which numeral-classifiers and adverbs occurring as attributes precede the head. A great number of new words and terms (such as "rectification movement", "great leap forward", "people's commune", etc.) have been borrowed from Chinese, especially since the Liberation. In these borrowings, attributes of whatever type generally precede the head. This has not only enriched the Miao lexicon, but it has also developed the Miao grammar. Thus, at present there are two types of word order for Miao verbs, adjectives, and nouns occurring as attributes. The so-called "native word order" is the first type mentioned above.

F. These aspect syllables are different from the Chinese terms such as (lù) yú-yú "dark green", (hei) chi-chi "pitch dark", and the like.

Students of Chinese grammar are, at present, all agreed that yú-yú, chi-chi, etc., are not to be considered words. In view of the characteristics of the Chinese language, this is a reasonable analysis. The Miao and Chinese languages are closely related and have many features in common (e.g., tones, subject-predicate-object word order, numeral-classifiers, word order of adverbs used as attributes). It cannot be denied, however, that each language has its own individual characteristics (e.g., in Miao, native nouns and adjectives occurring as attributes usually follow the head; adjectives can categorize nouns, classifiers can occur alone when modifying nouns, objects occur between predicates and complements). In Chinese, no other words can be inserted between yú-yú and lù "green" or between chi-chi and hei "black". Also, yú-yú, chi-chi, etc., cannot occur alone as predicates. Furthermore, the order in which yú-yú and chi-chi are combined with lù and hei does not coincide with the usual rules of modification in Chinese. These syllables in Chinese, then, are different from the corresponding syllables in Miao. They cannot be lumped together arbitrarily.

To sum up what has been presented above: the bond between these aspect syllables and the preceding verbs or adjectives is not a tight one since other words or phrases may occur between them; some of these syllables can occur alone as predicates; some can be reduplicated to indicate continuous action, some can be used with more than one verb or adjective to indicate similar or identical characteristics; these syllables all have rather precise lexical meanings; the order in which they are combined with verbs or adjectives is the same as the native Miao order for combining attributes and heads. On the basis of these characteristics there is sufficient reason to treat these aspect syllables as words.

We shall now return to the discussion of the reasons for not treating these descriptive words as adverbs. There are, of course, many languages in which adjectives and verbs are often modified by adverbs. In the past, there were scholars investigating Chinese grammar who called all modifiers of verbs and adjectives "adverbs". This analysis must now be changed. At present, many scholars recognize that the k'uài "quick" of k'uài-chré "express" and the k'uài of k'uài-p'a᷑ "running rapidly" both belong to the same word class - adjective. That is, an additional function has been assigned to the class of adjectives: "able to modify verbs and adjectives", and the former rule that "some words overlap the classes of adjectives and adverbs" has been abandoned. We feel that this new treatment is much better. We shall now turn our attention to the aspect syllables which

follow Miao verbs and adjectives. Although they are used to modify verbs and adjectives, they cannot be analyzed as adverbs because of the following points which distinguish them from adverbs:

1. These syllables can be separated from the verbs (or adjectives) by other words or phrases, whereas adverbs cannot.

2. These syllables can be reduplicated to indicate continuous action. Adverbs, on the other hand, cannot be reduplicated.

3. Some of these syllables can occur alone as predicates. Adverbs cannot occur alone as predicates.

4. These syllables follow verbs and adjectives, whereas adverbs generally precede verbs or adjectives.

5. The lexical meanings of these syllables are precise, whereas those of adverbs are, by comparison, abstract.

Because aspect syllables and adverbs differ in these respects, they cannot be classed together as adverbs. The reason for this is the same as that which distinguishes between nouns and adjectives even though both can be used to modify nouns. Since the primary function of these syllables is to describe the characteristics of verbs and adjectives, they may be called "aspect words".

### III. Characteristics of Aspect Words

There are five main characteristics of aspect words.

1. They rhyme and have the same tonet. With the exception of a very few examples having different finals, the two syllables of disyllabic aspect words rhyme and have identical tones.

a. xau 44 ki 44 vi 44

oblique desc<sup>t</sup> of obliqueness  
"oblique"

b. fei 33 keu 35 meu 35

black desc. of a degree of black which is  
unattractive  
"all black (but ugly)"

c. to 23 pe 44 fe 44

explode sound of an explosion  
"to explode"

- d. ti 44      teu 33 leu 33  
 swell up desc. of a degree of swollenness  
 "to swell up like a drum" (said of the belly)
- e. Ɂjan 44      pun 11 ljun 11 qun 11  
 smooth surface desc. of smoothness  
 "very smooth"

2. They usually modify related verbs and adjectives. Since the primary function of aspect words is to modify verbs or adjectives, the relationship between them and the words they modify is a very close one. For this reason, the same attributes and heads occur with each other rather frequently.

- a. tç'i 44      kau 33 tq'au 33  
 angry desc. of pouting  
 "to pout in displeasures"
- b. fa 11      po 23 Ɂo 23  
 get up desc. of jumping up in haste  
 "to spring up suddenly"
- c. nau 35      tjeu 11 jeu 11  
 green desc. of a large area becoming completely greens  
 "a large area turning green"
- d. çau 12      ka 11 lja 11  
 red desc. of blushing  
 "red in the face"
- e. Ɂo 33      kun 11 tun 11s  
 white desc. of whiteness  
 "white"

3. Aspect words can be reduplicated to indicate a continuation of the action. If the duration to be indicated is of some length, the aspect words can be reduplicated more than once.

- a. tja 12      qau 33 tsau 33  
 jump desc. of jumping  
 "to jump and hop"
- tja 12      qau 33 tsau 33 qau 33 tsau 33  
 jump desc. of continuous jumping  
 "to keep hopping around"

b. lja 21 ɸjen ll

sparkle desc. of flashing light  
"to flash (once)"

lja 21 ɸjen ll ɸjen ll

sparkle desc. of continuous flashing  
"to keep on flashing; to sparkle continuously"

c. ma 55 t'au 33

beat desc. of beating  
"to beat"

ma 55 t'au 33 t'au 33

beat desc. of continuous beating  
"to keep on beating"

ma 55 t'au 33 t'au 33 t'au 33 t'au 33

beat desc. of beating for a long time  
"to keep on beating for a long time"

4. The lexical meanings of aspect words are very precise. The lexical meanings of verbs and adjectives are general in comparison to the much more specific lexical meanings of aspect words. Thus, when aspect words are used to modify verbs or adjectives, the actions or stative features of whatever is described by the verbs or adjectives are made more concrete and precise.

a. tjeu 12 kje 12 xje 12

laugh desc. of a nice laugh  
"to smile nicely"

tjeu 12 ha 35 ha 35

laugh sound of continuous loud laughter  
"to keep laughing loudly"

b. ki 55 hen 23 hen 23

cry sound of continuous weeping in a low voice  
"to keep on crying softly"

ki 55 ho 11 ho 11

cry sound of continuous loud weeping  
"to keep on crying loudly"

c. fan 55 ke 21 le 21

yellow desc. of light yellow  
"light yellow"

fan 55 ka 23 la 23

yellow desc. of dark yellow  
"dark yellow"

d. çau 12 ki 33 li 33

red desc. of a degree of red  
"red (and pretty)"

çau 12 ka 11 lja 11

red desc. of blushing  
"red (but not very pretty)"

5. If the verb has an object or the adjective a complement (whether a word or a phrase), the aspect word follows the object or complement.

a. le 11 kau 33 jau 33

drift about desc. of fluttering  
"to flutter in the wind"

le 11 o 35 kau 33 jau 33

drift about clothes desc. of fluttering  
"The clothes flutter in the wind."

le 11 o 35 te 35 kau 33 jau 33

drift about clothes long descr of fluttering  
"The gown flutters in the wind."

b. kan 21 tju 35

hold in hand desc. of rapid upward movement  
"to grasp quickly"

kan 21 pje 11 tju 35

hold in hand hand desc. of rapid upward  
movement  
"to grasp the hand quickly"

kan 21 çu çe hui tçi 11 pje 11

hold in hand Hsü Hsüeh-huei clf. hand

tju 35

desc. of rapid upward movement

"to grasp Hsü Hsüeh-huei's hand quickly"

#### IV. Types of Aspect Words

Aspect words can be divided into various categories, depending upon the features being emphasized.

A. Number of syllables. Aspect words are either monosyllabic or polysyllabic. Monosyllabic aspect words usually modify verbs.

1. pu 44    ven 11  
boil    desc. of boiling  
"to boil"
2. tja 12    tsau 23  
jump    desc. of upward movement  
"to hop up"
3. ç'an 44    tsa 44  
scrub    desc. of rough treatment  
"to scrub roughly"
4. fa 11    tsan 11  
get up    desc. of haste  
"to jump up quickly"
5. ju 55    fu 11  
flutter    sound of fluttering  
"to flutter"
6. tjeu 12    ha 35  
laugh    sound of loud laughter  
"to laugh loudly"
7. to 33    ken 12  
put    desc. of stability  
"to place something so that it is steady"
8. ta 21    q'e 44  
throw    desc. of being optional  
"to throw at will"

There are also monosyllabic aspect words which modify adjectives, but their number is very small. Two such words are the following:

9. te 55    nen 33  
straight    desc. of straightness  
"straight"

10. lan 12 laeu 33  
 faint desc. of fainting  
 "unconscious"

Most aspect words of more than one syllable are disyllabic. Polysyllabic aspect words generally modify both verbs and adjectives.

11. han 33 keu 33 ljeu 33  
 walk descr of slow walking  
 "to walk slowly"
12. tja 12 qau 33 tsau 33  
 jump desc. of jumping  
 "to hop, to jump"
13. teu 23 ki 33 li 33  
 follow desc. of secrecy  
 "to follow secretly"
14. pi 23 tjeu 11 jeu 11  
 flat desc. of flatness  
 "flat (of a large area)"
15. keu 23 teu 33 leu 33  
 hard desc. of hardness  
 "hard (and tight)"
16. nau 55 pur 33 jun 33  
 green desc. of bright green  
 "bright green, blue-green"

Most aspect words are disyllabic. Additional examples will not be given. The following examples show aspect words of more than two syllables.

17. tjan 23 pau 11 qau 11 qau 11  
 fat desc. of softness  
 "fat (but attractive)"
18. tjan 23 pu 23\* neu 23 geu 23  
 fat desc. of plumpness  
 "fat (and unattractive)"

---

\*The final of this syllable should probably be -eu.

19. Ɂjan 35 pun 11 ljuŋ 11 qun 11  
 smooth desc. of smoothness  
 "smooth and slippery"
20. mje 35 pau 35 tau 35 qau 35  
 thin (liquid) desc. of being cooked until soft  
 "cooked to a mush"

B. Reduplication. Aspect words can be divided into two groups - those which can be reduplicated and those which cannot be reduplicated. As a general rule, both monosyllabic and polysyllabic aspect words which modify verbs and can indicate continuous action can be reduplicated.

1. Monosyllabic aspect words

- a. ç'an 44 tsa 44  
 scrub desc. of rough treatment  
 "to scrub roughly"
- ç'an 44 tsa 44 tsa 44  
 scrub desc. of continuous rough treatment  
 "to keep on scrubbing roughly"
- b. tç'au 33 tju 35  
 pick up desc. of rapid upward movement  
 "to pick up quickly"
- tç'au 33 tju 35 tju 35  
 pick up desc. of continuous rapid upward movement  
 "to keep on picking up quickly"
- c. tja 12 tsau 23  
 jump descr of upward movement  
 "to jump up"
- tja 12 tsau 23 tsau 23  
 jump descr of repeated upward movements  
 "to keep jumping up"

2. Polysyllabic aspect words

- a. haŋ 33 keu 33 ljeu 33  
 walk descr of slow walking  
 "to walk slowly"

han 33 keu 33 ljeu 33 keu 33 ljeu 33  
 walk desc. of continuous slow movements  
 "to keep on walking slowly"

b. ḡjan 35 qau 33 t'au 33  
 fall desc. of a slight rolling movement  
 "to fall down and roll over"

ḡjan 35 qau 33 t'au 33 qau 33 t'au 33  
 fall desc. of repeated rolling movements  
 "to keep on falling down and rolling over"

c. jan 44 ken 21 jen 21  
 fly descr of rapid movements  
 "to fly fast"

jan 44 ken 21 jen 21 ken 21 jen 21  
 fly desc. of repeated rapid movements  
 "to keep on flying fast"

When modifying adjectives or action verbs indicating punctual action, however, neither monosyllabic nor polysyllabic aspect words can be reduplicated.

a. to 35 q'ε 44  
 put desc. of unconcern  
 "to put down carelessly"

b. pje 44 pen 12  
 sleep desc. of stillness  
 "to sleep quietly"

c. kan 21 ten 12  
 hold in hand desc. of firmness  
 "to grasp tightly"

d. ma 35 pau 35 tjau 35  
 hide desc. of safety  
 "to hide oneself safely"

e. xje 33 qun 11 qan 11  
 tall desc. of height and leanness  
 "to be tall and lean (of humans)"

f. mi 23 kau 23 n̥jau 23  
 soft desc. of softness  
 "to be soft and tender"

C. Predication. Aspect words can be divided into two groups - those which can occur as predicates and those which cannot occur as predicates. Most Miao aspect words cannot occur as predicates. The few which can occur as predicates usually occur in couplets. For example,

1. ɿjan 35 qau 35 kau 33 vau 33

roll desc. of rolling over  
"to roll over"

a. muŋ 55 ta 35 lei 33 muŋ 55 ɿjan 35 qau 35  
you take clf. that roll

meu ll han 35 to 23 meu ll?

go place what go

"Where did you roll it to?"

b. muŋ 55 ç'e 35 lei 33 muŋ 55  
you look clf. that

kau 33 vau 33 meu ll kau 33 vau 33 lau ll.

desc. of rolling go desc. of rolling come

"Look! It rolls back and forth!"

2. ɿ'au 35 kau 35 njau 35

crawl desc. of exhaustion  
"to drag oneself around"

a. muŋ 55 ɿ'au 35 meu ll han 35 to 33  
you crawl go place what

meu ll? "Where did you crawl off to?"

go

b. muŋ 55 kau 35 njau 35 kau 35 njau 35  
you desc. of continuous exhaustion

meu ll han 35 to 23?

go place what

"Where are you going, dragging yourself along like that?"

3. jan 44 tjeu ll jeu ll

fly desc. of flying around  
"to fly with extended wings; to soar"

a. pa 35 ɻan 35 jan 44 naŋ ll, mje 21  
 male eagle fly east, female

ɻan 35 jan 44 tceu 23.  
 eagle fly west

"The male eagle flew east, and the female eagle flew west."

b. pa 35 ɻan 35 tjeu ll jeu ll  
 male eagle desc. of flying around

naŋ ll, mje 21 ɻan 35 tjeu ll jeu ll tceu 23.  
 east, female eagle desc. of flying around west

"The male eagle soared toward the east, and the female eagle soared toward the west."

4. xi 33 qun ll qan ll  
 tall desc. of height and leanness  
 "to be tall and lean"

a. tei ll mun 55 xi 33 va 44.  
 clf. that tall very  
 "That person is very tall."

b. tei ll mun 55\* qun ll qan ll  
 clf. that desc. of height and leanness

lau 33 pje ll va 44.

foot hand very

"That person has very long limbs."

5. lε ll kan ll jan ll  
 flow, drift desc. of flowing  
 "to flow along"

a. tçau 55 eu 33\*\* lε ll meu ll naŋ ll.  
 clf. water flow go east  
 "The river flows to the east."

\* The text has man 55.

\*\* The text has eu 32.

b. nei 55 kaŋ ll jan ll      peu 44      nuŋ 35  
 he      desc. of flowing      place      this

kaŋ ll jan ll      peu 44      i 33.

desct of flowing      place      that

"He keeps wandering from this place to that."

D. Description. As a final consideration, aspect words may be divided into onomatopoetic words and descriptive words. For the most part, onomatopoetic aspect words describe the sounds of the actions and, at the same time, indicate situational features. For example,

1. tjeu 12 ha 35 ha 35  
 laugh      sound of continuous loud laughter  
 "to laugh loudly"

2. ts'au 33      fu ll fu ll  
 blow with mouth      sound of continuous blowing  
 "to keep on blowing"

Descriptive aspect words are more numerous and can describe verbs or adjectives. For example,

3. te 33 tju 35  
 answer      desc. of rapid movement  
 "to answer quickly"

4. neŋ 12 tseŋ 12  
 pinch      desc. of slowness  
 "to pinch slowly"

5. faŋ 55 ke 21 le 21  
 yellow      desc. of light yellow  
 "light yellow"

6. la ll ke 33 ne 33  
 clean      desc. of cleanliness  
 "very clean"

FOUR-SYLLABLE COORDINATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN THE MIAO  
LANGUAGE OF EASTERN KWEICHOW

by

P'an Yüan-en and Ts'ao Ts'ui-yün

During the time we were learning and investigating the Miao language spoken in Lu shan, eastern Kweichow, we came across many four-syllable expressions (henceforth referred to as "quadrisyllabics"). They can be divided into a number of different types, depending on their structure, as follows:

1. Verb-Noun-Verb-Noun
2. Adjective-Noun-Adjective-Noun
3. Noun-Adjective-Noun-Adjective
4. Noun-Noun-Noun-Noun
5. Verb-Verb-Verb-Verb
6. Adjective-Adjective-Adjective-Adjective
7. Disyllabic verb followed by its first syllable repeated plus a functor
8. Verb-Functor-Verb-Functor
9. Adjective-Functor-Adjective-Functor
10. Prefix-Classifier-Prefix-Classifier
11. Prefix-Noun-Prefix-Noun
12. Other types

We shall now provide examples of these constructions to exemplify our analysis.

TYPE 1. Verb-Noun-Verb-Noun

Formula: ABAC, of which there are two subtypes.

Subtype 1.A. Brand Crare either synonymous or form a disyllabic word.

- (1) nurj 55 nzan 55 nun 55 nzau 12  
eat year eat year  
"to celebrate the New Year holidays"
- (2) k'a 44 çan 55 k'a 44 kent22  
hurry market hurry market  
"to go off to market"
- (3) t'an 12 nzau 55 t'an 12 lo 12  
open mouth open mouth  
"to open the mouth" r

- (4) han̥ 33 kun̥ 22 han̥ 33 ki 44  
 walk road walk road  
 "to walk"
- (5) han̥ 33 ç'au 33 han̥ 33 q'e 12  
 walk \* walk relatives  
 "to visit relatives"

Subtype 1.B. B and Chare semantically related.

- (6) nun̥ 55 n̥i 55 nun̥ 55 qun̥ 44  
 eat meat eat food  
 "to eat good food"
- (7) k'i 33 li 55 k'i 33 un̥ 44  
 plow field plow pond  
 "to plow"
- (8) s'o 12 eu 44 s'o 12 tç'un̥ 33  
 launder clothes launder cloth  
 "to do one's laundry"
- (9) tseo 53 ke 55 tseo 53 n̥o 22  
 run reed pipe run gong, drum  
 "to dance"
- (10) te 13 lo 33 te 13 pi 22  
 kick foot kick hand  
 "to dance, moving arms and legs"
- (11) wa 13 nze 55 wa 13 me 13  
 wash ear wash face  
 "to wash the face"

These quadrisyllabics usually function as predicates of sentences as in the following examples.

- (12) wa 33 tan̥ 53 nun̥ 44 neŋ 12 nun̥ 55  
 two sky this future eat  
 n̥an̥ 55 nun̥ 55 n̥au 13\*\* lo 13\*\*\* au 55.  
 year eat year come compleutive

"In two days we will celebrate the New Year holidays."

\*The gloss is missing.

\*\* In (1) the tone was given as 12.

\*\*\* The tone is probably wrong since "come" is given elsewhere as lo 22.

(13) *jí* 55 *nɛ* 33 *nɛ* 33 *muj* 22 *k'a* 44 *çan* 55  
he day day go hurry market

*k'a* 44 *keŋ* 22 *muj* 31\*, *a* 55 *nzan* 33 *i* 33 *tan* 53  
hurry market go, not have one sky

*nzan* 33 *tse* 44. "He goes to market every day, never  
be at house  
staying home."

(14) *wa* 33 *tan* 53 *q'an* 44 *nzan* 55 *i* 44,  
two sky (prefix) year that,  
*tse* 44 *tse* 44 *tan* 13 *nun* 55 *ni* 55 *nun* 55 *qur* 44.  
house house all eat meat eat food

"During the New Year celebrations every family has good  
food to eat."h

(15) *tar* 53 *nun* 44 *vɛ* 22 *nzan* 33 *tse* 44  
sky this I be at house  
*s'o* 13 *eu* 44 *s'o* 13 *tc'uw* 33 *i* 33 *nɛ* 33.  
launder clothes launder cloth one day

"I washed clothes at home all day today."h

(16) *le* 13 *q'an* 44 *nzan* 55 *lo* 22, *fan* 33  
arrive (prefix) year come, place  
*qɛ* 33 *nau* 13 *to* 31 *te* 33 *yau* 13 *tseo* 53 *kc* 55  
Miao some child young run reed pipe  
*tseo* 53 *jo* 22 *s'a* 13 *yau* 13 *qa* 53. "At New Year's  
run drum veryh interesting  
time, the Miao young people dance and have a good time."

#### TYPE 2. Adjective-Noun-Adjective-Noun

This type can be expressed by two formulae

Formula I: ABAC, of which there are two subtypes.

---

\*The tone for "go" is given elsewhere as 22.

Subtype 2.I.A. Brand Crare synonymous or form a disyllabic word.

- (17) pa 22 nzaŋ 55 i 22 pi 13\*  
bad fame bad name  
"to have a bad reputation"
- (18) ç'an 13 maŋ 22 ç'an 13 me 13  
red face red face  
"to blush"
- (19) vi 55 nzau 55 vi 55 lo 13  
awry mouth awry mouth  
"to have a wry mouth"

Subtype 2.I.B. Brand Crare semantically related.

- (20) ne 13 eu 44 ne 13 tç'un 33  
tear clothes tear cloth  
"to be in rags"
- (21) faŋ 55 nze 55 faŋ 55 me 13  
yellow ear yellow face  
"to be pale and thin"
- (22) ta 44 lo 33 ta 44 pi 22  
long foot long hand  
"to be tall"
- (23) ɬ'e 44 f'uŋ 44 ɬ'e 44 nze  
pointed head pointed ear  
"to have a pointed head"

Formula II: ABCD with A semantically related to C and B to D.

- (24) s'un 33 yan 55 ta 44 pi 22  
steep summit long slope  
"high mountains and steep cliffs"
- (25) faŋ 55 nze 55 au 53 me 13  
yellow ear swollen face  
"pale and bloated"
- (26) ɬ'o 33 faŋ 33 no 13 yan 13  
big place many village  
"large, heavily populated area"

---

\* This example should have been listed as a subtype of Type 2, Formula II.

- (27) *ŋo* 22 *vɛ* 55 *tsau* 53 *ta* 33  
 cloudy sky dark earth  
 "deep darkness"

Quadrisyllabics of Type 2 are generally used in a sentence as predicate or modifier, as in the following examples:

- (28) *ni* 55 *tçeo* 13 *lɛ* 55 *muŋ* 22 *ɛ* 13 *nʒan* 13,  
 he only one clf. goh<sup>h</sup> do robber,  
*ɛ* 13 *pi* 33 *se* 22 *pa* 22 *nʒan* 55 *pa* 22 *pi* 13  
 do we all bad fame bad name

*tçau* 22. "He was the only one who became a robber, but  
 completive

it made all of us have a bad reputation<sup>h</sup>

- (29) *tçhen* 44 *ten* 55, *to* 22 *ne* 55 *ɛ* 13  
 begin before, some person do  
*qau* 33 *lɛ* 55 *lɛ* 55 *se* 22 *ne* 13 *eu* 44 *ne* 13  
 work clf.h clf. all tear clothes tear

*tçhun* 33\*. "In the past, every worker was in rags."<sup>h</sup>  
 cloth

- (30) *te* 22 *qe* 33 *te* 33 *pe* 13 *ɛ* 33 *f'e* 44  
 clf. (prefix) child pig that pointed  
*f'un* 44 *f'e* 44 *nze* 55 *t'ɛ* 44 *te* 22 *naŋ* 22 *i* 53.  
 head pointed ear resemble clf. rat that

"That small pig has a pointed head like a rat."

- (31) *te* 22 *ne* 55 *ta* 44 *lo* 33 *ta* 44 *pi* 22  
 clf. person long foot long hand  
*i* 44, *han* 33 *kun* 22 *s'a* 13 *xi* 13. "That tall person  
 that walk road most fast  
 walks the fastest."

---

\* The aspiration is missing in the text.

TYPE 3. Noun-Adjective-Noun-Adjective

Formula: ABCD with A semantically related to C  
and B to D.

(32) li 55 ke 22 la 13 ko 53  
field dryt earth hard  
"arid land"

(33) t̄au 55 ꝑ'o 33 tse 44 fan 44  
door big house wide  
"a mansion"

(34) n̄e 33 le 22 man 13 yau 13  
day cleart night good  
"an auspicious day"

(35) xo 33 le 22 s'e 44 yau 13  
sentence clean word good  
"valuable words"

(36) t̄au 55 pa 22 tse 44 ne 13  
door bad house rotten  
"a broken-down house"

Quadrисyllabics such as the above are used, for the most part, as subject, complement, or object of a sentence. In the data we collected, however, there are no examples of this type actually occurring as subject. Nevertheless, they may be found eventually since these quadrисyllabics occur in the positions filled by nominals. For example,

(37) pi 33 fan 33 se 22 t̄o 13 xi 55\* ke 22 la 13  
we place all be field dry earth

ko 53 ka 22 ka 22. "Our area is dry and arid."  
hard completely

(38) t̄ç'en 44 ten 55, pi 33 n̄zan 33 t̄o 13  
begin before, we dwell locative  
to 22 t̄au 55 pa 22 tse 44 ne 13, ꝑ'o 13 nun 44  
some door bad house rotten, time this  
pi 33 n̄zan 33 t̄o 13 to 22 t̄au 55 ꝑ'o 33 tse 44  
we dwell locative some door big house

---

\*The use of t̄ instead of t as in (32) may be a printer's error.

fan 44. "We used to live in shacks; now we live in wide mansions."

(39) mun 55 ç'i 44 tan 53 te 13 tɔ 13 nɛ 33  
 you see sky which be day  
 le 22 man 13 yau 13 tça 55 pi 33 yau 13 mun 22  
 clear night good then we be able go  
 se 53 te 22 nzan 33 lo 33\*. "You decide which day is receive clf. wife come auspicious, then we will go fetch the bride."

(40) ni 55 ne 55 leo 22 se 22 ç'an 44 f'au 13  
 he person old all awards  
 pi 33 tɔ 22 xo 33 le 22 s'e 44 yau 13 la 22 la 22.  
 we some sentence clean word good completely

"All that the elder bestows upon us is valuable advice."

#### TYPE 4. Noun-Noun-Noun-Noun

This type, too, can be expressed by two formulae.

Formula I: AABB where A and B are semantically related.

- (41) fan 33 fanh 33 yan 22 yan 22  
 place place village village  
 "every village; everywhere"
- (42) tau 55 tau 55 tse 44 tse 44  
 door door house house  
 "every household"
- (43) vi 44 vi 44 zeo 13 zeo 13  
 wife wife husband husband  
 "every man and woman"

---

\* Possibly an error. Elsewhere the tone of "come" is 22.

(44) he 33 he 33 t'ɔ 13 t'ɔ 13  
 shoes shoesr socks socks  
 "shoes and socks"

(45) au 33 au 33 nuj 13 nuj 13  
 water water rain rain  
 "rainwater"

Formula II: ABAC where B and C are semantically related.

(46) tse 44 po 44 tse 44 yau 13  
 house upper floor house side room  
 "a house with two or more stories"

(47) fanj 33 tɔ 22 fanj 33 za 13  
 place Han Chinese place Pu-i people  
 "a distant region; a Chinese area"

These quadrisyllabics usually occur as subject or object of a sentence, although there are instances in which they can be used as predicate. For example,

(48) ni 55\* tɔ 13 te 22 ne 55 ε 13 te 13,  
 he be clf. person do what,  
 fanj 33 fanj 33 yan 22 yan 22 se 22 purj 33 tçau 22.  
 place place village village all know compleative

"People everywhere all know what sort of person he is."

(49) ç'ɔ 13 nuj 44 me 55 vi 44 vi 44 zeo 13  
 time this they wife wife husband  
 zeo 13 tanj 13 se 22 ta 55 murj 22 qε 33 yau 44  
 husband all whole go (prefix) open fields  
 ε 13 qau 33. "Now couples from every household all go out  
 do work  
 to work in the fields."

(50) vε 22 murj 22 le 13 fanj 33 tɔ 22  
 I go arrive place Han Chinese  
 fanj 33 za 13 ç'i 44 tɔ 22 ne 55 tçau 33 naŋ 22  
 place Pu-i people see some people wear

---

\* Probably an error. Elsewhere "he" is ni 55.

eu 44 neŋ 53 ε 13 i 33 çun 44 mun 22, a 55 ho 53  
 clothes each do one kind go, not resemble

pi 33 fan 33 tcau 22. "I went to a distant region and  
 we place compleutive

saw people there wearing clothes different from those worn  
 in our own area."

(51) t'o 55 ke 55 tçan 55 pi 33 quŋ 33 te 44  
 land reform finished we then take  
 ti 13 tso 55 han 53 to 22 teo 44 li 55 teo 44  
 land lord possessive some word field word  
 la 13 se 22 p'i 44 teo 22 mun 22 tcau 22 au 55.  
 earth whole burn fire go finished compleutive

"After the land reform program was finished, we burned all  
 the deeds of the landlords."

(52) wa 33 tan 53 nuŋ 44 au 33 au 33 nuŋ 13  
 two sky this water water rain  
 nuŋ 13 a 55 γau 13 mun 22 lo 44 nzan 55 ç'i 33  
 rain not good go break grass chop  
 teo 22 tcau 22. "It rained for the past two days so  
 firewood compleutive  
 it is not a good time to go cut grass or chop firewood."

#### TYPE 5. Verb-Verb-Verb-Verb

This type can be described with two formulae.

Formula I: AABBS in which A and B are semantically  
 related

- (53) keŋ 55 keŋ 55 nzan 44 nzan 44  
 weep weep howl howl  
 "weeping and wailing"
- (54) nuŋ 55 nuŋ 55 hau 53 hau 53  
 eat eat drink drink  
 "eating and drinking"
- (55) ti 33 ti 33 t'a 13 t'a 13  
 beat beat scold scold  
 "to abuse"

- (56) q'e 33 q'e 33 yi 22 yi 22  
bind bind pull pullr  
"to bind up and pull"
- (57) mun 22 mun 22 lo 22 lo 22  
go go come come  
"coming and going"
- (58) tci 13 tci 13 na 22 na 22  
up up down down  
"to climb up and down"
- (59) xau 55 xau 55 xau 53 xau 53  
expand expand contract contract  
"to hesitate"

Formula II: ABAC in which B is mun 22 "go" and C is lo 22 "come".

- (60) han 33 mun 22 han 33 lo 22  
walk go walk come  
"to walk back and forth"
- (61) ne 13 mun 22 ne 13 lo 22  
ask go ask come  
"to ask persistently"
- (62) yeo 44 mun 22 yeo 44 lo 22  
say go say come  
"to talk continuously"

Quadrisyllabics of type 5 are generally used as predicates. For example,

- (63) ni 55 men 13 ta 13 mun 22 au 55,  
he mother die go compleutive,  
ni 55 ne 33 ne 33 tan 13 ken 55 ken 55 nzan 44  
he day day all weep weep howl  
nzan 44. "Since his mother died, he has been weeping and  
howl  
wailing day after day."

- (64) teo 33 tan 33 tan 13 to 13 han 44  
put clf. ladder locative place  
e 33, to 22 tceo 33 te 33 ne 33 ne 33 ta 55 mun 22  
that, some (prefix) child day day come go

t̄ci 13 t̄ci 13 n̄a 22 n̄a 22. "A ladder was put there.  
up up down down

Now day after day children come to climb up and down on it."

(65) m̄uj 55 z̄uj 44 t̄ca 55 q̄e 22  
you hand over then (functor)

z̄uj 44 tsa 13 ta 55 t̄o 13 ve 22, m̄uj 55 l̄uj 55  
hand over quick come give me, you expandr

l̄uj 55 xau 53 xau 53 e 13 le 33 ci 44.  
expand contract contract do clf. what

"If you are going to hand it over to me, then hand it over quickly. What makes you hesitate?"

(66) t̄e 22 ne 55 q̄e 22 ci 44 n̄an̄ 33 t̄o 13  
clf. person what be atr locative  
ki 44 kur̄ 22 e 33 tsej 55 han̄ 33 m̄uj 44\* han̄ 33 lo  
clf. road that always walk go walk come  
sa 55 p'uŋ 53 ni 55 han̄ 33 m̄uj 22 han̄ 44 te 13.  
also not see he walk go place what

"Who is that walking back and forth along the road? I don't see him getting anywhere."

#### TYPEr6. Adjective-Adjective-Adjective-Adjective

Formula: AABB in which A and B are semantically related.

(67) fan̄ 55 fan̄ 55 ç'an̄ 13 ç'an̄ 13  
yellow yellow red red  
"colorful, all colors"

(68) §'o 33 §'o 33 z̄au 13 z̄au 13  
big big small small  
"all sizes"

(69) xi 33 xi 33 ka 22 ka 22  
high high low low  
"all heights"

---

\*The tone should be 22.

- (70) ta 44 ta 44 1ε 44 1ε 44  
 long long short short  
 "all lengths"

Quadrisyllabics such as these are generally used as predicates, although they are sometimes found also as subjects. For example,

- (71) mε 55 ki 22 tɔ 22 tç'i 53 ♫'o 33 tç'i 53  
 they carry some flag big flag  
 zau 13 fanj 55 fanj 55 ç'anj 13 ç'anj 13 s'a 13 mεr 55  
 small yellow yellow red red very have  
 zanj 13. "The large and small banners they carry are pattern  
 colorful and very pretty."

- (72) tɔ 22 nε 55 tçau 33 ♫'o 33 ♫'o 33  
 some people all big big  
 zau 13 zau 13 se 22\* ta 55 munj 22 nzanj 33 tɔ 13  
 small small all come go be at locative  
 hanj 44 ε 33 pε 44 ε 44 pε 44 ta 44.  
 place that full (functor) full (functor)

"People of all ages come and stand there in large crowds."

- (73) tɔ 22 tau 13 ε 44 se 22 xi 33 xi 33  
 some tree that all high high  
 ka 22 ka 22 a 55 tanj 22 tsanj 55 zanj 55. "Those trees  
 low low not very neat"

are not all the same height and do not look very neat."

- (74) tɔ 22 tanj 53 ε 33 ta 44 ta 44 1ε 44  
 some bench that long long short  
 1ε 44 tanj 13 nzanj 33, munj 55 au 44 tanj 33 te 13  
 short all have, you want clfr which  
 ho 22. "Those benches are of all lengths. You can  
 all right  
 have whichever you want."

---

\* The gloss is missing in the text.

TYPE 7. Disyllabic verb followed by its first syllable repeated plus a functor

Formula: ABAC in which the second A is the first syllable of the disyllabic verb AB. Some of these initial syllables have independent meanings whereas others do not. C is always the functor k'i 13.

- (75) s'en 53 p'en 53 s'en 53 k'i 13  
feel around feel (functor)  
"to feel around indiscriminately"
- (76) maŋ 53 tçan 53 maŋ 53 k'i 13  
rub between the hands rub (functor)  
"to rub around in the hands"
- (77) tseo 53 t'eo 53 tseo 53 k'i 13  
scamper about run (functor)  
"to scamper about"
- (78) q'an 44 fan 44 q'an 44 k'i 13  
boast (functor) (functor)  
"to boast excessively"
- (79) nzo 55 nzo 22 nzo 55 k'i 13  
squat (functor) (functor)  
"to squat just anywhere"
- (80) çε 55 zε 22 çε 55 k'i 13  
rub (functor) (functor)  
"to rub indiscriminately"

Quadrисyllabics such as these are generally used as sentence predicates. Thus,

- (81) mun 55 s'en 53 p'en 53 s'en 53 k'i 13  
you feel around feel (functor)
- le 33 qε 22 ci 44. "What is it that you are feeling all  
clf. what
- over?"

- (82) ni 55 ç'ɔ 13 ç'ɔ 13 tan 13 q'an 44 f'an 44\*  
he time time all boast
- q'an 44 k'i 13 yeo 44 ni 55 ki 44 ki 44 tan 13  
(functor) (functor) say he sort sort all

---

\*The previous example (78) was given as unaspirated.

seo 55    ε 13. "Hεrs always boasting that he can do all  
be able    do  
sorts of things."\*

#### TYPE 8. Verb-Functor-Verb-Functor

Formula: ABAC in which B is the final of the  
syllable A but with the high level tone  
55. C is always ta 33.

- (83) ḥi 53\*   i 55         ḥi 53   ta 33  
beat            (functor)   beat            (functor)  
"always jumping, hopping and jumping"r
- (84) ḥo 53   o 55         ḥo 53   ta 33  
laugh          (functor)   laugh          (functor)  
"always laughing"
- (85) tseo 53   eo 55         tseo 53   ta 33  
run            (functor)   run            (functor)  
"always running"
- (86) t'a 13   a 55         t'a 13   ta 33  
scold          (functor)   scold          (functor)  
"always scolding"
- (87) ken 55   en 55         ken 55   ta 33  
weep           (functor)   weep           (functor)  
"always crying"
- (88) nʒan 13   an 55         nʒan 13   ta 33  
vibrate        (functor)   vibrate        (functor)  
"always vibrating"

Quadrисyllabics such as these are used as predicates.  
Note, for example,

- (89) ni 55   pa 44   a 55   pe 33   ni 55   muŋ 22  
he            father   not      allow   he      go
- ε 13 lun 13,   ni 55   qun 33   ḥi 53   i 55         ḥi 53  
play,          he      then      jump      (functor)   jump
- ta 33        ken 55   ḥo 13        təu 33        tse 44.  
(functor)   weep      locative      (prefix)      house

---

\*The gloss should be "jump". Compare ḥi 53 "jump" in (89)  
with ḥi 33 "beat" in (90).

"His father would not let him go play, so he started jumping and crying all through the house."'

- (90) a 55 purj 33 te 22 ci 44 ti 33 ni 55,  
     not know clf. what beat he,  
     ni 55 c'eo 53 kerj 55 enj 55      kerj 55 ta 33  
     he then weep (functor) weep (functor)  
     to 13 hanj 44 ε 33. "I don't know who beat him up.  
     locative place that  
     He's over there crying."

#### TYPE 9. Adjective-Functor-Adjective-Functor

Formula: ABAC, of which there are two subtypes.

Subtype 9.A. Bhand Chare not restricted to any particular kinds of syllables.

- (91) ɿau 13 pi 44      ɿau 13 po 53  
     purple (functor) purple (functor)  
     "purple (unattractive)"
- (92) ɿeo 33 ɿa 55      ɿeo 33 turj 22  
     white (functor) whiteh (functor)  
     "pale, ashen (unattractive)"
- (93) c'anj 13 li 55      c'anj 13 ɿa 22  
     red (functor) red (functor)  
     "blood-red (unattractive)"
- (94) nzo 55 ɿa 55      nzo 55 s'ɔ 44  
     green (functor) green (functor)  
     "dark green (as deep water)"
- (95) fanj 55 tçanj 33      fanj 55 le 53  
     yellow (functor) yellow (functor)  
     "dull yellow (referring primarily to plants)"

Subtype 9.B. B is the final of the syllable A but with the high level tone 55. C is always ta 33.

- (96) yau 13 au 55      yau 13 ta 33  
     good (functor) good (functor)  
     "very good"

- (97) xi 33 i 55 xi 33 ta 33  
high (functor) high (functor)  
"very high, very tall"
- (98) ç'an 13 aŋ 55 ç'an 13 ta 33  
red (functor) red (functor)  
"very red"
- (99) təŋ 13 aŋ 55 təŋ 13 ta 33  
fat (functor) fat (functor)  
"very fat"
- (100) xi 13 i 55 xi 13 ta 33  
fast (functor) fast (functor)  
"very fast"

Type 9 quadrisyllabics generally occur as predicates or modifiers. Thus, for example,

- (101) muŋ 55 ç'i 44 ni 55 ɻau 13\* pi 44  
you see he purple (functor)
- ɻau 13 po 53 ho 22, ni 55 tç'o 55 xi 33 s'a 13  
purple (functor) also good, he clf. heart very
- yau 13 se 55 s'a 13 kaŋ 13 ña 13 ε 13 qau 33.  
good also very endeavor do work

"Though it is obvious that he is not good looking, he is very kind and works very hard."

- (102) tε 22 çi 44 ε 13 tç'o 44 au 33  
clf. what do pour water
- yi 33 maŋ 53 ç'an 13 tɔ 13 qε 33 ɻan 55 ta 33  
ink red locative earth surface above
- sε 22 ç'an 13 xi 55\*\* ç'an 13 xa 22 nuŋ 44.  
all red (functor) red (functor) this

"Who poured red ink on the floor making it all red like this?"

- (103) kε 22 leo 22 ta 22 tç'o 13 va 13  
drought long time extreme

---

\* The text has au 13 instead of ɻau 13.

\*\* In example (93) this functor was given as li 55.

a 55, t̄eu 33 la 13 to 22 t̄en 33 men 55  
 completive, (prefix) earth some sorghum  
 to 22 se 22 fan 55 t̄an 33 fan 55 le 53  
 Han Chinese all yellow (functor) yellow (functor)

t̄au 22 au 55. "There has been such a long and  
 compleutive compleutive

severe drought that the corn in the fields is all witheredh"

(104) s'ɔ 13 nun 44 pi 33 ki 44 ki 44 t̄an 13  
 time this we sort sort all  
 se 22 yau 13 au 55 yau 13 ta 33.  
 all good (functor) good (functor)

"Now everything is just fine for us."

(105) mɛ 55 t̄'o 13 to 55 nzen 55 ta 55  
 they drag some water buffalo come  
 mun 22 e 13 ci 13 t̄au 13 i 44, te 22 te 22 se 22  
 go do mutual fight that, clf. clf. all  
 t̄an 13 an 55 t̄an 13 ta 33. "Those water buffaloes  
 fat (functor) fat (functor)

that they led off to fight were all very fat."

#### TYPE 10. Prefix-Classifier-Prefix-Classifier

Formula: ABAB

(106) qɛ 33 çan 33 qɛ 33 çan 33  
 (prefix) clf. for pieces  
 "piece by piece; in pieces"

(107) qɛ 33 k̄eu 22 qɛ 33 k̄eu 22  
 (prefix) clf. for sheets  
 "sheet by sheet; in sheets"

(108) qɛ 33 le 33 qɛ 33 le 33  
 (prefix) clfh for items  
 "one (item) by one"

(109) qɛ 33 q'a 44 qɛ 33 q'a 44  
 (prefix) clf. for packages  
 "package by package"

- (110) qε 33 ko 44 qε 33 ko 44  
(prefix) clf. for flowers  
"blossom by blossom"

These quadrisyllabics are generally found as complements of verbs or as objects. For example,

- (111) ve 22 au 44 tan 33 teu 53 te 44 q'e 53  
 I use hold knife take cut

kan 55 teu 44 mun 44 tcan 55 qe 33 leu 22  
 clf. paper that become (prefix) clf. for sheets

qe 33 leu 22 tca 55 ki 44 te 44 xo 13.  
 (prefix) clf. for sheets after again take write

"I cut that piece of paper into sheets with a knife and then I wrote on them.t"

- (112) vε 22 au 44 təŋ 33 se 13 te 44 p'a 13  
I use hold machete take slice

tau 13 ŋeu 53 tçəŋ 55 qε 33 çəŋ 33 qε 33  
bamboo become (prefix) clf. for pieces (prefix)

çəŋ 33. "I sliced the bamboo into pieces with a  
clf. for pieces machetet"

- (113) mun 55 xɔ 13 tɔ 22 teo 443 nun 44,  
you write some character this,  
  
nzan 33 qɛ 33 lɛ 33 qɛ 33 lɛ 33  
have (prefix) clf. for items (prefix) clf. for items  
  
vɛ 22 a 55 ṭan 22 çan 53. "I do not recognize some of  
I not very recognize  
  
these characters you wrote."

- (114) *muŋ* 55   *muŋ* 22   *me* 22   *t'anj* 53,   *me* 22  
you            go            buy            sugar,            buy  
  
*to* 22   *qe* 33        *q'a* 44                              *qe* 33  
some     (prefix)    clf. for packages    (prefix)  
  
*q'a* 44                    *i* 44    *ç'eo* 53    *yau* 13. "When you go to  
clf. for packages    that    then            good  
  
buy sugar, only buy the kind that comes in packages.<sup>t'</sup>

TYPE 11. Prefix-Noun-Prefix-Noun

Formula: ABAC in which Bhand Chare semantically relatedh

(115) qε 33      qo 55      qε 33      q'a 44  
       (prefix)    package      package  
       "package, parcel"

(116) qε 33      turj 44      qε 33h wa 13  
       (prefix)    season      tip, end  
       "season, festival"

(117) qε 33      t̄au 55      qε 33      tse 44  
       (prefix)    door      house  
       "family property"

(118) qε 33      nzan 55      qε 33      tau 13  
       (prefix)    grass      tree  
       "plants"

(119) qε 33      nε 33      qε 33      manj 13  
       (prefix)    day      night  
       "days"

Type 11 quadrisyllabics are used as subjects and, occasionally, objects. Note, for example,

(120) wah33      tanj 53      nunj 44      tse 44      tse 44      t̄an 13  
       two      sky      this      house      house      all  
       munj 22      me 22      nji 55      me 22      t̄geo 44      te 44      nunj 55  
       go      buy      meat      buy      liquor      take      eat  
       qε 33      turj 44      qε 33      wa 13. "A couple of days ago  
       (prefix)    season      (prefix)    end

every household went to buy meat and liquor in order to celebrate the holidays."

(121) s'o 13      nunj 44      pi 33      te 44      to 22      qε 33  
       time      this      we      take      some      (prefix)  
       t̄au 55      qε 33      tse 44      nunj 44      lo 22      teo 13      ε 13  
       door      (prefix)    house      this      come      divide      do  
       le 55      perj 13      le 55      perj 13. "Now we divide the family  
       clfh      share      clf.      share  
       property so that each person has his own share."

(122) tun 33      nun 44      lo 22      to 22      qε 33  
 constantly      this      come      some      (prefix)  
 nzan 55      qε 33      tau 13      se 22      lun 22      qε 33      nau 55  
 grass      (prefix)      tree      all      produce      (prefix)      leaf  
 ta 55      tcau 22      au 55.      "Recently the plants all  
 come      compleptive      compleptive  
 sprouted."

(123) qε 33      nε 33      qε 33      man 13      fa 13  
 (prefix)      day      (prefix)      night      pass  
 mun 22      xi 13      va 13      a 55,      ç'ɔ 13      nun 44  
 go      fast      very      compleptive,      time      this  
 ka 22      λa 22      p'an      le 13      ɿ'a 13      tsa 33      a 55.  
 very quickly already      arrive      month      five      compleptive

"The days have gone by so quickly - we are in the fifth month already."

#### TYPE 12. Other Types

The four-syllable coordinative constructions found in the Miao language of eastern Kweichow are not limited to the eleven types listed above. Recently, while organizing our data, we discovered several new types. Although there are not many examples of these additional types, we shall add them to the types listed above as follows:

##### Type 12.A. Verb-Adjective-Verb-Adjective

This type can be expressed by two formulae.

Formula I: ABAC in which B and C together form a disyllabic word.

(124) ta 55      s'e 33      ta 55      λa 22  
 come      come  
 "to come in vain" (s'e 33 λa 22 is a di-  
 syllabic word meaning "empty".)

(125) ε 13      s'e 33      ε 13      λa 22  
 do      do  
 "to do in vain" (i.e., without getting  
 paid)

Formula II: ABCD in which A is semantically related to C and B to D.

- (126) nun 55 ɸ'ø 33 naŋ 22 faŋ 44  
 eat big wear wide  
 "to be corrupt" (a metaphor used to describe officials of the old regimes)

Type 12.B. Adjective-Verb-Adjective-Verb

Formula: ABAC in which Brand Crare synonymous.

- (127) çɑ 44 ç'i 44 çɑ 44 ñaŋ 13  
 difficult see difficult see  
 "bad-looking"

Type 12.C. Noun-Verb-Noun-Verb

Formula: ABCD in which A is semantically related to C and B to D.

- (128) au 33 k'ɛ 33 teo 22 tçen 13  
 water boil fire burn  
 "to be in deep distress; to be in misery"

Type 12.D. Verb-Noun-Verb-Functor

Formula: ABAC

- (129) qan 33 s'e 44 qan 33 ka 53  
 boast words boast (functor)  
 "to talk big; to exaggerate one's own abilities"

Because our data are insufficient, we are unable to state how these quadrisyllabics are used in sentences.

Altogether, fifteen types of quadrisyllabics have been listed above. Which of them should be considered words and which compounds is a problem which merits further study by the comrades. We shall not discuss the problem here. It is very difficult to find criteria which can be used to distinguish words from compounds in Miao. This is exactly like the problem in Chinese where there is no preciser boundary between words and phrases. Although we shall disregard, for the present, the problem of distinguishing words from compounds, we do want to offer our opinion concerning the transcription of the quadrisyllabics mentioned

above. Of course, our opinion might be erroneous, so we would ask our comrades to correct us.

We have based our transcription of this linguistic phenomenon on the following criteria: (1) some of the syllables are either meaningless or bound; (2) the second and fourth or first and third syllables, respectively, form disyllabic words; and (3) although all four syllables may have an independent meaning, that meaning is extended or modified when the syllables are used together.\*

If we examine the above fifteen types of quadrисyllabics in the light of these criteria, we find that every type meets our conditions. We shall again briefly exemplify some of the types.

1. nun 55 nzan 55 nun 55 nzau 13  
eat year eat year  
"to celebrate the New Year holidays"

In this example, nun 55 nzan 55 means "to celebrate the New Year". However, nun 55 nzau 13 does not occur independently. Only by co-occurring with nun 55 nzan 55 does it carry the meaning "to celebrate the New Year holidays".

2. han 33 kun 22 han 33 ki 44  
walk road walk road  
"to walk"

This example illustrates a very interesting and very common phenomenon in Miao. The first two syllables and the last two syllables both mean "to walk". In many areas around Lu shan the form han 33 kun 22 is used, but not the form han 33 ki 44. Around T'ai chiang, on the other hand, only han 33 ki 44 is used, not han 33 kun 22. In both places, however, the quadrисyllabic is used.

3. ne 13 eu 44 ne 13 tç'uŋ 33  
tear clothes tear cloth  
"to be in rags"

Here, ne 13 eu 44 alone indicates that the upper garments are torn, whereas ne 13 tç'uŋ 33 alone indicates that the apron worn around the front and back by Miao women is torn. When the two expressions co-occur, however, the meaning is that all the clothes are torn and can be used to refer to both men and women.

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\*The writers apparently consider the quadrисyllabics to be idioms and thus unitary constructions.

4. t̪au 55 t̪'o 33\* tser<sup>44</sup> fan 44  
 door big house wide  
 "a mansion"

In this example, t̪au 55 t̪'o 33 alone refers to the door of the central room of each house. When the four syllables are used together, they do not mean that the house is spacious and the door is wide, but rather that the overall style of the house is very big.

5. fan 33 fan 33 yan 22 yan 22  
 place place village village  
 "everywhere"

Here, "place" has been reduplicated and this reduplicated form by itself means "everywhere".

6. fan 33 to 22 fan 33 za 13  
 place Han Chinese place Pu-i people  
 "a place inhabited by Chinese"

Although this expression seems to indicate both a Chinese area and a Pu-i area, it actually refers only to a Chinese area.

7. fan 55 fan 55 c'an 13 c'an 13  
 yellow yellow red red  
 "colorful; all colors"

This type of expression implies the additional meaning "not uniform". This example can thus be understood as indicating the colors red and yellow in addition to other colors. The Miao language uses this type of quadrisyllabic to express colorfulness.

8. s'en 53 p'en 53 s'en 53 k'i 13  
 feel around feel (functor)  
 "to feel around indiscriminately"

- yau 13 au 55 yau 13 ta 33  
 good (functor) good (functor)  
 "very good"

In these two examples the second and fourth syllables are bound.

---

\*The text has t̪'o 33.

9. qε 33 çan 33 qε 33 çan 33  
 (prefix) clf. for pieces  
 "piece by piece; in pieces"

Here, qε 33 çan 33 means "a piece", but when the expression is doubled it means not "a piece" or even "two pieces" but rather "several pieces".

10. qε 33 turj 44 qε 33 wa 13  
 (prefix) season tip, end  
 "season, festival"

- qε 33 nzarj 55 qε 33 tau 13  
 (prefix) grass tree  
 "plants"

The meaning of these quadrisyllabics is different from that of their constituents.

11. ta 55 s'e 33 ta 55 λa 22  
 come come  
 "to come in vain"

Since, in this type of quadrisyllabic, the second and fourth syllables form a disyllabic word, no spaces should be put between the syllables.\*

12. nuŋ 55 ꝑ'o 33 naŋ 22 fan 44  
 eat big wear wide  
 "to be corrupt" (of officials in previous regimes)

The idiomatic meaning of the expression is very different from the surface meaning of the separate parts.

13. qan 33 s'e 44 qan 33 λa 53  
 boast words boast (functor)  
 "to talk big; to exaggerate one's own abilities"

The fourth syllable of this expression cannot occur independently.

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\*That is, all four syllables together form an idiom, a single lexical item.

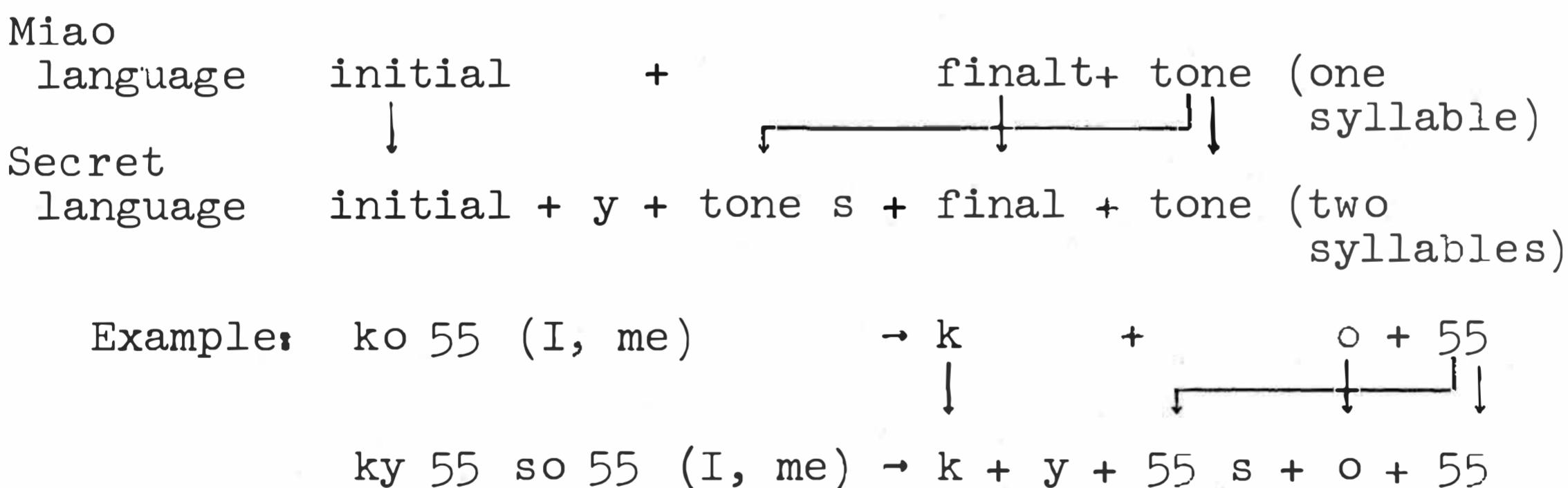
## A MIAO SECRET LANGUAGE

by

Ai Chting

In the western dialect of the Miao language in the area of Chien chu village, Ku ling hsien, Szechwan, there exists a secret female language. This language is used so exclusively by the local women that even their town husbands cannot understand a single word of it. The men are puzzled by it, since they do not understand what their wives are talking about. Actually, however, this secret female language is simply the ordinary language modified by the addition of some phonetic variations.

This secret language lacks its own vocabulary and grammar and is therefore unable to develop into a real language. It is established on the basis of the existing vocabulary and grammar, using a very simple rule of phonetic modification. That this is so can be seen clearly from the following diagram:



Thus, one syllable in the ordinary language becomes two syllables in the secret language. In this way the number of syllables in a sentence is doubled. The insertion of y and s increases still further the degree to which the secret language deviates from the ordinary language. In view of the drastic changes in the pronunciation and in the number of syllables, it is not surprising that the local men do not understand the secret language.

Some further examples:

kau 31 "you" → ky 31 sau 31

զայ 31\* "good" → զy 31 sun 31  
 nhi 31 xo 44 nkəu 31 "he sings" → nhŷ 31 si 31  
 xy 44 so 44 nky 31 səu 31

When a single syllable is expanded to two syllables in the secret language, tçau 13 "yell; cry out" occasionally is inserted between them. Thattis, ko 55 could be either ky 55 so 55 or ky 55 tçau 13 so 55. Similarly, nhi 31-xo 44 nkəu 31 could also be nhŷ 31 tçau 13 si 31\*\* xy 44-tçau 13 so 44 nky 31 tçau 13 səu 31. However, the inserted syllable tçau 13 only serves to make the words sound more complicated. It does not cause any change in meaning nor is it essential to the construction.

In investigating the languages of minority peoples we ought to take a comprehensive view. There may well be secret languages among other minority peoples. We should neither ignore them nor be baffled by them.

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\* The text has 55.

\*\* The text has 55.

## A COMMENT ON "A MIAO SECRET LANGUAGE"

by

Chu T'ing

In the May 1957 issue of this journal, an article entitled "A Miao Secret Language" by Ai Ch'ing appeared. This article contained a number of factual errors. For the benefit of Comrade Ai Ch'ing I would like to present my own view.

In the western dialect of the Miao language spoken in the area around Chien chu village, Ku ling hsien, Szechwan, there exists a secret language. Only a small number of the Chin chin people can speak the secret language, but this number includes both men and women. In fact, some men can speak it whereas some women can not.

Comrade Ai Ch'ing wrote, "This language is used so exclusively by the local women that even their own husbands cannot understand a single word of it." This, however, is untrue. While we were in Ku ling hsien investigating the language, Comrade Han of the Cultural Education Division, a man, was one who could understand the secret language. When we stopped at Chien chu p'ing we had three women speak the secret language for us. The husband of one of them happened not to understand it. However, this is by no means an indication that only women know how to speak the secret language because it is shared by a minority of both men and women in the community, not just by a few women.

The secret language is characterized by the insertion of vowels, consonants, and syllables into the original syllables of the ordinary vocabulary (although the original tones are preserved). This is done in two ways.

The first method is to change a one-syllable word to a two-syllable word by adding ty after the initial and before the final. For example, la 31 "paddy field" → ly 31- sa 31, and ko 55 "I, me" → ky 55 so 55. Comrade Ai Ch'ing was correct at this point. The second method is to insert a meaningless syllable tça 31 between the two syllables changing it into a three-syllable word. For example, la 31 → ly 31 tça 31 sa 31 and ko 55 → ky 55 tça 31- so 55. The second method is used to insure that the secret language remains incomprehensible to others just in case

the first method does not suffice.

Comrade Ai Chring was confused about the second method. He mistook tçau 13 "yell; cry out" for tça 31 (e.g., ky 55 tçau 13 so 55).

## A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE YAO LANGUAGE

by

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There are approximately 740,000 Yao people living in parts of the mountain areas of Kwangsi, Hunan, Kwangtung, and Kweichow. The Yao living in the Chuang Autonomous ch'ü in Kwangsi number about 490,000. They are found in some forty hsien, such as Ta yao shan, Tu an, Pa ma, Hsing an, Lung sheng, Ch'üan chou, Kung ch'eng, Fu chung, Meng shan, Nan tan, Ling yüeh, etc. The Yao in Hunan number about 100,000 and live in some twenty hsien, among them Chiang hua, Ning yüan, Lan shan, Chiang yung, Lung hui, T'ung tao, Ch'eng pu, etc. In Yunnan, approximately 70,000 Yao live in more than ten hsien, such as Ho k'ou, Fu ning, Kwang nan, etc. There are some 50,000 Yao living in more than ten hsien in Kwangtung, such as Lien nan, Lo chtang, Tung hsing, etc. In Kweichow, there are about 10,000 Yao living in Jung chiang, Li p'ing, Tu shan, and other hsien. The Yao live in small, exclusive communities which are "scattered on the large scale but concentrated on the small scale." For the most part, their neighbors are Chinese, except in western Kwangsi where the Yao live in proximity to both Chinese and Chuang.

The Yao people in these different places call themselves a number of different names. More than twenty different names are actually in use. There is an interrelationship between names and dialects such that those with the same or similar name speak the same or similar dialect no matter how far they may be separated from each other, whereas those who do not refer to themselves by the same name have marked differences in their dialects even though they may live in the same hsien or even in the same commune.

As a result of a preliminary study, we have found that except for those few Yao who daily use Chinese or Chuang most Yao speak one of three main Yao "speeches": Mjen, Pu nu, or Lak kja. Speakers of Mjen comprise forty-four per cent of the Yao in China, while speakers of Pu nu represent thirty-two per cent and Lak kja speakers less than one per cent. There are also Yao who call themselves iu 12 njen 12, pion 31 toa 32 ieu 31, san 33 tçai 33, and iu 12 ka 33 who speak a type of Chinese which differs from the regular Chinese spoken in those areas. These Yao comprise eleven per cent of the Yao in China.

We shall now discuss briefly the three Yao speeches mentioned above, using data from the dialect of Mjen spoken in Hsing an, Kwangsi; Pu nu spoken in Tu an, and Lak kja spoken in Ta yao shan.

## I. Phonological Systems

### A. Mjen:

<u>Initials</u>							
p	ph	b	m	<u>m</u>	f	w	
ts	tsh	dz			s		
t	th	d	n	<u>n</u>	ɸ	l	
tç	tçh	dʒ	n	<u>ŋ</u>	ç	j	
k	kh	g	ɳ	<u>ɳ</u>	h		
pj	phj	bj	mj	<u>mj</u>	fj		
tsj	tshj	dzj			sj		
tj	thj	dj	mj	<u>mj</u>	ɸj	lj	
pw	phw	bw	mw	<u>mw</u>	fw		
tsw	tshw	dzw			sw		
tw	thw	dw			ɸw	lw	
tçw	tçhw	dʒw	nw	<u>ŋw</u>	çw	jw	
kw	khw	gw	ɳw		hw		
kjw	khjw	gjw			hjw		

Mjen distinguishes both voiced and voiceless stops and affricates. Voiced and voiceless initials occur with all tones. This is one of the features unique to Mjen. In the Miao and Chuang-Ttung languages, voiced and voiceless initials occur only with certain tones.

Except for some individual syllabic types the origins of which are not yet clear, finals which occur with aspirated initials are all loans from Chinese. It is highly likely that there were no native aspirated initials in Mjen. Initial aspirates are almost entirely restricted to occurring with tones 1, 3, 5, and 7, although there are some recent borrowings with occur with tones 2, 4, 6, and 8.

Voiceless nasal initials (m, n, ɳ, etc.) occur only with odd-numbered tones.

Some Mjen dialects have initial clusters such as pl, kl, etc., which correspond to pj, kj, etc., in other dia-

lects. For instance, in the bjau 31 min 31 dialect of Ch'üan chou, Kwangsi, pli 3 "head" and kla 3 "road" correspond to pjéi 3 and kjáu 3 in the kim ll mun ll dialect spoken in the same hsien.

<u>Finals</u>								
i		im	in	in̥				
	iu	im̥	in̥		ip	it		
e		ems	en					
	ěi	ěu		ěn	ěŋ	ěp	ět	ěk
ɛ				ɛŋ				
a	ai	au	am	an	aŋ	ap	at	
	ăi	ău	ăm	ăn	ăŋ	ăp	ăt	ăk
ɔ	ɔi		ɔm	ɔn	ɔŋ	ɔp	ɔt	ɔk
o		ǒu	ǒm	ǒn	ǒŋ	ǒp	ǒt	
u	ui			ǔn	ǔŋ	ǔt		
ə				ən				
‡								

There are both long and short vowels in Mjen, although the feature of length tends to disappear. In some places (e.g., Hunan) the length distinction has been lost completely with single vocalic finals and finals without a coda all pronounced long now.

Final -p, -t, and -k tend to disappear. There are very few finals with -k and these occur in just one or two words all having the same vowel.

There are great differences in the Mjen finals from place to places. Those dialects which do not distinguish between long and short vowels have simpler systems.

‡, ə, and ěn are finals which occur in recent borrowings from Chineses.

#### Tones

Tone categories: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Tone values: 33 21 52 231 24 12 55 12

There are usually six to eight tones in the Mjen dialects, although there are some dialects with more than ten tones.

Tones 7 and 8 occur with words having final -p, -t, and -k. In addition, there are two short tones, [54] (as in tu 53 "to get) and [12] (as in tu 12 "poison"). In isolation, short tones have a final glottal stop (and thus the above examples would be tu? 54 and tu? 12), but in connected speech the glottal stop is lost. These two short tones are similar to tones 7 and 8. They have been phonemicized as allophones of tones 7 and 8 since they cannot be considered separate tone categories.

### B. Pu nu:

#### Initials

p	ph	mp	mph	m	mh	v	f
ts	tsh	nts	ntsh				θ
t	th	nt	nth	n	nh	l	lh
t	th	nt	ŋth	ŋ	ŋh	z	zh
t <sup>4</sup>	t <sup>4</sup> h	nt <sup>4</sup>	nt <sup>4</sup> h				s
c	ch	nc	ŋch	n	ŋh	j	jh
k	kh	ŋk	ŋkh	ŋ	ŋh	γ	h
kw	khw	ŋkw	ŋkhw	ŋw	ŋhw	w	hw

Pu nu has a more complicated initial system than Mjen. This is one of its characteristic features. Even so, in some areas there has been a simplification of the initial system.

Aspirated initials occur only with odd-numbered tones.

The affricates ts, tsh, nts, and ntsh are also pronounced ptsj, ptshj, mtsj, and mtshj; the lateral affricates t<sup>4</sup>, t<sup>4</sup>h, nt<sup>4</sup>, and nt<sup>4</sup>h are also pronounced pl, phl, mpl, and mphl, respectively.

Pu nu is spoken primarily in eastern Kwangsi close to a Chuang-speaking area. In the past, Pu nu was heavily influenced by the Chuang language. For example, Chinese words were borrowed through the Chuang language. For this reason, Chinese loans in Pu nu exhibit Chuang characteristics. Thus, since the northern dialects of Chuang have no aspirated stops or affricates, loans from Chinese are unaspirated. These same loans are also unaspirated in Pu nu, even though Pu nu does have aspirated stops and affricates.

<u>Finals</u>							
i		in	in̥	it	ik		
e	ei	en		et			
		ien					
a	ai	au	an	aŋ	at	ak	
		iau		iaŋ		iak	
o	oi		on	oŋ		ok	
u				uŋ		uk	
				uaŋ	uat	uak	
x*	xu	xn	xŋ			æk	

Of the finals listed above, about half are found only in Chinese loanwords from Chuang. Most Pu nu finals contain only a single vowel. This is another of Pu nu's distinguishing phonological characteristics.

<u>Tones</u>							
Tone characteristics.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Tone values.	33	12	55	231	42	22	41

Except for recent loans from Chinese, there are very few words which have tones 1', 2', or 3' in isolation. Loanwords from Chuang having final -t or -k occur only with tones 1', 2', and 3'. All tone sandhi values also occur only with these three tones.

### C. Lak kja:

<u>Initials</u>							
p	ph	b	m	m̥	f	w	
pl	phl	bl	ml				
ts	tsh				θ		
t	th		n	n̥	t̥	l	
k	kh		ŋ		h		
kj	khj		ŋj	ŋ̥j	hj	j	
kw	khw		ŋw		hw	jw	

---

\* x is used here instead of the original χ.

The Lak kja initial system is simple, but the system of finals is complex. These are the characteristics of Lak kja.

The initials b and bl are preglottalized [?b] and [?bl].

Aspirated initials and voiceless nasals occur only with odd-numbered tones.

<u>Finals</u>											
i ī		iu īu im in				ip īp it īt					
			īn	īŋ		īp	īt	īk			
ie īē		ieu iem ien	ieŋ		iep	iet	iek				
	ēi īi		ēn		ēp	ēt	ēk				
ɛ ē		eu ēu em en	ɛŋ		ɛp	ēp et ēt ck					
		ēu ēm ēn	ēŋ			ēt	ēt				
a ā	ai āi au āu am ām an ān		aŋ āŋ ap āp	āp	at āt ak āk						
	āi āi āu āu ām ām ān		āŋ āp		āt āk āk						
o ī	oi īi	om on	oŋ īŋ op īp	ōp	ot īt ok īk						
		ōu īm	ōŋ īŋ īp		ōt īk						
u ū	ui ūi		uŋ ūŋ ūp		ut ūt ūk						
		uən	uəŋ		uət uək						
ə											
‡											

There are a great variety of finals in Lak kja, including a nasalized series. In addition to the nasalized vowels which occur in these nasalized finals, there is vowel nasalization which occurs when the final consonant is a nasal.

The vowel o in long finals is [ɔ:], ō in short finals is [o].

The finals ə and ‡ occur only in loanwords.

#### Tones

Tone categories: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Tone values: 51 231 24 11 55 214 24/55 11/24

Tones 7 and 8 have two values each. With finals having long vowels tone 7 has the value [24], with finals having short vowels it has the value [55]. Tone 8, on the other hand, has the value [11] with finals having long vowels but [24] with finals having short vowels. This phenomenon in which words with stop finals in particular tone categories

have different tone values depending on the length of the vowel is common in languages of the Chuang-T'ung family.

To summarize: the Pu nu phonological system is very similar to that of Miao; the Lak kja phonological system, on the other hand, is similar to that found both in the Chuang-T'ung family and also in Mjen.

## II. Word Composition

All words in the three Yao speeches outlined above can be divided into simple words and compound words. Some examples of simple words are the following:

<u>Mjen</u> :	pe 7 "father's older brother" păi 6 "fine-toothed comb" piŋ 5 "to shun, avoid" lu 2 khu 7 "to forget"
<u>Pu nu</u> :	laŋ 5 "earth, ground" pen 2 "flower" ju 4 "a meal" ci 1 chiu 7 "itchy"
<u>Lak kja</u> :	pa 6 "grandmother" kjɔm 2 "hair of the head" am 4 "to go, to walk" tăm 4 tu 3 "dragonfly"

Compound words are either affixed or nonaffixed. Some examples of affixed compounds are the following:\*

<u>Mjen</u> :	pu 2 pjěi 1 (hair) "hair of the head" ke 2 sje 1 (stomach) "belly"
<u>Pu nu</u> :	ka 1 θa 2 (maize) "maize" pu 3 nu 2 (person) "Yao people"
<u>Lak kja</u> :	kăñ 3 ja 2 (ear) "ear" tu 2 wiñ 1 (earthworm) "earthworm"

There are three types of nonaffixed compounds:

### 1. Coordinative

<u>Mjen</u> :	du 1 (deep) ljaŋ 3 (shallow) "depth" sje 7 (girl) tɔ 6 (older sister) "Miss"
<u>Pu nu</u> :	cau 3 (younger brother) tu 2 (older brother) "brothers" kaŋ 7 (father's younger brother) je 4 (father's older brother) "father's brothers"

\*Base words are placed in parentheses.

Lak kja: pǔk 7 (foot) mie 2 (hand) "handicraft"  
 kǒŋ 3 (husband's father) pa 6 (husband's mother)  
 "husband and wife, couple"

### 2. Attributive

Mjen: po 4 (hand) tçan 1 (neck) "wrist"  
 ḥwa 4 (tile) pjău 3 (house) "tile-roofed house"

Pu nu: ya 1 (vegetable) ntus 1 (fragment) "chives"  
 t̄u 8 (beans) te 1 (earth) "peanuts"

Lak kja: mōm 6 (meat) kja 3 (mountain) "game meat"  
 wōk 8 (vegetable) jāu 2 (green) "green vegetable"

### 3. Predicative

Mjen: tswěi 4 (sit) ɬa 5 (month) "to give birth to"  
 tsit 8 (lose) ḥjēn 1 (face) "to be ashamed"

Pu nu: t̄x̄n 6 (play) man 3 (village) "to visit, to  
 gossip from door to door"  
 tau 5 (put in) co 1 (medicine) "to cure"

Lak kja: nīŋ 5 (sit) bien 1 (month) "to give birth to"  
 pau 1 (wrap) kjēu 1 (head) "to put a kerchief  
 on"

In addition to the above types, there is a subject-predicate type of compounds. Among the few examples of this type of compound are the following:

Mjen: lūŋ 2 (sky) mwǎŋ 5 (late) "supper"

Pu nu: nhōŋ 1 (sun) to 2 (come) "east"

Lak kja: pla 1 (eye) phaŋ 3 (blue) "blind"

All three Yao speeches have been heavily influenced by Chinese and have borrowed a great many words, but especially Mjen which has borrowed the most. In terms of their composition, these loanwords are of three types:

### 1. Loanwords

Mjen: tçēn 5 sje 6 "establishment"  
 tçāu 1 thōŋ 1 "traffic communication"

Pu nu: lau 8 tuŋ 2' li 8 "labor (power)"  
 kai 3' faŋ 2' "liberation"

Lak kja: tho 3 la 3 kji 3 "tractor"  
 ta 2 jo 4 tsin 3 "great leap forward"

### 2. Loanblends

Mjen: sì 5 lǐn 2 (Shih lin) dje 1 (cloth) "Shih lin  
 cloth"  
 tshōu 5 (bed) pen 3 (board) "bedboard"

- Pu nu: γοŋ 2 (dragon) ſu 2 (station) "rainbow"  
 nt̄o 6 (oil) pan 3 (board) "wood oil"
- Lak kja: mat 8 (socks) mie 2 (hand) "gloves"  
 naŋ 4 (clothes) min 2 (cotton) "cotton clothes"

### 3. Supplementives

- Mjen: sui 3 (water) jan 2 (silver) wām 1 (water)  
 "mercury"  
 mje 8 (splint) tǎu 1 (knife) dzu 8 (knife)  
 "bamboo splint knife"
- Pu nu: γa 1 (vegetable) p̄ 8 (white) θai 2' (vegetable)  
 "Chinese cabbage"  
 lho 3 (bamboo) huŋ 8 (red) tu 8 (bamboo) "a type  
 of red bamboo"
- Lak kja: fān 1 (bamboo) ma 4 (hair) tsōk 7 (bamboo) "a  
 type of bamboo"  
 tsei 5 (tree) jien 3 (aspen) lču 4 (willow)  
 "willow tree"

Loans of the first type are most numerous in Yao. There is also a type of homophonic loan in Mjen. One example is gai 1 j̄oŋ 3 "willingly" (Peking, kan hsin) in which Mjen gai 1 "dry" corresponds to Peking kan "dry". Words are no longer borrowed in this way, however.

### III. Grammatical Outline

Whether one uses semantics or grammar the parts of speech in Yao can be classified as nouns, verbs, adjectives, pronouns, numerals, classifiers, adverbs, conjunctions, auxiliaries, and interjections

As a general rule, when a noun modifies another noun the attribute precedes the head in Mjen but follows the head in Pu nu and Lak kja.

- |                 |              |              |   |        |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------|---|--------|
| <u>Mjen:</u>    | tūŋ 4 (pig)  | ɔ 3 (meat)   | } | "pork" |
| <u>Pu nu:</u>   | ŋka 2 (meat) | mpai 5 (pig) |   |        |
| <u>Lak kja:</u> | mōm 6 (meat) | khū 1 (pig)s |   |        |

Except in certain cases, nouns cannot be reduplicated unless they are being used as classifiers. When such nouns are reduplicated, they carry the meaning "every".

- Mjen: pjět 7 (pot) pjět 7 (pot) "every pot"  
 jāŋ 5 (year) jāŋ 5 (year) "every year"

<u>Pu nu:</u>	nu 2 (person) nu 2 (person) "everyone" nhoŋ 1 (day) nhoŋ 1 (day) "every day"
<u>Lak kja:</u>	ũn 3 (bowl) ũn 3 (bowl) "every bowl" wǎn 2 (day) wǎn 2 (day) "every day"

Most adjectives are able to be reduplicateds. After the reduplication the syllables něi 1, nř 4, and păi 1 are added in Mjen, Pu nu, and Lak kja, respectively, to indicate intensifications

<u>Mjen:</u>	si 7 "red" : si 7 si 7 něi 1 "reddish"
<u>Pu nu:</u>	ven 5 "soft" : ven 5 ven 5 nř 4 "quite soft"
<u>Lak kja:</u>	piek 8 "whites" : piek 8 piek 8 păi 1 "quite white"

Intensification can also be indicated by adding an emphatic syllable to the adjectives. This syllable, in turn, can be reduplicated.

<u>Mjen:</u>	si 7 "red" dzǎn 6 si 7 "quite red" dzǎn 6 dzǎn si 7 "very red"
<u>Pu nu:</u>	t̄ku 1 "white" t̄ku 1 mphinj 3 "snow-white" t̄ku 1 mphinj 3 mphinj 3 "very white"
<u>Lak kja:</u>	korj 5 "red" korj 5 tǔŋ 4 "quite red" korj 5 tǔŋ 4 tǔŋ 4 "very red"

Each of the Yao speeches has two coverbs, Mjen tsěi 4 and se 1 "to be"; Pu nu tau 6 and si 6 "to be", and Lak kja tǔk 8 and těk 7 "to be". Either coverb may be used in an affirmative sentence, but in a negative sentence or in response to a question, only the former can be used.

In both Mjen and Lak kja there is a distinction between inclusive and exclusive first person plural pronounss

<u>Mjen:</u>	je 1 bo 1 "we exclusive", bo 1 "we inclusive"
<u>Lak kja:</u>	ta 2 "we exclusive", tǎu 1 "we inclusives"

Although Pu nu does not distinguish inclusive and exclusive for the first person plural, it does distinguish dual and plural for all pronouns.

<u>Pu nu:</u>	a 1 "we two" : pe 1 "we" mi 1 "you two" : mi 2 "you" mu 1 "they two" : mu 2 "they"
---------------	--

Pu nu and Lak kja distinguish among demonstratives as being proximate, medial, or distant.

<u>Pu nu:</u>	nau 3 "this" {visible and near)
	kau 2 "that" {visible and of medium distance)s
	uj 1 "that" {visible and distant)
	nu 3 "that" {not visible and distant, known by the speaker but not by the addressee, or not known by either party)
	in 3 "that" {not visible and distant, known by both parties)

<u>Lak kja:</u>	li 2 "here" (near)
	lan 2 "there" (medium distance)
	lu 2 "there" (distant)
	ni 2 "this" (near)
	ŋän 2 "that" {medium distance)
	nu 2 "that" (distant)

When demonstratives are used with classifiers and nouns, the order in Mjen is demonstrative-classifier-noun, whereas in Pu nu and Lak kja the order is classifier-noun-demonstratives

<u>Mjen:</u>	wo 3 (that) tău 2 (clf.) ŋõŋ 2 (ox) }
<u>Pu nu:</u>	tuŋ 4 (clf.) vo 4 (ox) uŋ 1 (that) }
<u>Lak kja:</u>	tu 2 (clf.) nău 4 (ox) ŋän 2 (that) }

Classifiers can be reduplicated to indicate "every"s. Classifiers and numerals combine in the order numeral-classifier and occur before the noun they modify.

<u>Mjen:</u>	tău 2 (clf.) tău 2 (clf.) }
<u>Pu nu:</u>	tuŋ 4 (clf.) tuŋ 4 (clf.) }
<u>Lak kja:</u>	tu 2 (clf.) tu 2 (clf.) }

<u>Mjen.</u>	jět 8 (one) tsan 3 (clf.) tăŋ 1 (lamp) }
<u>Pu nu:</u>	i 1 (one) laŋ 1 (clf.) taŋ 1 (lamp) }
<u>Lak kja:</u>	ĩn 3 (one) năm 5 (clf.) tăŋ 1 (lamp) }

Adverbs usually occur before the verbs or adjectives they modify.

<u>Mjen:</u>	mwěi 2 (you) tsɔi 5 (again) tai 2 (come) jět 8 (one) thɔŋ 5 (clf. for trips) "Come again.s"
<u>Pu nu:</u>	kau 2 (you) tha 5 (again) lo 4 (come) i 1 (one) fan 1 (clf. for actions) "Come again.s"
<u>Lak kja:</u>	ma 2 (you) ieu 6 (again) tăŋ 2 (come) ĩn 3 (one) θau 5 (clf. for actions) "Come again.s"

There are some adverbs, however, which occur after the verbs or adjectives they modify.

<u>Mjen:</u>	măŋ 6 (see) daŋ 6 (first)	}	"to see first"
<u>Pu nu:</u>	ŋkoŋ 5 (see) te 2 (first)		
<u>Lak kja:</u>	lom 1 (see) ban 1 (first)		

There are three types of auxiliaries, structural, aspectual, and modal.

### 1. Structural

<u>Mjen:</u>	tăŋ 3 (party) tshĭn 1 (and) mău 2 (Mao) tsi 3 si 6 (chairman) něi 1 (possessive) lín 3 tău 3 (leadership) "the leadership of the Party and of Chairman Mao"
<u>Pu nu:</u>	tan 3 (party) zau 4 (and) mau 8 (Mao) si 3' θi 8 (chairman) ti 5 (possessive) lin 3' tau 3' (leadership) "the leadership of the Party and of Chairman Mao"
<u>Lak kja:</u>	tan 1 (party) kăp 7 (and) mau 4 (Mao) tsi 1 θi 4 (chairman) ka 4 (possessive) lín 1 tau 1 (leadership) "the leadership of the Party and of Chairmen Mao"

### 2. Aspectual

<u>Mjen:</u>	něn 2 (he) pwěi 5 (sleep) ja 6 (completive) "He's asleep already."
<u>Pu nu:</u>	ni 4 (he) pau 5 (sleep) kwo 5 (completive) "He's asleep alreadyh"
<u>Lak kja:</u>	lăk 8 (he) hěp 7 (sleep) lieu 3 (completive) "He's asleep already."

### 3. Modal

<u>Mjen:</u>	mwěi 2 (you) miŋ 2 (go) ma 2 (imperative)	}	"Go!"
<u>Pu nu:</u>	kau 2 (you) muŋ 4 (go) pa 8 (imperative)		
<u>Lak kja:</u>	ma 2 (you) păi 1 (go) ma 4 (imperative)		

The primary elements of a sentence are the subject and the predicate. Subjects are primarily nouns, pronouns, etc., occurring before the predicates. Predicates are usually verbs, adjectives, nouns, etc., and are placed after the subjects. In the following examples, subjects are indicated by single underlining, predicates by double underlining.

<u>Mjen:</u>	sje 5 hui 5 tsi 3 <u>ji</u> 5 <u>lõŋ</u> 5	"Socialism is good"
	socialism	good
	je 1 <u>kat</u> 7 bjău	"I cut rice (plants)"
	I cut rice	

nin 2 nɔi 1 tsjɔp 8 ŋŋ 4

today fifteen

"Today is the fifteenth"

Pu nu: se 2' wei 2' si 3' ni 2' yan 5

socialism good

"Socialism is good"

cun 3 muŋ 4 jo 8 jau 2'

I go school

"I go to school"

tai 5 nau 3 cœu 8 tsu 1

today fifteen  
"Today is the fifteenth's"

Lak kja: θε 3 hwǎi 3 tsu 1 hji lǎi 1

socialism good

"Socialism is good"

lăk 8 tem 6 hjuə 1 "He wears shoes"

he wear shoes

wǎn 2 nai 3 tsěp 8 ŋo 4

today fifteen

"Today is the fifteenth"

The secondary elements of a sentence are objects, complements, specifiers, or descriptive words. Objects (underlined in the examples below) are nouns or pronouns and generally occur after the predicate.

Mjen: kōŋ 1 jǐn 2 tsōu 5 tći 2 tchi 5 }  
worker make machine

Pu nu: kur 1' jin 8 θœu 6 ci 1' ci 2 } "The workers  
worker make machine  
make machines"

Lak kja: kōŋ 3 jǐn 4 pōk 8 kji 3 khji 3 }  
worker make machine

Complements consist of verbs, adjectives, numeral-classifiers, etc., all occurring after a predicate.

Mjen: mwěi 2 dzu 5 dzěŋ 6 těi 5 }  
you wash clean -er

Pu nu: kau 2 θa 4 nthi 1 ne 3' } "(You) wash  
you wash clean -er cleaner"

Lak kja: ma 2 wǎk 8 tǐŋ 6 nǐŋ 3 }  
you wash clean -er

For the most part, specifiers are composed of adjectives, nouns, pronouns, numeral-specifiers, etc. Possessing elements occur before the items possessed in possessive constructions. Adjectives usually occur after the head to indicate attribution.

<u>Mjen:</u>	něn 2	<u>jěi</u> 1	lui 1	}	"His clothes"
	he	-s	clothes		
<u>Pu nu:</u>	ni 4	ka 1	cūŋ 4		
	he		clothes	}	"long table"
<u>Lak kja:</u>	lăk 8	nan 4			
	he		clothes		
<u>Mjen:</u>	tje 2	<u>dau</u> 3		}	"long table"
	table	long			
<u>Pu nu:</u>	ʂon 2	<u>nte</u> 3			
	table	long			
<u>Lak kja:</u>	tai 2	<u>ɛi</u> 2			
	table	long			

Descriptive words are adverbs or time words and usually occur before a predicate.

<u>Mjen:</u>	<u>n</u> 5	<u>jěn</u> 6	}	"won't eat"
	not	eat		
<u>Pu nu:</u>	<u>ma</u> 2	<u>nau</u> 2		
	not	eat	}	"came yesterday"
<u>Lak kja:</u>	<u>hwěi</u> 1	<u>tsěn</u> 1		
	not	eat		
<u>Mjen:</u>	<u>dzǎŋ</u> 1	<u>ñoi</u> 1	}	"came yesterday"
	yesterday	tai 2		
<u>Pu nu:</u>	<u>tu</u> 1	<u>ku</u> 4		
	yesterday	lo 4		
<u>Lak kja:</u>	<u>wǎn</u> 2	<u>ŋjět</u> 8		
	yesterday	tǎŋ		
		come		

#### IV. Dialects

There are dialectal differences within Mjen and Pu nu. On the basis of criteria involving vocabulary, phonology, some important syntactic features, social factors, history, culture, and the ways in which the Yao refer to themselves, Mjen may be said to have three dialects: Mjen proper, Dzau min [dzau 53 min 53], and Bjau min [bjau 31 min 31], and Pu nu may be considered to have five dialects: Pu nu proper,

Kion nai [kion 33 nai 33], Pa ɳɳ [pa 31 ɳɳ 35], Mm nai [m̥m̥ 35 nai 33] and Iu nuo [iu 33 nuo 33].

Of the Mjen dialects, Mjen proper is spoken in scattered villages in more than sixty hsien in Kwangsi, Hunan, Kwangtung, Yunnan, and Kweichow, and has approximately 260,000 speakers; Dzau min is spoken by some 29,000 people in Lien nan, Kwangtung and in Yi chang, Hunan, and Bjau min is spoken in Ch'üan chou, Kuan yang, Kung ch'eng, and other places in Kwangsi by about 21,000 people. Mjen proper generally distinguishes between long and short vowels and maintains final -p, -t, -k, and -m; Dzau min has lost the length distinction in vowels but does preserve the four final consonants; Bjau min has lost both vowel length and the four finals. Mjen proper contains many Cantonese loanwords, Dzau min many loans from Hakka, and Bjau min a number of loanwords from Southwestern Mandarin. Dzau min has more compound words than the other two dialects. All three have some words which have come from different sources. Bjau min has some grammatical features which set it apart from the other two dialects. Although all three dialects of Mjen share many cognate words and have phonological correspondences which are relatively uncomplicated, peculiarities in phonological structure and differences in lexicon have produced a rather low level of mutual intelligibility.

Mjen proper has three subdialects: Mjen, Piao man, and Kim mun. The Bjau min dialect has two subdialects: Bjau min proper and Chiao kung mjen. Although there are some phonological differences even within the various subdialects, people with a particular subdialect can communicate with each other with a high degree of mutual intelligibility. Between dialects, however, there are difficulties in communication because of the differences in vocabulary and phonology.

Of the dialects of Pu nu, Pu nu proper is spoken by about 210,000 people in some twenty hsien in Kwangsi (e.g., Tu an, Pa ma, Ma shan, Shang lin, Nan tan, Ho ch'ih). There are also a few Yao in Fu ning hsien, Yunnan and in Tu shan hsien, Kweichow who speak Pu nu. The Kion nai dialect is spoken in the Yao Autonomous hsien, Ta yao shan, Kwangsih. The Pa ɳɳ dialect is found in San chiang and Lung sheng, Kwangsi and in Li p'ing and Jung chiang, Kweichow. The Mm nai dialect is spoken in the Hunan hsien of Lung hui, T'ung tao, and Hsü p'u. The Iu nuo dialect is spoken in Hsing an and Lung sheng, Kwangsi. There are very few speakers of the last four dialects. The initial and tone systems of Pu nu are complex whereas those in the other four dialects are relatively simple. Pu nu proper has many Chuang loanwordsh Kion nai and Pa ɳɳ, on the other hand, have fewer Chuang loans. Mm nai and Iu nuo have more Southwestern Man-

darin loans than the other dialects.<sup>1</sup> Each of the five Pu nu dialects has a number of dialect-specific lexical items and grammatical features. The phonological correspondences among the five dialects are complicated, and the dialects are mutually unintelligible.

Pu nu proper has five subdialects: Pu nu, Nu nu, Pu no, Nau klau, and Nu mao. Speakers within a subdialect are able to communicate with each other, but between any two subdialects there are quite a number of phonological and lexical differences. The differences among Pu nu, Nu nu, and Pu no are slight, allowing speakers to communicate across subdialect boundaries with a short period of mutual contact. Nau klau and Nu mao are very different from the other three, making the problem of mutual communication a serious one. Furthermore, speakers of these last two dialects cannot speak with each other.

There are not many speakers of Lak kja. All of them are found in the Yao Autonomous hsien, Ta yao shan, Kwangsir. Within Lak kja there are only slight phonological variations between groups of speakers.

## V. Classification

All three types of Yao belong to the Sino-Tibetan phylum, but to different families and branches. On the basis of our investigation, Mjen belongs to the Yao branch of the Miao-Yao family, Pu nu to the Miao branch of the Miao-Yao family, and Lak kja to the T'ung-T'ung branch of the Chuang-T'ung family.

Pu nu is closer to the Miao language spoken in Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan than it is to Mjen. Only through an examination of cognates such as the following can we see the relationship of Pu nu to both Mjen and Miao and, at the same time, see the relationship between the two branches of the Miao-Yao family.

<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Mjen</u>	<u>Pu nu</u>	<u>Miao</u> <sup>2</sup>
fish	bjău 4	ntse 4	ntʂe 4
salt	dzău 3	ntse 3	ntʂe 3
blood	dzjam 3	ntʂin 3	ntʂan 3

<sup>1</sup> Pa ɳŋ is called "Pa wu" in "The Role of the Chinese Language in the Enrichment and Development of the Yao Language". [See the next article.]

<sup>2</sup> The dialect chosen to represent the Miao of Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan is Ta nan shan, Hua chieh hsien, Kweichow.

<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Mjen</u>	<u>Pu nu</u>	<u>Miaoh</u>
snake	naŋ 1	nɪŋ 1	naŋ 1
worm, insect	tçen 1	cɪŋ 1	kəŋ 1
leaf	nɔm 2	ntʃan 2	mplon 2
tree	djāŋ 5	ntaŋ 5	nton 5
door	tçen 2	pi 3 təŋ 2	ton 2
bird	nɔ 8	naŋ 6	norŋ 6
dog	tçu 3	tɻe 3	tl̥e 3
duck	ap 7	o 7	o 7
beans, peas	tɔp 8	tʂu 8	tou 8
egg	tçău 5	ce 5	qe 5
to laugh, to smile	tçăt 7	to 7	to 7
to weave (cloth)	dăt 7	nto 7	nto 7
to kill	tăi 5	to 5	tua 5
to eat	jěn 6	nau 2	nau 2
to put on (e.g., hat)	dõŋ 5	ntaŋ 5	nton 5
one	jět 8	i 1	i 1
two	ji 1	au 1	au 1
three	po 1	pe 1	pe 1
four	pjěi 1	tɻa 1	plou 1
five	pja 1	tsu 1	tsi 1
six	tçu 7	tʂu 5	tou 5
seven	sje 6	ʂon 6	ʂan 5
eight	çět 8	ju 8	ʐi 8
nine	do 2	cɪu 2	tçua 2

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THE ROLE OF THE CHINESE LANGUAGE IN THE ENRICHMENT  
AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE YAO LANGUAGE

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I

There are 740,000 Yao peoples living in about one hundred hsien in the provinces of Kwangsi, Hunan, Yunnan, Kwangtung, and Kweichows. So far as individual villages are concerned, the Yao people keep to themselves rather exclusively, but within their general areas the Yao are found scattered among other peoples. This phenomenon of "scattered on the large scale but concentrated on the small scale; living with other peoples on the large scale but living by themselves on the small scale" makes it easy for the Yao to come into contact with other people, especially with the Chinese.

The Yao are an old race in China, their presence being recorded in Chinese historical documents. According to these documents the Yao were in close contact with the Chinese and other races in very early times. Despite the fact that reactionaries in past dynasties purposely caused conflicts and divisions among the races, history has proved that these policies actually had the opposite effect: there has been no discontinuity in the relations between the Yao and other races.

From early times the minority peoples and the Chinese have dwelled together. By producing conflicts and revolutionary struggles they created the long history and bright culture of the Fatherlands. As a result of many historical factors during long periods of contact and frequent migrations, all these peoples are situated such that each race "lives in mixed fashion on the large scale but in separated fashion on the small scale" with the Chinese as the nucleus. All the minority peoples are linked closely with the Chinese in all respects, such as in economics, politics, and culture. This is especially true of the Yao. Chinese, Yao, and other peoples all participate in the larger economic markets within the Yao areas.

The Yao people have their own language which serves as their primary medium of communication. Because of other communication needs, however, most Yao speak a second lang-

uage when they grow up. In most areas the Yao speak Chinese. Those in the west of Kwangsi also speak Chuang while part of the Yao in Kweichow speak T'ung. Other peoples living in Yao areas also speak Yao. The reason for this is that the different peoples are in such frequent contact with each other that a speaker's own language is not sufficient for all his social activities.

Language is a tool used in human relationships and for the communication of ideas. The foundation of language development is society. Because the Chinese are the main race in China with a large population and highly developed system of politics, economics, and culture, the Yao naturally maintain closer contact with them than with other peoples. As a result, the Yao language has been heavily influenced by Chinese. Throughout its history the Yao language has continuously absorbed Chinese elements. Chinese has been used continuously by the Yao for written communication. In addition, there have been Yao people in every period of history who spoke Chinese. These facts explain not only the relationship between the two languages but also the relationship between the two peoples.

The liberation of the Yao people under the leadership of the Party is a milestone in Yao history. It is a specific instance of a complete change of both Yao society and the Yao people. The Yao language, the means of communication of the Yao people, has been affected throughout by sweeping changes. Following the lead of the Fatherland which has made rapid forward progress on all fronts, it has developed quickly. Furthermore, as a result of the first great cooperation of all peoples in establishing together the great socialist enterprise, it has absorbed more elements from Chinese. In looking over the entire history of the Yao language, one can see that since the Liberation it has been undergoing a process of full development, something which had not occurred previously.

The aim of this article is to explain, by reference to various linguistic phenomena, the function of Chinese in the enrichment and development of the Yao language. In addition, this article attempts to predict, on the basis of the influence of Chinese on the Yao language since the Liberation, some general tendencies and some changes about to take place in the development of the language.

In order to simplify the presentation, I shall mention briefly some of the Yao languages with which this article is concerned. The linguistic situation among the Yao is rather complicated. The language includes several "speeches". These speeches differ considerably in phonology, vocabulary, and grammar. According to a preliminary study, the Yao people living in Kwangsi, Hunan, Yunnan,

Kwangtung, and Kweichow, and who call themselves mjen 21<sup>1</sup>, bjau 21 min 21, dzau 53 min 53, or kim 11 mun 11, use one speech (here referred to as the Mjen speech). Yao who live in Kwangsi, Hunan, Kweichow, and Fu ning in Yunnan, calling themselves pu 55 nu 13, nau 35 klau 42, pa 21 ŋŋ 35, mm 35 nai 33, kion 33 nai 33, or iu 33 nuo 33, use another speech (here referred to as the Pu nu speech). Those Yao who live in the Kwangsi Ta yao shan Yao Autonomous hsien, and who call themselves lak 11 kja 35, use a third speech (which we shall call the Lak kja speech). All three Yao speeches belong to the Sino-Tibetan phylum. The Mjen speech belongs to the Yao group of the Miao-Yao family, the Pu nu speech belongs to the Miao group of the Miao-Yao family, and the Lak kja speech belongs to the T'ung-Shui\* group of the Chuang-Thung family.

## II

The close relationship between the Yao and Chinese languages and the influence of Chinese on Yao are especially noticeable in the lexicon. According to historical documents, the Yao people were using iron by about the time of the Sui and T'ang dynasties (see "Geography", Sui History\*\*). The Mjen word for "iron" is ṭje 7 alongside a recent loan from Chinese thje 6. Apparently ṭje 7 is an old Chinese loan and may have accompanied<sup>2</sup> the introduction of iron into Yao culture from the Chinese. We are able to conclude, therefore, that over one thousand years ago the Yao had already begun to borrow words from Chinese.

The process of borrowing is a continuous phenomenon. In the course of its historical development, the Yao language has absorbed set after set of loanwords. These sets of loanwords all have the marks of history on them. From these marks we are able to see the long history of borrowing into Yao from Chinese. Take, for example, Chinese loanwords with bilabial initials in the Mjen speech (of Hsing an and Lung sheng in Kwangsi) as shown below.

<u>Ancient Chinese</u> *** (vd.)	<u>Mjen</u> (vd.)
'b'ien	bin 4      "pigtail"
'b'ai	bai 2      "row; put in rows"
'b'iəu	bjou 2      "float"

<sup>1</sup>The International Phonetic Association notation is used.

<sup>2</sup>In Chinese, "iron" occurs with an abrupt tone. Mjen ṭje 7 also occurs with an abrupt tone although the final -h is optional and is passing from use.

\*Also known as Kam-Sui. \*\*No reference is given.

\*\*\*The Ancient Chinese forms are from Karlgren (1940).

<u>AC</u> (vls.)	<u>Mjen</u> (vd.)
pâu'	bjeu 5 "to announce, to report"
pau'	biu 5 "to crackle, to fizz"
pau'	beu 5 "leopard"
<u>AC</u> (vd.)	<u>Mjen</u> (vls.)
‘b'uən	pun 2 "basin, jar"
‘b'iɔŋ	peŋ 2 "flat, level"
‘b'a	pa 2 "harrow"
<u>AC</u> (vd.)	<u>Mjen</u> (vls.)
‘b'iɔŋ "flat"	phin 2 in <u>p'ing ch'áng</u> "ordinary"
‘b'ai "rows"	phai 2 in <u>p'ai ch'áng</u> "to do properly"
‘b'jie "skin"	phi 2 in <u>p'i hsiang</u> "leather trunk"
<u>AC</u> (vd.)	<u>Mjen</u> (vls.)
‘b'iəu "to float"	fu 2 in <u>fú chüng</u> "to swell up"
b'iuk, "to subdue"	fu 6 in <u>shuei fú</u> "to persuade"
‘b'iwdm "to violate the law"	fa.n 5 in <u>fan fa</u> "to violate the law"

The above examples show clearly that because borrowing took place at different times, the Yao pronunciations are not the same. These differences of pronunciation cannot be explained simply as borrowings into the Yao language spoken in a certain area from different Chinese dialects at the same time. In former times, when the material culture was still underdeveloped and when communication was very difficult, it was impossible for words having the same initials or finals but coming from different Chinese dialects to be borrowed by Yao living in a certain area in a systematic enough way. A more reasonable explanation, therefore, is that as a result of Chinese words having been borrowed by the Yao in different periods, these borrowings have become the "strata" in the history of the Yao language. Such "strata" not only help us to see the time depth involved in Yao borrowings from Chinese, but they also enable us to tentatively state the order of those borrowings.

It goes without saying that through this long period of acculturation, Chinese loanwords have come to form a very high percentage of the Yao lexicon. Take the Mjen dialect of Lung sheng, Kwangsi, for example. We collected more than 7,000 words, of which over 3,000 (or about half of the total) were loans from Chinese. The situation in

other areas is about the same (although in some specific locales there are somewhat fewer Chinese loans). Among the languages of the minority peoples in China, Yao is rather special in that it has about half of its common vocabulary borrowed from Chinese. The number of loanwords is an indication of the weight and influence of the vocabulary of one language upon that of another language.

Chinese words can be found in all areas of the Yao lexicon. Usually, a language borrows more substantives (nouns) than verbs or adjectives. It is believed by some people that function words and numerals cannot be borrowed. In Yao, however, there are Chinese loanwords in every part of speech. In addition to nouns (omitted here because of the limitations of this article), there are many adjective loans from Chinese. In Mjen, for example, one finds

na:n 2	"difficult"
ha:n 4	"drought"
tça:i 5	"precious, expensive"
tsjen 1	"true"
tça 3	"false"
sjan 1	"new"
ŋun 2 hei 6	"easy"
phjen 2 nei 2	"cheap"
tshoŋ 1 men 2	"bright, clever"

Some Chinese verbs borrowed by Mjen are the following:

tsou 5	"to do"
sjen 3	"to elect, select"
lai 2	"to plow"
kho:i 1	"to break up (ground for cultivation)" h
tshep 7	"to stick into (as rice shoots into a paddy field)."

Numerals also have been borrowed. In Mjen there are two ways to count from one to nine, one of which has apparently been borrowed from Chinese. Numerals higher than eleven are counted with Chinese loans exclusively (in a very complex way). For example,

jet 8, jet 7	1	tsjop 8 jet 7	11
ji 1, nei 6	2	tsjop 8 nei 6	12
po 1, fa:m 1	3	tsjop 8 fa:m 1	13
pjei 1, fei 5	4	tsjop 8 fei 5	14
pja 1, ŋŋ 4	5	tsjop 8 ŋŋ 4	15
tçu 7, lo 8	6	tsjop 8 loh 8	16
sje 6, tshjet 7	7	tsjop 8 tshjet 7	17
çet 8, pet 7	8	tsjop 8 pet 7	18
do 2, tço 3	9	tsjop 8 tço 3	19
tsjop 8	10	ŋi 6 tsjop 8	20

Among the function words, some adverbs and most conjunctions have been borrowed from Chinese. Taking examples from the three Yao speeches (Pu nu is based on that spoken in Tu an, Kwangsi, Lak kja on that spoken in Ta yao shan, Kwangsi),

	<u>Mjen</u>	<u>Pu nu</u>	<u>Lak kja</u>
again	jou 6		jie <u>u</u> 6
all	tu 1		
because	jom 1 wei 6	jin 1' wei 6	jin 1 wei 6
but	ta <u>n</u> 6		ta <u>n</u> 1
immediately	ma 4 tsa <u>n</u> 6	ma 3 <u>san</u> 6	
most		θei 2'	
often			tsie <u>n</u> 2- tsie <u>n</u> 2

As a rule, a language tends not to borrow basic vocabulary, words of this type already being present in the language. But in Yao some of the basic words are also borrowed. For example, in the language of the Yao who live in Ch'üan chou hsien, Kwangsi, and who call themselves bjau 21 min 21, the following words have all been borrowed from Chinese:

khəu 5	"mouth"	sə 1	"raw, uncooked"
tçin 4	"near"	ni 4 tau 2	"sun"
khwa 5	"fast"	ma 4 kwai 5	"frog"
thwi 1	"to blow"	çə 1 tsan 3	"star"
lwei 2	"thunder"		

We should not conclude that in this dialect of Yao there were originally no terms for "sun", "frog", "thunder", etc. (in Yao dialects in other areas terms for these items have not been borrowed). It is clear that loanwords have replaced the native terms. From the above examples one can see that words of the so-called "basic vocabulary" are not completely safe (under certain conditions) from the possibility of being replaced by loanwords.

There are even doublets of original and borrowed words existing side by side in Yao. Note, for example,

	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Original Word</u>	<u>Borrowed Word</u>
<u>Mjen</u>	hungry	sje 1	ŋɔ 6
	broken (as string)	nau 3	tan 5
	oil	mei 1	jou 2
<u>Pu nu</u>	all	pe 2'	θien 8 pu 2'
	female	pu 1 mpha 8	fu 2' ni 3'
	life; living	nau 2 jun 6	θən 1' ho 8
<u>Lak kja</u>	children	nun 4 jei 4	ə 4 thoŋ 4
	female	lak 8 kja <u>u</u> 3	fu 3 ni 1
	youth	lak 8 fai 5	tshin 3 ne <u>n</u> 4

The frequency of occurrence and range of use of these doublets are not identicals. Generally speaking, the loans have a higher frequency and wider range of occurrence than the native words. For example, the word ai 5 "to do; to make" in Mjen of Hsing an, Kwangsi, originally was used in all cases of related actions, such as "to labor", "to work", "to make a desk", etc. Now, however, it is used only in some very specific situations, the Chinese loan tsou 5 "to do; to make" assuming the heavy functional load. In some places (e.g., Chiang hua, Hunan) ai 5 has been dropped altogether, tsou 5 being used insteads. In the language of the Yao living in Ling yüeh, Kwangsi, and Ho kou, Yunnan, who call themselves kim ll mun ll, ai 5 is still in general use, whereas tsou 5 is uncommon.

Some Chinese words borrowed into Yao are structurally productive and form new words by entering into compounds with native Yao elements. For example,

Mjen puŋ 1 (direction, side); tom 2 puŋ 1 "genteel"  
ei 5 (purpose); tom 2 ei 5 "careless"  
in which tom 2 is a native word meaning "big, large".

sjou 3 (skill)s mjen 2 sjou 3 "labor power" in which mjen 2 is a native word meaning "person".

Lak kja θa l (sand), faṇ 1 θa l "pebbles"  
in which faṇ 1 is a native word meaning "stone".

tsu 2 (yam)s tsu 2 tsei 5 "a type of yam having  
long stems"  
in which tsei 5 is a native word meaning "tree".

mat 8 (socks), ma.t 8\* mje 2 "gloves"  
in which mje 2 is a native word meaning "hand".

Besides showing that it is possible for loanwords to become part of compound words, the above examples inform us one other fact, namely, some of the new compounds, such as "careless" or "genteel" are semantic borrowings from Chineses

In addition, some Chinese loans show the close relationship and communication which exists between the Yao and Chinese peoples. Note, for instance, these loans in Mjen.

ta:n 2 pε 8 "to chat"  
tshai 3 tau 2 "good fortune"  
len 2 tau 2 "change (money)s"  
tei 3 tsei 3 "detail"

\* No explanation is given for the length of the final.

fiu 3 pu.i 2 "goodbye"  
 tshau 1 fim 1 "to worry"  
 nau 5 to.i (a term used in Chinese opera)

They also show us how the Yao people understand the Chinese way of life and master the Chinese language.

It is not difficult to imagine that given certain circumstances the great number of Chinese loanwords could influence the structure of Yao lexical patterns. In native Mjen attributive compounds comprised of a noun and an adjective, the morpheme order is usually noun plus adjective. For example,

mun 4 (fly) me.n 1 (green) "large green-headed fly"  
 kun 2 ja 4 (child) si 7 (red) "baby"  
 tu 2 (turtle) ne.n 6 (hard) "tortoise"  
 tce.n 3 (frog) bja.t 8 (peppery) "a kind of frog"

As a result of Chinese influence, compounds with morpheme order adjective plus noun also are used. Note, for example,

sjan 1 (new) la.n 2 (young man) "bridegroom"  
 lau 3 (old) sjou 3 (hand, skill) "expert"  
 lu 2 (old) dzjan 5 (steelyard) "steelyard, scale"  
 war 2 (yellow) hwa 1 (flower) "yellow day lily"

The reason why we have stated that this pattern is due to Chinese influence is that it occurs only with loanwords. Of course, these examples could also be considered "complete phonological borrowings". That is, that they are polysyllabic simple words and not compounds consisting of adjectives plus nounsh. In this pattern, however, the compounds may also consist of a borrowed morpheme and a native morpheme. For this reason, the above pattern should be treated as one for compounds made up of adjectives plus nounsh. For instance,

sjan 1 (new) na.n 5 (year) "New Year's"  
 khun 5 (empty) na.n 5 (cooked rice) "plain cooked rice"  
 khun 5 (empty) tsau 5 (foot) "barefooted"  
 du 8 (single) to.n 1 (son) "only son"

One type of native compounds found in all three Yao speeches is made up of noun (modified) plus noun (modifying) as in the following examples:

Mjen    bjau 1 (fish) tceu 3 (dog) "dogfish"  
 na.n 1 (snake) wam 1 (water) "water snake"  
 tce.n 1 (worm) pjei 1 (hair) "caterpillar"  
 wam 1 (water) dzwei 2 (mouth) "saliva"

<u>Pu nu</u>	ŋkxu 1*(turtledove) tse 3 (house) "dove" pen 2 (basin) lon 2 (brass) "basin for washing the face"
	ya 1 (vegetable) ton 2 (harrow bamboo) "green onion"
	kwa 3' (melon) ntan 5 (tree) "papaya"

<u>Lak kja</u>	p̄iha 1 (fish) khwɔ 1 (dog) "dogfish" num 4 (water) pla 1 (eye) "tears"
	mɛ 4 (knife) kjeu 1 (head) "razor" kwei 4 (dung) naŋ 1 (nose) "mucus"

Because of Chinese influence, however, another pattern exists: noun (modifying) plus noun (modified). This pattern is most widespread in the Mjen speech. For example,

<u>Mjen</u>	lu.i 1 (clothes) tça.ŋ 1 (neck) "collar" in 1 (smoke) tau 3 (a dry measuer) "pipe"
	tan 1 (lamp) fim 1 (heart) "lamp wick"
	jou 2 (oil) tsa 2 (tea) "rape tea" (a type of drink)

There is still another structural pattern which shows the heavy influence of Chinese on Yao. This pattern is called "homophonous borrowing". It is rather uncommon and thus is not one of the main patterns for borrowings. For example, in ga.i 1 you 3 "willingly", ga.i 1 is a Mjen word meaning "dry" and is also realized phonologically as a homophone of the first syllable of the Chinese word "willingly"; in lu 6 si 7 "big water, flood", the Mjen word si 7 "red" is also realized as a homophone of the Chinese word "big".

Before the Liberation, the process of borrowing from Chinese into Yao was complicated and its development was unbalanced. In general, Mjen dialects borrowed more directly from Chinese than Pu nu dialects did. The kim 1 mun 1 dialect of Mjen borrowed less from Chinese than the other dialects or subdialects did. After the Liberation, however, the situation changed considerably. First, all Yao speeches borrow from Chinese as a primary means of enriching their lexicons. In the past, the Pu nu speech in the west of Kwangsi had more borrowings from Chuang than from Chinese. And such Chinese loanwords were indirect, coming into the language through the medium of Chuang. In recent years, this practice has become less common, and more and more loanwords have come into the language directly from Chinese.

Second, borrowings are numerous and are adopted quickly. We may continue to use the Mjen speech of the area of Lung sheng, Kwangsi, as an illustration. Of the more than 7,000

\* The symbol x replaces z in the original article.

lexical items in this dialect, over 2,000 have been borrowed since the Liberation (i.e., about two-thirds of the total.) In the short period of only ten-odd years since the Liberation, the amount of borrowing has surpassed that which took place before the Liberation. (Of course, there may have been some loans which were subsequently lost, but the lack of sufficient historical documentation precludes any knowledge of them.) Yao society and the Yao way of life has changed a great deal since the Liberation; accordingly, the lexicon, being directly connected with all phases of life, has also changed. This abundant and rapid enrichment of the Yao lexicon since the Liberation indicates the tremendous development of and changes in Yao society and the life of the people.

The speed and magnitude of such enrichment of the Yao language which has taken place during the ten-odd years since the Liberation is without historical precedent. In the wake of the emergence of any economic, political, or cultural movement there will always be a immediate appearance of a large number of new words. These new words in Yao are, without exception, Chinese loans. They are used not only by cadres or the intelligensia, but by all the people, not only in certain areas, but in all areas of China where there are Yao. As a result, these loanwords have not been borrowed on a temporary basis or merely for a particular occasion but have become organic elements in the Yao lexicon. Space does not permit our listing more than the following few examples:

	"party"	"class"	"conflict"
<u>Mjen</u>	tarŋ 3	kai 1 ki 6	mau 2 tən 5
<u>Pu nu</u>	tarŋ 3'	kai 1' ci 8	mau 8 tən 2'
<u>Lak kja</u>	taŋ 1	kja.i 3 kji 4	mau 4 ton 3
	"peace"	"people's commune"	
<u>Mjen</u>	ho 2 phin 2	jin 2 min 2 kor 1 sje 5	
<u>Pu nu</u>	ho 8 pin 8	jin 8 min 8 kur 1' şe 2'	
<u>Lak kja</u>	hop 4 pin 4	jin 4 min 4 kor 3 əc 3	

Nowadays, most Chinese loans in Yao are nouns in the fields of economics, politics, and culture. The next largest group are verbs, while those of other parts of speech are few. We can predict that there will be an increase in the number of Chinese loans in these other parts of speech in the future. Some of these loanwords may coexist with native words, each with its own contextual functions (e.g., some physiological terms needed for medical practice will be used side by side with native Yao physiological terms).

Third, most Chinese loans are phonemic loanwords. In the past, there were also loanblends, loan translations,

etc., but since the Liberation, however, these other methods of borrowing have ceased to operate, with the exception of a few short-lived loans which were replaced by phonemic loanwords. Moreover, the fact that almost all Chinese loans are polysyllabic has altered the characteristic structure of the Yao lexicon in which there had been many monosyllabic native words but few polysyllabic words.

In summary, the Yao language has been borrowing words from Chinese for a very long time. This has resulted in a great number of Chinese loanwords which have exerted a heavy influence upon Yao. Since the Liberation this influence has become even more obvious. It has produced positive results, namely, the enrichment of the Yao lexicon and the tightening up of the Yao grammatical structure. Only those words which were borrowed after the Liberation have facilitated communication among the Yao people themselves and have stimulated the development and prosperity of Yao society. The most important aspect of the borrowing process is that by this means the Yao people are able to learn Marxism-Leninism and Maoism more effectively and thus heighten their awareness of political thoughts and master culture, science, and technology in order to contribute to the establishment of socialism.

### III

We have already noted how the vocabulary of the Yao language has been influenced by Chinese. Without doubt the phonology of Yao has also undergone some changes. As a general rule, the phonology of a language changes more slowly than the lexicon. The phonological influence exerted by an outside language, therefore, is less than its lexical influence. This was the situation with regard to Yao phonology before the Liberation.

If a particular language has a number of loanwords from another language, speakers of the borrowing language will substitute certain phonemes of their language for certain phonemes of the donor language. As borrowing continues, the phonological equivalence in the borrowing language for those particular phonemes of the donor language becomes fixed. Newly borrowed words simply follow the correspondence rules for the set. If the donor language is spoken over a wide area, there will be different sets of correspondence rules applicable in borrowing even though the borrowing dialects belong to the same family. These rules are fairly stable. In a certain area and over a certain period of time the rules will not change (in a relative, not absolute, sense, of course). We shall take the Mjen speech as an example of how loanwords are handled.

f ~ hsin initial<sup>3</sup>

fa:m 1 "three"  
 fun 5 "garlic"  
 fo 3 "lock"  
 fjen 5 "believe, letter"  
 fai 1 "west"  
 fei 1 "silk"  
 fin 1 "fairy, immortal"

fei 5 "four"  
 fim 1 "heart"  
 fun 1 "grandson"  
 fiu 3 "small" (e.g.,  
       hsiau-chì "stingy")  
 fi 7 "tin"

## f ~ f·

fen 3 "powder" (e.g., fěn-pí "chalk")  
 for 5 "male sphinx"  
 for 1 "(male) sphinx" (e.g., fèng-ch'áng "sausage")  
 fast 7 "law"  
 fu 1 "a male" (e.g., t'ú-fū "butcher")  
 fu 7 "blessing"

p ~ fēi:

pwan 5 "dung"  
 pwan 1 "to divide"  
 pun 1 "to divide" (e.g., ch'un-fen "vernal equinox")  
 pun 1 "square"  
 pun 2 "room" (e.g., tui-fán "a place for hulling  
           grain")  
 pwan 2 "to sew" (e.g., tsái-fén "to tail")  
 pou 1 "male" (e.g., chiau-fū "a sedan-chair porter")

s ~ shēn or shū initials:

sjom 3 "to judge"  
 sjou 3 "hand" (e.g., tùi-shǒu "a match, one's equal")  
 su:i 3 "water" (e.g., yü-shüi "rain")  
 sei 1 "corpse"  
 sei 5 "generation"  
 sou 1 "book"  
 sou 3 "summer" (e.g., tà-shǔ, one of the twenty-  
           four solar terms)

## voicedh~ voiceless:

dzi 7 "ruler" [A.C. ts'-i] \*  
 ga:i 5 "lid" [A.C. k-i]  
 bwan 3 "powder" [A.C. f-]  
 dzjan 5 "steelyard" [A.C. ts'-j]  
 gun 1 "hat" [A.C. k-] (e.g., chī-kuàn "cock's comb")  
 dzun 5 "anvil, chopping block" [A.C. ts-]  
 dzon 1 "mane" [A.C. ts-]

<sup>3</sup>This initial and those that follow (fēi [f-]h, shēn [s-, ś-], chūan [ts-, tś-], chièn [k-], chīng [ts-]h, tuan [t-], etc.) are Ancient Chinese initials found in the Chieh yün.

\*Values of Ancient Chinese initials have been added here.

dou 3 "to bet, to gamble" [A.C. t-]  
dzou 1 "to rent" [A.C. ts-]s

ei ~ chih group, k'āi-k'ōu, division III:<sup>4</sup>

ei 5 "opinion" (in chū-i "decision, will")  
tsei 5 "arrival" (in tung-chih "winter solstice")  
lei 6 "profit" (in li-hsi "interest money")  
lei 4 "reason" (in taū-li "reason")  
fei 5 "four"  
hei 5 "play"  
sei 1 "corpse"  
tsei 3 "paper"

ɔ:iŋ ~ tang group, k'āi-k'ōu, divisions I and II:

to:iŋ 2 "hall" (in hsüeh-t'āng "school"), "sugar" (in  
mi-t'āng "honey"); T'āng (a family name)  
po:iŋ 2 P'āng (a family name)  
kɔ:iŋ 3 "to say"  
kɔ:iŋ 5 "to descend" (e.g., shuang-chiàng, one of the  
twenty-four solar terms)

a:iŋ ~ tang group, k'āi-k'ōu, division III:

tsa:iŋ 6 "craftsman"  
tsa:iŋ 5 "accounting, debts"  
la:iŋ 2 "food" (in t'ien-liáng "to live longer")

ɔ:i ~ hsieh group, k'āi-k'ōu and hó-k'ōu, division I:

tshɔ:i 5 "vegetable" (in chiū-ts'ai "chives")  
tɔ:i 2 "moss" (in ch'ing-tsai "moss")  
tso:i 2 "property"  
tso:i 5 "again"  
kho:i 3 "sea"  
tho:i 1 "embryo"  
ɔ:i 5 "love"  
tɔ:i 5 "pestle, to pound"  
ŋɔ:i 5 "outside" (in wai-sün "daughter's children")

om<sup>5</sup> ~ shēn group, k'āi-k'ōu, division III:

tçom 1 "gold"  
jnom 2 "Jén" (the ninth of the Ten Stems)  
jom 1 "Yīn" (the female principle in nature)  
dzom 3 "to support" (in chén-tou "pillow")  
tsjom 5 "to soak"  
sjom 3 "to judge"  
ljom 2 "to filter"  
tçom 5 "to forbid"

<sup>4</sup>The groups, k'āi-k'ōu, hó-k'ōu, and divisions mentioned here  
are categories of Ancient Chinese finals found in the  
Ch'ieh yün.

<sup>5</sup>om is phonetically [om]s

tones 7 and 8 ~ abrupt tones (without final -p, -t, -k)<sup>6</sup>

tsa 8 "straight"	tu 8 "poison"
ho 8 "to learn (a skill)"	pe 8 "white"
he 7 "to scare"	tu 7 "to get"
phi 7 "to cleave in two"	be 7 "to clap the hands"
di 7 "to kick"	

In listing the above loanwords, we have merely arranged them under the phonological correspondences which hold for the borrowings without regard for the different periods in which the borrowing took place. For this reason, the above correspondences should not be taken as applying to Yao borrowings from Chinese at any specific time or in any specific area. Rather, they point out that the phonological borrowings are in "sets" in which rules of correspondences can be found.

If certain phonemes of the donor language are not present in the phonological system of the borrowing language, speakers of the latter language will generally replace the foreign phonemes by phonemes already in the inventory of their native system (this is called "assimilatory borrowing") instead of adopting the foreign pronunciation. For example, in Pu nu there is no initial [ts], so the Chinese [ts] sound is replaced by [ʂ] (phonetically close to [ç]). Thus, Chinese chú "master" is pronounced [ʂi 3'], chèng "correct" is pronounced [ʂin 5], chīh "to know" is pronounced [ʂi 1'], chàng "ten feet" is pronounced [ʂian 8], chāng "to extend" is pronounced [ʂan 1'], and shìh "examination, determination" is pronounced [ʂi 2']. Also, in the language of the Yao who live in Kwangsi and who call themselves nau 35 klau 42, -ŋ occurs only in the two finals -ɔŋ, and -əŋ, so that many Chinese words with final -ŋ are pronounced nasalized instead (there being a native ã final in Yao). Thus, Chinese máng "busy" is pronounced [mã 6]h p'ang "be fat" is pronounced [pã 3]h, and shēng "to rise" is pronounced [sha 1]h. These two speeches have not added new phonemes to their systems.

The apical vowels i and l appeared very early in Chinese and are of high frequency, but until very recently only a very few Yao speeches had adopted them into their systems. Almost every Yao speech substitutes some other vowels for the apical vowels. In Pu nu, for instance,

chīh "know" (in chīh-shìh "knowledge") → ʂi 1'  
ch'íh "late" → ʂi 8

<sup>6</sup> Some words having abrupt tones occasionally occur with final -?, as, for example, pe 8 ~ pe? 8 "white".

ch'ih "a ruler, a foot" → sik ls  
 shih "true" (in shih-tsai "true") → si 8  
 shih "teacher, master" → θi l'  
 shih "to eat" (in shih-p'in "food") → si 8  
 tzū "money" (in tzū-p'en "capital") → θi l'  
 szū "this" (in szū-tà-lín "Stalin") → θi l'  
 szū "to administer" (in szū-lìng "commander") → θi l'  
 tzù "character" (in tzù-tiān "dictionary") → θi 2'

In Mjen, one finds

shih "poetry" → fei 1  
 shih-tzu "lion" → sei 1 tsei 3  
 shih "examination" → sei 5  
 shih "generation" (in shih-chièh "world") → sei 5  
 chih "only" → tsei 3

And in Lak kja,

shih "to eat" (in shih-p'in "food") → si 4  
 shih "true" (in shih-hsing "to carry out") → si 4  
 shih "city" → si 3  
 chih "to know" (in chih-shih "knowledge") → tsi 3  
 chih "paper" (in pàu-chih "newspaper") → tsi 1

In this type of situation, the Yao phonological system will not undergo major changes through the influence of Chinese and will neither frequently nor rapidly increase its phonemic inventory by incorporating within it phonemes originally missing from the system.

When a great number of words with certain sounds are borrowed and cause some confusion with native words having the same sounds, or when most of the people in an area know Chinese and use it frequently, it then becomes possible for the language to increase its stock of phonemes or syllable types, no longer employing the method of phonemic substitutions.

Our preliminary research shows that early Mjen borrowings from Chinese did not involve a substantial increase in the stock of phonemes or syllable types. If data from some of the dialects are compared, it becomes highly probable that aspirated stops and affricates were introduced in this way. For example,

ph.	phai 5 "to send someone"
	phjet 7 "to pour water (on the ground)"
	phwaj 3 "to offer something with both hands"
	phi 7 "to cleave in two"
th.	thei 1 "ladder"
	thek 7 "to rub, to strike (a match)"
	tha:n 1 "greedy"
	thu:i 5 "to withdraw"
kh.	khɔ:i 3 "sea"
	khi 5 tshje 1 "automobile"
	khə 6 fu 6 "to overcome"
	khau 3 si 5 "examination"
tsh.	tshoŋ 1 "green onion"
	tshɛ 7 "to demolish"
	tshim 1 "to sign"
	tshwat 7 "to exit"
	tshi 7 "a ruler, a foot"
tçh.	tçhin 1 "to lead by the hand or by a rope"
	tçhom 5 "to owe"
	tçhau 3 "skillful" (in <u>chiău-kàn</u> "to do a job skillfully and creatively")
	tçhou 2 me 8 "buckwheat"
	tçhi 5 "air, anger"

It may be noted that all the examples above having initial aspirates are loans.<sup>7</sup> We conclude, therefore, that initial aspirates in Mjen were added only for the purpose of borrowing Chinese words, and that there were no initial aspirates in the original Mjen speech.

Since the Liberation, more and more Yao people know and use Chinese as a result of the rapid increase of Chinese loanwords. In almost every area, new phonemes and syllable types have been adopted into the Yao language to take care of these loanwords. For example, in Pu nu we have already noted the syllables tzú in tzú-pen "capital", tz'u in tz'u-tiān "encyclopedia", szú in szú-tà-lín "Stalin", and szú in szú-lǐng "commander". In the past, these finals were borrowed as r. Now, however, they are all pronounced [t]. In many areas, Mjen added the vowels [ə] and [y] (Chinese t'è "special" in t'è-piéh "particular" → thər6, ch'ü "region" → tchy 1) and the final [ən] (Peking shèng-li "victory" → Mjen sən 5 li 5). The Yao who refer

<sup>7</sup>We have done a statistical analysis on words having aspirated initials in the type of Mjen spoken in the areas of Ling sheng and Hsing an in Kwangsi. With the exception of a few words requiring further investigation, all words with initial aspirates are loans.

to themselves as iu 33 nuo 33 and nau 35 klau 42 have added [y] and [ɿ] to their systems (in nau 35 klau 42, Chinese mín-chǔ "democracy" → min 6 tçy 1, laú-shih "teacher" → la 1 sí 3, in iu 33 nuo 33, Chinese ch'ú-hsi "to attend a meeting" → tshy 6 si 2, t'ung-chih "comrade" → thon 2 tsí 4). In the language of the pion 31 toa 42 ieu 31 Yao of Chiang hua, Hunan and Kung ch'seng, Kwangsi, there are five new finals: [in] (Chinese ch'éng "success" in ch'éng-li "to set up" → tchin 2), [an] (kàn "stem, trunk" in kàn-pù "cadre" → kan 5), [uan] (kúan "look" in kúan-tiěn "point of view" → kuan 1), [ou] (hou "back" in lo-hou "backwards" → hou 5), and [əŋ] (shēng "alive, student" in i-shēng "doctor" → səŋ 1). In addition, there are two new vowels: [ə] and [y] (Chinese t'è "special" in t'è-piéh "particular" → thè 3, and ch'ú "to exit" in ch'ú-hsi "to attend a meeting" → tchy 3). It would probably be safe to say that since the Liberation new phonemes (initials or finals) have been adopted into the Yao language in every locale.

In spite of this fact it should be noted that in the more than ten years since the Liberation, the number of new phonemes and syllable types adopted for Chinese loans in Yao is still limited. This, however, is only one aspect of the influence of Chinese upon the Yao sound system. A greater influence has been exerted upon the Yao phonological system which is leaning toward the Chinese system and developing in the same direction as Chinese.

Before the Liberation, Chinese loans in Yao retained the characteristics of the local Chinese dialects, no matter what their meaning or pronunciation. For example, the dzau 53 min 53 Yao in Lien nan, Kwangtung, say ki 5 for "a saw" (Peking chü), a 1 kuj 1 for "grandfather" (Peking tsü-fù), ljan 5 li 6 for "clean" (Peking kan-ching), and sjet 7 for "to rub between the hands" (Peking tssá), all of which are loans from Hakka. The Lak kja words ma:t 8 "socks" (Peking uà-tzu), fu 4 tsok 7 "bean-curd paper" (Peking tòu-fú-p'i), la:p 8 tsok 7 "candle" (Peking là-chú), ton 1 haiu 2 "silver coin" are all loans from Cantonese. In Pu nu, the words jo 8 jau 2' "school",

jin 8 kiu 3' "population", hai 3' won 3' "big bowl for soup", and jan 1' san 3' "village elder" are Chinese loans through Chuangh. On the other hand, the Mjen words ji 5 si 2 "jade", pa 2 kə 2 "star aniseed", and si 2 kwa:n 5h "habit" have been borrowed from Southwestern Mandarin. Since the Liberation, words borrowed into Yao from Southwestern Mandarin have been similar in structure and meaning. Differences in pronunciation in the three Yao speeches have not been great. For example,

	<u>Mjen</u>	<u>Pu nu</u> <sup>8</sup>	<u>Lak kja</u>
land reform	thu 53 kai 53	tu 53 kai 53	thu 53 ka:i 53
cadre	ka:n 35 pu 35	kan 35 pu 35	ka:n 35 pu 35
individual	kɔ 35 jin 31	ko 35 jin 31	ko 35 jin 31
to overthrow	ta 53 tau 53	ta 53 tau 53	ta 53 ta:u 53
goal	mu 31 ti 31	mu 31 ti 31	mu 11 ti 11
broadcast	kwan 53 po 35	kwan 53 po 35	kwan 53 po 35
labor	lau 31 toŋ 35	lau 31 tuŋ 35	la:u 11 toŋ 35
to resist	ti 53 khan 35	ti 53 kaŋ 35	ti 53 khaŋ 35

Early Chinese loanwords which differed too much from Southwestern Mandarin have gradually passed out of use and have been replaced by the Southwestern Mandarin forms. In Lak kja, for instance,

	<u>Early loans</u>	<u>Recent loans</u>
country	kwak 55, kok 35	ko 11
class	khap 55	kji 11 (= tci 11)
party	toŋ 35	taŋ 53
law	fap 35 let 35	fa 11 li 11
chairman, chief	tsu 35 njam 215	tsi 53 jin 35
method	pa:n 11 fa:t 35	pa:n 35 fa 11

It is possible to predict that, following the gradual disappearance of the Chinese dialects, the pronunciation of these loanwords will come closer and closer to the Mandarin pronunciation, finally becoming identical to it.

Loanwords usually undergo certain processes over a period of time before their adoption is stabilized. First, there must be a need for the borrowed form. Through categorization the loanword carries a special form. Then, it is used in a wider and wider area by an increasing number of people. Finally, it is recognized by the people and is in continuous use. At this point the word has been stabilized and has become part of the receptor language. (Of

<sup>8</sup> Although there are initial aspirated stops in the native Pu nu system, most loanwords are unaspirated. The reason for this is that the northern dialect of Chuang lacks aspirated initials. Since the Liberation many people have pronounced "land reform" as thu 53 kai 53, although most people still pronounce it tu 53 kai 53.

course, this "process" is not mechanical, nor is it superficial.) During the long period before the Liberation, borrowing into Yao from Chinese took place in some such manner as this.

Since the Liberation, because of the great need for working and living together, the method of borrowing is no longer that of gradual extension, but rather immediate adoption by the masses of an area. There is no need for categorization to form the pronunciation of a loanword. In the present situation a word may have several pronunciations current at the same time. For example,

<u>Lak kja</u>	chǔ-hsí "chairman" h- tsu 1 θi 4, tsi 1 θi 4
	piǎu-yáng "to honor" → piau 1 jaŋ 4, peu 1 jaŋ 4
	t'uán-yuán "member of an organization" → tho:n 4 we:n 4, tho:n 4 je:n 4h
	hsien-üi "member of the People's Committee at the district level" → hje:n 3 wei 1, hwε:n 3 wei 1
<u>Pu nu</u>	měi "beauty" (in měi-tì "American imperialist") h- mei 3', mi 3'
	hsien-fú "office of the district administration" - jen 2' fu 3', jen 2' fu 3'
	kēn-pēn "basically, completely" → kin 1' pon 3', kin 1' pon 3', kin l̩ pən 3'
	yīn-uì "because" → jin 1' wei 6, jin 1' wi 6

In these cases, it is usually the form which is closest to Southwestern Mandarin which has the widest acceptance and use, thus gradually becoming stabilized.

Due to the greatly increased borrowing of words which are the same as or similar to Southwestern Mandarin since the Liberation, and the alteration of words which are not the same as or dissimilar to those in Southwestern Mandarin, the frequency with which phonemes or syllable types in the Yao phonological system which are the same as or similar to those in Southwestern Mandarin are used has increased markedly. Conversely, the frequency with which native phonemes and syllable types (e.g., voiceless continuants m, n, ŋ, l; voiced obstruents b, d, g, h, dz, z; consonant clusters ml, pl, tl, kl; vowels e, u, o, æ; stop and nasal finals k, t, p, m) are used is decreasing. Many words with these initials or finals are no longer in common use. This shift is influencing the Yao sound system in two ways. On the one hand, some initials or finals (specifically, those which are not the same as or similar to those of Southwest-

ern Mandarin) have ceased to be productive (i.e., they are not used to form new words). If words containing these phonemes are not numerous or are uncommon, these initials and finals tend to be lost. The most important factor in the loss of a phoneme is that its frequency of occurrence is so low that it gradually becomes optional in the phonological system of the languages. On the other hand, because of the need to borrow and because of the change which has taken place in the borrowing process since the Liberation, some Yao speeches have changed both the phonetic value of some native phonemes and the number of phonemes in the system. The result of all this is that some phonemes which are close to those in Mandarin are used with increasing frequency, causing all Yao initials and finals to change in a positive way. This change represents a growth and renaissance of the languages.

All scholars are agreed that the phonological system of Chinese has gradually been simplified since the Sui-T'ang period. In looking at the phonological systems of most of the Mjen dialects one can see that the Mjen phonological system is very similar to that of Chinese after the Sui-T'ang period. The Mjen speech has finals such as p, t, s, k, m, n, and ŋ and distinguishes between long and short vowels. At present, vowel length and the p, t, s, k, and m finals have been dropped in varying degrees in all Mjen dialects and subdialects. The entire phonological system of Mjen is being simplified. The direction in which the Mjen system is developing is exactly the same as for Chinese (e.g., the Mjen speech in Chiang hua, Hunan, and the bjau 21 min 21 of Ch'üan chou, Kwangsi, no longer distinguish vowel length and have lost final p, t, k, and m completely). Although the reasons for the simplification of a phonological system may be quite complex, it should be pointed out that since the Liberation the borrowing into Mjen from Southwestern Mandarin on such a large scale has accelerated the process of simplification in the Mjen phonological system, making it closer to that of Southwestern Mandarin. The situation in the other Yao speeches is analogous.

To sum up, then, the influence of Chinese on the Yao phonological system has changed the actual number of Yao phonemes and syllable types. Of greatest importance, however, is the fact that the phonological systems of all three Yao speeches are developing in a direction similar to that of Mandarin, especially since the Liberation.

## IV

The grammatical structure of Yao has also been influenced by Chinese. This influence is especially noticeable in word order and function words. However, the grammatical structures of the different Yao speeches have not been influenced as much as the phonology and lexicon. Nevertheless, new grammatical patterns are often closely related to borrowed words; new patterns are introduced as a result of borrowings.

In the three Yao speeches, a modifying adjective usually follows the head noun. For example, "red flower" occurs with the same pattern in all three speeches: noun plus adjective (Mjen: pjan 2 "flower" si 7 "red"; Pu nu: pen 2 "flower" lin 1 "red"; Lak kja: kwua 1 "flower" ko:n 5 "red"). As a result of the influence of Chinese, the pattern adjective plus noun has emerged in the three speeches. One finds, for instance, Mjen: sjan 1 (new) sje 5 jwen 2 (community member) "new member of the community"; Pu nu: wei 3' ta 2' ti 5 (great) kuj 2' san 3' tan 3' (Communist Party) "the great Communist Party", and Lak kja: lai 1 (good) jo 4 θon 3 (student) "good student". For a long time the Mjen speech has had the pattern attributive (adjective) plus head (noun). The attribution is effected by using the structural auxiliary nei 1. We consider this pattern to have developed in Mjen as a result of Chinese influence. For example, si 7 (red) nei 1 pjan 2 (flower) "red flower", and pe 8 (white) pe 2 (white) nei 1 lu:i 1 (clothes) "white clothes".

Since the Liberation the pattern noun plus adjective has been used more and more frequently. Newly borrowed attributive constructions all have this pattern instead of the former pattern. Thus, this pattern, which is identical to the native pattern, is gradually being stabilized as an important grammatical pattern in the three Yao speeches.

Leaving Mjen aside, the native pattern in Pu nu and Lak kja for noun plus noun attributive constructions is the head followed by the attribute. Thus, in Pu nu, "pork" is ŋka 2 (meat) mpai 5 (pig), and in Lak kja it ishmɔ 6 (meat) khū 1 (pigh). Having been influenced recently by Chinese, these speeches also have the pattern in which the attribute precedes the head. For example, Pu nu: sin 8 si 2 (city) jin 8 min 8 kun 1' se 2' (people's commune) "urban people's commune", and kun 2' san 3' si 3' ni 2' (Communism) se 2' wei 2' (society) "communist society", and Lak kja: tson 3 ko 4 (China) kon 3 tsha:n 1 ta:n 1 (Communist Party) "Chinese Communist Party", and min 4 tsu 4 (people) tsin 3 tshə 4 (policy) "national policy".

In the designation of place names, the word order in Mjen and Lak kja is the same as in Chinese. The Pu nu pattern, on the other hand, is "category name" plus "proper name". For example, "Turanrhhsien" is jen 6 (hsien) tu 1' ḷan 1' (Tu an). Recently, however, the reverse pattern "proper name" plus "category name" has come into use and is becoming more and more popular: tu 1' ḷan 1' (Tu an) jen 2' (hsien).

When an adverb or adjective modifies a verb or another adjective, the attribute may occur either before or after the head in all three Yao speeches. In borrowings from Chinese, however, the Chinese order is retained. Thus, Mjen. tu 1 (all) mi.ŋ 2 (go) "all go"; Pu nu. ma 3' ḷan 6 (immediately) muŋ 4 (go) "to go immediately"; and Lak kja. ma 4 liŋ 6 (immediately) pai 1 (go) "to go immediately".

In Pu nu and Lak kja, when an ordinal number functions as a specifier of a noun, it generally follows the noun. For instance, in Pu nu, "the first house" is tse 3 (house) ta 6 jx 8 (first), and in Lak kja it is lie.k 8 (house) ta.i 4 et 7 (first). Nowadays, the ordinal number also occurs before the noun, as Lak kja ta.i 4 et 7 (first) tu.i 6 (group) "the first group". Apparently, this pattern has been introduced as a result of Chinese influence. It may be stated further that the terms designating ordinal numbers have come through Chinese since the first element of the ordinal numbers in all three Yao speeches (Pu nu. ti 2' or ta 6, Mjen. tei 6, Lak kja. ta.i 4) is a Chinese loanword, ti in Peking. In Chinese, the ordinal marker is used only with numbers indicating "first" through "tenth", not with numbers greater than "ten". In all three Yao speeches the ordinal marker is used in the same way.

The borrowing of Chinese grammatical function words is very common in the three Yao speeches. The structural auxiliary ti 5 [a genitive or attributive marker] is a recent borrowing in Pu nu and is not yet used widely. If the words in a sentence are all native words, ti 5 is not used. For example, in Pu nu, "his maize" is ni 4 (he) θa 2' (maize), but "the property of the people's commune" is either jin 8 min 8 kuŋ 1' se 2' (people's commune) θai 8 ḷan 3' (property) or jin 8 min 8 kuŋ 1' se 2' (people's commune) ti 5 θai 8 ḷan 3' (property). The native Lak kja auxiliary ka 4 is the same as Chinese ti, as in tsi 1 (I) ka 4 θeu 1 (book) "my book" and wei 1 ta 3 (great) ka 4 tsu 1 ko 4 (fatherland) "the great Fatherland". Nevertheless, Lak kja recently borrowed ti from Chinese, as in wei 1 ta 3 (great) ti 3 kon 3 tsha.n 1 taŋ 1 (Communist Party) "the great Communist Party". At present, however, ti 3 is used only as a marker of attribution, not as an indicator of possession. Thus, "my book" may be tsi 1 ka 4.

θeu 1 (or possibly tsi 1 (I) spon 3 (clf. for books) θeu 1 (book), or simply tsi 1 θeu 1) but not \*tsi 1 ti 1 θeu 1.

Originally, Pu nu had different word orders to distinguish the meanings of the following sentences: (1) "Teacher Chien hua is a Chuang" is lau 3' θx 1' (teacher) cien 2' wa 8 (Chien hua) si 6 (is) pu 3 nu 2 (Chuang), and (2) "Chien hua's teacher is a Chuang" is cien 2' wa 8 (Chien hua) lau 3' θx 1' (teacher) si 6 (is) pu 3 nu 2 (Chuang). Now, however, through the influence of Chinese, "Teacher Chien hua" is either lau 3' θxsl' cien 2' wa 8 or cien 2' wa 8 lau 3' θx 1', with no distinction made between "Teacher Chien hua" or "Chien hua's teacher". But after borrowing the structural auxiliary ti 5, the meanings of these two phrases can be clearly distinguished: "Teacher Chien hua" is cien 2' wa 8 lau 3' θx 1' and "Chien hua's teacher" is cien 2' wa 8 ti 5 lau 3' θx 1'. There is therefore no need to be concerned about the possible breakdown of the Pu nu linguistic system resulting in linguistic disorder due to an excessive amount of borrowing. Language is a tool for communication. It has its rules for development. So long as the language retains its vitality, its speakers will be able to resolve the conflict.

The three Yao speeches have borrowed many adverbs and conjunctions from Chinese. The Yao speeches have few native conjunctions, most being Chinese loanwords. The borrowing of these conjunctions did not take place very long ago, so there are slight differences in their use between the older and younger generation (especially those of the intelligensia and the cadres). For example,

Mjen "Although he likes to talk, he does not speak clearly."

Older    nen 2    ɔ:i 5    kɔ:n 3    jou 6    kɔ:n 3    ma:i 3  
            he        like        talk        but        talk        not  
  
            tshi:n 1    tshu 3  
            clear

Younger    nen 2    sei 1    jwen 2    ɔ:i 5    kɔ:n 3    ta:n 6    tsei 4  
            he        although        like        talk        yet  
  
            kɔ:n 3    n 5    tshi:n 1    tshu 3  
            talk        not        clear

Pu nu "Although he is thin, he is not ill"

Older    ni 4    ka l z̄xu 2'    ci 8    ntu 5    moŋ 2    nts̄xŋ 2  
            he        thin        yet        not        have        illness

Younger    ni 4    θeisl' jen 8    ka l z̄xu 2'    tan 8    θei 3  
            he        although        thin        yet

ntu 5 mon 2 ntsŋŋ 2  
not have illness

Lak kja "Although he is strong, he does not know how to do it."

Older lak 8 lɛk 8 tsi 4 mi 2 lɛ 4  
he strength very have emphatic part.

huɛi 1 hju 3 pok 8  
not know do

Younger lak 8 θai 1 jɛ:n 4 mi 2 lɛk 8 ta:n 3 θi 3  
he although have strength yet

huɛi 1 hju 3 pok 8  
not know do

There are many adverbs in Mjen, Pu nu, and Lak kja which have been borrowed from Chinese and are used in the same way as in Chinese. In the speech of the older generation, some of these words are used only infrequently. Since the Liberation, however, the frequency of use of these adverbs has been increasing daily. Thus, we see that these adverbs and their patterns of use are becoming stabilized in the Yao language.

Some special examples of the way in which Yao grammar has been influenced by Chinese have been given above. Although they are not numerous, they serve to point out the tendency for the Yao language to develop at the same pace as Chinese and indicate the direction in which the grammatical structure of Yao will move in order to be better formed.

Since the Liberation, these patterns have penetrated deeper and deeper into the hearts of the people and have been widely used by the masses. Some speakers are even substituting Chinese patterns for their own native patterns. There are some people who claim that this process will cause the "systematic nature" of Yao grammar to break down, leaving the grammar "lawless" (e.g., sometimes the attributive pattern is noun plus adjective; at other times it is adjective plus noun). These people have not understood that by adding these new patterns the expressive power of the Yao language is greatly enriched, enabling the mode of expression to become more vivid and accurate. This influence on the Yao language is in no way harmful. It is entirely beneficial. In fact, those who take a contrary position already exhibit the bias which holds that a grammar permits only one means of expression, otherwise it is "lawless" and no longer "pure". Their real aim is to "purify" the objective facts according to their own bias. Although a grammar is very stable, it does not go on without changing. As a social

phenomenon, it is impossible for a language not to change when there are great upheavals in the social order.

## V

As the facts mentioned above show, the Yao language has constantly been influenced by Chinese throughout its history. This influence reflects the close connection which these two peoples have had in all aspects of life, political, economic, and cultural. This influence has been far-reaching. It has produced a situation in which the continuous development of the Yao language may function properly.

The fact that a language borrows from another language those elements needed by the former is very common and very natural. During the course of development of the Chinese language, words have been borrowed from Tibetan, Uighur, Mongolian, Manchurian, and other languages. At the same time, these languages also borrowed words from Chinese. Besides borrowing needed elements from Chinese, the Yao language has also been in the mutual borrowing relationship with Chuang and other languages. The question which we now raise is, as a result of borrowing from another language, what type of change will be brought about in the borrowing language? Will it be merely a quantitative change, or will it be an overall development having a definite direction from the lower classes to the higher classes? We believe that as a result of borrowing from Chinese, not only will there be changes in the phonological, syllabic, lexical, and grammatical features of Yao, but, and this is of primary importance, the continuous borrowing of all types of elements from Chinese will influence the internal development of the Yao language, enabling it to gradually develop in the same direction as Chinese. Through absorption and borrowing, the Yao people, in their efforts to establish socialism, can more accurately and more quickly express new items and concepts in politics, economics, culture, and modern technology, thus satisfying the demand of the people for adequate communication. If the Yao language had not absorbed and borrowed needed elements from other languages, especially from Chinese, in order to enrich itself, its development would have been checked to an extent. In the above sections, we set forth the relationship between the Chinese and other peoples in China, the leading roles which Chinese language and literature play in the mutual cultural influence among all the peoples of China throughout history, etc. These are the historical sources for the absorption and borrowing by the Yao of various elements of the Chinese language. Only by

continuing this process can the Yao language meet the needs of social development. The history and present prosperity of the Yao language correctly confirms this fact.