

Language Contact between Geyang and Yi¹

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Abstract

The Geyang languages, a subgroup of Tai-Kadai, was in contact with the Yi of Tibeto-Burman in history. This paper compares Geyang, Kam-Tai and the Yi-Burmese languages to sort out Yi elements in Geyang. Yi loans into Geyang include nouns, verbs, adjectives, numerals and personal pronouns.

Key words: Kra, Proto-Kadai, Proto-Kam-Tai, Gelao, Buyang, Yi, language contact

The Geyang or Kra languages are considered to be a subgroup that had branched off from Proto-Tai-Kadai—a family of languages distributed in the Lingnan region, before fanning out into the Yunnan-Guizhou plateau. Geyang has very many Proto-Tai-Kadai elements in it, which have been used as crucial evidence for the reconstruction of Proto-Tai-Kadai, and for determining the historical relationships between Tai-Kadai and surrounding languages. To have a better understanding of the development of the Geyang languages, there is a need to distinguish the common core vocabulary within Tai-Kadai from dialect innovations within Geyang, and to sort out foreign loans in order to advance the historical-comparative studies of Tai-Kadai. Geyang loans mainly come from two sources: Chinese and Yi (in recent times, there have been some Hmong loans into Gelao as a result of contact with the Hmong). A number of studies on contact between Gelao and Chinese, but very little research has been done on language contact between Gelao and Yi.

Around the Han Dynasty at the beginning of the Christian era, the Yi group started to migrate from the west to the east, entering Guizhou from northeast Yunnan. They made quite a strong presence in western Guizhou where they established local governments through to the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1911) times and where they co-inhabited with the Geyang group who had migrated to the region from Lingnan earlier. These groups have been in close contact ever since. Their interaction has given rise to the so-called ‘Gelao-Yi’ (Gelao becoming Y), ‘Yi-Gelao’ (Yi turning into Gelao). Until today, intermarriage between Yi and Gelao is common. In some areas, one may find people with the same family name and ethnic identity identifying themselves as Yi in one place, but Gelao in another. Yi historical records and volume 11 of the *Guizhou Tujing*, a Chinese historical record of the Ming dynasty in the Jiaqing reign (1522-1566), contain descriptions of the Yi and Gelao ‘vying to become the local lord’. A saying in the Duoluo branch of Gelao who migrated from southwest Guizhou to Longling county in Guangxi goes: ‘*pu³¹tse³⁵a³³au³³u⁵⁵, ka⁰mu³¹sa³⁵a³³au³³tshu⁵⁵*’ (Locust is not meat, Yi and Han Chinese are not friends’), indicating their closer contact with the Yi than with the Han Chinese.

¹ Financial support from the State Educational Commission for a Research Project on Social Sciences and Humanities (Grant No. 08JA740047) is gratefully acknowledged. Reconstructions of Proto Lahu are from Bradley 1979.

The long historical contact between the Yi and the Gelao has brought about cultural and linguistic contact between the two groups. However, the contact has been mainly unidirectional — manifesting in the influence of the Yi on the Gelao. This has to do with the domination of the Yi group in western Guizhou who have had control over the region over a long period of time.

Since the 1980s, scholars have noticed that several Gelao dialects have borrowed a number of numerals from the Yi. Li and Li (2008) have furthered identified a number of Yi loans in basic vocabulary of Geyang. In this study, we will undertake a more comprehensive study of Yi elements in the Geyang. The A'ou and Duoluo subgroups of Gelao in western Guizhou are more heavily influenced by the Yi; other dialects of Gelao and Geyang group have also absorbed Yi elements to a lesser degree. For the purpose of our study, we will take the Dafang dialect of the Eastern Branch of Yi as an example, taking into account other Yi and Yi-Burmese groups, and compare them with the Geyang to discuss their contact relationship.

Our criteria for identifying Yi elements from Geyang are as follows:

1. Identify shared elements between Yi and Geyang;
2. Exclude possible Sino-Tibetan cognates;
3. Exclude shared Chinese loans;
4. Identify Yi loans through sorting out shared elements in a small number of Geyang which are absent in other Geyang and Kam-Tai languages but which are close to Dafang Yi and other Yi-Burmese languages;
5. Identify Yi loans through sorting out shared elements in Geyang which are absent in Kam-Tai but which are close to Dafang Yi and other Yi-Burmese languages.

Dafang Yi might have also borrowed a small number of Gelao words, which are not found in other Yi dialects or Yi-Burmese languages, but which are close to Gelao. It is more reasonable to consider these items to be Gelao loans into Yi.

Data mainly come from four sources: (1) our own database on Geyang, (2) Tibeto-Burman from *Tibeto-Burman Phonology and Lexicon*, (3) Proto-Kra reconstructions from Weera 2000 and (4) Kam-Tai reconstructions from Liang and Zhang (1996). For Geyang, Laji forms are from Maguan, Yunnan (forms from Vietnam will be specified); Laha forms are from Upland Laha (forms from Lowland Laha will be specified); for Tibeto-Burman, forms cited include Naxi from Lijiang, Hani from Bika, Lahu from Lancang, and Jinuo from Jinghong.

The retroflex consonants, rhoticised vowels and reduplication of initials found in Pubiao and several dialects of Gelao are not common in Gelao or Kam-Tai. These should be considered as innovations within Geyang which are the result of long and intense contact with Yi, as these are important features within Yi and Yi-Burmese. Yi influence on Geyang mainly manifests itself in a number of loans into Geyang, as well as several grammatical features. Little noticeable evidence has been found of Geyang influence on Yi as the latter has been in dominant position in this contact situation.

Below we discuss Yi influence on Gelao in a number of word classes: nouns, verbs, adjectives, numerals and personal pronouns.

1. Nouns

Yi loans into Geyang include plant and animal names, daily words, as well as address terms.

Goat. Red Gelao *-tsʰi²¹*, Pubiao *qiat³³*; Dafang Yi *tshe¹³*, Judu Gelao *me³³me³³*, Dagouchang Gelao *mpi²¹*, Sanchong *mei¹³*, Laji *-mo³³* (Vietnam Laji *-be²¹*), Langjia Buyang *-?bep¹¹*, Yalang *?be³³*, Paha *mi¹¹*, Laha *me⁵³*, Proto Kra **me C*; Proto-Kam-Tai **?blic*, Yi-Burmese: Nanhua Yi *-tshi⁵⁵*, Mile Yi *tchi²¹*, Mojiang *-tchi²¹*, Naxi *tshur⁵⁵*, Hani *tshn¹*, Lahu *-tshe²¹*, Jinuo *tchi⁴⁴pe⁴²*, Punoi *chət*, Proto Yi *(*k*)-*cit^L*, Burmese *hsit*. Forms in Red Gelao and Pubiao differ from many Kam-Tai languages, and as such should be considered as loans from Yi. Pubiao final *-t* suggests that the form was borrowed quite early. Pubiao also has a form, *sak³³* ‘sheep’, with a final *-k*, which look a bit unusual, probably a loan from Yi-Burmese at a different time (cf. Burmese *hse²⁴*).

Dog. Langjia Buyang *qoi²⁴*, Yalang *uui⁵³*; Dafang Yi *tphy³³*, Hongfeng Gelao *-η⁴³*, Judu Gelao *ηui³¹*, Dagouchang *mpau³³*, Sanchong *η³⁵*, Laji *-m³³*, Paha *ma³¹*, Pubiao *ma⁵⁴*, Laha *ma⁵³*; Proto Kra **x-ma A*, Proto-Kam-Tai **ma*. Yi-Burmese: Xide Yi *khw³³*, Mile *tch²¹*, Mojiang *tchi³³*, Naxi *khw³³*, Hani *khv³¹*, Lahu *-tshe²¹*, Jinuo *khw³³jo³³*. Proto-Burmese (Loloish) **kwe²*, written Burmese *khwe³*. Langjia and Yalang forms differ from those in other Kam-Tai languages (with the loss of initial *q-*), a clear indication of loan from Yi.

Worm. Pubiao *pu³³*; Dafang Yi *bu³³*; Geyang: Bigong Gelao *-nay³¹*, Judu *-ni³⁵*, Dongkou Gelao *-nay²⁴*, Laji *-mui³³*, Lowland Laha *-mun³³*, Proto-Kam-Tai **nuei*. Yi-Burmese: Nanhua Yi *bur³³*, Mile *bu²¹*, Mojiang *bu³³*, Naxi *bi³¹*, Hani *pi³¹*, 拉祜 *pə³¹*, Jinuo *pu³³*, Proto-Yi **bi/bo²*, Written Burmese *po³*. The Pubiao form is mostly likely a loan from Yi.

Ant. Red Gelao *-gui³¹*, Judu *-gu⁵⁵*, Dongkou Gelao *-gu²⁴*; Geyang: Hongfeng Gelao *-mie¹³*, Bigong Gelao *-mi³¹*, Vietnam Laji *-me⁴⁵*, Langjia Buyang *mut¹¹*, Yalang *mot³¹*, Laha *mot⁴⁴*, Proto-Kra **mot D*, Proto-Kam-Tai **muot*; Yi-Burmese: Jinuo *-ke³³*, Punoi *kət*, Proto-Yi **k-ru²*, Written Burmese *hkra?*. The velar initials in the Gelao group are probably a feature of early Yi borrowing (which means ‘white ant’ in Yi-Burmese).

Mosquito. Qiaoshang Gelao *tci³³*, Dagouchang Gelao *tchi⁴⁴*; Dafang Yi *-t^hi²¹*; Geyang: Hongfeng Gelao *-yuay³¹*, Red Gelao *-yug³³*, Judu *-zu³⁵*, Sanchong *-nuŋ³³*, Laji *-jt³⁵*, Langjia Buyang *-jaay³¹*, Baha *jaay³¹*, Pubiao *-ŋay³³*, Wetland Laha *-zaay³³*, Proto-Kra **dʒay A*, Proto-Kam-Tai **ŋay*, Yi-Burmese: Nanhua Yi *-se³³*, Mile *-tshe³³*, Mojiang *-se⁵⁵*, Naxi *-tsu³¹*, Jinuo *-fʒ⁴⁴*, Written Burmese *khraŋ²* (Spoken Burmese *tchi²³*). The initial in Yi is likely to have been a velar cluster like that in Written Burmese, which became a sibilant and got borrowed into Gelao.

Tree. Hongfeng Gelao *-qi⁴³*, Houzitian Gelao *-se³³*, Mulao *-za³¹*; Dafang Yi *se³³*, Gigong Gelao *ta³³*, Judu *tin³¹*, Dagouchang *tai³³*, Sanchong -

tai⁵³, Laji *-tie²⁴*, Langjia Buyang *-tui⁵⁴*, Paha *-ti³²²*, Pubiao *tai⁵⁴*, Laha *-toi⁵³*, Proto-Kra **ti* A, Proto-Kam-Tai **mwəi*. Yi-Burmese: Nanhua Yi *se³²*, Mile *si³³*, Mojiang *ci³³*, Lisu *-dɔ³³*, Naxi *ndzər³¹*, Hani *si³³*, Lahu *si⁵⁴*, Jinuo *-tsu³³*, Proto-Yi **sik^H*, Written Burmese *thas pay*. Hongfeng Gelao, Houzitian Gelao and Mulao forms are Yi loan.

Rice plant. *Judu tɕi³¹*, Laji *tɕi⁵⁵*-, Dafang Yi *tshy²¹*, Hongfeng Gelao *-sau¹³*, Dagouchang *mpəu²¹*, Sanchong *muy³¹*, Mulao *mə⁵³*, Langjia Buyang *paai⁵⁴*, Yalang *pa⁵³*, Paha *ðaan³¹*, Pubiao *pie⁵⁴*, Laha *saal²¹*. A reconstructed form **bral* may be proposed for Proto-Kra. Yi-Burmese: Nanhua Yi *tʂi³³*, Mile *tʂhi³³*, Mojiang *tʂhe²¹*, Naxi *ci³¹*, Hani *tshə⁵⁵*, Lahu *tsa³¹*, Punoi *káčhán*, Proto Yi **can'*, Written Burmese *sa'pa³*. The Kam-Tai people are early rice growers. ‘Rice’ is a very regular cognate in Kam-Tai, with meanings covering ‘rice plant’, ‘unhusked or husked rice’, or ‘cooked rice’. The meaning of the *Judu* and *Laji* is worth noting. It means ‘rice plant’ only, which is probably a loan from Yi. *Judo* also has a native word *mlur⁵⁵*, which means ‘crops’, while the *Laji* native word *m³³* means ‘cooked rice’.

Manure. *Yueliangwan Gelao khi⁵⁵*, *Dongkou tʂhi³¹*, *Paha tɕi³³*; *Dafang Yi tʂhi³³*, *Hongfeng Gelao -ʔe¹³*, *Bigong ɔ¹³*, *Judu khun³¹*, *Dagouchang ʔa¹³*, *Laji pʰeɪ³³*, *Langjia Buyang pun¹¹*, *Pubiao phən⁵³*, Proto-Kham-Tai **mou/*bwfiuŋ*, Yi-Burmese: Nanhua Yi *tʂhi²¹*, Mile *tʂhi²¹*, Mojiang *tʂhe³³tʂhi³³*, Naxi *tʂər³³*, Hani *tshu⁵⁵tshi³¹*. Proto-Yi **ʔk/(l)e²*, Written Burmese *khje³*, Spoken Burmese *tʂhi⁵⁵*. Some forms in Geyang and Kam-Tai are the same as those for ‘faeces’; others are loans from Chinese ‘manure’. *Yueliangwan* and *Paha* appear to have borrowed from Yi: *Dafang tħi³³*, *Nanhua ci²¹*, *Mile tħi²¹*, *Mojiang thi³³*.

Door. *Hongfeng Gelao -yau⁴³*, *Judu -hu³¹*, *Dagouchang yka³³*, *Laji ɳ³⁵*, *Paha yuu³¹*; *Dafang Yi -ygo³³*; *Red Gelao -ci³³*, *Sanchong bin¹³*, *Mulao mə²⁴*, *Langjia -tɔ³¹²*, *Laha -tu²⁴*, Proto-Kra **x-yo* A, Proto-Kam Tai **tʂu*. Yi-Burmese: *Mile -go³³*, *Mojiang go²¹*, *Naxi khu³³*, *Hani -kɣ³³*, *Jinuo -ko⁴⁴*. Proto-Yi **k/go³³*, Written Burmese *-kha³³*. Yi-Burmese forms are cognate with Chinese “戶” (Old Chinese **ya*). The majority of Kadai languages borrowed from Yi, with a handful few siding with Kam-Tai.

Yoke. *Red Gelao -li³³kay³³*, *Judu -len³⁵gu³³*, *Yueliangwan -lə³¹gə⁵⁵*, *Dongkou lə³³go³³*, *Paha le¹¹*; *Dafang Yi lie³³kɔ³³*; *Hongfeng Gelao -va¹³*, *Bigong va³¹*, *Sanchong ya¹³*, *Laji kuɛ⁵⁵*, *Langjia ek¹¹*, *Pubiao vaak⁴⁵*, Proto-Kam Tai **ʔiek*. Yi-Burmese: *Mojiang li³³gu²¹*, *Naxi lo³¹*, *Hani la³¹ke³³*, Written Burmese *htam³po³* (unrelated to Yi). Proto-Kam Tai and Langjia borrowed from Chinese “轭”. Proto-Kra may be constructed as **k-vak*. Gelao and Paha forms may have borrowed from Yi.

Grind. *Hongfeng -tshəu⁴³*, *Red Gelao -tshəur³¹*, *Judu -tshu³¹*, *Dagouchang tshau⁵⁵*-, *Sanchong dzo³¹ho³⁵*; *Dafang Yi -tshu³³*, *Mulao -mu³¹*, *Laji -kue¹¹*, *Langjia qhu¹¹*, *Paha hu³¹*, *Pubiao qui⁴⁵*, *Laha mu⁵³*-, Proto-Kra **k-ŋnu*. Yi-Burmese: *Mojiang -tshi³³*, *Hani -tsi³³*, Written Burmese *krit hsam*

(unrelated to Yi). Forms in Kadai may be divided into two types: the first type such as Hongfeng borrowed from Yi. The Sanchong form *dzo³¹ho³⁵* was probably a combination of the Yi loan *dzo³¹* and the native word *ho³⁵*; the second type was probably from Chinese “磨” (Modern Standard Chinese *mò*, Old Chinese **mua*).

Gold. Judu *si³⁵*, Dashuijing *si³⁵*, Langjia *tsi²⁴*, Paha *tshaai⁴⁵*; Dafang Yi *sa³³*. Hongfeng Gelao *xuy⁴³*, Dagouchang *xən³³*, Dongkou *kuu³³*, Sanchong *han³⁵*, Laji *ha²⁴*, Pubiao *gəm²⁴*, Wetland Laha *xam³³*. Yi-Burmese: Nanhua *se³³*, Mile *sa³³*, Mojiang *se⁵⁵*, Lisu *si⁴⁴*, Hani (Haya) *si⁵⁵*, Lahu *si³³*, Jinuo *ciu⁴²*. Proto-Yi **s-rwe*, Written Burmese *hrwe²*, Spoken Burmese *cwe²²*. Judu, Dashuijing and Langjia probably borrowed from Yi. Pubiao and Wet Laha may have come from Proto **gam*, which is related to Chinese “金”.

Silver. Judu *phlu³⁵*, Dongkou *thu²⁴*, Laji *phio³⁵*, Paha *phjaau⁴⁵*, Pubiao *phio²¹³*; Dafang Yi *thu³³*, Hongfeng Gelao *yuay³¹*, Red Gelao *nur³¹*, Dagouchang *nin³³*, Sanchong *ye³⁵*, Mulao *-ye³¹*, Langjia *yan³¹²*, Laha *nay³²*, Proto-Kra **praau* B / **jjən* A. Yi-Burmese: Nanhua *phiu³³*, Lisu *phu⁴⁴*, Hani *phy⁵⁵*, Lahu *phu³³*, Jinuo *phiu³¹*, Punoi *phjú*, Bisu *phlú*. Proto-Yi **plu¹*, Written Burmese *gwe²*. Forms in Geyang have come from two sources: Judu and Dongkou borrowed from Yi while Hongfeng and Written Burmese forms are related to Chinese “银”.

Body. Bigong *kɔ⁵⁵sei³¹*, Laji *ko³³*, Pubiao *gui³³*, Wetland Laha *kpu³¹*; Dafang Yi *gui²¹*, Hongfeng Gelao *so⁴³ɔ⁵⁵*, Red Gelao *-suj⁵⁵*, Judu *-suj³¹*, Dagouchang *tshan³³*, Sanchong *-ce³⁵*, Langjia *-ce³⁵*, Paha *ðan³³*, Proto-Kam-Tai **ʔdrag* / **ntrian*. Yi-Burmese: Nanhua Yi *gui³³*, Mile *gu²¹-*, Naxi *gv³³-*, Hani *ɔ³¹-*. Proto-Yi **s-yak⁴*, Written Burmese *ko²*, Spoken Burmese *ko²²*. The Bigong form is probably a blend of loan *kɔ⁵⁵* from Yi plus the native form *sei³¹*. The Pubiao form retains the voiced initial. Forms in other Geyang languages have become devoiced. The reconstructed form for Proto-Yi looks a bit weird, which is quite different from the modern forms, and which is listed here just for reference.

Person. Judu *-tshu³⁵*, Dagouchang *tchi⁵⁵*, Dongkou *-tsho³³*; Dafang Yi *tshɔ²¹*, Hongfeng Gelao *-yəu⁴³*, Bigong *zəw¹³*, Mulao *yo⁵³*, Laji I, Paha *ha³³*, Laha *khon⁵⁵*, Proto-Kra **kra* C, Proto-Kam Tai **ʔkjuon*. Yi-Burmese: Nanhua *tshə³³*, Mile *tshu³³*, Mojiang *tshɔ²¹*, Naxi *ci³³*, Hani *tshu⁵⁵*, Lahu *tshɔ³³*, Jinuo *tshə³⁵*, Punoi *shā*, Proto-Yi **tsay⁴*, Written Burmese *lu²* (unrelated to Yi). Judu and other Gelao languages may have borrowed from Yi, with the native form becoming the autonyms: Judu *to³³ʔlo⁵⁵*, Dongkou *-qau²⁴*, Dagouchang *lau⁵⁵*.

Grandmother. Sanchong *da³³*, Pomao *ta¹³*; Dafang Yi *-da³³*, Hongfeng Gelao *-za⁴³*, Judu *-ja³³*, Dagouchang *jo²¹*, Laji *jiu³³*, Pubiao *-jia⁴⁵*, Laha *za²¹*, Proto-Kra **ja* C, Proto-Kam Tai **ja*. This item is mostly represented in Yi-Burmese as *a ne*, or *a pi* and the like. The Dafang Yi form is probably an innovation, which got borrowed into Sanchong and Pomao.

Year. Hongfeng Gelao *guai*³¹, Red Gelao *kui*³¹, Houzitian *kuai*³¹; Dafang Yi *kho*¹³, Qiaoshang Gelao *vlun*³¹, Bigong *vlei*³¹, Judu *plei*³¹, Dagouchang *plei*³³, Sanchong *pi*³⁵, Laji *pi*³⁵, Langjia *piij*³¹², Paha *mey*³¹, Pubiao *mjaai*³³, Laha *phiij*³²; Proto-Kra **m-(p)yij* A, Proto-Kam Tai **mpiei*. Yi-Burmese: Nanhua *khy*⁵⁵, Mile *khy*²¹, Mojiang *khy*³³, Naxi *khv*⁵⁵, Hani *khy*³¹, Lahu *qho*²¹, Proto-Yi **s-nik*^H/**C-kok*^L, Written Burmese *hna*s (unrelated to Yi). Gelao forms were borrowed from Yi.

Village. Langjia *yuə*¹¹, Paha *ga*¹¹, Pubiao *guua*⁴⁵; Dafang Yi *lo*²¹. Hongfeng Gelao *-wa*³¹, Bigong *wa*³¹, Houzitian *toj*³³, Red Gelao *lay*³¹, Judu *təu*³¹*lu*³⁵, Dagouchang *mo*⁵⁵, Sanchong *luŋ*¹³, Laji *-mia*¹³, Wetland Laha *faan*²⁴, Proto-Kra **myai* A, Proto-Kam Tai **?ban* C. Yi-Burmese: Nanhua *kha*³³, Mile *tphə*³³, Mojiang *tphə*³³, Nanjian *kha*³³, Naxi *mbe*³³, Lahu *qha*⁵⁴; Proto-Yi **kak*^H/**koy*³/**rwa*¹/**pu*³, Written Burmese *rwa*². Multi forms have been reconstructed for this item in Proto-Yi, which give rise to the forms in Buyang and Pubiao. Paha has another form, *moi*³¹. This latter form is a native word.

Illness, disease. Red Gelao *nau*⁵⁵; Dafang Yi *no*²¹. Hongfeng Gelao *yie*⁴³, Judu *-ze*³³, Dagouchang *zai*²¹, Sanchong *zai*³⁵; Laji *-qe*³³, Pubiao *zai*⁴⁵, Wetland Laha *khoi*⁵³; Proto-Kra **d-ri* C, Proto-Kam Tai **xkei*. Yi-Burmese: Nanhua *no*³³, Mile *no*³³, Mojiang *no*²¹, Nanjian *na*⁵⁵, Lisu *na*³³, Hani *na*⁵⁵, Jinuo *no*⁴². Proto-Yi **C-na*, Written Burmese *phja*³. The Red Gelao form is quite different from other Gelao languages and Kam-Tai, and was a Yi loan.

Medicine. Judu *-tsi*³¹, Wantao *-tsi*³¹; Dafang Yi *-tshi*³³, Hongfeng *qhan*⁴³, Bigong *kho*⁵⁵, Qiaoshang *zen*⁵⁵, Fengyan *kau*³³, Yueliangwan *kau*³³, Dagouchang *sən*³³, Sanchong *la*³⁵, Pomao *kia*³⁵, Mulao *lu*³¹, Laji *-lo*³⁵, Langjia *-luə*³¹², Paha *qaau*³²², Pubiao *jia*⁵³, Wetland Laha *za*³⁴³, Proto-Kra **-laur* A, Proto-Kam Tai **?jyua*/**zgra*. Yi-Burmese: Nanhua *-tchi*³³, Mile *-tshi*²¹, Mojiang *-tchi*³³, Nanjian *-tshy*²¹, Lisu *-tshy*⁴¹, Naxi *tshər*³², Hani *tshy*³¹, Jinuo *tshi*³³. Proto-Yi **C-nak*^H/**tsip*¹/**tse*², Written Burmese *hse*³. With the exception of Pubiao and some Tai languages, which borrowed from Chinese “药” (yào), this form is quite uniformly represented in the majority of Geyang and Kam-Tai languages. The Gelao dialects of Judu and Wantao borrowed from Yi, while Yueliangwan and Fengyan also have native words.

2. Verbs and Adjectives

Geyang also borrowed from Yi a number of verbs, adjectives and adverbs.

Ask. Red Gelao *nuy*³⁵; Dafang Yi *no*³³, Hongfeng Gelao *za*¹³, Qiaoshang *tse*⁵⁵, Dagouchang *sai*⁵⁵, Pomao *sai*⁴², Laji (Vietnam) *tpe*²², Langjia *ci*²⁴, Yalang *tsai*³³, Laha *tsoi*²⁴, Proto-Kra **tsi* C, Proto-Kam Tai **sai*. Yi-Burmese: Nanhua *nuz*³³*ni*³³, Mile *no*³³, Mojiang *no*⁵⁵*ni*⁵⁵, Lahu *na*³³, Jinuo *no*⁴², Punoi *hná*. This form is quite uniformly represented in Gelao and Buyang, which are related to the Kam-Tai form, with the exception of Red Gelao, which is a loan from Yi.

Go. Hongfeng Gelao *ziu*⁴³, Houzitian *ziu*⁵⁵, Pubiao *se*²⁴; Dafang Yi *zuw*²⁴, Bigong *vəw*³³, Qiaoshang *fo*³³, Judu *vu*³³, Dagouchang *vu*²¹, Laji *vu*³³, Langjia *va*¹¹, Paha *wa*²⁴, Laha *wa*²¹, Proto-Kra **ywa* C, Proto-Kam-Tai **piei*. Yi-Burese: Nanhua *zi*³³, Xide *zi*⁵⁵, Hani *je*⁵⁵, Jinuo *je*³¹. This meaning is quite uniformly represented in Geyang, except Hongfeng, Houzitian and Pubiao which borrowed from Yi.

Arrive. Laji *ko*³⁵, Yalang *ku*¹³, Paha *khau*³³; Dafang Yi *khw*³³, Bigong *du*³¹, Judu *ta*³¹, Dagouchang *thi*⁵⁵, Sanchong *dau*¹³, Langjia *tiin*¹¹. Proto-Kam-Tai **dhiuŋ*/**stəu*. Yi-Burmese: Mile *kho*³³, Lahu *ga*³¹, Hani *khr*⁵⁵, Jinuo *khur*³¹. The Majority of Geyang forms are cogate with Kam-Tai, but Laji, Yalang and Paha forms are likely to be loans from Yi.

Rake. Hongfeng *tca*¹³, Paha *tca*³³; Dafang Yi *tca*³³. Bigong *xe*¹³, Judu *?luu*³⁵, Dongkou *-nau*³¹, Sanchong *ka*³¹, Laji *phe*⁵⁵, Pubiao *phə*²¹³. Yi-Burmese: Nanhua, Mile, Mojiang *tce*³³, Nanjian *tci*³³, Shixing *dce*³⁵, Namuyi *dce*³³. Forms in Geyang exhibit diversity, with Laji and Pubiao borrowing from Chinese, while Hongfeng and Paha from Yi.

Owe, in debt. Langjia *-pu*¹¹, Paha *pa*⁴⁵, Pubiao *pai*⁴⁵; Dafang *bu*²¹. A number of Geyang languages borrowed from Chinese the meaning of “差” ‘less’ (Modern Standard Chinese *chā*), cf. Hongfeng *tsha*⁴³, Dagouchang *tsei*³³. Langjia, Paha and Pubiao forms are likely to be loans from Yi: Nanhua *bui*³³, Mile *bu*²¹, Lisu *bu*³³.

Comb. Pomao *kjau*³⁵, Laji *ko*³³; Dafang *ku*⁵⁵, Honfeng Gelao *sən*⁴³, Bigong *sa*³¹, Judu *sun*³¹, Sanchong *sei*³⁵, Mulao *si*³¹, Langjia *ce*⁵⁴, Yalang *θa*³³, Pubiao *tshaai*³³. This form is quite uniformly represented in Geyang, which is probably a loan from Chinese, except in Pomao and Laji, where the form is likely to be a loan from Yi. Cf. Xide *kur*⁵⁵, Hani *kha*³³, Lahu *ka*⁵⁴, Jinuo *khi*³¹.

To be. Honfeng *?iu*⁴³, Bigong *əw*³¹, Red Gelao *w*⁵⁵, Judu *au*³¹, Shuicheng *o*³³, Mulao *ya*⁵⁵, Laji *ku*³³, Paha *ka*⁴⁵; Dafang *γur*²¹. Yi-Burmese: Nanhua *γA*³³, Mile *γur*³³, Mojiang *γur*²¹, Lisu *γa*³³, Naxi *ua*³¹, Hani *γr*⁵⁵, Jinuo *γur*³³. Proto-Yi **ay*⁴². Copulas in Geyang and Kam-Tai are probably a late development, deriving from ‘become’, ‘hit (the target)’, with some dialects borrowing from the Chinese copula “是” (Modern Standard Chinese *shi*). Forms in Hongfeng and other Gelao and Kadaï languages are loans from Yi.

Sour. Dagouchang *zo*³¹, Laji *co*³³, Laji (Vietnam) *-tco*²¹, Paha *tca*⁴⁵; Dafang Yi *ts*³³. Hongfeng Gelao *bia*⁴³, Bigong *pla*¹³, Judu *plei*³³*plei*³³, Sanchong *pla*³³, Langjia *?daat*¹¹, Pubiao *bjaat*⁴⁵, Proto-Kra **bwlət* D, Proto-Kam-Tai **stləm*. Yi-Burmese: Nanhua *tce*³³, Mile *tci*³³, Mojiang *tce*⁵⁵, Lisu *γur*⁴⁴, Naxi *tci*³¹, Hani *tshv*⁵⁵, Jinuo *-tshur*³³, Punoi *-chín*, Bisu *khjén*. Proto-Yi **ʔ-kyin*¹. Written Burmese *khjan*². Forms in Gelao, Laji and Buyang are likely to be Yi loans. Dagouchang has a native word, *plu*⁵⁵.

Skinny. Hongfeng *se¹³*, Bigong *za³¹*, Dongkou *ci⁵⁵*, Pomao *so⁴²*, Langjia *-tset¹¹*; Dafang *si²¹*. Houzitian Gelao *kau³¹*, Red Gelao *gua⁵⁵*, Judu *gau⁵⁵*, Laji *ku³³*. Proto-Kra **ywa* C, Proto-Kam-Tai **xplɔm*. Yi-Burmese: Nanhua *du³³*, Mile *ci³³*, Lisu *fur⁴⁴*, Naxi *ndə³³*, Lahu *tsɔ³⁵*. Written Burmese *pin²* (unrelated to Yi). Forms in Hongfeng, Bigong, Dongkou, and Pomao show variations, which are probably borrowed from Yi.

Slow. Hongfeng *li³¹li⁵⁵/phi³¹*, Red Gelao *li³⁵li³¹*, Qiaoshang *vi²⁴*, Judu *phi³¹*, Dagouchang *mplai³¹*, Mulao *fa³³*, Laji (Vietnam) *p̥r¹*; Dafang Yi *li³³li³³*. Dashuijing Gelao *dze³¹dze³⁵*, Shuicheng *dəw³³*, Sanchong *day¹³*, Laji *ne⁵⁵-*, Paha *niit³¹*, Pubiao *sa²¹3*, Proto-Kam-Tai **gɔi*. Yi-Burmese: Nanhua *phi²¹*, Mile *phi³³*, Mojiang *lɯ³³*, Hani (Haya) *lɯ³³*, Jinuo *pje³³-*. Written Burmese *hne³/phre³*. The pronunciation of early Yi form might have been similar to Written Burmese *phre*, which later split into *ph-* and *l-*. The variations in Geyang might have been the result of this split. The Dagouchang form might have been borrowed before the consonant cluster had split.

Poor. Hongfeng *səu⁴³*, Dagouchang *sau³³*; Dafang *su³³*, Bigong *ka¹³*, Judu *qhay³³*, Sanchong *hi³⁵*, Mulao *xe³¹*, Laji *kho¹¹*, Pubiao *kho³³*. Yi-Burmese: Nanhua *so⁵⁵*, Mile *so⁵⁵*, Mojiang *so³³*, Lisu *suə⁵⁵*, Naxi *si³³*, Hani *so³¹*. Written Burmese *hsay³rai³*. Like Kam-Tai, the majority of Geyang languages borrowed from Chinese “苦” ‘poor; bitter’ (Modern Standard Chinese *kǔ*), while Hongfeng and Dagouchang borrowed from Yi.

Sharp. Qiaoshang *thv²⁴*, Dagouchang *thei¹³*, Mulao *tə²⁴*; Nanhua *the³³*. Hongfeng *khi⁴³*, Bigong *khəu³¹*, Judu *t̥hi³¹*, Dongkou *gei³³*, Laji *na³³*, Langjia *qhen⁵⁴*, Yalang *hrem²⁴*. Proto-Kam-Tai **y / J m*. Yi-Burmese: Xide *thɔ³³*, Mile *the³³*, Lisu *tshə³⁵*, Naxi *tha⁵⁵*, Hani *tha³³*, Bisu *tha*. Proto-Yi **tak⁴*, Proto-Lahu **hta¹*, Written Burmese *htak*. The Qiaoshang and Dagouchang forms are related to Yi. Other Gelao and Buyang forms are related to Kam-Tai.

Short. Langjia *ti¹¹*, Yalang *taai²⁴*, Pubiao *tai³³*; Dafang Yi *di³³*. Hongfeng Gelao *nan⁵⁵*, Qiaoshang *nə⁵⁵*, Judu *nei³⁵nei³³*, Dagouchang *nta¹³*, Sanchong *ne³³*, Mulao *ye³³*, Laji (Vietnam) *ne²ne⁴⁵*, Laha *nan²⁴*, Proto-Kra **hnan* C/**ti* C, Proto-Kam-Tai **ntrin*. Yi-Burmese: Namuyi *-nde⁵⁵*, Lisu *du⁵⁵*, Naxi *ndə³³*. Burmese *to²*. This meaning is represented in two forms in Gelao and Buyang, with the Buyang form borrowed from Yi (on which Proto-Kra was reconstructed). The form is manifested in the majority of languages as native words.

No, not. Hongfeng *ma³¹*, Bigong *ma³¹*, Red Gelao *mu⁵⁵*, Judu *ma⁵⁵*, Dafang *ma²⁴*, Dagouchang *əəw³³/mpəəw³¹*, Sanchong *a³³*, Mulao *a⁵⁵*, Laji *lio¹¹*, Langjia *laai¹¹*, Paha *pi⁵⁵*, Pubiao *nam⁴⁵*. Yi-Burmese: Mojiang *ma²*, Nanjian *ma²¹*, Lisu *ma³¹*, Naxi *mo³³*, Hani *mo³¹/ma³¹*. Proto-Yi **ma²*, Written Burmese *ma¹...bhu³*. The negator in Gelao and Buyang originally occurred sentence finally. However, when the Yi negator was borrowed into Geyang, word order has changed. It has been raised to the front of the verb. Some languages are undergoing a

transitional stage, with the negative words occurring in the frame “negative (Yi loan) negator (native words), as in Bigong “*ma³¹* *ɔ³³*”.

3. Numerals

The numerals 6-10 in the Duluo subgroup of Gelao are loans from Yi, as are 7-10 in the Dongkou dialect (Dagouchang ‘7’ is probably also a loan from Yi). In a number of Geyang languages, the number ‘1000’ is also a loan from Yi. The following comparisons between Dafang Yi and the Gelao dialects (Judu, Wantao, Dongkou, Dagouchang) that are influenced by Yi, as well as those that are not (Bigong), illustrate the cardinal numbers in Proto-Kra.

	Dafang	Judu	Wantao	Dongkou	Dagouchang	Bigong	Proto-Kra
1	<i>tha²¹</i>	<i>tsi⁵⁵</i>	<i>tsi⁵⁵</i>	<i>s⁴⁴</i>	<i>si³³</i>	<i>si⁵⁵</i>	* <i>tʂəm</i> C
2	<i>ni⁵⁵</i>	<i>səm³¹</i>	<i>sou³¹</i>	<i>sou³³</i>	<i>su³³</i>	<i>səm³¹</i>	* <i>sa</i> A
3	<i>sui³³</i>	<i>ta³¹</i>	<i>ta³¹</i>	<i>tau³³</i>	<i>ta³³</i>	<i>to³¹</i>	* <i>tu</i> A
4	<i>ti³³</i>	<i>pu³¹</i>	<i>pu³¹</i>	<i>pu³³</i>	<i>pu³³</i>	<i>po³¹</i>	* <i>pə</i> A
5	<i>ŋo³³</i>	<i>mlur³¹</i>	<i>mjau³¹</i>	<i>mo³¹</i>	<i>mpu³³</i>	<i>mo³¹</i>	* <i>r-ma</i> A
6	<i>təhə¹³</i>	<i>təhiu³¹</i>	<i>təhiau³¹</i>	<i>nəŋ³¹</i>	<i>nəŋ³³</i>	<i>nai³¹</i>	* <i>x-nəm</i> A
7	<i>ei⁵⁵</i>	<i>xən³¹</i>	<i>hei³¹</i>	<i>çi⁵⁵</i>	<i>çi¹³</i>	<i>thə³¹</i>	* <i>t-ru</i> A
8	<i>he¹³</i>	<i>he³¹</i>	<i>he³¹</i>	<i>xei²⁴</i>	<i>zua⁵⁵</i>	<i>zə³¹</i>	* <i>m-ru</i> A
9	<i>kui³³</i>	<i>kui³¹</i>	<i>kou³¹</i>	<i>qur³³</i>	<i>səm¹³</i>	<i>zəu³¹</i>	* <i>s-ywa</i> B
10	<i>tshui²¹</i>	<i>tsei³⁵</i>	<i>tshei⁵⁵</i>	<i>tchi²⁴</i>	<i>pən¹³</i>	<i>hui¹³</i>	* <i>pwlöt</i> D

In addition to *tsam⁴⁵*, which is used as the cardinal ‘one’, Paha also has *ti⁵⁵*, which is used in numeral-classifier constructions and with larger numbers, as in *ti⁵⁵doŋ⁴⁵* ‘one thousand’, *ti⁵⁵ya³³doŋ⁴⁵* (one-classifier-river) ‘a river’. Paha *ti⁵⁵* is probably also borrowed from Yi:

	Dafang	Nanhua	Mile	Mojiang
1	<i>tha²¹</i>	<i>thi²¹</i>	<i>thi²¹</i>	<i>thi²¹</i>
10	<i>tshui²¹</i>	<i>tshi³³</i>	<i>tshi³³</i>	<i>tshui²¹</i>
11	<i>tshui²¹ti³³</i>	<i>tshi³³ti⁵⁵</i>	<i>tshi³³ti⁵⁵</i>	<i>tshui²¹ti²¹</i>

Furthermore, ‘thousand’ in Dagouchang and other dialects is probably also a Yi loan:

Dagouchang *təw¹³*, Paha *doŋ⁴⁵*, Laji (Vietnam) *tu²³*, Pubiao *tay⁵³* (Sanchong *di¹³* “ten thousand” is probably a Yi loan where it means “one thousand”):

Dafang *to³³*, Nanhua *tu³³*, Mojiang *to⁵⁵*, Naxi *tv³¹*, Hani *tshin³³*, Proto Yi **?-toŋ¹*, Written Burmese *htɔŋ²*.

The Hongfeng prefix for days of the month is a loan from Yi.

First day	Hongfeng tio ⁵⁵ si ⁵⁵	Dafang da ³³ thi ⁵⁵	Nanhua de ³³ thi ⁵⁵	Mile de ³³ thi ²¹
Third day	tio ⁵⁵ ti ⁴³	da ³³ sur ³³	de ³³ so ³³	de ³³ si ³³
Fifth day	tio ⁵⁵ mau ³¹	da ³³ ŋp ³³	de ³³ ŋo ²¹	de ³³ ŋo ²¹

Hongfeng has two forms for 'pair', *χa¹³* and *zuai³¹*. The former is a native word (cf. Bigong *χei¹³*, Judu *qe³⁵*, Mulao *xe³¹*, Paha *ku³¹*, Laha *kau⁴⁵*, Proto-Kam-Tai **gleu*), while the latter is probably a Yi loan, cf. Dafang *duw²¹*, Nanhua *duw³³*, Mile *tsi³³*, Lisu *de⁴¹*, Naxi *duw³³*, Hani *tsɔ³¹*, Proto Yi **?-dum*!

4. Personal Pronouns

Yuren, a Gelao language on the Guizhou-Sichuan border area which is now extinct, has a personal pronoun system that distinguishes between subject and object forms (Zhang Jimin 1993: 427- 428). This is done through a mono morphemic (where simple vowels or nasals may form a syllable) subject case and an object case that is formed by a nasal and a vowel, although these pronouns have not quite developed into a full-fledged inflection system.

1 person	ʔi ³³	ŋui ³³
2 person	m ³³	mu ³³
3 person	ʔa ³³	ŋə ³³

Examples:

ʔi³³ (1sg) do³³ (see) ŋə³³ (3sg) ŋo¹³ (PART) . “I saw him.”

m³³ (2sg) tɕi³¹ (push) ŋui³³ (1sg) za³³ɕi³³ (for what) ? “Why are you pushing me? ”

ʔa³³ (3sg) tɕi³³ (eat) me³³ (food, rice) . “He is eating food.”

man³³ (mother) sa³³ (laugh) ŋə³³ (3sg) . “Mother is smiling at him.”

The pronoun system in Yuren is uncommon among Geyang and Kam-Tai languages; it shares certain features of Yi-Burmese, where personal pronouns distinguish between nominative, accusative and possessive through alternations of tones, initials or vowels (Ma Xueliang 2003: 391-392, 436-437). Yuren had a long contact with Yi, and Yuren pronominal system must have the result of such contact.

In the pronoun system of Gelao and Buyang, first and second person singular forms are quite regular. Third person pronouns exhibit significant variations, probably due to their late appearance. The initials for first and second person prounous are generally represented by *ʔ/k* and *m* (cf. Proto-Kra **ʔe* A / *ku* A “I”, **mə* A/B “you”), but the Qiaoshang dialect of Gelao has *nai³³* for 'you', which is quite unusual, and which may very well have been a Yi loan, cf. Dafang *na²¹*, Nanhua *ŋi³³*, Mojiang *na²¹* .

A number of Geyang languages have also borrowed the third person singular pronoun from Yi:

Laji *-ke¹¹*, Langjia *ke⁵⁴*, Yalang *ki³³*, Paha *ka⁵⁵*, Pubiao *kur⁵³*, Laha *ka²⁴*,
Mile *kur³³*, Mojiang *kur⁵⁵*, Jinuo *khur³¹*.

5. Concluding remarks

The above discussion shows that Gelao and Buyang have been influenced by Yi to a certain extent. Their contact relationship is one between a dominant group (Yi) and a weak one (Gelao and Buyang). However, the effect is not as pervasive and deep as that between Chinese and Tai-Kadai. In sum, Yi influence on the Geyang languages typically manifests itself in the following:

1) It reflects the general tendencies that dominant languages as a donor language in a unidirectional way. In the Asian-Pacific region, we see numerals, personal pronouns and other cultural words go from dominant languages to weak languages. Typical examples are Chinese numerals and personal pronouns which frequently get borrowed into the neighboring languages.

2) Yi influence on Gelao and Buyang has been sporadic rather than deep and wide-spread. It is mainly found in the lexicon, with only a very small number of lexical items affected. In the Geyang languages, a lexical item may be represented with a native word in one language, but a Yi or a Chinese loan in others. In general, the Duoluo and Ahou dialects of Gelao in western Guizhou seem to have been more heavily influenced by Yi, with which they have had a long period of contact, while other dialects have been less affected.

3) While Yi influence on Geyang is mainly in cultural and daily words, a few core vocabulary items such as ‘person’, ‘dog’ and ‘tree’ also got borrowed. Furthermore, the pronoun system of a handful of languages such as Yuren distinguishes between nominal and accusative cases, a development that is extremely rare in Geyang and Kam-Tai, which may have been the result of Yi influence. It can be seen that Yi influence on Geyang has spread to core vocabulary and morphosyntax.

4) Yi loans in Geyang are remnants of historical contact. As the distribution patterns of Geyang languages have changed (the Geyang people made their presence in North Vietnam, Guangxi and Yunnan since the Ming and Qing dynasties) and the Yi influence in the Yi sphere weakened, very few Geyang languages have been affected by Yi since recent times, with the exception of a very small number of Geyang languages spoken in western Guizhou and the border of the Sino-Vietnamese border.

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