

CONTACT AND ATTRITION IN SUN HONGKAI'S ANONG: COMPLEMENTARY SOURCES OF CHANGE¹

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0 Introduction

Anong, a Tibeto-Burman language of Yunnan, is in its last generation—in 1999, there were 62 fluent speakers left, all over 50. The descriptive material on Anong is quite limited; what there is all comes from the work of Sun Hongkai, particularly 1988, 1999a, and a preliminary, but still useful wordlist (Sun ms.); a little additional data can be found in Sun Hongkai 1999b and Sun and Li 2001. Cf. also the beginning of Thurgood 2003, which describes the language setting more fully.

In Sun 1999a, Sun makes a number of observations about the path of decline being followed by Anong, a language he has been documenting off and on since 1960. This piece augments that work, providing data to substantiate many of those observations and teasing out, where plausible, which changes represent largely internally-motivated attrition, which changes represent external contact with Lisu (and, secondarily, Chinese), and where and how the two mutually reinforce one another. In doing so, we draw on data from the Nungish languages (Trung (Dulong), Nujiang, and Rawang), the languages most-closely related to Anong and on data from Lisu and secondarily Chinese, the languages Anong speakers are most intimately in contact with.

0.1 Contact and attrition

Anong language contact is primarily with Lisu and secondarily with Chinese. In a 1999 survey only 62 of the roughly six thousand ethnic Anong were still fluent in Anong. The majority have shifted to Lisu, with a handful of others having shifted to Chinese and a still smaller number having shifted to Bai. Our own examination of the vocabulary agrees with Sun's assessment: there are a significant number of loans from Chinese and from Lisu, but thus far no discernible body of loans from Bai, nor any evidence of Bai influence on Anong. The evidence for intense contact is particularly evident in two areas: The replacement of a great deal of native vocabulary by Lisu and Chinese loanwords and the fact that even among the most fluent Anong speakers, most Anong speak Lisu better than Anong.

1 Loss of native vocabulary

In passing, Sun notes (1999a:354) that Anong speakers frequently used Lisu words in place of common Anong, giving as an example his language consultant using the Lisu adverb [a³¹kh⁵⁵] in place of the Anong equivalent [ba³¹ʂ³¹] 'very, extremely, particularly'. Sun further notes that the numeral system had begun to disappear; some fluent speakers could count to a hundred, but the less fluent could only count up to ten. Even less skilled speakers

¹ Editors' note: to facilitate typesetting of the pre-UNICODE files, various tables in this paper were converted into image files – we apologise for any resulting reduction in print quality.

Shoichi Iwasaki, Andrew Simpson, Karen Adams & Paul Sidwell, eds. *SEALSXIII: papers from the 13th meeting of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society* (2003). Canberra, Pacific Linguistics, 2007, pp.279-295.

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only used Anong for numbers below ten, using Lisu for numbers above ten. Other speakers used Lisu for all numbers.

In terms of specific numbers, Sun (1999a:354) recorded 2,600 words in 1960, of which some 5% were Chinese loans and some 8% from Lisu. In 1999, he both rechecked the original words and elicited many more. In 1999, the lexicon was now around 8% Chinese loans, with the percentage of Lisu loans more than doubled to around 17%.

TABLE 1. Chinese and Lisu loans in Anong

year	total words	Chinese loans	Lisu loans
1960	2,600	5%	8%
1999	4,900	8%	17%

The numbers in Sun's 1999a article were not accompanied by any data, but the two tables below, Table 2: Lisu borrowings in Anong and Table 3: Chinese borrowings in Anong, support Sun's assessment: there are roughly twice as many Lisu borrowings as Chinese borrowings.

1.1 Lisu loans

TABLE 2. Lisu borrowings in Anong

Lisu	Anong	Pinyin	Trung	Nujiang	
nɛ ⁴⁴ tshɿ ⁴¹	nɛ ⁵⁵ tshɿ ³¹	yào	---	---	medicine
thɑ ³¹	thɑ ³¹	bié	---	---	don't
lu ³¹	lu ³¹	lóng	---	---	dragon
la ³¹ sa ⁵⁵	la ³¹ mu ⁵⁵ du ³¹	bàozì	---	---	leopard
tshɛ ³⁵	tshɛ ⁵³	lù	ɕu ³¹ wa ⁵⁵	ɕu ³¹ wa ⁵⁵	deer
ŋua ⁵⁵ la ³¹	ŋua ⁵⁵ la ³¹	shuǐtǎ	su ³¹ ɿǎm ⁵³	su ³¹ ɿǎm ⁵³	otter
ŋua ⁵⁵ -t	ŋua ⁵⁵	yú	ŋa ⁵⁵ <u>plǎ?</u>	nǎm ³¹ <u>plǎ?</u>	fish
la ³⁵ dzu ⁴¹	la ³⁵ dzi ³¹	làjiāo	bɿa ⁵⁵ ci ⁵⁵	ba ³¹ tɕi ⁵⁵	pepper
na ⁴⁴ do ⁴⁴	na ³¹ do ⁵⁵	tiānhuā	buɛ ³⁵	---	smallpox
tho ³¹	da ⁵⁵ tɕhɑ ⁵⁵	péngyou	---	---	friend
mɛ ⁵⁵ vu ³³	mɛ ⁵⁵ vu ³¹	nǚxù	---	---	son-in-law

za ⁴¹ mu ⁴¹	tɕhɛ ⁵⁵ ʔmu ³¹	nǚrén	---	---	daughter
la ³¹ thə ⁵⁵	la ³¹ thə ⁵⁵	mò	---	---	a mill
mo ³¹ gua ³¹	mu ⁵⁵ kua ⁵⁵	gē	kɔ ⁵⁵	kɔ ⁵⁵	song
p ^h ɛ ⁴¹	p ^h ɛ ³⁵	qǐzi	---	---	flag; banner
dʒɿ ³¹ li ³¹	dʒi ³¹ li ⁵⁵	dǐzi	---	---	bamboo flute
ɣu ³³ ŋo ³¹	ɣu ⁵⁵	yǐngzi	---	---	shadow
ts ^h ɿ ⁵⁵	tɕhɿ ⁵⁵ mu ⁵⁵	bì	---	---	close (eyes)
na ⁵⁵	ŋ ⁵⁵ na ⁵⁵ xo ³¹	shàn	---	---	castrate
xua ⁴⁴	ʔau ³	xúnzhǎo	la ⁵⁵ (lən ⁵⁵)	la ⁵³	look for
li ⁵⁵	t ^h ɿ ³¹ li ³¹	huán	---	---	pay back, return
lo ⁵⁵	luŋ ⁵⁵	fèi	g.u ⁵³	g.u ⁵³	to bark
p ^h u ⁴⁴	p ^h u ⁵⁵	bái	---	---	white; silver
bi ⁴¹ le ⁴⁴	ɕim ⁵⁵ bu ³¹	mǎn	---	---	full
p ^h u ³¹ k ^h ə ³⁵	ɑ ³¹ p ^h u ³⁵ ɛ ³⁵	guì	---	---	expensive
ɑ ³¹ k ^h u ⁵⁵	ɑ ³¹ k ^h u ⁵⁵	hěn	gu ³¹ mǎi ⁵³	---	very
xu ³¹ ʃɿ ³¹	hɛ ³¹ tɕ ^h ɿ ⁵⁵	hànzú	ja ⁵⁵	dza ⁵³	Han
k ^h u ³¹ xu ⁴⁴ - la ⁴¹ ma ⁴⁴	k ^h u ³¹ xu ⁵⁵ - la ⁵⁵ ma ⁵⁵	wúgong	xu ⁵⁵ - dzum ⁵³ wě ⁷⁵⁵	gu ³¹ -zen ⁵³ wet ⁵⁵	centipede
xa ³¹	ɕa ⁷⁵⁵ b.u ³⁵	guò	---	---	cross over
thɛ ³³	thɿ ³¹ mu ⁵⁵	shuō	---	---	speak; talk
miɛ ³¹ k ^h uə ³¹	nɛ ⁵⁵ k ^h uə ³¹	liánjiē	---	---	join; link
dʒɿ ⁴⁴	dʒɿ ⁵³	mò	---	---	grind (rice)
sɿ ³¹ p ^h u ³¹	ba ⁴⁴ p ^h u ³¹	pángguāng	---	---	bladder
mu ³¹ tsɿ ⁴⁴	mu ³¹ tsɿ ⁵³	húzi	---	---	beard
bu ³¹	bu ⁵⁵ ga ³¹ mu ⁵⁵	chóuzi	---	---	silk
po ⁴⁴ lo ⁴⁴	pu ⁵⁵ lu ⁵³	zǐdàn	---	---	bullet
nɛ ⁴⁴ ts ^h ɿ ⁴¹ - ʃa ³⁵ su ⁴⁴	nɛ ⁵⁵ ts ^h ɿ ³¹ .ru ³¹ - mun ⁵⁵ su ⁵⁵	yīshēng	---	---	doctor

o ⁵⁵ ɣo ³¹ ma ³³	au ⁵³ ma ³¹	gūmǔ	---	---	aunt (1)
a ⁴⁴ ɣo ³³	au ⁵³ p ^h a ³¹	shūfù	---	---	uncle (1)
po ³¹ dʒa ³³	a ³¹ dʒa ⁵⁵ u ³¹	guǎnlǐ	---	---	to manage
miɛ ⁴⁴ ba ³³	nɛ ⁵⁵ ba ⁵⁵	jìngzi	---	---	mirror
tʃ ^h i ⁴⁴ lɛ ⁴¹	tʂ ^h i ⁵⁵ k ^h u ³¹	xiùzi	---	---	sleeve
dʒɛ ³³ hi ³³	di ³¹ hiŋ ⁵⁵	fēijī	---	---	airplane
a ⁴⁴ t ^h ɛ ³¹ t ^h ɛ ³¹	k ^h a ⁵⁵ t ^h a ³¹ -	cháng	---	---	frequently
xo ⁴⁴ tsɿ ⁴⁴	xo ³¹ tsɿ ⁵⁵	dīng	tiŋ ⁵⁵ tsu ⁵³	---	a nail
k ^h o ⁴¹ fɿ ⁴¹	k ^h o ³¹ ʃɿ ³¹	guònián	lu ³¹ sǎ ⁵⁵	---	celebrate New Year
mɛ ³⁵ t ^h a ⁵⁵ hi ³³	mɛ ³⁵ t ^h a ⁵⁵	huǒchē	xɔ ⁵⁵ tse ⁵⁵	xɔ ⁵⁵ tshe ⁵⁵	a train
ua ⁴⁴ tʃɛ ⁴⁴	ua ⁵⁵ tɕi ⁵⁵ - bu ³¹ dʒi ⁵⁵	kuāng	pu ³¹ tsǎ ⁷⁵⁵	pu ³¹ tsǎ ⁷⁵⁵	basket
dʒɛ ³³ hi ³³	di ³¹ hiŋ ⁵⁵	fēijī	---	---	airplane
a ⁴⁴ t ^h ɛ ³¹ t ^h ɛ ³¹	k ^h a ⁵⁵ t ^h a ³¹ -	cháng	---	---	frequently
xo ⁴⁴ tsɿ ⁴⁴	xo ³¹ tsɿ ⁵⁵	dīng	tiŋ ⁵⁵ tsu ⁵³	---	a nail
k ^h o ⁴¹ fɿ ⁴¹	k ^h o ³¹ ʃɿ ³¹	guònián	lu ³¹ sǎ ⁵⁵	---	celebrate New Year
mɛ ³⁵ t ^h a ⁵⁵ hi ³³	mɛ ³⁵ t ^h a ⁵⁵	huǒchē	xɔ ⁵⁵ tse ⁵⁵	xɔ ⁵⁵ tshe ⁵⁵	a train
ua ⁴⁴ tʃɛ ⁴⁴	ua ⁵⁵ tɕi ⁵⁵ - bu ³¹ dʒi ⁵⁵	kuāng	pu ³¹ tsǎ ⁷⁵⁵	pu ³¹ tsǎ ⁷⁵⁵	basket
gua ³¹ k ^h ua ³¹	gua ³¹ k ^h a ⁵⁵	qiáomài	---	---	buckwheat
tsɛ ³⁵	tʃi ³¹ dʒɛ ⁷⁵⁵	dī	---	---	to drop
dʒɛ ³⁵	dʒɛ ³⁵ tɕ ^h uŋ ³¹	qiángbì	---	---	a wall
t ^h o ⁴¹ lɔ ³³	t ^h u ³¹ lɔ ⁵⁵	tùzi	---	---	rabbit
tʃ ^h i ³¹	tʂ ^h i ³¹	pì	pi ⁵³	---	fart
ts ^h o ⁵⁵	ts ^h o ⁵⁵	cōng	su ⁵³ dɔŋ ⁵⁵	su ³¹ dɔŋ ⁵⁵	onion
ts ^h o ⁴⁴ fɿ ³¹	tʂ ^h i ⁵⁵	mǐnzú	min ³¹ tsu ⁵³	min ³¹ tɕu ⁵³	minority
k ^h ua ³¹ se ⁵⁵	k ^h ua ³¹ su ⁵⁵	dàsuàn	---	---	garlic
hɛ ³¹ t ^h o ³⁵	xə ³¹ t ^h o ³⁵	wénzi	---	---	mosquito
ua ³¹ lɔ ³¹	ua ³¹ lɔ ⁵⁵	biānfú	---	---	bat