Linguistic criteria for determining Tai ethnic groups: Case studies on central and south-western Tais

PRANEE Kullavanijaya and THERAPHAN L-Thongkum Chulalongkorn University

1. Chulalongkorn university project on languages and ladies' costumes of the Tai group

On the occasion of Her Majesty Queen Sirikit's 60th birthday in 1992, the Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University, assigned a research team of two researchers, Pranee Kullavanijaya and Theraphan L-Thongkum with two photographers to conduct a survey of the languages and ladies' costumes of the Tai-Kadai groups in honour of Her Majesty. With a two year time limit and limited financial resources, the survey areas were selected to cover Yunnan, Guangxi and Guizhou provinces in the People's Republic of China, Laos, Vietnam, and Thailand. Although the Tai-Kadai groups were included in the project, only the Tai groups of the Central and South-western branches will be considered in this paper.

Why did we want to do a survey of the Tai languages in southern China, Laos and Vietnam? There seems to be quite a number of phonemic studies of the Tai dialects in the region by well-known Tai comparativists such as Fang-Kuei Li, William J. Gedney, André G. Haudricourt, Søren Egerod and many others. However considering the vast areas where the Tai speakers live, the studies are comparatively few and do not cover even half of the Tai ethnic groups. Secondly, from previous works such as 'The Tai Race' by William Cliffton Dodd (1923), a number of Tai ethnic names were recognized in southern Yunnan, Laos and Vietnam. These ethnic groups were supposed to speak Tai dialects but this was not confirmed. It would also be valuable to determine whether these Tai ethnic groups speak the same or different Tai dialects from the dialects studied by the aforementioned comparativists. Thirdly, we learned that the Tai dialects as well as the people are usually referred to collectively under certain names. Zhuang, for example, is used by Chinese scholars to cover Tai dialects in Wenshan, Malipo, Maguan and Funing counties whereas in fact several Tai dialects such as Tay Lo, Tay Nam, Nung, Mitai, Mata, and Budai, can be identified. On the other hand, many Tai groups with different ethnic names are in fact speakers of the same language. For example, Tay Mawn, Tay La, and Tay Lo, can be grouped as speakers of the same dialect. With these uncertainties in mind we decided to survey the Tai languages/dialects in southern Yunnan, Guangxi, Hainan, Vietnam, Laos and Thailand in the hope that the survey could serve as a source of information for more in-depth linguistic research.

The survey took 3 years - more time than we had planned. This was due to many factors; the workload of the researchers, road conditions which allowed travelling only during certain times of the year, and last but not least, financial problems which arose because of unexpected expenses during the many trips to rural areas.

2. Research sites and data collection

We began our survey of Tai-Kadai languages and ladies' costumes in October 1991 and completed it in December 1994. During the three years of our investigation, several field trips were conducted in Yunnan, Guangxi, Guizhou, Hainan, Vietnam and Laos. Tai-Kadai language data and ladies' costumes were collected at 88 locations as listed in the appendix. This research was made possible by the kind co-operation and arrangements of the Yunnan Institute of Nationalities, the Guangxi Institute of Nationalities, the Thai Studies Program of Hanoi University, and the National Center for Social Science and Humanities of Lao PDR.

The Matisoff 200-wordlist arranged by semantic categories which has been said to be a culturally appropriate lexicostatistical model for Southeast Asia and the Gedney tone checklist were used as tools for Tai-Kadai language surveys at 88 locations. The interviews based on the two wordlists took about three hours to collect at each location. We spent most of our time travelling on rough roads in remote mountainous regions. Quite a few times after all types of hardships, we reached the places where we had been informed by the local authorities that particular Tai languages were spoken only to find to our dismay that none of the villagers could speak even a word of Tai. At an earlier stage we let our co-ordinators help us select the research sites which they thought accessible and appropriate for our research project. Later we found out that our co-ordinators did not know much more than we did, and the local authorities, who took care of us while we were conducting field research, did not provide correct information. To solve these problems we consulted the available literature, especially maps, and then selected the research sites ourselves instead of depending upon the knowledge and judgement of our local colleagues. The Red River (which has many different names) and the border areas between China and Burma, China and Laos, and Vietnam, and so on became our major target areas. Following this strategy a picture of the distribution of Tai-Kadai speaking people became clearer. It was also easier for us to pinpoint the locations we wanted to visit. After several field trips we learned that South-western

¹We had problems getting the right words for the following items: A-31 'brain', A-38 'bone marrow', A-39 'breath/life', C48 'poison', C52 'animal', N184 'grind', and N200 'drive/drive away/ride/hunt/burn/cut' These items are not suitable for collecting data on Tai-Kadai languages, expecially when the fieldwork time is limited.

Tai speaking people occupied the areas to the west of the Red River whereas Central and Northern Tai speakers were distributed in the area to the east.

In total we worked with 52 Tai speaking groups. Tai Nuea, Tai Lue, and Tai Don (White Tai) are the biggest South-western Tai groups in Yunnan. We came across a few Thu or Dai/daj A2/ ethnic groups whose languages still retain the Tai initial consonant Proto voiced series, i.e. *b, *d, *j, *g, *v, and *z. Many different Tai ethnic groups were misplaced under Dai and Zhuang nationalities, and some groups such as Tay La, Tay Lo, Tay Nam, etc., were classified as Dai even though their languages and the costumes of their women were of the Zhuang type. Our field experience taught us a lot of valuable lessons.

3. Subgrouping of Central Tai (CT) dialects

3.1 Identification of Central Tai Dialects

The first survey of Wenshan Zhuang-Miao Autonomous Prefecture covering Wenshan, Malipo and Maguan Counties was conducted in 1992. It was the first trip to an area where we had little information on where the Tai lived and had to depend largely on local authorities for site selection. We got a lot of information, however, from that first trip about the ethnic groups in the area, which together with information from the available literature enabled us to plan our following trips in 1993 and 1994 more effectively. In these three trips we covered 32 locations in Wenshan Zhuang-Miao Autonomous Prefecture, Yunnan Province; 5 sites in Yuxi, Yunnan Province and 3 sites in Pinxiang, Guangxi Province (See Appendix). The speakers at these sites speak Tai dialects with the exception of the Tujins in Malipo County who cannot speak Tai anymore but are certain that their ancestors were Tai.

To decide which groups were speakers of the CT dialects the following criteria were used:

a) Development of Proto Tai initial aspirated stops

It is accepted that the Northern Tai dialects have voiceless unaspirated stops for the development of Proto Tai voiceless aspirated stops, for example, *ph, *th, *kh > p, t, k, whereas the other Tai dialects keep *ph, *th, *kh > ph, th, kh. Using this criterion, dialects collected in the sites mentioned above are shown to be non-Northern Tai dialects.

b) Development of Proto Tai dental consonant clusters *tr and *thr Fang-Kuei Li has pointed out a distinct development of consonant clusters *tr and *thr in SWT dialects as follows:

^{*}tr is represented by t in all SWT dialects (Li 1977).

*thr is represented by h in most SWT dialects except in Ahom where *thr > r (Li 1977).

Previous studies and our fieldnote data confirm his statements as can be seen below:

*
$$tr > SWT t$$
 * $thr > SWT h, r$

	Siamese (LI)	Black Tai (Fieldnote T.L-T)	Lue (Fieldnotes P.K.)
'eye' (*tr)	taa ³³	taa ³³	taa ⁵³
'die' (*tr)	taai ³³	taai ³³	taai ⁵⁵
'tail' (*thr)	haaŋ ²⁴	haaŋ³³	haay ⁵⁵
'stone' (*thr)	hin ²⁴	hin ³³	hin ⁵⁵

The development of *tr as t is consistent in SWT dialects and therefore is used to exclude SWT dialects from our data collected in the Yunnan, Guangxi and Vietnam sites mentioned above. The non-SWT and non-Northern dialects following the development of PT *tr and voiceless aspirated stops will therefore be referred to as the Central Tai dialects. These CT dialects show the development of *tr as th or h but not t for example:

*
$$tr > CT th / h$$

	Tienbao (Funing)	Kon Min (Funing)	Tay La (Banfai)
'eye' (*tr)	tha ³¹	tha ²⁴	ha ³³
'to die' (*thr)	thaai ³¹	thaai ²⁴	haai ³³

The development of *thr can be th in some CT dialects and h in other CT dialects, for examples:

*
$$thr > CT th / h$$

	Tienbao (Funing)	Kon Min (Funing)	Tay La (Banfai)
'tail' (*tr)	thaaŋ³¹	thaaŋ²⁴	haaŋ³³
'stone' (*thr)	thən³1	thin ²⁴	heen ³³

Altogether 17 dialects are identified as CT dialects: two Tay La dialects, four Nong dialects, two Tai Nam dialects, one Mata dialect, one Mitai dialect, one Tay Lo dialect, one Thu dialect, one Budai dialect, one Kon Min dialect, two Tienbao dialects and one Tay dialect. (See Appendix for site numbers 29, 30 and 45 to 58.)

3.2 Sub grouping of Central Tai (CT) dialects

The 17 Central Tai dialects identified by the development of PT voiceless aspirated stops and PT *tr show two main types of development in the Proto Tai Tone A:

Figure 1 Two Main types of Proto Tai tone A development

	Type 1				Type 2	2	
	*A	*B	*C		*A	*B	*C
*voiceless aspirated stops, *voiceless dental clusters	1			•			
*voiceless sonorants, *unaspirated stops *glottalized stops	2	3	5		1	3	5
All *voiced initials	1	4	6		2	4	6

Mitai (Yuanyang), Mata (Wenshan), Thu (Wenshan), Budai (Wenshan), Tianbao (Funing)² Kon Min (Funing), Nung, Nong (Wenshan, Langson), Tay (Langson), Tay La (Yunnan), Tay Lo (Yunnan)

The type 1 development shows that Proto Tone A with Proto voiceless aspirated initials and Proto voiceless dental consonant clusters: *tr and *thr merged with Proto Tone A with Proto voiced initials leaving distinct Proto tone A with other Proto initials. The CT dialects of Mitai, Mata, Thu, Budai, and Tienbao illustrate this type of Proto Tone A development. We will call this group of Central Tai dialects the Budai group. The type 2 development of Proto Tone A shows a two way regular split of Proto voiceless initials and Proto voiced initials. The Kon Min, Nung, Tay, Tay La, Tai Nam and Tay Lo illustrate this type of development. We will call this group of Central Tai dialects Nong-Tay.³

In the Nong-Tay group, the Tai Nam dialects further illustrate a merge in tones derived from Proto-Tone B2 and C2 or B2 and C1, these making Tai Nam group a subgroup from other Nong-Tay dialects (See Figure 2)

Besides Proto Tone developments, the CT dialects show significant development of Proto initial consonants. These will be discussed below.

²The development of Proto Tai tone *B can be a 3 way split, 2 way split or no split in this group of dialects.

⁽See L-Thongkum 1997)

³L-Thongkum (1997) refers to this group as the non-Tho group

3.2.1 Proto voiced stop consonant development

In general, the CT dialects illustrate voiceless unaspirated stops for Proto voiced stop consonants, thus *b, *d, and *g become p, t, k, in Central Tai dialects. However, L-Thongkum (1997) has pointed out, using data from our project, that Budai groups including Mitai, Mata, Thu, and Budai do not show the above development. These dialects have *b > b, *d > d, etc. Other CT dialects show *b > p, *d > t etc. Thus, the Budai group is subdivided into 2 subgroups: Budai and Tianbao. In the Nong-Tay, *b, *d became p, t similar to Tienbao dialects.

3.2.2 Proto voiceless dental clusters *tr and *thr

The development of Proto consonant clusters *tr and *thr in CT dialects varies with interesting regular patterns. The Budai subgroup shows the merge of *tr and *thr as th while the Tay dialects show h. The Tay of Nagoem show th and h in free variation in some words derived from Proto Tai *tr. Such free variation is noted also by FK. Li for his data of Tay (Li 1977). For the Tai Nam group, we have a rather scarce amount of data, i.e. we have a complete set of data for only Tai Nam at Malipo but not for Tai Nam at Hekou where we have only the tonal development data. With the available data we are certain however that the Tai Nam dialects that we have are not Northern Tai dialects but CT dialects because of the following consonant developments: *phl, *phr > phjak³⁴ 'vegetable' (Hekou), phja¹⁴ (Malipo). As the CT dialects, the Tai Nam group shows a different development of *tr, i.e. they do not give tr > t which excludes them from the SWT dialects. The Tai Nam at Malipo gives [4] or [1] while the Tai Nam at Hekou gives [h] from *tr in 'eye'. Because we have no further data to check the Tai Nam at Hekou and though the development of the only word of *tr, that is, 'eye', makes it possible that the Tai Nam at Hekou may be of the same group as Tay La, we have decided, for the moment, to group the Hekou Tai Nam with the Malipo Tai Nam because of further tone splits (see 3.2). The subgroup of Tai Nam as a CT dialect awaits further study.

3.2.3 Proto *r development

Although the Proto *r is developed variously as z, b, δ , tc, h, l, and r in the Central Tai dialects, it confirms our subgrouping. The Budai subgroup shows the development of PT *r as a variety of fricatives whereas the Tienbao dialects show δ , or r. In the Nong-Tay subgroup, the Tay La subgroup reflects h, thus showing the merger of *r, *thr, *tr > h which distinguishes the subgroup from the Tay subgroup which does not have this merger but reflects *r > l, *thr > th and *tr > $h \sim th$.

The subgroupings and the relationship of the CT dialects can be seen from Figure 2.

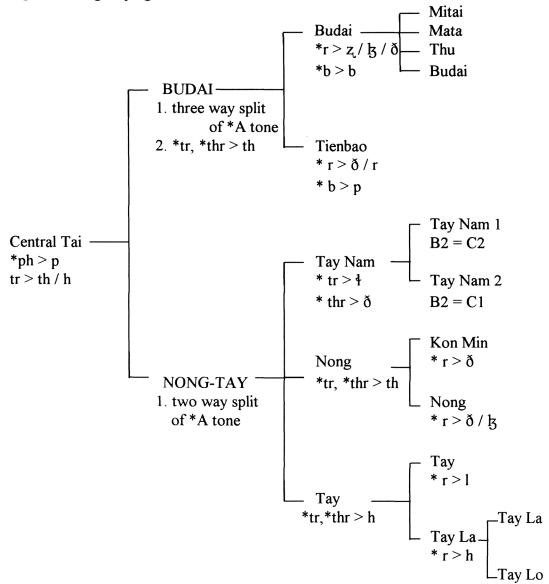
4. Subgrouping of South-western Tai (SWT) dialects

Regarding SWT dialects, we collected language data at forty-two locations (locations 1-28 and 31-44 in the appendix): nine in Thailand, twelve in Laos, seven in Vietnam and fourteen in China. Eighteen SWT speaking groups have been found, sixteen out of eighteen speak P-group (*b > p) dialects: Tai Yuan, Tai Khuen, Tai Luang (Tai Yai), Tai Lue, Tai Don/Lon (Tai Khao or White Tai), Tai Dam (Black Tai), Tai Daeng A and B (Red Tai)⁴, Tai Moei,⁵ Tai Phoeng, Tai Nuea, Tai Heu, Tai Tsang, Tai Tsung, Tai Ya, Tai Eulai/Tai Kha, and Tai Payi (Pa Di in Vietnamese). As for the PH-groups (*b > ph) dialects, we worked only on Phuan and Phu Tai because we felt that a lot of information on the PH-group dialects was already available and the areas where these dialects are spoken are not difficult to reach in comparison with the P-group dialects.

⁴Tai Daeng A can be regarded as Proper Red Tai. Tai Daeng A is spoken by the majority of the Tai Daeng speaking groups in Haophan, Hoa Binh, Thanh Hoa and Nghe An provinces. Tai Daeng B which is spoken in Moc Chau (Muong Tac), Sonla Province and in Mai Thuong subdistrict, Mai Chau (Muong Mun), Hoa Binh Province, Vietnam, is not included in this paper because its tonal system has been changed due to language contact with the Tai Dam (Black Tai) language spoken in Sonla and the provinces near by. However, the other phonological features can be regarded as Tai Daeng, not Tai Don (White Tai) as most of the Vietmanese believe.

⁵Proschan (1994) investigated the ethnic groups in Nghe An Province, Vietnam; he mentioned a Tai ethnic group called "Tay Meuy," Chamberlain (1996) mentioned in his report that he found the "Tai Moey" ethnic group in Nakai-Nam Thuen National Biodiversity Protection Area (NBCA). The Tai Moei language data were taped for us by Ferlus and Thongphet Kingsada at Phonxi village, Kaengdaeng sub-district, Khamloet district, Kammouan Province, Lao PDR, in December 1992. The language data based on the two wordlists were transcribed by ourselves from tape.

Figure 2 Subgrouping of the Central Tai dialects



The sixteen North Southwestern Tai (NSWT) or P-group dialects together with Phake and Khamti drawn from Banchob Bandhumedha (1987) and Alfons Weidert (1977) can be classified into six subgroups based on the patterns of the tone splits and mergers as follows in Figure 3:

Figure 3 Major patterns of tone splits and mergers in North Southwestern Tai (P-group) dialects

	*A	*B	*C
*ph	1		
*p		3	5
*?b	2		
*b		4	6

Tai Phake

	*A	*B	*C
*ph	1		
*p		3	5
*?b	2		
*b		4	6

Tai Yuan, Tai Khuen

	*A	*B	*C
*ph	1(=	\blacksquare	
*p	2	4	5
*?b			
*b	3	2	6

Tai Khamti, Tai Nuea, Tai Heu

	*A	*B	*C
*ph	1		
*p	2	4	5
*?b			
*b	3	5	6

Tai Luang, Tai Payi, Tai Tsang, Tai Tsung, Tai Ya

	*A	*B	*C
*ph	1		
*p	2		5
*?b			
*b	3	4	

Tai Eulai

	*A	*B	*C
*ph			
*p	1	3	5
*?b			(
*b	2	4	6

Tai Dam, Tai Don, Tai Lue, Tai Daeng, Tai Moei, Tai Phoeng

The relationship of the NSWT dialects within each subgroup is illustrated in Figure 4.

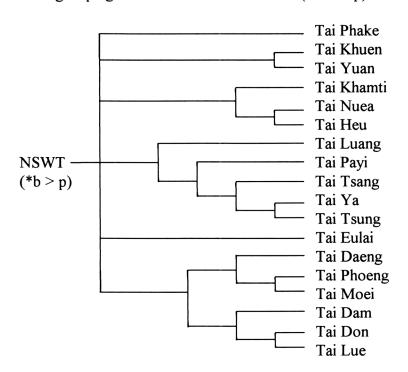


Figure 4 Subgrouping of the North South-western (P-Group) Tai dialects

The type of tone splits and mergers, i.e. A1-234, B123-4 and C123-4, makes Tai Phake a separate subgroup of its own.

Tai Khuen and Tai Yuan share the same pattern of tone splits and mergers, i.e. A12-34, B123-4 and C123-4. A rather peculiar phenomenon in Tai Khuen, i.e. C123, has merged with DL4 and indicates, therefore, that Tai Khuen separated from Tai Yuan sometime ago, although they have a close relationship in comparison with the other NSWT dialects.

Tai Khamti, Tai Nuea and Tai Heu share the same basic pattern of tone splits and mergers, i.e. A1-23-4, B123-4, C123-4 whereas A23 also merges with B4. This last element is unique because it pertains only to this subgroup. The mergers of A1 with B123 sets Tai Khamti apart from the Tai Nuea-Tai Heu group. The patterns of vowel changes, i.e. e-i and o-u in Tai Nuea and Tai Heu cognates make us conclude that they are two separate dialects even though closely related, for example:

	Tai Nuea	Tai Heu
	/e/	/i/
'duck'	pet ³³	pit ²²
'needle'	khem ³⁵	xim ¹⁴
'iron'	lek³³	lik^{22}

	Tai Nuea	Tai Heu
	/o/	/u/
'person'	kon⁴¹	kun⁴⁴
'bird'	nok^{21}	nuk^{31}
'sour'	som ²²	sum ³¹

Tai Luang (Tai Yai), Tai Payi, Tai Tsang, Tai Tsung, and Tai Ya belong to the same subgroup based on the pattern of tone splits and mergers, i.e. A1-23-4, B123-4, C123-4, where B4 also merges with C123. The correspondence of vowel e-i and the initials ph-f and kh-x in cognate words indicate the fact that Tai Luang branched off earlier, for example:

	Tai Luang /e/	Tai Payi /i/	Tai Tsang /i/	Tai Ya /i/	Tai Tsung /i/
'mushroom'	het ³⁴	hip³²	hip ³²	hip ²²	hip ²²
'tooth'	kheu41'	xiu ⁴¹	xiu ⁴¹	xiu ^{22'}	xiu ^{22'}
'urine'	jeu ⁴¹ '	niu ⁴¹	jiu ⁴¹	niu ²² '	niu ²² '
	/ph/	/ f /	/f /	/f /	/f /
'rain'	phon ¹⁴	f γ n ¹⁴	fyn ¹⁴	fyn³⁵	fyn³⁵
'sky'	phaa ⁴⁵⁴	faa ³³	faa ⁴⁵⁴	faa ³¹	faa ³¹
'fire'	phai⁴⁴	fai ⁴⁴	fai ⁴⁴	fai ⁴⁵⁴	fai ⁴¹
	/kh/	/x/	/x/	/x/	/x/
'leg'	khaa14	xaa ¹⁴	xaa ¹⁴	xaa ³⁵	xaa 35
'to sell'	khaai14	xaai ¹⁴	xaai ¹⁴	xaai ³⁵	xaai ³⁵
'to rise'	khun ⁴¹	$x\gamma n^{41}$	xum ⁴²	xyn^{22}	xyn ^{22'}

The correspondence of the initials *d-l*, *b-v*, and vowel *i-p-i* in cognates help separate Tai Payi from Tai Tsang, Tai Tsung, and Tai Ya, for example:

	Tai Payi	Tai Tsang	Tai Ya	Tai Tsung
	/d/	/1/	/1/	/1/
'nose'	$da\eta^{232}$	laŋ³³	laŋ³³	laŋ³³
'star'	daau ²³²	laau ³³	laau ³³	laau ³³
'black'	dam ²³²	lam³³	lam³³	lam³³
	/b/	/v/	/v/	/v/
'village'	baan41	vaan41	vaan ²² '	vaan ²² '
'to fly'	biən ²³²	vin ³³	vin ³³	vin ³³
'softly'	bau ²³²	vau ³³	vau ³³	vau ³³

	/iə/	/i/	/i/	/i/
'duck'	piət ³²	pit ³¹	pit ²²	pit ²²
'to fly'	biən ²³²	vin ³³	vin ³³	vin ³³
'full'	tiəm ²³²	tim ³³	tim ³³	tim ³³

The correspondence of o-u and u-v in many cognates indicates an earlier separation of Tai Tsang from Tai Tsung - Tai Ya, for example:

	/u/	/o/	/o/
'head hair'	phum ¹⁴	phom ³⁵	phom ³⁵
'wind'	lum ⁴⁴	lom ⁴⁵⁴	lom41
'to boil'	tum ⁴¹	tom ²²	tom ²²
	/w/	/ % /	/ % /
'flesh, meat'	nui ⁴⁵⁴	ከ $\boldsymbol{\gamma}^{31}$	$n\gamma^{31}$
'salt'	kw ³³	$k\gamma^{33}$	$\mathbf{k}\mathbf{\hat{x}}^{33}$
'hand'	mw^{44}	$m\gamma^{454}$	$m\gamma^{41}$

The correspondence of vowels ε - $i\varepsilon$, σ - $u\sigma$ and auv-ai in the cognate sets given below indicate that Tai Ya and Tai Tsung should be regarded as two separate dialects, for example:

Tai Ya	Tai Tsung
/ε/	/ie/
xen ³⁵	xien35
$\mathfrak{men}^{\scriptscriptstyle 454}$	mieŋ⁴¹
pet ³⁴	piet ³⁴
/c/	/uɔ/
\mathfrak{son}^{35}	suoŋ³⁵
toŋ³¹	tuoŋ³¹
non ⁴⁵⁴	nuon ⁴¹
/aw/	/ai/
tçaw ³³	tçai ³³
maw ^{34'}	mai ^{34'}
haw ^{33'}	hai ²²
	/e/ xen ³⁵ meŋ ⁴⁵⁴ pet ³⁴ /o/ soŋ ³⁵ toŋ ³¹ non ⁴⁵⁴ /aɯ/ tçaш ³³ maш ³⁴

Tai Dam, Tai Don, Tai Lue, and Tai Daeng (including Tai Phoeng and Tai Moei) share the same pattern of tone splits and mergers, i.e. A123-4, C123-4. Tai Daeng and closely related dialects, Tai Phoeng and Tai Moei, have a further step of tone merger, i.e. B4 merges with C123. This is an indication that the speakers of

Proper Tai Daeng, Tai Phoeng and Tai Moei had moved westward and south before the rest of the subgroup. They should not be regarded as Tai Don or Tai Khao as Vietnamese ethnologists and historians do. "Tai Daeng" as an ethnic group does exist both in Vietnam and Laos. More details can also be found in Gedney (1989).

The patterns of diphthong changes in cognate words are another good phonological evidence to support the idea that Tai Daeng, Tai Dam, Tai Don, and Tai Lue are separate dialects:

Tai Daeng	*iə	*wə	*uə	*aw	>	iə	шэ	uə	x
Tai Dam	*iə	*wə	*uə	*aw	>	iə	ew	uə	aw
Tai Don	*iə	*wə	*uə	*aw	>	e	Y	0	aш
Tai Lue	*iə	*wə	*uə	*aw	>	e	Y	O	ai

The following are some examples of cognates which have the above diphthongs:

	'to lick'	'salt'	'head'	'heart'
Tai Daeng (Nambak)	liə ³⁴³	kwə ²³²	huə ²³²	t c x ²³²
Tai Dam (Nambak)	liə ⁴⁵⁴	kwə³³	huə ³³	tçaw ³³
Tai Don (M. Baeng)	le ⁴⁴ '	$\mathbf{k}\mathbf{x}^{22}$	ho ²²	tçaw ²²
Tai Lue (Nambak)	$1e^{342}$	$k\gamma^{33}$	ho ³³	tçai ³³

Most of the Tai Daeng people inhabit Hoaphan, Xiangkhoang, Tanh Hoa and Nghe An provinces. Tai Phoeng, a branch of Tai Daeng, can be found in Muong Kham, Xiangkhuong province. The Tai Moei moved further south to Bolikhamxai, Khammouan and Nghe An provinces.

The different patterns of consonant changes can be used as criteria for separating Tai Phoeng and Tai Moei from Proper Tai Daeng and from each other. Good examples can be found in the following cognate sets:

		Tai Daeng	Tai Phoeng	Tai Moei
		/v/	/b/	/b/
'leaf'	*?b	٧ ૪ ²³²	b_{Υ}^{243}	b૪ ²⁴³
'village'	*?b	vaan ²⁴ '	baan44'	baan ⁴⁵
'to fly'	*?b	vin ²³²	bin ²⁴³	bin ²⁴³
		/1/	/d/	/d/
'soil'	*?d	lin ²³²	din ²⁴³	din ²⁴³
'nose'	*?d	lan^{232}	$\mathrm{da}\mathfrak{y}^{\scriptscriptstyle 243}$	$da\eta^{243}$
'star'	*?d	laau ²³²	daau ²⁴³	daau ²⁴³

'hair' 'bee'	*ph *ph	/f/ fom ²³² fyŋ ²⁴ '	/ph/ phom ²⁴³ phɤŋ ^{44'}	/ph/ phom ²⁴³ phuŋ ⁴⁵
'moon' 'flower' 'navel'	*?bl *?bl *?bl	/v/ vwən ²³² vɔk ⁴⁴ sa vw ²³²	/d/ dwən ²⁴³ də? ³³ s~ dw ²⁴³	/b/ bwən ²⁴³ bɔk ³³ sai bw ²⁴³
'bone' 'wing' 'otter'	*vvk *vvk *vvk	/-k/ luk ⁴⁴ pik ⁴⁴ naak ²²	/-?/ ka du? ³³ pi? ³³ naa? ⁴¹	/-k/ ka duk ³³ pik ³³ naak ²⁴

5. Ethnic names and language classification

Some specialists of Tai Studies in Thailand, including historians, anthropologists, sociologists and folklorists often state openly that in identifying ethnic groups one cannot rely on language because language changes and shifts. They do not hesitate to show their negative attitude toward using language and a few have gone so far as to absolutely reject language as a criterion for identifying ethnicity. As a result, about nine Tai ethnic groups have typically been recognized by these scholars: Tai Yai, Tai Lue, Tai Nuea, Tai Khuen, Tai Yuan, Tai Dam, Tai Khao, Lao and Zhuang. These groups once had their own states or kingdoms and traditional writing systems. The rest of the Tai groups seem unacceptable since they were discovered and classified by linguists (language teachers or language specialists in their minds). It appears that they are confused by the distinction between "linguistic analysis" and "language study" in a more general sense. Some have even said that "the Zhuang are a group of Proto Tai"!

As linguists we feel it is our duty to give the correct picture of the use of language analysis in the process of grouping languages into larger language families and especially the subgrouping of languages within a language family as a valid method of determining the relationships and groupings of ethnic groups. This grouping and subgrouping of languages can profitably be applied to Tai languages and ethnic groups.

No one can deny the fact that language changes and shifts. Many cases have been detected; for example, a Tai Yuan or Khammueang dialect spoken in Maecaem district, Chiang Mai has Lua' /la'vuuə?/ or a Mon-Khmer substratum in its pronunciation due to language shift. The peculiar Maecaem accent is caused by unusual phonation types which are common in Mon-Khmer languages. The Lao

language spoken in Xekong Province by Mon-Khmer speaking people, the indigenous inhabitants of Xekong is toneless, and monosyllabic words which are supposed to have a particular tone become laryngealized (L-Thongkum's fieldnotes). The Mien-Yao language spoken at Huai Mae Sai, Chiang Rai, a 6-tone language, is becoming a 5 tone language due to language contact with Thai (L-Thongkum, 1997). Chamberlain, a specialist of Tai linguistics, points out that "Phong (Mon-Khmer men), who have intermarried with Yooy (Tai women), adopt the Yooy language while continuing to trace their ancestry through the male line (Chamberlain 1996). Linguists are aware of this kind of shift which occurs within the framework of an inter-ethnic socio-cultural symbiosis. What we need to do is to explain WHY and HOW changes and shifts occur.

Even though language changes and shifts because of internal and external factors, the remnants of the past can be detected. Certainly, time depth is one of the conditions that must be taken into account. However, with this concept in mind, we believe that certain linguistic characteristics can be used as criteria for determining Tai ethnic group identification. If people in other disciplines do not believe us, what they should do is to posit better criteria. It is unfair and destructive to say that linguistic criterion is nonsense whilst not providing us with an alternative. We do need a more solid recommendation for ethnic group classification. We have longed for a better solution and wonder in what way historians, anthropologists, sociologists and folklorists can cope with phenomena such as those described below if they come across them during their field surveys. The following examples are meant to show how linguists work to solve problems when they are trapped in problematic situations. To illustrate the confusion of ethnic names, two complicated cases will be presented as examples, i.e. the so-called "Tai Dam" and "Phu Tai."

5.1 The Tai Dam case study

When we did our survey in Yuanjiang county, Yunnan province, for the first time, we were told by the local authorities that there were two Tai Dam villages in Yuanjiang, Yangmaho and Gautsai. We had an opportunity to collect data at Yangmaho village. Two years later, we went to do fieldwork in Yunnan again and did our survey in Honghe county. We came across a Tai speaking group who called themselves "Tai Heu," and the women wore the same kind of costume worn by the "Tai Dam" of Yuanjiang. This incident puzzled us very much, therefore we revisited the Yangmaho village in Yuanjiang county to check the language data collected earlier. The Tai Heu dialect and the Tai Dam dialect spoken at Yangmaho turned out to be the same dialect. We asked the villagers at Yangmaho whether they knew anything about the Tai Heu who lived in Honghe county. Their answer was "Of course, they are our relatives. Our ancestors came from Honghe. Actually we are Tai Heu but the Han around here call us Black Tai." This truth was discovered by accident during our second visit to Yangmaho village, Yuanjiang county. We had to thank our language corpus for telling us what the ethnic names did not.

When we did our fieldwork in Maguan county, we were informed by the local Foreign Affairs Office and the Nationalities Office that there were four Tay Lam (Black Tai) villages in Maguan. With the kind arrangements of the district official who was a Tay Lam lady herself, we had a great opportunity to work with the Black Tai people at Xoekoe /sx¹⁴ khx⁴¹/ village. We found out that their dialect was different from the one spoken by the Tai Dam of Yuanjiang County and also from the Tai Dam dialect spoken in Vietnam, Laos and Thailand. The Tai at Xoekoe village and the Pa Yi (Pa Di), an ethnic group of northern Vietnam, turned out to be the same ethnic group based on both language and ladies' costume. Since then, we no longer believe what we are told and what we can get from available materials without checking carefully. One of the most efficient ways to identify the Tai ethnic groups who are still living (and are not skeletons in the ground) is to systematically compare their languages by applying the comparative linguistic method. The comparison provides patterns of sound changes which can be used scientifically as an identification and classification criterion.

If the Tai Dam of Yuanjiang and Maguan counties are closely related to the Tai Dam of Sonla, Laichau, Phongxali, Hoaphan, Luangphrabang, Luangnamta and Central Thailand, then their languages should have the following phonological characteristics:

- 1. The pattern of the tone splits: *A tone > A123-4, *B tone > B123-4, and *C tone > C123-4
- 2. The complete set of Proto-diphthongs: *iə *uə *uə *au still remains: iə uuə uə au

Based on the above criteria, let us compare some cognates in the so-called "Tai Dam" languages spoken in Sonla province, Yuanjiang and Maguan counties, Yunnan.

		Sonla TD	Yuanjiang TD	Maguan TD
	Proto Tone			-
'ear'	*A	hu ³⁵	fu^{14}	hu ¹⁴
'eye'	*A	taa ³⁵	taa ³³	taa ³³
'star'	*A	laau ³⁵	laau ³³	daau ³³
'neck'	*A	ko ⁴⁴	xu^{44}	XO ⁴⁴
'egg'	*B	sai ¹⁴	khai ³⁵	khai ²²
'old'	*B	kau ¹⁴	kau ³⁵	kau ²²
'warm'	*B	?un¹⁴	?un³5	?un ²²
'sit'	*B	$na\eta^{14}$	nգŋ³³՝	naŋ⁴¹

'five'	*C	haa ²¹ '	haa³¹	haa⁴¹
'nine'	*C	kau ²¹ '	kau ³¹	kau⁴¹
'village'	*C	baan ²¹ '	vaan ³¹	baan41
'horse'	*C	maa ⁴¹	maa ⁴¹	maa ³⁵

The tone data from the three "Tai Dam" dialects above is presented in Proto Tai tone charts in Figure 5.

Figure 5 Tone patterns of the three "Tai Dam" (TD) dialects

	*A	*B	*C
1*ph 2*p 3*?b	35	14	31'
4*b	44	33	41
4*b	44	33	41

(*A (_*B (^C		
1*ph	14				
2*p		35	31		
3*?b	33				
4*b	44	33	41		
Yuaniiang TD					

*B *C 22' 41 4*b

Sonla TD

Maguan TD

Patterns of tone change

Sonla TD *A > A123-4*B > B123-4*C > C123-4Yuanjiang TD *A > A1-23-4*B > B123-4 *C > C123-4B4 merges with A23 Maguan TD *A > A1-23-4*B > B123-4 *C > C123-4 B4 merges with C123

		Sonla TD	Yuanjiang TD	Maguan TD
'lick'	*iə	liə ⁴⁴	le ⁴⁴	1i ⁴⁴
'blood'	*wə	lwət²²	lxt ²²	lγt³³
'head'	*uə	huə ³⁵	hu ¹⁴	ho^{14}
'heart'	*aw	tçaw ³⁵	tçaw ³³	tçaw ³³

Patterns of diphthong change (monophthongization)

Sonla TD *iə > iə em < em* *uə > uə *aw > aw Yuanjiang TD *iə > e $\gamma < \epsilon m^*$ *uə > u *aw > aw Maguan TD *ia > e $\gamma < \epsilon m^*$ *uə > 0 *aw > aw

The phonological evidence comprising the patterns of tone change and vowel change presented above confirms the idea that the "Tai Dam" of Yuanjiang and Maguan do not speak the Tai Dam dialect at all. Based on our linguistic findings, they are three separate Tai groups.

5.2 The Case of Pu Tai

In our second trip to Wenshan Zhuang-Miao Autonomous Prefecture in 1992, our aim was to collect data from the "Thu groups." We were told in our first trip about the three types of Thu marked by their turbans: the pointed turban Thu, the square turban Thu and the big round turban Thu. Later we learned that the three types of Thu called themselves Thu, Mata and Budai (Pu Tai) respectively. The ethnic name Phu Tai amazed us because their costumes did not remind us at all of the Phu Thai in Nakhorn Phanom. When we started collecting language data, we were certain that the two Tai groups were different Tai ethnic groups. If we consider below the development of Proto Tai tones *A, *B and *C in open syllables in Pu Tai (or Budai) of Wenshan county and Phu Thai in Nakorn Phanom (Wilaiwan Khanithanan 1975), there is certainly evidence to support this hypothesis.

Figure 6 Tone patterns of Pu Tai (Budai) and Pu Tai (Phu Thai)

	Pu Tai (Budai)		ıdai)	Pu Tai (Phu Thai)		Γhai)	
	*A	*B	*C	*	A	*B	*C
*voiceless aspirated stops, *voiceless dental clusters	1						
*voiceless sonorants, *unaspirated stops *glottalized stops	2	3	5		1	3	4
All *voiced initials	1	4	6		2	4	5
		. (0	tones)			(5 1	ones)

It can be seen that the two Pu Tai groups are entirely dissimilar in the development of Proto tones. If we consider the development of the Proto consonants, we will have even more convincing confirmation that the two Pu Tai groups are not of the same Tai group. Firstly, let us consider the development of *tr:

	Pu Tai (Budai)	Pu Tai (Phu Thai)
'eye'	tho ⁴¹	taa ¹⁴
'to die'	tha ⁴¹	taai ⁴¹

Secondly, consider the development of *b, *d:

	Pu Tai (Budai)	Pu Tai (Phu Thai)
'fat'	bi^{41}	phii ³¹
'ashes'	dəu ⁴¹	thau ³⁵

The development of Proto Tai and PT clusters *tr and PT *b, *d clearly show that the two dialects are different. Also, while Pu Tai (Budai) development of *tr > th (as in 'eye') indicates that it belongs to CT group, Phu Thai's development of *tr > t shows that it belongs to the SWT group.

6. Conclusion

The subgroupings of the Central and South-western Tai dialects given above should demonstrate how the comparative method was used as a linguistic principle to reveal the relationships between the dialects under investigation. It has also served to emphasize the fact that groups of people living apart, called by, or calling themselves by, different ethnic names, may in fact be the same group of people. Although one may argue against the results derived from our use of linguistic methodology, one should be able to nonetheless accept that these results were the product of a systematic investigation.

The conclusion that Pu Tai (Budai) and Pu Tai (Phu Thai) are different ethnic groups and that Tai Dam in Yuanjiang, Vietnam and Maguan are of different subgroups is a proposition that requires substantiating data - obtained through the same rigorous investigation process. Whether this hypothesis will be confirmed (or not) by such research is not as important as the fact that the research itself has contributed to the study of the Tai people, and that further academic discussion (for or against) will continue to contribute to the study of the Tais in general.

REFERENCES

- Bandhumedha, Banchob. 1987. Phake-Thai Dictionary. Bangkok. Unpublished ms.
- Chamberlain, James R. 1996. Indigenous Peoples and Hydropower Development: A Case Study in the Use of Ethnolinguistic Analysis in Environmental Assessment. Unpublished ms.
- Gedney, William J. 1972. "A checklist for determining tones in Tai dialects." In Smith M. Estellie ed., *Studies in Linguistics: In Honor of George L. Trager* (Janua linguarum, Ser. Maior, 52), 423-437. The Hague: Mouton.
- Gedney, William J. 1989. "A comparative sketch of White, Black and Red Tai." In Bickner, Robert J. et al. eds., Selected papers on *Comparative Tai Studies*, 415-461. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.
- Li, Fang-kuei. 1977. A Handbook of Comparative Tai. (Oceanic Linguistics special publication no.15). Honolulu: University press of Hawaii.
- Matisoff, James A. The Matisoff 200-Wordlist Arranged by Semantic Categories, Culturally Appropriate Lexicostatistical Model for Southeast Asia. Unpublished ms.
- Proschan, Frank. 1996. Lao People's Democratic Republic 1995 Classification of Ethnic Groups. Unpublished ms.
- Theraphan L-Thongkum. 1997. "Implications of the proto voiced obstruents in the Thu language of Yunnan for a theory of tonal development and Tai language classification." In Edmondson, Jerold A. and David B. Solnit eds., Comparative Kadai II: The Tai Branch, 193-221. Dallas: SIL and UTA Series of Linguistics No.124.
- Theraphan L-Thongkum. 1997. "Tone change and language contact: a case study of Mien-Yao and Thai." In Arthur S. Abramson ed., *Southeast Asian Linguistic Studies: In Honor of Vichin Panupong*, 153-160. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Press.
- Weidert, Alfons. 1977. Tai Khamti Phonology and Vocabulary. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner
- วิไถวรรณ ขนิษฐานันท์. 1975. "ภาษาถิ่น 'ผู้ไทย' นครพนม." In Harris, Jimmy G. and Chamberlain, James R. eds., Studies in Tai Linguistics: In Honor of William J. Gedney. Bangkok: CIEL, Office of State Universities. (in Thai)

Table 1 Examples of Central Tai words illustrating the development of *tr; *thr, and *r

	'eye' *tr	todie" *tr	'head' <i>"thr</i>	'louse' *thr	'to see' "thr	'stone' *thr	'long' *r	'dryland' *r
	tho35		thu ⁵⁵	mi tho55	•	then ⁵⁵	zį³s	zai ¹¹
Mitai (Yuanyang)	tho⁴¹	¹¹cth	thu ⁴¹	mi thau ⁴¹	du tha41	then⁴¹	<u> </u> βi⁴¹	ţаі³
Mata (Wenshan)	¹⁴cth	tha41	thu ⁴¹	mi thau41	•	than⁴¹	ði ⁴¹	ðai454
Thu (Wenshan)	tho⁴¹	¹+cth	thu⁴¹	mi thu41	tha⁴	then ⁴¹	$z_{j^{4l}}$	zai⁴
Budai (Wenshan)	tha41	thaai41	thu⁴¹	thau ⁴¹	koi than⁴¹	then ⁴¹	rei ⁴¹	rai ³³
Tienbao (Changhoug)	tha41	thaai41	thu⁴¹	thau ⁴¹	la than⁴¹	then41	ðai⁴¹	ðai ⁴¹
Tienbao (Nanjiang)	tha24	thaai ²⁴	tho24	thau24	han ²⁴	thin ²⁴	ði41	ðai ⁴²
Kon Min (Funds)	luk tha ¹³	thaai ¹³	thau ¹³	ti thau ¹³	than ¹³	•	ði³³	•
ru ivong (Smugov)	mak tha13	thaai ¹³	thu ¹³	ti thau13	ŋau than ¹³	•	•	•
Nong (Dachom)	tha ³³	thaai³³	thua ³³	thau33	han ³³	thin33	li ⁵²	lai²¹
Nung (Daian)	tha³³	haai³³	•	hau33	han ³³	hin ³³	li³1	lai ¹¹
Tay (Nogoem)	ha³³	haai³³	•	hau33	hen³³	heen33	hi ³⁵²	lai ⁵⁵
Tay La (Baniai)	ha³³	haai³³	hu³³	reneu.	hen³³	hin33	hi ⁴⁵³	hai ²²
Tay La (Dangapom)	ha ³³	haai³³	ho³³	hau³³	han³³	hin³³	t¢i³⁵	hai ²²
Tay Lo (Moengesue) Tai Nam (Bangat)	ta,	łaai ²⁴	hu ²⁴	ðau ²⁴	han³³	1	δi³³	đai ⁴²

APPENDIX 88 Locations

Thailand				
Ethnic Group	Village	Sub-district	District	Province
1. Tai Dam	Napanat	KhaoKaew	Chiangkhan	Loei
2. Lao Song	Donmakluea	Domnakluea	Outhong	Suphanburi
3. Tai Yuan	Donrae	Donrae	Mueang	Rachaburi
4. Tai Yuan	Thongfai	Changkhoeng	Maejaem	Chiangmai
5. Tai Khuen	Ta-ngua	Banklang	Sanpathong	Chiangmai
6. Tai Yong (Lue)	Maimokcam	Taton	Mae-ai	Chiangmai
7. Tai Yai	Mueangpon	Mueangpon	Khunyuam	Maehongsorn
8. Tai Yai	Napacat	Huaipha	Mueang	Maehongsorn
9. Tai Yai (Luang)	Khahan	Thapha	Mueang	Maehongsorn

Laos				
Ethnic Group	Village	Sub-district	District	Province
10. Phuan	Phon-ngam	-	Vientiane	Vientiane
11. Phuan	Phonsavan	-	Phonsavan	Xiangkhoang
12. Lue	Nayangtai	-	Nambak	Louangphabang
13. Lue	Yo	-	Baeng	Oudomxai
14. Tai Don	Samkang	-	Baeng	Oudomxai
15. Tai Dam	Nakok	-	Nambak	Louangphabang
16. Tai Dam	Nakham	-	Mai	Phongsali
17. Tai Daeng	Nongpaen	-	Vientiane	Vientiane
18. Tai Daeng	Nongbuathong	-	Vientiane	Vientiane
19. Tai Daeng	Phonohom	-	Nambak	Louangphabang
20. Tai Moei	Phonxi	-	Khamkoet	Khammouan
21. Tai Phoeng	Kwai	-	Kham	Xiangkhoang

Vietnam				
Ethnic Group	Village	Sub-district	District	Province
22. Tai Dam	Ban Den	-	Muongcheng	Sonla
23. Tai Don	Namxe	-	Phongtho	Laichau
24. Tai Daeng(A)	Chienpa	Chiengchau	Maichau	Hoabinh
25. Tai Daeng(A)	Lau	Maiha	Maichau	Hoabinh
26. Tai Daeng(A)	Panh	Baula	Maichau	Hoabinh
27. Tai Daeng(B)	Mo	Maithuong	Maichau	Hoabinh
28. Tai Daeng(B)	Puoi	-	Mocchau	Hoabinh
29. Nung	Dai-an	-	Vanquan	Langson
30. Tay	Nagoem	-	Vanlang	Langson

China					
Ethnic Group	Village	Sub-district	County	Prefecture	Province
31. Tai Lue	Bancianglan	-	Jinghong	Sipsongpanna Dai Aut.	Yunnan
32. Tai Lue	Banhin	-	Menghai	Sipsongpanna Dai Aut.	Yunnan
33. Tai Lue	Mengbom	Mengla	Jinping	Honghe Hani-Yi Aut.	Yunnan
34. Tai Nuea	Mengliam	Gengma	Gengma- Dai-Va Aut.	Lincang	Yunnan
35. Tai Nuea	Banbung	Gengma	Gengma- Dai-Va Aut.	Lincang	Yunnan
36. Tai Heu	Yangmaho	Yuanjiang	Yuanjiang Hani-Yi-Dai Aut.	Yuxi	Yunnan
37. Tai Heu	Hogat	-	Honghe	Honghe-Hani-Yi Aut.	Yunnan
38. Tai Lon (Don)	Menggau	Mengla	Jinping	Honghe-Hani-Yi Aut.	Yunnan
39. Tai Tsang	Gantsuang	Yuanjiang	Yuanjiang Hani-Yi-Dai Aut.	Yuxi	Yunnan
40. Tai Ya	Gaukang	Yuanjiang	Yuanjiang Hani-Yi-Dai Aut.	Yuxi	Yunnan
41. Tai Tsung	Wandong	Yuanjiang	Yuanjiang Hani-Yi-Dai Aut.	Yuxi	Yunnan
42. Tai Eulai	Banhogat	Chimapa	Luchun	Honghe Hani-Yi Aut.	Yunnan
43. Tai Eulai	Liugai	Chimapa	Yuanyang	Honghe Hani-Yi Aut.	Yunnan
44. Tai Payi	Xoekoe	-	Maguan	Wenshan Zhuang- Miao Aut.	Yunnan
45. Tai La	Banfai	• • • • • • • •	Yuanjiang Hani-Yi-Dai Aut.	Yuxi	Yunnan
46. Tai La	Daigabom	Honghe	Honghe	Honghe-Hani-Yi Aut.	Yunnan
47. Tai Nam	Bangat	Chengzishang	Malipo	Wenshan Zhuang- Miao Aut.	Yunnan
48. Tai Nam	Banngo	-	Hekou Yao Aut.	Honghe Hani-Yi Aut.	Yunnan

49. Nong	Jiapo	-	Maguan	Wenshan Zhuang- Miao Aut.	Yunnan
50. Nong	Tatoepoe		Mengzi	Honghe Hani-Yi Aut.	Yunnan
51. Nong	Shugoe	- ···	Wenshan	Wenshan Zhuang- Miao Aut.	Yunnan
52. Mata (Thu)	Qixinguo	-	Wenshan	Wenshan Zhuang- Miao Aut.	Yunnan
53. Tai Lo	Mungtsue	- 7	Yuanyang	Honghe Hani-Yi Aut.	Yunnan
54. Mi Tai (Thu)	Tsichia	-	Yuanyang	Honghe Hani-Yi Aut.	Yunnan
55. Thu	Luchaichong	- *	Maguan	Wenshan Zhuang- Miao Aut.	Yunnan
56. Bu Dai (Thu)	Xinhuilong	•	Wenshan	Wenshan Zhuang- Miao Aut.	Yunnan
57. Kon Min	Langhan	-	Funing	Wenshan Zhuang- Miao Aut.	Yunnan
58. Tienbao	Changnong	Po-ai Township	Funing	Wenshan Zhuang- Miao Aut.	Yunnan
59. Bu To	Changnong	-	Funing	Wenshan Zhuang- Miao Aut.	Yunnan
60. Hun Yai (Hun To)	Nawai	Banlun Township	Funing	Wenshan Zhuang- Miao Aut.	Yunnan
61. Bu Yai	Vanbing	-	Congjiang	Qiandongnan Miao-Dong Aut.	Guizhou
62. Bu Yai	Xangmeng	-	Longsheng	Guilin	Guangxi
63. Bu Yai (Bu To)	Napo	-	Funing	Wenshan Zhuang- Miao Aut.	Yunnan
64. Zhuang	Piangliang	-	Longlin	Bose	Guangxi
65. Bu Sha (Bu Yai)	Nayei	-	Funing	Wenshan Zhuang- Miao Aut.	Yunnan
66. Bu Yi	Jilan	-	Nandan	Hechi	Guangxi
67. Bu Yi (Bu Yai, Pen Ti)	-	- 	Libo	Qiannan Bouyei- Miao Aut.	Guizhou
68. Bai Yi (Tujin)	-	-	Malipo	Wenshan-Zhuang Miao Aut.	Yunnan
69. Dong (Gaem)	-	-	Rongjiang	Qiandognan Miao- Dong Aut.	Guizhou
70. Dong	-	-	Congjiang	Qiandognan Miao- Dong Aut.	Guizhou

71. Dong	-	-	Sanjiang	Sanjiang Dong	Guizhou
72. Sui	Lincun		Congjiang	Aut. Qiandongnan	Guizhou
72. Sui	Lincun	-	Conglang	Miao-Dong Aut.	Guizilou
73. Sui	Longma	-	Nandan	Hechi	Guangxi
74. Ai Mak	Fang Shun	-	Libo	Qiannan Bouyei-	Guizhou
	Shiang			Miao Aut.	
75. Ai Cham	Dongmai	-	Libo	Qiannan Bouyei-	Guizhou
				Miao Aut.	
76. Maonan	Nanchang	-	Huangjiang	Hechi	Guangxi
77. Mulao	Manlamroe	-	Luocheng	Hechi	Guangxi
(Mulam)					
78. Be	-	Dung-ing	Lingao	-	Hainan
(Ong Be)					
79. Ha Li	Futu	-	Baisha	-	Hainan
80. Bendi Li	-	Baisha	Baisha	-	Hainan
81. Gei Li	Xetsi	-	Tongza	-	Hainan
82. Moi Fou	Xifang	-	Dongfang	-	Hainan
83. Ngao Fon	Wanglao	-	Dongfang	-	Hainan
84. Lakkja	-	Jinxiu	Jinxiu	-	Guangxi
85. Bu Yang	-	Gula Township	Funing	-	Yunnan
86. Bu Biao	Longlong	-	Malipo	-	Yunnan
87. Gelao	Tsuelan	-	Malipo	-	Yunnan
(White)					
88. Gelao	-	-	Longlin	Bose	Guangxi

