

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 [a³¹kh^u55] 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	qízi	---	---	flag; banner
dʒɿ ³¹ li ³¹	dʒi ³¹ li ⁵⁵	dízi	---	---	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	a ³¹ p ^h u ³⁵ ɛ ³⁵	guì	---	---	expensive
a ³¹ k ^h u ⁵⁵	a 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	tɕ ^h i ⁵⁵ k ^h u ³¹	xiùzi	---	---	sleeve
dʒɛ ³³ hi ³³	di ³¹ hiŋ ⁵⁵	fēijī	---	---	airplane
a ⁴⁴ thɛ ³¹ thɛ ³¹	k ^h a ⁵⁵ thɛ 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 ɕɿ ³¹	guònián	lu ³¹ sǎ ⁵⁵	---	celebrate New Year
mɛ ³⁵ thɛ ⁵⁵ hi ³³	mɛ ³⁵ thɛ 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 thɛ ³¹ thɛ ³¹	k ^h a ⁵⁵ thɛ 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 ɕɿ ³¹	guònián	lu ³¹ sǎ ⁵⁵	---	celebrate New Year
mɛ ³⁵ thɛ ⁵⁵ hi ³³	mɛ ³⁵ thɛ 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	thi ³¹ dʒɛ ⁷⁵⁵	dī	---	---	to drop
dʒɛ ³⁵	dʒɛ ³⁵ tɕ ^h uŋ ³¹	qiángbì	---	---	a wall
tho ⁴¹ la ³³	th ^u 31la ⁵⁵	tùzi	---	---	rabbit
tʃ ^h i ³¹	tɕ ^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	tɕ ^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 tho ³⁵	xa ³¹ tho ³⁵	wénzi	---	---	mosquito
ua ³¹ la ³¹	ua ³¹ la ⁵⁵	biānfú	---	---	bat

TABLE 3. Chinese loans in Anong

Lisu	Anong	Pinyin	Trung	Nujiang	
---	i ³¹ ts ^h uɛn ³⁵	cùn	tɿ ⁵⁵ tsun ⁵⁵	tɕi ⁵⁵ tswen ⁵⁵	cun (inch)
---	ts ^h uɿ ³¹ ɿ ³⁵	chéng	ts(tc)ɛŋ ⁵⁵	tɕ ^h uɿ ⁵⁵	city; town
---	tɕɛŋ ⁵⁵ tsu ³¹	dèngzi	pan ⁵⁵ tu ⁵⁵	pan ⁵⁵ tu ⁵⁵	stool; bench
---	xua ⁵⁵ su ⁵⁵	huāshēng	xwa ⁵⁵ sen ⁵⁵	xwa ⁵⁵ sen ⁵⁵	peanut
---	ua ³¹ tsɿ ⁵⁵	wàzi	wa ⁵⁵ tsu ⁵⁵	wa ³¹ tsu ⁵⁵	socks
---	uɛn ³¹ tsa ³⁵	wénzhàng	---	wen ³¹ tsa ⁵⁵	mosquito net
---	ɕi ⁵⁵ p ^h i ⁵⁵	xǐzi	ɕi ⁵⁵ tsu ⁵⁵	ɕi ⁵⁵ tsu ⁵⁵	mat
---	iŋ ³¹ xaŋ ⁵⁵	yínháng	iŋ ⁵⁵ xaŋ ⁵³	jiŋ ³¹ xaŋ ⁵³	bank (money)
---	i ³⁵ tsɿ ³¹	yǐzi	---	i ³¹ tsu ⁵³	chair
---	la ³¹ bɔ ⁵³	luóbo	lu ³¹ bǔ ⁷⁵⁵	lɔ ³¹ bɔ ⁵³ -f	radish
---	a ³¹ kaŋ ⁵⁵	gāng	kaŋ ⁵⁵	kaŋ ⁵⁵	steel
mo ³¹ gua ³¹	mu ⁵⁵ kua ⁵⁵	gē	kɔ ⁵⁵	kɔ ⁵⁵	song
ko ⁵⁵	a ³¹ gu ⁵⁵	guò	---	---	go past
xu ³¹ tʃ ^h ɿ ⁵⁵	xo ⁵⁵ ts ^h ai ³¹	huǒchái	ja ⁵⁵ xɔ ⁵³	xɔ ⁵⁵ ts ^h ai ³¹	matches
khɛ ⁴⁴ xui ³⁵	khɛ ³³ xue ³⁵	kāihù	kai ⁵⁵ xui ⁵⁵	khai ⁵⁵ xue ⁵⁵	hold meeting
la ³¹ tʃu ³¹	la ³¹ tsu ⁵⁵	làzhú	la ³¹ tsu ⁵³	la ⁵⁵ tɕu ⁵⁵	candle(wax)
me ³¹	me ³¹ thəŋ ⁵⁵	méi	---	me ³¹ thəŋ ⁵⁵	coal

ts ^h o ⁴⁴ fɿ ³¹	tɕ ^h ɿ ³¹	mǐnzú	min ³¹ tsu ⁵³	min ³¹ tɕu ⁵³	minority
mɛ ³¹	mɛ ³¹	mò	mǎi ⁵⁵	mɛ ³¹	ink (Chinese)
mu ³⁵ o ⁴¹ ɿ ³³	mɛ ³¹ tɕ ^h ɿ ³¹	mòshuǐ	mǎi ⁵⁵ sui ⁵⁵	mɛ ³¹ sui ³	ink, black
tʃ ^h ɛ ³³ pi ³¹	tɕ ^h ɛn ⁵⁵ pi ³¹	qiānbǐ	tɕan ⁵⁵ pi ³³	tɕ ^h an ⁵⁵ pi ³¹	pencil
ʃua ³¹ tsɿ ⁴⁴	ɕua ⁵⁵ tsɿ ⁵⁵	shuāzi	swa ³¹ tsɿ ⁵⁵	---	brush
sua ³¹	so ⁵⁵	shǔ	sɔʔ ⁵⁵	---	count
so ⁴⁴ tu ³¹	su ⁵⁵ tu ³¹	suǒzi	sɔ ⁵⁵ tsi ⁵⁵	sɔ ³¹ si ⁵⁵	lock
---	di ³¹ baŋ ⁵⁵	bāngzhù	---	---	help
---	tiəu ⁵⁵ k ^h ɛ ³¹	diāokè	---	---	carve, engrave
---	ɑ ³¹ vɛn ³³	fēn	---	---	divide
---	p ^h u ³¹ lu ⁵⁵	pū	---	---	unfold
gu ³¹	gu ³¹ ɲi ⁵⁵	guì	mu ³¹ kɿŋ ⁵⁵	k ^h ũ ^ʔ ⁵⁵	kneel
la ³⁵ dzu ⁴¹	la ³⁵ dzi ^ʔ ³¹	làjiāo	bɿ ⁵⁵ ci ⁵⁵	bɑ ³¹ tɕi ⁵⁵	pepper (hot)
tʃo ⁵⁵	tɕu ³⁵	jiù	---	---	rescue
mo ³³ do ³³	mo ⁵⁵ do ⁵⁵	qìchē	tɕi ⁵⁵ tse ⁵⁵	tɕ ^h i ³¹ tshe ⁵⁵	car

1.2 Chinese loans

The Lisu and Chinese borrowings are the only substantive set of borrowings, with only a handful of words borrowed from other sources (Burmese, a Tai-Kadai source, and some Mon-Khmer forms here and there). Our data base was more restricted than Sun's, consisting of the forms in his 1988 article plus the forms in ZMYYC (1991).

2 Phonological changes

The Anong changes, however, are not limited to its lexicon. It has undergone rapid changes in its phonology, in part under the influence of Lisu and in part simply the product of attrition, although at times teasing the two apart is impossible as many of the changes look to be the product of both influences.

2.1 The Anong consonant system

Sun (1988:27-34) provides a reasonably detailed sketch of the Anong sound system. As of 1988, he lists Anong as having 66 or so consonants (1988:27-29):

TABLE 4. Anong consonants (as of 1988)

p-	t-	t̥-		k-	ʔ-
p ^h -	t ^h -	t̥ ^h -		k ^h -	
b-	d-	d̥-		g-	
	ts-	t̥s-	tɕ-		
	tʂ ^h -	t̥ʂ ^h -	tɕ ^h -		
	dz-	d̥ʑ-	dʒ-		
f-	s-	ɕ-	ç-	x-	h-
v-	z-	ʑ-		ɣ-	
m̥-	m̥-		m̥-	m̥-	
m-	n-	n̥-	n̥-	n̥-	
	l-	ɭ-			
	ɬ-	ɮ-			

Source: Sun (1988:27-29)

Sun (1988:30) also notes that as of 1988 there were 77 finals, ten of them simple vowels, sixteen of them diphthongs, four syllabic nasals, and forty-seven finals with consonant endings.

2.2 The preglottalized consonants

Sun's 1988 (27-34) inventory of consonants includes a preglottalized series, which he describes as consisting of a glottal stop followed by one of the voiced obstruents, one of the voiced affricates (except for dz-), or one of the voiced nasals (except for e-).

TABLE 5. Anong preglottalized consonants (in 1988)

ʔb-	ʔd-	ʔd̥-	ʔg-	
	dz-	ʔdz̥-	ʔdz-	
ʔm-	ʔn-	ʔn̥-	ʔɲ-	[ɲ-]
ʔbɿ-				

Source: Sun (1988:29-34)

A little over a decade later, the preglottalized stops are in danger of disappearing. Sun (1999a:355) reports that, while the speech of some elderly speakers still contains preglottalized stops, that is, an initial glottal stop followed by a voiced consonant: [ʔb-],

[ʔb-], [ʔm-], [ʔd-], [ʔn-], [ʔɖ-], [ʔg-], [ʔŋ-], [ʔl-], [ʔɭ-], and [ʔdz-], (Sun 1999a:355). However, as Sun notes other elderly speakers only retain them as tense vowels, while the majority of the remaining speakers have lost them entirely.

TABLE 6. Loss of glottalized consonants

Anong elderly	Anong under 50	Dulong	gloss
mo ⁵⁵ ʔda ⁵⁵	mo ⁵⁵ da ⁵⁵	mũ ^{ʔ31} dur ³¹ ɿũŋ ⁵³	thunder
ŋi ⁵⁵ luŋ ⁵⁵ ʔdʒɛ ³¹ lin ⁵⁵	ŋi ⁵⁵ luŋ ⁵⁵ dʒɛ ³¹ lin ⁵⁵	tɕɕi ⁵⁵	open eyes
ʔɖaŋ ⁵⁵ ; ʔdaŋ ⁵⁵	daŋ ⁵⁵	---	crawl
ʔdʒu ⁵⁵ ŋy ³¹	dʒu ³¹ ŋu ⁵⁵	dʒin ⁵⁵	to soak
pliŋ ³¹ ʔga ⁵⁵	ga ⁵⁵	ga ⁵⁵	bright; clear
ɕɛ ³¹ ʔnɛm ⁵⁵ ɛ ³¹	ɑ ³¹ nɛm ⁵⁵	---	beautiful
ɑ ³¹ ʔna ³¹	ʔɑ ³¹ nɛ ³⁵ u ³⁵		dye
ʔdɛm ⁵⁵	dɛm ⁵⁵		on credit

Sun (1999a:355) states that in the data recorded in 1960, the language consultant's Anong included minimal pairs between words with preglottalized stops and those without, but in 1999; in these same examples, the initial pre-glottalization had disappeared, in most cases with the glottalization having simply been lost.

Sun (1999a:355) specifically notes that the 1960 survey had not shown any tenseness, but tenseness was found in the 1983 survey. The 1983 tenseness was found in vowel and nasal codas, but it did not appear to have a grammatical function, nor was it used to differentiate words. However, in the 1999 survey Sun found it used not only to show contrasting pairs in new words, but also for marking grammatical meaning. Unfortunately, no examples are listed. Lisu, incidentally, has tenseness.

2.3 Simplification of clusters with retroflexes

The initial consonant clusters [p^hɿ-], [bɿ-], [mɿ-], [fɿ-], [vɿ-], [k^hɿ-], and [gɿ-], found in the speech of older Anong speakers, are no longer present in the speakers under the age of 50, nor in the speech of young people (Sun 1999a:355). In the place of the [-ɿ] was a semi-vowel pronounced as the high vowel [i] or the semi-vowel [j] (Sun 1999a:355), in those cases where the reflexes of the [-ɿ] have not disappeared completely.

TABLE 7. Simplification of retroflexes

Lisu	Anong	Trung	Nujiang	gloss
p ^h u ⁴⁴	p ^h u ⁵⁵ no ³¹	p ^h u ⁵⁵		untie
	a ³¹ p ^h ɿ ³¹			ancestor
li ³¹	bɿ ³	a ³¹ bli ⁵³	bli ⁵³	four
ts ^h e ⁴⁴ du ³¹	sə ⁵⁵ bɿ ³¹	duŋ ⁵⁵ bli ⁵³	---	pestle; mortar
xə ³¹	çə ⁵⁵ ʔbɿu ³⁵	---	---	cross over
p ^h i ³¹	ban ⁵⁵ sɛ ³¹	blat ⁵⁵	blät ⁵⁵ ; -blat ⁵⁵	braid
	a ³¹ mɿan ⁵⁵			angry
	da ³¹ fɿ ⁵⁵			turtledove
	k ^h ɿ ⁵³			sweet
k ^h u ³¹	dɛ ³¹ gɿ ⁵⁵	du ³¹ gwi ⁵⁵	du ³¹ gi ⁵⁵	dog
bu ³³	gɿ ⁵⁵	g ^h ui ⁵³	g ^h ui ⁵⁵	crow, to
tʃ ^h i ⁴⁴ ne ³³ 'foot' + 'pinch'	a ³¹ xɛ ³³ gɿ ³¹ dɛ m ⁵⁵	lu ³¹ gu ⁵³	lu ³¹ gu ⁵³	shoes
---	hɛ ³¹ gi ⁵³	---	---	potato
bo ⁴⁴	ga ⁵⁵ ga ³¹	a ³¹ ga ⁵³	a ³¹ ga ⁵³	full; satiated
---	xu ⁵⁵	---	---	sift

With only a few exceptions, the forms in the table are the old forms before the loss of the retroflexes. Other data contains examples of the same forms but without the medial -ɿ-, as spoken by the middle-aged and the younger generation.

2.4 Loss of older retroflexed onsets

The retroflex series in the 1988 consonant inventory (Table 1) is a retention from the earliest recorded stage of Anong (Sun (1999a:355). It is now beginning to merge with the non-retroflexed series.

TABLE 8. Loss of retroflexed onsets

Lisu	Anong	Trung	gloss
bu ³³	tɿ ³¹ iu ⁵³	---	pay for
p ^h i ³¹ tɕ ^h o ³¹	ɕa ⁵⁵ sa ³¹ tuŋ ⁵⁵	pi ⁵⁵ tɕu ⁵³	ball
---	t ^h im ⁵⁵	---	tie a knot
n ^h i ³³ ma ³³	t ^h a ³¹ ŋaŋ ⁵⁵	a ³¹ nu ⁵⁵	sibling, younger
---	t ^h am ⁵⁵	a ³¹ dap ⁵⁵	hit (table)
t ^h ɛ ⁴¹	t ^h a ³¹ -i	dap ⁵⁵	nail onto
---	t ^h u ⁵⁵	---	pluck
t ^h ɛ ⁴¹	t ^h a ³¹ -i	dap ⁵⁵	nail onto
da ³¹ to ⁵³	a ³¹ t ^h a ³¹	ka ⁵⁵ a ³¹ taŋ ⁵⁵	answer
li ⁵⁵	t ^h i ³¹ ɿ ³¹	tsap ⁵⁵ note	give/ pay back
---	ŋ ³¹ k ^h i ⁵⁵ ŋi ³¹ t ^h i ⁵⁵	kwan ⁵⁵	chase; hunt
p ^h iɛ ³ za ⁴¹ ku ⁴⁴	t ^h in ⁵³	tu ⁵⁵	rob; plunder
la ³¹	a ³¹ t ^h uŋ ⁵⁵	mu ³¹ dum ⁵⁵	retreat
vu ³¹ la ³³	t ^h ɛ ⁵⁵	a ³¹ lai ⁵⁵	grow up
mo ³¹	t ^h i ³¹ maŋ ³¹	---	old (people)
tu ³⁵	ɕi ³¹ t ^h i ³⁵	ten ⁵⁵ (knife)	hold
---	ka ³¹ t ^h an ⁵³	---	above; over
ka ⁴⁴ tɛ ⁴⁴	ɕɛ ³¹ guŋ ³¹ t ^h an ⁵⁵	gɔŋ ⁵⁵ ɿŋ ⁵⁵	backbone
ɣa ³³ p ^h u ⁴⁴	ɕa ³¹ gu ⁵⁵	kă ⁷⁵⁵ aŋ ³¹ gu ⁵⁵	rooster
---	tɕ ^h a ⁵⁵ ɕaŋ ³¹	pu ³¹ tɕi ⁷⁵⁵ dăŋ ⁵³	a nest
la ³¹ ba ³¹	ɕɿ ³¹ ɕuŋ ³¹	ɕɔ ⁵⁵ bũ ⁷⁵⁵	cover; quilt
sa ³¹ du ³³	ɕi ³¹ xɛn ⁵⁵	pu ³¹ sa ⁵⁵	mark; sign
---	ɕuŋ ⁵⁵ ɛ ³¹	dũ ⁷⁵⁵	vomit
---	ɕim ⁵⁵	---	kick

---	ʔdaŋ ⁵⁵	ŋaŋ ⁵⁵	crawl
na ³¹	ɬi ³¹ gaŋ ⁵⁵	---	rest; stop
tʃɿ ⁴⁴	ɬi ³¹ gɿ ³¹ u ³¹	---	smelt [copper]
tʃe ⁴⁴ tsu ⁴⁴	ɬi ³¹ fɿ ⁵⁵	nəm ⁵³ nu ⁵³¹ na ⁵⁵	cool
tsʰo ³³ thə ³³	ʂɿ ³¹ daʊ ⁵⁵	mɿt ⁵⁵ gɔt ⁵⁵	intelligent
ne ⁴⁴ tsʰɿ ³⁵	ɬu ³¹	nəm ⁵³ du ³¹ zət ⁵⁵	dark (not light)
a ³¹ dʒɿ ³¹	a ³¹ daŋ ⁵⁵	su ³¹ nət ⁷⁵⁵	all
ma ³³	thi ³¹ ɬu ³¹	ti ⁵⁵ gu ⁵⁵	chicken, clf.
ta ³³ ta ³⁵	da ⁵⁵ daŋ ³¹	su ³¹ ɿep ⁵⁵	vertical, stand
---	xam ⁵⁵ daŋ ⁵⁵	aŋ ³¹ ɿam ⁵⁵	across; horizontal
na ⁵⁵ bo ³¹	a ³¹ na ³¹ bɯ ³¹ ɬu ⁵⁵	nu ³¹ du ⁵³	deaf
ʒɿ ⁵⁵	ɬu ⁵⁵ tɕʰin ³¹ nuŋ ⁵⁵	---	seize; take; carry
kʰu ⁵⁵	ɬu ³¹ ɬuŋ ⁵⁵	ni ⁵⁵ tsʰa ⁵⁵	tight
---	mu ⁷⁵³ ɬu ⁷⁵³	paŋ ⁵³ nu ⁵⁵	cloudy
ka ⁴⁴ te ⁴⁴	ɬe ³¹ guŋ ³¹ thəŋ ⁵⁵	gɔŋ ⁵⁵ ɿi ⁷⁵⁵	backbone
tʃu ⁴⁴	ɬi ³¹ ɿu ⁷⁵⁵	xɿu ⁷⁵⁵	thin (person)
---	mu ⁷⁵³ ɬu ⁷⁵³	nəm ⁵³ du ⁵⁵	cloudy
ŋɿ ³³ ma ³³	thə ³¹ ŋaŋ ⁵⁵	a ³¹ nu ⁵⁵	sibling, younger
---	ŋɿ ³¹ ŋa ³¹ a ³¹ tɕʰu ³¹	tsu ⁵³	to herd
ni ³⁵ nu ³³	ŋi ⁵⁵ ɕi ³¹	ŋi ⁵⁵ ɕi ³¹	love
nu ³¹	ɛn ⁴¹	ŋɿp ⁵⁵	soft; tender
ne ⁴⁴	ŋaŋ ⁵⁵ ɛ ³¹	tsaŋ ⁵⁵ ma ⁵⁵ mu ³¹ ca ⁵³ c??	dirty
e ⁵⁵ ua ³¹ ŋɿ ³¹ ʒo ⁴⁴	ŋ ³¹ ŋuŋ ⁵⁵ si ³¹	---	they (two)
e ⁵⁵ ua ³¹	ŋ ³¹ ŋuŋ ⁵⁵	ət ⁵⁵ nɿŋ ⁵⁵	they (pl.)
du ³¹ dʒa ³¹	tsʰom ⁵⁵ ŋi ⁵⁵ a ⁵³	---	think
a ⁵⁵ so ⁴⁴	thə ³¹ me ⁵⁵ sa ³¹	tɔi ⁵⁵ a ³¹ laŋ ⁵³	just now
---	ŋɛ ³¹ ŋuŋ ⁵⁵ si ³¹	---	you (two)
---	ŋɛ ³¹ ŋuŋ ⁵⁵	nu ⁵⁵ nɿŋ ⁵⁵	you (plural)
gu ³¹	gu ³¹ ŋi ⁵⁵	mu ³¹ kɿɔŋ ⁵⁵	kneel

ʃɿ ⁴⁴	ʂɿ ⁵⁵	seɿ ⁵⁵	gold; yellow
kʰuɿ ³¹ xu ⁴⁴	ʂɿ ⁵⁵ ɿ ³¹	suɿ ³¹ li ⁵³	flea cf. louse
li ⁵⁵	tʰi ³¹ ɿ ³¹	---	give/ pay back
go ⁴¹	gu ³¹ ɿ ⁵⁵	duɿ ³¹ gɿ ⁵⁵	crooked, bent
li ³¹	a ³¹ ɿ ⁵⁵	a ³¹ li ⁵³	heavy
---	tʰi ⁵⁵ ɿ ⁵⁵	ti ⁵⁵ ɿ ⁵⁵	grain clf.
---	tʰi ³¹ ɿ ⁵⁵	---	pay for
e ⁵⁵ lu ⁴⁴	ɿ ³¹ ɿ ⁵⁵	aɿ ³¹ li ⁵⁵	old

TABLE 9. Loss of retroflex initials

Anong elder	Anong under 50	Dulong	gloss
tʰe ⁵⁵	tʰe ⁵⁵	---	grow up
tʰa ³¹ ɿ ⁵⁵	tʰa ³¹ naɿ ⁵⁵	---	younger brother
tʰin ⁵³	tʰin ⁵⁵ ; tʰin ⁵³	tu ⁵⁵	rob; plunder
ɕim ⁵⁵	dim ⁵⁵	---	kick
bu ³¹ ɕu ⁵⁵	a ³¹ na ³¹ bu ⁵⁵ ɕu ⁵⁵	nu ³¹ ɕu ⁵³	deaf
?ɕaɿ ⁵⁵ ; ?daɿ ⁵⁵	daɿ ⁵⁵	---	crawl (child)
ɿ ³¹ bu ³¹	na ³¹ bu ³¹	nǎm ⁵³ bǔɿ ⁵³	the wind
ɿ ³¹	nu ³¹	nu ⁵³	wine; rice beer
xɿ ⁵⁵ ɿ ⁵⁵	ɿ ³⁵ xɿ ⁵⁵ naɿ ⁵⁵	na ⁷⁵⁵	black
ɿɛm ³³ ; ɿɛm ⁵⁵	nɛm ³¹	nam ⁵⁵	sell
bu ³¹ ɿ ⁵⁵	bu ³¹ ɿ ⁵⁵	bu ³¹ liɿ ⁵⁵	insect

2.5 Increased phonological free variation

Sun (1999a:355) notes that free variation occurred in individuals and it appears in the language as a whole. Sun notes that one pattern of such variation is between the lateral fricative and the lateral.

TABLE 10. Increased free variation

Lisu	Anong elderly	Anong under 50	Dulong	gloss
tu ⁵⁵	lim ⁵⁵	lim ⁵⁵ /ɿim ⁵³	luɿ ⁵⁵	bury
lu ⁴¹	laɿ ⁵⁵	laɿ ⁵⁵ /ɿaɿ ⁵⁵	la ⁷⁵⁵	lick, lap
	la ⁵⁵	la ⁵⁵ /ɿa ⁵⁵	---	take

2.6 New free variation between the affricate series

In Anong, there are two sets of affricates: alveolar and palatal. For a number of words, these two are in free variation. They have innovated this variation since the earliest recording.

TABLE 11. New free variation in affricates/fricatives

Lisu	Anong elderly	Anong under 50	Dulong	gloss
---	tɕʰa ⁵⁵	tɕʰa ⁵⁵ /tʃʰa ⁵⁵	pu ³¹ tɕi ⁵⁵	bird
---	tɕa ⁵⁵ xom ³³	tɕa ⁵⁵ xom ³³ /tʃa ⁵⁵ xom ³³	---	squirrel
---	ɕem ³¹	ɕem ³¹ /fem ³¹	ɕəm ⁵³	knife

Most likely this innovated free variation is related to Lisu influence, a language which has failed to preserve the older distinction between alveolar and palatal affricates.

3 Grammatical changes

Significant restructuring is not confined to the phonological realm. The grammatical structures of Anong have also undergone widespread, non-trivial restructuring. The earliest recorded stages of Anong grammar had a rich system of grammatical distinctions with much of it expressed through affixes and through inflectional changes in word roots. However, since the earlier recordings Anong has undergone rapid changes: Some grammatical categories are now only used by elderly speakers and have already disappeared in the speech of even only slightly-younger speakers. A number of cases of the restructuring of grammatical categories are discussed below:

3.1 Restructuring of causativization

Sun touches on the restructuring in a paper on Tibeto-Burman causatives (1999b). In that he compares the older and newer versions of Anong causativization with the causative system of closely-related Dulong, and Thurgood (2003) expands upon that paper. Here, however, it is enough to show a quick comparison of the comparatives of the older speakers with the speakers under 50.

TABLE 12. Older versus newer causatives

			older speakers	younger speakers
stuck	ga ⁵⁵	cause to be stuck'	sɿ ³¹ ga ⁵⁵	ga ⁵⁵ / ka ⁵⁵
rot	bum ³¹	cause to rot'	sɿ ³¹ bum ³¹	bum ³¹ / pum ³¹

Notice that the older speakers have a causative essentially based on prefixation of the root. For these same forms, the younger speakers have either a prefixless root or a root with a devoiced onset. This devoicing and the subsequent loss of the prefix has, incidentally, taken place within the last twenty years. Much of the change between the older speakers and the younger speakers has taken place between Sun's recording of Anong in 1983 and his recording in 1999.

3.2 *Loss of person and number*

Earlier Anong verbs indicated person and number through a rather rich system of affixation, including at times the person and number marking of objects. However, except for the most proficient speakers, this affixation system has undergone serious deterioration or even loss.

3.3 *Loss of grammatical particles*

Drastic simplification is occurring in the marking of a number of Anong grammatical constructions. The restrictions on the use of those particles are being lost; in some cases, speakers under the age of 50 have stopped using them entirely.

TABLE 13. Loss of grammatical particles

		Anong elderly	Anong under 50
INSTRUMENTAL	mi ⁵³	still used	still used
CAUSATIVE	mi ⁵³	still used	no longer used
RECIPIENT	ba ³¹	still used	no longer used
LOCATIVE	thaŋ ⁵³	still used	used sometimes
POSSESSIVE	k ^h a ³¹	still used	no longer used

As is shown in (Table 13), some of the particles are ceasing to be used by the younger speakers. Some are no longer used; others are only used sometimes.

3.4 *More on possessive marking*

Anong nouns indicate the possessive by the addition of a prefix (derived from the personal pronouns). Such possessive marking was once widespread in a small number of elderly, fluent Anong speakers. However, for most Anong speakers the older system is being replaced. Now, in the speech of older speakers, there are two ways of marking possessive: prefixation alone and prefixation with possessive pronouns. Those under 50, however, only use the possessive pronoun to mark possession. This is illustrated in (table 14).

TABLE 14. Possessive marking

Anong elderly		Anong under 50	
prefixation only	prefix + pronoun	pronoun only	
α ³¹ muw ³¹ /	ŋα ³¹ α ³¹ muw ³¹	ŋα ³¹ muw ³¹	my mother
ŋu ³¹ muw ³¹ /	ŋα ³¹ ŋu ³¹ muw ³¹	ŋα ³¹ muw ³¹	your mother
ŋ ³¹ muw ³¹ /	ŋ ³¹ ŋ ³¹ muw ³¹	ŋ ³¹ muw ³¹	his mother

Not surprisingly, the system used by Anong speakers under 50 closely resembles that of Lisu.

3.5 Borrowed agentive suffix

One of the many morphological borrowings from Lisu is the agentive suffix -su⁵⁵, exemplified in the examples of Table 15. The preliminary wordlist contains over 50 such constructions.

TABLE 15. Agentive -su⁵⁵ borrowed from Lisu

-su ⁴⁴	-su ⁵⁵	AGENTIVE
sa ³⁵ mi ³¹ ʒe ³³ su ⁴⁴	ɕuŋ ⁵⁵ io ³¹ mun ⁵⁵ su ⁵⁵	carpenter
nɛ ⁴⁴ tsʰɿ ⁴¹ ʃa ³⁵ su ⁴⁴	nɛ ⁵⁵ tsʰɿ ³¹ ʃu ³¹ mun ⁵⁵ su ⁵⁵	doctor
so ⁴⁴ su ⁴⁴	tɕhɛn ³³ sɿ ⁵⁵	student
ma ⁵⁵ su ⁴⁴	sɿ ³¹ lam ⁵⁵ su ⁵⁵	teacher
	thi ³¹ za ³¹ ɕin ³¹ ŋin ⁵⁵ su ⁵⁵	a guide
	thi ³¹ za ³¹ dʒɿ ⁵⁵ su ⁵⁵	traveller
	nan ⁵⁵ vɛn ³⁵ su ⁵⁵	customer
	da ³¹ si ⁵⁵ ua ⁵⁵ su ⁵⁵	colleague
	khɔ ⁵⁵ ŋi ⁵⁵ su ⁵⁵	a judge
	la ³¹ ma ⁵⁵ ua ³³ su ⁵⁵	farmer

Notice also that, while Anong and Lisu both have agentive marked words, it is not the words themselves that have been borrowed but only the suffix that has been borrowed into Anong.

This brief survey of language loss and language restructuring under the twin influences of attrition and contact is not definitive, nor is it meant to be. Countless other structures remain to be described and analyzed. However, despite its brevity, this preliminary list should provide a feel for the rapidity and totality of the restructuring over the last forty years.

4 The twin causes of language change

Two factors seem to account for the rapidity and the directionality of the restructuring of Anong. The first is the attrition associated with language death; it is being used by fewer and fewer speakers on fewer and fewer occasions. It is, in addition, virtually inaccessible to non-fluent speakers, with those who speak it well diminishing in number year by year. Even among the most fluent Anong speakers, their Lisu is usually better than their Anong. Sun's survey (1999a:353-355) of around a quarter of all the Anong speakers located in Mugujia village, including virtually all the most fluent speakers examined their fluency in Anong, in Lisu, and in Chinese, in terms of four levels of linguistic competence, here called Levels A, B, C, and D. The levels are A Fluent (daily conversation, food production, and 3000 word vocabulary), B Semi-fluent (daily greetings, 1000 word vocabulary), C Limited, and D Non-speakers (for more details see Thurgood 2003).

The findings are summarized in Table 16 below, compiled from the numbers in Sun (1999a:353-355). As the Anong column shows, as of 1999 there were 62 individuals "fluent" in Anong (using the criteria above). Essentially this small group constitutes all the remaining fluent speakers, since as Sun notes (1999a:354), Mugujia village, with its cluster of Anong speakers, is the only place one can still find fluent speakers. There are, however,

“semi-fluent” speakers in other areas, allowing us to estimate the total number of semi-fluent speakers at 280.

TABLE 16. Anong fluency rates in Anong, Lisu, and Chinese

Proficiency	Anong		Lisu		Chinese	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
A. Fluent	62	59.6%	96	92.3%	13	12.5%
B. Semi-fluent	19	18.2%	8	7.7%	17	16.3%
C. Limited	14	13.4%	0	0.0%	19	18.3%
D. Non-speakers	7	8.8%	0	0.0%	55	52.6%

An examination of the second column is revealing. Even among the 104 Anong speakers in Mugujia village, including the last 62 fluent speakers, all but 8 of them are also fluent in Lisu (Sun 1999a:353-355). The remaining 8 Anong speakers only semi-fluent in Lisu were elderly and rarely went out. Sun notes that almost all of the Anong speak better Lisu than Anong, including the 62 fluent speakers. In short, Anong speakers have better command of Lisu than Anong.

Sun (1999a:355) comments specifically on the correlation between proficiency level in Anong and the knowledge of vocabulary. Sun (1999a:355) distinguishes Anong speakers in terms of a proficiency continuum: Level A speakers Sun describes as fluent, by which he means being able to converse readily, to describe daily activities and food preparation, and as having vocabularies of over 3000 words. Level B speakers Sun describes as ordinary, by which he means able to converse on a more limited basis, having a more limited vocabulary—roughly 1,000 basic items of vocabulary, and speaking their second language better than their first language. Level C speakers Sun describes as limited to greetings and a few everyday phrases, they are limited in their ability to express themselves widely in Anong, they mix in words from their second language, their pronunciation is flawed, and they speak their second language quite fluently. Level D speakers Sun describes as having largely lost most or all of their first language. Some can understand a little, but cannot speak, while others cannot even understand a little.

One corollary to this usage pattern is that Lisu, not Anong is the default language, even in Mugujia village. Generally, only the fluent Anong use it when conversing with each other; when a non-fluent speaker joins in, the conversation shifts into Lisu, limiting access for the less fluent and guaranteeing that Anong will not be passed on. In part, because of the marginal role that the language plays in Anong society, many of the best educated Anong are relatively indifferent to the impending loss of Anong, expressing the view that not only is this the general trend but also noting that they realize that there is little they could do about it in any case (Sun 1999a). Note that, while Anong is their first language, it is neither their only language, their most useful language, nor even their most fluent language; almost all Anong speak better Lisu and use it for more purposes.

The Anong have been a relatively open-minded community. In the Nujiang River area, they coexisted amicably with other ethnic groups. Intermarriage was common, especially with the Lisu. The Anong language has relatively complicated phonological and grammatical systems. We observed that, even in those few villages where the Anong were in

the majority, people from the few households (of other ethnic groups) living among them did not tend to learn Anong. In Anong families where one of the members had married someone from another ethnic group, even though there was only one non-Anong member of the family, he or she very rarely spoke Anong. On the contrary, Lisu became the common language of the married couple. For Anong who had married Bai or Chinese, the language usage situation was very similar: Essentially they all used Lisu, as it was the dominant language in that area. Therefore, family members often learnt Lisu first. Thus, here as elsewhere Lisu, not Anong, is the default language of communication.

5 Conclusions

Two pressures have worked in tandem in Anong, attrition and contact. Together they account for the total restructuring of Anong over just the last forty years; together they account for the almost inevitable disappearance of Anong within the next forty.

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