

同。例如壮语的修饰语如形容词是在名词之后，而在汉语，修饰语则是在名词之前。

9. 云南壮族方言的共通程度

本文笔者曾与在文山县不同地区的依壮人和岱壮人测试他们土语的共通程度。我们预先录制了一些当地农民的母语口述，把它们翻译成中文，根据口述内容预备了一些阅读理解问题，再把这些口述放给不同背景的听众，并要他们回答那些理解问题。这些口述及参加测试的人都经过严格筛选，使用过多汉语外来词的口述或曾在其他壮族土语区生活的人都不被包括在内。我们也从18位来自不同地区的壮族人录取了接近500个常用词语，根据李方桂、罗永现及其他壮族语言学者提出的壮侗语族语音历史，与过去已出版的词表来作比较。

测试结果显示，云南北壮人并不明白官方壮语、广西武鸣县的壮语北部方言邕北土语。他们也不明白广西靖西县的央壮语。依壮与岱壮与在广西的各种壮族土语在语音上差别太大，共通程度低，所以此测试不能用到广西壮族方言的语料。

文山县的壮族主要支系

中文外来名称	民族支系自称	民族自称	本文提及的民族支系	本文提及的所操方言	其他自称和外来名称	地理位置
依	濮依	phu ³¹ noang ³³ , phu ²² noang ⁴⁴	依壮	依壮	依族，依人，龙（本地）	砚山，广南，文山，富宁，西畴，麻栗坡（也在红河州和越南）
土	濮岱	phu ³⁵ ndaai ³¹ , phu ²² taa ¹¹	土支系	岱壮	土僚，土老，土族，濮僚	砚山，文山，马关，麻栗坡，广南县（也在红河州和越南）
沙	布雅衣，布依，布瑞，布越	pu ³⁵ jai ³⁴ , pu ³³ juei ²⁴ , pu ²² jai ¹³	沙支系	桂边依壮	沙族，沙人，白沙，依迂，仲家	富宁，广南各县（也在广西东面和北面）
		bu ji（邱北）		邱北依壮		邱北县（可能也在北面的曲靖市）



Counties. Smaller concentrations live in the remaining five counties: Maguan, Xichou, Malipo, Funing and Qiubei.

7. Lexical Similarity and Differences among the Main Yunnan Zhuang Languages

Among all the Taic Zhuang languages, both Northern Taic and Southern Taic, a majority of the common vocabulary is cognate, that is, has developed from the same Proto-Taic words. The following table provides the approximate percentages of vocabulary that appear to be cognate among the major Yunnan Taic Zhuang languages. We have also included several of the Guangxi Zhuang languages for comparison. Recent Chinese loanwords have been excluded from the calculations. These calculations are based on data from *Zhuang Yu Fangyan Yanjiu*.¹⁹

	Central Taic (Southern Zhuang)					Northern Taic (Northern Zhuang)		
	Wenshan Dai Zhuang ("Tu")	Guangnan Nong Zhuang	Yanshan Nong Zhuang	Jingxi Yang Zhuang (Guangxi)	Debao Yang Zhuang (Guangxi)	Guangnan Yei Zhuang ("Sha")	Qiubei Yei Zhuang ("Sha")	Standard Zhuang (Wuming, GX)
Wenshan County Dai Zhuang ("Tu")		68%	67%	64%	63%	57%	55%	54%
Guangnan County Nong Zhuang	68%		87%	73%	72%	72%	66%	63%
Yanshan County Nong Zhuang	67%	87%		71%	72%	68%	64%	61%
Jingxi County Yang Zhuang (Guangxi)	64%	73%	71%		90%	68%	64%	68%
Debao County Yang Zhuang (Guangxi)	63%	72%	72%	90%		68%	64%	69%
Guangnan County Yei Zhuang ("Sha")	57%	72%	68%	68%	68%		83%	71%
Qiubei County Yei Zhuang ("Sha")	55%	66%	64%	64%	64%	83%		69%
Standard Zhuang (Wuming, Guangxi)	54%	63%	61%	68%	69%	71%	69%	

While these percentages show that these languages clearly share a common ancestry, they also show significant variety in the core vocabulary of Zhuang languages. For example, in the Dai Zhuang language as spoken in Wenshan County only two-thirds or less of its core vocabulary developed from the same roots as the other Zhuang languages. This indicates that the historic split between the Dai Zhuang languages and other Zhuang languages may be quite ancient, and/or that the Dai Zhuang has been more heavily influenced by surrounding languages than some of the other Zhuang languages.

Even words which we have counted as "similar," that is, likely to be cognate, differ among the three main Zhuang languages according to the phonological systems of each language. Table 4.2 shows a set of words that are clearly cognates in all three



文山州壮族较集中的村镇。

A few of the many important Zhuang towns and villages in Wenshan Prefecture.

	南壮					北壮		
	文山岱壮语 (土)	广南依壮语	砚山依壮语	靖西央壮语 (广西)	德保央壮语 (广西)	广南依壮语 (沙)	邱北依壮语 (沙)	标准壮语 (广西武鸣)
文山县岱壮语(土)		68%	67%	64%	63%	57%	55%	54%
广南县依壮语	68%		87%	73%	72%	72%	66%	63%
砚山县依壮语	67%	87%		71%	72%	68%	64%	61%
靖西央壮语(广西)	64%	73%	71%		90%	68%	64%	68%
德保央壮语(广西)	63%	72%	72%	90%		68%	64%	69%
广南县依壮语(沙)	57%	72%	68%	68%	68%		83%	71%
邱北县依壮语(沙)	55%	66%	64%	64%	64%	83%		69%
标准壮语(武鸣; 广西)	54%	63%	61%	68%	69%	71%	69%	

另外,我们也发现虽然依壮和岱壮均被列入壮语南方方言(即中俚),他们在语音和词汇上差别很大,也不相通。除了一些岱壮人因曾接触依壮语而明白依壮之外(这是因为依壮族的人口比岱壮多四倍),那些未曾长期与其他壮族人生活的岱壮人基本上与依壮人是双方面都语言不通。依壮在语音和音节架构上与其



Table 4.2: Sample of Similar Words in Nong, Yei and Dai Zhuang^②

English	Chinese	Tone Category	Nong Zhuang (Wenshan County's Milewan Village)	Yei Zhuang (Guangnan County's Zhemeng District)	Dai Zhuang (Maguan County's Laochangpo Village)
nose	鼻子	1	ndang	ndang	(buq) ndang
star	星星	1	ndau (ndiq)	ndau (ndiq)	ndau
red	红色	1	ndeng	nding	ndyang
forest	森林	1	ndoang	ndoang	ndaeng (mueix)
good	好	1	ndaei	ndi	ndaei
to cough	咳嗽	1	aei	aei	aei
heart	心脏	1	zow	(zaetj) cw	(taez) zaew
fat	胖	2	biz	biz	mbiz
wind	风	2	laemz	ruemz	laenz
hand	手	2	mungz	fwngz	mwz
sharp	快, 锋利	2 (Dai: 3) ^③	kaeuz	haeuz	kaetj
five	五	3	haj	haj	hoaj
village	村子	3 (Yei: 4)	mbanj	mbanx	(laenx) mbanj
liquor	酒	3	laej	laej	laej
give	给	4 (Yei: 3)	jaeix	haewj	jaex
grind	磨	4/2/6	hux	huh	zuz
lick	舔	4 (Yei: 2)	laeix	riez	laex
soft; young	软; 年轻	5	oanq	unq	aenq
shoulder	肩膀	5	(lungz) mbaq	mbaq	(taez) mbuaeq
father	父亲	6	boh	buh	buh
elder sibling	哥姐	6	bih	bih	bih
bone	骨头	7 (Dai: 5)	nduek	ndok	(kaeu) ndaeq
hot	热	7 (Dai: 5)	ndat	ndat	ndueeq
hungry	饿	7 (Dai: 5)	yak	yek	yaeq
brain	脑子	7 (Dai: 5)	oak	uk	uaeq
steal	偷	8 (Dai: 2)	(hvovok) laeg	raeg	laz
rope	绳子	8 (Dai: 4)	cieg	cag	jax

笔者江子扬（左一）在西畴县鸡街乡参观一所农村小学。

Author Eric Johnson visiting a village school in Jijie Township, Xichou County.



他壮族方言比较相似，岱壮的尾辅音则几乎完全消失了。这导致以前在尾音有成阻辅音的语音与在尾音没有成阻辅音的语音融为一体，大大简化了岱壮的语音系统。根据我们的调查，岱壮是壮族方言里唯一经历这种语音演变的土语。

我们也正在调查究竟依壮人和岱壮人是否能完全明白理解自己同族人的语言。虽然我们知道依和岱各有自己特殊的传统身份，我们不知道在今时今日散布在不同领域的依壮人，或在超过六个不同县份自成一角的岱壮人能否与其他地区的同族人沟通。

资料显示，依壮土语的内部变化比岱壮来得大。我们在马关、广南和文山所到过的岱壮地区近期内全都曾与位于文山县北部马塘镇和德后镇的岱壮来源地有联系。岱壮人仍会与不同地区的同族人通婚。佳节时期，比较偏僻的村落也会派代表出席庆典。因此，不同县份的岱壮土语只在语音上有少许的差别。他们能完全理解来自文山县和马关县的岱壮土语录音。

相反，在不同地区的依壮土语在语音和词汇上有很大的差别。这是因为有超过五十万操依土语的人散布在文山州八个县并一些在邻近红河州和北越南的缘故。在分析词表时，我们发现语音上显著的分别。譬如在一些靠近广南县的地区，/l/和/r/是算为同音。他们也保留着腭唇爆破音，好像依壮的“鱼”字。不同地区也对原来的腭化有不同程度的保留。至于在理解能力方面，结果显示各地区的依土语虽然有显著的差别，但都能单以依土语沟通，不用依赖中文。可是对于距离遥远的地区（如文山县和广南县），互相理解程度初时不是百分之百，年轻人需要一点时间适应不同土语的口音。假如那些年轻人的中文程度不错，那对他们来说用中文沟通比用依语来得容易。

至于沙壮人所操的依壮也是在语音上与依和岱壮有差别，因此被列入壮族北部方言（北台）特别是在岱和依仍保留的传统字首的送气辅音，在依壮则与其他音位拼合在一起。另外也有几个词语相信不是与依和岱壮的同义词源自同一个字



Table 4.3: Sample of Dissimilar Words in Nong, Yei and Dai Zhuang

English	Chinese	Nong Zhuang (Wenshan County's Milewan Village)	Dai Zhuang (Wenshan County's Xiao Minghu Village)	Yei Zhuang (Guangnan County's Zhemeng District)
body	身体	ndang	sang	maengx
in (side)	内(边)	ndi	daew	miq gaeng
drink	喝	ndwet	amq	heq
palm	手掌	oangj mungz	zang fwngz	pye muz
breast	乳房	uj	eamj	ma
hot, spicy	辣	haz	cad	pez
wing	翅膀	biek	fwed	byaq
climb	爬上(树)	kaenj zaz	bin	ganz
hunt	打猎	ma byaeu	kuæg daeuq	nanz nduan
shout	喊	rox	heuh	zuangx
hole	坑	taix	gamj	ong
vomit	呕吐	maeiz	rueg	zax
green	绿	loæg	heu	chyuz

languages but differ in pronunciation to varying degrees.

However, there are a significant number of words even in the common daily vocabulary (and probably many more in less frequently used vocabulary) that do not seem to originate from the same sources historically. The following sample of a few of these words illustrates the degree to which they differ, see Table 4.3.

8. The Influence between the Chinese and Zhuang Languages

In the various Zhuang languages, there are differing percentages of Chinese loanwords—some dialects in central and eastern Guangxi show very heavy influence from Chinese, whereas others, such as some of the Zhuang languages of Yunnan, preserve a larger percentage of words descending from the proto-Tai language. The percentage of Chinese loanwords employed also depends upon the subject. *Zhuangyu Fangyan Yanjiu*²² states that when speaking about matters of daily life Zhuang speakers use 30-40% Chinese loanwords, and when speaking about issues of government or

表 4.2: 农壮、依壮、岱壮的同根字字例^①

中文	声调类	依壮 (文山县弥勒湾村)	依壮 (广南县者孟乡)	岱壮 (马关县老厂破村)
鼻子	1	ndang	ndang	(buq) ndang
星星	1	ndau (ndiq)	ndau (ndiq)	ndau
红色	1	ndeng	nding	ndjang
森林	1	ndoang	ndoang	ndaeng (maeix)
好	1	ndaei	ndi	ndaei
咳嗽	1	aei	aei	aei
心脏	1	zow	(zaeuj) cw	(taez) zaew
胖	2	biz	biz	mbiz
风	2	laenz	ruenz	laenz
手	2	munz	fwngz	mwz
快, 锋利	2 (岱壮: 3) ^②	kaeuz	haeuz	kaeuj
五	3	haj	haj	hoaj
村子	3 (依壮: 4)	mbanj	mbanx	(lienx) mbanj
酒	3	laeuj	laeuj	laeuj
给	4 (依壮: 3)	jaeix	haewj	jaex
磨	4/2/6	hux	huh	zuz
舔	4 (依壮: 2)	laeix	riez	laex
软; 年轻	5	oanq	unq	aenq
肩膀	5	(lungz) mbaq	mbaq	(taez) mbuaeq
父亲	6	boh	buh	buh
哥哥	6	bih	bih	bih
骨头	7 (岱壮: 5)	nduek	ndok	(kaeu) ndaeq
热	7 (岱壮: 5)	ndat	ndat	nduceq
饿	7 (岱壮: 5)	yak	yek	yaeq
脑子	7 (岱壮: 5)	oak	uk	uaeq
偷	8 (岱壮: 2)	(hvaoek) laeg	raeg	laz
绳子	8 (岱壮: 4)	cieg	cag	jax



economics the percentage of loanwords rises to 80%. Table 4.4 presents a sample of some common words in Nong, Yei and Dai Zhuang that appear similar enough to the Chinese forms to be possible loanwords from Chinese (either Standard Mandarin or the local Wenshan dialect).

As can be seen from the Nong and Dai Zhuang forms in Table 4.4, though all three languages have borrowed some core vocabulary from Chinese, many of the loanwords have been assimilated into the different phonological systems of the three languages and now are pronounced differently among the three dialects, to the degree that they must be spelled differently in the Zhuang orthography.

In contrast to the loanwords above, some of which may have been borrowed into Zhuang from Chinese relatively recently, most of the basic numerals and several other common words clearly look related to the medieval Chinese forms (even though some do not resemble Standard Mandarin pronunciations) but have been shown to be in Taic languages for many centuries, as well as in some other non-Taic languages of the region. Though it is now difficult to determine the direction of borrowing (various linguists have given evidence for Taic words borrowed into Chinese as well as ancient borrowings from Chinese), it is likely that modern Chinese and Zhuang words for the

Table 4.4: Modern Chinese Loanwords in Nong, Yei and Dai Zhuang

English	Chinese	Nong Zhuang (Wenshan County's Milewan Village)	Yei Zhuang (Guangnan County's Zhemeng District)	Dai Zhuang (Maguan County's Laochangpo Village)
candle	蜡烛	lah zuh	lab cuck	laq
to fry	炒	chauj	cauj	chuq
shoes	鞋子	haiz	haiz	(twq nwq)
gun	枪	chongq	cung	(chwj ndanx)
to pay	交	zyau	zau	zyauz
hundred	百	bak	bak	baq
thousand	千	qiang	cien	taengz
difficult	难	nanx	nanh	nanx

表 4.3: 依壮、依壮、岱壮的非同根字例

中文	英文	依壮 (文山县 弥勒湾村)	依壮 (广南县 者孟乡)	岱壮 (马关县 老厂破村)
身体	body	ndang	sang	maengx
内 (边)	in (side)	ndi	daew	niq gaeng
喝	drink	ndwet	amq	heq
手掌	palm	oangj mungz	zang fwngz	pye muz
乳房	breast	uj	eamj	ma
辣	hot, spicy	haz	cad	pez
翅膀	wing	bick	fwed	byaq
爬上 (树)	climb	kaenj zaz	bin	ganz
打猎	hunt	ma byacu	kueg daeuq	nanz nduan
喊	shout	rox	heuh	zuangx
坑	hole	taix	gumj	ong
呕吐	vomit	maciz	rueg	zax
绿	green	loaeg	heu	chyuz

根。在云南的依壮有可能是两个不同的语言-来自中国社会科学院的研究学者就把云南的操依土语的人分成两种分支-邱北壮 (壮语北部方言邱北土语) 和桂边北壮 (庄俊如等合编《壮语方言研究》, 1999)。在广西东北面也有操桂边北壮方言的人。因为布依和北壮方言群在地理位置上邻近, 他们在语言根源上关系是近亲, 因此这些人也能明白一些在贵州西南面的布依土语。

10. 语言用途和生命力

随着全球化和经济体系转移等因素, 世界上许多少数民族语言都面对濒临绝种的危机。因此我们也对云南的壮族方言群的生命力感兴趣。在研究过程中, 我们访问了许多乡村农夫、当地政府领导、学校老师和壮族学者关于壮族方言的语言用途和使用者的态度。普遍来说, 我们发现云南的壮族方言 (不论是土语或正同方言) 的地位就如许多其它的少数民族方言一样, 在过去一个世纪虽然不及汉语, 但仍然继续扮演着重要的角色, 没有直接受到绝种的威胁。尽管那些住在县份等大城市的壮族人在日常生活上用中文多过壮族方言, 并很少把方言当成母语



following items have resulted from some type of language contact in the past.

In addition to these lexical influences, Chinese has also influenced Zhuang grammar in some ways. Though the grammar of Zhuang resembles Chinese and other Sino-Tibetan languages in a number of aspects, there are also some distinctive differences between the grammar of Zhuang and that of Chinese, such as placing adjectives after nouns rather than before nouns as Chinese does.

9. Intelligibility among the Yunnan Zhuang Languages

The authors have conducted dialect intelligibility testing among Nong and Dai Zhuang speakers in a number of different areas of Wenshan Prefecture. We did this by recording short personal accounts told by local rural residents in their own mother tongue, translating these accounts into Chinese, preparing comprehension questions based on the content of the recordings and then replaying them in other Zhuang areas for a variety of listeners and asking them to answer the comprehension questions we had prepared. We were careful to try to screen out potentially conflicting variables such as

Table 4.5: Words Indicating Ancient Contact between Zhuang and Chinese

English	Chinese	Tone Category	Nong Zhuang (Wenshan County's Milewan Village)	Yei Zhuang (Guangnan County's Zhemeng District)	Dai Zhuang (Maguan County's Laochangpo Village)
eight	八	7 (Dai: 5)	byet	bet	byaq
needle	针	1	cham	jim	mix chaenz
seven	七	7 (Dai:4)	chiaet	cet	jex
six	六	7 (Dai: 2)	choaek	roaek	chaz
elephant	大象	4 (Nong:2)	daz cyaefz	cangx	mix caengx
nine	九	3	gaeuj	guj	gaeuj
wide	宽	4 (Dai: 3, Yei: 5)	gangx	gvangq	guangj
bow	弓	1	goang	goang	kaeng
yellow	黄色	3	henj	henj	(lyn)

表 4.4: 依壮、依壮、岱壮的现代汉语新借词

中文	英文	依壮 (文山县 弥勒湾村)	依壮 (广南县 者孟乡)	岱壮 (马关县老厂破村)
蜡烛	candle	lah zuh	lab cuek	laq
炒	to fry	chauj	cauj	chuq
鞋子	shoes	haiz	haiz	(twq nwq)
枪	gun	chongq	cung	(chwj ndanx)
交	to pay	(nbong) jingx	zau	jyauz
百	hundred	bak	bak	baq
千	thousand	qiang	cien	taengz
难	difficult	nanx	nanh	nanx

传授给他们的下一代，大部分在乡村的壮族人在平常比较亲密的领域中（如在家里，跟朋友谈天等）却用壮族方言多过中文。他们也会以壮族方言为母语教导他们的下一代。大部分在农村的壮族小孩也会在学校、电视、在市集与非壮族人的交际中或长时间在以汉族人为主的省份（如广东和福建）工作而学到一定程度的中文。

我们先从岱壮方言开始。岱壮方言仍然是大部分乡下岱壮人的母语，但在直接文山州政府城市隔壁的开化镇和攀枝花镇则面临威胁，甚至有面对绝种的危机。这地区的岱壮人被称为“平头土”（以当地妇女所穿戴的平头帽子为名）。根据二十世纪初的一个记载，那时这地区的岱壮人深受中华文化的影响，也许是

笔者江子扬（右一）在笔者王明富的老家（西畴县上新民村）与他的哥哥、儿子聊天。

Author Eric Johnson chatting with author Wang Mingfu's brother and son in their hometown in Xichou County.





Table 4.5 Continued

English	Chinese	Tone Category	Nong Zhuang (Wenshan County's Milewan Village)	Yei Zhuang (Guangnan County's Zhemeng District)	Dai Zhuang (Maguan County's Laochangpo Village)
lime	石灰	1	hoi	hoi	huai
gold	金	1	jim	jim	jaen
ride (horse)	骑(马)	5 (Yei; 6)	kiq	gwih	kiq
road	路	6	loh	(ran)	luh
horse	马	4	max	max	moax
bury	埋	7 / 4	moaek	(haen)	max
cat	猫	5 (Yei; 2)	myaeuq	meuz	myaeuq
pus	脓	1	noang	nong	nuang
to cut (meat)	切(肉)	5	qiaenq	rongq	kanq
ginger	姜	1 (Dai; 2)	qing	hing	chaengz
sand	沙	2	saiz	(req)	saz
three	三	1	sam	sam	san
ten	十	7 (Dai; 4)	siep	cieb	sex
four	四	5	siq	siq	siq
wash	洗(手)	5	siq	swiq	siq
head	头	1 / 3 / 2	tu	zaetj	twz
medicine	药	1	ya	ye	yaen (yaq)
oil	油	2 (Dai; 4)	yuz	yuz	yaenx, chaeiz
chicken	鸡	5	zaeiq	gaeiq	gaeiq
early	早	4	zaenx	caenx	raenx

表 4.5: 代表古代的壮语与汉语的接触情况关系的词汇

中文	英文	声调类	依壮 (文山县弥勒湾村)	依壮 (广南县者孟乡)	岱壮 (马关县老厂破村)
八	eight	7 (岱壮: 5)	byet	bet	byaq
针	needle	1	cham	jim	mix chaenz
七	seven	7 (岱壮: 4)	chiaet	cet	jex
六	six	7 (岱壮: 2)	choaek	roaek	chaz
大象	elephant	4 (依壮: 2)	daz cyaenz	cangx	mix caengx
九	nine	3	gaeuj	guj	gaeuj
宽	wide	4 (岱壮: 3, 依壮: 5)	gangx	gvangq	guangj
弓	bow	1	goang	goang	kaeng
黄色	yellow	3	henj	henj	(lyin)
石灰	lime	1	hoi	hoi	huae
金	gold	1	jim	jim	jaen
骑(马)	ride (horse)	5 (依壮: 6)	kiq	gwih	kiq
路	road	6	loh	(ran)	luh
马	horse	4	max	max	moax
埋	bury	7 / 4	moaek	(haem)	max
猫	cat	5 (依壮: 2)	myaenuq	meuz	myaenuq
脓	pus	1	noang	nong	nuang
切(肉)	to cut (meat)	5	qiaenq	rongq	kanq
姜	ginger	1 (岱壮: 2)	qing	hing	chaengz
沙	sand	2	saiz	(req)	saz
三	three	1	sam	sam	san



excessive Chinese loanwords and participants who had lived in other Zhuang dialect areas. We also elicited wordlists of nearly 500 words used in common life from 18 different Zhuang areas and compared these to each other and with previously published wordlists, taking into account the phonological history of the Zhuang-Dong language family as proposed by Li Fangkuei, Zhuang linguist Luo Yongxian and others.

The results of the intelligibility testing showed that Yunnan Southern Zhuang speakers cannot understand the nationally chosen Zhuang standard dialect, Yongbei Northern Zhuang of Wuming County, Guangxi, nor was there any comprehension of the Yang Zhuang language of Jingxi County, Guangxi. Both Nong Zhuang and Dai Zhuang are different enough phonologically from Guangxi Zhuang languages so as to make mutual comprehension and use of Guangxi-produced Zhuang language materials impossible.

Also, we discovered that although both Nong Zhuang and Dai Zhuang have been classified as belonging to the southern branch of Zhuang languages (that is, Central Tai), they are very different from each other both in phonology and in lexicon, and are not mutually intelligible to each other. There are some Dai Zhuang people who have become passively bilingual in Nong Zhuang (as the Nong Zhuang population is four times larger than that of Dai Zhuang), but there is almost no intelligibility in either direction among those who have not spent extended time living with members of the other Zhuang group. While Nong Zhuang is more similar to other Zhuang languages in its tone system and syllable structure, Dai Zhuang has almost completely lost syllable-final consonants, resulting in a merger of those tones that historically occurred on checked syllables (that is, containing syllable-final oral consonants) with those of the unchecked consonants, and thus greatly simplifying the tonal system. To our knowledge, this is the only Zhuang language in which this development has occurred.

We were also investigating whether all Nong Zhuang speakers could understand each other and whether all Dai Zhuang speakers could understand each other. Though we knew that the Nong and the Dai both had distinct historical identities, we weren't sure whether today, spread over a relatively large geographic area, all Nong could understand each other, or whether the Dai, who live in isolated pockets in a half dozen different counties, could communicate with each other in Dai Zhuang.

Our results show that there is much greater dialectal variation within Nong Zhuang than within Dai Zhuang. The various Dai Zhuang areas we visited, in Maguan, Guangnan, and Wenshan Counties all had recent historical connections to a homeland

续表 5.5

中文	英文	声调类	依壮 (文山县弥勒湾村)	依壮 (广南县者孟乡)	岱壮 (马关县老厂破村)
十	ten	7 (岱壮: 4)	siep	cieb	sex
四	four	5	siq	siq	siq
洗(手)	wash	5	siq	swiq	siq
头	head	1 / 3 / 2	tu	zaeuj	twz
药	medicine	1	ya	ye	yau (yaq)
油	oil	2 (岱壮: 4)	yuz	yuz	yaeux, chaeiz
鸡	chicken	5	zaeiq	gaeiq	gaeiq
早	early	4	zaeux	caeux	raeux

因为开海市是清朝的府之一，又靠近蒙自县这重要商城。今天在这地区老一辈的岱壮人虽然还操流利的岱壮土语，但是在二十岁以下的人，虽然有些还能听得懂，但几乎没有人能说岱壮土语。这些岱壮村落已成为开海市的亲小区，城市已扩张到乡村田园，有些甚至被高楼大厦取代了。尽管老一辈的人对于语言的流失感到遗憾，我们从中所得的印象是，这些平头岱人觉得教育和经济发展的效益比语言的流失更重要。他们也觉得就算没有了岱壮语，他们独特的种族身份仍然可以透过其他途径去保存下来（妇女仍然穿着传统服装、跳如纸马舞等传统舞蹈）。

但是在其他岱壮地区，譬如说我们所到过的文山县的得厚市、马关县的南老市和广南县的竹林市的岱壮人似乎都精通岱壮和中文双语，几乎所有小孩都能操流利的岱壮语。起码就这一辈而言，两种语言是处在稳定的双语现象。在外族人的当中，或在市集、政府办公厅或学校，中文是常用语言。但在家里或与乡里之间，岱壮则是主要使用语言。虽然村民会觉得对于经济和事业的发展，中文是比较有用，但他们对中文和岱壮语都抱着正面的态度。大部分我们在乡下访问的壮族人都都不晓得原来壮族方言可以用拼音方法写出来。

依壮从中文所受的威胁则比岱壮少。这是因为许多乡村的依壮人虽然懂一些基本的中文词汇和语句，他们的中文并不流利。许多在城市或在农村但受过教育的依壮人虽然精通中文（文山中文或普通话或两者兼备），但大部分我们所到过的村落里，有些老人、学前小孩甚至一些年轻妇女基本上不会说中文。通常他们的中文会话程度是跟个人的学历程度挂钩。而且在乡村地区，女孩子受教育的机



area just north of the Wenshan County seat, in the townships of Matang and Dehou. There are still intermarriages between Dai Zhuang from different areas, and representatives from the farther enclaves are sent for various festivals. There are only minor phonological differences among the speech of the Dai Zhuang in different counties, and the listeners in all areas had no trouble understanding both the recording from Wenshan County and that from Maguan County.

The Nong Zhuang language, on the other hand, has a great deal of phonological and lexical variety among the various areas where it is spoken. Nong is spoken by more than half a million people, in every one of Wenshan Prefecture's eight counties, as well as some speakers in neighboring Honghe Prefecture and Northern Vietnam, so this is not surprising. In analyzing the wordlists, we found significant phonological differences, such as a merger of the /l/ and /r/ phonemes in some areas near the Guangnan County seat, a retention of palatalized labial plosives, such as the word for 'fish' in some areas, and varying degrees of palatalization of historically velar consonant initials in different areas. In terms of intelligibility testing, the results generally showed that Nong from various areas can communicate in Nong without resorting to Chinese, even when the dialects differ significantly. However, between Nong speakers from far away areas (between Wenshan County and Guangnan County), initial comprehension is not perfect and younger speakers may require some time to adjust themselves to the Nong dialect. If those younger speakers happen to be adequately bilingual in Chinese, then it may be easier for them to communicate in Chinese than in Nong.

The Yei Zhuang language, spoken by the people known as "Sha Zhuang" in Chinese, is also quite different from Nong and Dai Zhuang phonologically, hence its classification as a Northern Zhuang (Northern Taic) language. Specifically, the historically aspirated initial consonants, which are retained in Dai and Nong Zhuang, have merged with other phonemes in Yei Zhuang. There are also a number of common words which do not seem to derive from the same historical sources as their equivalents in Nong and Dai Zhuang. The Yei Zhuang language in Yunnan may in fact be two languages—researchers from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences have divided Yunnan's Yei speakers into two distinct "sub-dialects," which they call Qiubei Northern Zhuang and Guibian Northern Zhuang (*Zhuangyu Fangyan Yanjiu*, edited by Zhang Junru et al. 1999). The Guibian Northern Zhuang language also has speakers in the northeastern corner of Guangxi, and they may also be able to understand some

会通常比男孩子少几年。也有些年轻人觉得他们不会说中文。我们就曾经碰过超过一位已完成六年小学教育并考进中学却不能以中文会话的人。

在依地区的南边、远东和远西边，譬如麻栗坡、马关、西畴、富宁和文山县等，依的村落与其它不同种族不同语言的部落，如汉族、苗族、彝族、瑶族、回族和岱壮等在一起。在这些地区，懂中文的依壮村民的比率就更高。这是因为在这些地方的依壮人需要在日常生活中，如买菜、交通和医疗服务上，用到中文。但在依地区中部和北面，比如砚山县东面和广南县中南面，很少有其他部族在这过百的依壮村落中定居(例如在广南的者兔乡，超过90%是壮族人，而且大部分是依壮人)。而在这些地区，除了一些特定环境如官方政策或中小学课堂里等要用中文之外，依壮语都是日常生活的用语。

由此清楚可见，在不久的将来，依壮在乡下仍会是主要常用语言(当然在开化和昆明等大城市生活的依壮人会发现他们很少用到他们的母语，他们的小孩也很少会精通依语)。

虽然我们没有花同样的时间分析依壮语的生命力，但透过与个别人士的了解，我们得知依壮的情况与依壮相似。虽然在城市的依壮人有转向中文的现象，在乡下的依族乡村，在没有外族人或不需用到中文的情况下，依壮仍是主要语言。大部分在丘北县、广南县北部和富宁县的依壮区，壮族人占了多数。而在依区北部，依壮也在市集或交通工具上通用。由于依是云南壮族方言群中最大的语族，许多住在依地区附近的依壮人都能明白依土语和依土语。但我们没有发现完全改用依土语为母语的依壮乡村。在云南官方也没有发起用依壮或武鸣北壮方言作壮族方言统一所有壮族方言土语的意图。所以照情况来看，精通中文和壮土语的双语人士人数虽然随着教育程度的提高和壮族人在本土或外来经济活动的参与增加，但依壮并没有直接受到中文或其他方言的威胁。

大部分在农村地区的壮族孩童都是在学中文之前先学壮语，或两语同时并进。虽然在云南的壮族方言群中没有一个土语是直接受到威胁，但考虑到全球化和先进化对在世界各地工业化城市里的少数民族语言的影响，我们不肯定壮族方言能否维持它在这地区主要语言的地位。壮族人需要懂流利的中文的重要性是大家都意识到的。问题是越来越多的壮族人有机会在中文的学习或工作环境中生活，他们能否继续保持他们中文和壮语双语的流利程度是令人关注的。能精通双语或多种语言是知识上和经济上成功的因素之一。这是因为双语人士能够更有创意的思考和解决问题。假如壮族人愿意在掌握中文的同时保留自己的母语，这会加强他们文化和社会的发展，也同时丰富了他们国家的文化历史。要持续保留壮族方言的最有效方法取决于对下一代的壮语传授—假如父母和祖父母愿意与他



Bouyei dialects from southwestern Guizhou, as the Bouyei and Northern Zhuang languages are closely related and geographically contiguous.

10. Language Use and Vitality

As many minority languages in the world are threatened or endangered today, due to various factors including globalization and economic changes, we were also interested in researching the vitality situation of the Zhuang languages of Yunnan. In the course of our research we interviewed many rural farmers, local government leaders, school teachers, and Zhuang intellectuals regarding language use and language attitudes. In general we found that the Zhuang languages of Yunnan are still vital and not immediately threatened with endangerment or extinction, though they have lost ground to Chinese (in both its local and standardized forms) during the past century, as have many other minority languages in China. Though most urban Zhuang, that is, those living in cities the level of a county seat or larger, use Chinese more than Zhuang in their daily lives and seldom teach their children Zhuang as their mother tongue, most rural Zhuang, on the other hand, use Zhuang more than Chinese in most intimate domains (at home, with friends, etc.) and pass on the language to their children as the first language their children learn. Most rural Zhuang children do go on to learn some level of Chinese at school, through market-town contacts with non-Zhuang people through television, or through extended stays in predominantly Han Chinese provinces such as Guangdong and Fujian for employment purposes.

We will begin again with the Dai Zhuang language, which is still spoken as the mother tongue of most rural Dai Zhuang but is threatened or even endangered within the townships of Kaihua and Panzhihua, that is, directly surrounding the Wenshan Prefecture government city. This is the area where the Dai are known as “Pingtuo Tu,” that is, “Flat Headdress Tu” for the flat bonnets the women wear. An account of this area from the turn of the 20th century reports that the Dai Zhuang of this area were already heavily influenced by Chinese culture at that point, probably due to the importance of Kaihua town as the seat of a *fu* level government during the Qing dynasty (1644-1912 AD) and its proximity to the important market town of Mengzi. Today we found that though the older Dai Zhuang in this area still speak the Dai Zhuang language fluently, almost no one under 20 years of age can speak Dai Zhuang, though some can still understand it. These Dai Zhuang villages have become economic satellites of the city of Kaihua and some are even being redeveloped with high-rise apartment buildings



笔者江子扬在王明富的老家向他的亲戚学习侗壮语单词。

Author Eric Johnson learning some Nong Zhuang words from relatives of Wang Mingfu at his hometown near the Xichou county seat.

们的儿孙子花充足的时间，常与他们在不同的话题上用壮语沟通，这样这些方言就能流传下去。

11. 文字

自唐宋时期，壮族人便开始用方块文字写壮语。这类文字称为“方块壮字”，是借用现有的中文文字的意思（譬如说用中文的同义字来代表壮字）或读音（譬如一些中文字本身的意思虽然不同，但读音是与壮族方言的某些字读音相似的中文字）组成。壮族人也用中文字的部首和笔划创造出与汉字相似但独特的壮字。这些壮字传统是用来记录壮族的民谣歌词、大戏和历史，记录一些传统民间宗教如占卜和神话。这些不同壮族村落和不同壮族土语的文字虽然没有经过统一，而大部分的壮族人也不识字，参与传统民间宗教的人士却继续传承这些文字。

在1955年，一个给广西和云南壮族方言研发的拼音字母第一次在《壮文方案[草案]》中被公开发表，并在1958年经中国国务院批准通过。这文字是基于广西壮族自治区武鸣的北壮方言种类制成。但因为其中有用到一些西里尔形式的字母，在印刷或打字上产生不便。因此，在1981年，《壮文方案·修订案》重新发表被修订的壮文。修订后的壮文只用到在普通键盘上找到的罗马字母，并没有用到变音符（最后音节的辅音显示音调），同时也尽量符合普通话的汉语拼音规则。

要成功使用被修订后的壮文，操侬和岱壮的人必须对这文字系统有少许更改。这是因为他们方言的语音与邕北北庄的语音，就是这壮文系统所根据的方言，有明显差异。云南省语言文字委员会的语言学者本着帮助使用者学习汉语拼音及减少两种文字系统之间的变化去改良这文字系统以迎合在云南的壮族方言。

除了发展一套实用的壮语文字之外，自1980年开始，文山县的电台也开始在不同时段播放几项侬壮和其他少数民族语言的节目。这些电台节目包括新闻、文化节目、健康资讯和农耕训练。



as the city expands into their farmland and villages. Though the older people regret the loss of the language, the general feeling that they had was that the benefits of education and economic development outweighed that loss and that the Pingtou Dai felt that they would be able to maintain their distinct ethnic identity even without the language. (Women still wear the traditional costumes and dance traditional dances, like the paper horse dance.)

In other Dai Zhuang areas, however, such as Dehou Township, Wenshan County, Nanlao Township, Maguan County and Zhulin Township, Guangnan County, all the Dai Zhuang we visited seemed to be fully bilingual in Chinese. Almost all the children could speak Dai Zhuang fluently, and the two languages seemed to be in a situation of stable diglossia, at least for this generation. Chinese is generally used when non-Dai Zhuang are present and when out of the village at markets or government offices or schools, but Dai Zhuang is used in the homes and among village friends. The attitudes toward both Chinese and Dai Zhuang seem to be positive, though, of course, villagers feel like Chinese is a more useful language than Dai Zhuang for economic and career development. The vast majority of rural Zhuang we interviewed were not aware that Zhuang languages had been or could be written down in a phonetic form.

The Nong Zhuang language is less immediately threatened by Chinese than Dai Zhuang, as many rural Nong Zhuang are not functionally fluent in Chinese, though most do at least know some basic words and phrases. Though there are many urban and educated rural Zhuang who are completely fluent in Chinese (Wenshan dialect, Standard Mandarin, or both), in most of the villages we visited there were some older people, some pre-school children, and often also some young women who reportedly spoke virtually no Chinese. The Chinese language ability was often related to the degree of schooling the individual had received, and in rural areas girls often are able to attend fewer years of schooling than boys. There were also some young men who felt they could not speak Chinese, and we have met more than one who managed to finish the six years of elementary school and test into middle school without being able to carry on a conversation in Chinese.

In the southern, far eastern and far western parts of the Nong area, such as in Malipo, Maguan, Xichou Funing and Wenshan Counties, the Nong villages are mixed with a number of other ethnic and language groups, such as Han Chinese, Miao, Yi, Yao, Hui, Dai Zhuang, etc. In these areas the percentage of villagers bilingual in Chinese is very high, as the Nong here must make use of Chinese rather than Nong for