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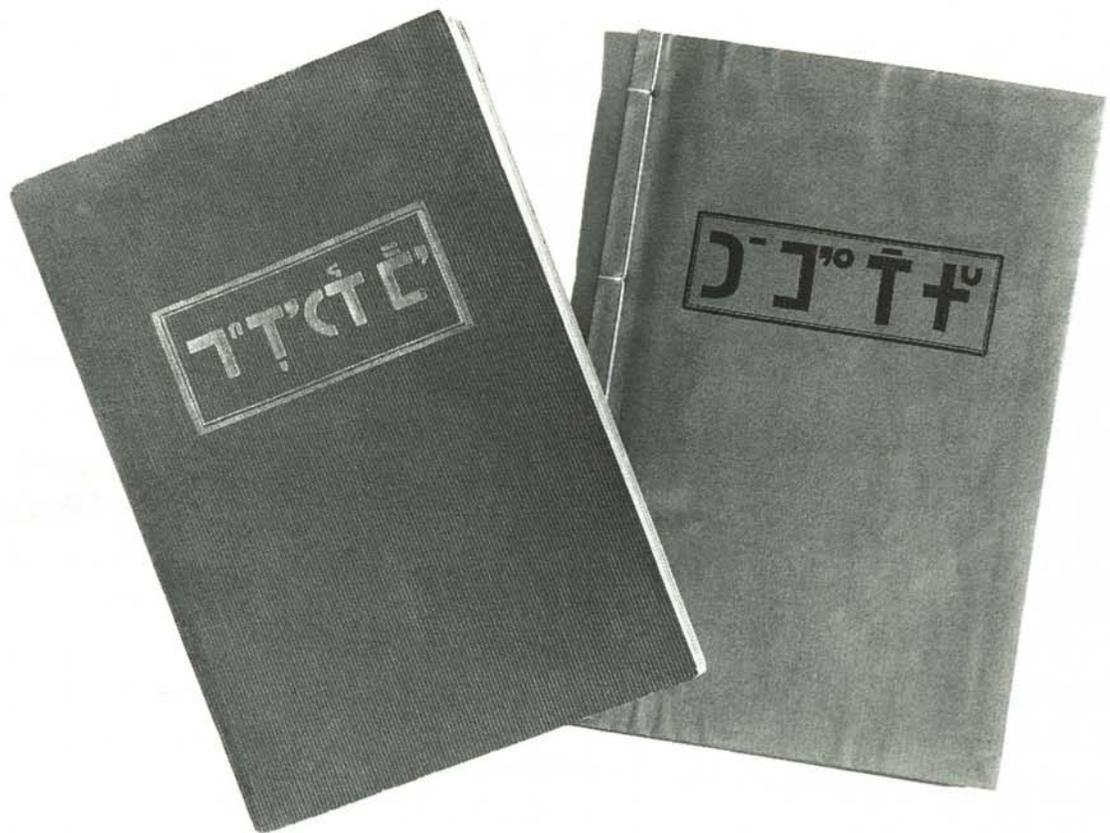
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*Martin Heijdra, "Who Were the Laka? A Survey of Scriptures in the Minority Languages of Southwest China", *The East Asian Library Journal* 8, no. 1 (1998): 150-198, accessed January 14, 2017, https://library.princeton.edu/eastasian/EALJ/heijdra_martin.EALJ.v08.n01.p150.pdf*



1. Two of the minority Bibles that are the subject of this article. Shown are the Hua Miao New Testament and the Laka Mark.

Who Were the Laka?

A Survey of Scriptures in the Minority Languages of Southwest China

MARTIN HEIJRA

Every now and then the Gest Library at Princeton University receives requests for Bibles written in a Chinese dialect. Most of these works were catalogued in August and September 1932, thus after the Gest Collection had moved to Princeton from Montreal. The books are catalogued according to the rather individual system designed by I. V. Gillis (1875–1948), which uses as its primary classification scheme the traditional bibliographic divisions (*jing*, *shi*, *zi*, and *ji*) of the eighteenth-century catalogue to the Imperial Manuscript Library (*Siku quanshu*).

This classification system was meant for Chinese-language works, but when I looked around on the shelves of these dialect Bibles I noticed that quite a few of the more than one hundred scripture-related books were in non-Chinese languages: not only Bibles written in Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, Manchu, Arabic, and standard and Kalmuck Mongol, but also some works in the languages of Southwest China. For a list of these, see table 1.

Most of these last works are stitched Chinese style, sometimes quite handsomely, although some of them have been rebound Western style. In accordance with the left-to-right direction of the Pollard script, they open as Western books, with the binding at the left.¹ Illustration 1

Table 1

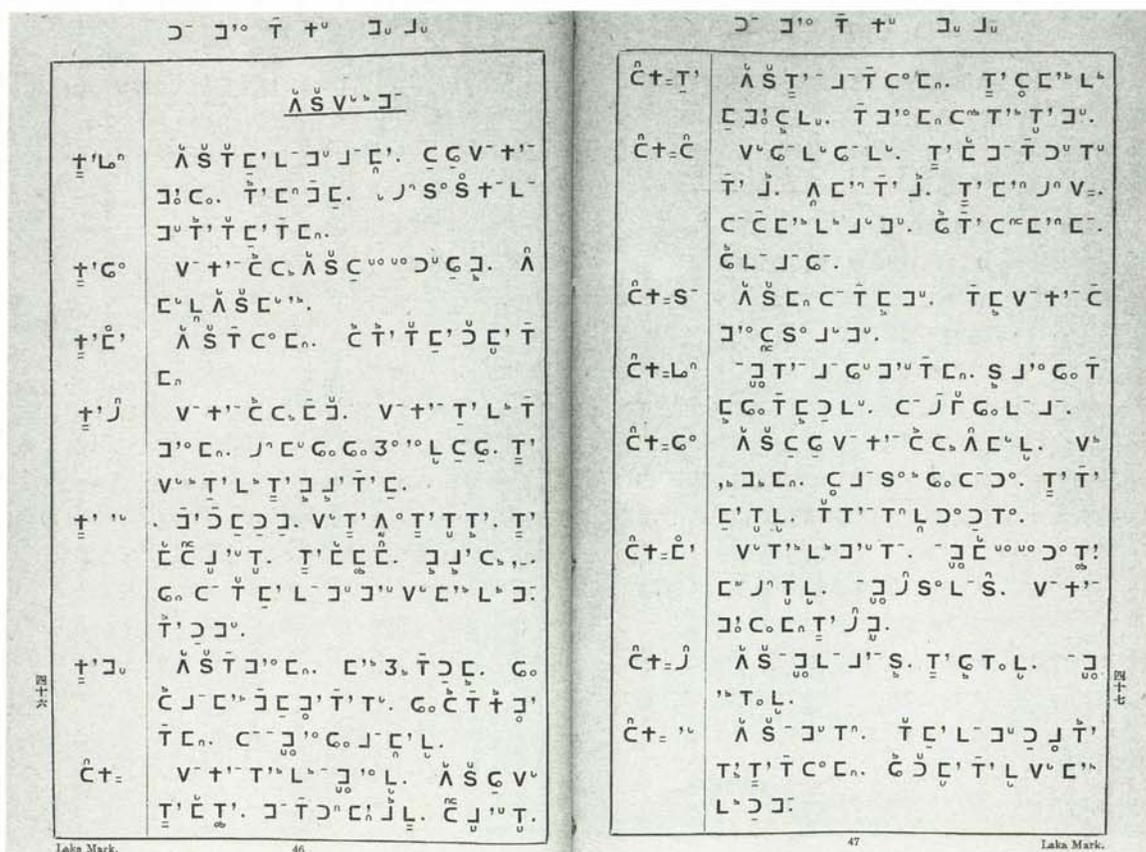
MINORITY-LANGUAGE BIBLES HELD AT GEST

BIBLE PORTION	LANGUAGE	YEAR	PLACE	SCRIPT
Matthew	Chung-chia	1904	Shanghai	roman
Mark	Laka	1912	Shanghai	Pollard
Mark	Lisu	1912	Shanghai	Pollard
Mark	Chuan Miao	1922	Yunnan	Pollard
Luke	Nosu	1923	Shanghai	Pollard
Acts	Nosu	1926	Shanghai	Pollard
Mark	Black Miao	1928	Shanghai	zhuyin
Matthew	Black Miao	1928	Shanghai	zhuyin
Acts	Lisu	1928	Shanghai	Pollard
Luke	Lisu	1928	Shanghai	Pollard
New Testament	Hwa Miao	1929	Shanghai	Pollard

shows some of these works unopened. On the other hand, the books in Black Miao and using the *zhuyin fuhao* phonetic script² are bound in the Western style, but they open as Chinese books, with the binding at the right. Illustration 2 shows some pages written in Pollard script, and illustration 3 shows an example of a minority-language Bible using *zhuyin fuhao*.

These Bibles were bought when, as a result of a request by a Franciscan priest for a Cantonese Bible in 1932, Gillis had contacted the American and British Bible societies in Peking and Shanghai, as well as the Apostolic Delegate in Peking. After the books had arrived — rather more quickly than would be the case today, in barely a month — the then curator Nancy Lee Swann (1881–1966) indeed found the question of where to put them problematic: “Mr. Gest [1864–1948] wishes them on the shelves together [i.e., with the Chinese books], but I am inclined to think that it would be best to catalogue them with the Western books and place them where he wants them. Temporarily I am *not* giving them a Gest number.”³ Apparently, Mr. Gest prevailed, and they form now the only exception to the rule that only Chinese works have been classified according to Gillis’s scheme.

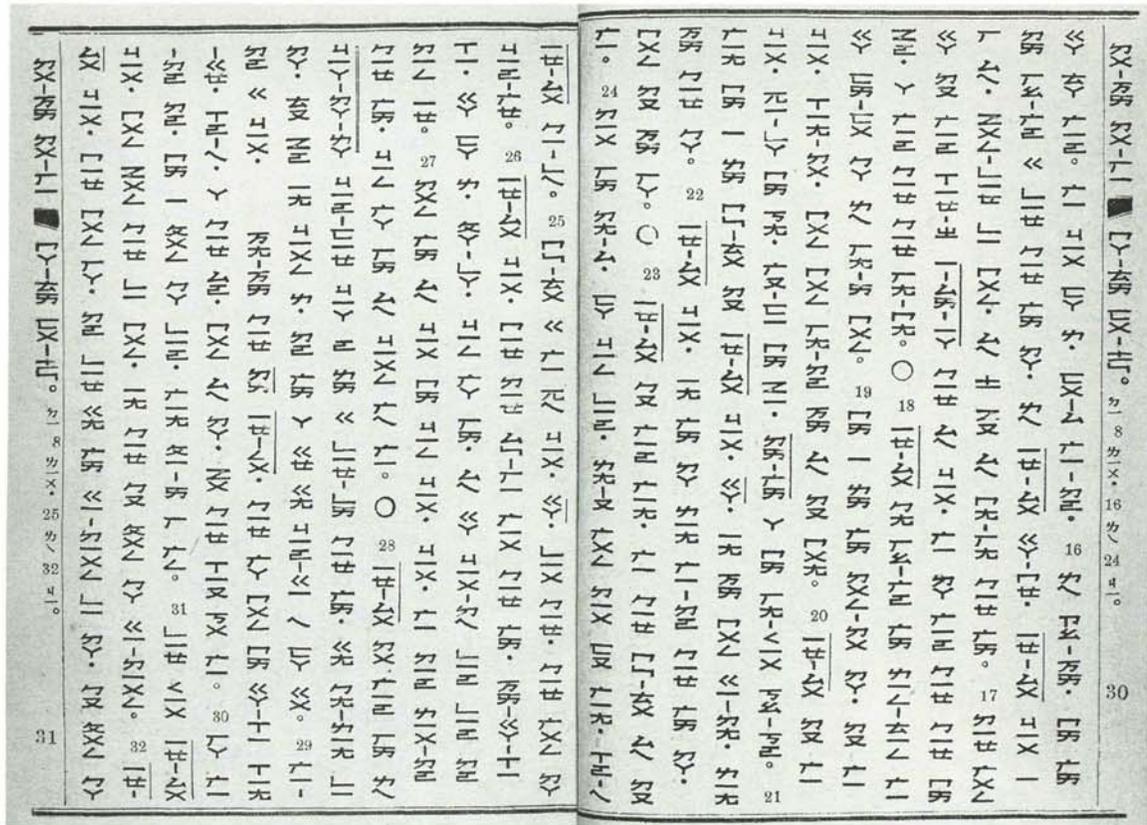
From table 1 it is obvious that the names of the groups and languages (noted in English on the front or back of the title page; sometimes the date and title also appear in Chinese) are not those of current official nationalities, a list of which can be found in many



2. An example of the Pollard script, as used in the Laka Mark, pp. 46-47.

reference works.⁴ Most of the languages seem to be easily identifiable, but others are more problematic. As it turned out, one designation, “Laka,” was especially difficult to identify, and the group is misidentified in several current reference works. But the seemingly easier identifications of the other groups also have their pitfalls, and misidentifications abound. This article tries to give identifications for southwestern minority-language Bibles in terms of current Chinese ethnolinguistic categories and rectify earlier mistakes.

Table 2 gives a complete list of (possible) southwestern Chinese minority languages (Yunnan and Guizhou only) in which Bible portions have been published, to be identified in current terms later in this article. This list is based on *The Book of a Thousand Tongues* (henceforth BTT),⁵ which gives script examples of all Bible portions published up to 1938 with some additional information such as the translator; on the *Scriptures of the World* (henceforth SW),⁶ which lists only language names but is



3. An example of a minority Bible in *zhuyin fuhao*: St. Matthew in Black Miao, pp. 30-31.

more recent; and on Spillett's *Catalogue*.⁷ In this table, in addition to more usual designations, two additional problematic languages, Keh-Deo and Musso, are introduced.

It might be beneficial to give an overview of the reasons current ethnolinguistic categories differ so greatly from the terms used by pre-1949 Western and Chinese reporters, investigators, missionaries, and ethnologists. This mismatch is not only evident in the present case, but also in the wider pre-1949 literature in general, and even in many recent Western anthropological reference works, which continue to rely on outdated pre-1949 Western data without incorporating and interpreting the great mass of Chinese literature on ethnic minorities that has become available, especially since the 1980s.

First there is the deficiency in accuracy of most pre-1949 Western reports, often written by missionaries and investigators with quite different goals than providing accurate ethnographic and linguistic descrip-

Table 2
MINORITY LANGUAGES WITH BIBLE PORTIONS ACCORDING TO
THE BTT AND SW

LANGUAGE	FIRST PUBLICATION	PLACE	TRANSLATOR	SCRIPT
Akha	1939	Rangoon	?	roman
Atsi	1939	Rangoon?	F. J. Fitzwilliam	Fraser
Singpho-N. Kachin	1907	?	T. M. Johnson	roman
Chungchia	1904	Shanghai	S. R. Clarke	roman
Kado ("Kadu")	1939	Shanghai	Berta Preisinger	Pollard
Keh-Deo	1937	Shanghai	M. H. Hutton	<i>zhuyin</i>
Kopu	1913	Yokohama	A. G. Nicholls, A. Evans	Pollard
Lahu	1924	Rangoon	J. H. Telford	roman
Musso	1925	Chiengmai	Duang Dee	"Lao"
Laka	1912	Shanghai	A. G. Nicholls, G. Porteous	Pollard
Lisu, Eastern	1912	Shanghai	A. G. Nicholls, G. E. Metcalf	Pollard
Lisu, Western	1915	?	Baptist missionaries	Fraser
Miao, Black	1928	Shanghai	M. H. Hutton, Yang Kuanyi	<i>zhuyin</i>
Miao, Chuan	1922	Yunnan	H. Parsons	Pollard
Miao, Hwa	1905	Chengdu	S. Pollard	Pollard
Na-hsi	1932	Shanghai	E. Scharten	"modified Pollard"
Nosu	1923	Shanghai	G. Porteous	Pollard
Tai Lu	1921	Yokohama	L. J. Beebe	Tai Lu
Tai Ya	1922	Chiengmai	Mrs. W. C. Dodd	"Laotian Yuan)"
Shan Yunnanese	1931	?	E. Johansson, Mr. Kong	Yunnanese Shan
Wa	1934	Rangoon	V. Young	roman

tions. Second, later Western ethnologists and linguists working with similar groups elsewhere — many Chinese southwestern ethnic groups are closely related to groups in other Southeast Asian countries⁸ — do not know the Chinese (or Vietnamese) literature and, partly out of an often unstated conviction that Chinese studies are necessarily politically biased, incongruously link their own modern research in countries such as Thailand with outdated and unreliable works on China. This is the case in such often-used works as LeBar or the *Ethnologue*,⁹ the reference

compilation of all the world's languages. It is only recently that more interaction has taken place between Chinese and Western scholars, most notably among Tibeto-Burman linguists.

One reason language and ethnic designations before 1949 are currently discarded is that common designations in use then were in fact given to a group by outsiders, and are often felt to be pejorative (in some cases even the group itself might have replaced its own "ethnonym" — often nonexistent, or just meaning "people," or "us" — with such an outsiders' term). In other cases, terms for such highly visible characteristics as the color of headdresses or clothing were readily attached to a more general designation (see the "Black Miao" or "Hwa [Flower] Miao" in table 1), resulting in a name not often used by the group itself. And whereas different groups in different areas might use similar "names," such as "local people," one and the same group might use different terms depending on its location. Moreover, Chinese traditional names were also vague: terms such as "Miao," "Lolo," "Yao," or "Man" were indiscriminately used for many groups irrespective of their historic origin or linguistic affiliation, and they meant little more than "non-Chinese." Locally, such generic terms could have a precise content; that is, terms such as "Duck Miao" or "River Lolo" might have little to do with actual linguistic affiliation — as far as we know now — but if used in the same area, would certainly refer to different groups. On a general level, however, there was even confusion between the Miao and Lolo-Yi, as seen in the caption for a picture in the missionary periodical *Chinese Millions* (London ed.).¹⁰ The picture showed the spirit basket called *luoluo*, which was the origin of the term Lolo, with the caption: "Miao object of worship: a Nosu (Lo-lo) spirit hamper." The same name could be used for different ethnic groups in different areas, especially in those numerous cases in which the terms used meant simply "river people" (*shuijia*), "indigenous people" (*benren*), or "people of the soil" (*turen*). Even if local names were accurate, there was the difficulty that certain syllables, such as *li*, *po*, *su*, or *na* (in all their variant pronunciations and indiscriminating spellings), were common to many groups, as were the ubiquitous color terms.¹¹ The Lahu are clearly distinct from the Nosu, "Black Lolo-Yi," but the characters formerly used for their name might

make one believe that they were one and the same group (*Luo-hei*, “*hei*” meaning black). Nosu and Naxi are versions of the same name really, but very different groups.

All this often results in several names for the same group depending on the writers’ often unspecified informants or viewpoints. Moreover, romanizations of such names could vary, as did Chinese renderings. The most we can assume is that, with some exceptions, most pre-1949 Western reports, if gathered locally, did reflect the smallest basic communities from which more historically defensible linguistic or ethnic classifications can be built; local designations did not lump together those who saw themselves, or were seen by others, as different.¹²

After the founding of the People’s Republic of China, China quickly tried to (re)establish control over its minorities, and sent out some unprecedentedly large-scale teams to investigate the socioeconomic structure, customs, and languages of the minorities, in order to gain sufficient knowledge to incorporate the non-Chinese groups into the New China.¹³ In the first census in 1953, however, more than four hundred self-designations were used by the various ethnic groups, with all the difficulties outlined above. This number, which grew even more as fear of the Han Chinese diminished, was deemed by Chinese ethnologists too high to designate all these groups as official “nationalities,” each with its own special rights, privileges, and representatives in Beijing. Therefore, efforts were made to group such communities together on the basis of common characteristics in language, socioeconomic structure, “spiritual culture,” history, and territory. Chinese anthropologists, even those who deplore the waves of forced assimilation that have occurred several times since the fifties, generally maintain that the process was fair and honest, and that the groups themselves had a say in the final result. And indeed, rather than the divide-and-rule “splitting” of minorities that occurred under other regimes and at other times (most notably in the USSR), the Chinese result erred rather in the fact that too many groups were combined together into one nationality, which resulted in diverse (but larger and therefore politically more powerful) groups. One such perhaps overzealously combined group was the Yi, whose widely different languages were now, almost by definition, considered “dialects.”¹⁴

Another such group was the Zhuang, which comprised also the Chinese counterparts of the historical Nùng and Thố, still considered separate ethnic groups in Vietnam.¹⁵

Of course, any such classification process, even if based on sufficient and accurate data — which was hardly ever the case — is open to objection. After all, reality is complicated: the division between “language” and “dialect” is impossible to draw in the case of a linguistic continuum, and similar continuums are present in customs, history, or economic structure. There are groups with very different characteristics who might all, perhaps because of Chinese influence, claim to be one and the same “Miao,” while elsewhere groups sharing a language and customs might insist on their mutual difference because of what an outsider might consider a minor point. The subjective self-identification is itself part of a historical and sociological process, and might be in conflict with more objective criteria. I am not claiming that the current Chinese system is “correct,” but it is likely to endure, and it is therefore useful to reconsider older, even more defective reports, in its light.¹⁶

In any case, as a result of the preliminary investigations in the 1950s, some fifty groups were identified in addition to the Han Chinese themselves; most ethnic self-designations were brought under one or another of these official “nationalities,” and only in Guizhou did much identification work remain unfinished. Subsequent harsher policies against the nationalities resulted in practically freezing this list, and what little subsequent work on minorities was undertaken was considered too secret to be published.¹⁷

The original list of four-hundred-odd “basic” designations has not been published, and even in the much freer period since the 1980s the actual policies leading up to decisions on actual nationality identification are closed to Western inspection. This has resulted in a common conception that all classification work has been finished, and even that all languages and ethnic groups have already been identified. This is not the case, however, and there are still many insufficiently investigated groups in, for instance, Tibet, Yunnan, and Hainan, where the groups in question are provisionally already classified under other groups, as well as in Guizhou, where many groups have never been classified at all. During the more open last decade, it has become increasingly possible to

do linguistic research outside the nationality classification system, often identifying new (sub)groups in the process. Previously the equation of one language with one nationality was adhered to in almost all cases (except for some well-established exceptions), thereby relegating sometimes very disparate languages among one nationality to "dialects." Since the 1980s it has apparently become possible to announce new languages without worrying too much about political implications. At the same time, linguistic and ethnographic descriptions of nationalities and their languages have been published that help us understand how to subdivide the higher-level groups into lower-level ethnonyms. Several works about the Yi list, for instance, some sixty ethnonyms and exonyms (names given by other groups). I would like to point out that the higher levels of classification presented in such reference works as the *Language Atlas of China*, or the volumes of the encyclopedia *Zhongguo dabaiké quanshu* dealing with peoples and with languages and script,¹⁸ should properly be seen as the culmination of projects initiated during the 1950s that were suspended later but came to fruition during the 1970s. They do not, therefore, incorporate the thirty-odd new groups, languages, and scripts that continue to be regularly reported in such places as the pages of the periodical *Minzu yuwen* (1979-).¹⁹ Often these newly reported languages are spoken by a very small number of people (typically not by all people using the ethnonym), and some have in fact been reported in pre-1949 Western investigations. Some are already known from Southeast Asia; others are new.²⁰ Most of these hitherto unidentified groups are found in Tibet and adjacent areas (not yet well investigated, probably because of political reasons), Yunnan, and Guizhou. In the Tibetan-Chinese border areas, at least eight new languages were found, greatly enlarging the so-called Qiang branch of Sino-Tibetan.²¹ The province of Yunnan had the most ethnonyms (more than 260) in the 1950s, but these subgroups were combined rather early into "nationalities"; remaining problematic groups, rather small in number of speakers, have since the 1950s at least provisionally been classified under other groups.²² The largest of these, the Kucong, found on maps inserted in a series on Yunnan minorities as a separate unofficial nationality, were also known from the work of southeastern Asian anthropologists. In 1987 they were officially designated as Lahu; some thirty thousand people were involved.²³ Currently, only

some five thousand people in Yunnan are officially "yet unclassified," half of them Khmu'.

Guizhou, however, has many unidentified groups.²⁴ Outside the more generally acknowledged groups, there were in Guizhou in the 1953 census more than 80 self-reported ethnonyms totaling almost 1 million people.²⁵ After early investigations that grouped many of them together under the more common nationalities, only 23 remained to be classified; studies were done on these in 1955 by anthropologists, including Fei Xiaotong (1910-). Subsequent but inconclusive investigations on the Gedou took place in 1965, before the work was stopped because of the assimilative policies and general turmoil of the Cultural Revolution. The work was not resumed until 1980 and was followed by many discussion sessions all over the province. Of the 23 unclassified groups, 15 (with 300,000 people) had been classified as subgroups of already established groups by 1985, and some of the remaining "human communities" have been classified subsequently (see table 3). At the same time, many members of already established groups are said to be "recovered," meaning probably that they changed their status from Han Chinese to minority status: in the Northeastern Prefecture (Qiandongbei diqu) in 1986 alone, almost 1.5 million people were reclassified, including 700,000 as Tujia, 220,000 as Gelao, 200,000 as Kam (*Dong*), and 280,000 as Miao.²⁶ One of the most interesting groups yet unclassified is that of the Chuanqing, "Black-Wearers." The Chuanqing are basically Han Chinese who have become a minority through having been discriminated against since the beginning of the Ming. Their language is common Guizhou Chinese, although originally their "own" historical dialect was Chinese from the provinces of Jiangxi, Hunan, and Hebei. Forced to serve as tenants under the Yi, they were heavily discriminated against by later Chinese arrivals who remained town-based.²⁷

In another interesting example, involving many fewer people, the so-called Nankingese (Nanjing ren) Chinese in Guizhou have now officially been declared to have been assimilated into a minority group, that of the Longjia. That group was itself unclassified for decades; it recently was classified as an offshoot of the Bai, although individual Longjia people could, if they wished, classify themselves as Gelao, Yi, or Han.

Table 3
UNCLASSIFIED MINORITIES IN 1982 GUIZHOU

GROUP	OFFICIAL CLASSIFICATION	DATE OF CLASSIFICATION	POPULATION
Liujiaren	Han Chinese	1985?	n.a.
Shenzhouren	Han Chinese	1985?	n.a.
*Laba (=Huguang ren)	Miao	1985?	150,000
*Xijia ^a	Miao	1985?	10,000-50,000
*Qixingmin (Boren)	Bai ^b	1985?	n.a.
*Luren	Manzu	1985?	3,000
*Mojia (Mak)	Bouyei	1985	13,000
*Yiren (Yizi)	Gelao	1985?	1,500
Sanqiao	partly Miao, partly Dong (Kam)	1985?	n.a.
Diaozu	Dong (Kam)	1985?	n.a.
Xialusi	Dong (Kam)	1985?	n.a.
Youmairen	Yao	1985?	n.a.
Changpao Yao	Yao	1985?	n.a.
*Nanjingren, now Bai	Chinese assimilated to Longjia ^c	1987-1988	80,000, or 65,000
*Limin	"want to be identified as" Yi	1985?	50,000
*Mulao ^d	not yet classified		20,000
*Gejia (Gedou) ^e	not yet classified		50,000
*Dongjia	not yet classified, close to the previous group		n.a.
*Yanghuang (T'en)	Maonan ^f	1990	32,000
*Raojia	Yao ^g	1991	6,500
*Caijia	not yet classified		17,000
*Longjia	see under Nanjingren	1987-1988	2,000
*Chuanqing	not yet classified		500,000

NOTE: The sixteen groups treated in the *Minzu shibie wenxian ziliao huibian* are marked with an asterisk. The groups that were reported separately in 1982 in the *Minzu shibie wenxian ziliao huibian* but were recorded in the *Guizhou nianjian 1985* as already classified (with no date given) are indicated by 1985?. The number of speakers comes from these two sources or the ZYD.

a. According to some, classifiable as the Luopohe subdialect of the "Triprovincial" Miao dialect (see below); according to others, a separate language.

b. Boren are also still in Yunnan.

c. Bai, but individuals also Gelao, Yi, or Han Chinese (*Guizhou nianjian 1988*, p. 286; *Guizhou nianjian 1989*, p. 640).

d. The Mulao (a) are not to be confused with the Mulam (Mulao [b]), an official nationality living in Guangxi. Nevertheless, in 1993 twenty-eight hundred of the former Mulao were recognized as having the Mulam nationality: see the *Guizhou nianjian 1994*, p. 201.

e. According to some, classifiable as the Chonganjiang subdialect of the "Triprovincial" Miao dialect; according to others, a separate language. The group is close to the Dongjia, sometimes called the Duck-Raising Gedou or Miao. See the section "Keh-Deo."

f. *Guizhou nianjian 1991*, p. 213.

g. *Guizhou nianjian 1992*, p. 218.

At the time of the 1982 census there were officially 817,810 people in unclassified communities, although it is said that “the actual number is larger than that” — presumably because some groups have provisionally but not yet irrevocably been placed under the designations of other groups, including the Chinese.²⁸

According to the 1990 census, Guizhou still had 737,464 unclassified persons, versus 6,172 in Yunnan, 3,022 in Tibet, and 1,722 on Hainan.²⁹ County by county figures that would show in more detail where these groups live are hard to come by.³⁰ Many demographic and linguistic discussions of Guizhou leave them out completely, often at least potentially skewing the data.

In addition to groups and languages still to be classified, there is also a group of languages or dialects that is a mixture of, or shows an incomplete assimilation among, different groups, or the adoption of surprising languages by ethnic groups stationed far from their original homeland. Such is the Gazhuo Tibeto-Burman language spoken by four thousand Mongolians in Yunnan (descendants of Ming soldiers), and perhaps the sixty to seventy thousand speakers of the Cun patois on Hainan island. The *ZYD* gives many more instances, including mixtures and hybrids of Chinese dialects and minority languages. Examples of such mixtures, with influences going both ways, are Waxiang-hua (or /Ka⁴⁴çuŋ⁴⁴/), spoken by three hundred thousand people at home in southern Hunan, possibly a Miao-Yao and Chinese mixture; “Maojia-hua,” spoken by two hundred thousand “Aoka” people in southwestern Hunan and Guangxi, possibly a Miao-Chinese mixture; Ling-hua, spoken by twenty thousand people in Longsheng, Guangxi, also possibly a Miao-Chinese mixture. Almost one million people in southern Hunan, Guangxi, and Guangdong, of whom only half are officially Yao, speak a Yao-Chinese mixture called Lowland Yao (“Pingdi Yaohua”); the others are either ex-Yao classified as Han Chinese or minoritized Chinese.³¹

Because of the great increase in descriptions of groups below the nationality level, it should in principle be possible to clear up much of the confusion existing between pre-1949 Western and Chinese terms and current Chinese designations. That this has not been done is on the one hand a result of the existing divisions in the West between those who approach southeast Asian ethnography without the benefit of knowing

Chinese, and those linguists who do have access to current Chinese literature but who have no need to read the pre-1949 material. On the other hand, the Chinese in principle ignore much of the early Western material, and are reluctant to acknowledge any continuing influence of Western missionaries. Therefore, such books of Bible texts as those in the Gest collection are not considered to have been real books in minority languages, and are ignored except perhaps in the case of the Lisu and the Miao. One major reason is a fear of the power of Christianity among the minorities; in other cases the missionary attempts to provide the minorities with a written language can indeed justifiably be considered as having been temporary and unimportant.

THE "LAKA"

Such, then, is the background to the situation in which I tried to find a more current designation for the "Laka." The Laka work in the Gest collection is written rather early — 1912 — less than a decade after Pollard's well-known success among the Miao at Shimenkan, Weining County, western Guizhou.³² The Laka group would probably not have been too far away from this original Christian center.

The work is written in the so-called Pollard script (see illustration 2), developed by Pollard in 1904. This is an absolutely phonetic script, and was partly based on the Methodist missionary work among the Indians of North America (the Cree script of James Evans [1801–1846], developed around 1841). It has separate letters for consonants set large and smaller vowel marks alongside the consonants. The vowel marks are put in different positions vis-à-vis the consonants to designate the tones. Another influence on the script was Pitman's shorthand.³³ Stephen Lee (Li), a student at the Zhaotong mission school in Yunnan, also had a large hand in the development of the script. Type was developed for the Pollard script, but when the Acts were to be printed in Nosu and sent to Yokohama in 1923, the great Kantō earthquake destroyed this translation as well as the type.³⁴ Marshall Broomhall further reports that new matrices were cut and a new font cast in Shanghai; however, these too were destroyed in the clashes between the Japanese and Chinese.³⁵

The Pollard script is different from the "Fraser" script (see illus-

tration 3), another specifically missionary script, used for Lisu. The latter uses only roman capitals, but sometimes printed upside down or backward.³⁶ The Pollard script was quite successful, and was used for Hua Miao historical and literary works as well as religious tracts. One might be excused for supposing that the pride in having one's "own script" (a recurrent theme in Miao mythology), was also a factor in the success of the non-roman script.³⁷ One report on the Miao, Lisu ("Lesu"), and Laka Gospels describes how a caravan of twenty-seven mules was required to transport twenty-five hundred copies of the Miao Matthew, thirty-six hundred of the Lisu Matthew, and twenty-five hundred of the Laka Mark, along with eight thousand other primers and hymn books from Kunming to the Christian center of Sapushan in Wuding County, northern Yunnan.³⁸

The entry on Laka in the *Ethnologue* reads:

LAKA (LAKKJA, LAKJA, TAI LAKA, LAKIA, LAKKIA, LAJIA) [LBC] 8,500 (1990 J-O Svantesson) to 9,000 (1990 A. Diller ANU). Tayaoshan [Dayao Shan] Autonomous District of Guangxi Autonomous Region for the Zhuang people, north Yunnan, Wuting. Daic, Kam-Sui. Officially and ethnically Yao (Mien), but the language is Daic (J.O. Svantesson). . . . Bible portions 1912-1936.³⁹

Now, although it might be that Laka or Lakkia, to use the designation used by the French linguist André Haudricourt who introduced this language to the West,⁴⁰ could be known also as Laka (the Chinese term is *Lajia*, and in transcriptions the *ji-* often stands for *k-*), this *Lajia* is a language spoken by the Yao in Jinxiu County in Guangxi,⁴¹ not an area known for its Protestant missionary activity, or for the activity of Pollard. Nor do any *Lajia* Yao live in "northern Yunnan, Wuding" — an area in which Pollard and his colleagues were active. The dates of the portions of the Bible mentioned, however, refer clearly to "our" Laka, since there are no scriptures — or Christianity — among the barely described *Lajia* Yao at all.⁴² The *Ethnologue* conflates therefore several distinct groups.

There are other candidates for those familiar with other sources on Southeast Asian languages. Laqua (or La Quá in the official Vietnam-

ese spelling) is sometimes confused with Lakkia, as is the related Laji language (also known as Lati, La tí, and officially La Chí in Vietnamese). Laqua and Laji were long considered to be enclave languages spoken in northern Vietnam but are now known to be spoken on the Chinese side of the border as well, under the names Pubiao and Laji respectively. Laqua is also often equated (wrongly) with the language Lakha or Laha.⁴³ For Laqua, Huffmann gives as references, among others, Auguste Louis Bonifacy's "Etude sur les coutumes et la langue des Lolo et des Laqua du Haut Tonkin" and Samuel R. Clarke's (d. 1916) *Among the Tribes in South-west China*.⁴⁴ The first article points to a strange coincidence which at first sight might show a closer Chinese connection than one might assume from the location in northern Vietnam. A common alternative name for the Laqua is, in Chinese, *bendi luoluo*, "indigenous Lolo"; the characters for Laqua, *luoguo*, are graphically close to *luoluo*.

Luoluo, of course, used to be in the transcription of Lolo the term for the Chinese group now known as the Yi; the term Lolo, still common in the West, was used for a gourdlike spirit container and is considered pejorative by many of the constituent Yi groups. Bonifacy shows, however, that there is no close linguistic relationship between the Laqua and the "Lolo" (there are some bona fide Lolo-Yi in Vietnam, known as Lô Lô); the confusion might result from the graphic similarity of the names in Chinese characters. The Laqua group in Vietnam calls itself Ka Bẻo, and is now in Vietnam officially known under the Zhuang-like name Pu Pẻo and in China under the name Pubiao.⁴⁵ We can therefore discard this group as a candidate for our Laka. Also, for the La Chi or Laji the location seems too far from missionary activity for the groups to be real candidates.

For a third group that might be a candidate for the Laka we can go to the Chinese translation of the *Christian Occupation of China*, a book that incidentally gives a list of Bible portions published in southwestern China before 1921.⁴⁶ In the Chinese, the English Laka is translated as Lahu, a well-known group in Southeast Asia, perhaps because the character for *hu* is uncommon and likely to be read as *gu*.⁴⁷ The same list does not even attempt to translate another problematic name, Kopu; the Chinese translation simply uses the roman letters.

At this point, it is obviously best to go to some of Pollard's own

writings, assuming that books in his script actually had something to do with him. His *Story of the Miao* gives a small narrative of the script without going into details, and the Laka are nowhere mentioned. His diaries do, however, briefly mention the Laka, as well as the Kopu. Moreover, a map is printed at the beginning of the published diaries, in which the Laka are placed north of Wuding, in northern Yunnan close to the Sichuanese border, and the Kopu are placed specifically more to the east, around Xundian. The text does not contradict this, although it does not give such precise locations.⁴⁸

Current general, linguistic, and ethnographic maps and descriptions of this northern Yunnanese area, however, mention only Yi, Miao, Lisu, and perhaps Dai around these areas — no Laka or Kopu. One might assume, therefore, that the Laka and Kopu are ethnonyms of groups nowadays classified among these larger groupings — but which?

Luckily, the Gest books in Nosu (a well-known ethnonym for the so-called Black or “Independent Lolo”), Lisu, and Laka spell out the verse numbers in Pollard script. The Pollard equivalents of these numbers from one to ten are collected in table 4, and compared with published material from the Yi, Lahu, Miao, Hani, and Dai languages in table 5. Through this method, Laka is clearly established as a Yi-related language.⁴⁹

Table 4
NUMBERS IN VARIOUS MINORITY LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS

	LAHU NA	LAHU XI	YI (NORTH)	YI (WEST)	YI (EAST)	LISU	LAKKIA	LAKA (RECONSTRUCTED)
1.	te ⁵³	tɛ ⁵³	tshɪ ²¹	tʃhɪ ²¹	tha ²¹	thi ³¹	in ²⁴ /et ⁵⁵	*th-
2.	ni ⁵³	ɲi ⁵³	ɲi ²¹	ɲ(ɪ) ²¹	ɲi ⁵⁵	ɲi ³¹	hou ²⁴ /ɲi ²¹⁴	*ɲi
3.	se ⁵⁴	ʃɛ ³³	sɔ ³³	sɑ ³³	su ³³	sɑ ⁴⁴	fa:m ⁵¹ /fa ⁵¹	*s-
4.	ɔ ⁵³	ɔ ¹¹	l(ɪ) ³³	l(ɪ) ³³	li ³³	li ³³	fei ⁵⁵	*li
5.	ɲa ⁵³	ɲa ⁵³	ɲu ³³	ɲɔ ²¹	ɲɔ ²¹	ɲua ³¹	ɲo ¹¹	*ɲa
6.	khɔ ²¹	khɔ ³¹	fu ⁵⁵	kho ²¹	tʃho ¹³	tʃho ⁴²	lok ²⁴	*ch'a
7.	sɪ ³¹	sɪ ³¹	ʃi ²¹	xw ²¹	ʃi ⁵⁵	ʃr ³¹	thet ⁵⁵	*xi
8.	xi ³⁵	xe ³⁵	hi ⁵⁵	hi ²¹	he ¹³	he ⁴²	pa:t ²⁴	*ʔe
9.	qɔ ⁵³	qɔ ¹¹	gu ³³	kɸ ³³	ku ³³	ku ⁴⁴	tseu ²⁴	*ku
10.	te ⁵³ tshi ³³	ti ⁵³ tʃhi ³³	tshi ³³	tʃhi ⁵⁵	tshw ²¹	tshi ⁴⁴	tsep ²⁴ /lep ²⁴	*ts'-

NOTE: Some forms are simplified for printing, and some forms are obviously loanwords from Chinese. Tones have been regularized as much as possible. The Laka in the last column has been reconstructed by comparing the Pollard forms in table 5 with the forms in this table; all other forms come from the various language descriptions (*jianzhi*) quoted in the text.

Table 5
NUMBERS IN POLLARD SCRIPT

	NOSU (YI)	LISU	LAKA
1.	ṽ	ṽ	ṽ
2.	ḥ	ḥ	ḥ
3.	ṣ	ṣ	ṣ
4.	ḷ	ḷ	ḷ
5.	ḡ	ḡ	ḡ
6.	ḏ	ḏ	ḏ
7.	ḵ	ḵ	ḵ
8.	ḥ	ḥ	ḥ
9.	ḡ	ḡ	ḡ
10.	ḥ	ḥ ^m	ḥ

There are quite a few books presenting in detail the “dialect” (“language” would be more appropriate — there is hardly any mutual intelligibility) and the subgroup status and location of the Yi in Yunnan and Sichuan. Such tables are not all in total agreement, and one runs into contradictions when trying to map all the data given, but the larger outlines are clear.

From the ethnonyms and locations (near Yuanmou, Luquan, Mouding, and Wuding for all groups, as well as Xundian for the Kopu), given in the *Yiyu jianzhi*,⁵⁰ it is difficult to identify all Nosu, Laka, and Kopu languages. Nosu could belong to the Huili patois of the southern subdialect of the Northern dialect (where people call themselves /Nɔ³³su³³/, and which is spoken in Yuanmou and Luquan as well), but all three groups could also belong to several patois of the Northeastern Yunnanese subdialect of the Eastern dialect. One, Wu-Lu, is spoken in, among other areas, Wuding, Luquan, Yuanmou, and Xundian; another, Qiao-Wu, is spoken in the same districts except Xundian; and there is a Wuding dialect all by itself, as well as a Xundian dialect spoken in Xundian and Luquan.

Fortunately, there are other sources more directly relating common ethnonyms to dialects.⁵¹ The Kopu problem is then solved easily: there is a group that calls itself the Gepo, which is located around

Xundian. It speaks its own patois,⁵² which belongs to the Northeastern Yunnanese subdialect of the Eastern Yi dialect. The missionaries give Kang-i, Kang-e, or Kan-i as alternative names of the Kopu, as do some ethnonym lists; the Gan Yi ("Sweet Yi") are, however, clearly separated in the current lists from the Gepo, even though the two groups must be close linguistically. The Laka, if the map mentioned above of unknown origin (in which they are placed near the Luquan, Wuding, and Yuanmou county seats) is correct, should also belong to the same subdialect, but there are several patois possible: that of Gan Yi, Hong Yi ("Red Yi"), or Kun-An. However, the ethnonyms given for these subgroups are not at all like "Laka," and in fact there is no ethnonym nor exonym reminiscent of "Laka" under the Yi.⁵³

So far, there is also no explanation of the word "Laka." Further research confirmed the identification of Laka as a Yi group, but did not solve this last puzzle: A. Dessaint's bibliography on the Yi laconically lists the Laka as Yi, without giving any specific source.⁵⁴ Through checking annotated entry after annotated entry one finds out that his source is Clarke's *Among the Tribes in South-west China*, mentioned earlier, following Huffman, as describing the Laqua in Vietnam. It turns out that Clarke's book does nothing of the kind; it gives instead a small, rather unsophisticated, word list for "our" Laka, collected by A. G. Nicholls, the translator of the Laka Mark;⁵⁵ apparently Huffman equated Laqua with the Laka.

At this point I was lucky to meet with T'ien Ju-k'ang, author of the then still unfinished book *Peaks of Faith*,⁵⁶ which recounts in detail the continuing story of Christianity among the southwestern Chinese minorities until present times. When I told him the problem of determining the origin of the term "Laka," he mentioned that he had come across the same difficulty. He had therefore written friends in the area around Sapushan, where the major headquarters for Christianity in Wuding County was located, and they had told him that the term Laka had been a pejorative term for tenant Yis in that area, stemming from the Chinese *laogan(a)*, "old workers." He had been told moreover that Laka and Kopu were basically the "same," but that the Laka were tenants whereas the Kopu were not. One might question this latter assertion,

however, since it is contradicted by the fact that the two groups are clearly differentiated by the missionaries to the point of having two different Bibles while being served by the same missionaries. Professor T'ien had also found the source of the map: it was based on one published in the London edition of the missionary periodical *China's Millions*.⁵⁷

To find a printed source for the Laka < *laogan* origin, I searched through quite a number of *Lishi shehui diaocha baogao* (Socioeconomic research reports) on the Yi and other minorities, and through modern gazetteers for the area in question. Finally, in 1992 Princeton received the 1986 publication of the ethnographic reports of the early 1950s, which had taken place before most of the official designations were fixed. This work does list many later discarded Chinese ethnic terms, and in some entries on Wuding County, the Gan Yi are said to be "also called 'old Gan,'" *laogan*(b), using for "gan" the character of Gan Yi instead of "worker."⁵⁸ The work mentions the Kopu (written as Guobo) in the same areas but does not identify them as Gan Yi. There seems to have been a clear local distinction, even if some missionary reports identify the Gan Yi with Kopu; the first term might have had a wider usage than currently is the case. Also, the work mentions independent Laka farmers.

The above discussion identifies the Laka in Chinese terms. The designations involved (Nosu, Kopu, and Laka) can also be explained in Yi dialect. According to one author, the name *lagou* refers to an originally endogamous stratum of artisans, in particular ironmongers, whereas the name *guopu* refers to another stratum of basket weavers. Both groups have since become agricultural peasants, but their designations still differentiate them from the original military leaders (*nasu*, Black Yi) and cultivators (*tusu*, White Yi). Another source also relates the *-kal/ko-*morpheme to the meaning "artisan."⁵⁹

Although most Chinese reports therefore link the Laka unequivocally with the Gan Yi, one author, Lu Yi, would classify them as Hong Yi (if *lagou* is indeed equivalent to "Laka"; the term does not occur among the usual ethnonyms for the Hong Yi) whereas the missionaries use the term Gan Yi for the Kopu. I think that at least for the Kopu patois (rather than for the ethnonym), Gepo is by far the most likely

candidate. Moreover, since the typical area of the Hong Yi patois includes Wuding but not Luquan and Yuanmou and the term is not used in articles on Christianity in that area, I think it most likely that the Laka are to be classified as speakers of the Gan Yi rather than the Hong Yi patois (and hence, the Chinese *laogan*-Gan Yi identification is correct).

After the above was written, I encountered a recent gazetteer for the Chuxiong area that on first sight complicates the question even more. It mentions that in 1957 more than forty exonyms and endonyms for the Yi were found in the Chuxiong area (which encompasses Wuding, Yuanmou, and Luquan), even excluding pejorative terms. On the basis of ethnographical investigation (which considered factors such as language, territory, economy, and customs), these groups were combined into thirteen Yi "branches" in January 1958. In Wuding, the branches Lipu ("Bai [White] Yi"), Nuosu ("Hei [Black] Yi"), Nasu ("Hei Yi," but also "Hong [Red] Yi"), Miqie ("Micha"), Gesu ("Yi"), Sani ("Minglang"), Naluo ("Gan [Dry] Yi"), and Gepu ("Gan [Sweet] Yi") were found; in Yuanmou the branches Lipu, Nuosu, Nasu, and Naluo; and in Luquan the branches Lipu, Nuosu, Nasu, Miqie, Sani, Naluo, and Gepu.⁶⁰ Strangely, "Gan [Sweet]" Yi is here given as an ethnonym (actually, an exonym) for the Gepu, and the term is separated from "Gan [Dry]" Yi; note that the latter character is the same as the one explained in "*laogan*" as "worker." "Hong Yi" is separated from both. The same work separates, however, the Gepu and Gan [Sweet] Yi patois. Missionaries reported more than one hundred villages inhabited by "Laka"; since the two possible "branches" in Chuxiong, the Naluo and the Gepu, are very dissimilar in numbers (8,522 versus 747; these figures refer either to 1957 or "currently"), in current ethnonymic terms the Laka should therefore be equated with the more numerous Naluo, hence the "Gan [Dry? Worker?] Yi," and in this area, the Gepu with the "Gan [Sweet] Yi." It seems then that to a certain extent, the missionaries' and the Guizhou identification of Gan Yi with Gepu or Gepo is right, but strictly speaking only for the Gan [Sweet] Yi; undoubtedly, they speak the Gepo patois. The questionable identification of Hong Yi with *lagou* does not obtain in the Chuxiong area, and should not be considered there. The Laka are therefore Naluo, or Gan [Dry? Worker?] Yi; as for their dialect, since the Gepo patois is

already accounted for (and, except for the small Gepu group, there are no other candidates), as are the Hei and Hong Yi (the latter now equated with part of the large Nasu group), we have to conclude that the only alternative left is the "Gan Yi" patois, which then sometimes is wrongly written with "Gan [Sweet]"; it should be "Gan [Dry? Worker?]." This solution assumes a confusion of the two "gan" characters, and is therefore perhaps less than fully satisfactory; however, we have seen that indeed in the term "laogan" the same confusion has undoubtedly occurred.

Finally, it should be pointed out that the patois in question are spoken by much larger numbers than the small ethnic groups mentioned here. Judging from geographical distribution, the Hei Yi patois has to be equated with the patois otherwise known as Wu-Lu, and has a total of 150,000 speakers; the Gan Yi patois with Qiao-Wu, 60,000 speakers; the Hong Yi patois with Wuding, also with 60,000 speakers; and the Gepo patois with Xundian, 70,000 speakers. The fifth patois of the Northeastern Yunnanese subdialect of the Eastern Yi dialect, Kun-An, is not spoken in the Wuding area; it has 50,000 speakers.⁶¹

The identification of the Laka and Kopu qua language and ethnic classification is now complete. Laka belongs to the Gan Yi patois, and, as mentioned, Kopu belongs to (or equals) the Gepo patois of the Northeastern Yunnanese subdialect of the Eastern Yi dialect. Works like the *Ethnologue* have therefore to be corrected.

OTHER MINORITY IDENTIFICATIONS

Akha

To return to the other languages mentioned in table 2, Akha, which is listed under China in the *SW*, is a widespread pejorative term for (some subgroups of) the group currently known as the Hani. The 1939 work was printed in Rangoon in an adapted roman script.⁶² Since Christianity and missionary activity among the Chinese Hani groups was limited to the Kaduo subgroup (see below under Kado), which has its own works and uses a Pollard script, it is unlikely that the "Akha" Bible was actually used in China. The *SW* is therefore wrong to list this work under China; it should be under Burma.

Atsi

Atsi is a well-known alternative name for Zaiwa, one of the languages spoken by the Jingpo (in Western sources often called the Kachin.) The 1939 work was published in Rangoon, and the *SW* classifies it under Burma. Later works in Atsi, like the one published in 1951, were written in an ordinary roman script without the complexities of the roman script developed for Lahu or Akha.⁶³ However, the first 1939 Atsi work was translated by F. J. Fitzwilliam, who was working at the Chinese side of the border. He used "the same script as for Lisu,"⁶⁴ and this can only be the (Western) Lisu Fraser script. It is said that on the Chinese side, most

**"A: M Λ MI=YI. TV. JŪ M L: ƆO TV. M: dl:
YE FI SI.=LI: ƆI; LI: P M SV; MY MŦ FI_ BE=
WU-S NY=YIA BI R: TI. TV. GŦ: KŦ N ƆI=MI
NV L: ƆO TV. NI, NŪ LO"**

4. An example of the Fraser script, as used for Western Lisu. Taken from *The Book of a Thousand Tongues*, no. 531.

Jingpo are not able to understand the "Jingpaw" language (Jingpo, also called Northern Kachin or Singpho by the missionaries) that was used by the American Baptists on the Burman side, but only "Atsi, Maru, and La Chi" (languages now called Zaiwa, Langsu, and Leqi).⁶⁵ This is not exactly true: Jingpo proper is spoken in China, but it does point to the fact that although some American Baptist works published in Burma were used among Christians in China (this is the case for the Va and Lahu as well as the Zaiwa; see below), the Bibles listed as "Northern Kachin (Singpho)" were not.⁶⁶ The roman script system as developed by the missionaries in Burma has, however, formed the basis for the current script in use for Jingpo proper in China; differences are minimal.⁶⁷ The basic patois used is that of "Enkun," but the written language is in fact slightly different from the several oral patois.

Chung-chia

The Chung-chia Matthew was the first Bible text translated into a southwestern Chinese minority language; it was done by Clarke who used a roman script. The term is a common one for the rather loose

nationality now called the Bouyei (or *Buyi*, in normal Chinese transcription). Missionary activities among the Bouyei were rather secondary to the efforts to proselytize the Guizhou (Hua) Miao in Anshun and Guiyang. Clarke learned his Chung-chia (*Zhongjia*) language in a village barely five English miles from Guiyang.⁶⁸ This area is clearly the domain of the so-called Central Bouyei patois.⁶⁹ There is a depiction of this group in the *Miao-Yaozu shenghuo tu*; see illustration 5.



5. The Chungchia, as shown in the *Miao Yao zu shenghuo tu*, a Miao album held in the Gest Library (plate 30). The location given is Anshun and Guiyang; the men are said to wear black headwear, the women short upper garments and long skirts.

Kado

The Kado (also spelled Kadu) work, published in 1939 in the Pollard script as is clear from the picture in *CML*,⁷⁰ is readily identifiable as Kaduo, a patois of the Bika dialect of Hani, spoken in Mojiang, Jiangcheng, and Jingdong counties in Yunnan.⁷¹

Keh-Deo

Keh-Deo is another problematic term and language.⁷² A work in that language was translated by M. H. Hutton, and the language is identified as Gelao by the *SW*, but said to be spoken in southwestern Guizhou by the *BTT* (the Gelao live in eastern Guizhou). Spittler calls it a Miao language. The *Ethnologue* is confused, once again, on the matter: it lists Keh-deo as a “dialect” under Miao, but places the relevant Bible portions clearly under “Gelo,” its term for the Gelao.

There is no ethnonym closely related to Keh-Deo known for the Gelao, unless one wants to accept a d-l alternation.⁷³ The self-designations for the Gelao are /Klau⁵⁵/, /Qau³⁵/, /A⁵⁵ yu⁵⁵/, /Ha⁴²kei⁴²/, or /To³¹lo³³/, all related to a *kl- origin.⁷⁴ I have already mentioned some internal classified photocopied documents on nationality identification in Guizhou.⁷⁵ They list mostly historical citations functioning as background material for the policy makers. In this, there is a group called the Gedou, who are called /qa⁵⁵tau³³/ by the Miao and /qa³¹to³³/ by the Mulao; the Chinese use such names for them as Gedou, Gedang, “River Gelao,” “Flower Gelao,” and “Flower Dou Miao.”⁷⁶ They call themselves /qu³³ mu³³/ and live mainly in Huangping, Kaili, Xiuwen, and Qingping counties. The Dongjia call themselves by the same name, but the Gedou consider them a different group, and Chinese records call them “Eastern Miao” and “Duck-raising Miao” among other names. The *ZYD* gives as a yet to be fully investigated language the Gejia patois, referring to this group, and gives the number of its speakers as fifty thousand.

Searching for the exact location of the translator of the Keh-Deo work, I found that M. H. Hutton, who was also the translator of Black Miao and who used the *zhuyin fuhao* phonetic script for both languages, indeed lists both groups as living in the same area around his station, Panghai, near Kaili City, where the Gedou live.⁷⁷ It is therefore safe to

assume that the Keh-Dou are the Gedou, not the Gelao.⁷⁸ As shown in the *ZYD*, the exact linguistic classification is still open. Some consider it an independent language, some relate it provisionally to Miao, as the Chonganjiang subdialect of “Triprovincial” Miao (see below); the local Miao consider it a different group, however. By a lucky coincidence, the *Miao-Yaozu shenghuo tu* gives a depiction of this group; see illustration 6.



6. The Keh-Deo, as shown in the *Miao Yao zu shenghuo tu* (plate 33). Their location is given as Zhenyuan, Shibing, and Huangping, which fits well with current descriptions.

Kopu

Kopu has already been identified above as the Gepo patois of the Northeastern Yunnanese subdialect of the Eastern Yi dialect. It should not be confused with the eponymous place name in northwestern Guizhou, where there was a missionary station.

Lisu

Lisu is subdivided by the *BTT* between Eastern Lisu, who use the Pollard script and among whom A. G. Nicholls and G. E. Metcalf were active, and Western Lisu, where the Fraser script developed by J. O. Fraser (1886–1936) was used. As mentioned above, the Fraser script should not be confused with the Pollard script. The division is not a major linguistic division. “Eastern” Lisu live around Sapushan-Wuding in northern Yunnan, and “Western” Lisu around Tengchong, then called Tengyue, in southwestern Yunnan.

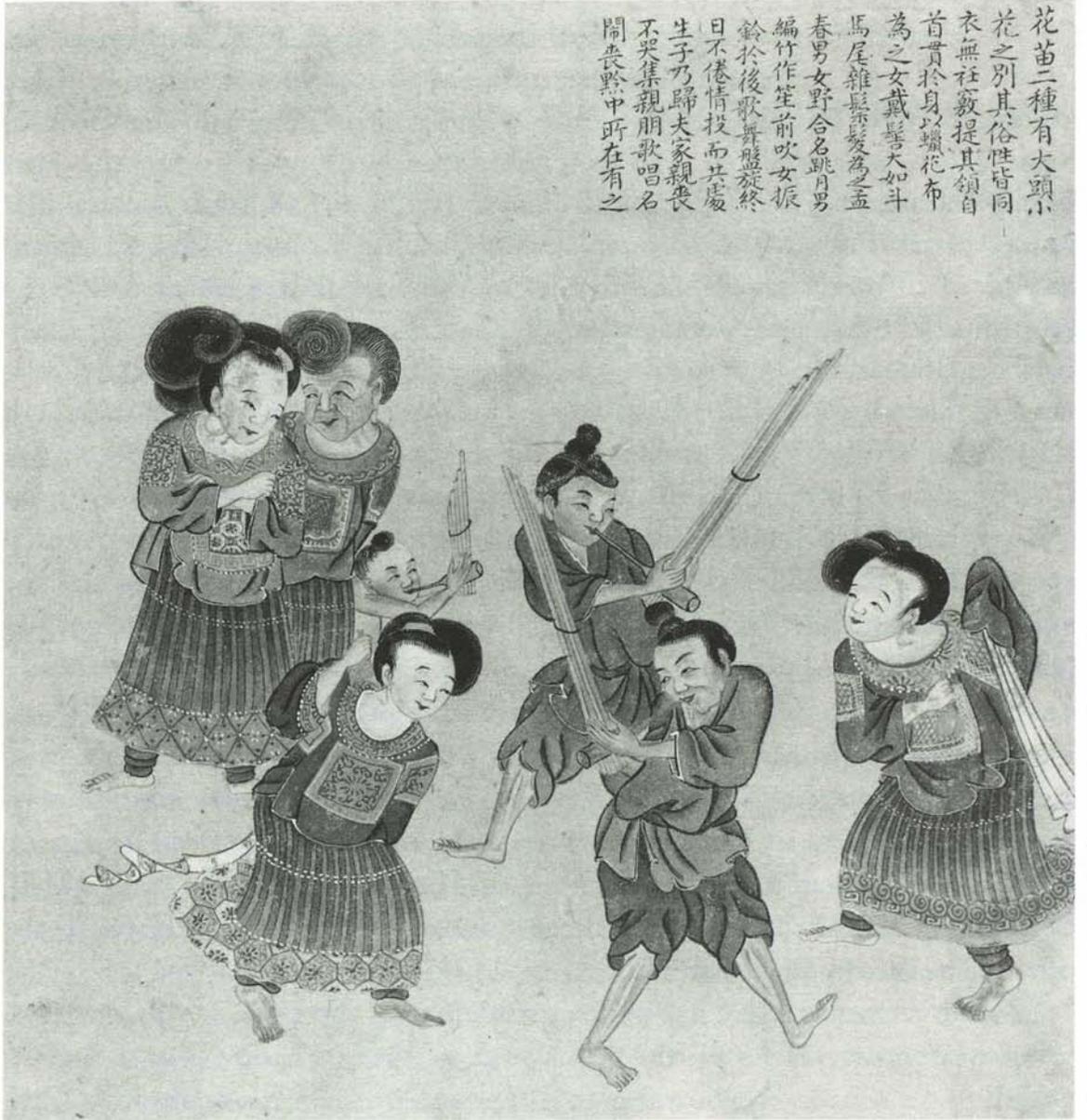
Lisu is divided into three dialects: those of Nujiang, Yongsheng, and Luquan. Fraser was working in the first area near Tengchong County, and his Western Lisu reflects that (Nujiang) dialect. The Pollard script was in use among speakers of the Luquan dialect, where the Laka and Nosu scriptures also originated. The people of the latter dialect, “Eastern Lisu,” call themselves /Li⁵⁵pho³¹/. Recently David Bradley, who apparently has used data collected by one of the missionary translators, Metcalf, has surmised that this dialect Lipo is “now classified under Central Yi as Lolopo.” He must, however, have confused Lipo (a) with Lipo (b),⁷⁹ which with Luoluopo form in fact two different patois of the Central Yi dialect.⁸⁰ Descriptions of the Lisu language squarely and specifically carve out a space for exactly the dialect spoken in Luquan and its Pollard script.⁸¹ Currently, out of a total of two hundred thousand speakers, there are still some seven thousand users of the Pollard system, and fifty to sixty thousand users of the Fraser system (versus six thousand of the new official Lisu roman system), which has undergone a revival. Lisu in the Fraser script is also used by Lisu outside of China, and also, for religious purposes, by the Nung or Nu and Derung (Dulong) people.⁸²

Miao

Of the Black ("He" according to missionaries, using a nonstandard transcription of the Chinese "Hei," Black), Hwa ("Hua," "Flower"), and Chuan Miao, the two first groups are easiest to classify. Although the terms are not in current official use, there are enough data to assign them unequivocally. The Black Miao indeed live around Panghai (near present Kaili City), where M. H. Hutton, their translator, was living; the Hua Miao belong to the group with which Pollard had such spectacular successes around 1904 — Shimenkan in Weining County. Identifications are given in many places; the dialect of the first (Black Miao, with the ethnonym /m̥hu/) is now called the northern patois of the Eastern Guizhou (Qiandong) Miao dialect. It has currently nine hundred thousand speakers. The Hua Miao call themselves /a mau/; their dialect is called the Northeastern Yunnanese subdialect of the Triprovincial (Sichuan, Guizhou, and Yunnan, or, using the customary short designations, Chuan-Qian-Dian) Miao dialect. It has currently two hundred thousand speakers, and the name already points to the fact that the Hua Miao are the major group in northern Yunnan, spilling over to the Shimenkan area in Guizhou.⁸³ The Miao around the major Christian center of Zhaotong in Yunnan are also Hua Miao. They are depicted in the *Miao-Yao zu shenghuo tu*; see illustration 7. For many years, Western scholars followed Chinese reports in assuming that the Pollard script was hardly used anymore; in fact, it is still in widespread use: one hundred thousand people, almost half the total number of Hua Miao speakers, are said to be familiar with it, versus only three hundred who are familiar with the official, new roman script.⁸⁴

The Chuan Miao are more problematic; the term is not encountered in extensive lists of old terms such as that of Ling Chunsheng for Guizhou.⁸⁵ "Chuan" (assuming that it stands for the most obvious Chinese character in this context) can mean "river" or "from Sichuan." There are indeed such terms in the missionary reports as "River Miao," but a similar term "Water Miao" refers more readily to the Shui, a different ethnic group altogether.⁸⁶ Nor does the term "Chuan Miao"

花苗二種有大頭小
 花之別其俗性皆同
 衣無社竅提其領自
 首貫於身以蠟花布
 為之女戴髻大如斗
 馬尾雜髮為之孟
 春男女野合名跳月男
 編竹作笙前吹女振
 鈴於後歌舞盤旋終
 日不倦情投而共處
 生子乃歸夫家親喪
 不哭集親朋歌唱名
 鬧喪黔中所在有之



7. The Hua Miao, as shown in the *Miao Yao zu shenghuo tu* (plate 6). They are divided here into two groups, the Larger and the Smaller Flower Miao; missionaries use similar descriptions. Their customs are said to be the same, however.

figure in the list of ethnonyms and exonyms given for Yunnan.⁸⁷ One would expect the term to denote a group not too far from the usual area in Yunnan where the Pollard script is used. Pollard's diaries indeed mention the River Miao, identified with the "Peh-Miao" ("Bai Miao," White Miao), but the term "Chuan Miao" does not occur, and Pollard died well before the first publication of a Chuan Miao work (1915 versus 1922).⁸⁸ In the *Journal of the West China Border Research Society*,⁸⁹ David Crockett Graham and some others have published many articles about the so-called Chuan Miao of Xufu (Shuifu in their spelling; the city currently is called Yibin). One article especially confirms the identification of Chuan with the meaning "from Sichuan," and indeed mentions the White Miao as one of the subgroups of the Chuan Miao.⁹⁰ One Chinese article is more specific in the identification of the Chuan Miao with the White Miao.⁹¹ This article even gives written examples from the Gospel of Mark, noting that unlike the Hua Miao translations, works in this dialect only include Mark and part of the Psalms.⁹² This concurs with the information given in the *BTT*. Their ethnonym is /mɔŋ/, and their dialect is currently classified as the "first patois of the triprovincial subdialect of the Triprovincial Miao Dialect." It currently has over one million speakers.⁹³

"Musso" and Lahu

According to the *BTT*, there is a "Musso" language "spoken in the Mekong and Yangtze" valleys in southern China. The Bible is said to use the "Lao characters." The example shows it to be the same as what the missionaries normally call "Laotian: Yuan" script, that is, the northern Thai or Kammüang script rather than Laotian proper from Laos (for these scripts see below, under "Tai Works"). The location description points to northwestern Yunnan where the Mekong and Yangtze are close to each other. "Musso" seems then like "Moso," an alternative name for the Naxi, but why would a Kammüang script have ever been used there? The *SW* identifies Musso as Lahu, which makes the script more understandable (the Lahu live near the Dai), but in China at least the American Baptist romanized version, as developed by H. H. Tilbe (1859–1935), was already in use since at least 1924 for Lahu, through the activities of

M. Vincent Young (1903–1990).⁹⁴ In China, the missionaries had most success with the relatively non-sinicized Lahu Na dialect group, rather than with the sinicized Lahu Xi.⁹⁵ Most Christian Lahu had moved abroad by 1958; 7,000 are currently still in Yunnan, of whom 4,000 use the missionary script versus 6,000 other Lahu (out of a total of 160,500) who are conversant in the modern roman Lahu script based on the missionary script.⁹⁶

The Musso work was published in 1925 at Chiengmai, and the translator is a Tai Yuan called Duang Dee. This gives us a clue: although there is no ethnonym or exonym close to Musso among the Lahu in China, the term “Musso” (also spelled Mussuh, Muhsur, or Muhso, meaning “hunter”) is used in northern Thailand by the Thai for the Lahu, who indeed both live around Chiengmai, not too far from the Mekong valley (the Yangtze is distant indeed). The term stems from the Burmese exonym /Mouʔ-hsôu/, meaning “hunter,” and was taken over by the Thai as /Musəə/.⁹⁷ The chance that this “Musso” Bible was indeed used in China is remote; the *BTT* location remark must arise from confusion of Moso with Musso, or more accurately, of the Naxi with the Lahu.

Na-hsi

Na-hsi refers to the Naxi group (in other Western sources also called Naxhi or Moso) in northwestern Yunnan. According to the *BTT* and Spillett, the Dutchwoman Elsie Scharten,⁹⁸ who translated the Bible written in Na-hsi, used a “modified Pollard” script. Judging from the specimen given (see illustration 8) it would better be called “modified Fraser,” since it uses capital roman letters which are sometimes upside down or backward, and no other signs. Since the Naxi and western Lisu live not too far from each other, this influence does not seem unlikely. The ethnonym Scharten uses (/nɑ³¹-çi³³/ instead of /nɑ³³zu³³/, /nɑ³³xĩ³³/, or /mɑ³³li⁵⁵mɑ³³sa³³/) concurs well with her location in Lijiang, among speakers of the Western dialect of Naxi. There are three subdialects, two of which are spoken by smallish groups some distance from Lijiang County. Therefore, it is more than probable that the subdialect reflected is that of Dayanzhen, spoken by the Naxi population of central Lijiang County.⁹⁹

VE GE SU-NDU NGU ON BE, BE
 DN GE XI LB SE, VE GE A-BU.
 GD-RD ME-ME, GU-ME NE GE A
 ME W SE.

8. An example of the script for Na-hsi, taken from *The Book of a Thousand Tongues*, no. 673. Although the script is called "modified Pollard," it would be more correct to call it "modified Fraser" (cf. figures 2 and 4).

Nosu

Nosu, "Black Yi," which uses Pollard script and was first translated by G. Porteous around Sapushan, has already been mentioned. This particular ethnonym is in wide use; the location of the translator makes it almost certain that here we have to do with the dialect currently classified as the Hei Yi (Black Yi) patois of the Northeastern Yunnanese subdialect of the Eastern Yi dialect, close to Gan Yi (Laka) and Gepo (Kopu). Ten to twenty thousand Yi in Yunnan are said to still use the Pollard script; none uses the newly standardized Liangshan Yi syllabic writing system, based on the well-known "Lolo" ideophonetic characters.¹⁰⁰

Tai Works: Tai Lü, Tai Ya, and Shan: Yunnanese

To classify the Dai Bible portions properly,¹⁰¹ it is necessary to pay special attention to the scripts in which they were written. In general, four traditional scripts have been in use among the Dai in China: the first in Sipsongpanna (Xishuangbanna) in southern Yunnan; the second in the Dehong autonomous prefecture; the third in areas in Ruili and Gengma counties (by the Tai Peng); and the fourth in Jinping County.¹⁰² The last one, never in widespread use among the Chinese Dai, is called "White Tai" and is the most peculiar. The area of its use is slightly apart from the others, and is inhabited by so-called White and Black Tai originating in Lai Châu in Vietnam. There are no Bibles in this script, at least not in China.¹⁰³

The first script, called Tai Lü (Dai Le, /Tai² Lu⁴/, also the ethnonym for the Dai in Xishuangbanna), is in fact almost identical both to the Kammüang or Yuan script used in northern Thailand, which is called Laotian (Yuan) in the *BTT*, and to the so-called *to'tham*², temple script (*tham* from Pāli *dhamma*, the Buddhist Law), which is used for religious purposes over a much wider area, including Dehong Prefecture and Laos, and also by some non-Dai people. Two letters differ from Kammüang, and seven from the Laotian temple script, and not all localities have exactly the same inventory of letters.¹⁰⁴ The script is also used by the Burmese Khun. Perhaps this is why the 1921 script of the Tai Lü Bible portion, an example of which is given in the *BTT*, is handwritten and called "Tai Lu characters," although a type font for Kammüang or "Laotian (Yuan)" was at that time available to the same printing mission in Chiang Mai (Chiengmai).¹⁰⁵ There is therefore no objection to classifying the Tai Lü, in the handwritten Tai Lü script, as the Xishuangbanna dialect of Dai.

The Kammüang printed script, on the other hand, is also used for an "illiterate" Tai group called Tai Ya (/tai²ja⁵/, Dai Ya), the ethnonym of which places them in Xinping County, under the Dai Ya dialect of Dai.¹⁰⁶ The Tai Ya Bible was printed in 1922 in Chiang Mai in Thailand, in a translation by the widow of W. C. Dodd, completing the work of her famous husband.

The script of the Dehong Dai (Tai Le, Dai Na) is called /la:i⁵ tai⁵⁵ lə³⁵/ "Upper Tai script" versus the one in use among the Tai Peng (Dai Beng). This group, Tai Peng, calls itself /tai²pəŋ³³/, the meaning of which is not clear, but its script is called by the Tai Le /la:i⁵⁵tai⁵⁵tau³¹/; "lower Tai script." These scripts are only used for secular purposes, and are in system of the same origin, although one uses square forms, the other round ones. Some Palaung (*Bulang*) also use the Dehong Dai script. The latter is the same as the so-called Burmese Shan script, but in general the term "Shan" is vague. In China, the term is in Western reports sometimes used for all Yunnanese Dai anywhere (most of whom live close to the Burmese Shan or Tai).

The script of the 1931 "Yunnanese Shan" Bible in the *BTT* identifies it as the Dehong Dai or Tai Le, not as the Tai Peng; the two

major groups of the Dai in China, Xishuangbanna and Dehong, are represented therefore by Bibles.

Va

The Va (Wa) scriptures are nowhere listed under China. Chinese-based sources, however, mention clearly that the roman-based script developed for Va by Vincent Young originated in fact from among the Va in China, and was called locally the "*sala* script."¹⁰⁷ The language of the works translated by Young was based on the speech in Ankang and Yanshuai near Lancang and Cangyuan counties. The transcription system is considered insufficiently accurate by modern Chinese scholars, but the current romanized system for Va is based on the same dialect, that is, the Yanshuai patois of the Parauk (*Baraoke*) dialect of Va, with currently 180,000 speakers.¹⁰⁸ In contrast to Jingpo and Lahu, which have only minor differences between the traditional missionary and the modern roman writing systems, the two Va writing systems are very different; current usage is along religious lines, with 5,000 Va using the old missionary system, and 1,700 Va using the modern system.¹⁰⁹

This concludes my classificatory survey of minority languages in which some Bible portions have been published. Some languages, such as the Laka and Keh-Deo, have for the first time been properly identified in modern terms; many others have, I hope, been given a more detailed classification than hitherto available. Especially in the case of Yi languages, this might make available to linguists some otherwise difficult-to-obtain material hitherto overlooked.

NOTES

1. For more on Samuel Pollard (1864-1914), see "The Laka" below and notes 32 and 33.
2. This refers to the phonetic system using new signs for initials and finals, developed during the decade after 1910 as a pronunciation tool for Chinese. With later revisions, it is still used in Taiwan and commonly called "*bopomofo*." Another less popular phonetic syllabary, that of Wang Zhao, was developed earlier, and has been used in some of Gest's Chinese dialect Bibles.

3. See the letters of Nancy Lee Swann to I. V. Gillis dated June 14, August 30, and October 31, 1932 (the quote is from the last letter), and the letter dated July 13 of I. V. Gillis to Nancy Lee Swann, all in the Gest archives.
4. See, among many such lists, The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, ed., *Information China: The Comprehensive and Authoritative Reference Source of New China* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1989), vol. 3, pp. 1251–1253.
5. Eric M. North, *The Book of a Thousand Tongues* (New York: American Bible Society, 1938). I have only excluded those works listed under China in the *BTT* that in location, name, and script clearly belong to Thailand or Laos, even if the groups in question (Miao, Yao) are also present in China.
6. The latest version is Liana Lupas and Erroll F. Rhodes, *Scriptures of the World: A Compilation of the 2,018 Languages in Which at Least One Book of the Bible Has Been Published since the Bible Was First Printed by Johann Gutenberg* (Reading: United Bible Societies, 1993). For China see esp. pp. 66–67.
7. Hubert W. Spillett, comp., *A Catalogue of Scriptures in the Languages of China and the Republic of China* (London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1975).
8. For a Chinese attempt to cover the minorities that overlap national boundaries, see Shen Xu and Liu Zhi, *Zhongguo xinan yu dongnanya de kuajing minzu* (Kunming: Yunnan minzu chubanshe, 1988).
9. Frank M. LeBar, Gerald C. Hickey, and John K. Musgrave, eds., *Ethnic Groups of Mainland Southeast Asia* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files Press, 1964). Barbara F. Grimes, ed., *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, 12th ed. (Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1992). The information on China in this edition is somewhat better than that in the eleventh one, published in 1988. Still, earlier entries have been expanded rather than really corrected, and the work still says that the Bouyei have no scripture (they have, under the name Chung-chia), that the Gelo (Gelao) have Bible portions published in 1937 (Gelo should be Gedou; see below), or that the Hani have no scripture (but the subgroup Kaduo has). Another recent work that would have benefited from knowing the Chinese literature in more detail is Robert Parkin, *A Guide to Austroasiatic Speakers and Their Languages*, Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication, no. 23 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1991). The same group regularly occurs several times with various designations used by other groups as if these were different groups. Admittedly, China would be of only minor interest to an Austroasiatic linguist.
10. November 1925, p. 170. This journal is henceforth cited as *CML*.
11. For a recent study of the meaning of such colors in southwestern nationalities, see Zhu Jingyu and Li Jiaquan, *Shaoshu minzu secai yuyan jiemi: cong tuteng fuhao dao shehui fuhao* (Kunming: Yunnan minzu chubanshe, 1993).
12. This is also true for the Chinese designations, if of local origin. Terms such as “local people” or “Red Miao” might be vague and historically incorrect (i.e., the people referred to might in the present state of our knowledge not be considered ethnolinguistically “Miao”), but they point to the existence of two different groups in the locality where these names were current. Whether the “local people” of one county had any relation with the “local people” of

another is more questionable (and in this example, unlikely). It is surprising that the Chinese terms in the Qing Miao picture albums held at many libraries often point to quite specific still identifiable subgroups, even if the generic terms used are outdated. Some of the groups discussed in this article are illustrated here with pictures from a Gest Miao album, arbitrarily titled in the catalogue *Miao-Yaozu shenghuo tu* (Daily life pictures of the Miao and Yao; an earlier and more incorrect title was *Guozhong zuichu jumin shuzhong* [Some earliest inhabitants of our country]). For more on Miao albums, see Song Guangyu, *Huanan bianjiang minzu tulu* (Taipei: Zhongyang tushuguan, 1991), or Laura Hostetler, "Chinese Ethnography in the Eighteenth Century: Miao Albums of Guizhou Province," Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, forthcoming. For an unexpectedly frank introduction to ethnic identification in the 1950s, see Fei Xiaotong's "Ethnic Identification in China," in Fei Hsiao Tung, *Toward a People's Anthropology* (Beijing: New World Press, 1981), pp. 60-77. This is said to be a translation of "Guanyu Zhongguo shaoshu minzu de shibie wenti" (1978), an article printed many times, most recently in Fei Xiaotong, *Minzu yanjiu wenji* (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 1988), pp. 158-187; in fact it differs from the Chinese version in some important details.

13. Both Fei Xiaotong and Lin Yaohua (also known as Lin Yüeh-hwa), famous Western-trained anthropologists, were part of the investigative groups. The latter has described some aspects of ethnic classification in Yunnan in "Zhongguo xinan diqu de minzu shibie," *Yunnan shaoshu minzu shehui lishi diaocha ziliao huibian* (Kunming: Yunnan renmin chubanshe, 1987), vol. 3, pp. 1-5. See also in the same volume, without author, "Yunnansheng minzu shibie baogao," pp. 7-58.
14. See also Stevan Harrell, "Ethnicity, Local Interests, and the State: Yi Communities in Southwest China," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 32 (1990), pp. 515-548. Seen from one perspective the Chinese themselves can be considered an example of a highly varied people speaking many mutually incomprehensible languages or dialects.
15. For these groups, classified as part of the Zhuang, see Wei Qingwen and Tan Guosheng, eds., *Zhuangyu jianzhi* (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 1980). In Vietnam, the group formerly known as the Thố is now officially called Tày for the largest part; only a small group has retained the original designation.
16. General problems of ethnic identification and its politics have also been discussed by Dru C. Gladney, *Muslim Chinese: Ethnic Nationalism in the People's Republic* (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1991), esp. pp. 302-315. Gladney makes the point that current designations might very well become a force in their own right. Perhaps the most important criticism of the present ethnolinguistic scheme is that terms such as "dialect" and "subdialect" can mean very different entities depending on the group or language under discussion.
17. For an overview of the minorities policy of the Chinese government, see June Teufel Dreyer, *China's Forty Millions*, Harvard East Asian Series 87 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976), which does not, however, treat

in much detail the problems connected with ethnic research and identification; see pp. 141-146.

18. S. A. Wurm et al., *Language Atlas of China* (Hong Kong: Longman Group, 1988). *Zhongguo dabaiké quanshu: Minzu* (Beijing: Zhongguo dabaiké quanshu chubanshe, 1986), and *Zhongguo dabaiké quanshu: Yuyan-Wenzi* (Beijing: Zhongguo dabaiké quanshu chubanshe), 1988. The recent *Atlas of the World's Languages*, ed. Christopher Moseley and R. E. Asher (London: Routledge, 1994), is much more up-to-date, at least in the Mon-Khmer, Austro-Thai, and Tibeto-Burman parts, which are written by David Bradley.
19. Much less detail about unclassified languages or dialects is given in the reference work *Zhongguo shaoshu minzu yuyan* (Chengdu: Sichuan minzu chubanshe, 1987) than in the seemingly more general but extremely helpful and up-to-date reference work *Zhongguo yuyanxue dacidian* (Nanchang: Jiangxi jiaoyu chubanshe, 1991; henceforth ZYD). Some recent Western overviews of Chinese minority languages and nationalities barely touch the surface of the linguistic literature and hardly go beyond the official nationality level. See, e.g., Maurice Coyaud, *Les langues dans le monde chinois* (Paris: Pour l'Analyse du Folklore, 1987), and S. Robert Ramsey, *The Languages of China*, rev. ed. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989).
20. In the Mon-Khmer language group alone, the Khmu' (*Kemu*; including *Kebi*, twenty-five hundred speakers; some in this group use the Dai "temple script" — see below — and can be considered literate), Mang (five hundred), Hu (one thousand), Man mit (*Manmi*, nine hundred, some of whom also use the "temple script"), Phsin (*Buxin*, two hundred), Kammu (*Kemie*, one thousand), and Kuan (one thousand) have already been reported. See especially the ZYD. See also Jan-Olof Svantesson, "U," *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 11.1 (Spring 1988), pp. 64-133. The latest "new" language reported I know of is the Boren language in Qiubei County, Yunnan, mentioned in passing in an article introducing the Laji language, the name and location of which had already been reported. See Zhang Jimin, "Lajiyu yu Gelaoyu de guanxi," *Minzu yuwen* (1992.3), pp. 19-27.

Since this article was written, yet more languages have been discovered or described; I refrain from mentioning them here. The question of the extent to which a certain ethnic group speaks its or other languages has been largely answered by the publication of the extensive *Zhongguo shaoshu minzu yuyan shiyong qingkuang* (Beijing: Zhongguo zangxue chubanshe, 1994). Some contributors to Stevan Harrell, ed., *Cultural Encounters on China's Ethnic Frontiers* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994), deal briefly with some of the problems raised here regarding the Yi, the Miao, and the Dai from a (post)modern Western perspective. For the Yi see Harrell, "The History of the History of the Yi," pp. 63-91, and Margaret Byrne Swain, "Père Vial and the Gni-p'a: Orientalist Scholarship and the Christian Project," pp. 140-185; for the Miao see Siu-woo Cheung, "Millenarianism, Christian Movements, and Ethnic Change among the Miao in Southwest China," pp. 217-247, and Norma Diamond, "Defining the Miao: Ming, Qing, and Contemporary

- Views," pp. 92-116; and for the Dai see Shih-chung Hsieh, "On the Dynamics of the Tai/Dai-Lue Ethnicity: An Ethnological Analysis," pp. 301-328. Swain's contribution treats the Catholic romanization of Yi, which because it is not used for Bibles, has been left out of this article.
21. See Sun Hongkai, "Chuanxi minzu zoulang diqu de yuyan," in *Xinan minzu yanjiu* (Chengdu: Sichuan minzu chubanshe, 1983), pp. 429-454, trans. Jackson T.-S. Sun as "Languages of the Ethnic Corridor in Western Sichuan," *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 13.1 (Spring 1990), pp. 1-31. The impetus for this research was the demand of the speakers of some languages, especially Ersu, to be recognized as a separate minority historically known as Xifan. Even within the new languages reported there are mutually unintelligible "dialects," with more than half the common vocabulary of different origin.
 22. In the table in Zou Qiyu and Miao Wenjun, eds., *Zhongguo renkou: Yunnan fence* (Beijing: Zhongguo caizheng jingji chubanshe, 1989), pp. 94-106, some such subgroups are still listed with separate population figures.
 23. See the *Yunnan nianjian 1988* (Kunming: "Yunnan nianjian" zazhishe), p. 240.
 24. A source for the large number of as yet unclassified groups in Guizhou is the classified material gathered in *Minzu shibie wenxian ziliao huibian*, *Minzu yanjiu cankao ziliao* 15 (Guiyang: Guizhousheng minzu yanjiusuo, 1982). This book brings together historical information culled from many sources on sixteen groups that are marked with an asterisk in table 3 and gives the name of four more that are insufficiently documented (Sanqiao, Liujia, Diao, and Changpao Yao). For an overview of the many pre-1949 Chinese names current then for minorities in Guizhou without any effort at further classification or analysis, see Lin Yüeh-hwa (Lin Yaohua), "The Miao-Man Peoples of Kweichow," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 5.3-4 (January 1941), pp. 261-345.
 25. Fei, "Ethnic Identification in China," says thirty-odd groups, which is contradicted by the *Minzu shibie wenxian ziliao huibian* and the *Guizhou nianjian 1985* (Guiyang: Guizhou renmin chubanshe), pp. 340-341.
 26. See *Guizhou nianjian 1987*, p. 297.
 27. See, e.g., Fei, "Ethnic Identification in China," pp. 66-69. However, this English text says that the group is officially classified as Chinese, which is false; the Chinese text says only that "we consider them Chinese" (p. 167); the meaning of "we" is left open. In fact, as is visible from the *Minzu shibie wenxian ziliao huibian* (pp. 68-72) and the *Guizhou nianjian 1985* (p. 341), the group is still an unclassified group and the largest such group in Guizhou.
 28. See the preface to the *Guizhousheng shaoshu minzu renkou tongji ziliao*, *Minzu yanjiu cankao ziliao* 21 (Guiyang: Guizhousheng minzu yanjiusuo, 1985).
 29. See the *Guizhou tongji nianjian 1992* (Beijing: Zhongguo tongji chubanshe, 1992), pp. 117-123, which even gives the data on the ten largest minorities for each county, data not given in the otherwise much more comprehensive *Guizhousheng 1990nian renkou pucha ziliao (dianzi jisuanji huizong)* (Beijing: Zhongguo tongji chubanshe, 1993), vol. 1, pp. 420-515. For the national data, see the *Zhongguo 1990nian renkou pucha ziliao* (Beijing: Zhongguo tongji chubanshe, 1993), vol. 1, pp. 300-319. After this article was written, new

- detailed 1990 figures for minorities were openly published in *Zhongguo minzu renkou ziliao: 1990nian renkou pucha shuju* (Beijing: Zhongguo tongji chubanshe, 1994).
30. For the 1982 census they are available in the *Guizhousheng shaoshu minzu renkou tongji ziliao*, the preface of which states that population data below the prefectural level are classified. See also note 29 above.
 31. Other "strange," yet to be properly investigated, languages are Jiongnai Yao, the Cao or Grass Miao (sixty thousand speakers, close in language to the Kam-Dong); Lai in Guangxi (five hundred speakers); "Pubiao" (Laqua) in Malipo County in Yunnan (fifty speakers); Wuse in Rongshui, Guangxi (ten thousand speakers); Xiandao in Yingjiang County (Yunnan; one hundred speakers); as well as the Austronesian Huihui (or Sanya Hui) spoken by a Hui Muslim group on Hainan. The Hui "ethnic group," typically described as the one non-Han ethnic group speaking only Chinese, might turn out to have the most unclassifiable language of them all — a quirky result of the fact that its religion was taken as the identifying ethnic marker. See ZYD, pp. 537-570.
 32. This success story has been told often. In addition to Pollard's own works (see especially Sam Pollard, *The Story of the Miao* [London: H. Hooks, 1919]), see for an overview of pre-1949 Protestant missionary work in Yunnan, T'ien Ju-k'ang, *Peaks of Faith: Protestant Mission in Revolutionary China*, *Studies in Christian Mission* 8 (London: E.J. Brill, 1993), esp. pp. 22-27. In Chinese, there is the classified report of Yang Hanxian, *Jidujiao zai Dian-Qian-Chuan jiaojing yidai Miaozu diqu shilue*, *Minzu yanjiu cankao ziliao* 14 (Guiyang: Guizhousheng minzu yanjiusuo, n.d.), which hovers between secrecy, antimissionary feeling, and pride in the accomplishments of the Miao themselves. For a recent treatment in Chinese of the question of why Christianity was so much more successful than Confucianism, see Zhang Tan, "Zhaimen" *qian de Shimenkan: jidujiao wenhua yu Chuan-Dian-Qian-bian Miaozu shehui* (Kunming: Yunnan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1992). A recent Christian-centered treatment of the missionaries' efforts is Ralph R. Covell, *The Liberating Gospel in China: The Christian Faith among China's Minority Peoples* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1995). The Laka are mentioned only in passing as a people who wanted to believe, but to whom no missionary could be sent in time.
 33. W. A. Grist, *Samuel Pollard: Pioneer Missionary in China* (London: Cassell and Company, n.d. [after 1915, before 1921]), esp. pp. 286-297. See also Joakim Enwall, "In Search of the Entering Tone: The Importance of Sichuanese Tones for Understanding the Tone Marking System of the Sichuan Hmong Pollard Script," in *Outstretched Leaves on His Bamboo Staff: Studies in Honour of Göran Malmqvist on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Joakim Enwall (Stockholm: Association of Oriental Studies, 1994), pp. 70-84. Yet more recent is Joakim Enwall's *Hmong Writing Systems in Vietnam: A Case Study of Vietnam's Minority Language Policy* (Stockholm: Center for Pacific Asia Studies at Stockholm University, 1995).
 34. *CML*, May 1925, p. 78.
 35. Marshall Broomhall, *The Bible in China* (London: China Inland Mission, 1934),

- pp. 112–113. See also Pollard, *Story of the Miao*, pp. 173–176, where Pollard remarks that it was interesting that the Miao books were printed in Japan since there was a “startling, but not at any rate absurd” idea that the Japanese were descendants of the Miao.
36. See, e.g., “Lao Lisu wen,” in *Zhongguo shaoshu minzu wenzi* (Beijing: Zhongguo zangxue chubanshe, 1992), pp. 110–114; or “Lisuwen,” in *Zhongguo ge minzu wenzi yu diannao xinxichuli*, ed. Dai Qingxia, Xu Shouchun, and Gao Xikui (Beijing: Zhongyang minzu xueyuan chubanshe, 1991), pp. 188–193. For the Fraser script, see also Xu Lin, Mu Yuzhang, and Gai Xingzhi, eds., *Lisuyu jianzhi* (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 1986), pp. 114–119.
 37. For a similar, more recent circumstance elsewhere among the Laotian Miao (Hmong), see William A. Smalley, Chia Koua Vang, and Gnia Yee Yang, *Mother of Writing: The Origin and Development of a Hmong Messianic Script* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990). The idea that the Miao predilection for having its own script might have speeded up the success of Pollard’s system, might also explain M. H. Hutton’s remark that he had tried without success to use a romanized writing among the Black Miao but that he had subsequently had more luck with the rarely used Chinese phonetic script *zhuyin fuhao*; see *CML*, November 1937, p. 214.
 38. *CML*, December 1912, p. 190. Foreshadowing later conclusions in this article, I can mention here that Sapushan was the Miao center; Salawu the Nosu center; Agumi the Laka center (all in Wuding County); and Xinshao, Xundian County, the Kopu center. Characters for these place names come from “Jidujiao zai Wudingqu de qingkuang,” in *Zhongyang fangwentuan dierfentuan Yunnan minzu qingkuang huiji* (Kunming: Yunnan minzu chubanshe, 1986), vol. 2, pp. 16–18, discussed below.
 39. Grimes, *Ethnologue*, 12th ed., p. 521.
 40. A. G. Haudricourt, “La langue lakkia,” *Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris* 62.1 (1967), pp. 165–182.
 41. See Mao Zongwu, Meng Zhaoji, and Zheng Zongze, eds., *Yaozu yuyan jianzhi* (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 1982), pp. 127–174.
 42. Also, Coyaud mistakenly uses terms like “Laka” and “Lakia” interchangeably; see *Les langues dans le monde chinois*, p. 139 versus p. 145. This work is a revised edition of *Langues et écritures en Chine et alentour* (Paris: Pour l’Analyse du Folklore, 1984), where a similar confusion of Laka and Lakia occurs: see pp. 91 and 97.
 43. See for an example Jerold A. Edmonson and David B. Solnit, eds., *Comparative Kadai: Linguistic Studies beyond Tai* (Arlington: Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Texas, 1988), pp. 4 and 11. That these two languages represent different ethnicities and groups is clear from the insert map showing where Laha is spoken in *Materialy sovetsko-v’etnamskoj lingvističeskoj ekspedicii 1979 goda—Jazyk Laxa* (Moscow: Izd. Nauka, 1986), and from official Vietnamese sources such as Đặng Nghiễm Vạ̃n, Chu Thá̃i Sõn, and Lũu Hù̃ng, *Les ethnies minoritaires du Vietnam* (Hanoi: Editions en langues étrangères, 1986; a synoptic table is given on pp. 327–337).

44. Franklin E. Huffman, *Bibliography and Index of Mainland Southeast Asian Languages and Linguistics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986). He also confuses Laha with Laqua; see p. 561. "Commandant" (Auguste Louis) Bonifacy, "Étude sur les coutumes et la langue des Lolo et des Laqua du Haut Tonkin," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 8 (1908), pp. 531-558. Samuel R. Clarke, *Among the Tribes in South-west China* (London: China Inland Mission, 1911).
45. The ethnonym for Pubiao is /qa^obiau³³/. See also Liang Min, "Ge-Yang yuqun de xishu wenti," *Minzu yuwen* (1990.6), pp. 1-8. Annick Levy, "Les langues thai," in *Le riz en Asie du Sud-Est: Atlas du vocabulaire de la plante*, ed. Nicole Revel (Paris: Editions de l'École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1988), vol. 1, pp. 47-80, is confused about the place of Laqua and Pupéo, not Laqua and Laha, which are distinguished. Pupéo is treated as a dialect for Laqua, but Levy does not see that the two terms refer to the same entity, and that no source lists them separately.
46. *Zhonghua gui zhu* (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1987), 3 vols., a translation of *The Christian Occupation of China*, ed. Milton T. Stauffer (Shanghai: China Continuation Committee, 1922). Note that in the translation the year of publication of the Laka work is given as 1907 (p. 1035), which should have been corrected to 1912 according to the errata sheet in the English original.
47. Alain Y. Dessaint, *Minorities of Southwest China: An Introduction to the Yi (Lolo) and Related Peoples and an Annotated Bibliography* (New Haven: HRAF Press, 1980), obviously reads the post-1949 character for *hu* in Lahu as *gu[ku]*; see p. 6.
48. See R. Elliot Kendall, ed., *Eyes of the Earth: The Diary of Samuel Pollard* (London: Corgate Press, 1954). The map mentioning the Laka is opposite p. 1, and is the same as that in the same spot in R. Elliot Kendall, *Beyond the Clouds: The Story of Samuel Pollard of South-West China* (London: Corgate Press, 1948).
49. This cumbersome process was necessary when I first tried to identify the Laka, since although some works might mention some Pollard letters with their values in Miao, I could not locate any full treatment of the script. The reasons for this might have been the Chinese authorities' fear of spreading Christianity among the minorities, as well as the fact that, unlike their Catholic counterparts, the Protestant missionaries in China displayed a rather conspicuous lack of purely linguistic interests. Later, full Pollard tables with values in Lisu appeared in *Lisuyu jianzhi*, pp. 119-123, and with values in Miao in *Zhongguo shaoshu minzu wenzi*; see "Diandongbei Miaowen," pp. 175-180, and especially "Diandongbei laomiaowen," pp. 181-188. Recently I came across an earlier Western article introducing the Pollard script for Hua Miao, which is — perhaps erroneously — said to have practically disappeared. See Jacques Lemoine, "Les écritures du Hmong," *Bulletin des Amis du Royaume Lao* 7-8 (1972), pp. 123-165, esp. pp. 146-148. The details on the Pollard script were given to him by A. G. Haudricourt. The published works and the diaries of

- Samuel Pollard as published by R. Elliot Kendall have little to say about Pollard's work on the script or on languages.
50. Chen Shilin, Bian Shiming, and Li Xiuqing, eds., *Yiyu jianzhi* (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 1984).
 51. For the many Yi ethnonyms and exonyms current in Yunnan, see "Yunnan shaoshu minzu zhixi, chengwei ji juzhu diqu biao," appendix 2 of the *Yunnan shaoshu minzu (xiudingben)* (Kunming: Yunnan renmin chubanshe, 1983), pp. 626-633. For such names for the Yi in general, see the appendix "Yizu zicheng tacheng jianbiao" in *Yi-Han jianming cidian*, ed. Yunnansheng Lunan Yizu zizhixian wenshi yanjiushi (Kunming: Yunnan minzu chubanshe, 1984), pp. 329-331. For the dialects, more useful than the *Yiyu jianzhi* for linking customary designations with dialects, see in the same dictionary the "Yiyu fangyan fenbu diqu jianbiao," pp. 332-335. Other useful tables are given by Fang Guoyu, *Yizu shi gao* (Chengdu: Sichuan minzu chubanshe, 1984), pp. 7-12, and *Zhongguo renkou: Yunnan fence*, pp. 94-106.
 52. I use here for the Chinese terms *fangyan*, *cifangyan*, and *tuhua* (or *tuyu*) the English terms dialect, subdialect, and patois, respectively. In those cases in which the term *hua* is not considered part of a hierarchy, "speech" or "vernacular" is more accurate.
 53. There is, incidentally, an exonym Laokang as a subgroup of the Jingpo (Kachin); see the *Zhongguo renkou: Yunnan fence*, p. 103.
 54. Dessaint, *Minorities of Southwest China*, p. 325.
 55. For these Laka and Kang-i (here probably meaning Kopu) lists, originating from A. G. Nicholls, see Clarke, *Among the Tribes in South-west China*, pp. 314-315.
 56. See note 32 above.
 57. The Laka had been preached to early, as part of the mission of Nicholls and later Metcalf, in Zhaotong and especially Sapushan. Later, work among them had been rather neglected, as T. A. Binks found out in the early 1930s. According to him (*CML*, February 1932), there were more than one hundred Laka villages, with the largest having more than eighty households. They were "formerly the slaves of the Nosu" (*ibid.*, November 1937).
 58. "Jidujiao zai Wudingqu de qingkuang"; see esp. p. 16 for the "laogan." For the independence of at least some Laka, see "Wuding xian diwuqu minzu guanxi ji zudian guanxi de diaocha," pp. 31-41, esp. p. 35, both in *Zhongyang fangwentuan dierfentuan Yunnan minzu qingkuang huiji*.
 59. For the first source, see Lu Yi, "Yizu de zucheng, zhixi ji qi wenhua tezheng," in *Bimo wenhua lun*, ed. Zuo Yutang and Tao Xueliang (Kunming: Yunnan renmin chubanshe, 1993), pp. 191-201, esp. pp. 195-196. Lu, however, equates the *lagou* with the Hong Yi and the "Guopu" with the Gan Yi, which is contradicted by the report "Jidujiao zai Wudingqu de qingkuang." This points once more to the close relationship between the Gan Yi and Gepo, and we have to remember that linguistic dialects do not have to be exactly equivalent to the divisions denoted by ethnonyms. For the second source, see Zhu Wenxu, "Liangshan Yizu nuli shehui xingshici de ciyuan

- jiégou yu dengji fenhua," *Minzu yuwen* (1987.1), pp. 7-19, esp. pp. 12-13. After writing the above, I found one other source equating the Hong Yi with the *lagou*, and the Gan [Dry] Yi with Guo, because of similar occupational definitions. This identification was for the Weining area in Guizhou, however, and therefore not necessarily transferable to Wuding in Yunnan. See *Qianxibei Miaozu Yizu shehui lishi zonghe diaocha* (Guiyang: Guizhou renmin chubanshe, 1986), p. 56.
60. See the *Chuxiong Yizu zizhizhou zhi, di 1 juan* (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1993), esp. p. 361.
 61. See the *Zhongguo shaoshu minzu yuyan shiyong qingkuang*, p. 774; identifications between the two linguistic tables, the one ethnographically based, the other geographically, are made by comparing these tables with those in Fang Guoyu, *Yizu shi gao*, p. 10.
 62. Ascertained through the gracious help of Dr. Liana Lupas of the American Bible Society Library in New York, one of the editors of the *SW*.
 63. Again verified through the personal help of Dr. Lupas.
 64. *CML*, July 1939, p. 107.
 65. *Ibid.* Also from Huang Xing, "On Writing Systems for China's Minorities Created by Foreign Missionaries," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 97 (1992), pp. 75-85, an otherwise incomplete overview riddled with mistakes (especially for names of non-Chinese missionaries); it is clear that the Zaiwa script used in China was Fraser's and that the Roman Zaiwa script developed by some Kachin in Burma did not spread to China (p. 78).
 66. One more language spoken by the Jingpo in China is Bola. According to Chinese scholars these four languages all belong to the Burman branch of Tibeto-Burman, rather than the Tibetan branch, as does Jingpo proper. Maru received a written form in Burma in 1940, according to the *SW*.
 67. See Huang Xing, "On Writing Systems for China's Minorities," p. 77. Some 7,000 people (out of 93,000) use the Roman script versions; 22,500 use Chinese when writing (p. 83). See also Liu Lu, ed., *Jingpo-zu yuyan jianzhi (Jingpoyu)* (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 1984), pp. 98-102.
 68. See Clarke, *Among the Tribes in South-west China*, chap. 7; see also p. 35 of the Chinese version, useful for the Chinese characters given for proper names: Samuel R. Clarke, *Zai Zhongguo xinan buluozhong*, trans. Su Dalong, *Minzu yanjiu cankao ziliao* 25 (Guiyang: Guizhou sheng minzu yanjiusuo, 1985).
 69. See the distribution given in Ni Dabai, *Dong-Tai yu gailun* (Beijing: Zhongyang minzu xueyuan chubanshe, 1990), p. 31.
 70. June 1940, pp. 88-89.
 71. See Li Yongsui and Wang Ersong, eds., *Haniyu jianzhi* (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 1986).
 72. The Keh-Deo Bible was published by the National Bible Society of Scotland (Shanghai, 1937).
 73. There exists such an alternation for White Tai (see below, under "Tai Works").

74. See He Jiashan, ed., *Gelaoyu jianzhi* (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 1983), p. 1.
75. See note 24 above.
76. See the *Minzu shibie wenxian ziliao huibian*, pp. 34-36.
77. M. H. Hutton calls the Gedou ("Keh Do" or "Keh-deo") Miao (see *CML*, April 1928, p. 55), and the group is listed on pre-1949 lists of Miao in Guizhou.
78. The Gelao classification itself covers a rather loose group that is still in flux; the 1982 census lists only fifty thousand Gelao in Guizhou (only six thousand of whom were said to speak any of the four widely differing Gelao languages), despite much higher pre-1949 numbers. The 1990 census lists five hundred thousand Gelao, however, and quite a few persons earlier classified as Han Chinese have been "recovered."
79. David Bradley, "Pronouns in Burmese-Lolo," *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 16.1 (Spring 1993), pp. 157-215; see p. 181 for Lipo-Lolopo confusion.
80. See the "Yiyu fangyan fenbu diqu jianbiao," *Yi-Han jianming cidian*, pp. 332-335.
81. See the *Lisuyu jianzhi*, esp. pp. 108 and 114-123.
82. See Huang Xing, "On Writing Systems for China's Minorities," pp. 76 and 83. Some 35,800 of these people use Chinese in writing. Huang says that a missionary script for Derung existed abroad; none is listed in the *BTT* or *SW* however.
83. For the Miao dialects and their distribution, see Wang Fushi, ed., *Miaoyu jianzhi* (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 1985), and in Guizhou also Chen Dingxiu, "Qian xinan miaozu gaishu," *Guizhou minzu yanjiu (jikan)* 1991.1, pp. 38-44. A. G. Haudricourt, "Les langues miao-yao," in *Le riz en Asie du Sud-Est*, pp. 43-46, gives mistaken dates for the earliest Pollard or *zhuyin* examples, and is confused about the proper Chinese names for the Miao dialects (or languages) and speakers.
84. Huang Xing, "On Writing Systems for China's Minorities," pp. 75 and 83. Huang does not mention the Chuan or Black Miao. Some 65,700 of these people use Chinese in writing.
85. Ling Chunsheng, "Miaozu de dili fenbu," in *Minzu yanjiu jikan* 5 (n.d.), rpt. in *Minguo nianjian Miaozu lunwenji*, *Minzu yanjiu cankao ziliao* 20 (Guiyang: Guizhousheng minzu yanjiusuo, 1983), pp. 103-110.
86. See, for example, the map given in *CML*, January 1907, p. 10.
87. *Zhongguo renkou: Yunnan fence*.
88. See *Eyes of the Earth*, p. 168. The editor does mention, however, that Miao names of places and people are omitted (p. 172), and much other pertinent information might originally have been present.
89. Published from 1922 to 1939, first by the Canadian Methodist Press in Chengdu, later by the United Church of Canada Mission Press, and finally by Thomas Chu and Sons in Shanghai.
90. See David Crockett Graham, "The Customs of the Ch'uan Miao," *Journal of the West China Border Research Society* 9 (1937), pp. 13-70, esp. pp. 18-20.

91. See Lin Mingjun, "Chuan Miao de gaikuang," in *Minguo nianjian Miao zu lunwenji*, pp. 90-98. The article was originally published in 1936, but no further citation is given.
92. For a recent overview of the Pollard script as used by this Miao group, see Enwall, "In Search of the Entering Tone."
93. According to Louisa Schein, "The Miao in Contemporary China: A Preliminary Overview," in *The Hmong in Transition*, ed. Glenn L. Hendricks, Bruce T. Downing, and Amos S. Deinard (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1986), pp. 73-85, the White Miao in China is mutually intelligible with the White Hmong dialects of Southeast Asia (p. 79). Schein, although having done research in China, does not seem to be very conversant with the Chinese literature.
94. See "Lahu wen," in *Zhongguo shaoshu minzu wenzi*, pp. 134-139, and Chang Hongen, ed., *Lahuyu jianzhi* (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 1986).
95. See T'ien, *Peaks of Faith*, p. 148.
96. Huang Xing, "On Writing Systems for China's Minorities," pp. 77 and 83; 18,200 Lahu use Chinese in writing.
97. See James A. Matisoff, *The Dictionary of Lahu* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. 11. For other Lahu ethnonyms, see pp. 1348-1350.
98. Spillett gives Elise Schapten, but the *Directory of Protestant Missions in China 1934* (Shanghai: North-China Daily News and Herald, 1934), p. 50, gives a Miss C. E. Scharten in Lijiang, Yunnan.
99. See He Jiren and Jiang Zhuyi, eds., *Naxiyu jianzhi* (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 1985).
100. Huang Xing, "On Writing Systems for China's Minorities," pp. 78 and 83. Since Huang calls the Pollard-using Yi "Black Yi," I take him to refer to the Nosu, not the Kopu or Laka (not mentioned). For the northeastern Yunnanese Yi, a total of 150,000 is given, 36,100 of whom use Chinese in writing.
101. "Dai," the Chinese transcription for the nationality, is spelled Tai by the missionaries and most Westerners; they are to be distinguished from the Thai of Thailand. I use "Dai" here only when referring to the Chinese terms for this nationality and its subgroups; I use Tai in other, more Westernized contexts.
102. See "Xishuangbanna Daiwen," *Zhongguo shaoshu minzu wenzi*, pp. 63-74; "Dehong Daiwen," pp. 75-83 (both articles include modern proposals); "Jinping Daiwen," pp. 84-88; and "Dai Beng wen," pp. 89-95. In the *Zhongguo ge minzu wenzi yu diannao xinxi chuli*, see "Daiwen," pp. 164-181.
103. On first sight, the Chinese name for the script, Dai Duan, seems closer to the usual ethnonym for Black Tai, Tai Dam, than to that for White Tai, Tai Khau. The *Zhongguo ge minzu wenzi yu diannao xinxi chuli* reports the local pronunciation of Dai Duan as /tai² dɔn⁵/, however, and from elsewhere (Luo Meizhen, "Lun fangyan: jian tan Daiyu fangyan de huafen," *Minzu yuwen* 1993.3, pp. 1-10) we know that in Jinping the /d/ is giving way to the /l/. This source gives /tai² lɔn⁵/ as the ethnonym for White Tai, and /tai² lam¹/ (cf. Tai Dam) for Black Tai (pp. 6-7). The identification of Dai Duan with

- White Tai is therefore correct. The White and Black Tai are the same ethnic group according to many sources; they are currently classified as Thai in Vietnam.
104. For the subtle differences among Tai Lü, Tai Yuan, and the temple script in Laos, see *Zhongguo ge minzu wenzi yu diannao xinxi chuli*, pp. 169-170, and also the articles by Pierre Bernard Lafont, "Les écritures 'Tay du Laos'" and "Les écritures du Pāli au Laos," *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient* 50 (1962), pp. 367-393 and 395-405.
105. See for the font, e.g., the examples given in the *BTT* for Musso (see above) and Tai Yuan or Western Laotian (which is not in the Laotian script proper, but Kammüang). Gest has, from another source than the Bibles presently under discussion, a Psalms book printed in Kammüang: Rev. J. Wilson and Nan Pooen, *Psalms* (Chiang Mai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1894). For this Northern Thai or Kammüang script, see the extensive study of Harald Hundius, *Phonologie und Schrift des Nordthai*, *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 48, 3 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1990). See William A. Smalley, *Linguistic Diversity and National Unity: Language Ecology in Thailand* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 81-83, for the social situations in which Kammüang is currently used.
106. Yu Cuirong and Luo Meizhen, eds., *Daiyu jianzhi* (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 1980), give only the Xishuangbanna Dai Le (Tai Lü) and Dehong Dai Na (Tai Le, "Upper Tai") dialects, and say that other Dai dialects are still to be investigated. Luo Meizhen, "Lun fangyan," reclassifies the Dai dialects, and would classify Dai Ya under the Yuan-Xin patois for the Hong-Jin dialect of Dai.
107. *Sala* meaning priest; see Zhou Zhizhi and Yan Qixiang, eds., *Wayu jianzhi* (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 1984), p. 154.
108. See *ibid.*, pp. 100 and 154-159; for Vincent Young, see p. 154. The "dialects" of Va are mutually incomprehensible; see also Svantesson, "U."
109. Huang Xing, "On Writing Systems for China's Minorities," pp. 77 and 83. He mentions a total of only fifty thousand Va, which seems a mistake in comparison with other sources. Chinese writing is more widely used (ninety-eight hundred).

GLOSSARY

Agumi 阿谷迷	bendi luoluo 本地傈傣
Ankang 安康	benren 本人
Anshun 安顺	Bika 碧卡
Bai 白	Bola 波拉
Bai Miao 白苗	Boren 樊人
Baraoke 巴饶克	Bulang 布郎

- Buxin (Phsin) 不辛
 Buyi (Bouyei) 布衣
 Caijia 蔡家
 Cangyuan 沧源
 Cao Miao 草苗
 Changpao Yao 长袍瑶
 Chonganjiang 重安江
 Chuan Miao 川苗
 Chuan-Qian-Dian 川黔滇
 Chuanqing 穿青
 Chuxiong 楚雄
 cifangyan 次方言
 Cun 村
 Dai 傣
 Dai Beng 傣绷
 Dai Duan 傣端
 Dai Le 傣仂
 Dai Na 傣那
 Dai Ya 傣雅
 Dayanzhen 大研镇
 Dehong 德宏
 Diao 刁
 Diaozu 刁族
 Dong (Kam) 侗
 Dongjia 东家
 Dulong 独龙
 Ersu 尔苏
 fangyan 方言
 Fei Xiaotong 費孝通
 Gan [dry? worker?] Yi 干彝
 Gan [sweet] Yi 甘彝
 Gazhuo 嘎卓
 Gedang 仂当
 Gedou (a) 僂兜
 Gedou (b) 仂兜
 Gejia 僂家
 Gelao 仂佬
 Gengma 耿马
 Gepo (Kopu) 葛泼
 Gepu 葛濮
 Gesu 格苏
 Guiyang 贵阳
 Guobo (Kopu) 果焚
 Guozhong zuichu jumin shuzhong 國中
 最初居民數種
 Hani 哈尼
 hei 黑
 Hei Miao 黑苗
 Hei Yi 黑彝
 Hong Yi 红彝
 hu 祜
 Hu 戶
 hua 话
 Hua Miao 花苗
 Huangping 黄平
 Huguang ren 湖广人
 Huihui 回辉
 Huili 会理
 ji 集
 Jiangcheng 江城
 jing 經
 Jingdong 景东
 Jingpo 景颇
 Jinping 金平
 Jinxiu 金秀
 Jiongnai Yao 炯奈瑶
 Kaduo (Kado, Kadu, Kedu) 卡多
 Kaili 凯里

- Kebi 克比
 Kemie (Kammu) 克蔑
 Kemu (Khmú) 克木
 Kuan 宽
 Kucong 苦聪
 Kun-An 昆安
 Laba 喇叭
 Lahu 拉祜
 Lahu Na 拉祜纳
 Lahu Xi 拉祜熙
 Lai 徕
 Laji (Lati, Latí, La Chí) 拉基
 Lajia 拉珈
 Lancang 澜沧
 Langsu 浪速
 laogan (a) 老干
 laogan (b) 老甘
 Laokang 老亢
 Leqi 勒期
 Lijiang 丽江
 Limin 里民
 Lin Yaohua 林耀华
 Ling-hua 伶话
 Lipo (a) 傈坡
 Lipo (b) 里泼
 Lipu 俚濮
 Lishi shehui diaocha baogao 历史社会调查报告
 Liuja 六甲
 Liujiaren 六家人
 Longjia 龙家
 Longsheng 龙胜
 Lu Yi 卢义
 luoguo 傈果
 Luo-hei 傈黑
 luoluo 籐籐
 Luoluo (Lolo) 傈傈, 籐籐
 Luoluopo 傈傈泼
 Luopohe 罗泊河
 Luquan 绿劝
 Luren 卢人
 Malipo 麻栗坡
 Man 蠻
 Mang 莽
 Manmi (Man mit) 曼米
 Manzu 满族
 Maojia (Aoka) 猫家
 Maojia-hua 猫家话
 Maonan 毛南
 Miao 苗
 Miao-Yaozu shenghuo tu 苗族生活圖
 Micha 密岔
 Minglang 明朗
 Miqie 米切
 Mojia (Mak) 莫家
 Mojiang 墨江
 Mouding 牟定
 Mulao (a) 木佬
 Mulao (b) 仡佬
 Naluo 纳罗
 Nanjing ren 南京人
 Nasu 纳苏
 Naxi (Na-hsi) 纳西
 Nu 怒
 Nujiang 怒江
 Nùng 儂
 Nuosu (Nosu) 诺苏
 Panghai 旁海

- Pingdi Yaohua 平地瑶话
 Pubiao 普标
 Qiandong 黔东南
 Qiandongbei diqu 黔东南地区
 Qiang 羌
 Qiao-Wu 巧武
 Qingping 清平
 Qiubei 丘北
 Qixingmin 七姓民
 Raojia 绕家
 Rongshui 融水
 Ruili 瑞丽
 Salawu 撒拉乌
 Sani 撒尼
 Sanqiao 三锹 (三撬)
 Sanya Hui 三亚回
 Sapushan 洒普山
 Shenzhouren 神州人
 shi 史
 Shimenkan 石门坎
 Shui 水
 shuijia 水家
 Siku quanshu 四库全书
 Sipsongpanna (Xishuangbanna) 西双版纳
 Tai Lü (Tai Lu, Dai Li) 傣仂
 Tayaoshan (Dayao Shan) 大瑤山
 Tengchong 腾冲
 Tengyue 腾越
 Thô' 土
 tuhua 土话
 Tujia 土家
 turen 土人
 tuyu 土语
 Wa (Va) 佯
 Wang Zhao 王照
 Waxiang-hua 瓦乡话
 Weining 威宁
 Wuding 武定
 Wu-Lu 武绿
 Wuse 五色
 Xialusi 下路司
 Xiandao 仙岛
 Xifan 西番
 Xijia 西家
 Xiping 新平
 Xinshao 新哨
 Xiuwen 修文
 Xufu 叙府
 Xundian 寻甸
 Yanghuang 杨黄
 Yanshuai 岩帅
 Yao 瑶
 Yi 彝
 Yibin 宜宾
 Yingjiang 盈江
 Yiren (Yizi) 羿人 (羿子)
 Yongsheng 永胜
 Youmairen 油迈人
 Yuanmou 元谋
 Zaiwa 载瓦
 Zhaotong 昭通
 Zhongjia (Chungchia, Chung-chia) 仲家
 Zhuang 壮
 zhuyin fuhao 注音符號
 zi 子