

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE MAP OF THE ETHNIC GROUPS SPEAKING THAI LANGUAGES

This map of Thai language ethnic groups was originally conceived for the exhibition devoted to the habitations of this linguistic family which we prepared under the program of scientific cooperation between Mahidol University, Bangkok, and the Centre de Documentation et de Recherche sur l'Asie du Sud-Est et le Monde Insulindien (CEDRASEMI-C.N.R.S./EHESS), Paris, continued by the Equipe de Recherche 300, Asie du Sud-Est Continentale, CNRS. It was presented at the Congress of Thai Studies, held at Bangkok in August 1984, then at the campus of Mahidol University at Salaya and at the Siam Society in January 1985.

The exhibition was the result of our comparative studies on Thai ethnic groups, prompted by research for the ethno-linguistic atlas directed by L. Bernot, G. Condominas and A.G. Haudricourt. The exhibition was based on the research in "Éléments comparatifs sur les habitations des ethnies de langues thai" (S. Charpentier et P. Clément, 1978) which used the maps of the distribution of Thai ethnic groups made for the Atlas by A. Lévy (1972). The use of a scale near 1 : 5,000,000 (1 : 4,750,000) was necessitated by the inclusion of the largest possible number of ethnic groups speaking Thai languages and spread over the greater part of continental Southeast Asia and southern China. The cooperation among the authors from complementary disciplines—architect, anthropologist and linguist, with the assistance of M. Bruneau, geographer and Mrs. A. Lafitte, cartographer of Centre d' Etudes et de Géographie Tropicale (CNRS, Bordeaux)—has permitted the continuation of this work until the present edition (1) for which Mahidol University has provided the Thai translation of the captions.

We would have been willing to use one of the existing ethnolinguistic maps of South-East Asia. However, they depict the imbrication of the ethnolinguistic groups living in this vast zone that has been characterized as an "ethnolinguistic mosaic" (Condominas 1979) and the superimposition of the territory they inhabit in relation to topography and ethnic groups, so that it is difficult to locate the different linguistic families.

Among these, the Thai-Kadai speaking peoples, have the particularity of being spread through a large part of the Indochinese peninsula, the regions to the west as far as the banks of the Brahmaputra, and to north and east in China's southern provinces, Yunnan, Guangxi, Guizhou and a large part of Hainan. The vast area in which they are

found is approximately bounded by the 97th and 110th meridians east and the parallels between 28 and 6 degrees north. Politically the Thai speaking peoples constitute the nations of Thailand and Laos, while in Vietnam and China they are the largest minorities with 2,920,500 inhabitants in the former (2) and 19,055,228 in the latter, (3) according to the most recent data. With the Shan States, they also are the largest minority in Burma, although precise figures on their numbers there are lacking.

It is interesting that there was no previous map devoted specifically to the Thai-Kadai speaking peoples. We believe that such a map has been worth the effort, notwithstanding the difficulties encountered in its preparation. First of all, we should note that the project is not based on first-hand information, our own field research. We have instead drawn upon the knowledge which has accumulated during the past two decades or so by linguistic and anthropologic research. However, the use of information from such diverse sources created major difficulties. The precision demanded by cartographic work revealed that there were deficiencies in sources which had originally appeared reliable. We will return to this question in the discussion of sources. Another difficulty arises from the superimposition of the populations in this vast region. We know that the Thai-Kadai peoples live in river valleys, low or high. In undertaking to depict only the Thai-Kadai peoples, it was necessary to refer to other maps to indicate the proportion they represent. The impossibility of portraying at the scale used the real ratios between Thai and other peoples has, *a fortiori*, made it necessary to indicate the presence of a Thai population wherever it has been verified, even in regions where they are in the minority. The presence of Thai groups in certain areas does not mean that there are not also other ethnic groups living there.

Despite these reservations, we believe that the combined data from linguistics and anthropology were adequate to carry out this project which will certainly require future modifications.

In brief, the preparation of this map for an exhibition provided us with the opportunity of portraying the remarkable extension of the Thai-Kadai ethnic groups in the Indochinese peninsula and beyond its limits. The map can be used by non-specialists as well as specialists of other disciplines to familiarize themselves with the location and distribution of the different Thai-Kadai speaking peoples, which linguists and anthropologists already know.

The sources

For a long time maps of Southeast Asia have been published and periodically they have been updated. In spite of the difficulties their preparation has entailed, there are ethnolinguistic atlases covering the totality or part of this region, which are familiar to specialists. The general framework of our map is based on Lebar, Hickey and Musgrave's (1964) which endeavored, in its time, to summarize ethnolinguistic knowledge of the whole region, including Burma. Still, the use of two colors to

represent the entirety of the Thai-Kadai peoples, even if indicated by overprinting of names of some ethnic groups, did not define the zones that they inhabited. By using a scale of about 1 : 5,000,000, 1 cm. for 50 km. instead of 1 cm. for 30 km., we have been able to have the map printed on a single sheet, thus facilitating its use.

For the whole of Southeast Asia we have used the atlas produced in 1981 by the Australian Academy of the Humanities, and in particular, for the region we were interested in, the two sheets for continental Southeast Asia, northern and southern parts, and that on the Malaysian peninsula, for southern Thailand. The northern part only touches upon Burma, does not extend to southern China and leaves out part of northern Vietnam. These maps prepared by S.A. Wurm, D. Bradley and G. Benjamin entailed a great amount of compilation and summarizing of the most recent information on the region. They had to take account of the difficulties inherent in local political conditions, namely the impossibility of carrying out surveys within most of the countries concerned - Burma, Cambodia (Kampuchea), China, Laos and Vietnam—and not knowing recent population movements. The explanation of these maps provided population figures, which also reflected local political conditions. While attempting to provide population estimates for 1981, the authors observed, for example, that the last census for Burma available to them dated from 1931. We shall return to the problem posed by Burma.

We note in passing that the demographic estimates they gave, apart from the Chinese, ranked the Thai-Kadai first with 72 million people, followed by Austro-Asiatics with more than 57 million, the Tibeto-Burmans with 52 million, and finally the Austronesians. The map is based on, but only partially reproduces, the genealogical classification of Thai-Kadai languages drawn up by P.K. Benedict and Li Fang Kuei, augmented with the dialectal data collected by Brown. It portrays the two major groups, the Kadai (975,000) and Thai (71,025,000). Of the four families of the latter group, the Kam (1,250,000) located in southern China, are not shown. Of the grouping of four families corresponding to our Thai-Yay subdivision, those of the North (Li Fang Kuei's Northern Group) (9,900,000) located in China, and of the Center (Li Fang Kuei's Central Group) (8,000,000) of northern Vietnam, are omitted. Consequently, those represented are the Southwestern family (Li Fang Kuei's Southwestern Group), by far the most numerous (51,875,000), located mainly in the Indochinese peninsula. It is divided into three subfamilies: (1) those of the North (25,525,000) among which are the Shan (2,550,000), the Muang (3,500,000) and the Thai (19,000,000); (2) the Lao sub-family (20,550,000) composed of the Lao, Thai Dan, Kaw and Daeng and some dialectal groups such as the Phu Thai, Yo, Thai Neua; and (3) the sub-family of the South (4,550,000).

Like the American work, the Australian atlas uses expanses of color to represent linguistic families and subfamilies, overprinting for the ethnic groups whose areas of inhabitation are not always defined, which compelled us to consult regional

maps, often much older.

That was why, for Vietnam, we consulted the map (1 : 1,000,000) of Lunet de Lajonquière (1906) in "Ethnographie du Tonkin septentrional", and even for the countries of the former Indochina as a whole, the 1949 "Carte Ethnolinguistique (1 : 2,000,000) of the Service Géographique de l'Indochine, prepared under the supervision of the Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient. The discontinuities and small divisions are explained by the long, extensive surveying and cartographical work on this territory as well as by the uneven terrain and the variety of ethnic groups. Such a level of detail is not available for Thailand or China, much less Burma. Thus we had to seek a balance for different regions, in order to portray the details in a consistent manner and on the same scale. It is obvious that it is impossible to present the same degree of detail on a scale of 1 : 5,000,000 as for 1 : 1,500,000.

Furthermore, the data for Vietnam has been compared with the map prepared by the Institute of Ethnography of Hanoi. However, that document does not differentiate between Tai Dam, Khaw or Kaeng among the Thai west of the Red River.

Although we have referred to the Language Map of Thailand of Terry W. Gainey and Theraphan L. Thongkum (1977), we had to take account of the fact that their use of numbers for distribution does not clearly show the areas the groups occupy, thus limiting its use for our method of presentation.

For China, which is hardly represented on general maps of Southeast Asia or Indochina, we have used the linguistic map of ethnic distribution of the People's Republic of China, prepared by Yin Wen Chung and published in 1981. It only completes and adds detail to the maps of the Thai family earlier prepared by A.G. Haudricourt (1965). The Chinese map superimposes the representation of ethnic groups and the regions that they share, giving a regular picture of their distribution in Guangxi and Guizhou. However, for the location of the Kelao, we have had to use the language study of He Jia Shan (1980). For the distribution of the Li on Hainan island we have used the maps of A.G. Haudricourt (1965) and Ouyang Jueya and Zheng Yiqing (1980).

Besides the countries shown on the map, it is necessary to mention what is not there, namely India and Burma, the latter, however, in a truncated form. In spite of the documentary sources on Burma assembled with the aid of Denise and Lucien Bernot (4) it has not been possible to formulate definite views. Thus like the Australian researchers we have preferred not to depict incorrectly the western limits of the Thai peoples. However, with the help of B.J. Terwiel, we have been able to make a rough sketch of the distribution of the Ahom, Thai of Assam, on India territory (see fig. 1).

We would like to make a few remarks on the graphical presentation. The use of expanses of color compelled us to leave blank spaces where other maps indicate a majority of non-Thai ethnic groups, without being able to confirm a total absence of Thai peoples. That is why, for example, there are some blank spaces in the central plain

around Bangkok, corresponding to the zones which are occupied by the Mon on the map of the Australian Academy of the Humanities. By the same token, the decision to depict some isolated minority ethnic groups such as the Lao Song and Phuan around Bangkok does not mean that there are no Siamese present.

Finally, when the boundaries between Thai populations and other groups could not be shown because of their imbrications, we have used cross-hatching to indicate this interpenetration, for example, among the Lao, Thai Khorat and Khmer in Southeastern Thailand, or between Siamese and Karen to the west.

As for the map's background we have retained the contours of altitude for 200, 1,000, 2,000 and 3,000 metres. It may be noted that the contour lines cannot be seen under violet (Nùng 8.2).

Methodology

In preparing this map, we first of all based our work on a genealogical classification of the Thai-Kadai languages. Later, we introduced dialectal data. This was seen necessary after research, primarily done in Thailand. For the same reason, we located some ethnic groups isolated and remote from their traditional locations. We will return to this later.

The aim of comparative grammar is to reconstruct a common initial language by comparing related languages. To reach the final goal, it is necessary to proceed by stages and to begin by reconstituting one or several common intermediate languages. The languages are compared step by step and constitute internal groups of the languages considered to be related. In this way, they are classified genealogically. That of the Thai-Kadai uses this methodology. Nonetheless, there are two theories. The oldest relates them to the Sino-Tibetan languages. The more recent, proposed by P.K. Benedict (1965) is the most widely accepted today. It dissociates them from the Sino-Tibetan branch and incorporates them into a branch known as Austro-Thai, which besides the Miao-Yao languages is composed of the Austronesian group.

There are three main groups making the first subdivision: Kadai, Kam-Sui and Thai-Yay. In addition there are a few isolated languages which are progressively being incorporated into one of the three groups owing to new data and research. In summary, the detailed classification presented in inserts is that held by linguists apart from some minor points. Some omissions and additions could be made which need to be explained now by briefly describing each of these main subdivisions. In addition, some details or observations will be provided with respect to the location of ethnic groups and their cartographic representation.

1. The Kadai languages

Four languages, grouped in pairs, were formerly assembled under this name: Kelao and Lati, on the one hand, and Laqua/Laha and Li, on the other. Those speaking

them are widely dispersed and their numbers are relatively small: Kelao, grouped in the central region of China's Guizhou province (53,802) and an isolated group in northern Vietnam (1,000); Lati (or Lacni in the Quốc Ngữ transcription) at the extreme north of the Sino-Vietnamese border region (5,800); Laqua (or Pupèo 250) and Laha (2,000), also in Vietnam, but more to the west; and finally Li, in the central and southern parts of Hainan island (817,562) altogether giving a total of 880,414 people, using China and Vietnam's figures.

From a linguistic perspective, these languages have remained poorly studied for a long time. Recent linguistic surveys of the Li language (Ouyang Jueya et Zheng Yiqing *op. cit.* and 1983) and of the Kelao language (*op. cit.*) have filled gaps and permitted progress in research (A.G. Haudricourt 1984 and Matissoff 1985). There are great lexical and phonological differences among the four languages and also with respect to the two other groups.

The Laha group was only discovered by Vietnamese researchers a little more than a decade ago. It is found in the Yen Bai region in an area delimited in the north by Lai Châu, in the east by So'n la and in the west by Ngĩa Lô (see fig. 2). It is consequently isolated and distant from other groups of the languages formerly called Kadai, such as the Laqua. The very limited vocabulary presented by Nguyễn Truc Binh (1972) reveals that Laqua (2.0) and Laha (2.1) are separate languages from a linguistic point of view. Two archaic characteristics of Laha reveal this: a large number of disyllabic lexical unit such as *mo'tăm* "egg", *mo't' an* "moon", *mo'luñ* "star", *mo'săm* "hair", *mo'te* "sugarcane" and the final /-l/ as in the words *sal* "husked rice", *zăl* "rain" and *mul* "mouth".

The cartographic presentation of these peoples has been facilitated by recent Chinese work (*op. cit.*) containing maps. It was however difficult to transpose them to another scale, a real obstacle in our work. In this regard, we should make clear that the areas of color only correspond to the territory occupied by these ethnic groups are not to their numbers. That explains why the Kelao (53,802) cover a larger area on the map than the Mulao (3.6) with 90,426 speakers.

The designation Kadai was formed by joining one of Li ethnonyms "Dai" and the prefix "Kă" found in Laqua, *Kădăũ* and Kelao *Kătsü* "man" (Benedict, 1942). It was first applied to these four dissimilar languages revealing a limited number of lexical forms in common with the group of Thai languages. It then appeared more suitable to use the name for the three groups together (A.G. Haudricourt, 1967) which had no designation, however this deprived the first group of a name. Furthermore, the atlas published in Australia designates the three groups together as Thai-Kadai, an appellation already used by A.G. Haudricourt (1963). It is clear that the three groups

reveal some correspondences but in different degrees. The comparisons between the Kam-Sui and Thai language groups (Li Fang Kuei, 1965), indicating a high percentage of common lexical forms, shows that they are more closely related to each other than to the group of languages formerly designated "Kadai".

It is interesting to note that the appellation of the Kam-Sui language group does not refer to the Thai ethnonym. Conversely, the languages formerly called Kadai show few correspondences with the Thai-Yay languages; yet one of them, the Li language has, as we have already noted, the ethnonym Dai. Further, we may note that the general designation for this whole family of languages is based on the ethnonym that is most frequently and widely represented, or on a genealogical classification.

2. The Kam-Sui Group

The peoples belonging to this group are less widely dispersed—being found essentially in southeastern Guizhou and northwestern Guangxi—and are more numerous (1,845,495) than the preceding group. Today this group is composed of seven languages. Four of them have become known through the work of Li Fang Kuei (notably 1965): Kam (or Dong in the Chinese designation) which has 1,425,100 speakers; Sui, less numerous with 286,486 speakers and finally Mak an Then, limited to several villages located near Libo and Huishui respectively. Two other languages, Mulao (or Mulam, Kjam) (90,426) and Maonan (38,235) have been studied by Wang Jun and Zheng Guoqiao (1980) and Liang Min (1980) respectively. Finally, there is the Lakkia language, formerly having its own separate linguistic classification. According to the study of the Lakkia language (Mao Zhongwu, 1982) there are correspondences with the Mulao language, especially in the initial consonant clusters.

The group as a whole is characterized by a geographic and linguistic uniformity, by archaisms—principally in the consonant clusters—and by a relatively large number of correspondences with the Thai-Yay language group, as we have already noted. The most recent research in historical linguistics (Thurgood, 1985) makes an internal subdivision between the Maonan, Sui and Mak languages, on the one hand, and on the other, Mulao, Kam and Then, to which we add the Lakkia language.

It will be noted that the map does not indicate two of the languages mentioned, Then and Mak. Cartographic representation would have been difficult because of their uncertain location around the two cities already mentioned and of their unknown number of speakers. Nonetheless, they should appear in the numeric classification. Their absence explains the numbering beginning at 3.3.

Before discussing the third group, it is necessary to mention the Bê language, one of whose dialects was described by Savina (A.G. Haudricourt, 1965) and another by Hashimoto (1980). Although having numerous correspondences with the Thai-Yay group, the Bê language has some secondary mutations (*p > 26, *t > d, etc...) and

more specifically distinct lexical units such as *sói* "moon", *k'iên* "heavy" and three terms for "rice" - *ngao* "standing rice"; *mok* "paddy"; *zop* "polished rice"—while the Thai-Yay languages have only one. These differences would justify maintaining Bê in a separate category.

3. Thai-Yay Group

Several traits distinguish this group from the two preceeding ones. Firstly, it is by far the most important in terms of the number of languages and persons speaking them. Secondly and coroliarily, the speakers are spread over a much greater area.

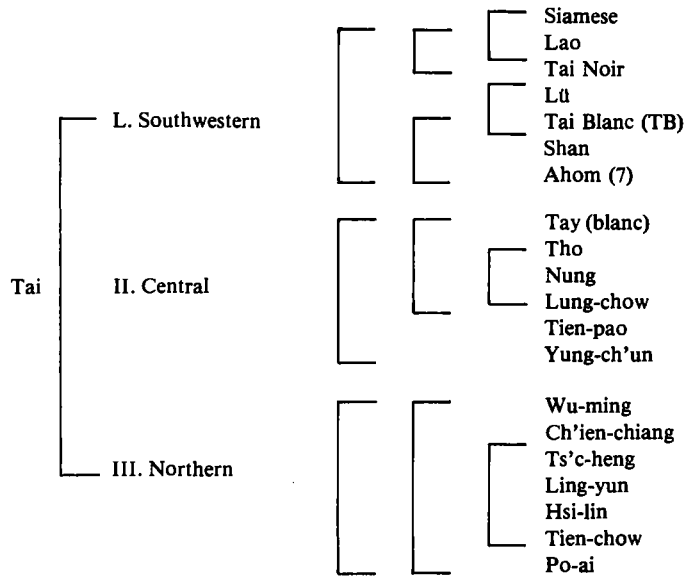
There are some twenty languages and dialects, well transcribed in an alphabetical writing etymological from east of the Salween to the Red River, including Siamese, Lao, Lü, Khün, White Tai, Black Tai, or non-etymologically west of the Salween, the Shan Tai Nüa and the old Ahom. East of the Red River, the influence of Chinese culture held sway, as attested by former Chinese transcriptions of Tày and Yay languages, today written in the Roman alphabet.

The number of speakers today exceeds 65 million people, if we include those in China and Vietnam. In China, they are the Lü and Tai Nüa (Dai Xishuang Banna and Dai Dehong respectively) numbering 839,797 in the southern part of Yunnan province, Bu Yi of Guizhou (2,120,469) and finally Yay (called Zhuang by the Chinese) in Guangxi and at the most southeastern point of Yunnan province (13,378,162, a figure including the Nung who live between the You Jiang river and the Sino-Vietnamese border). In Vietnam, they are the Tày (870,000), Nùng (540,000); White, Black and Red Tai (760,000); Lao (6,700); Lü (3,000); Giay (27,000); B'ô Y (1,300) and the Sán Chi, including the Cao Lan (75,000). Not least are the Thai, Lao and Yuon of Thailand (43,200,000) and Lao of Laos (2,350,000) (5). We do not have reliable figures for the Shan, Khün and Khamti minorities of Burma.

The territory occupied by this group is vast, extending east to west from southern Guizhou province to the bend of the Brahmaputra in the Assam region and it covers a large part of the Indochina peninsula, reaching from Yunnan in the north (if one excludes the Khamti peoples still further north) to the Malaysian border in the south.

Another common feature of this group is the linguistic uniformity. This has permitted using the method of comparative grammar, research which is facilitated by extensive and reliable written material published over a long period. Nonetheless, there are some differences over their classification or internal subdivision well known to linguists, which we briefly note.

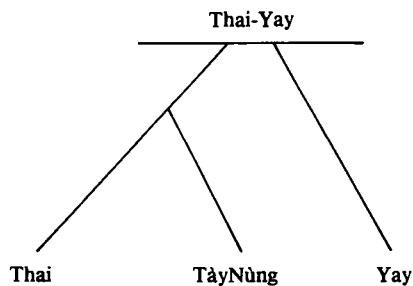
a. Li Fang Kuei reconstituted Proto-Tai (1960 and 1975) by comparing three language groups: Southwestern Tai, Central Tai and Northern Tai, according to the following schema:



From Li Fang Kuei, "A Tentative Classification of Tai Dialects" (1960).

b. By comparing all the languages of the first two groups of Li Fang Kuei, A. G. Haudricourt reconstructed common Thai (1948). The reconstruction thus obtained, when compared with Yay languages (Northern Group), also permitted the reconstruction of common Thai-Yay (1974-1975) (6).

Thus the subclassification involves either two or three groups. The difference centers on whether the Tày-Nùng languages are separated from (Li Fang Kuei) or included (A.G. Haudricourt) with Thai languages proper, although making them a separate branch.



The Tày-Nùng languages are characterized by a multitude of dialects, some of which reveal a spirantal change of the former voiced occlusives *b, *d, *g (Cao Bang) while others (Lang Son) have voiceless aspirated occlusives. Peripheral dialects also retain for some terms the archaism /ph/ or /phy/ in place of /t/ or /th/ in the bordering parts of the Tày-Nùng regions (7). These latter observations lead back not to common Thai but to Thai-Yay (or Proto-Tai), as is also the case of Ahom with respect to the phoneme *hr which remain distinct from *h. But apart from these particularities, the other initial consonants permit the reconstruction of a common language with the other Thai languages properly speaking. Thus there is no need to put the Tày-Nùng in a separate group.

Finally, there has been an investigation of dialects in Thailand involving sixty dialects of the seven languages of Li Fang Kuei's Southwestern Group (Brown, 1965, p. 12). Following the author's classification, we have integrated the most important dialects as sub-classes of the Thai languages proper, as did the researchers who prepared the atlas of Australian Academy.

There were no major difficulties in situating the languages of the third group, with the exception of Shan, for which the old data (Grierson, Reprint 1966) is unreliable, as we have seen.

However, the mapping of the Yay languages (Bu Yi and Yay) would have been more precise if we had been able to consult the Soviet atlas (1964) while we were preparing our map. It is clear that the Yay peoples, like all members of this linguistic family, prefer to live in river valleys, low or high. The lack of topographical detail did not permit showing this clearly.

The colors used for Tày-Nùng languages could be seen as in contradiction with their classification. A green distinct from that of other Thai languages doubtlessly would have been more appropriate to prevent any confusion between the Yay and Tày-Nùng languages.

Reading the Map

A general examination of the map points to some conclusions on the Thai-Kadai languages as a whole.

The first and most obvious is the large zone covered by speakers of these languages—a longstanding observation that is here represented graphically. In this context, the contour lines clearly show that the favored zones of occupation are river valleys. The Kelao form an exception as a result of being displaced by successive waves of migrations, a displacement also attested to by the geographic dispersion of this group of languages, numbered 1 and 2.

The second observation refers to the origin and the migration of these populations. If one accepts the hypothesis that the Thai-Yay peoples originally lived in southern China, in Guangxi, it can be verified that this region remains one of the poles

where they are concentrated. The Menam valley constitutes the second pole, the Khorat plateau and Malaysian isthmus, being the end points of their displacement or arrival. Moreover, the intermediate, less populated zones indicate the routes of migration or penetration towards western and northeastern Burma (Shan states); and towards the south along the river valleys with a north-south orientation (Mekong, Menam) or even in a northeastern to southeastern direction, along secondary rivers (Nam Ou, Nam Seng, Nam Ngum).

Little is known about the circumstances of the migrations of the Thai conquerors or the way it took place. Chamberlain (1975) offered an hypothesis based on linguistic and historic evidence. On the one hand, the Thai languages and dialects properly speaking are classified according to the change of voiced occlusives into voiceless, or voiceless aspirants, and secondarily according to their tonal systems. On the other hand, historic evidence was gathered from local chronicles. By combining information from the two disciplines, the author described the stages of the migration. In the eighth century, the Thai conquerors (including the Central Thai of Li Fang Kuei or Tây-Nùng) are still located in their original homeland while between the eleventh and twelfth centuries the migrations occurred, so that by the thirteenth century the populations are occupying approximately the areas where they are found today.

If it were possible to agree with this proposition, it is more questionable to date the change in the voiced consonants to ninth to tenth centuries. Contradictory evidence both confirms and invalidates this thesis.

It is known that in the Chinese and Vietnamese languages, the consonant changes occurred before those of the Thai languages. It could be assumed that the latter change took place as a result of their contact, social aspects of unequal relations serving as the stimulus, before the migration of the Thai conquerors into the Indochina peninsula. In this case the ninth to tenth century date could be accepted. But it can be noted that the change of the voiced consonants into voiceless aspirants only affects the languages (essentially Siamese and Lao) whose migrating communities had encountered Austroasiatic populations speaking Mon-Khmer. In this case, the consonant change could only have occurred at a later date, after the collapse of the Tang Dynasty (907), which paved the way for the great Thai migrations. At the same time, this hypothesis explains the alphabet on the Ramakhamheng stele (Sukhothai, 1293). The writing, which only represents a reform and is not original, depicts the voiced occlusives by graphemes of Indian origin of the same value. Furthermore, the indication of three tones by two signs presupposes that phonological shifts resulting from the changes in the voiced consonants had not yet occurred. The complexity of the problem requires further research, especially in the historic domain, as Chamberlain has undertaken.

The Yay, who remained under Chinese influence, migrated northward, the Bu-Yi occupying southern Guizhou.

From Guangdong, the assumed origin of Kam-Sui speaking populations (Haudricourt, 1970), there was a migration in another direction, towards the northwest, attested by the presence of a Lakkia pocket in the center of Guangxi. The location of the Mulao and Maonan could result from the movement of the populations from the southeast to northwest.

A third observation concerns the displacements of the populations resulting from wars. We find evidence in the small, localized communities in Thailand of the Phuan at Lapburi, originally, it seems, from Xieng Kwang (Brown, P. 13), of Lao Song belonging to the Black Tai, and Phu Thai, all of whose presence is fully explained by genealogical classification. Besides these pockets, it is essential to emphasize the importance of the large concentration of Lao in northeast Thailand. The early history of the region has not yet been elucidated. However, we do know that present population goes back to the seventeenth and especially the eighteenth centuries, when there was a migration from the Kingdom of Champassak (Keyes, 1976) which was augmented and concluded in the nineteenth century by the deportations that followed the Lao-Siamese wars of that epoch.

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and
Sophie and Pierre Clément

ENDNOTES:

1. We would also like to thank Miss Michèle Alfonsi who prepared the cartographic layout.
2. This calculation was made from figures in the Vietnamese work “Sổ tay về các dân tộc ở Việt Nam” (Manual of the Ethnic Groups of Vietnam), 1983. Those figures are estimates and are not data from the census, the last being in 1979. The populations referred to: a) speak Thai languages proper: Tày (Thổ), Nùng, Thái (Black Tai, White Tai), Lao and Lự. b) For the Yay: B’ô y (Bu Yi), Giáy (Yay) and Sanchi (Cao Lan included). c) In the Kadai speaking group: Lachi (Lati), Co’-Lao (Kelao), Púpéo (Laqua), Laha. The figures are provided later in the article.
3. We now can use data from the 1982 census published, for example in Ma Yinzhubian (1985), cf. bibliography. The data used are for the following populations: part of the Dai (Lự of Xishuang Banna and Dai Dehong for those speaking Thai languages proper: The Bu Yi and Zhuang for the Yay group (Nung are counted with the Zhuang); those speaking Kam-Sui languages; the speakers of Kadai-Kelao in Guizhou and the Li on Hainan island.
4. Lucien Bernot has pointed out the unclear limits in the west as indicated on the map in the Linguistic Survey of India, prepared during British rule and which has served as a basis for subsequent research.
5. These figures are based on the following estimates: 85 percent of the Thai and related population in Thailand, 66 percent Lao and related population in Laos, according to the highest estimate. We do not have precise breakdowns by ethnic group for these two countries. In spite of these approximations, recent Chinese and Vietnamese sources encouraged us to make general estimates for each of the three linguistic groups. Our estimates differ significantly from those provided by the authors of the Australian Atlas.
6. It is necessary to take account of the corrections made by the author in 1975 (see bibliography) to the 1974 edition which had not been reread by Haudricourt and was prepared by Shafer who died before the final edition appeared (see bibliography).
7. It is a question of three terms “eye”, “sun” (eye of the day) and to “die”. See A.G. Haudricourt’s article, “De la restitution des initiales dans les langues monosyllabiques: le problème du Thai Commun”, *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 52, 1956, pp. 307-322.
8. A much fuller discussion of this question may be found in the thesis of A. Levy-Ward, “Introduction à la notation chinoise de la langue Tày-Nùng d’après les chants de mariage thổ de la région de Cao Bằng et Lạng Sơn” (see bibliography).

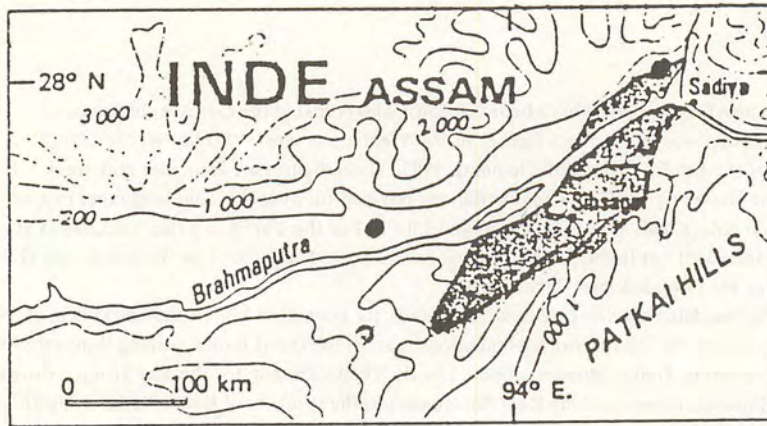


fig 1 — Location of Ahom

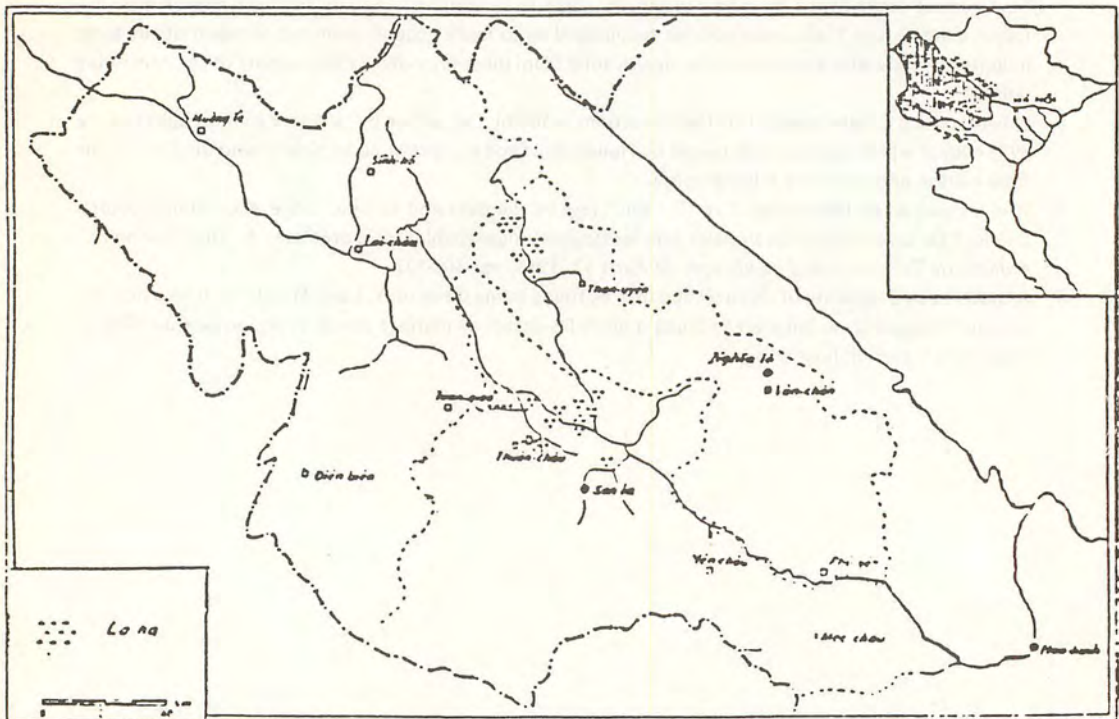


fig. 2 — Location of Laha

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Abbreviations

- ASEMI: Asie du Sud-Est et Monde Insulindien.
 BSLP: Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris.
 EHESS: Centre National de Recherche Scientifique, Paris.
 CERA
 ENSBA: HRAF

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