

## Chapter 5: The restructuring of Anong

Sun Hongkai<sup>1</sup>

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Research and investigation of Anong started in 1960. Except for the long interruption during the Cultural Revolution, we did follow-up fieldwork on Anong a number of times at quite regular intervals to collect additional data. Altogether seven fieldwork trips were undertaken over a span of 43 years ending in the fall of 2003.

Forty years is a very short time period in terms of diachronic development of a language. Therefore, we should not expect to see a lot of changes in Anong over such a short period of time. However, it is noteworthy that during those years, the region inhabited by the Anong underwent tremendous changes. Revolutionary changes took place in economy, transportation, commerce, culture and education, health, and communications. A once closed Anong society suddenly opened its doors to allow other ethnic groups to come in and settle down in their midst, which led to cross-marriages between Anong and other ethnic minorities. At the same time, some Anong traveled freely from their villages to other places to go to school, to seek employment opportunities, to engage in business activities, and so on. Interactions and communications between various ethnic groups reached unprecedented width and depth. These social changes have been reflected in the Anong language. Data collected from different time periods indicate that the Anong language is undergoing some changes.

Additionally, the data we collected from different age groups of Anong speakers show some differences as well. Some of those differences are attributable to idiolectal traits whereas others are characteristic of different age groups. Older speakers' speech is more conservative while that of the younger ones has undergone considerable restructuring, which, to some extent, indicates the direction of change of the Anong language.

We also did research on languages in the Jingpho subgroup that are related to Anong and a language closely related to Anong, namely, Trung (Dulong) and its dialects. Comparative studies such as these would inform us on the kind of changes Anong is undergoing.

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1. This is a preliminary translation by Li Fengxiang and Graham Thurgood. As such, feedback is especially welcome, particularly before any of this goes to press. gthurgood@csuchico.edu

Analyzing the changes in Anong from the above three angles, we can give an overall description of these changes and gain insight in our understanding of this obsolescing language.

### Section 1: The restructuring of the lexicon

#### 1. The rapid increase in loanwords

In the 2700 or so word list in the back of this grammar, we have indicated loans from Chinese, Lisu, and Burmese. We also tabulated the loans in the data collected in 1960 and the ones in the data collected in 1999. It is interesting to note that out of the 2600 words collected in 1960, we found 130 Chinese loans, about 5% of the total, and 208 Lisu loans, about 8% of the total. In 1999, we expanded the word list to 4900 and double checked words collected in 1960. We found that this expanded word list contains 391 Chinese loans, which make up 8% of the total, and 832 Lisu loans constituting 17% of the total. That is to say, we see an increase of Chinese loans by 3 percentage points and Lisu loans by 9 percentage points compared with those in the data collected in 1960. The following is a small sample of loans in Anong to show what kind of words are borrowed into Anong from Lisu, Chinese and Burmese.

**TABLE 1. Lisu, Chinese, and Burmese loans**

*Lisu:*

ɑ <sup>55</sup> mu <sup>33</sup>	sweet potato	nu <sup>55</sup> di <sup>31</sup>	broad bean	do <sup>31</sup> tsh <sup>31</sup>	pea
nu <sup>55</sup> ph <sup>55</sup>	mung bean	po <sup>55</sup> ŋɑ <sup>55</sup> tsɿ <sup>31</sup>	saltpeter	bu <sup>31</sup> lu <sup>55</sup>	trumpet
k <sup>h</sup> u <sup>31</sup> ku <sup>55</sup>	evening star	nɛ <sup>31</sup> ku <sup>55</sup>	evening star	tsh <sup>h</sup> u <sup>31</sup>	tin
kɑ <sup>55</sup> tsu <sup>55</sup>	cupboard	dzi <sup>31</sup> dzɛ <sup>55</sup>	wine pot	sɑ <sup>31</sup> lɑ <sup>55</sup>	table; desk
mo <sup>33</sup> gu <sup>33</sup>	elephant	gɑ <sup>55</sup> gu <sup>31</sup>	orangutan	ʔi <sup>55</sup> bu <sup>31</sup>	water duck
ko <sup>55</sup> to <sup>55</sup>	cock's comb	phɿ <sup>55</sup> du <sup>31</sup>	a plane	ɣu <sup>31</sup> du <sup>31</sup>	a saw
po <sup>55</sup> lo <sup>55</sup>	bullet	lɑ <sup>31</sup> thɑ <sup>55</sup>	polish with whetsone		

*Chinese:*

ie <sup>31</sup> sui <sup>35</sup>	coriander	tsho <sup>55</sup>	scallion	lɑ <sup>35</sup> dzi <sup>31</sup>	chili
phɿ <sup>31</sup> ko <sup>53</sup>	apple	vu <sup>55</sup> kui <sup>55</sup>	tortoise	fun <sup>55</sup> thiɑu <sup>31</sup>	noodles
mɛ <sup>31</sup> thã <sup>55</sup>	coal	lo <sup>55</sup> tsu <sup>55</sup>	mule	sɿ <sup>55</sup> tse <sup>31</sup>	lion
suan <sup>55</sup> tshu <sup>3</sup>	sour	pɛ <sup>31</sup> thã <sup>31</sup>	white sugar	tcɑŋ <sup>35</sup> iur <sup>31</sup>	soy sauce
tian <sup>55</sup> tun <sup>55</sup>	electric light	lɑ <sup>31</sup> tsu <sup>55</sup>	candle	ia <sup>31</sup> uɑ <sup>55</sup>	enamelware
kai <sup>55</sup> tsɿ <sup>33</sup>	market	sui <sup>55</sup> fu <sup>31</sup>	kettle	xo <sup>55</sup> tsai <sup>31</sup>	matches

**TABLE 1. Lisu, Chinese, and Burmese loans**

tɕi <sup>33</sup> tɕh <sup>35</sup>	machine	tɑ <sup>35</sup> p <sup>h</sup> õ <sup>35</sup>	artillery
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*Burmese:*

ts <sup>h</sup> ɑ <sup>31</sup> p <sup>h</sup> o <sup>31</sup>	steamer	mɛ <sup>33</sup> t <sup>h</sup> ɑ <sup>33</sup>	train	ts <sup>h</sup> ɑ <sup>31</sup> p <sup>h</sup> o <sup>31</sup>	steamer
tã <sup>35</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> u <sup>31</sup>	kerosene	bõ <sup>55</sup>	movie	tã <sup>35</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> u <sup>31</sup>	kerosene

It is clear from the above 48 loans from three different languages that the borrowed lexical items are mostly for expressing new daily life and cultural phenomena. Hardly any of them are part of the kernel vocabulary. A closer examination reveals that the loans from Burmese are mainly about phenomena that were non-existent in Anong. For example, luxury items such as face powder, and new means of transportation, such as train and ship, were completely novel to the Anong. It is likely that such loans came into Anong via religious activities. Those loans did not exist in Anong in the 60s. It was in the 70s and 80s when Catholicism was rapidly developing in the Anong region when the Anong were introduced to those new phenomena.

The Chinese loans are slightly different. Although we did collect some Chinese loans in 1960, most of the Chinese loans occurred in the last 30 years or so, especially during the Cultural Revolution. The massive coalition building movement involving widespread mutual visitations between organizations throughout the country brought about contact and interactions between different nationalities to a degree the country had never seen before. In addition, the reform and open door policy adopted by the Chinese government in more recent times produced a lot of new phenomena that are inevitably reflected in the language's lexicon. Many of the Chinese loans are items of daily necessities. We suspect that some of the Chinese loans came into Anong via Lisu, because these are also Chinese loans in Lisu, and their phonological shape resembles that of Lisu words.

That the percentage of Lisu loans in Anong is higher than that from any other language should not be a surprise since the Anong are surrounded by Lisu. They interact with the Lisu on a daily basis when they go to the store; when they go to school, etc. Life would be impossible if one can not speak Lisu. In fact, people from all nationalities in the region can speak Lisu, be they Chinese, Bai, or Naxi. All the Anong are bilinguals in Anong and Lisu except for a few elderly women who rarely venture outside of their homes. What is more, some of the Anong speak Lisu better than Anong. The number of Anong speakers has decreased by half in the last 40 years or so, specifically, from 800 to 400. In terms of semantic content, Lisu loans are found in every aspect of their lives. However, none of the loans are among the kernel vocabulary.

What is intriguing is that we found that some of the native words have been replaced by Lisu loans in many Anong speakers' speech. In the examples we collected for grammatical structures, some Lisu words were used in place of available native words. For instance, there is a degree adverb with high frequency  $ba^{31}\xi\eta^{31}$  'very/particularly/too/especially' in Anong, which is often replaced with the Lisu loan  $a^{31}ku^{55}$  which is synonymous with the Anong word. Whenever this occurs, we would remind the informant of the native Anong word. The informant would immediately tell us apologetically that he forgot to use the native Anong form. What is more, when we went to the field to check words collected in 1960, we found out that the informant had forgotten a considerable number of the words on our 1960 word list. When asked whether such words still exist in Anong, it dawned on him that those words do exist in Anong. In current day Anong, coexistence of loans with native words is quite widespread (See the subsection on characteristics of Anong lexicon in the chapter on lexicon for details and examples on this issue).

## 2. Differences among Anong speakers' knowledge of the lexicon

A survey on the knowledge of vocabulary among Anong speakers with different levels of proficiency of different age groups was carried out in 1995. The speakers surveyed can be divided into three groups. The proficient speakers who can serve as informants are 60 or older and have a vocabulary of over 3000. The number of such speakers is rather small. The middle-aged group are between the ages of 40 and 60. Those speakers are no longer proficient in Anong though they can still engage in every day conversations. They are more proficient in their second language. Those under 40 have basically lost their native tongue. They are able to say daily greetings and have retained some basic comprehension abilities. We used the crossbow, the most familiar hunting tool to Anong men, as an example to test the Anong speakers' knowledge of vocabulary. In addition to the general term 'crossbow', there are over ten words in Anong naming various parts of the crossbow, some of which are monomorphemic while others are compounds. We asked the Anong speakers to name the crossbow and its various parts for us in various situations. Speakers in the elderly group could either name all of the parts or almost all of the parts. Those belonging to the middle-aged group could only give the general term, with some being able to name the bowstring, back of the bow and the trigger. Those under the age of 40 have lost all of the terms related to the crossbow. The test results are given in the table below.

TABLE 2.

gloss	Older people	Middle aged	Younger
a bow	$ta^{31} da^{33}$	$ba^{31} da^{33}$	gone

TABLE 2.

crossbow	th <sup>a31</sup> na <sup>55</sup>	th <sup>a31</sup> na <sup>55</sup>	th <sup>a31</sup> na <sup>55</sup>
trigger	th <sup>a31</sup> na <sup>55</sup> go <sup>31</sup> .io <sup>55</sup>	th <sup>a31</sup> na <sup>55</sup> go <sup>31</sup> .io <sup>55</sup>	gone
spring	th <sup>a31</sup> na <sup>55</sup> p <sup>h</sup> aŋ <sup>55</sup>	gone	gone
string	th <sup>a31</sup> na <sup>55</sup> va <sup>55</sup>	th <sup>a31</sup> na <sup>55</sup> va <sup>55</sup>	gone
trigger groove	th <sup>a31</sup> na <sup>55</sup> go <sup>31</sup> lo <sup>55</sup>	gone	gone
string button	th <sup>a31</sup> na <sup>55</sup> pu <sup>55</sup>	gone	gone
main stock	th <sup>a31</sup> na <sup>55</sup> k <sup>h</sup> uŋ <sup>55</sup>	term now lost	gone
head	th <sup>a31</sup> na <sup>55</sup> la <sup>31</sup> p <sup>h</sup> uŋ <sup>55</sup>	th <sup>a31</sup> na <sup>55</sup> la <sup>31</sup> p <sup>h</sup> uŋ <sup>55</sup>	gone
tenon	th <sup>a31</sup> na <sup>55</sup> tso <sup>35</sup>	gonet	gone
arrow	th <sup>a31</sup> ma <sup>55</sup>	th <sup>a31</sup> ma <sup>55</sup>	th <sup>a31</sup> ma <sup>55</sup>
arrow groove	th <sup>a31</sup> ma <sup>55</sup> t <sup>h</sup> a <sup>31</sup>	gone	gone
arrow head	th <sup>a31</sup> ma <sup>55</sup> la <sup>31</sup> p <sup>h</sup> uŋ <sup>55</sup>	th <sup>a31</sup> ma <sup>55</sup> la <sup>31</sup> p <sup>h</sup> uŋ <sup>55</sup>	gone
arrow tail	ba <sup>55</sup> t <sup>h</sup> iŋ <sup>31</sup>	gone	gone
balance	ba <sup>55</sup> t <sup>h</sup> iŋ <sup>31</sup> p <sup>h</sup> an <sup>31</sup> d <sup>ɛ</sup> m <sup>55</sup>	gone	gone
arrow bag	kh <sup>o</sup> <sup>55</sup> dz <sup>ɿ</sup> <sup>55</sup>	gone	gone
quiver	th <sup>a31</sup> ma <sup>55</sup> da <sup>31</sup> k <sup>h</sup> uaŋ <sup>55</sup>	gone	gone
poison arrow	p <sup>h</sup> u <sup>31</sup> la <sup>55</sup> so <sup>31</sup> mu <sup>53</sup>	gone	gone
nonpoison arrow	p <sup>h</sup> a <sup>55</sup> d <sup>ɿ</sup> aŋ <sup>55</sup>	gone	gone
shoot arrow	vam <sup>55</sup> , fam <sup>53</sup>	vam <sup>55</sup>	vam <sup>55</sup>

We also conducted some other semantic domain tests on a smaller scale. Although the results varied a little from person to person, the overall outcome was more or less the same, constituting credible evidence that drastic decrease in the number of native words is indicative of the lack of vitality of a language. Sometimes a native word is lost before an item is borrowed from another language to replace it.

## Section 2: Phonological changes

Since Anong has borrowed a certain number of words from Lisu and Chinese, the phonological structures of those loan words have clearly influenced the phonological system of Anong. Also, since the Anong reside in the middle reaches of the Nujiang River surrounded by speakers of languages of the Lolo-Burmese subgroup, especially Lisu, the characteristics of those languages are impacting Anong, resulting in Anong's phonology changing in the direction

of the phonological systems of the Lolo-Burmese languages. The changes are mainly manifested in the following way.

1. Development of complex vowels and nasalized vowels

Originally, Anong did not have vowel plus glide diphthongs, nor did it have any glide plus vowel diphthongs, nor any triphthongs. Due to the borrowing of words with diphthongs from Chinese, some diphthongs have been added to the Anong sound system. In addition, the development of nasalized vowels is also attributable to Chinese borrowings. Some examples are given in Table 3 below.

**TABLE 3. Borrowed vowels**

u	tɑ <sup>35</sup> fũ <sup>35</sup>	excrement	zũ <sup>31</sup> sũ <sup>55</sup>	ginseng
uẽ	ts <sup>h</sup> uẽ <sup>55</sup>	inch	ts <sup>h</sup> ɑ <sup>55</sup> kuẽ <sup>55</sup>	visit; tour
ei	fei <sup>31</sup> liɑu <sup>31</sup>	fertilizer	th <sup>u</sup> 55 fei <sup>55</sup>	bandit
ɑi	xo <sup>55</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> ɑi <sup>31</sup>	matches	kɑi <sup>55</sup> tsɿ <sup>33</sup>	county fair
ɑu	pɑu <sup>55</sup> tsɿ <sup>33</sup>	steamed bun	pɑu <sup>55</sup> fu <sup>55</sup>	cloth wrapper
ue	kuẽ <sup>55</sup> tɕy <sup>31</sup>	rule; custom	sue <sup>55</sup>	tax
uɛ	kuẽ <sup>55</sup> phɛ <sup>35</sup>	national flag	uɑi <sup>35</sup> kuɛ <sup>35</sup>	foreign country
yɛ	ɕyɛ <sup>55</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> uɑ̃ <sup>31</sup>	propagate		
iaɯ	ph <sup>h</sup> iaɯ <sup>35</sup>	ticket	fuɯ <sup>55</sup> th <sup>h</sup> iaɯ <sup>31</sup>	k. of noodles
uɑi	kh <sup>h</sup> uɑi <sup>35</sup> tɕi <sup>35</sup>	accounting	uɑi <sup>35</sup> kuɛ <sup>35</sup>	foreign country

Nasalized vowels are a transitional phenomenon resulted from the loss of nasals in finals. Anong has already developed some nasalized vowels. Some of the nasalized vowels and diphthongs never occurred in native Anong words. However, due to the influence of Chinese loans, some phonological structures started to occur that did not exist back in the 1960s. We conjecture that this is probably a kind of phonological diffusion, which is illustrated by the following examples.

**TABLE 4. Borrowed diphthongs**

ui	sui <sup>55</sup> in <sup>31</sup>	mercury	dzui <sup>55</sup>	pair; clf.
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**TABLE 4. Borrowed diphthongs**

ua	sua <sup>55</sup> tɕaŋ <sup>35</sup> ua <sup>55</sup>	reckon accounts	ŋua <sup>55</sup> sɿ <sup>55</sup> ŋɛ <sup>35</sup>	village name
ye	tɕhye <sup>31</sup> tian <sup>53</sup>	defect	mu <sup>55</sup> xye <sup>31</sup>	green corn
ai	thi <sup>31</sup> tsai <sup>55</sup> thi <sup>31</sup>	11	thi <sup>31</sup> tsai <sup>55</sup> sɿŋ <sup>35</sup>	17
ya	cya <sup>55</sup> dze <sup>31</sup>	sugar		

The nasalized vowels and diphthongs above do not have a high frequency of occurrence in Anong and they are not very stable. However, they indicate the tendency of certain phonological changes in Anong, which is why we have included them in the inventory of finals in Anong.

## 2. Loss of consonant clusters

It is uncontroversial that Proto-Tibeto-Burman originally had consonant clusters, but contemporary Tibeto-Burman languages share a general tendency toward cluster simplification and loss. Anong is no exception. Since Anong has a small number of speakers and it is surrounded by languages that do not have consonant clusters, Anong is losing its consonant clusters faster than the other Tibeto-Burman languages.

Anong had a small number of simple consonant clusters. In the 60s, there were altogether 20 or so consonant clusters in two series with one series being made up of a glottal stop followed by a consonant and the other series consisting of a consonant followed by the retroflex semi-vowel ʎ. Both series are being lost and the former is disappearing at a faster rate. The following are some examples.

**TABLE 5. Cluster simplification**

Clusters	Older speakers	gloss	Middle-aged speakers
ʔb	ʔbe <sup>31</sup> ŋi <sup>55</sup>	food steamer	bɛ <sup>31</sup> ŋi <sup>55</sup>
ʔd	ɑ <sup>31</sup> ʔdɛn <sup>55</sup>	cut off (rope)	ɑ <sup>31</sup> dɛn <sup>55</sup>
ʔd	ʔdɑŋ <sup>55</sup>	crawl	dɑŋ <sup>55</sup>
ʔg	ʔgam <sup>55</sup>	carve records	gam <sup>55</sup>
ʔdz	ʔdzam <sup>55</sup>	drench (rain)	dzam <sup>55</sup>
ʔdz	ʔdzɿŋ <sup>55</sup>	defecate	dzɿŋ <sup>55</sup>
ʔdz	ʔdzu <sup>55</sup> ŋu <sup>31</sup>	bark	dzu <sup>55</sup> ŋu <sup>31</sup>
ʔm	tɕhɛ <sup>55</sup> ʔmu <sup>31</sup>	daughter; girl	tɕhɛ <sup>55</sup> mu <sup>31</sup>
ʔn	ɑ <sup>31</sup> ʔnɑ <sup>31</sup>	dye (cloth)	ɑ <sup>31</sup> nɑ <sup>31</sup>
ʔl	ʔlɑ <sup>31</sup> sum <sup>55</sup>	musk	lɑ <sup>31</sup> sum <sup>55</sup>

**TABLE 5. Cluster simplification**

ʔŋ	ɑ <sup>31</sup> ʔŋɛ <sup>35</sup>	spread (paint)	ɑ <sup>31</sup> nɛ <sup>35</sup>
ʔŋ̥	ʔŋɑ <sup>31</sup>	ruminant	ŋɑ <sup>31</sup>
ʔŋ	ŋi <sup>31</sup> ʔŋu <sup>31</sup>	grab; seize	ŋi <sup>31</sup> ŋu <sup>31</sup>
ʔb	ɛɑ <sup>55</sup> ʔbiun <sup>35</sup>	step across	ɛɑ <sup>55</sup> biun <sup>35</sup>

Only a few elderly speakers' speech still contains consonant clusters with an initial glottal stop. They no longer occur in most elderly speakers' speech nor in the speech of middle-aged and younger speakers, which is clearly illustrated by the above examples. The loss of the initial glottal stop has a residual effect manifested in the form of laryngealized vowels though the patterns are not systematic. Basically, all monophthongs turned into laryngealized vowels. Only some speakers pronounce the vowels in finals with the laryngealized feature. Several points can be made in connection with this phenomenon. First, at this point, we can not determine the source of the glottal stop though it is clear that there is a close connection between the feature of laryngealized and the loss of the glottal stop. This is consistent with the mechanism that gave rise to laryngealized vowels in Tibeto-Burman languages. Second, the laryngealized feature is stable in vowels without consonant endings and it is not stable with vowels in finals with consonant endings. There are two types of laryngealized vowels in Tibeto-Burman languages. One type is laryngealized monophthongs such as those in Lolo-Burmese languages and the other type involves laryngealized vowels in finals with consonant endings such as Jingpho and Zaiwa. Although Anong belongs to the Jingpho subgroup, geographically Anong is contiguous with Lolo-Burmese languages. Therefore, the laryngealized feature described above is closely related to language contact. Lolo-Burmese languages, especially Lisu, do not have finals with consonant endings, and only monophthongs in those languages display the laryngealized feature. The laryngealized feature in Anong patterns closely with Lolo-Burmese languages and differs from Jingpho languages as a result of language contact.

**TABLE 6. Clusters with -r-**

Clusters	Older speakers	gloss	Middle-aged speakers
pɪ	pɪun <sup>55</sup> no <sup>31</sup>	untie	piun <sup>55</sup> no <sup>31</sup>
p <sup>h</sup> ɪ	p <sup>h</sup> ɪŋ <sup>33</sup>	tears (eye)	p <sup>h</sup> ɪ <sup>33</sup>
bɪ	bɪi <sup>53</sup>	four	bɪ <sup>53</sup>
mɪ	ɑ <sup>31</sup> miun <sup>55</sup>	get angry	ɑ <sup>31</sup> miun <sup>55</sup>
fɪ	dɑ <sup>31</sup> fiŋ <sup>55</sup>	turtledove	dɑ <sup>31</sup> fi <sup>55</sup>
vɪ	ɑ <sup>31</sup> vii <sup>55</sup>	to slide	ɑ <sup>31</sup> vi <sup>55</sup>



TABLE 6. Clusters with -r-

k <sup>h</sup> ɿ	k <sup>h</sup> ɿŋ <sup>53</sup>	sweet	k <sup>h</sup> i <sup>53</sup>
gɿ	dɛ <sup>31</sup> gɿ <sup>55</sup>	dog	dɛ <sup>31</sup> gi <sup>55</sup>
xɿ	xɿuun <sup>53</sup>	to sift	ɕuun <sup>53</sup>
ʔbɿ	ɕɑ <sup>55</sup> ʔbɿuun <sup>35</sup>	step across	ɕɑ <sup>55</sup> biuun <sup>35</sup>

The examples above show that the semi-vowel [ɿ] is changing to [i]. Sometimes it affects the place of articulation of the adjacent consonant. When it occurs after a velar fricative, it is pronounced as [i]. When the voiceless velar fricative occurs next to it, the velar fricative is fronted, becoming a palatal fricative.

### 3. The loss of retroflex consonants

Anong has a retroflex consonant series, which includes retroflex stops, nasals, laterals and glides. They are ʈ, ʈ<sup>h</sup>, ɖ, ŋ, ɭ, and ɿ. These retroflex consonants lost their retroflex feature in some middle-aged and some elderly speakers' speech. The following are some examples.

TABLE 7.

Retroflexes	Older speakers	gloss	Middle-aged speakers
ʈ	ʈa <sup>53</sup> ŋɿ <sup>33</sup>	grow (up)	ta <sup>53</sup> ŋi <sup>33</sup>
ʈ <sup>h</sup>	ʔi <sup>31</sup> ʈ <sup>h</sup> u <sup>31</sup>	grasshopper	ʔi <sup>31</sup> t <sup>h</sup> u <sup>31</sup>
ɖ	ɖo <sup>55</sup>	durable	do <sup>55</sup>
ŋ	ŋu <sup>31</sup>	wine	nu <sup>31</sup>
ɭ	go <sup>31</sup> ɭuŋ <sup>31</sup>	curve; bend	go <sup>31</sup> luŋ <sup>31</sup>
ɿ	ɿɿ <sup>31</sup> ʔuŋ <sup>55</sup>	mountain	zɿ <sup>31</sup> ʔuŋ <sup>55</sup>

Some elderly speakers still retain the retroflex consonant series. In fact, sometimes they even add the retroflex feature to non-retroflex consonants. However, the general trend is clear, namely, they are losing their retroflex feature. This change does not affect retroflex affricates and fricatives. Those are still quite stable. This could be the result of Lisu influence because Lisu has a set of such consonants that are very similar to the palatals in Anong.

### 4. The emergence of laryngealized vowels

The data collected in 1960 showed no sign of laryngealized (tight throat) in Anong. However, in 1983, we found that some of the vowels and finals with nasals were pronounced with laryngealization, though the laryngealization did not have any contrastive distribution for differentiating word meaning or grammatical function. In 1999, it was found to be contrastively used to mark grammatical relations. Then we found some contrastive use of the laryngealized feature for differentiating word meanings. In cases where a vowel developed the laryngealized feature due to the loss of the glottal stop, we kept the glottal stop in the onset position. And we use the glottal stop in the coda position to indicate that the preceding vowel has the laryngealized feature. The following are some examples.

TABLE 8.

gloss	Symbol used	Actual pronunciation
row (boat)	zamʔ <sup>53</sup>	zám <sup>53</sup>
browbeat	ma <sup>31</sup> kʰamʔ <sup>35</sup>	ma <sup>31</sup> kʰqm <sup>55</sup>
search (body)	kʰa <sup>31</sup> somʔ <sup>35</sup>	kʰa <sup>31</sup> sòm <sup>35</sup>
to divine	di <sup>31</sup> xɛnʔ <sup>35</sup>	di <sup>31</sup> xɛn <sup>35</sup>
behead	ba <sup>55</sup> thánʔ <sup>55</sup> nu <sup>55</sup>	ba <sup>55</sup> thqn <sup>55</sup> nu <sup>55</sup>
pant; breathe deeply	a <sup>31</sup> phunʔ <sup>35</sup>	a <sup>31</sup> phún <sup>35</sup>
shave	munʔ <sup>55</sup>	mún <sup>55</sup>
ashamed	caŋʔ <sup>55</sup>	cqŋ <sup>55</sup>
suck (milk)	tɕʰimʔ <sup>55</sup> ɛ <sup>31</sup>	tɕʰim <sup>55</sup> ɛ <sup>31</sup>
louse	cuŋʔ <sup>55</sup>	cún <sup>55</sup>

What is noteworthy is that Trung, a language closely related to Anong, has consonant clusters such as mʔ, nʔ, ŋʔ, etc. And the vowels in those finals are in the process of gaining the laryngealized feature. This provides evidence in our effort to trace the origin of the contrastive laryngealized feature between vowels in finals with consonants among Tibeto-Burman languages.

Further investigation is needed to fully understand the laryngealized feature in Anong. We believe that in addition to language internal mechanisms, one must take into account the influence of contiguous languages such as Lisu and Bai, both of which are rich in vowels with the laryngealized feature.

##### 5. Development of the 33 tone

Data collected in 1960 showed four tones. At the time, we also noticed a 33 tone, but it occurred in free variation and was never used contrastively. Therefore,

we did not include it in the phonemic inventory of tones. However, in 1999, we found that the 33 tone has gained its contrastive status (See chapter two for examples.). Checking all of the 9500 syllables of the words collected, we found 250 instances of the 33 tone constituting 2.67% of the total number of syllables in our world list, establishing its phonemic status in the phonological system of Anong.

#### 6. Allophonic variation

Since Anong is an obsolescing language, many of its phonemes display frequent allophonic variation patterns intra- and inter-speakers in the same setting or in different settings. The following are some examples.

- (1) Anong has a syllabified velar nasal  $\eta$  with a high frequency of occurrence, and it is often pronounced as  $o$ . The following are some examples.

**TABLE 9. Velar prefix alternation with -o- prefix**

velar prefix		o prefix	gloss
$\eta^{31}$ k <sup>h</sup> uã <sup>31</sup>	← →	ʔo <sup>31</sup> k <sup>h</sup> uã <sup>31</sup>	hole
$\eta^{31}$ cu $\eta$ <sup>55</sup>	← →	ʔo <sup>31</sup> cu $\eta$ <sup>55</sup>	pupa
$\eta^{31}$ lu $\eta$ <sup>55</sup>	← →	ʔo <sup>31</sup> lu $\eta$ <sup>55</sup>	stone; rock
$\eta^{31}$ tshã $\eta$ <sup>31</sup>	← →	ʔo <sup>31</sup> tshã $\eta$ <sup>31</sup>	kernel

- (2) Although Anong has two different sets of retroflex affricates, some of the retroflex laminal affricates occur in free variation with their non-retroflex counterparts, which are illustrated by the examples below.

**TABLE 10. Sibilant alternation**

ç		ʃ	
tçã <sup>55</sup> xom <sup>31</sup>	← →	tʃã <sup>55</sup> xom <sup>31</sup>	squirrel
tçhã <sup>55</sup>	← →	tʃhã <sup>55</sup>	bird
çya <sup>55</sup> dzẽ <sup>31</sup>	← →	çya <sup>55</sup> dzẽ <sup>31</sup>	sugar
çẽm <sup>3</sup>	← →	ʃẽm <sup>31</sup>	knife

- (3) In addition to the nasalized vowels series, we also have nasalized vowels that came from the allophonic variation of finals that end with the velar nasal, as is shown in the examples below.

**TABLE 11. Final velar nasal > nasalization**

velar nasal		nasalization	gloss
ɑ <sup>31</sup> nuŋ <sup>31</sup>	← →	ɑ <sup>31</sup> nũ <sup>31</sup>	Arab (self-designation)
ɑ <sup>31</sup> iaŋ <sup>35</sup> ɣ <sup>31</sup>	← →	ɑ <sup>31</sup> iã <sup>35</sup> si <sup>31</sup>	slowly
p <sup>h</sup> ɑŋ <sup>31</sup>	← →	p <sup>h</sup> ã <sup>31</sup>	five
p <sup>h</sup> u <sup>31</sup> iaŋ <sup>33</sup>	← →	p <sup>h</sup> u <sup>31</sup> iã <sup>33</sup>	ghost

- (4) The tones on some affixes, particles and certain lexemes display some free variation. The most typical case is numeral one which occurs highly frequently with classifiers, see the examples below.

**TABLE 12. Tonal variation with ‘one’**

High-level tone:

thi <sup>55</sup> mu <sup>31</sup>	one 10,000	thi <sup>55</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> uŋ <sup>31</sup>	one crowd
thi <sup>55</sup> so <sup>31</sup>	one point (needle)	thi <sup>55</sup> tu <sup>31</sup>	one 1000

Mid-level tone:

thi <sup>33</sup> iaŋ <sup>55</sup>	one night	thi <sup>33</sup> bē <sup>55</sup>	one disk
thi <sup>33</sup> xa <sup>55</sup>	one basket		

Mid-falling tone:

thi <sup>31</sup> k <sup>h</sup> ɑ <sup>55</sup>	one half	thi <sup>31</sup> xuŋ <sup>55</sup>	one foot (12’)
thi <sup>31</sup> gam <sup>33</sup>	one step	thi <sup>31</sup> p <sup>h</sup> u <sup>55</sup>	one bag

The numeral one has 55 tone when it is used to count, but when it occurs with other lexical categories its tone changes to either 31 or 33. The variation displays a certain degree of systematicity: the numeral before a word with 31 tone carries a 55 tone; and in other cases, the numeral carries either a 31 tone or a 33 tone. Since the patterns are not stable, we could only record them as we heard them in elicitation, since no prediction is possible.

- (5) Some voiced consonants occur in free variation with their voiceless counterparts. For instance, the voiced lateral and the voiceless lateral fricative are two different phonemes, but in some verbs and adjectives, they occur in free variation. Several examples follow.

**TABLE 13. Variation of voiced and voiceless laterals**

voiced		voiceless	
lim <sup>31</sup>	← →	ɬim <sup>31</sup>	bury
laŋ <sup>55</sup>	← →	ɬaŋ <sup>55</sup>	tongue
la <sup>55</sup>	← →	ɬa <sup>55</sup>	take
li <sup>31</sup> mu <sup>33</sup>	← →	ɬi <sup>31</sup> mu <sup>33</sup>	welding

The nasals  $\text{m̥}/\text{m}$ ,  $\text{n̥}/\text{n}$ ,  $\text{ɲ̥}/\text{ɲ}$ ,  $\text{ŋ̥}/\text{ŋ}$  behave the same way as the laterals. We even get voiced fricatives occurring in free variation with their voiceless counterparts.

- (6) Aspirated consonants in Anong have a low frequency of occurrence. However, aspiration is phonemic in Anong. In some words, aspirated voiceless stops occur in free variation with unaspirated voiceless stops. The following are some examples.

**TABLE 14. Addition of aspiration**

unaspirated		aspirated	
ŋ <sup>31</sup> di <sup>31</sup> pu <sup>35</sup>	← →	ŋ <sup>31</sup> di <sup>31</sup> p <sup>h</sup> u <sup>35</sup>	price
ɑ <sup>31</sup> paŋ <sup>55</sup>	← →	ɑ <sup>31</sup> p <sup>h</sup> aŋ <sup>55</sup>	spoon
pu <sup>31</sup> la <sup>55</sup>	← →	p <sup>h</sup> u <sup>31</sup> la <sup>55</sup>	poison
la <sup>31</sup> tin <sup>31</sup>	← →	la <sup>31</sup> t <sup>h</sup> in <sup>31</sup>	monster

In addition to the above, there are some other cases of free variation between certain sounds. For instance, in the initial position of syllables that begin with a vowel, sometimes they occur with a glottal stop and sometimes the glottal stop is deleted. Although this alternation can be contrastive, it no longer does so in most instances. Also, [ɽ], [z], [z̥] are interchangeable in a limited number of words. Sometimes they can even be interchangeable with the vowel [i] in syllable initial position. The following examples illustrate this phenomenon.

**TABLE 15. Variation of [ɽ], [z], and [z̥]**

io <sup>55</sup> mun <sup>55</sup>	← →	ɽo <sup>55</sup> mun <sup>55</sup>	← →	zo <sup>55</sup> mun <sup>55</sup>	← →	z̥o <sup>55</sup> mun <sup>55</sup>	cloud
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**TABLE 15. Variation of [ɿ], [z], and [z̥]**

ɿu<sup>55</sup>mun<sup>55</sup> ← → zu<sup>55</sup>mun<sup>55</sup> ← → iu<sup>55</sup>mun<sup>55</sup> ← → z̥u<sup>55</sup>mun<sup>55</sup> cure

All of the above free variation patterns are so frequent in Anong that it is difficult to describe them completely.

### Section 3: Grammatical restructuring

Anong has a rich grammatical system indicated through prefixation, suffixation, and inflection. The drastic changes Anong is undergoing is also reflected in changes in its grammatical system. The system is relatively fully preserved in the speech of level A speakers. It is no longer strictly observed by speakers with Level B or lower fluency (see introduction for definitions of different proficiency levels.). Many of the grammatical structures either disappeared or have been simplified. The ensuing discussion is based on the findings of the language proficiency survey mentioned in the introduction. Only a few common categories and structures will be described here.

#### 1. Plural marking on nouns

The plural is marked by particles in Anong. There are two plural particles, zɿ<sup>31</sup> ɿu<sup>31</sup> and mu<sup>53</sup>, both of which came from measure words through the grammaticalization process. The former occurs with animate nouns whereas the latter can be used with any count noun. In Level B fluency speech, plural markers no longer occur, and quantifying expressions, such as the word meaning ‘many’, are used instead. The following two sentences illustrate the use of plural marking among speakers with level A and level B fluency.

Level A fluency:

mu <sup>31</sup> nem <sup>35</sup> zɿ <sup>31</sup> ɿu <sup>31</sup> (or, mu <sup>31</sup> )	d̥a <sup>31</sup> d̥aŋ <sup>55</sup> dzɿ <sup>31</sup>	a <sup>31</sup> ba <sup>55</sup> (indefinite)
guest group	all come	(directional.suffix)

‘The guests have all come.’

Level B fluency:

mu <sup>31</sup> nem <sup>35</sup> (bum <sup>31</sup> bum <sup>31</sup> )	d̥a <sup>31</sup> d̥aŋ <sup>55</sup> dzɿ <sup>31</sup>	a <sup>31</sup> ba <sup>55</sup> (indefinite)
guest many	all come	(directional.suffix)

‘Many guests have come.’

#### 2. Possessives

Anong has a residual possessive marking system in the form of a prefix to nouns. It is still widely used in the speech of Level A fluency speakers. A considerable number of kinship terms take the possessive prefix. In fact, even some animate nouns can occur with the prefix. This marking system has disappeared in the speech of speakers with Level B fluency, and pronouns are used in its place. Examples are given in the table below.

**TABLE 16. Possessive suffixes with kinship terms**

person	Level (A)	Level (A)	Level (B)	
1	ɑ <sup>31</sup> mu <sup>31</sup>	ŋɑ <sup>31</sup> ɑ <sup>31</sup> mu <sup>31</sup>	ŋɑ <sup>31</sup> ɑ <sup>31</sup> mu <sup>31</sup>	my mother
2	ŋu <sup>31</sup> mu <sup>31</sup>	ŋɑ <sup>31</sup> ŋu <sup>31</sup> mu <sup>31</sup>	ŋɑ <sup>31</sup> ɑ <sup>31</sup> mu <sup>31</sup>	your mother
3	ŋ <sup>31</sup> mu <sup>31</sup>	?ŋ <sup>31</sup> ŋ <sup>31</sup> mu <sup>31</sup>	ŋ <sup>31</sup> ɑ <sup>31</sup> mu <sup>31</sup>	his mother

The above examples show that the forms produced by speakers with Level A fluency in the first column still take possessive prefixes. In the second column, Level A speakers used pronouns in addition to the possessive prefixes. In the third column, the forms produced by speakers with Level B fluency indicate that the possessive prefix has mostly disappeared leaving only a residual form ɑ- with no grammatical function. This is in fact the prevalent prefix ɑ-/a- in front of kinship terms among many current day Sino-Tibetan languages. 3. Changes in the numeral system

Anong has its own numeral system, which has basically preserved the characteristics of numeral systems of Tibeto-Burman languages. Except for the one's place, the ten's place and the hundred's place, one can count up to a thousand. However, among speakers with Level B fluency, the situation is quite complicated. Some of them can count up to a hundred in Anong using Lisu words for the rest, some up to ten, some can only say the lower numbers, and some use Lisu words even for the lower numbers. This situation resulted in Anong having two numeral systems, with a native system and a borrowed system from Lisu co-existing at the same time, which is illustrated by the examples given in Table 17.

**TABLE 17. Old Anong numbers and Lisu borrowings**

number	Original	< Lisu	number	Original Anong	< Lisu
1	thi <sup>55</sup>	thi <sup>31</sup>	11	thi <sup>31</sup> tshai <sup>55</sup> thi <sup>31</sup>	tsh <sup>31</sup> ti <sup>55</sup>
2	ɑ <sup>31</sup> ŋi <sup>55</sup>	ŋi <sup>31</sup>	12	thi <sup>31</sup> tshai <sup>55</sup> ŋi <sup>55</sup>	tsh <sup>31</sup> ŋi <sup>55</sup>
3	ɑ <sup>31</sup> som <sup>53</sup>	sa <sup>55</sup>	13	thi <sup>31</sup> tshai <sup>55</sup> som <sup>53</sup>	tsh <sup>31</sup> sa <sup>55</sup>

TABLE 17. Old Anong numbers and Lisu borrowings

4	bii <sup>53</sup>	li <sup>33</sup>	14	thi <sup>31</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>55</sup> bii <sup>53</sup>	ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>31</sup> li <sup>33</sup>
5	p <sup>h</sup> aŋ <sup>31</sup>	ŋua <sup>31</sup>	15	thi <sup>31</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>55</sup> p <sup>h</sup> aŋ <sup>31</sup>	ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>55</sup> ŋua <sup>31</sup>
6	kuŋ <sup>55</sup>	tʂo <sup>53</sup>	16	thi <sup>31</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>55</sup> kuŋ <sup>55</sup>	ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>31</sup> tʂo <sup>53</sup>
7	sɿŋ <sup>35</sup>	ʂɿ <sup>31</sup>	17	thi <sup>31</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>55</sup> sɿŋ <sup>35</sup>	ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>55</sup> ʂɿ <sup>31</sup>
8	ceŋ <sup>55</sup>	he <sup>53</sup>	18	thi <sup>31</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>55</sup> ceŋ <sup>55</sup>	ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>31</sup> he <sup>53</sup>
9	du <sup>31</sup> gu <sup>31</sup>	ku <sup>55</sup>	19	thi <sup>31</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>55</sup> du <sup>31</sup> gu <sup>31</sup>	ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>31</sup> ku <sup>55</sup>
10	thi <sup>55</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> a <sup>55</sup>	ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>55</sup>	20	ɑ <sup>31</sup> ŋi <sup>55</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> a <sup>55</sup>	ŋi <sup>31</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>55</sup>
100	thi <sup>55</sup> ca <sup>55</sup>	thi <sup>31</sup> he <sup>33</sup>	1000	thi <sup>55</sup> tu <sup>31</sup>	thi <sup>31</sup> tu <sup>55</sup>

The ordinal number system is even more interesting. Anong has three co-existing systems, namely, the native system, a system borrowed from Chinese and a system borrowed from Lisu. The system borrowed from Chinese is actually used the most frequently probably because of its simplicity, see the examples given in Table 18.

TABLE 18. Old ordinals and Chinese and Lisu borrowings

gloss	Original Anong	< Chinese	< Lisu
first	ku <sup>31</sup> p <sup>h</sup> aŋ <sup>55</sup> thi <sup>55</sup>	tɿ <sup>35</sup> i <sup>31</sup>	e <sup>55</sup> vu <sup>55</sup> thi <sup>31</sup> ma <sup>33</sup>
second	ku <sup>31</sup> p <sup>h</sup> aŋ <sup>55</sup> ɑ <sup>31</sup> ŋi <sup>55</sup>	tɿ <sup>35</sup> ɛ <sup>35</sup>	ŋi <sup>31</sup> ma <sup>33</sup> thi <sup>31</sup> ma <sup>33</sup>
third	ku <sup>31</sup> p <sup>h</sup> aŋ <sup>55</sup> ɑ <sup>31</sup> som <sup>53</sup>	tɿ <sup>35</sup> sɛ <sup>55</sup>	sa <sup>55</sup> ma <sup>33</sup> thi <sup>31</sup> ma <sup>33</sup>
fourth	ku <sup>31</sup> p <sup>h</sup> aŋ <sup>55</sup> bii <sup>53</sup>	tɿ <sup>35</sup> sɿ <sup>35</sup>	li <sup>33</sup> ma <sup>33</sup> thi <sup>31</sup> ma <sup>33</sup>

#### 4. Person marking on verbs

Verbs in Anong are marked for person and number through prefixes, suffixes and verb root inflections. Generally, the verb agrees in person and number with the subject, though in some cases the agreement also occurs on modifiers of the subject or object. This is the case with speakers of Level A fluency. For speakers with Level B fluency, the situation is quite different. The agreement marking system is no longer strictly observed. Sometimes it is used, while other times it is not used by the same speakers. Oftentimes it is only used to mark first and second persons with no marking for dual and plural. Object and other constituents agreement marking has completely disappeared. This is illustrated in the examples given below using the verb ɑ<sup>31</sup>ne<sup>33</sup> ‘hit’ showing the differences between Level A and Level B fluency speakers’ use of person marking.



TABLE 19.

number	person	Fluency (A)	Fluency (B)
singular	1	α <sup>31</sup> ηεη <sup>35</sup>	α <sup>31</sup> ηεη <sup>35</sup>
	2	ηα <sup>31</sup> ηε <sup>33</sup>	ηα <sup>31</sup> ηε <sup>33</sup>
dual	2	α <sup>31</sup> ηε <sup>33</sup>	α <sup>31</sup> ηε <sup>33</sup>
	1	α <sup>31</sup> ηε <sup>33</sup> sε <sup>55</sup>	α <sup>31</sup> ηε <sup>33</sup>
	2	ηα <sup>31</sup> ηε <sup>33</sup> sε <sup>55</sup>	ηα <sup>31</sup> ηε <sup>33</sup>
plural	3	α <sup>31</sup> ηε <sup>33</sup>	α <sup>31</sup> ηε <sup>33</sup>
	1	α <sup>31</sup> ηε <sup>33</sup> i <sup>31</sup>	α <sup>31</sup> ηε <sup>33</sup>
	2	ηα <sup>31</sup> ηε <sup>33</sup> ηω <sup>31</sup>	ηα <sup>31</sup> ηε <sup>33</sup>
	3	α <sup>31</sup> ηε <sup>33</sup>	α <sup>31</sup> ηε <sup>33</sup>

Notes on Table 19:

- (1) The use of agreement marking does not show clearly delineatable differences by age. In other words, the use of person and number marking varies quite a bit among all Anong speakers, mainly correlating with proficiency levels. Those who are proficient still preserve the agreement marking of person and number. Those who are no longer proficient either show an incomplete marking system or do not use any of them at all.
- (2) We surveyed over ten types of speakers. We first sorted out the agreement system among Level A speakers and then checked them among Level B speakers. The table above represents a summary of the results we obtained.
- (3) The data show that in terms of first person and second person marking for agreement, there is no difference between Level A and Level B speakers. That is to say the person agreement marking system is still well preserved. The difference lies in number marking. Level B speakers no longer differentiate singular, dual and plural.

### 5. Causatives

Causatives in Anong are indicated through either prefixes or inflection of the verb root. In 1983, we collected a full set of examples showing causative marking in Anong through prefixation. The data were collected from a 70-year old Anong speaker by the name Wenjun Han. It is clear that the Anong system is

a remnant of causatives in Tibeto-Burman languages. However, in 1999 when we went back to double check on those forms, our informant already passed away. We found another Anong speaker as our informant, but this informant rejected all of the causative forms we collected from Wenjun Han. Further checking with other speakers reveal that some accepted the forms while others rejected them. And those who accepted those forms showed differences in the causative forms they provided. Clearly causative markings are disappearing in Anong. Those speakers who have it also showed sound differences. Although the differences correlate with age differences, they mirror the changes in causatives in Tibeto-Burman languages, and even to some extent, Sino-Tibetan languages. Therefore, we treated causatives as a special project to study this grammatical category in detail. (Note: There is a footnote referring the reader to Sun's article on this topic that came out in the sixth issue of *Minzu Yuwen* in 1998, the one that you used to write your paper.) Since we already described the causatives in elderly speakers' speech in the chapter on grammar, here we will only discuss the use of causatives in different age groups. [footnote: For further details, see Sun Hongkai "On the category of causative verbs in Tibeto-Burman," *Minzu Yuwen* 1998.1-11.]

TABLE 20. Simplex and causatives

gloss	verb	Fluency (A)	Fluency (B)
bury	lim <sup>55</sup>	ci <sup>31</sup> lim <sup>55</sup>	ɬim <sup>55</sup>
collapse	dim <sup>55</sup>	ci <sup>31</sup> dim <sup>55</sup>	ctim <sup>55</sup> (thim <sup>55</sup> )
cry	ŋu <sup>55</sup>	sɿ <sup>31</sup> ŋu <sup>55</sup>	ŋu <sup>55</sup>
cut off (stick)	dzuŋ <sup>55</sup>	ci <sup>31</sup> dzuŋ <sup>55</sup>	ctɕuŋ <sup>55</sup> (tɕhuŋ <sup>55</sup> )
know	ŋi <sup>55</sup>	ci <sup>31</sup> ŋi <sup>55</sup>	ŋi <sup>55</sup>
smash (bowl)	ga <sup>55</sup>	sɿ <sup>31</sup> ga <sup>55</sup>	hka <sup>55</sup> (kha <sup>55</sup> )
white	bɛ <sup>55</sup> ɛ <sup>31</sup>	sɿ <sup>31</sup> bɛ <sup>55</sup> ɛ <sup>31</sup>	hpɛ <sup>55</sup> (pɛ <sup>55</sup> ) ɛ <sup>31</sup>
wear (clothes)	gua <sup>55</sup>	du <sup>31</sup> gua <sup>55</sup>	gua <sup>55</sup>
flat	ɑ <sup>31</sup> dza <sup>31</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ɑ <sup>31</sup> dza <sup>31</sup>	ɑ <sup>31</sup> dza <sup>31</sup>
sour	m <sup>31</sup> tɕhu <sup>m</sup> <sup>55</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ɑm <sup>31</sup> tɕhu <sup>m</sup> <sup>55</sup>	m <sup>31</sup> tɕhu <sup>m</sup> <sup>55</sup>

Notes on the ten examples in the above table.

- (1) In Anong, causatives occur with not only verbs but adjectives (Note: Does Sun mean stative verbs here?) as well, illustrated by 'white', 'flat', and 'sour' in the table above.

- (2) The causative is marked by prefixation. The most frequently used prefix is  $s\gamma^{31}/\zeta i^{31}$ . Other prefixes used are  $du^{31}m$   $p^{h\omega^{31}}/p^{h\alpha^{31}}$ .  $s\gamma^{31}$  becomes  $\zeta i^{31}$  when it occurs before a palatal consonant followed by [ i ]. When  $p^{h\omega^{31}}$  occurs before verbs or adjectives that already have the prefix  $\alpha^{31}$ , then it becomes  $p^{h\alpha^{31}}$ , which is a combination of  $p^{h\omega^{31}}$  and  $\alpha^{31}$ . The frication of the consonants in these two forms of the causative marker is rather slight among elderly speakers' speech. They are hardly audible in middle-aged speakers' speech. This indicates that causatives are undergoing changes in Anong.
- (3) Some sound changes have occurred due to the pronunciation changes the causative prefixes have undergone. Fricatives have weakened to a slight puff of air resulting in the loss of the prefix as an independent syllable, which led to changes in the consonants in initial position of the verb or adjective root. Voiced consonant has become voiceless with aspiration while stops have disappeared altogether.

The differences shown in the speech of different age groups in Anong causatives provide good evidence for the ways and direction this grammatical category has been undergoing. It helps explain the various residual forms of causative markings among Tibeto-Burman languages, because the case in Anong is a link on the continuum of changes this grammatical category has been undergoing among Tibeto-Burman languages.

#### 6. Particles

Anong has a set of grammatical particles for marking possessive, causative, accusative, instrumental, locative, allative (ablative?), comparative, and definite. These particles fulfill very important grammatical functions, and the rules for their use are generally speaking quite strictly observed. However, in recent years, changes have occurred among speakers in different age groups with different levels of proficiency. Elderly speakers who are proficient still strictly follow the rules governing the use of those particles. Those who are younger and those who are not proficient no longer follow those rules strictly. See Table 21.

**TABLE 21. Grammatical forms**

type:	Fluency (A)	Fluency (B)	notes:
conjunctive:	$ni^{55}$ , $k^{h\alpha^{31}}$	$k^{h\alpha^{31}}$	basically not used
causative:	$mi^{53}$	$mi^{53}$	still in use
recipient:	$k^{h\alpha^{31}}$ , $ba^{31}$	$ba^{31}$	basically not used
instrumental:	$mi^{55}$	$mi^{55}$	basically not used

TABLE 21. Grammatical forms

temporal:	t <sup>h</sup> ɑ <sup>35</sup>	---	not used
locative:	duŋ <sup>55</sup> k <sup>h</sup> ɑ <sup>31</sup> , t <sup>h</sup> ɑŋ <sup>55</sup> , p <sup>h</sup> ɑŋ <sup>33</sup>	---	not used; use points of compass
source:	k <sup>h</sup> uŋ <sup>31</sup> ne <sup>55</sup> , ne <sup>55</sup>	ne <sup>55</sup>	only use ne <sup>55</sup>
comparative:	t <sup>h</sup> ɑŋ <sup>55</sup> ɑ <sup>31</sup> , p <sup>h</sup> ɑŋ <sup>33</sup> ɑ <sup>31</sup>	t <sup>h</sup> ɑŋ <sup>55</sup> ɑ <sup>31</sup>	basically not used
continuative:	ŋɛ <sup>31</sup> ŋɛŋ <sup>31</sup> , tɑ <sup>55</sup> tɪ <sup>55</sup>	---	not used
comitative	zɑŋ <sup>31</sup>	---	not used
definite:	ŋu <sup>31</sup> , ɑ <sup>31</sup>	ŋu <sup>31</sup> , ɑ <sup>31</sup>	used more often
adverbializer:	li <sup>31</sup> , ʃŋ <sup>31</sup> , uɑ <sup>33</sup> , uɑ <sup>33</sup> li <sup>31</sup>	uɑ <sup>33</sup>	only use uɑ <sup>33</sup>

The possessive particle is only used when the possessee is omitted. The description ‘usually not used’ means sometimes it is used and sometimes it is not used, or some speakers use it while others don’t. Among the elderly speakers, a difference is made in comparison, namely, superior comparison and inferior comparison. For instance, in ‘I am older than you’ the superior comparative form is used and in ‘I am younger than you’ the inferior comparative form is used. However, most speakers no longer make this distinction, including Level A speakers. Sometimes, even when it is used, only the superior comparative form is used. The definite particle is used more often among Level B speakers than Level A speakers, showing a tendency of replacing other particles.

### 7. The Copula

Among Tibeto-Burman languages, especially those with rich morphology, the copula verb can not be omitted in copula constructions. And the copula verb undergoes various morphological processes marking various grammatical functions, such as person, number, aspect, and voice. However, those languages that are not rich in morphology allow omission of the copula verb. Anong is somewhere in between. In Level A speakers’ speech, the copula is still required, and the copula inflects for negation. Among Level B speakers, the copula is usually omitted in affirmative sentences. In negative sentences, the copula is required, but its morphological inflection has disappeared. The following two sentences illustrate these differences.

Level A speaker:

ŋɑ<sup>31</sup> hẽ<sup>31</sup> tʃhŋ<sup>55</sup> iɛ<sup>33</sup>me<sup>53</sup>?  
you Han be Q

‘Are you Han?’

$\alpha^{31}\text{io}^{31}$   $\alpha^{55}$      $\text{m}^{31}\text{z}\eta^{55}$ ,  $\alpha^{31}\text{io}^{31}$   $\alpha^{55}$      $\alpha^{31}\text{nu}\eta^{31}\text{t}\xi\eta^{55}$   $\text{ie}^{33}$   
 I    Def.Part. Neg.be    I    Def.Part.    Nu    be  
 ‘I am not, I am Nu.’

Level B speaker:

$\eta\alpha^{31}$      $\text{h}\tilde{\epsilon}^{31}\text{t}\xi\text{h}\eta^{55}$      $\text{m}\epsilon^{53}?$   
 you    Han    Q  
 ‘Are you Han?’

$\alpha^{31}\text{io}^{31}$   $\alpha^{55}$      $\text{m}^{31}\text{z}\eta^{55}$ ,  $\alpha^{31}\text{io}^{31}$   $\alpha^{55}$      $\alpha^{31}\text{nu}\eta^{31}\text{t}\xi\eta^{55}$   
 I    Def.Part. Neg.be    I    Def.Part. Nu  
 ‘I am not; I am Nu.’

Clearly, in the Level A speaker’s speech, the copula  $\text{z}\eta^{55}$  is made up of the root  $\text{z}\eta^{55}$  and the first person singular marker  $\eta$ . As a contrast, in the Level B speaker’s speech, the first person singular marker is no longer used.

## 8. Stories and Texts

Anong has a rich oral literature tradition, including myths, epic stories, legends, congratulatory speeches, and ancient songs. However, very few elderly speakers still remember them. When collecting texts, we discovered that very few elderly speakers have the ability to tell stories eloquently using expressive language with moving plots and good coherence. They often use vivid expressions such as four-syllable rhyming constructions, idioms and sayings, and couplet sentences. Even those who are still proficient do not necessarily have the ability to tell stories. Some can tell stories to some extent using simplistic language with incoherence and poor plots. Most Anong speakers can no longer tell stories.

It should be pointed out that the differences between different age groups and different proficiency level speakers are more extensive than we depicted here. We have only discussed the most transparent cases. More subtle differences in lexicon, phonological and grammatical structures will be discussed in later studies.

