



儿童节期间，开展“德楼”（下棋）比赛活动。

Children play *Disa*, a chess-type game.

(11) 生产生活经验

种水稻，关键的一环是按时节泡谷种，按田地温差及气候转换插秧。壮族先民，在不同地区种植水稻，首要的任务就是长期观察特定地域的各类植物，寻找其中一种与稻谷生长规律接近的物候参照物，确定了物候参照物，一代接一代，按特定物候参照物耕作水稻。这就是传统物候学的实践与应用。这种传统物候学的实践与应用，使稻作农业历经数千年在不同的地区得到承传和发展。

(11.) Agricultural Production Experience

Essential to rice paddy agriculture is the soaking of the fields at the proper time and the transplanting of the seedlings at just the right time according to weather and temperature conditions. The ancestors of the Zhuang, planting rice paddies in different areas, had as their most important responsibility the task of carefully studying the characteristics of each location and plant variety. They sought other plant species that could best indicate the most advantageous times for paddy flooding and transplanting each year, and passed down their knowledge to the next generation. This type of traditional phenomenology (study of observed phenomena) increased the riziculture experience of the Zhuang throughout the millennia in various different locations.



U-a. 稻作物候学 Rice Paddy Agricultural Knowledge



砚山县壮族布傣支系，每年开春时节，将种稻物候参照树插在稻田里履行祭祀，举行开耕仪式。

Every year at the start of Spring, before plowing the rice paddies, Yanshan County's Bu Dai Zhuang offer sacrifices to a "reference" tree that has been planted in the rice paddy.

广南县拖同壮族看到此树的果子成熟，开始泡稻种育苗秧。

The Zhuang of Tuodong Village in Guangnan County observe the ripening of the fruit of this tree to determine the time to flood their paddies and the prepare the rice seedlings.



富宁县上腊村壮族看到此树发芽长新叶，开始泡稻种育苗秧。

Zhuang in Funing County's Shangla Village wait until they see new leaves on this tree to flood their fields and germinate their rice seedlings.

广南县那贝村壮族看到此树发芽长新叶，开始泡稻种育苗秧。

The Zhuang of Guangnan County's Nabei Village observe the timing of the new foliage of this tree to determine when to flood their fields and begin their rice seedlings.



3. 自然遗产

据苑利著《文化遗产报告》论述：“人类遗产可分为文化遗产与自然遗产两大部分……人们习惯上将自然遗产直接纳入文化遗产保护范畴，作为文化遗产的一部分加以保护。”列入《世界遗产名录》^⑤中的自然遗产项目必须符合下列一项或几项标准：“1.构成代表地球演化史中重要阶段的突出特征；2.构成代表进行中的重要地质过程、生物演化过程以及人类与自然环境相互关系的突出例证；3.独特、稀有或绝妙的自然现象、地貌或具有罕见自然美的地带；4.尚存的珍稀或濒危动植物物种的栖息地。”^⑥

按上述标准，云南省文山州广南县的小理松、小理现有十万二千多亩山林，其中生存着十余万棵的树蕨，古生物数量之多，可以堪称世界之最，属于“尚存的珍稀或濒危动植物物种的栖息地。”应该纳入文化遗产保护范畴。

在云南省文山州，每个壮族村落的壮族先民，都将太阳神、布洛陀神、风神、社稷神等封在村落四周的古树林木上，年逢开春，全族履行祭祀。此俗源于先民的生态观：有森林才有水、有水才能种水稻、有水稻才能维系人类繁衍、人类要保护森林。壮族先民为人与自然的和谐发展，以原始宗教的自然崇拜来保护古树林木，保护水资源，至今仍传承着祭祀古树和水源的宗教活动。西畴县摩索村壮族保护下来的一棵“棚处”古树，胸径有688厘米，树冠覆盖地面2000多平方米，是今云南省最大的一棵树，属于“构成代表进行中的重要地质过程、生物演化过程以及人类与自然环境相互关系的突出例证。”应该纳入文化遗产保护范畴。

在云南省文山州的丘北县，有165平方公里的喀斯特高原湿地，其间有312座孤峰星罗棋布，83个溶洞千姿百态，54个湖泊相连贯通，水质清澈透明，堪称中国最大的高原湿地植物园，属于“独特、稀有或绝妙的自然现象、地貌或具有罕见自然美的地带。”应该纳入文化遗产保护范畴。

(1) 桫欏树

云南省广南县与广西接壤的小理松、小理现周围，有十万二千多亩山林，其间有十余万棵桫欏树，此树集中生长在那片山箐，最高的达20米，属实罕见。桫欏树亦称树蕨，生于林下或溪边荫地，茎柱状，直立，一般高3至8米，叶柄与叶轴暗紫色，叶片长1至3米，三回羽状分裂。桫欏树是当今地球上植物群落中最古老的成员，可能是白垩纪就有的植物，被称为“活化石”。在中国被视为国宝，位列国家八种一级保护植物之首。



3. Natural Heritage

According to Gu Jun and Yuan Li's book *Wenhua Yichan Bagao* (Cultural Heritage Report), "Human heritage can be divided into two types: cultural heritage and natural heritage...it is the usual practice to incorporate natural heritage within the realm of protected cultural heritage, to treat it as a part of the cultural heritage to be protected." In order to be registered on the "World Heritage List"⁵ an item must meet one or more of the following requirements:

• "Be an outstanding example representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms."

• "Be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment."

• "Contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance."

• "Contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation."⁶

According to the above criteria, the mountainous forest surrounding Xiao Li Song and Xiao Li villages in Guangnan County, made up of more than 100,000 ferns, possibly the oldest of ancient plants, covering more than 68 square kilometers (26 square miles or 102,000 Chinese *mu*), can be said to be among "the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value," and ought to be protected as a heritage site.

The ancestors of the residents of each Zhuang village in Wenshan Prefecture all believed the sun deity, the deity named Buloakdvo, the wind deity, and the country (*sheji*) deity to be sealed within the trees of the ancient forest surrounding the village on all sides. Every year at the start of Spring the entire ethnic group would make sacrifices. This custom originates in the worldview of the ancestors: if there is forest, then there is water; if there is water, then one can plant the rice paddies; if there are rice paddies, then the people can multiply; so humanity should protect the forest. The harmonious relationship between the Zhuang ancestors and nature resulted from the nature worship of their primeval religion. This religion encouraged them to protect forests and water

sources. Even today, religious animal sacrifices to the forest and water sources continue. A *mæxæu* (banyan) tree in Xichou County's Mosuo Village, whose trunk is 688 cm (25 feet 7 inches) wide and whose canopy covers an area of more than 2,000 square meters (21,500 square feet), is believed to be the largest living tree in Yunnan province today. It certainly is one of the "outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life" as well as reflecting "human interaction with the environment." This too should be included within the realm of protected cultural heritage.

Wenshan Prefecture's Qiubei County has a karst plateau wetland area stretching over 165 square kilometers (64 square miles), among which are scattered 312 different lone karst peaks, 83 caves of every size and shape formed by water erosion, 52 lakes connected to each other, filled with sparkling, pure water. This area, which has been called China's largest high plateau wetlands arboretum, certainly "contains superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance" and also deserves to be considered protected cultural heritage.

(1) Spinulose Tree Ferns

The mountain forest of Xiao Li Song and Xiao Li is located in the area where Yunnan's Guangan County touches Guangxi Region, and contains more than 100,000 specimens of the spinulose tree fern (*Cyathea spinulosa*), spread over an area of 68 square kilometers (26 square miles). This rarely seen, mountain-hugging fern, which can grow to 20 meters (60 feet) in height, grows in the shade of the forest and along streams. Its stalk grows strong and straight up, usually between 5 to 8 meters (15 to 26 feet) high. The branches and veins of the fronds are a deep purple; the branches grow to 1 to 3 meters (3 to 10 feet) long, dividing into a number of feathery fronds. Tree ferns are believed to be the most ancient plants currently still living on earth, dated by some scientists to the Cretaceous Period, and thus have been called "living fossils." This fern is considered to be a national treasure in China, and is the first of eight species listed as a level one nationally protected plant species.



杉栲树亦称树蕨，生于林下或溪边荫地，茎柱状，直立，一般高3至8米，叶柄与叶轴暗紫色，叶片长1至3米，三回羽状分裂。

The spinulose fern (*Cyathea spinulosa*), also known as tree brackenfern, grows under the cover of the forest or in shady spots along rivers.

(2) 榕树

云南省西畴县摩索村壮族保护下来的一棵榕树（壮语称“楣处”），胸径有688厘米，树冠覆盖地面2000多平方米，是今云南省最大的一棵树。

西畴县摩索村的这棵大榕树，壮族先民封它为神树，壮语称“楣处”，每年村民都要聚族人履行祭祀活动。

Mosuo Village's giant banyan tree, known as *maexu* in Nong Zhuang, was considered sacred by the ancestors of the Zhuang. Each year Zhuang villagers conduct sacrifice ceremonies to the tree.



(3) 喀斯特高原湿地

云南省丘北县普者黑湿地，总面积为165平方千米，平均水深4米，最深处30米，蓄水1300万立方米。湿地以喀斯特峰群、湖群、洞群、峡谷为主，共有大小湖泊60余个，280余座孤峰，240余个溶洞。该湿地以山、水、洞为一体，湖边青山滴翠，古树郁葱，湖中青荷飘香，芦花轻舞。溶洞与溶洞相连，水与水相通，洞内钟乳石千姿百态。普者黑湿地，集喀斯特地貌秀、奇、古、幽的特点，是云贵高原罕见的独一无二的山水田园风光。1993年被云南省人民政府批准为省级风景名胜胜区。1996年被评为省级旅游区，2001年被国家旅游局评为国家AAA级旅游区。

(2) The Long Tree

The Zhuang of Xichou County's Mosuo Village have protected a banyan tree (known in the Nong Zhuang language as *mæxœu*). This tree, believed to be the largest in Yunnan province, has a trunk 688 centimeters (22 feet 7 inches) in diameter and a canopy that covers an area of 2,000 square meters (21,500 square feet).

(3) Puzhehei Karst Plateau Wetlands

Yunnan Province's Puzhehei wetlands cover 165 square kilometers (64 square miles). The various ponds and waterways in the area store a total of 13,000,000 cubic meters (3.4 billion gallons or 10,540 acre feet) at an average water depth of about four meters (13 feet), with the deepest spot reaching a depth of 30 meters (98 feet). The area is dotted with karst peaks, lakes, caves, and ravines; altogether there are more than 60 small ponds, 280 peaks, and 240 water-formed caves. The ponds among the mountains glimmer like drops of green jade, the ancient trees behind form a dense green backdrop, fragrant green lotus floats in the ponds, and the rushes dance gracefully in the breeze. One cave connects to another, and each waterway flows into another pond. Rock formations of every size and shape can be found within the many caves. The Puzhehei wetlands, with its Karst landscape—elegant, strange, ancient, secluded—are a rarely seen natural marvel of the Yunnan-Guizhou Plateau. In 1993 Puzhehei was approved by the Yunnan Province People's Government as a provincial level scenic park, and in 1996 it was approved as a provincial level tourism area. In 2001 Puzhehei was chosen by the Chinese National Tourism Bureau as an AAA level tourism area.

丘北县普者黑湿地以喀斯特峰群、湖群、洞群、峡谷为主。

Qiubei County's Puzhehei wetlands are dotted with karst peaks, lakes, caves and valleys.





普者黑湿地，种植万亩荷花，集喀斯特地貌秀、奇、古、幽的特点，是云贵高原罕见的独一无二的山水田园风光。

Puzhehei is covered with thousands of lotus plants, which, together with the karst rock formations, create a strange, ancient, secluded and quiet landscape—a unique scenic park on the Yunnan-Guizhou plateau.

① 见联合国教科文组织有关有形文化遗产英文网页。See the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) website on Tangible Cultural Heritage: http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=2187&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

② 见联合国教科文组织有关可移动文化遗产英文网页。See the UNESCO website on Movable Cultural Heritage: portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=35031&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html.

③ 见联合国教科文组织有关文化英文网页。Available online at: <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php.pg=00006>.

④ 北京：社会科学文献出版社，2005年。Beijing: Social Science Documents Press, 2005.

⑤ 见联合国教科文组织英文网页。Available online at: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/>.

⑥ 参《世界文化遗产公约执行指导》(WHC 08/01 2008年1月份)英文文档，下载网址<http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide08-en.pdf>。From “Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention” (WHC. 08/01 January 2008), available online at: <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide08-en.pdf>

四、云南省文山州壮语研究

1. 云南壮族方言群

许多聚居于文山壮族苗族自治州的壮族人虽然熟练使用汉语，他们大部分人的母语却是壮族方言群中的其中一个本地语言。云南省壮族人所操的各种壮族母语虽然有着亲缘关系，它们并不一定相通。在云南省，使用人口最多的壮语方言是依话—操依话的人把他们的母语称为“考依”—语言学者则把依话划为壮语南部方言砚广土语，以砚山县和广南县两个拥有最多操依话的壮族人的地方为名。除了依话以外，其它在文山能听到的主要壮语方言包括布依话（壮语北部方言桂边土语）、邱北布依话（壮语北部方言邱北土语）和布岱话（壮语南部方言文马/麻土语）。少数壮族人也说央话（壮语南部方言德靖土语）、龙州/龙音话（壮语南部方言左江土语）、隆安话（壮语南部方言邕南土语）、莫民话、布央语东部方言峨马土语、布央语东部方言郎念土语、布央语西部方言巴哈土语与拉基语。

2. 过去研究发表

过去五十年里，几位华裔语言学者就曾研究过壮族方言群。这些研究发表为本文提供了许多宝贵资料。基于篇幅有限，我们不能在此列举过去所有研究发表的细节，只会提及几份最具代表性的研究发表供有兴趣的读者参考。

美国籍华裔语言学家李方桂教授就他多年对壮语及其它语言的研究，在1977年发表了她的代表作：《台语比较手册》^①这本书虽然没有包括依壮语或岱壮语的资料，却有文山州的富宁县剥隘镇布依壮语的语料。在五十年代，中国社会科学院的一批语言学家及其它政府研究部门对广西和云南的壮族方言群展开了重大的研究。这份研究包括了云南壮族方言群中的四大方言：壮语南部方言砚广土语（依壮）、壮语北部方言桂边土语（桂边布依壮）、壮语北部方言邱北土语（邱北布依壮）和壮语南部方言文马（麻）土语（岱壮）。其中一些研究结论分别收录于颜上月（1959）的《壮语方言土语音系》^②；韦庆稳和覃国生（1980）合著的《壮语简志》及王均（1984）的《壮侗语族语言简志》^③。1999年，由张均如、梁敏、欧阳觉亚、郑贻青、李旭练及谢健猷合编的《壮语方言研究》^④的出版为壮语研究增添了新的语料和分析。李锦芳亦发表了一册《布央语研究》^⑤，总结了他在广南和富宁县少数操布央语壮族人中所作的研究。



IV. Wenshan Zhuang Language Research

1. The Zhuang Languages of Yunnan

Though many Zhuang nationality people in Wenshan Prefecture can speak Chinese functionally or fluently, the majority of Zhuang people speak a Zhuang language as their mother tongue. Though all the mother tongue languages spoken by Zhuang people in Yunnan are related to each other, they are not all mutually intelligible. The largest of the Zhuang languages in Yunnan is known as “Nong” or “Kau Nong” to the Zhuang people who speak it, and known to Chinese linguists as Yan-Guang Southern Zhuang, named for Yanshan and Guangnan Counties which have the largest number of speakers. In addition to Nong, the other major Zhuang languages (or dialects) spoken in Wenshan include Yei Zhuang (Guibian Northern Zhuang), Qiubei Northern Zhuang, and Dai Zhuang (Wen-Ma Southern Zhuang). Smaller groups of Zhuang also speak the Yang Zhuang (De-Jing Southern Zhuang), Zuojiang Southern Zhuang, Yongnan Southern Zhuang, Min Zhuang, E'ma Buyang, Langnian Buyang, Baha Buyang, and Laji.

2. Previous Research

A number of Chinese linguists have researched the Zhuang language family during the past fifty years. Though we do not have space here to detail all of the previous research from which the present brief overview has benefited, we will highlight a few of the most significant points for interested readers' future study.

The Chinese-American linguist Li Fangkuei (李方桂) researched the Zhuang and other languages for many years and in 1977 published his landmark book: *A Handbook*



世界少数民族语文研究院研究者康蔼德(英)与笔者江子扬在砚山县夸溪村记录俚壮语。

SIL researchers Andy Castro and Eric Johnson record a Nong Zhuang story in Kuaxi Village, Yanshan County.

除了上述提及的语言学出版物,还有一些针对壮族和文山县其它民族的出版物。最近出版的一些相关出版物有:何正廷的《云南壮族》画册^⑥、戴光禄的《壮族文化》^⑦、《文山州壮族传统文化》^⑧、《文山壮族苗族自治州民族志》^⑨、戴光禄和何正廷合著的《勐僚西尼故·壮族文化概览》^⑩、《云南省文山州少数民族口传非物质文化遗产丛书(壮族卷)》^⑪、黄昌礼和王明富含著的《八宝风情与传说》^⑫、由何正廷主编,陆宝成副编和蒙斯牧副主编的《壮族经诗译注》^⑬及吕正元和农览生合著的《富宁县民族志》^⑭。

3. 台语支的壮语方言群

除了布央语东部方言峨马土语、布央语东部方言郎念土语、布央语西部方言巴哈土语和拉基语之外,云南省所有有记录的壮族方言和土语都被归类为侗台语族的台语支(或称为“壮侗语族的壮傣语支”)。在1977年,李方桂建议按照这些方言在语音特征上历来演变出来的差别,把这语支划分为三个方言群:台语支北部分支、台语支中部分支和台语支西南部分支。根据李方桂的划分,依语、布岱壮、民壮、央壮、左江壮和邕南壮连同越南北部的几个语言均属于台语支中部分支。中部分支在语音历史发展上有几样独特之处,有别于台语支北部分支。其中一项是台语支中部分支有送气的辅音,这在台语支北部分支的语音演变过程中已消失。这些台语支中部分支的语言亦被称为壮语南方方言群,归类如下:

侗台语族—台语支—中部分支^⑮

另一方面,在广南县北部和富宁县(并大部分在广西西边的县)广泛操用的东部、西部布依话(壮语北方方言桂边土语、壮语北方方言邱北土语)均被归类为台语支北部分支。这些语言,将其他在广西的壮族及贵州的布依族所操的一些土语被归类如下:

侗台语族—台语支—北部分支^⑯

4. 壮族的央标方言群语言

至于云南壮族人所操的非台语支语言包括了布央语东部方言峨马土语、布央语东部方言郎念土语、布央语西部方言巴哈土语与拉基语。这些语言表面上虽然看似与台语支的各个壮语一样属于侗台语族,实际上,它们与台语支的壮语方言群有相当的差别。李锦芳在他的布央语方言研究中(根据他的分析,这些土语并不相通)建议把这四种方言,并广西那坡县的布央语东部方言雅郎土语(亦称为铁



of *Comparative Tai*.^① While this book did not include data from Nong or Dai Zhuang, it did include data from a Yei Zhuang dialect spoken in Bo'ai Township of Funing County, in the east of Wenshan Prefecture. During the 1950s, linguists from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and other government research bureaus did important research into both Guangxi and Yunnan's Zhuang languages. Included in their research were the four largest Yunnan Zhuang languages: Yan-Guang Southern Zhuang (Nong Zhuang), Guibian Northern Zhuang (Guibian Yei Zhuang), Qiubei Northern Zhuang (Qiubei Yei Zhuang), and Wen-Ma Southern Zhuang (Dai Zhuang). Some of their findings were published in Yan Shangyue's (颜上月) 1959 work, *Zhuangyu Fangyan Tuyu Yinxi* [*Phonologies of Zhuang Dialects and Subdialects* 《壮语方言土语音系》],^② Wei Qingwen (韦庆稳) and Qin Guosheng's (覃国生) 1980 work, *Zhuangyu Jianzhi* [*Brief Overview of the Zhuang Language* 《壮语简志》], and Wang Jun's (王均) 1984 compilation *Zhuang-Dong Yuzu Yuyan Jianzhi* [*A Brief Overview of the Tai Languages* 《壮侬语族语言简志》]^③. A large work on the Zhuang languages that added new research and analysis to the previous works was published in 1999: *Zhuangyu Fangyan Yanjiu* [*Zhuang Dialect Research* 《庄字方言研究》], edited by six linguists: Zhang Junru (张均如), Liang Min (梁敏), Ouyang Jueya (欧阳觉亚), Zheng Yiqing (郑贻青), Li Xulian (李旭练), and Xie Jianyou (谢健猷)^④. Li Jinfang (李锦芳) has published a volume entitled *Buyang Yu Yanjiu* [*Buyang Language Research* 《布央语研究》]^⑤ summarizing his research into the Buyang languages spoken by a small number of Zhuang nationality people in Guangnan and Funing Counties.

In addition to these important linguistic works, there have been a number of important works on the Zhuang and other ethnic groups of Wenshan Prefecture. Some recent publications of this type include: He Zhengting's (何正廷) *Yunnan Zhuangzu Huace* [*Yunnan Zhuang Nationality: Picture Book* 《云南壮族: 画册》]^⑥, *Zhuangzu Wenhua* [*The Culture of the Zhuang* 《壮族文化》] by Dai Guanglu (戴光禄)^⑦, *Wenshan Zhou Zhuang Zu Chuantong Wenhua* [*Wenshan Prefecture Zhuang Nationality Traditional Culture*, 《文山州壮族传统文化》]^⑧, *Wenshan Zhuangzu Miao zu Zizhi Zhou Minzu Zhi* [*The Gazetteer of Wenshan Zhuang & Miao Autonomous Prefecture's Ethnic Groups*, 《文山壮族苗族自治州民族志》]^⑨, "Meng Lao Ship Ni Gu": *The General Introduction to the Culture of the Zhuang People* by Dai Guanglu (戴光禄) and He Zhengting (何正廷)^⑩, *Yunnan Sheng Wenshan Zhou Shaoshu Minzu Kouchuan Feiwuzhi Wenhua Yichan Congshu (Zhuangzu Juan)* [*Minority Oral Intangible Cultural Heritage of Yunnan Province's Wenshan Prefecture Series (Zhuang Volume)*, 《云南省

瑶、班瑶、土瑶、六瑶),和在越南北部和文山县麻栗坡属于彝族的普标语,一种濒危语言、(或称卡标、拉卡)归类为“央标语支”。这语支因而便与仡佬语源自同一语族:

侗台语族—仡央语群—央标语支^②

5.其他民族人民所操台语支的语言

除了广西和广东其他壮族台语支的语言及贵州和云南的布依族的台语支的语言之外,与文山州的壮族语言亲缘关系最接近的语言要属于于越南北部的依族、岱族、山高族和热依族所操的语言。操这些语言的人口超过两百万。他们大部分操台语支中部分支的语言。

在国内,虽然李方桂把傣族方言归类在台语支西南部分支,与泰国的泰语,寮国的老挝语和缅甸的掸语同属一分支,其实傣族人所操的方言也与壮族方言有亲缘关系。在文山州境就有超过1万5千名傣族人,主要分布在马关、文山和麻栗坡县。文山州傣族方言(也称黑傣)被分类在红金方言之下,与德宏傣语和西双版纳傣语并不完全相通。^③

比起北壮(台语支北部分支)语言群,南壮(台语支中部分支)语言群与原始台语更改差别比较少,也因此与其他台语支语言,如泰语、傣语和老挝语更相近。但小乘佛教在泰语、老挝语和大部分的傣族方言的影响深远,相反地,壮族方言并没有受到这种佛教太大的影响,因此壮族方言在词汇及其他方面与这些方言有显著的不同。泰语、老挝语和大部分中国傣族人所操的方言词汇容纳了古梵文和印度巴利语的借词,并受孟-高棉语族和藏缅语族的影响。相反地,壮族的借词通常源自汉语。



研究者康蕩德与笔者江子扬在广南县者兔乡采访两位乡上的领导。

Andy Castro and author Eric Johnson interviewing two officials in Zhetu District, Guangnan County.



文山州少数民族口传非物质文化遗产丛书(壮族卷)]¹⁰, *Babao Fengqing yu Chuanshou* [*Babao Customs and Legends* 《八宝风情与传说》] by Huang Changli (黄昌礼) and Wang Mingfu (王明富)¹¹, *Zhuangzu Jingshi Yizhu* [*Annotated Translations of Zhuang Epic Poetry*, 《壮族经诗译注》], by He Zhengting (何正廷), Lu Baocheng (陆宝成), and Meng Simu (蒙斯牧)¹², and *Funing Xian Minzu Zhi* [*Funing County Nationalities Almanac* 《富宁县民族志》] by Lu Zhengyuan (吕正元) and Nong Lansheng (农览生)¹³.

3. The Taic Zhuang Languages

With the exception of E'ma Buyang, Langnian Buyang, Baha Buyang and Laji, all the documented languages and dialects spoken by the Zhuang of Yunnan have been classified as belonging to the Tai (Zhuang-Dai) branch of the Tai-Kadai (Zhuang-Dong) language group. In 1977, Li Fangkuei proposed three divisions of this group which he called "Northern Tai," "Central Tai," and "Southwestern Tai," primarily based on phonological evidence for an historic split between these divisions. Following Li's classification, the Nong, Dai, Min, Yang, Zuojiang, and Yongnan Zhuang languages have been classified as belonging to the Central division, along with several languages of Northern Vietnam. While there are a number of historical phonological innovations which characterize this group, in contrast to the northern division, the Central Tai Zhuang languages are easily identified by their aspirated consonants, which are have disappeared in the Zhuang languages belonging to the Northern Tai division. These Central Tai Zhuang languages, also known as "Southern Zhuang," have been classified as follows:

Tai-Kadai, Kam-Tai, Be-Tai, Tai-Sek, Tai, Central¹⁴

On the other hand, the Guibian Zhuang language (Yei) spoken in northern Guangan County and most of Funing County (as well as several counties in western Guangxi) and the Quibei Northern Zhuang language are classified as belonging to the Northern division of Tai. These languages, along with a number of other languages spoken by Zhuang in Guangxi and Bouyei in Guizhou province, have been classified thus:

Tai-Kadai, Kam-Tai, Be-Tai, Tai-Sek, Tai, Northern¹⁵

4. The Yang-Biao Zhuang Languages

The non-Taic languages spoken by Yunnan Zhuang people include E'ma Buyang,

6. 文山壮族三大支系及其语言

一直以来，上述提及的各种方言群族不曾视自己和其他操用有亲缘关系语言的语族为同一族。其他在文山县居住的汉族、苗族、彝族、瑶族或回族人也不把他们归纳为一族。在五十年代之前，记录显示现在被视为壮族的山文人在那时其实被视为属于三个不同的支系，其汉语名称为：依、土僚和沙。一直到五十年代，在云南省文山州最东面的富宁县的主要人口乃是壮族。在富宁县，虽然大部分的壮族人属于北壮方言群，在省内其他地方俗称为“沙”，那里还有许多人口比较少的壮民族分支。他们大部分是在明清时代由广西各地移民过来的壮民族。这些民族通常以他们广西的来源地（例如“天保”、“龙安”）或壮名字为他们的族名（例如“布雄”、“莫民”）。

超过90%的云南壮族人属于云南壮族三大支系其中一族：依、依(沙)和岱(土僚)。这三大支系所操的语言历史相近，但在发音上却有很大的差别，词汇和文法也有所不同。这些差别可能是基于中国历史上内部的迁移——虽然壮族人是文山州的原住民，一些在文山的壮族支系却是比较近期才从广西迁移过来。以下的图表总结了壮族三大支系所操的语言及他们所在的地理位置：

文山县的居民普遍根据妇女的传统头饰把岱壮划分为四：搭头土、平头土、尖头土和偏头土。这些名字反映了各岱壮族的地理位置。根据我们语言学的研究，它们并不代表这些支系在语言上有显著的差别。从岱壮人本身的说法并收集所得的语料，这散布各地的岱壮族群全源自文山县北部的一个地区，并继续彼此有所来往。因此，他们的土语非常接近，沟通不成问题。

依壮人也散布在广大地区，并有不同的传统服装。虽然这些依壮分支比岱壮在语言上有更多差别，但是许多分支的名称是根据服装特色而被命名的，并没有怎样反映他们语言上的差别。

研究者康蔼德与笔者江子扬在广南县那贝村测验壮语方言理解力水平。

Andy Castro and author Eric Johnson testing Nong Zhuang dialect comprehension in Nabei Village in Guangnan County.





Langnian Buyang, Baha Buyang, and Laji. Though these languages do seem to belong to the Tai-Kadai cluster, they are quite different from the Taic Zhuang languages. Li Jinfang has researched the Buyang languages (which, according to him, are mutually unintelligible) and proposes grouping these four languages together with Yalang Buyang (also known as Yerong Yao) of Napo county, Guangxi, and Qabiao (Pubiao, Laqua), an endangered language spoken in Northern Vietnam and Wenshan Prefecture's Malipo County by people classified as Yi, into a group he calls "Yang-Biao," which itself then would share a common origin with the Gelao languages:

Tai-Kadai (Dong-Tai), Ge-Yang, Yang-Biao¹⁷

5. Taic Languages Spoken by Non-Zhuang Nationality Peoples

The closest linguistic relatives of the Taic Zhuang languages of Wenshan, besides the other Zhuang languages of Guangxi and Guangdong, and the Bouyei languages of Guizhou and Yunnan, are the languages spoken by the Nung, Tày, San Chay and Giay nationalities in Northern Vietnam. There are over two million speakers of these languages, most of them speaking Central Taic varieties.

Within China, the languages spoken by the Dai nationality are also linguistically related to the Zhuang languages, though Li Fangkuei classified the Dai languages in a southwestern branch of Tai, along with Thai of Thailand, Laotian of Laos and Shan of Myanmar. Within Wenshan Prefecture there are over 15,000 Dai nationality people, primarily in Maguan, Wenshan and Malipo Counties. The Wenshan Dai dialect, also known as Tai Dam or "Black Dai" has been classified as belonging to the Hongjin Dai language, probably not fully intelligible with the Tai Nua (Dehong Dai) and Tai Lü (Xishuangbanna Dai).¹⁸

The Southern Zhuang (Central Taic) languages are considered less altered from their proto-Tai roots than are the Northern Zhuang (Northern Taic) languages, and thus more similar to other Tai languages, such as Thai, Dai and Lao. However there are significant lexical and other differences between the Zhuang languages and Thai, Laotian and most of the Dai languages due to the heavy influence that Theravada Buddhism has had on these languages, whereas Zhuang languages have not been heavily influenced by this form of Buddhism. Thai, Laotian and most of the languages spoken by the Dai nationality of China have numerous loanwords from the ancient Sanskrit and Pali languages of India, as well as influence from the Mon-Khmer and Tibeto-Burman languages, whereas loanwords in Zhuang are usually from Chinese.

笔者江子扬与世界少数民族语文研究院研究者康蔼德、范秀琳(美)在砚山县者腊街坐马车前往夸溪村。

Author Eric Johnson with SIL researchers Andy Castro and Cathryn Yang riding a horse cart in Yanshan County's Zhela District.



侬壮是云南省最大的壮族群，人口约55万，主要分布在广南县中南部（尤其是者兔乡、那伦乡、莲城镇、旧莫乡、那洒镇、珠琳镇、五珠乡、珠街镇和南部阿科乡和城镇地区），砚山县（尤其是者腊乡、蚌峨乡、干河乡、阿猛镇、江那镇、盘龙乡等城镇地区），和文山县（尤其是秉烈乡、马塘镇、老回龙镇等城镇地区）。一小部分住在其余的五个县中：马关、西畴、麻栗坡、富宁和邱北。

7. 云南壮族方言群词汇之异同

在所有的壮台语支方言群中，北壮台语和南壮台语大部分的常用词汇都是同源，从同样的原始壮台词汇演变而成。以下的图表提供了云南壮台语支方言群中同源词汇的百分比。我们在此也包括了几个广西壮语方言作比较，但没有包括近期源自汉语外来词的数据。这数据是根据《壮语方言研究》的语料计算而成。^⑩

这些统计数目除了清楚显示这些方言拥有同样的历史渊源以外，它们也特出了壮族方言主要基本词汇的多元化。例如，文山县的岱壮方言只有最多三分之二的主要基本词汇是与其他壮族方言的主要基本词汇同根。这表示岱壮方言群与其他壮族方言的分裂可能追溯到远古时期。比起其他的壮族方言，岱壮方言群受周围语言的影响更大。

有些在壮族方言三大支系下看似是“相似”的字，即同源字，其实它们的发音各有不同。以下的图表展示了一系列的字例。它们在三大支系中均为同源字，但在发音上有所差别：



6. The Three Main Zhuang Ethnic Groups in Wenshan and their Languages

The speakers of the various languages and dialects described above have not historically seen themselves as a single nationality, nor been seen that way by the surrounding Han, Miao, Yi, Yao or Hui Chinese who also live in the Wenshan area. Prior to the 1950s, records show that the Wenshan Prefecture people groups now classified in the Zhuang nationality were recognized as three different ethnic groups: the Nong, the Tuliao and the Sha, as they were known in Chinese. Funing County, in the extreme east of the prefecture and the province, was predominantly Zhuang until the 1950s. In Funing, though the majority of the Zhuang there correspond to the Northern Zhuang-speaking people known as “Sha” elsewhere in the province, there are many other smaller Zhuang groups, most of which have emigrated into Funing from various

Table 4.1 Major Zhuang Subgroups in Wenshan Prefecture and Their Languages

Exonym in Chinese	Ethnic group Autonym	Autonyms in IPA	Name of ethnic group used in this work	Name of language as used in this work	Other exonyms and autonyms used in some areas	Location
Nong (依)	pu Nong (濮依)	phu ³³ noang ³³ , phu ²² noang ⁴⁴	Nong Zhuang	Nong Zhuang	Nongzu (依族), Nongren (依人), Long (龙), bu Tei, Bendi (本地; ‘in-digenous’)	Yanshan, Guangnan, Wenshan, Maguan, Funing, Xichou, Malipo (also in Honghe Prefecture & Vietnam)
Tu (土)	pu Dai (濮岱)	phu ⁵⁵ ndaai ³¹ , phu ²² taa ¹¹	Tu Zhuang	Dai Zhuang	Tulao (土僚, 土老), Tuzu (土族), Pula (濮僚; ancient ethno-nym)	Yanshan, Wenshan, Maguan, Malipo, Guangnan Counties (also in Honghe Prefecture & Vietnam)
Sha (沙)	bu Yai (布雅衣), bu Yui (布依, 布瑞, 布越)	pu ³⁵ jai ³⁴ , pu ³³ juei ³⁴ , pu ²⁷ jai ¹³	Sha Zhuang	Gubian Yei Zhuang	Shazu (沙族), Sharen (沙人), Baisha (白沙), Nongqianheng (依迁疆)	Funing, Guangnan Counties (also in Guangxi to the east and north)
				Qubei Yei Zhuang	Zhongjia (仲家)	Qubei County (probably also in Qujing Municipality to the north)

但是，这三支系的日常常用词汇中，也有不少的词汇源自不同的字根，尤其是比较少用的词汇：

8. 汉语与壮语的互相影响

在各种壮族方言中，汉语外来词占据的比例各有不同。在广西中部或东部的一些土语，汉语的影响非常深远。相反其他的壮族方言，如在云南的壮族方言，则保留了比较多源自原始台语词根的词汇。另外，汉语借词的比例也因话题而异。《壮语方言研究》^⑧指出当话题与日常生活有关时，壮族人会用30-40%的汉语外来词。当话题与政府或经济有关时，汉语外来词就占据高达80%。以下是依、依和岱壮方言几个常用词语。它们与汉语的同义词相似度高，因而被认为有可能是源自汉语（或者普通话或者文山的汉语方言）：

由上述图表可见，虽然这三大支系各从汉语中借来了一些基本词汇，许多的汉语外来词的发音却融入了这些土语的语音系统，而演变成今天不同的发音。也因为这样，这些词在壮语中以不同的拼音出现。

另外，上述的某些汉语新借词是近期才被归纳入壮语。相比之下，大部分的数目字或其他常用词虽然像古代汉语（即使有时候不太像现代普通话的发音），却已在壮岱语支语言或附近的其他非壮岱语支语言中流传已久。确定这种词汇的最早的来源现在很难（除了古代汉语借词以外，还有一些有着壮岱语支词根的汉语单词）很可能这些一下单词的现代汉语或壮语发音是从古代壮语与汉语接触情况而变化下来的：

除了词汇上的影响，在文法上汉语对壮语的影响也不少。虽然壮语的文法与汉语及其他汉藏语系的语言有些相似，但壮语也有自己独特的文法，与汉语不

笔者江子扬在砚山县八嘎乡那基村给侬壮妇女看家人照片。

Author Eric Johnson shows Nong Zhuang women photos of his family in Baga District, Yanshan County.





locations in Guangxi during the Ming and Qing dynasties. Many of these groups are known either for their places of origin in Guangxi (such as “Tianbao” or “Long’an”) or by Zhuang names (such as “bu Xiong” or “kwn Min”).

More than 90% of Yunnan’s Zhuang nationality people belong to one of the three major subgroups of Yunnan Zhuang: Nong, Yei (Sha) and Dai (Tuliao). These three groups also speak languages which are closely related historically but differ significantly in pronunciation and somewhat in lexicon and grammar. These differences are probably due to different histories of internal migration within China—though the Zhuang people are indigenous to the Wenshan Prefecture area, some of the Zhuang subgroups in Wenshan came more recently than others from Guangxi to Wenshan. The Table 4.1 shows the languages spoken by the main three Zhuang ethnic groups, and the locations of these ethnic groups.

Among residents of Wenshan Prefecture, it is common locally to distinguish between at least four types of Dai Zhuang, based on the design of the headdress of the women’s traditional costume: “Piled Headdress” Tu (*Du Tou Tu*), “Flat Headdress” Tu (*Ping Tou Tu*), “Pointed Headdress” Tu (*Jian Tou Tu*), “Slanted Headdress” Tu (*Pian Tou Tu*). These names simply reflect the geographic origins of the various Dai Zhuang communities, and, according to our linguistic research, do not reflect significantly different languages. Both the linguistic data and the accounts given by Dai Zhuang themselves indicate that these far-spread Dai Zhuang communities all originated from an area in northern Wenshan County and continue to have on-going contact with each other. Thus their dialects are fairly similar and they have no trouble communicating with each other.

The Nong Zhuang are also spread over a large area and have a variety of traditional costumes. Though there is considerable dialectal difference within the Nong Zhuang, more so than among the Dai Zhuang, there is not a direct relationship between the costume differences, upon which most of the above Nong subgroup names are based, and dialect differences.

The Nong Zhuang are the largest Zhuang ethnic grouping in Yunnan province, numbering around 550,000, and are found in largest concentrations in central and southern Guangan County (especially in Zhetu, Nalun, Liancheng, Jiumo, Nasa, Zhulin, Zhujie, Wuzhu and southern Ake districts and townships), Yanshan (especially in Zhela, Bang’e, Ganhe, Ameng, Jiangna, and Panlong districts and townships) and Wenshan (especially in Binglie, Matang and Laohuilong districts and townships)