

On the original relationship between Chinese and Kam-Tai

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Does Kam-Tai have any genetic relationship with Chinese? It is a key question both in Sino-Tibetan research and in Asian/Pacific language research. It is also a question involving the methodology of historical linguistics.

Historical linguists of the 19th century used two criteria to determine genetic relationship: one was structural similarity; another was sound correspondences in basic vocabulary. Now, considering language contact and the universal trend of language evolution, more and more linguists do not think of structural similarity as a criterion for determining genetic relationship (Haudricourt 1954, 1961; Matisoff 1970, 1973, 1976; Hu Tan 1980; Dai Qingxia 1980), but sound correspondence is still thought of as the most important criterion. Li Fang Kuei (1937, 1976), Xing Gongwan (邢公畹 1948-1994) and most scholars in China have been sticking to the viewpoint that Chinese and Kam-Tai have a genetic relationship because these two groups share many phonologically and semantically similar words (sound correspondent words).

Having observed the live contact between Dai dialects of Yunnan Province and the Southwest Dialect of Chinese (SDC) for several years, I have found that the SDC loanwords in Dai at the same time and place have strict sound correspondences with original words in SDC. We can take the consonant /tʃ/ of SDC as an example:

Chinese Character	Meaning	SDC	Dai
区	district	/tʃi ⁵⁵ /	/ci ⁵⁵ /
旗	flag	/tʃi ³¹ /	/ci ⁴² /
取	to draw (money)	/tʃi ⁵³ /	/ci ⁵³ /
撬	sledge	/tʃiau ⁵⁵ /	/cau ⁵⁵ /
撬	to prize	/tʃiau ²¹³ /	/ciau ²¹³ /
翘	to warp	/tʃiau ²¹³ /	/ciau ²¹³ /
荞	buckwheat	/tʃiau ³¹ /	/ciau ⁴² /
请	to invite	/tʃin ⁵³ /	/cin ⁵³ /
裙	skirt	/tʃin ³¹ /	/cin ⁴² /
劝	to advise	/tʃian ²¹³ /	/cian ²¹³ /
拳	fist	/tʃian ³¹ /	/cian ⁴² /
曲	moldy	/tʃio ³¹ /	/so ³¹ /
穷	poor	/tʃiong ³¹ /	/song ³¹ /

The /tɕh/ of SDC original words corresponds to the /ç/ of SDC loanwords in Dai, except for the last two items. These exceptions can be explained. Because /ç/ in Dai cannot combine with the diphthongs /io/ and /iong/, /tɕh/ in SDC is pronounced as /s/ in Dai.

Thus the same sound in SDC is pronounced under the same conditions (i.e. in the same phonological environment) as the same sound in loanwords in Dai. This law is very strict. There are two other kinds of phenomena to be explained. Some Dai people pronounce /uəi/, /iəu/, and /ən/ of SDC in a different way:

SDC	Loan Word in Dai
/uəi/	/ui/ or /oi/
/iəu/	/iu/ or /eu/
/ən/	/un/ or /yn/

The reason for these variants is that in some areas influenced by SDC, Dai is experiencing the convergence of /oi/ and /iu/, /eu/ and /iu/, and /un/ and /yn/. In other words, /oi/ and /ui/ in Dai alternate freely; so do /eu/ and /ie/, /un/ and /yn/. Therefore, SDC words with /uəi/, /iəu/ and /ən/ each have two kinds of pronunciation in Dai.

As soon as this kind of Dai sound change has run its course, /uəi/, /iəu/ and /ən/ in original SDC words will keep respectively strict correspondents to loanwords in Dai. This still means that the same sounds of original SDC words, under the same conditions, are pronounced as the same sound in loanwords.

Since original words and loanwords have strict sound correspondences, we cannot distinguish genetic relationship from contact relationship only by sound correspondence, nor can we tell cognate words from loanwords in this way.

Some scholars think that basic words (especially 'kernel words' or 'core vocabulary') cannot be borrowed (Li Fang Kuei 1976), so that basic words or kernel words can be used to distinguish genetic relationship from contact relationship. This is unfortunately not true. The 200 words given by M. Swadesh (1952) have been considered as standard kernel words by most linguists, but I have observed, in contact between SDC and Dai in Dehong in Yunnan, that some SDC kernel words have entered Dai, such as /xai⁵³/ 'sea', /xun⁵³/ 'tie', /phiau⁵⁵/ 'float', /te⁵⁵/ 'father'. The Dai living by Jinsha River in Yunnan have borrowed more SDC kernel words: /tsha¹¹/ 'rub', /lan³³/ 'rotten', /ciang⁵⁵/ 'think', /xai⁵⁵/ 'sea', /tshə⁵⁵/ 'pull', /sau⁵⁵/ 'few', /phau⁵⁵/ 'swell', /tshan⁵⁵/ 'dig', /tsuan³³/ 'turn', /khan⁵⁵/ 'cut'. All these borrowed words show strict sound correspondences with the original words.

In recent years, Yan Xuequn (1979) and Dong Weiguang (1984) have proposed "correspondence of word groups", while Xing Gongwan (1983)

has proposed "deep structure correspondence". They attempt to use these methods to demonstrate the genetic relationship between Chinese and Kam-Tai. However, I have found that both of these types of correspondences also appear in the borrowed words (Chen Baoya 1994:1.3).

Therefore, there is no reason to set a vocabulary boundary beyond which no words can be borrowed. We maintain that even items of core vocabulary showing regular sound correspondences are not enough to distinguish genetic relationship from contact relationship. If we find two groups of sound correspondent words at different times between two languages, such as those between Kam-Tai and Old Chinese and between Kam-Tai and SDC, we can say the sound correspondent words at the later time are borrowed words because they have different kinds of correspondences from those between Kam-Tai and Old Chinese, but we still have no methods strong enough to tell if the sound correspondent words in earlier time between Kam-Tai and Old Chinese are cognate words or borrowed words. Li Fang Kuei (1976) found more than 100 sound correspondent kernel words between Old Chinese and Tai, 29 of them belonging to Swadesh's 200 word list. Li was more inclined to consider them evidence of the genetic relationship between Chinese and Tai. Since items of core vocabulary can also be borrowed, we think Li deduced too strong a conclusion from his data. Most Chinese scholars explain the relationship between Chinese and Kam-Tai as Li Fang Kuei did.

Now we can conclude that contact is potentially unlimited. "Unlimited" means that any language level, including kernel structure and kernel vocabulary, can be influenced in contact. Therefore regular sound correspondences are only a necessary condition for genetic relationship, not a sufficient one.

But this does not mean that we cannot distinguish genetic relationship from contact relationship at all. According to my personal observations of contemporary contact phenomena, both language contact and language division may be ranked on a scale, and the two kinds of scales are opposite. In language contact, the more nuclear sound correspondent words are fewer than the less nuclear ones. In language division, on the other hand, nuclear sound correspondent words are more numerous than less nuclear ones.

To avoid personal bias in selecting items of core vocabulary, I have divided Swadesh's 200 kernel words into two groups to see the different semantic patterning in situations of language division versus language contact. In 1952, Swadesh listed 200 words which he thought to be the most stable words in human languages. But even these 200 words could be borrowed from one language to another. In 1955, Swadesh narrowed his list down to 100 words. He thought that these 100 words were the most stable and could not be borrowed. As we discussed above, even these 100 words

can also be borrowed as a result of Chinese and Tai contact. I have divided Swadesh's 200 kernel words into two ranks:

1st 100 words: Swadesh's 100 kernel words (1955)

2nd 100 words: the remaining items on Swadesh's list of 200 words (1952)

Having subtracted Swadesh's 100 words from his 200-word list, we are left with 107 words. I have deleted seven of them, for in Asian languages they are either partially repetitive with others in meaning or inconvenient to be compared. These are: *at* (partial overlap with *in*), *when* (partial overlap with *what*), *wipe* (partial overlap with *rub*), *with* (partial overlap with *and*), *ye* (partial repetition with *you*), and *some, other* (inconvenient to compare).

I have found that in genetic relationship, the cognates among the first 100 words are more numerous than those in the second 100 words, while in a contact relationship, the loanwords among the first 100 words are fewer than those in the second 100 words.

Let us first look at the distribution of kernel cognate words in Dai (=Tai) dialects of Yunnan Province:

	DD	DY	DL	DJ
	<i>Dehong</i>	<i>Yun River</i>	<i>Lincan</i>	<i>Jinsha River</i>
DX <i>Xishuangbanna</i>	88/71	91/68	85/71	84/66
DD <i>Dehong</i>		92/72	94/85	91/69
DY <i>Yun River</i>			91/68	88/68
DL <i>Lincan</i>				88/68

On the left of the slashes are the numbers of cognate words in the first 100 words; on the right of the slashes are those in the second 100 words. It is evident that the cognates among the first 100 words are more numerous than those in the second 100 words.

Now let's see how core cognates in some European languages whose genetic relationship has been proven are distributed in the first 100 words and the second 100 words. In 1952 and 1955, Swadesh gave out the following figures:

	Cognate words	
	in 200 word list	in 100 word list
Old English/Modern English	77%	86%
Old German/Modern German	84%	89%
Old Swedish/Modern Swedish	85%	94%
Latin/Modern Romanian	56%	71%
Latin/French	62%	74%
Old Greek/Modern Greek	69%	71%

According to the formula $x_2 = 2x - x_1$ (where $2x$ is the number of cognates in the 200 word list, x_1 is the number of cognates in the first 100 word list, and x_2 is the number of words in the second 100 word list), we can figure out cognate percentages as follows:

	Cognate words	
	in first 100 words	in second 100 words
Old English/Modern English	86%	68%
Old German/Modern German	89%	79%
Old Swedish/Modern Swedish	94%	76%
Latin/Modern Romanian	71%	41%
Latin/Modern French	74%	50%
Old Greek/Modern Greek	71%	67%

There is no doubt that all these pairs of languages have a genetic relationship. All the figures show that, in each pair, cognates among the first 100 words are more numerous than those in the second 100 words.

There is also no doubt that English belongs to the Germanic group. The following figures show the distribution of cognate words between English and some other languages of the Germanic group in the first 100 words and the second 100 words (judgments of cognacy are according to Barnhart 1988).

	Cognate words	
	in first 100 words	in second 100 words
Old English/English	87%	71%
German/English	64%	46%
Old Frisian/English	72%	51%
Dutch/English	71%	54%
Old Icelandic/English	76%	57%
Gothic/English	58%	39%

In each case, the cognates among the first 100 words are more numerous than those in the second 100 words.

Let's turn to Chinese. It is obvious that the Chinese dialects have a genetic relationship to each other. Compare the distribution of their kernel cognate words:

	<i>Hakka</i>	<i>Southern Min</i>	<i>Xiang</i>	<i>Wu</i>	<i>Gan</i>	<i>Yue</i>
<i>Mandarin</i>	75/56	61/56	82/71	82/71	76/73	83/71
<i>Hakka</i>		69/51	72/52	71/59	66/56	70/55
<i>Southern Min</i>			65/51	62/52	62/49	60/49
<i>Xiang</i>				87/64	81/67	78/68
<i>Wu</i>					78/72	76/72
<i>Gan</i>						71/69

On the left of the slashes are the percentages for the first 100 words; on the right, those for the second 100 words. These figures also show that the cognates in the first 100 words are more numerous than those in the second 100 words.

By any criterion, the Indo-European languages and Chinese dialects are among the most important language groups in the world; it is striking that in both groups, there are more genetic cognates in the first 100 words than in the second 100 words.

Now let's turn to contact relationship. In the contact between the Southwest Dialect of Chinese and different dialects of Tai, all the dialects of Tai have borrowed kernel words from the Southwest Dialect of Chinese in different ways and to varying degrees. I have collected those in Dehong (DD), Jinsha (DJ) and Yun River (DY):

Loans from Southwest Dialect of Chinese into Dai in Dehong

Meaning	SDC originals	Loans in DD	Collocations
First 100 words:			
hair	毛 /mau ³¹ /	/mau ⁴² /	/mau ⁴² çian ²¹³ / 'knitting wool' /mau ⁴² pi ³¹ / 'writing brush'
liver	肝 /kan ⁵⁵ /	/kan ⁵⁵ /	/kan ⁵⁵ ian ⁵⁵ / 'hepatitis'
Second 100 words:			
father	爹 /tie ⁵⁵ /	/te ⁵⁵ /	
float	漂 /phiau ⁵⁵ /	/phiau ⁵⁵ /	
dull	憨 /xan ⁵⁵ /	/xan ⁵⁵ /	
turn	转 /tsuan ²¹³ /	/tsuan ²¹³ /	
ice	冰 /pin ⁵⁵ /	/pin ⁵⁵ /	
sea	海 /xai ²¹³ /	/xai ²¹³ /	
tie	捆 /khun ⁵³ /	/xun ⁵³ /	
squeeze	压 /jia ³¹ /	/jia ³¹ /	
if	如果 /zu ³¹ ko ⁵³ /	/zu ³¹ ko ⁵³ /	
because	因为 /jin ⁵⁵ uei ²¹³ /	/jin ⁵⁵ vui ²¹³ /	

Loans from Southwest Dialect of Chinese into Dai of Jinsha

Meaning	SDC original	Loans in DJ
First 100 words:		
<i>(no borrowed words)</i>		
Second 100 words:		
rub	擦 /tsha ³¹ /	/tsha ¹¹ /
rotten	烂 /lan ²¹³ /	/lan ³³ /
think	想 /çia ⁵³ /	/çia ⁵⁵ /
sea	海 /xai ⁵³ /	/xai ⁵⁵ /
split	扯 /tshə ⁵³ /	/tshə ⁵⁵ /
few	少 /şau ⁵³ /	/şau ⁵⁵ /
swell	肿 /phau ⁵⁵ /	/phau ⁵⁵ /
turn	转 /tshuan ²¹³ /	/tshuan ³³ /
cut	砍 /kan ⁵³ /	/kan ⁵⁵ /

Loans from Southwest Dialect of Chinese into Dai of Yun River

Meaning	SDC originals	Loans in DY	Collocations
First 100 words:			
oil; grease	油 /jəu ³¹ /	/jəu ³³ /	/pan ³³ jəu ³³ / 'pork fat'
kill	杀 /ʂa ³¹ /	/ʂa ³¹ /	
water	水 /ʂw ³¹ /	/ʂwəi ⁵³ /	/pən ⁵³ ʂwəi ⁵³ / 'water in ditch'
Second 100 words:			
grass	草 /tshau ⁵³ /	/tsha:u ⁵³	/tsha:u ⁵³ xai ²¹ / 'straw sandals'
think	想 /ciang ⁵³ /	/ca:ng ⁵³ /	
sea	海 /xai ⁵³ /	/xai ⁵³ /	/xai ⁵³ tsɿ ⁵³ / 'lake'
and	和 /xo ³¹ /	/xo ³¹ /	
old	老 /lau ⁵³ /	/la:u ⁵³ /	/la:u ⁵³ pu ²⁴ thau ¹¹ / 'old man' /la:u ⁵³ ja ⁵³ / 'old woman'
squeeze	压 /ja ³¹ /	/ja ³³ /	
father	爹 /tie ⁵⁵ /	/ʔa ³³ tje ³³ /	
dull	笨 /pən ²¹³ /	/pən ¹¹ /	

The percentages reflected by the above data are:

	DD <i>Dehong</i>	DJ <i>Jinsha River</i>	DY <i>Yun River</i>
SDC Southwest Dialect of Chinese	2/10	0/9	3/8

All the data show that the cognates among the first 100 words are more numerous than those in the second 100 words, and that conversely loanwords among the first 100 words are more numerous than those in the second 100 words.

So far we can conclude that the distribution of kernel loanwords is opposite to that of kernel cognate words.

We have seen that both cognate words and loanwords can show regular sound correspondences, so that this criterion is insufficient by itself to distinguish cognate words from loanwords, or genetic relationship from contact relationship. However, now that we see that the semantic distribution of kernel cognate words is opposite to that of kernel loanwords,

we can distinguish genetic relationship from contact relationship by this opposition. The method is, when confronted with two languages whose genetic or contact relationship needs to be determined, if the sound correspondent words in the first 100 words are more numerous than those in the second 100 words, we can say the two languages have a genetic relationship. Conversely, if the sound correspondent words in the first 100 words are fewer than those in the second 100 words, we can say the two languages have a contact relationship.

Most linguists believe that there is a Proto-Kam-Tai, including a Tai (Zhuang-Dai) branch, a Kam-Sui (Dong-Shui) branch and a Li (Hlai) branch. I have selected eleven languages from Kam-Tai to observe the distribution of kernel sound correspondent words. These languages are:

Tai Group:	ZW	Zhuang in Wuming (Guangxi)
	ZL	Zhuang in Longzhou (Guangxi)
	BY	Buyi (Guizhou)
	DX	Dai in Xishuangbanna (Yunnan)
	DD	Dai in Dehong (Yunnan)
Kam Group:	DR	Dong in Rongjiang (Guizhou)
	MLL	Mulao in Luocheng (Guangxi)
	SS	Sui in Sandu (Guizhou)
Li (Hlai) Group:	MLH	Maolan in Huangjiang (Guangxi)
	LB	Li in Baoding (Hainan)
	LT	Li in Tongshi (Hainan)

Now compare the following percentages of sound correspondent words in the first 100 words and the second 100 words:

First 100 words:

	ZL	BY	DX	DD	DR	MLL	SS	MLH	LB	LT
ZW	86	90	78	76	61	56	57	56	49	46
ZL		78	80	72	54	52	50	46	48	46
BY			72	72	56	52	56	54	52	50
DX				88	52	51	53	48	48	49
DD					48	48	50	47	51	48
DR						74	80	79	40	39
MLL							76	73	38	37
SS								79	37	38
MLH									37	38
LB										90

Second 100 words:

	ZL	BY	DX	DD	DR	MLL	SS	MLH	LB	LT
ZW	69	81	53	54	46	48	54	55	27	32
ZL		61	55	58	38	40	41	41	25	24
BY			53	51	46	47	52	52	25	27
DX				71	36	34	44	37	26	29
DD					34	33	40	37	31	30
DR						56	59	57	18	21
MLL							50	59	18	18
SS								62	21	24
MLH									19	22
LB										90

The figures show that in each pair of 11 languages selected from Kam-Tai, the correspondent words in the first 100 words are more numerous than those in the second 100 words. We should conclude that each pair of 11 languages has a genetic relationship, and there was indeed a Proto-Kam-Tai.

Let us turn to the most controversial issue in Sino-Tibetan research; that is, what kind of relationship exists between Chinese and Kam-Tai. I have compared the kernel words of Old Chinese (OC) with those of eleven languages of Kam-Tai and have obtained the following result: (The single numbers refer to classes of tones; OC reconstructions are according to Wang Li).

Comparison of Old Chinese kernel words with those of Kam-Tai languages

First 100 words:

Chinese	Meaning	OC	ZW	ZL	BY	DX	DD	DR	MLL	SS	MLH
角	horn	kək ⁷		ko:k ⁷							
路	road	lu ⁸	lo ⁶	lo ⁶							
绿	green	liwok ⁸	lok ⁸	ni ⁶							
尔	you	rie ⁴									
爪	claw	tjau ³									
白	white	bək ⁸	pi:k ⁸	pha:k ⁷			phək ⁹	ceŋ ³	tsau ³	pa:k ⁸	pok ⁸
皓	white	yau ⁴	ha:u ¹	kha:u ²	ya:u ¹	xa:u ¹	xa:u ¹	ti ⁶	ti ⁶	ti ⁶	ti ⁶
地	earth	dj ⁶	tej ⁶	ti ⁶			ti ⁶	ni ⁶	ni ⁶	ni ⁶	ni ⁶
二	two	ri ⁶	ngei ⁶	ji ⁶	ni ⁶			pi ²	pi ²	pi ²	pi ²
皮	skin	bie ²									
热	hot	riet ⁸									
沙	sand	fa ¹	sa ¹								
听	hear	thieng ¹	ting ⁵	ting ⁶				thing ⁵	theng ⁵		
我	I	nga ⁴		ngo ⁶							
心	heart	siem ¹	sim ¹	lim ¹				səm ¹	təm ¹	cum ¹	sam ¹
一	one	iet ⁷	it ⁷	it ⁷	it ⁷	et ⁷	et ⁷	et ⁷	?jət ⁷		?jit ⁷
油	grease	jiəu ²	jou ²	ju ²	jiu ²			ju ²	jəu ²		ju ²
名	name	mieng ²	ming ²	ming ²					me:ng ²		
字	name	dziə ⁶	co ⁶		tso ⁶	tsur ⁶	tsur ⁶				
那	that	no ⁶			na ³	na ³					
人	man	rien ²								zen ¹	zen ¹
乳	breasts	rio ⁴					njən ²	cən ¹	zen ¹		
咬	bite	ngau ⁴					no ⁴				
觉	sleep	keuk ⁵							nga:u ⁶	kau ²	kau ²

Second 100 words:

Chinese	Meaning	OC	ZW	ZL	EY	DK	DD	DR	MLL	SS	MLH
浮	float	biəu ²	fou ²	fu ²	vu ²	fu ²	fu ²		fu ²		
父	father	biu ⁶	po ⁶	pa ⁵	po ⁶	po ⁶	po ⁶	pu ⁴	pu ⁴	pu ⁴	
旧	old	giəu ⁶	kau ⁵	kau ⁵	kau ⁵	kau ⁵	kau ⁵	au ⁵	ko ⁵	qəu ⁵	karu ⁵
股	leg	ku ³	ka ¹	kha ¹	ka ¹	xa ¹	xa ¹	pa ¹		pa ¹	pja ¹
平	smooth	biəng ²	ping ²	phi:ng ²	ping ²	peng ²	peng ²	pjɿng ²	peng ²	pjəng ²	peŋg ²
吸(吮)	suck	xiəp ⁷	cup ⁷		cup ⁷				wa:t ⁷		?wa:t ⁷
挖	dig	wət ⁷	vat ⁷	vat ⁷							
掘	dig	giwət ⁸	kut ⁸			xut ⁸	xot ⁸	thən ³	hvən ³	ndjən ³	din ⁴
短	short	tuən ³	tin ³	tin ³	tin ²		sen ³			kwən ⁵	
棍	stick	kuen ⁵						həi ³	hai ³	hai ³	hai ³
海	sea	xoi ³	hai ³	hai ³	ya:i ³		xe ²				
河	river	yo ²						wa ¹	hwa ¹	wa ¹	wai ⁵
华(花)	flower	xwa ¹	va ¹	vai ⁶	va ¹			wai ⁶	hwa:i ⁵		wai ⁵
坏	bad	ywəi ⁶	vai ⁶	vai ⁶	vai ⁶						sam ¹
尖	sharp	tsiem ¹	lim ¹	fi:m ³	som ¹	lem ¹	lem ¹	tji ⁹	ce ⁷	tjet ⁷	ce ⁷
结(冰)	freeze	kiet ⁷	kit ⁷	te:i ⁷	te:i ⁷			lau ⁴	lo ⁴	lau ⁴	lau ⁴
老	old	lou ⁴	lau ⁴		lau ⁴			njin ²	njen ²		ceu ³
年	year	nien ²									za:k ⁷
少	few	ciəu ³	siu ³	tsək ⁸	tsə: ⁸	tsək ⁸		si ⁵	ti ⁵	ci ⁵	si ⁵
索	rope	sək ⁷ /sək ⁷	ca:k ⁸	fi ⁵	si ⁵	si ⁵					
四	four	si ⁵	sei ⁵		te ¹						
他	he	tha ¹	te ¹								
推	push	thuoi ¹							thoi ¹		
吹(风)	blow	tchiwe ¹							tshui ¹		
五	five	ngu ⁴	ha ³ , ngu ⁴	ha ³	ya ³	ha ³	ha ³	ngo ⁴	ngo ⁴	ngo ⁴	ngo ⁴
窄	narrow	tjek ⁷	tcek ⁷	po ⁶							
夫(丈夫)	husband	piu ¹				pho ¹	pho ¹	sai ⁹			dja:t ⁷
擦	rub					tset ⁸	tset ⁸				

唱	sing	tchian ⁵	ci:ng ⁵	ca:ng ⁵	meng ³	tshja:ng ⁵	ci:ng ⁵
虹(虫)	worm	mang ²	meng ²	meng ²	meng ³	se:ng ¹	lan ⁶
生(活的)	alive	ʃəng ¹	lan ⁶	lan ⁶	lan ⁶	tja:ng ⁵	se:ng ³
烂	rotten	siang ³	si:ng ³	ta:ng ³	ca:ng ⁵	ca:ng ⁵	lan ⁶
想	think	siwet ⁷	li:t ⁷	li:t ⁷	lan ⁶	ca:ng ⁵	se:ng ³
雪	snow						

The percentages of correspondent words with Chinese are:

	ZW	ZL	BY	DX	DD	DR	MLL	SS	MLH
<i>First 100 words</i>	13	13	5	4	7	11	10	6	7
<i>Second 100 words</i>	22	19	18	15	15	15	22	16	15

It is obvious that the sound correspondent words among the first 100 words are fewer than those in the second 100 words. We should confess that the intimate relationship between Chinese and Kam-Tai is a contact relationship.

Some scholars suppose that Kam-Tai and Austronesian have a genetic relationship (see Benedict 1942: 1975). I have selected Malay (M) and Indonesian (I) from Austronesian to compare with Kam-Tai. Observe the following data:

Comparison of Indonesian and Malay kernal words with those of Kam-Tai languages

First 100 words:

Meaning	I	M	ZW	ZL	BY	DX	DD	DR	MLL	SS	MLH
black	hitam	hitam	dam ³	dam ¹		dam ¹	dam ⁶	nam ¹	nam ¹	?nam ¹	nam ¹
fire	api	api	fei ²	fai ²	vi ²	fai ²	fai ²	pui ¹	fi ¹	vi ¹	vi ¹
green	hijau	hijau	heu ¹	kheu ¹		xeu ¹	xeu ¹	su ¹	hou ¹	cu ¹	ju ¹
water	zamazam	zam ⁴	yam ⁴	nam ⁴	zam ⁴	nam ⁴	lam ⁴	nam ⁴	nam ⁴	nam ³	nam ³
die	mati	mati	ta:i ¹	hai ¹	ta:i ¹	ta:i ¹	ta:i ⁶	ta:i ¹	ta:i ¹	ta:i ¹	ta:i ¹
I	aku	aku	kou ¹	kau ¹	ku ¹	ku ¹	kau ⁶	ja:u ²	hai ²	ju ²	hou ²
eye	mata	mata	ta ¹	ma:k ⁷ ha ¹	ta ¹	ta ¹	ta ⁶	ta ¹	la ¹	nda ¹	nda ¹
moon	bulan	bulan	yo:ng ⁸	du:n ¹	zua:ng ⁶	den ¹	len ⁶	nja:n ¹	kye:ng ²	njen ²	ni ⁴ njen ²
this	ini	ini	nei ⁴	nai ³	ni ⁴	ni ⁴	lai ⁴	nai ⁶	nai ⁶	nai ⁶	nai ⁶
nose	hidung	hidong	dang ¹	ma:k ⁷	dang ¹	hu ² dang ¹	hu ² lang ⁶	nang ¹	kə ⁵	?nang ¹	nang ¹
eat	makan	makan	kun ¹	dang ¹		kin ¹	kin ⁶	tjan ¹	nang ¹		
you	kamu	-mu	mu:ng ²	kin ¹	kun ¹	kin ¹	kin ⁶	tjan ¹	tsan ¹		
new	baru	baharu	mo ⁵	mau ²	mu:ng ²	mu:ng ²	mau ²	urəl ⁵	mai ⁵	mai ⁵	mai ⁵
stone	batu	batu	mo ⁵	mau ⁵	mo ⁵	mai ⁵	mau ⁵	urəl ⁵	mai ⁵	mai ⁵	mai ⁵
know	tahu	tahu	yo ⁴	lu ⁴ na ³	zo ⁴	hu ⁴	hu ⁴	wo ⁴	tui ²	tui ²	wo ³
come	mari	mari	yo ⁴	ma ²	ma ¹	ma ²	ma ²	ma ¹	yo ⁶ ceu ³		

Second 100 words:

Meaning	I	M	ZW	ZL	BY	DX	DD	DR	MLL	SS	MLH
child	anak	anak	lu ^k ·nje ²	lu ^k ·dik ⁷	lu ^r ·sai ⁵	lu ^k ·ni ⁵	lu ^k ⁸	la:k ¹⁰ un ³	la:k ⁸ te ⁵	la:k ⁸ ti ³	la:k ⁸ ce ³
fall	dzatuh	jatoh	tok ⁷	tuk ⁷	to ⁷	tok ⁷	tok ⁹	tok ⁷	tok ⁷	tok ⁷	tok ⁷
leg	paha	paha	ka ¹	kha ¹	ka ¹	xa ¹	xa ¹	pa ¹	pa ¹	pa ¹	pja ¹
lake	kolam	kolam	tam ²	thum ¹	tam ¹			tam ¹	lam ¹	ndam ¹	ndam ¹
salt	garam	garam	kju ¹	ku ^r ¹	tcu ¹	ke ¹	ke ⁸	ko ¹	cwa ¹	kwa ¹	kwo ¹
wife	bini	bini	me ⁸ ja ⁸	me ⁸	ja ⁸	me ²	me ²	ma:i ⁴	ma:i ⁴	ni ⁴ ja ⁴	lja ³

The percentages of Kam-Tai/Indonesian correspondent words are:

	ZW	ZL	BY	DK	DD	DR	MLL	SS	MLH
<i>First 100 words</i>	14	14	13	15	15	14	14	11	13
<i>Second 100 words</i>	6	6	6	5	5	6	4	6	6

The percentages of Kam-Tai/Malay comparabilia are:

	ZW	ZL	BY	DK	DD	DR	MLL	SS	MLH
<i>First 100 words</i>	12	11	10	15	12	12	11	10	11
<i>Second 100 words</i>	6	6	5	5	5	6	4	6	5

According to these data, we may say that Austronesian and Kam-Tai have a genetic relationship.

Now we can conclude in the light of these scales of kernel words that there are two important family trees in the Asia/Pacific region: one is Sino-Tibetan; the other is "Yue", including Austronesian and Kam-Tai. These two linguistic stocks have been in very close contact, so there is much similarity between them. Most Chinese scholars think that Kam-Tai belongs to Sino-Tibetan because of structural similarity and sound correspondences. Most European and American scholars classify Chinese and Kam-Tai into different families because of sound correspondences between Kam-Tai and Austronesian. We have seen that structural similarity is not enough by itself to distinguish a genetic relationship from a contact relationship, nor are regular sound correspondences. To distinguish the two kinds of relationship, we must refer to the semantic patterning of resemblant items of core vocabulary.

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