Several non-cognate morphemes are represented here: primarily *mbouj, *ndwi, and *miz. Other morphemes are found in the survey data, such as syllabic m, *sam5, *nao5, and pu2/3. None of these items is included in the Gàilùn. Li (HCT) reconstructs the first three of them, *bo B1 (4.4), daai A1 (6.4), and mai B2/mi 55 (4.5). The first is reconstructed with PT initial *b- and B1 of the tones (4.4.24) with the additional comment, “There are different forms in the various dialects”, citing data from Shan, Lü, Tay and Wuming, noting also that there are differences between stressed and unstressed forms (p. 51). Pittayaporn reconstructs two strong forms of this morpheme for PT, namely *ɓawB and *boːB (780, 781). This morpheme is found in all three branches of Tai.

The second, *ndwi (?duui), is a grammaticalised form of *ndwi ‘empty’. Li HCT provides the gloss ‘idle, doing nothing’, and ‘doing nothing, idle, alone’.1 Li reconstructs PT *ɗiái A1 (6.4.3, 16.5.1) for this morpheme.

The third morpheme is also found in all three branches of Tai. Li reconstructs PT initial *m- but leaves the PT tone class undetermined. He notes, “The Siamese form *mi 55 with a short vowel is probably an unstressed form, but there is a good deal of irregularity in the correspondence of this word.” CT in general have tone B1 (from *hm-), and the NT dialects A2 (HCT p. 73). By contrast, Pittayaporn considers *miz to be a weak form of *mbouj, and reconstructs the weak form as PT *mi:A (782).

In the survey data, *ndwi as a negator is largely confined to NT dialects, though a form of it is found in Wenshan-Maguan at the western end of EY, and in Hengxian. The other two words are found in both CT and NT locations, and in many localities two or all three negators are found. Probably in most if not all locations, stressed and unstressed forms of these morphemes are found. Whether these allomorphs constitute dyadic sets or a continuum ranging from full forms in careful speech to attenuated forms in unstressed positions in rapid speech is a question that needs fur-

1 HCT pp. 108, 287.
ther investigation in the field. Changes of tone are frequently connected with particular grammaticised patterns of use. E.g., Li in his Wuming data documented Ɂbɑu˧ as the primary form of mbouj, but listed also a form used at the ends of sentences in alternative-type questions (= ‘or not?’), pronounced Ɂbɑu˥ (Wuming tǔyǔ p. 214). Further investigations are needed, based on actual speech samples. Some linguist may assume that stressed forms in careful speech are somehow primary, but available data suggest that it may also have been the attenuated forms that have been productive in generating dialectal divergence and historic sound change. Likewise, the script reflects attenuated allomorphs as well as full forms.

To turn now to the survey data:

**Mbouj**

Found in GX NT locations to the NE as far as Rongshui, as far W as Longlin, in the Longjiang area as far W as Hechi and Donglan, in east-central and west-central GX; in Wuming, Pingguo and the Youjiang valley. In GZh Bouyei, found only in Libo. In the SZh areas, found in Jingxi, Napo, Debao and Cao Bằng Nùng. In EY, found in both Sha and Nung areas.

**Miz**

Found in GZh Bouyei in all locations, and along the northern border counties of GX from Huanjiang to Longlin and further W to Qiubei in EY. In central GX, found in Long’an. In the CT areas, found as far E as Yongning S and Qinzhou and W as far as Jingxi and Debao. Syllabic m is either an attenuated form, or a borrowing from PH or Cantonese.

**Ndwi**

Found in east-central GX from Xincheng and Du’an south to Laibin, Guixian, Shanglin and Mashan. Also attested for Wenshan-Maguan in EY.

**ʔi³, ʔi¹, and ʔi⁶**

Presumably a single morpheme with varying tones, these are found in Liujiang, Yishan, Xincheng, Binyang and Hengxian. The distribution suggests that this may be an attenuated form of ndwi.

**ri¹ and le¹**

Found in the far NE, these forms may or may not be related to ʔi¹.