

# A Study of the 16th Century *Pai-i=Chinese* and *Chinese=Pai-i* Vocabularies

By Tatsuo NISHIDA

1. There is no doubt that the vocabularies of foreign languages generally known to scholars as *Hua-i i-yü* 華夷譯語 compiled by the *Ssü i kuan* 四譯館 and *Hui t'ung kuan* 會同館 in the late Ming dynasty are materials of considerable value for the study of the history of the Thai languages, though, beside these, we have a number of older inscriptions.

In *Hua-i i-yü* series, we have the following 5 kinds of texts describing the Thai languages: 1) Siamese-Chinese vocabulary (暹羅館譯語乙種本), 2) Chinese-Siamese vocabulary (暹羅館譯語丙種本), 3) Chieng-mai Lao=Chinese vocabulary (八百館譯語乙種本), 4) *Pai-i=Chinese* vocabulary (百夷館譯語乙種本), 5) *Chinese=Pai-i* vocabulary (百夷館譯語丙種本).<sup>Note. 1</sup>

2. I hold that in dealing with these texts, or with language in general, it is essential strictly to distinguish between the system of the script and the phonemic system of the language. We can not regard the transliteration of a series of Siamese scripts used in the *Hsien-lo-kuan i-yü* into roman letters as the phonemic system of Siamese in the 16th century. If we keep the distinction of script and language carefully, and place much emphasis on the transcription in Chinese given to each foreign word, certain important discoveries are possible. I will show one instance here.

Usually, we postulate three or four sets of oppositions of stop consonants in initial position for the Common Thai system, k- kh- g- in the velar series, t- th- d- ɗ- in the alveolar series, so on. It is well known that these voiced stops became voiceless, aspirated or unaspirated, in the later period. But no scholar, as far as I know, has yet paid any attention to the problem of when this phenomenon began or finished. Even though I can not decide exactly the period when this unvoicing process took place, I can postulate that, from Chinese transcriptions given in these texts, *Hua-i i-yü*, the Chieng-mai Lao language had a series of voiced stops in the 16th century, i. e. g-, d-, b-, but in such clusters as gr-, br-, they changed into voiceless aspirated k'ṛ- and p'ṛ- or k'- and p'-. In opposition to such features in Chieng-mai Lao, Siamese in the 16th century already has finished this unvoicing process, and it had an opposition of two phonemes only, voiceless unaspirated and voiceless aspirated stops, for instance k: k', t: t', beside the voiced consonants b- and d- which originated from semi-voiced b̥- and d̥-. In the *Pai-i* language which was spoken in Yün-nan and the North-Eastern part of Burma, I suppose that this unvoicing process was finished at a much older period than in Siamese. (see §2.)

3. This paper is intended to be an historical study of the Thai languages of the Shan group, but because of the nature of the materials, my chief attempt is concentrated on how we can reconstruct the *Pai-i* language in the 16th century which has several interesting linguistic features. I have dealt with two kinds of *Pai-i* language materials. One is a *Pai-i=Chinese* vocabulary which may be considered the written language, and the other

is a *Chinese=Pai-i* vocabulary considered as the spoken one. I tentatively call the former *Pai-i A*, and the latter *Pai-i B*.

The Chinese transcription in this text is, it may be said, a fairly regular one. [Thanks to Dr. Lu Chih-wei's study, we have a knowledge of Chinese in the late Ming, see, Hsü Hsiao's *Ssü-ma Wên-kung Têng Yün T'u Ching* (in Chinese). *Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies*. Number 32. 1947]

For instance, we have the following items: *thin maa* 聽麻 <stable>, *khaa maa* 哈麻 <to kill a horse>, *an maa* 案麻 <saddle>, *cuag maa* 庄麻 <a whip>. From this set of words, we can easily extract the common morpheme *maa* 麻 <horse>. On the other hand, we have a morpheme *ma*: 馬 <to come> found in *lum ma*: 倫馬 <lit. the wind comes> and *au ma*: 奧馬 <to bring>. These two morphemes are strictly distinguished throughout the text in its Chinese transcription. The two Chinese words 麻 and 馬, probably indicate their tonal difference, but we cannot make clear the tonal system of the *Pai-i* language.

4. In this paper, I have stressed that the phonemic system of *Pai-i* is something different from the phonetic values of the *Pai-i* script, and that it must be established by other means, namely, from the transcription in Chinese. Thus, when we transliterate 'phuy' for a sequence of *Pai-i* script, it is nothing but a symbol of the value customarily expressed by the *Pai-i* script with which the *Pai-i* word is spelled. For this same spelling, we shall find two types of transcription in Chinese, i. e. *phug* 朋 [p'uy] <a bee> and *mak phug* 抹奉 [fuy] <a plum>. For the initial of these two words, it is probably correct to assume that the former was p', but the latter was f-, and that in the 16th century, initial p' and f- were separate phonemes, though both were written with the same letter. Similarly, the word meaning <to burn> was written *phwau* in the *Pai-i* script, to which the Chinese transcription 票 [p'iau] was given. The Chinese in the later Ming had two syllable patterns mutually distinctive, *p'iau* and *p'au*. Then, when transcribe the *Pai-i* form, the Chinese word *p'iau* was chosen here, we may suppose it was [p'iau], but not p'au, to which Common Thai phrau H1 corresponds.

5. The morpheme in the *Pai-i* language of the 16th century is exactly parallel to that in Modern *Pai-i*.<sup>Note. 2</sup> and may be analysed as CVC [C includes CC, V includes VV] plus one toneme.

As a result of this preliminary investigation, I have arrived at the two phonemic systems of these languages, *Pai-i A* and *Pai-i B*. (see §13.16.)

Each of the phonemes which appears in each of the positions in the CVC syllable pattern is expressed in the *Pai-i* script by a single or compound letter. The kind of letter in initial position is set forth in §12., and the distribution of the script in the position of VC is in §14.

It may be noted that this system is only a tentative one, and may require some modification through more intensive study in the future.

Note. 1. On the Chieng-mai Lao=Chinese vocabulary and *Pai-i=Chinese* vocabulary, we have Prof. Hisanosuke Izui's works published in his "Études comparatives des langues du Sud". Sôgensha, Tokyo-Osaka. 1949 (In Japanese) and "Decipherment of the Pa-po Vocabulary and Epistles" in 京都大學文學部研究紀要 2. 1951.

Note. 2. This is based on the materials collected by the writer in Rangoon, Burma, Feb. 1959. It may be called the Hang-shi (芒市) dialect.

MEMOIRS OF THE RESEARCH DEPARTMENT  
OF THE TOYO BUNKO

No. 17. (1958) (\$2.00 for each)

- S. WADA, The Northeast Asian Tribes in the T'ang Period.  
S. IWAO, Li Tan 李旦, Chief of the Chinese Residents at Hirado, Japan in the Last Days of the Ming Dynasty.  
J. IKEGAMI, Orok Text.  
Y. SUEMATSU, Introduction to the Ri Dynasty Annals.  
B. SZCZEŚNIAK, Hagiographical Documentation of the Mongol Invasions of Poland in the Thirteenth Century—Part I. The Preaching Friars.

No. 18. (1959)

- K. ENOKI, On the Nationality of the Ephthalites.  
M. NOMURA, Materials for the Historical Phonology of the Mongol Language.  
Y. YAMAZAKI, The Origin of the Chinese Abacus.  
T. YAMAMOTO, A Tun-huang Manuscript of the Sixth Century A. D. concerning the *Chün-t'ien* 均田 Land System (1).

No. 19. (1960)

- K. ENOKI, Dr. Sei WADA.  
Writings of Dr. Sei WADA.  
S. WADA, A Study of Dayan Khan.  
N. TSUJI, The Marriage-section of the Āgñiveśya-Gṛhyasūtra.  
M. ISHIDA, A Biographical Study of Giuseppe Castiglione (Lang Shih-ning), a Jesuit Painter in the Court of Peking Under the Ch'ing Dynasty.  
T. NISHIDA, The Numerals of the Hsi-hsia Language—Their Reconstructions and Comparative Studies.

No. 20 (1961)

- K. ENOKI, Dr. Mikinosuke ISHIDA and Dr. Hirosato IWAI.  
Writings of Dr. Mikinosuke ISHIDA.  
Writings of Dr. Hirosato IWAI.  
M. ISHIDA, The *Hu-chi*, 胡姬, mainly Iranian Girls, found in China during the T'ang Period.  
H. IWAI, The 17-Article Constitution of Crown Prince Shōtoku 聖德太子.  
Y. SUTŌ, Relationships between the Shi-huo-chih 食貨志 in the *Sung-chao-kuo-shih* 宋朝國史 and the Shin-huo-chih 食貨志 in the *Sung-shih* 宋史.  
M. MORI, A Study on Uygur Documents of Loans for Consumption. Activities of the Toyo Bunko.