

THE JUI DIALECT OF PO-AI AND THE NORTHERN TAI

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The Jui dialect of Po-ai is a member of the Northern group of Tai dialects which are known to form a special branch.¹ A number of names has been suggested to designate this group, but none of them is too apt. Chung-chia (仲家 or Chung) is used by Chinese to designate the speakers of this dialect group in Kweichow, Chuang-chia (獐家, 撞家, 僮家, or Chuang) is used to designate the speakers of this group in Kwangsi, and Jui, 'Jui, 'Joi, etc. of which the name Dioi is but a poor phonetic rendering, are the native names according to the pronunciation of the dialects. In 1941-1942 when the author was travelling among these people in Kweichow, they seemed to prefer for a strange reason the name I-chia (夷家) or I-jen (夷人). Perhaps this is the basis for the name Pu-I (the I people) used by Yü Shih-ch'ang to designate the Tai speaking population in Kweichow. Strangely enough this name is not explained, nor does it appear in the vocabulary compiled by him.²

The Wu-ming dialect belongs also to this group,³ but it does not have the name Jui or its corresponding form. It is simply called Thu (土), a name used rather loosely also to designate speakers of other dialects such as Lungchow, etc. It seems much simpler to me to call this group the Northern Tai, as it will include languages which are known to be Jui (Dioi) and also those that are not known as Jui. That this Northern group is important for Tai linguistics is fully realized by K. Wulff who devotes to the Dioi dialect of Ts'e-heng (册享), as recorded by Esquirol and Williatte in their dictionary (Hongkong 1908), about twenty-two pages of comparative study, although he realizes the defects of the phonetic recording of the material.

The position of Po-ai among the Northern Tai dialects can best be shown by a survey of the characteristics of the Northern group as a whole

1. Cf. K. Wulff, *Chinesisch und Tai*, 1934, pp. 101ff., and F. K. Li. Phonology of the Wu-ming Dialect, *BIHP* 12 (1947), p. 293.

2. Cf. Yü Shih-ch'ang, *A Study of Pu-I grammar* 喻世長, 侬依語法研究, 1956.

3. Cf. also F. K. Li, *The Tai Dialect of Wu-ming (Texts. Translations. and Glossary)*, 1956.

and by a classification of the dialects in this group. For this purpose I have utilized, aside from the published sources, materials from the following dialects, Po-se (百色), T'ien-chow (田州), Ling-yün (凌雲), Hsi-lin (西林), Ch'ien-chiang (遷江), Kwei-yang (貴陽), and Tu-shan (獨山), which I have gathered in the course of my field work in Kwangsi and Kweichow. All these materials and others will eventually be incorporated in a comparative dictionary of the Tai dialects. They support in general the following statements about Northern Tai, although examples will only be taken from Po-ai and Wu-ming, with Siamese (Thai) as a point of reference. Unless there are divergent developments among them no special examples are necessary. While these data by no means exhaust all the dialect variants in the Northern group, they serve as a fair basis for a tentative classification of the dialects.

The Proto-Tai (PT) forms are reconstructed largely on the basis of studies made by H. Maspero, K. Wulff and myself.⁴ The Po-ai forms are according to the phonemic system given in this Bulletin, vol. 28 (1957), pp. 551-566, thus slightly different from the orthography given in my previous studies. I wish also to remind the reader that the Proto-Tai reconstructions are in many cases hypothetical and to be regarded as mere symbols of correspondences found among the various languages.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NORTHERN TAI

1. The dialects of this group do not distinguish the aspirated from the unaspirated consonants of the Proto-Tai system. All aspirated consonants become unaspirated, although Po-ai begins to reintroduce aspirated consonants through the influence of Chinese.

Ex.

	Po.	Wu.	Si.
PT k-	kaj	kāi	kai 'chicken' (B1) ⁵
PT kh-	kaht	kat	khaat 'to be broken' (D1)
PT t-	tah	ta	taa 'mother's father' (A1)
PT th-	tahn	tan	thaan 'charcoal' (B1)
PT p-	paj	poi	pai 'to go' (A1)
PT ph-	pah		phaa 'to split' (B1)

4. Cf. H. Maspero, Contribution à l'étude du système phonétique des langues Thai. *BEFEO*, 1911; K. Wulff, *Chinensisch und Tai*, 1934; F. K. Li. The Hypothesis of a Pre-glottalized Series of Consonants in Primitive Tai, *BIHP* 11 (1947), pp. 177-188; Consonant Clusters in Tai, *Language* 30 (1954), pp. 368-379.

5. After the meanings of the forms quoted, A1, A2, B1, B2 etc. are given in parentheses to indicate the tone classes, cf. Cons. clusters in Tai, p. 371.

2. Proto-Tai x- and ɣ- are distinguished in this group from Proto-Tai kh- and g-.⁶ PT kh- and g- become Northern Tai k-, while PT x- and ɣ- become Northern Tai x- (>h-).

Ex.

	Po.	Wu.	Si.	
PT kh-	kah	ka	khaa	'to kill' (C1)
PT x-	hahm	ham	khaam	'to go across' (C1)
PT g-	kuh		khuu	'a pair' (B2)
PT ɣ-	hah	xa	khaa	'thatch grass' (A2)

3. PT nr- and lr- become Northern Tai r-. This appears in turn in the different Northern Tai dialects as either r- (Wu-ming), δ- (T'se-heng), ɣ- (Ch'ien-chiang), or l- (Po-ai). In dialects which have the l- form, it usually coalesces with the original l-, as for instance in Po-ai.

Ex.

	Po.	Wu.	Si.	
PT nr-	lam	rām	nam	'water' (C2)
	lohk	rök	nook	'outside' (D2)
PT lr-	lahj	rai	laai	'mark' (A2)
	lahk	rak	laak	'to pull' (D2)

4. PT thr- and xr- become Northern hr->r-, which appears in the different dialects in different phonetic shapes as in 3.

Ex.

	Po.	Wu.	Si.	
PT thr-	lam	rām	ham	'to chop' (C1)
PT xr-	lah	ra	haa	'to seek' (A1)

5. PT tr- and pr- become Northern tr- which in turn becomes t- in most Northern dialects except in the Wu-ming group where it becomes r-. This shows an early split of the Wu-ming group from the rest of the Northern Tai.

Ex.

	Po.	Wu.	Si.	
PT tr-	tah	ra	taa	'eye' (A1)
PT pr-	tuk	ruk	took	'strips of bamboo' (D1)

6. Cf. J. Burnay and G. Coedès, *Journ. of Siam Society*, 21 (1927), pp. 119-125.

As the examples show, Siamese does not distinguish these two Proto-Tai initials, but Lung-chow *haa* 'eye', Nung *ha*, *tha* and Lung-chow *phjook* 'strips of bamboo', Nung *p'eok*, show that we should keep them apart. I hesitate to interpret the forms in Lunet de Lajonquière's *Ethnographie du Tonkin Septentrional*, Paris, 1956, as quoted by A. G. Haudricourt in *BSL de Paris*, 52 (1956), pp. 315 ff., as they cannot be controlled phonologically. Since Paul Benedict suggested the relationship of Malayo-Polynesian *mata* and *matai* with Si. *taa* and *taai* in *Amer. Anthro.* 44 (1942), pp. 576-601, few scholars have suspected that this consonant *t-* in Tai is probably not originally a simple PT *t-* (implied by Haudricourt's speculation *mata* > *mda* > *pda* > *pra*). I wish also to point out that even in the Malayo-Polynesian languages the behavior of this *t-* is phonologically different,⁷ and that the syllable *ma-* may be a stereotyped prefix in Malayo-Polynesian, and therefore may not play a part in the Tai languages.

6. PT *tl-* becomes Northern *r-*, which again appears in the various dialects in different phonetic shapes as in 3.

Ex.

Po.	Wu.	Si.	
lohj	röj	tooj	'banana leaf' (A1)
lim	rim	tem	'full' (A1)

7. PT *thl-* becomes Northern *čh-* > *š-*.

Ex.

Po.	Wu.	Si.	
šaj	šai	thai	'to plow' (A1)
šahm	šam	thaam	'to ask' (A1)

8. PT *vr-* becomes Northern *j-* > *č-* > *š-*.

Ex.

Po.	Wu.	Si.	
šah	ša	phraa	'sword' (C2)
šaw	šau	phrau	'evening meal' (A2)

7. Cf. Ogawa, *The Myths and Traditions of the Formosan Native Tribes*, 1935, pp. 8-13; and F. K. Li and others, Notes on the Thao language, *Bull. of the Dept. of Archeology Anthropology*, National Taiwan University, 7 (1956), p. 33, 42.

9. The Northern group often shows an original voiced consonant while the other groups of Tai dialects, such as Siamese (Thai), Shan, Nung, Tho, Lung-chow, etc., show a voiceless one. This, of course, can only be detected through the development of tone, as practically all Tai dialects have unvoiced the sonant stops and fricatives.

Ex.

	Po.	Wu.	Si.	
Northern b-: others ph-	pīh (B2)	pu (B2)	phaa (C1)	'cloth, garment'
Northern d-: others th-	tīh (A2)	taī (A2)	thīa (A1)	'to hold'
Northern g-: others kh-	kum (A2)	kum (A2)	khum (A1)	'ditch'
Northern r-: others x-	haw (C2)	xǎu (C2)	khau (C1)	'rice'
Northern ž-: others s-	šip (D2)	šip (D2)	sip (D1)	'ten'

10. The Northern group also shows certain special developments of vowels, diphthongs, etc. It is not yet possible to show the developments in detail, because the vocalic system of Proto-Tai is still far from firmly established. The following are some typical examples.

Ex.

	Po.	Wu.	Si.	
1.	jah	ja	jaa	'grandmother' (B2)
	But jih	?ji	jaa	'medicine' (A1)
	jihk	?jiäk	jaak	'hungry' (D1)
2.	liht	liät	liat	'blood' (D2)
	But naht	?dat	diät	'hot' (D1)
	lahn	ran	rīan	'house' (A2)
3.	muh	mău	muu	'pig' (A1)
	But lih (A2)	rī (A2)	huu	'ear' (A1)
	lik	lik	luuk	'child' (D2)

11. There are also differences in vocabulary, and other individual lexical items with phonological peculiarities typical of the Northern Tai dialects. A few examples will be given to illustrate this point, space does not permit us to go extensively into this item.

Po.	Wu.	Si.	
mīn (A1)	?bun (A1)	faa (C2)	'sky'

8. The Po-ai and the Wu-ming forms are of course etymologically related to Siamese *bon* 'on, on top of'.

pah (A2)	pa (A2)	yiŋ (A1)	'woman, wife'
mīk (D1)	ʔbīk (D1)	—	'girl'
pih (C2)	poi (C2)	phii (B2)	'elder sibling'
hahn (B2)	xan (B2)	hĩa (B1)	'sweat' ⁹

POSITION OF PO-AI AMONG THE NORTHERN TAI

Po-ai shares with the Northern Tai dialects all the features enumerated above, which seem to mark sufficiently the Northern Tai as a special group. Meanwhile, it has a number of features peculiar to itself.

1. PT ʔb- and ʔd- become m- and n- in Po-ai, thus falling together with PT m- and hm-, n- and hn- respectively. This is a case of coalescence which occurs late in Po-ai, as such coalescence does not occur in the other Northern dialects as far as we know.¹⁰

Ex.

	Po.	Wu.	Si.	
PT ʔd-	nih	ʔdoi	dii	'good' (A1)
PT ʔb-	maĵ	ʔbaĩ	bai	'leaf' (A1)

2. Another case of coalescence in Po-ai is that the Northern r- (of various Proto-Tai origins) becomes l-. This feature is shared by some other Northern dialects, such as T'ien-chow, Ling-yün, etc.

Ex.

	Po.	Wu.	Si.	
	laj	răi	rii	'long' (A2)
	lih	roi	rai	'dry field' (B2)

For other examples see 3, 4, and 6 above.

3. The important feature which characterizes Po-ai is the development of the tones which shows a split separating Po-ai from some other closely related dialects.¹¹ Some of the Northern Tai dialects show no different tonal development when the initial is a Proto-Tai glottalized consonant, i.e. ʔ-, ʔd-,

9. The Po-ai and Wu-ming forms are Chinese loans.

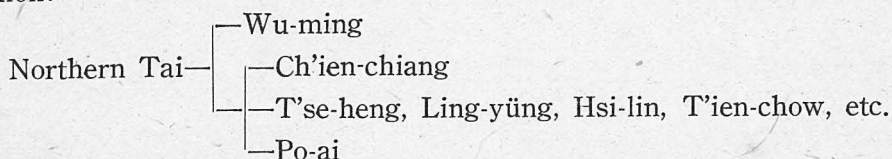
10. In other groups of Tai dialects, we find similar, though not identical coalescences, i.e. PT ʔb- > Shan m-, PT ʔd- > Shan l-, PT ʔb- > Tai Noir b-, PT ʔd- > Tai Noir l-.

11. For the development of tones as influenced by the different initials see F. K. Li, The Hypothesis of a Pre-glottalized Series of Consonants in Primitive Tai, *BIHP* 11 (1947), 177-188; Consonant Clusters in Tai, *Language* 30 (1954), 369-371; and The influence of the Primitive Tai Glottal Stop and Pre-glottalized Consonants on the Tone System of Po-ai, *Bull. of Ch. Studies*, 4 (1944), 59-67.

ʔb-, or ʔj-. The development follows the pattern of other voiceless initials and on the whole agrees with most Tai languages, such as Siamese, Shan, Lao, Lü, Tho, etc., but a number of the Northern dialects show different development in tone class C. The Proto-Tai glottalized initials cause the tone (only tone class C) to develop differently from the tone with voiceless initials; in most cases it coalesces with the tone developed from a voiced consonant. Po-ai, on the other hand, shows no special development in tone class C, but in tone classes A and D (with a short vowel), the Proto-Tai glottalized consonants cause the tone to develop differently from that with an original voiceless initial. This tone behavior at once splits the Northern Tai into three main groups:

- 1) No special development in all tone classes for the Proto-Tai glottalized initials: Wu-ming, Ch'ien-chiang.
- 2) Special development in tone class C: T'se-heng (Dioi), Po-se, T'ien-chow, Hsi-lin, Ling-yün, T'ien-chow, etc.
- 3) Special development in tone classes A and D (with a short vowel): Po-ai.

In view of the general and specific phonological features of the Northern Tai dialects discussed above we may tentatively classify them in the following fashion:



While the Northern Tai does form a special branch of the Tai family, I do not believe that the rest of the Tai languages form another single branch. There is both phonological and lexical evidence to show that we are dealing at least with two important groups. Thus I cannot accept Haudricourt's "Thai proprement dit" as a single group. I have not tried to classify the dialects in my article "Consonant Clusters in Tai", for I believe that phonological as well as lexical evidence must first be offered before an acceptable classification is possible. I shall deal with the classification of other Tai dialects in another paper, but for the moment I must apologize to Haudricourt who criticized me for not classifying the Tai dialects¹², —both for myself and for others, including Mr. Haudricourt himself.

12. Handricount, *BSL de Paris* 52 ((1956), p. 310.

剝隘土語及臺語北支(中文述要)

李 方 桂

本文主要說明剝隘土語在台語北支的位置。台語北支在台語系內別成一支系，本文先將台語北支的特點詳細列出，然後再將剝隘土語的特殊點一一敘述。

剝隘土語與其他北支方言的關係可用下表說明之：

