A NEW STUDY OF THE PAI-LANG SONGS

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Abbreviations and Signs

* Reconstructed Archaic Chinese Forms
ch. chüan 卷
EH Eastern Han (A.D. 25-220)
GSR Grammata Serica Recensa (Karlgren 1964)
HHS Hou Han-shu 俊漢書
LB Lolo-Burmese
PLB Proto-Lolo-Burmese
PTB Proto-Tibeto-Burman
SPPY Ssu-pu pei-yao 四部備要
SW Shuo-wen 説文
SWKL Shuo-wen chieh-tzu ku-lin 說文解字叢林
(Ting 1928)
TB Tibeto-Burman
WB Written Burmese
WT Written Tibetan

I. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Pai-lang songs consist of three short passages in the HHS, which are said to be translations of songs written in a non-Chinese language called Pai-lang 萃鍾. In the earliest extant HHS commentary the original Pai-lang versions of these songs are interlinearly appended to the Chinese text. The Pai-lang songs have been of interest to the Chinese for centuries, and during the 1920's, 30's, and 40's a number of studies either touched upon or dealt specifically with them. To the best of our knowledge they have not received in depth treatment in the West, although they have been mentioned in western sources from time to time. The object of the present study is to reexamine the Pai-lang materials in the hope of throwing further light on them and the language they represent.

1.2 The Ancient Chinese (sixth and early seventh century A.D.) reconstructions cited in this study are given according to Karlgren's system (as reconstructed in GSR) except where modified by Li (1971: 4-7). Archaic Chinese (900-600 B.C.) reconstructions follow Li (1971) except where modified by Li (1976). Reconstructed finals for the EH period (25 A.D.-220 A.D.) are given according to the system proposed by Ting (1975, Chapter 5) with the following exceptions:
1. Ancient labialized (i.e. ho-k’ou 合口) syllables will be marked with medial
-tw- in the EH forms.7

2. Where Ting reconstructs EH velar and labiovelar stops, -g and -gw, in p’ing
平 and shang 上 tone words, we prefer to posit fricatives, -ɣ and -ɣw.8

This modified EH final system may be summarized as follows:

Medials: -j-, -r-, -w-
Vowels: 

|  

| a  

Final Stops:  
Labiovelars kw gw ɣw ngw
Dentals t d n
Labials p m

Our recent studies of Han sound glosses have indicated that the initial systems
of various EH dialects differed from each other in a number of respects (Coblin
1978; Ms. 1). Therefore the EH initials reconstructed in the present paper should
be viewed as constituting a compromise or "standard" EH system based on our
earlier findings. This system of initials may be summarized as follows:

Labials p ph b m
Velars k kh g ng
Laryngeals · h
Dentals t th d n l r
Sibilants ts tsh dz s z

Ancient Chinese tonal distinctions will be marked in the EH reconstructions in
the following way:

平 上 去 入
unmarked / \ unmarked

In the present study it is the EH readings of Chinese characters which are of
primary interest to us. However, in order to clarify the manner in which we have
arrived at our EH reconstructions, we shall give *Archaic>EH>Ancient forms for
each reconstructed reading at its first occurrence in the discussion.

1.3 The Pai-lang songs are found in the Nan-man hsi-nan-yi lieh-chuan 南蠻西南夷列傳 of HHS. In our HHS edition this is ch. 76 of the text. In certain other
editions it is ch. 116. The following is a translation of the section in which the
songs appear:

HHS 76.2854-2857

The (territory of) the Tso-tu 孫都 barbarians, which was opened up by Em-
peror Wu (r. 140-86 B.C.), was made into Tso-tu County.9 Its people all wear
their hair hanging down their backs and fasten their garments on the left. In
their speech they are exceedingly fond of metaphors. The place where they live
is approximately the same as that (occupied by) the Wen-shan 斐山 barbarians.\textsuperscript{10} The region produces a medicine of immortality and is the place where the immortal, Shan T'U, lived.

In the sixth year of the yüan-ting 元鼎 era (111 B.C.) it was made into Ch'en-li Commandery 沈黎郡. Coming to the fourth year of the t'ien-han 天漢 era (97 B.C.) it was combined with Shu 蜀 as the western part thereof; and two chief commandants were appointed, the one to reside at Mao-niu 眸牛 and rule the barbarians living beyond the frontiers, and the other to reside at Ch'ing-yi 青衣 and rule the Chinese.\textsuperscript{11}

In the yung-p'ing 永平 era (58-75 A.D.) the inspector of Yi-chou 益州, Chu Fu 朱輔 of Liang-kuo 藥國, being fond of establishing merit, was boldly energetic and possessed of great plans.\textsuperscript{12} Remaining in the province for several years, he proclaimed the virtue of Han and (in so doing) avowed and won over the distant barbarians. (The territory) to the west of Wen-shan was an area which previous generations had not reached and where the calendar (i.e. imperial rule) had not yet been applied. (But now) over one hundred nations, including the Pai-lang 白蠻, the P'an-mu 柏木, and the T'ang-tsou 唐敖, numbering over one million three hundred thousand households and upwards of six million people, all presented tribute and declared themselves to be subjects (of the Chinese empire).\textsuperscript{13}

(Chu) Fu submitted a memorial which said, "I, your subject, have heard that the Odes say, 'For those who travelled there, Mount Ch'i had level roads.'\textsuperscript{14} The commentary says, 'Although the way to Mount Ch'i was remote, yet people did not consider it far.'\textsuperscript{15} What the poet sang I take as verification (of my point). Now T'ang Tsou 唐敖, King of Pai-lang,\textsuperscript{16} and others, longing for civilizing influences and (returning = ) turning to righteousness, have made three poems. Their road, crossing the great mountains of Ch'üng-lai 功來 and the Ling-kao 洞岡 and the Ling-kao Slope 陵高 坂 was steep and perilous and (worse) by a hundred-fold than the 'way to Ch'i'.\textsuperscript{17} (And yet) carrying their old and young on their backs, (they came) as if returning to a loving mother. In the language of the distant barbarians the meanings of words are difficult to determine. The grasses and trees are of different types and the birds and beasts are of different varieties. There is an official of Chien-wei Commandery 奏為郡, T'ien Kung 田恭, who is on intimate terms with them and knows their language quite well.\textsuperscript{18} I, your subject, ordered him to inquire into their customs and translate their words. Now I have sent the Clerk of Attendant Officials, Li Ling 李陵, and (T'ien) Kung to escort them to the capital and, moreover, to submit their music and poems to the throne. Formerly, in (the time of) the sage emperors, one danced the music of the Four Barbarians. Perhaps that which is now submitted furnishes (an example of) one of them (i.e. of the four types)."

The emperor having commended it, the affair was referred to the historiographers, who made a record of the songs.
The song wherein the distant barbarians took pleasure in virtue said: 19

1. 楚漢是治 (*drjøgh>EH drjø>g>dr) "The great Han is in good order, 20 together with Heaven it unites its intention. 21
2. 與天合意 (*jøgh>EH jø>g>i) The officials and translators are just and upright,
3. 史譚平壙
4. 不從我來 (*løgh>EH lø>g>løi) they did not, pursuing us, cause us to come. 22
5. 開風向化 Having heard the (winds = ) customs and faced towards the (changes = ) civilizing influences,
6. 所見奇異 (*grjøgh<EH rjø>g>ji) what we have seen is (strange, extraordinary = ) wonderful.
7. 朝服朝布 They have manifoldly given us silk cloth
8. 甘美酒食 (*djøk>EH djø>k>džøk) and sweet and (beautiful = ) fine wine and food.
9. 昌樂肉飛 In splendid happiness (our flesh flies = ) we are elated;
10. 屈申愁憊 (*bjiøgh>EH bjiø>g>bji) whether we are (bending = ) declining or (stretching out = ) advancing, in all cases we are provided for.
11. 留夷貧薄 We, the barbarians, being poor and (thin = ) impoverished,
12. 無所報嗣 (*sdjøgh>EH zjø>g>zì) have nothing to give in repayment. 23
13. 願主長壽 We wish for the ruler longevity
14. 子孫昌熾 (*thjøgh>thjø>g>tøhi) and that his sons and grandsons shall be splendid and glorious."

The song in which the distant barbarians longed for virtue said:

15. 檀夷所處 (*khøjøgx>EH thjø>g>tøhwo) "The place where we, the barbarians, dwell
16. 日入之部 (?>EH báø>bøo) (is) the sector where the sun (enters = ) sets.
17. 慕義向化 Longing for righteousness and facing towards the civilizing influence,
18. 归日出主 (*tjøgx>EH tjø>g>tøju) we (return to = ) commit ourselves to the ruler of (the place where) the sun comes out (i.e. the Chinese emperor).
19. 聖德深恩 With sagely virtue and deep kindness
20. 與人篤厚 (*gugx\EH guáx>g3u) together with other people he is wealthy and (thick=) affluent (i.e. he shares his wealth with others).
21. 冬多霜雪 In winter there is much frost and snow;
22. 夏多和雨 (*gwegx\EH gjwáx>ju) in summer there is much harmonious rain.
23. 寒溫時遽 The times of cold and warmth are (suitable=) in proper balance,
and the tribal people (manifoldly possess=) have plenty.
24. 部人多有 (*gwegx\EH gjwáx>j3u) Having traversed dangers and passed through perils,
25. 涉危歷險 we have not considered ten thousand li to be (too) far.
26. 不遠萬里 (*bljegx\EH glj3x>lji) Departing from (or: "casting aside") the vulgar and (returning=) turning to virtue,
27. 去俗歸德 our hearts return to the loving mother.”
28. 心歸慈母 (*m3egx\EH móx>m3u) The song in which the distant barbarians cherished virtue said:
29. 荒服之外 "Beyond the huang-fu region,24
30. 土地墮琦 (*khrux\EH khrux>kháx) the soil is stony and hard.
31. 食肉衣皮 We eat meat and wear skins,
32. 不見鹽霰 (*kuk\EH kuk>kuk) and we do not see salt or grain.
33. 吏譯傳風 The officials and translators have transmitted the (winds=) news;26
34. 大漢安樂 (*n3glax\EH lakx>lak) and the great Han is peaceful and happy.
35. 擔負歸仁 Leading by the hand and carrying on
36. 魚冒險陝 (*griáp\EH griáp>gáx) our backs (our dependents), we (return to=) turn to humaneness.
37. 高山峻嶺 The high mountains are steep and dangerous;
38. 經巖磯石. (*djiak\EH djiak>žják) We have followed along the edges of cliffs and boulders(?).27
(From) the tree thickets we led forth our families,28
39. 木薄發家 and in one hundred overnight stops we have reached Lo-yang.
40. 百宿到洛 (*glak\EH glak>lak)
41. 父子同賜  Fathers and sons (in the same way=) altogether have been given (gifts);
42. 懷抱匹帛 (*brak>*brak>*bek) they cherish and embrace rolls of silk.
43. 僱告種人 They transmit (the news) and tell their fellow tribesmen,
44. 臨顧臣僕 (*buk>*EH buk>*buk) and long desire to be subjects and servants."

At the beginning of the reign of Su-tsung (r. 76-88 A.D.) (Chu) Fu was dismissed from his post. At that time the offices of the commandery commandant all had on them carvings depicting mountain gods, sea spirits, strange birds, and odd beasts, in order to overawe them (i.e. the local inhabitants). The barbarians were increasingly afraid of them.

In the twelfth year of the yung-yüan 永元 period (100 B.C.) in the reign of Emperor Ho 和帝, T'ang Tseng 唐僧, king of the Pai-lang and Lou-po 樸貊 barbarians from beyond the frontiers at Mao-niu, along with certain others, led 170,000 tribesmen to return to righteousness and enter tributary status. By imperial command he was granted a gold seal and purple ribbon, and the lesser dignitaries were given cash and silk, each according to rank.

II. THE PAI-LANG VERSIONS

2.1 It will have been noted in the preceding section that only the Chinese versions of the Pai-lang songs occur in the HHS text. Li Hsien's commentary (HHS 76.2856) states that the Tung-kuan-chi 東觀記 (also known as Tung-kuan Han-chi 東觀漢記, completed in the hsi-p'ing 襄平 era, 172-178 A.D.) records the songs, giving first the original Pai-lang versions (written in Chinese characters) and then appending a Chinese translation. According to Li it is this Chinese translation which Fan Yeh used in compiling his HHS account of the Pai-lang tribe. Li then states that he has inserted the lines of the Pai-lang versions (as preserved in the Tung-kuan-chi) between those of Fan's Chinese text to form a sort of commentary. It is to these Pai-lang versions that we shall now turn our attention.

The Pai-lang versions preserved in the HHS differ slightly among themselves. We shall take the Chung-hua shu-chü HHS version as our basic text and identify all variant HHS readings with the letters "HSV". Another version of the texts is preserved in the T'ung-chih 通志 of Cheng Ch'iao 鄭樵 (1104-1160). We follow the Kuo-hsüeh chi-ken ts'ung-shu 國學基本叢書 version of this text (ed. Taipei, 1959, pp. 3165.3-3166.1) and all variants appearing therein will be identified with the letters "TC". Finally, yet another version of the songs is preserved in the extant fragments of the Tung-kuan-chi. We follow the SPPY version of this text (ch. 22, pp. 1b-2a) and identify variants therefrom with the letters "TKC".

In the following study each line of the text will be numbered, and each character in the line will be assigned a letter (i.e. a-d). In treating each line we give
the following material in four columns from left to right:

2. The *Archaic > EH > Ancient reconstructions for the characters in column 1, according to the systems outlined in section 1.2 above.
3. The characters in the Chinese versions of the songs.
4. The meanings of the characters in column 3.

Internal comparison shows that the word order of the Pai-lang versions is in many cases the same as that of the Chinese, e.g.

line 18

Pai-lang version: 路且 掇 鵝
Chinese version: 歩日 出 主

“We return to (=commit ourselves to) the ruler of (the place where) the sun comes out.”

Pai-lang 路 corresponds to Chinese 歩 “return” in lines 28 and 35. Pai-lang 且 corresponds to Chinese 日 “sun” in line 16. Pai-lang 掇 corresponds to Chinese 主 “ruler” in line 13. Pai-lang 鵝 does not occur elsewhere in the text, but by the process of elimination we may be reasonably certain that it is this word which corresponds to Chinese 出 and means “come out” in the Pai-lang version. Consequently we may conclude that the word order of the Pai-lang line is identical to that of the Chinese line.

As a general principle we shall assume that the word order of the two versions is the same unless internal evidence suggests a different conclusion. However, at two points in the text (i.e. in lines 19 and 37) we depart from this principle and propose different word ordering on the basis of possible comparisons with TB languages.²⁰

2.2 Study of the texts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>line number</th>
<th>Pai-lang transcriptional character</th>
<th>reconstruction</th>
<th>Chinese character</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>堤 (*dig &gt; EH diei &gt; diei)</td>
<td>大</td>
<td>“big, great”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>官 (*kwan &gt; EH kwan &gt; kuăn)</td>
<td>漢</td>
<td>“Han”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TC: 宮</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>醅 (*ngwad &gt; EH ngwôi &gt; ngwu)</td>
<td>維</td>
<td>“this, that (post-posted anaphoric demonstrative)”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HHSV: 麹</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>据 (*kugh &gt; EH kuàng &gt; kou)</td>
<td>治</td>
<td>“to be in order, to put in order”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1a diei “great” is clearly a variant of 34adjîbi “great”. 1b kwan appears to be a Pai-lang loan for Chinese 漢 (*hank > EH hân > xăn) “Han” (cf. line 34 where the Chinese character 漢 is itself used in the Pai-lang version). For this reason
we may suspect that the TC variant 官 (*kjongw > EH kjongw > kjung) can be rejected as a graphic error for 官. Internal evidence does not allow us to decide between the variant graphs for 1c ngwõi/kwai.

2. a 魏 (*ngwõjed, -h > EH ngwõi/ ngwõd > ngwõi) 與 “together with”
   b 咸 (*mogwõ > EH mõgw > mâu) 天 “Heaven”
   c 姫 { (*rug > EH rjuæ > jiu) 合 “unite, join”
   d 槲 (*tsaw > EH tsoŋ > tsâu) 意 “intention”

2a ngwõi/ngwõd “together with” also occurs in line 20.

3. a 同 (*mjængx > EH mjâng > mjwang) 束 “officials”
   b 翻 HHSV, TC: 譯 (*rak > EH rjak > jïk) 譯 “translator”
   c 刘 (*bljægw > EH gljoŋ > ljëu)³ 平 “just, fair”
   d 鼎 (*bjjg > EH bjëi > bjiŋ) 端 “honest”

3a mjâng “official” and 3b rjak “translator” also occur in line 33. In line 33 all text versions write 譯 for rjak, and we may consequently suspect that the HHS version which writes 3b as 譯 is corrupt.

4. a 旁 (*bang > EH bang > bwâng) 不 “not”
   b 莫 (*mak > EH mak > mïk) 從 “pursue, follow”
   c 支 (*rkjig > EH tjiei > tøjʃ) 我 “we, us”
   d 留 (*bijjægw > EH gljoŋ > ljëu) 來 “cause to come”

4b mak occurs in lines 26 and 32 where it corresponds to Chinese 不 “not (verbal negative)”, and in line 12 where it stands opposite Chinese 無 “have not”. We may therefore suspect that it is 4b rather than 4a which we should associate with Chinese 不 in this line, and we may also suspect that the TC variant 莫 for 4b is a graphic corruption of 莫. We may then guess that 4a bang corresponds to Chinese 從 "purse, follow" here.

4c tjiei occurs in line 12 where it corresponds to Chinese 所, a relative clause nominalizer which serves as the object of an immediately following verb. A variant form of this same word is almost certainly represented by 6a 知 trjiei which also corresponds to 所. Whether or not we should assume that the Pai-lang word tjiei/trjiei had precisely the same meaning and function as Chinese 所 is problematical. In any case, it is quite significant that the combination 4b-c mak tjiei in the present line also occurs in line 12 (a-b) where it corresponds to Chinese 無所 (報嗣) “have not that which we (give in repayment)”. This suggests that 4c tjiei should perhaps not be interpreted as Chinese 我 “we, us”, but rather as the Pai-lang particle represented by Chinese 所 elsewhere in the text.
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5. a 徽
   (*trjøŋ>EH trjøŋ>trjøŋ) 開 “hear”
   (*drjøŋ>EH drjøŋ>drjøŋ) 風 “(wind=) custom”

   b 衣
   (*jed>EH joi>ji) 風 “(wind=) custom”
   (*bjok>EH bjok>bjuk) 風 “(wind=) custom”

   c 隱
   (*rjuar/*sdjuar>EH zjuei>zui) 向 “face towards”

   d 族
   (*gljagx>EH gljag>ljwo) 化 “(change=) civilizing influence”

The expression 5 c-d zjuei gljag “face towards the civilizing influence” also occurs in line 17.

6. a 知
   (*trjig>EH trjig>ttj) 所 relative clause nominalizer

   b 唐
   (*dang>EH dang>dang) 見 “see”

   c 桑
   (*sang>EH sang>sang) 奇 “strange”

   d 艾
   (*ngadh>EH ngad>ngai) 異 “different”

6a trjig, represented by Chinese 所, is probably a variant of 12b 支 tjiig, which also corresponds to 所. 6b dang “to see” is the same word as 32b 禄 dang “to see”. The Chinese expression 奇異 “strange, extraordinary” is a synonym compound, and it is possible that 6c-d sang ngad is also a compound. The fact that bisyllabic compounds do in fact occur in the Pai-lang text is indicated by 30c-d lian-lian “hard, stony”.

7. a 邪
   (*grjia>EH rjia>jia) 多 “much, manifoldly”
   (*sgjia>EH zjia>zja) 多 “much, manifoldly”

   b 眇
   (*bji>EH bji>bji) 賜 “give”

   c 葫
   (reading unknown) 維 “silk”
   TC: 堆
   (*khom>EH khom>khôm) 布 “cloth”

   d 繳
   (*pax>EH páx>pux) 布 “cloth”

7a rjia/zjia “much” also occurs in lines 21, 22, and 24. 7b bji “to give” appears in line 41.

8. a 推
   (*thod>EH thwai>thuài) 甘 “sweet”

   b 潭
   (*dom>EH dom>döm) 美 “beautiful, fine”

   c 僕
   (*buk>EH hub>buk) 酒 “wine”
   (*bokw>EH bokw>buk) 酒 “wine”

   d 遠
   (*gejianx, h>EH gjuan/gjuan>juan) 食 “food”
   (*gjig>EH gjāg>gjwo) 食 “food”

9. a 拓
   (*thak>EH thak>thak) 昌 “splendid, bright”

   b 拒
   (*gjag>EH gjag>gjwo) 楊 “happiness”
   (*kujag>EH kjwāg>kju) 楊 “happiness”
9b gjâx/hjûâx “happy, happiness” occurs again in line 34. 9c sax “meat” appears in line 31. One HHS version writes 使 for 9d 便. We suspect that this is a copyist’s error and follow the editors of our HHS edition in rejecting it.

10. a 局 (*gljuk>EH gjuk>gjwok) 屈 “bend”
b 後 (*gux>EH guâx>g3u) 中 “stretch”
c 仍 (*njang>EH njang>ńżjung) 悉 “all”
d 離 (*ljiar>EH ljiei>ljê) 備 “provided, furnished, prepared”

10d ljiei “provided, furnish, prepared” is possibly the same word as 23rd 離 ljiei “suitable, in proper balance”.

11. a 倭 (*gljug>EH gljuâx>lju) 糟 “southern barbarian”
   (*glug>EH gluaâx>ləu)   
b 譲 (*njâng>EH njâng>ńżjung) 夷 “barbarians”
c 龍 (*bljung>EH gljung>ljwong) 貧 “poor”
d 穴 (*dungh>EH dâng>dung) 薄 “thin (= poor)”

The Chinese term 糟夷 “barbarians” is a binome, and the corresponding Pai-lang syllables, 11a-b gljuâx/gluaâx njâng probably also form a compound. This term, which occurs again in line 15, may have been the name by which the Pai-lang people referred to themselves. Since Chinese 貧薄 “poor” is a binome, Pai-lang 11c-d gljung dâng may also have been a compound meaning “poor”.

12. a 莫 (*mak>EH mak>mâk) 無 “have not”
b 支 (*krjig>EH tjiei>tšê) 所 relative clause nominalizer
c 度 (*dagh>EH dâg>dou) 報 “repay, give in repayment”
d 由 (*regw>EH rjow>jìšu) 副

12a mak occurs in lines 26 and 32 where it corresponds to Chinese 不 (verbal negative). It is possible that in line 4 it is also used in the sense of “have not”. 12b tjiei is probably a variant of 6a 知 trjiei which is also represented by Chinese 所. The combination 12a-b mak tjiei also occurs in line 4. As noted in section 1.3 above, 報副 is apparently a compound meaning “repay”; and consequently it is possible that 12c-d dâg/dak rjow is also a compound with the same meaning.

13. a 陽 (*râng>EH rjiang>jiang) 顧 “wish, desire”
b 甑 (*glak>EH glak>lák) 主 “ruler”
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13a rjøng “wish, desire” occurs again in line 44. This word may be cognate to 17a djøng/rjøng “long for”. 13b glak “ruler” appears again in line 18. In line 40 the character 40d 長 corresponds to Chinese 洛 (*glak>EH glak>lāk) “Lo-yang (the EH Capital of China)”; and, in fact, the Chinese graphs 長 and 洛 are interchangeable in the name of this city in Han texts. It seems quite possible that the Pai-lang people used the name of the capital, Lo-yang, when referring to the Chinese emperor. We suspect that 13d ljiøn is a variant form of 44a ljøng “long” and that it is 13d rather than 13c which corresponds to Chinese 長 “long” in line 13. 13c søng would then correspond to Chinese 慶 and mean “long life” or perhaps simply “life”.

14. a 莫 (*mak>EH mak>mak) 子 “son”
   b 爺 (*drjìg, -h>EH djìjì/djìjìd>qì) 孫 “grandson”
   c 角 (*krük>EH kruk>kāk) 昌 “splendid”
   d 存 (*dzon>EH dzwon>dzon) 營 “glorious”

15. a 僕 (*gljüg>EH gljüg>lju) 蠻 “southern barbarians”
   (*glµg>EH glµg>lµ) 夷 “barbarians”
   b 諷 (*njøng>EH njøng>újøng) 所 relative clause nominalizer
   c 皮 (*bjìar>EH bjìei>bjì) 簡 “dwell”

HHSV: 彼 (*pjìarx>EH pjìbei>pjì)
TC: 被 (*bjìarx, -h>EH bjìei/bjìei>bjì)

15a-b gljüg/glµg njøng also occurs in line 11. Tung (1937:4) suggests that the character 15c 皮 is a graphic error for 支 which corresponds to Chinese 所 in line 12.

16. a 且 (*tshjiàg>EH tshjià>tshjà) 日 “sun”
   b 叉 (*kraòw>EH kraòw>kau) 入 “enter (=set, go down)”
   c 慶 (*ljøng>EH ljøng>ljøng) 之 possessive or attributive particle
   d 惕 (*ngagh>EH ngág>nguo) 部 “sector”

16a tshjià “sun” occurs again in line 18. In line 29 the Chinese word 之, a particle of attribution or possession, is borrowed directly into the Pai-lang version. It is thus possible that 16c ljøng does not correspond directly to Chinese 之 in this line and that it may combine with 16d to form an expression meaning “sector, region”.


17. a 繩 (*djäŋ/räŋ>*EH djäŋ/rjäŋ> džäŋ) "long for"

b 動 (*däm>EH däm>däng) "righteousness"

c 隨 (*sdjuär/rjuär>*EH zjuei>zjwè) "face towards, incline towards"

d 旅 (*gljaŋ>EH gljäŋ>ljuo) "(change=) civilizing influence"

17c-d zjuei gljäŋ "face towards the civilizing influence" also occurs in line 5.

18. a 路 (*glag>EH glâg>luo) 归 "return"

b 且 HHSV, TKC, (*tshjiaŋ>EH tshjia>tshja) 日 "sun"

TC: 且

c 捜 (*täm>EH täm>tung) 出 "come out"

TC: 俇 (*täm>EH täm>tung)

d 錦 (*glak>EH glak>låk) 主 "ruler"

18a glâg "return" occurs in lines 28 and 35. 18b tshjia "sun" occurs in line 16 where it is written 且. We may therefore suspect that the HHS version which writes 且 for 18b here is corrupt. 18d glak "ruler" occurs again in line 13.

19 a 聖 (*hrjäŋ>EH hrjäng>öjäng) 聖 "sage"

b 德 (*ték>EH ték>tåk) 德 "virtue"

c 渡 (*dagh>EH dåg>dåo) 深 "deep"

d 話 (*nåk>EH nåk>nåk) 恩 "kindness"

There is no internal evidence for altering the order in which the phrase 19c-d dåg nåk "deep kindness" is to be read. However, we suspect that 19d nåk may be compared with PLB *nåk～nåk "deep", and on this basis we suggest that it is 19d rather than 19c which means "deep" in this line. 19c dåg "kindness" is perhaps the same word as 20c dåg "rich", both possibly meaning basically "thick" and being cognate to PTB *tå-k "thick". For a semantic parallel cf. Chinese hou 厚 "thick; substantial, rich; generous, kind".

20. a 魏 (*ngwjo>EH ngjwēi/ngjwāj>ngjwēi) 與 "together with"

b 華 (*gjwjo>EH gjwōn>gjwēn) 人 "people, men"

c 度 (*dagh>EH dåg>dåo) 富 "rich"

HHSV: 渡 (*dagh>EH dåg>dåo)

d 洗 (*sōnj>EH sōn>sien) 厚 "(thick=) affluent"

(*siu>EH sōi>siei)

20a njwēi/ngjwēd "together with" occurs in line 2. 20b gjwōn "human being, people" occurs in line 24 in the compound 24a-b 華裇 gjwōn pâi "tribesman". 20c
is written in some HHS versions with 度 (EH ㄊㄩˋ/dą́), which has two Chinese readings, and in others with 渡 (EH ㄉㄩˋ). On the basis of the latter variant we assume that the reading EH ㄉㄩˋ for 度 is intended here. Chinese 富厚 is a compound meaning “rich”, and it is therefore possible that pai-lang 20c-d ㄉㄩˋ siǹ/siᵢ is also a compound with this meaning.

21. a 綿
(∗tsɔ̂ngw>EH tsɔ́ngw>tsuɔng) 冬 “winter”
b 邪
(∗grjiag>EH rjiʌ>a) 多 “much”
(∗sgjiag>EH zjia>zja)
c 澆
(∗ljɔ̂gw>EH ljɔ́gw>ljɔ̀u) 霜 “frost”
d 濃
(∗pjɔ̂n>EH pjɔ́n>pjœn) 霖 “snow”

21b rjiʌ/a “much” also occurs in lines 7, 22, and 24.

22. a 葉
(∗dzak>EH dzak>dzak) 夏 “summer”
b 邪
(∗grjiag>EH rjiʌ>a) 多 “much”
(∗sgjiag>EH zjia>zja)
c 濃
(∗sdjɔm/rjɔm>EH zjɔm>zjɔm) 和 “harmonious”
d 潮
(∗luar>EH lœa>luâ) 雨 “rain”

22b rjiʌ/a “much” occurs again in lines 7, 21, and 24. 22c zjɔm “harmonious” may be etymologically the same word as 23b 湣 zjɔm “warm”. Thus 22c-d zjɔm ㄌYa may literally mean “warm rain” in the Pai-lang language.

23. a 邪
(∗mjiaŋw>EH mjiāw>mjâu) 寒 “cold”
(∗mrakw>EH mrakw>mak)
b 浴
(∗rjɔm>EH zjɔm>zjɔm)34 湍 “warm”
c 潮
(∗glaŋ>EH glaŋ>luo) 時 “time, season”
d 產
(∗ljiār>EH ljie>i ljê) 適 “suitable, in balance”

23b zjɔm “warm” may be etymologically the same word as 22c 湣 zjɔm “harmonious”. 23d ljie>i is possibly the same word as 10d 難 ljie>i “fully provided, furnished, prepared”.

24. a 菩
(∗gwjio̍nx>EH gjiwɔn>gjwën) 部 “tribe”
b 補
(∗pax>EH pəx>puo) 人 “person”
c 邪
(∗grjiag>EH rjiʌ>a) 多 “much”
(∗sgjiag>EH zjia>zja)
d 推
(∗thɔd>EH thuɔi>thuɔi) 有 “have”

24a gjiwɔn occurs in line 20 where it corresponds to Chinese 人 “human being”. It is possible that 24a-b gjiwɔn pəx is actually a compound meaning “tribesmen”. In line 41 the syllable gjiwɔn (written 菩) corresponds to Chinese 同 “(same, together=) altogether”. We suspect that 24a-b gjiwɔn pəx is a compound meaning “(the altogether ones=) everybody, the people of the tribe” and that 20b is a
reduced form of this compound, meaning “people”. The syllable 24b 텔 may then be some sort of nominalizing suffix meaning “the one or person who...” 24c RequestParam/ RequestParam “much” reappears in lines 7, 21, and 22.

25. a 髀 (*pjik>EH pjiek>pják) 涉 “traverse”

b 謂 (*ngwjar>EH ngjwei>ngjwę) 危 “danger”

c 𨉥 (*kwjad>EH kjwei>kjwęi) 历 “pass through”

d 𨋧 (*hjamx>EH hjiám>xjám) 險 “peril”

26. a 莫 (*mak>EH mak>mák) 不 “not (verbal negative)”

b 受 (*djogwx>EH djoyw>ţjőu) 遠 “consider to be (too) far”

c 萬 (*mjanh>EH mjăn>mjwen) 萬 “ten thousand”

d 柳 (*bljogwx>EH gljóxw>ţľoů) 里 “li”

26a mak “not” occurs again in line 32. In the sense of “have not” it occurs in line 12 and possibly in line 4.

27. a 術 (*djot/rat>EH djwot/rjwot> dźjuêt) 去 “depart form; cast away”

b 疆 (*diıp>EH diıp>diep) 俗 “vulgar, common”

c 附 (*bjugh>EH buąg>bju) 歸 “return to”

d 德 (*tok>EH tok>tok) 德 “virtue”

28. a 仍 (*njong>EH njong>ńůźjonoń) 心 “heart”

b 路 (*glāg>EH glāg>louo) 歸 “return”

c 子 (*dzjogh>EH dzjog>dżi) 慈 “loving”

d 摸 (*mag>EH mak>muo) 母 “mother”

(*mak>EH mak>mak)

28b glāg “return” also occurs in lines 18 and 35.

29. a 荒 (*hmang>EH hwang>xwâng) 荒 “huang-fu region”

b 服 (*bjok>EH bjok>bjuk) 服 possessive or attributive particle

c 之 (*tjoğ>EH tjoğ>tśi) 之 “outside”

d 儀 (*ngjar>EH ngjei>ngję) 儀 “earth, soil”

30. a 翔 (*lid>EH lioi>liei) 土 “earth”

b 翔 (*ljid>EH ljoi>lji) 土 “earth”

c 翔 (*dziak>EH dzják>dżják) 地 “hard, stony”

d 翔 (*lin>EH liän>lien) 琥}
31. a 阻 (*tsrjayx>EH tsrjå>x病毒感染) 食 "cat"
   b 蘇 (*sag>EH sax>suò) 肉 "meat"
   c 邪 (*griag>EH rjia>jia) 衣 "wear"
   d 柑 (*sagjiax>EH zjia>zja) 皮 "skin"

31b saxx "meat" occurs in line 9.

32. a 莫 (*mak>EH mak>måk) 不 "not (verbal negative)"
   b 磚 (*dang,-h>EH dang/dång>TC:楊 (*rang>EH rjång>jiang)
   见 "see"
   c 臘 (*tshag>EH tshax>tshuo) 鹽 "salt"
   d 湫 (*muk>EH muk>muk) 穀 "grain"
   TC:水 (*hrjådx>hrjwåi>swi)

32a mak "not" also occurs in line 26. In the sense of "have not" it appears in line 12 and possibly in line 4. 32b dang/dång/rjång "to see" is the same word as 6b 唐 dang "to see". By comparing the reading of 6b we may reject the alternate readings dang and rjång for 32b and decide upon dang as the correct form for the word "to see" in the Pai-lang language.

33. a 閑 (*mjång>EH mjång>mjawang) 更 "official"
   b 譯 (*rjak>EH rjåk>jaak) 譯 "translator"
   c 傳 (*drjuan>EH drjuan>djåwn) 傳 "transmit"
   d 德 (*mjåd>EH mjåi>mjawei) 風 "(wind =) news, accounts"
   TC:徵 (*hmjåd>EH hjwåi>xjawëi)

33a-b mjång rjak "officials and translators" also appears in line 3.

34. a 是 (*djåg>EH djie>i>jë) 大 "great"
   b 漢 (*hanh>EH han>xan) 漢 "Han"
   c 夜 (*riag>EH rjia>jia) 安 "peaceful"
   d 拗 (*gjåg>EH gjåx>giwo) 樂 "happy"
   (*kujåg>EH kjwåx>kju)

34a djiei "great" is a variant form of 1a 提 diei "great". 34d gjåx/kjwåx "happy" occurs again in line 9.

35. a 臨 (*tsjung>EH tswung>tsjwong) 掇 "take by the hand"
   b 優 (*jågw>EH jow>jù) 負 "carry on the back"
   c 路 (*glågh>EH glåg>luo) 遠 "return"

TKC: 說
35c glág “return” occurs in lines 18 and 28. Since in both of these lines it is written as 路, we may reject the TKC variant, 陌, in the present line.

36. a 雷 (*loḍEH lwoi>luài) 触 “encounter, butt into”
   b 折 (*ljetEH tjet>lṣjāt)
   (*djātEH djāt>žjāt)
   c 險 (*hjāmEH hjām>xjām)
   (*hjāmEH hjām>xjām)
   d 龍 (*bljungEH gljung>ljwong) 陝(陘) “gorge, chasm”

37. a 倫 (*gewljanEH gljiwən>ljuën)
   TKC: 儷 (*giwamEH giwam giwam)
   b 狼 (*langEH lang>lāng)
   山 “mountain”
   c 藏 (*dzang, -hEH dzang/dzàng>dzāng)
   峨 “precipitous”
   d 瞳 (*drungEH drung>dgāng)
   HHSV: 柢 (*phjanEH phjan>phjwen)
   TC: 隹 (reading uncertain)

There is no internal evidence for altering the order in which the phrase 37a-b gljiwən/gjām lang “high mountains” is to be read. However, we suspect that 37b lang may be compared with PTB *mrāng “high”; and on this basis we suggest that it is 37b rather than 37a which means “high” in this line. Chinese 峨岷 is a compound meaning “steep, precipitous”, and 37c-d dzāng/dzàng drung/phjan may therefore also be a compound.

38. a 扶 (*blagxEH bjāx>bju) 縱 “follow along the edge”
   b 路 (*glaghEH glág>luo)
   c 側 (*tsrākEH tsrāk>tsjāk)
   d 隆 (*blukEH gluk>luk)

39. a 息 (*sjākEH sjāk>sjāk)
   b 落 (*glakEH glak>lāk)
   c 脕 (*bjākEH bjāk>bjuk)
   d 浠 (*remEH rjēm>jiēm)

40. a 理 (*bljagxEH gljāx>lji)
   b 歷 HHSV, TKC, TC: 黶 (*likEH liek>liek) 宿 “overnight stay”
42. a 懷 (*gwroa>EH gruai>qwaɪ) 懷 “cherish”
b 桑 (*kagwx>EH kāzw>kâu) 抱 “embrace”
   TKC: 蘇}
c 匹 (*phjît>EH phjiat>phjët) 匹 “roll”
d 湾 (*lughEH luâg>išu) 帛 “silk”

TKC: 蘇]

HHSV, TKC: 言 (*ngjän>EH ngjan>ngjën) 告 “tell”
c 呼 (*hag, -h>EH haŋ/hâg>xuo) 種 “tribesmen”
d 敷 (*thrjæk>EH thrjæk>thjæk) 人 “tribesmen”

43. a 聚 (*ljæŋ>EH ljæŋ>ljæŋ) 長 “long”
b 陽 (*rang>EH rjæŋ>jìæŋ) 願 “desire”
c 臣 (*grjın>EH djıæn>ţjên) 臣 “subject”
ed 侶 (*buk>EH buŋ>buk) 侶 “servant”
   (*bokw>EH bokw>bukok)

2.3 The traditional view regarding the Pai-lang songs, as reflected in the HHS account and its T'ang commentary, is that the song texts were first recorded in the Pai-lang language (using Chinese characters) and then translated into Chinese. This view is tacitly accepted by Wu (1926) and Wang (1932). Ting 1935:17 and 19-20) suggests that the songs may have originally been written down in a non-Chinese script which could have been ancestral to the Lolo and Moso scripts later used in southwest China, but he is unable to marshal any real evidence for this. His theory is convincingly refuted by Wen (1936:181).

Wen (1936:181-2) and Fang (1944:84) raise two arguments against the traditional view that the Pai-lang versions of the texts are primary and the Chinese versions secondary:
1. The songs strongly reflect Chinese cultural attitudes and contain a large number of Chinese words and phrases. The following examples of this occur in the texts:

3b, 33b 譯 "translator"
13b, 18d 藩 "ruler (＜Lo-yang)"; 40d 鑪 "Lo-yang"
19a-b 聖德 "sagely virtue" 27d 德 "virtue"
25b 亙 "danger"
25d, 36c 亙 "peril; precipitous"
26c 篋 "ten-thousand"
29a-c 落服之... "... of the huang-fu region"
33c, 43a 傳 "to transmit"
35d 仁 "humaneness"
42a 稽 "to cherish"
42c 匹 "a roll (of silk)"
44c-d 代表 "(to act as) subjects and servants"

To these may also be added the following items which may reflect Pai-lang pronunciations of Chinese words: 58

1b 官 EH kwan, for Chinese 汉 EH hàn, "Han"
26d 柳 EH glió 或, for Chinese 里 EH glió "li"
28c 挚 EH dzjɔg, for Chinese 慈 (*dzjɔg ＞ EH dzjɔ 或 dzj) "loving"

2. The syntax of the Pai-lang texts agrees with that of the Chinese versions almost perfectly.

To these observations Tung (1937:10) adds the further point (unnoticed by earlier investigators) that the Chinese versions are rimed throughout. He does not identify the rime syllables in the songs, but a glance at the Chinese texts reproduced in section 1.3, with rime syllables noted, indicates that he is certainly correct.

The fact that the Chinese versions read perfectly and rime admirably strongly suggests that these texts were composed independently and are not a word for word translation from another language. Conversely, the fact that a large number of Chinese words and phrases, corresponding exactly to the identical elements in the Chinese versions, appear in the Pai-lang texts suggests that it is the latter which have been composed to fit the former, rather than vice versa.

The arguments of Wen, Ting, and Fang are in our opinion entirely convincing, but in accepting them we must still explain why it is that at three points in the text (i.e. lines 13, 19, and 37) the syntax of the Pai-lang "translations" does not agree with that of the Chinese originals. In answering this question we may suppose that after the Chinese text was written the corresponding Pai-lang forms for each Chinese word were elicited and recorded. It seems possible that in a few cases entire Pai-lang phrases may have been found to agree prosodically with their Chinese counterparts and may therefore have been incorporated unchanged into
the Pai-lang text. Thus, for example, we may guess that the Pai-lang expression 13c-d *sang ijian* "long life (lit. life long)" was elicited as a translation for Chinese 長壽 and, as a two-syllable phrase, was placed without modification opposite its Chinese counterpart. Where no Pai-lang words were available, or where available words might have upset the four-syllable prosody of the lines, Chinese words were transposed directly into the Pai-lang versions.

2.4 The HHS account indicates clearly that the Pai-lang people were ethnically non-Chinese and that their language differed greatly from that spoken by the Chinese. In spite of this Wu (1926:1) propounds the surprising theory that the Pai-lang tribe was already highly sinified in the first century A.D. and that its language was really a dialect of Chinese. In support of this he utilizes a number of rather tenuous phonological and etymological arguments to relate forms from the Pai-lang texts with suggested Chinese cognates. Wang (1932: 52, n. 14) has pointed out that Wu's speculations are entirely unconvincing, and all other investigators agree with the traditional view that Pai-lang was a non-Chinese language.

In attempting to determine the genetic affinities of the Pai-lang language scholars working in the 1930's and 40's faced a major difficulty in that EH phonological reconstructions for the Chinese characters used to "transcribe" Pai-lang were not then available. This problem was specifically discussed by Wang (1932: 16), Ting (1935:19) and Fang (1944:84). In attempting genetic comparisons between Pai-lang and other languages Wang (1932) used Ancient Chinese readings as given in Karlgren (1923) while all other scholars relied on the modern Chinese readings of the Chinese characters involved. Their comparisons and resultant conclusions are summarized in table 1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Investigators</th>
<th>Languages Compared with Pai-lang</th>
<th>Possible Genetic Affinities of Pai-lang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wang (1932)</td>
<td>Tibetan, Hsi-hsia, various Himalayan and LB languages</td>
<td>Lolo-Moso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ting (1935)</td>
<td>Lolo (Vial, 1909)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wen (1936)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Lolo-Moso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tung (1937)</td>
<td>Lolo (Ting, 1935)</td>
<td>Lolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tung (1941)</td>
<td>Lolo (Vial, 1909), Moso (Feng, 1940)</td>
<td>Lolo and Moso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fang (1944)</td>
<td>Moso</td>
<td>MOSO</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clear from this table that the various investigators agree in classifying Pai-lang as a TB language and, moreover, in assigning it to what we would now call the LB branch of Tibeto-Burman.
In the present paper we have reconstructed for the Pai-lang ‘transcriptional’ graphs a number of EH readings which we hope may facilitate linguistic comparisons of the type initiated by earlier scholars. Comparative work of this type should of course properly be left to specialists in TB studies. However, we are fortunate today in having available in the literature a number of PLB and PTB reconstructed forms which are readily accessible to non-Tibeto-Burmanists such as the present writer and which we feel might profitably be compared here with our Pai-lang forms. In comparative tables 2 and 3 below PTB forms will be cited according to Benedict (1972) unless otherwise indicated, and PLB forms will be given according to individually identified sources. Several authors’ names will be abbreviated in the tables as follows:

Bradley: B  Okrand: O
Matisoff: M  Thurgood: T

In a number of cases we have also added forms from individual TB languages. WT forms are given according to Jäschke (1881) unless otherwise indicated, WB forms according to Judson (1921), and Kachin forms according to Benedict (1972). Sources of all other forms are identified individually. Pai-lang forms are identified according to the numbering system used in section 2.2 above. Where alternate or variant Pai-lang readings exist for certain words we sometimes cite only one of these readings in the tables.

Table 2. Probable Pai-lang-TB Cognates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pai-lang</th>
<th>PLB</th>
<th>PTB</th>
<th>Other Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>altogether 41c giwán</td>
<td>*kun “all”&lt;sup&gt;37&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bend 10a giuk</td>
<td>*gok “crooked” (M 1972a)&lt;sup&gt;38&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>*guk-&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt; “bend”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bring forth 39c bjôk</td>
<td></td>
<td>*pro(k) “bring out”&lt;sup&gt;40&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>change 5d, 17d gjááá</td>
<td>*lay&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt; “change” (T 1974)&lt;sup&gt;41&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>*lay “change”&lt;sup&gt;42&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cliff, drecipice 38b glâg</td>
<td></td>
<td>*grok “ravine”&lt;sup&gt;43&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>cf. Chi’iang t’a “cliff” (Chang 1967)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cloth 7d pâá</td>
<td>*pa&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt; “cloth”&lt;sup&gt;44&lt;/sup&gt; (B 1975)</td>
<td>cf. *pa “patch, sew”&lt;sup&gt;45&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>come, cause to come 4d gjêw</td>
<td>*la&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt; “come”&lt;sup&gt;46&lt;/sup&gt; (O 1974)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>come or go out 18c tùng/tiàng</td>
<td></td>
<td>*don-&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt; “go out, come out”&lt;sup&gt;47&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deep 19d nák</td>
<td>*nák-&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt; “deep” (M 1972a)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Bai Language</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dwell 15d</td>
<td>mrjì̄n/nì̄a</td>
<td>*Cui1 “sit” (B 1975)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>earth 30a-b</td>
<td>liai/ljiai</td>
<td>*m³(r)³ (tsa²) “earth” (B 1975)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eat 31a</td>
<td>tsrjær</td>
<td>*dza2 “eat” (O 1974)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father 41a</td>
<td>bàg</td>
<td>*ba³ “father” (O 1974)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fly 9d</td>
<td>hjian/hjiän</td>
<td>*byam1-“Nbyam1 “fly” (O 1974)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>follow, chase 4a</td>
<td>bang</td>
<td>WT bangs-pa “to run, go” cf. also brang-ba “to follow, pursue”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>give 7b, 41d</td>
<td>hjoi</td>
<td>*bo² “give” (B 1975)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gorge, chasm 36d</td>
<td>gjìng</td>
<td>*lo³ “stream” (B 1975)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grain 32d</td>
<td>muh</td>
<td>*mrw³ “grain, seed” (M 1972b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>great, big la</td>
<td>diei</td>
<td>*tay “big” (M 1972b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hear 5a</td>
<td>trjì̄ŋ</td>
<td>Trung t’ag 1 “hear” (Lo 1942)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heart 28a</td>
<td>njì̄ŋ</td>
<td>*s-niŋ³ “heart” (M 1972a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heaven 2b</td>
<td>mògw</td>
<td>*mo² “sky” (B 1975)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high 37b</td>
<td>lang</td>
<td>*mrąŋ⁴ “mraŋ³ “high” (O 1974)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hundred 40a</td>
<td>gjò³⁴</td>
<td>*grya “hundred” (O 1974)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>life 13c</td>
<td>sàŋ</td>
<td>*šrīŋ “live” (M 1972a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long 13d</td>
<td>hjì̄ŋ</td>
<td>*m-r Şì̄ “long” (B 1975)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meat 9c, 31b</td>
<td>sāë</td>
<td>*ša “meat” (B 1975)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother 28d</td>
<td>mà̄/màk</td>
<td>*mà “mother” (B 1976)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>much, many 7a, 21b, 22b, 24c</td>
<td>rjìa</td>
<td>*Cnỳa³ “many” (B 1975)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*nrà “much, many” (M 1972a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Character</td>
<td>Pinyin</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>Sentence Example</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not (verbal negative) 26a, 32a; have not (4b), 12a mak</td>
<td>*ma٤ &quot;not&quot;٤ (B 1975)</td>
<td>*ma٤ (negative)٤</td>
<td>cf. Kuki-Naga -mah (negative suffix) (Benedict 1972)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>overnight stay 40b liek</td>
<td>*rak &quot;night, spend the night&quot; (M 1972a)٤</td>
<td>*rak &quot;day (24 hr. period); pass the night&quot;٤</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pass through 25c kjesi</td>
<td>*gow &quot;cross over&quot;٤</td>
<td>cf. WB kyo &quot;to step or pass over&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>person, man (nominalizing suffix) 24b pā</td>
<td>*pā٤ (male suffix) (B 1975)</td>
<td>*pā (masculine suffix)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>precipitous 37c dzang/daäng</td>
<td>WT gtsang-gtsong &quot;steep, rugged, mountainous&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rain 22d lua</td>
<td>*ywa/ywe٤ &quot;rain&quot; (B 1975)</td>
<td>*ŵa &quot;rain&quot;٤</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>return 18a, 28a, 35c glag</td>
<td>WT log-pa &quot;return&quot;; Trung lok GraphQL &quot;return&quot; (Lo 1942)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salt 32c tsha١</td>
<td>*(t)sa١ &quot;salt&quot; (B 1975)</td>
<td>*tsa &quot;salt&quot;١</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sector, area(1) 16c ljøng</td>
<td>*gin &quot;land, country, island&quot;١</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see 6b, 32b dang</td>
<td>cf. mraŋ &quot;see&quot;١</td>
<td>WT mthong-ba &quot;to see&quot;; Kanauri tain- &quot;see&quot; (Bailey 1915)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skin 31d lii/ljii</td>
<td>*ra١ &quot;skin&quot;١ (B 1975)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stone 38d giak</td>
<td>*k-lok &quot;stone, rock&quot; (M 1972a)٤</td>
<td>*ki̱-lo̱k &quot;stone&quot; (M 1970)٤</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sun 16a, 18b tshji̱a</td>
<td>*tsa١ &quot;sun-shine&quot; (B 1975)</td>
<td>*tsyar &quot;sun&quot;١</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sweet 8a thuwi</td>
<td>*twi(y) &quot;sweet&quot;١</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take by the hand 35a tsjung</td>
<td>WT 'dzin bzung gzungs &quot;to take hold of, seize, grasp&quot;١</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>winter 21a tsōngw</td>
<td></td>
<td>WB chóng &quot;cold season&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wood, tree 39a sjok</td>
<td><em>sik~</em>sj١ &quot;tree, wood&quot;١ (M 1972a)</td>
<td>*sj١ &quot;tree, wood&quot;١</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 3. Possible Pai-lang-TB Cognates</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pai-lang</strong></td>
<td><strong>PLB</strong></td>
<td><strong>PTB</strong></td>
<td><strong>Other Forms</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrive at, reach 40c</td>
<td>tsjei</td>
<td>cf. Nakhi tsh’ii “arrive” (B 1975); Lolo (Gni) tsh’ei “arriver” (Vial 1909)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beautiful, fine 8b</td>
<td>dom</td>
<td>*ta·p “beautiful”, cf. *dyam~ *tyam “full”, complete”90</td>
<td>cf. Kanauri damh(k) “beautiful, good” (Bailey 1915)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carry on back 35b</td>
<td>*jošw</td>
<td>*yu1 “take”91 (O 1974)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cast away, depart from</td>
<td>*k-kwat “free” (B 1975)</td>
<td>*g-kwat “free, release”92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>embrace 42b</td>
<td>kāšw</td>
<td>cf. Zhang-zhung hū “surround, encircle” (Haarh 1968); WT skor-ba “surround, encircle, enclose”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>encounter, butt against</td>
<td>*rαy2 “bold” (T 1974)48</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enter (=set, go down)</td>
<td>*gla2 “to fall” (B 1975)44</td>
<td>*kla~gla “to fall”45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frost 21c</td>
<td>ljošw</td>
<td>Hsi-hsia rίo “frost” (Wang 1992)46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glorious 14d</td>
<td>dzwən</td>
<td>cf. WT ‘tshar-ba “shine, glitter, brilliant, splendor”; Zhang-zhung dzwən-ci “miracle, delusion” (Haarh 1968)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandson 14b</td>
<td>drjei</td>
<td>*liy~?liy “grandchild” (O 1974)</td>
<td>*b·liy “grandchild”97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>happy 9b, 34d</td>
<td>gjās</td>
<td>cf. WT dga ‘ba “rejoice, glad, joy”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>home, family 39d</td>
<td>rjim</td>
<td>*yim2 “house”98 (B 1975)</td>
<td><em>kyim~</em>kyum99 “house”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kindness 19c</td>
<td>dąg</td>
<td></td>
<td>*tu·k “thick”100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>news, account (&lt;“what is heard”?)</td>
<td>=33d mjei</td>
<td>cf. Nakhi smi “hear” (B 1975)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>provided, furnished</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cf. Hsi-hsia *thi “to suffice, to be satisfied” (Nishida 1964-66:433)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relative clause nominalizer 4c, 12b</td>
<td>tjei; 6a drjei</td>
<td></td>
<td>cf. Burmese te, “used to connect relative clauses to their heads” (M 1971)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Word</td>
<td>Pinyin</td>
<td>Translation</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>repay</td>
<td>rjósə</td>
<td>cf. WB <em>rŭ (</em>‘roy’)</td>
<td>redeem, ransom, take out of pawn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rich</td>
<td>dǎ gj</td>
<td>*tŭk</td>
<td>thick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>righteousness</td>
<td>dʊŋ</td>
<td>cf. WT drang-po</td>
<td>sincere, honest, upright</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>risk, brave</td>
<td>dʑat/dʒat</td>
<td>*daŋ</td>
<td>able, know how to, skilled in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sector, area</td>
<td>ngāg</td>
<td>WT ngo</td>
<td>side, direction; ngos side, edge, surface; ngogs side of a mountain, bank of a river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>silk</td>
<td>lŭŋ</td>
<td>cf. *raŋ</td>
<td>weave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snow</td>
<td>pyan</td>
<td>cf. WT hād</td>
<td>hoar-frost; Nakhi mpong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>son</td>
<td>mak</td>
<td>cf. *s-mak&gt;mak</td>
<td>son-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>splendid, bright</td>
<td>kruk</td>
<td>cf. WT bhrag</td>
<td>brightness, luster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>splendid, bright</td>
<td>thak</td>
<td>cf. Proto-Burmese *tōk</td>
<td>“shine, blaze” (Burling 1967); WT dugs-pa “to light, kindle”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stony, hard</td>
<td>liam-liam</td>
<td>cf. WT reng-ba</td>
<td>stiff, hard, rigid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strange (=wonderful)</td>
<td>sang</td>
<td>WT baung-ba</td>
<td>“beautiful” Zhang-zhung sang-ci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>summer</td>
<td>daŋ</td>
<td>*tsa</td>
<td>hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thin, poor</td>
<td>dʊŋ</td>
<td>cf. WT stong-pa</td>
<td>waste, deserted, empty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unite, join</td>
<td>rjuaŋ</td>
<td>*ryaw</td>
<td>mix, mingle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vulgar, common</td>
<td>diap</td>
<td>*Ctap</td>
<td>“repeat”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wind (=custom)</td>
<td>*fii</td>
<td>cf. *fii</td>
<td>“wind”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wish, desire</td>
<td>rjiang</td>
<td>cf. Old Burmese bhyə</td>
<td>“to desire” (Nishi 1976); Proto-Burmese *skrąŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Three further examples may be added to table 3. Tung (1937:12) contends that 41b ṭṣa is actually a copyist's error for ṭṣ (∗tsjag, tshjag, tsrag>EH tsja, tshja, tsra>tsjwo, tshjwo, ṭsa). If he is correct then we may suggest the following comparison:

son (2) 41b tsja, tshja, tsra PLB ṭsa "child" PTB *ṭsa "child"112
(O 1974)

EH ṭ- (> Ancient ṭ-) is sometimes derived from Archaic *rj- (see Coblin 1978: 52-3; Ms. 1, Section 2.52). Rare contacts between this initial and EH dental stops may indicate that earlier *rj- was preserved in some EH dialects (see Coblin Ms. 1, Section 2.52), and if this was the case in the speech of the individual(s) who recorded the Pai-lang songs then 5c, 17c zijuei and 23b zijom might perhaps be reconstructed as EH rjuei and EH rjom respectively. However, since EH rj- as reconstructed by us normally yields Ancient ji-, we shall mark our hypothetical EH rj- (> Ancient ṭ-) as ṭj- here. This then enables us to suggest the following comparisons:

face towards, incline towards 5c, 17c zijuei/ṛjuei PTB *ṛwiy "slant, slope"
warm 23b zijom/ṛjom PLB *ḷum1 "warm" PTB *ḷum "warm"113
(O 1974)

2.5 The comparisons suggested in section 2.4 confirm, in our opinion, the view of most earlier investigators that Pai-lang was a TB language. Further support for this conclusion may be derived from the following expressions in the Pai-lang texts:

13c-d song tjian "long life"
"life" "long"
19c-d ḏag nak "deep kindness"
"kindness" "deep"
37a-b gljwion/ggliām lang "high mountain"
"mountain" "high"

In each of these examples, which we have argued (section 2.3) may represent original Pai-lang syntax, a noun is followed by the adjective which modifies it, and this syntactical arrangement is often found in TB languages.114

Previous investigators have also suspected a close relationship between Pai-lang and the LB branch of the TB family, and this would seem to be borne out by many of the comparisons suggested here. However, a closer look at several of these raises an interesting problem:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pai-lang</th>
<th>PLB</th>
<th>PTB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bend</td>
<td>gjuk</td>
<td>*gok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gorge</td>
<td>gljung</td>
<td>*løy³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hundred</td>
<td>gljōg</td>
<td><em>ra₁~</em>r̩ya¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>much</td>
<td>rija</td>
<td>*Cmya²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>overnight stay</td>
<td>liek</td>
<td>*r̩ak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stone</td>
<td>gluk</td>
<td>*k·lok</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In each of these cases the Pai-lang words are to some extent more similar to the reconstructed PTB forms than to the PLB forms, and this relationship with the TB parent language might indicate that Pai-lang is not a LB language per se but rather a closely related sister language of Lolo-Burmese within the TB family.

These speculations lead us to raise the question of whether or not our Pai-lang materials might be used to throw further light on the early history of the TB language family. We may answer this question in the affirmative only if we remain mindful of the fact that the Pai-lang forms given here represent the Pai-lang language as it was heard and recorded by speakers of an entirely different language which is itself known only in reconstructed form. Thus, problems in EH Chinese phonology must continually intrude upon any efforts to interpret the Pai-lang data. Let us now consider several examples of this.

Pai-lang ɨ corresponds both to TB ɨ and to TB ŋ in our comparative data:

| Table 2 | come, gorge, sector (1), stone |
| Table 3 | provided |

Pai-lang ɨ ....... TB ŋ

| Table 2 | cliff, high, hundred, long, overnight stay, rain, skin |
| Table 3 | encounter, frost, silk, stony |

Might we, on the basis of these correspondences, infer that Pai-lang has under certain conditions reversed the distribution of TB ŋ and ɨ, or, on the other hand, even that Pai-lang represents the original state of affairs in Proto-Tibeto-Burman? To do either would surely be unwarranted, because there is evidence that in certain Chinese dialects EH ɨ may have been some sort of lateral flapped consonant (see Coblin 1978:63-65), and it seems quite conceivable that such a sound might sometimes have been used to transcribe a TB rolled or flapped ŋ.

As a second case we may note that words possessing Pai-lang final -ʐ and -ʐw consistently correspond to TB open final words:

| Table 2 | change, come, eat, hundred, meat, (mother), person, salt |
| Table 3 | embrace, enter, frost, happy, just, repay, (son 2), unite |

Should we, on the basis of these examples, suspect that Pai-lang developed some sort of eponthetic final velar or labiovelar fricatives in certain open final syllables, or, on the other hand, that Proto-Tibeto-Burman originally possessed such fricatives? Here again our answer must be in the negative because, as pointed out in note 8 above, words having EH final -ʐ and -ʐw interchange with open final words in the Han sound glosses, and it is therefore possible that EH fricative final syllables were used to to transcribe TB open final words.

Finally we may note that in several cases Pai-lang words having final -ʂ, -ʂw, and -ʂŋ correspond to TB open final words:

| Table 2 | earth(30b), father, grain, heaven, not |
| Table 3 | summer |
In none of these cases is there any reason to suspect that the Chinese transcriptional syllables involved did not have final stops, and so here we may be reasonably certain that the Pai-lang words being recorded also had closed finals. Thus, if these comparisons are correct, then the evidence they supply should be taken into consideration when reconstructing Proto-Tibeto-Burman.

2.6 In section 2.2 we have suggested that the native designation for the Pai-lang tribe was 11a-b, 15a-d gluəɨ/gluaə njäng. The first syllable of this name is in all probability the same word as the syllable lou found in the name Lou-po 楼薄 (EH gluaə bah), mentioned in the HHS account as a tribe ruled by the Pai-lang king, T'ang Tseng. Matisoff (1969:148) has observed that an old tribal or linguistic designation reflected in the names "Lahu" and "Lolo" seems to have been widespread in the Tibeto-Burman speech community, and it seems possible that our Pai-lang word gluar may be related to this tribal name in some way.

2.7 Benedict (1972:9) has remarked that Pai-lang takes precedence over Tibetan and Burmese as the oldest recorded TB language, and as such it must certainly be of interest to scholars working in TB historical and comparative linguistics. In closing we may hope that the materials presented here will aid TB specialists in their work and also that future developments in the fields of EH phonology and TB comparative studies may throw further light on the language preserved in the Pai-lang texts.

University of Iowa

NOTES

1. Research for this paper was supported by an Old Gold Summer Fellowship from the University of Iowa. I am indebted to N.C. Bodman, who encouraged me to undertake this study and from whom I have received numerous helpful suggestions. I have also benefited from the comments and observations of P.K. Benedict, F.K. Li, and Axel Schuessler, none of whom are responsible for any errors which remain.

2. The HHS was compiled by Fan Yeh 范曄 (398–445). The version of this text used in the present study is that published by Chung-hua shu-chü 中華書局 (Peking, 1965. Reprint: Shanghai, 1973) and all chuăn 卷 and page numbers cited here refer to this edition.

3. This commentary was compiled by Li Hsien 李賢 (651–684) and others between 675 and 681.

4. They are mentioned, for example, in the Chung-shan shih-hua 中山詩話 of Liu Pin 劉攽 (1022–1088); see Li-tai shih-hua 歷代詩話 (ed. Yi-wen shu-chü 藝文書局, Taipei, 1956) v. 1, p. 176.
5. I.e. Wu (1936), Wang (1932), Ting (1935), Wen (1936), Tung (1937, 1940, 1941),
and Fang (1944).
6. Cf., for example, Rock (1947:64–5) and Benedict (1972:9).
7. Ting (1975) does not mark ho-k’ou labialization in his EH finals, but we have
argued elsewhere (Coblin 1978:36–40; Ms. 1, Section 2.4) that it must have
existed as a function of syllable finals in the EH period.
8. In the tu-jo glosses of Hsū Shen 許慎 (fl. 100–120 A.D.) we have found
that p'ing and shang tone words reconstructed by Ting with final -g and -gw
have glossing contacts not only with words ending in EH final -k and -kw
(which would support Ting’s reconstructions), but also with open final words
(cf. Coblin Ms. 2, Sect. 2.5). This behavior is also observable in the sound
glosses of other EH commentators, e.g.
Tu Tzu-ch’un 杜子春 (fl. late first cent. B.C. and early first cent. A.D.) ap.
commentary to K’ao-kung-chi 考異記. 筆記 筆 *kärx>Ting's EH -a>
Ancient kâ 烏 *hagwx>Ting's EH -agw>Ancient kâu
Cheng Chung 鄭眾 (ob. 83 A.D.), ap. commentary to Li-chi, Tien-jui 録記, 典
瑞：難故於文。確 *srjag>Ting’s EH -jag>Ancient sjwo 沙 *srar>Ting’s EH
-ra>Ancient 于a
Cheng Hsüan 謝玄 (127–200 A.D.), commentary to Yi-li, Pin-li 儀禮, 聖禮：於讀
曰為。子 *gwjag>Ting’s EH -jag>Ancient ju 爲 *gwjar>Ting’s EH -ji>
Ancient jié
Kao Yu 高誘 (fl. 196–219 A.D.), commentary to Huai-nan-tzu 淮南子, Chap. 6:
貌讀臣中人祖遺物之遺.貌*grjagwh>Ting's EH -jogw>jìшу 貌 *gorjiad>Ting's
EH -jiāi>jìwi
Contacts of this type have led us to suspect that in a number of EH dialects
Ting’s -g and -gw in p'ing and shang tone words may have phonetically been
fricatives, which might then have interchanged both with closed final and
open final words in the EH sound glosses. It can be argued, of course, that
these fricatives should be considered allophones of Ting’s -g and -gw (occurring
in ch’ü 去 tone words), and therefore need not be distinguished in transcrip-
tion. However, since in the present study we shall be dealing with
Chinese graphs which were used to record non-Chinese sounds, we suggest
that it would be best to use a narrow transcription for EH Chinese and there-
fore to retain our -γ and -γw as reminder notations.
9. Tso-tu was located southeast of modern Han-yüan, Ssu-ch’uan 四川漢源 (about
180 kilometers southwest of Ch’eng-tu).
10. Wen-shan is a mountain in the Min-shan 嵩山 range and lies in the southwest
part of modern Mao-hsien 茂縣, Ssu-ch’uan (about 100 kilometers north of
Ch’eng-tu).
11. Mao-niu was located south of modern Han-yüan, Ssu-ch’uan. Ch’ing-yi was
north of modern Ya-an 雅安, Ssu-ch’uan (about 125 kilometers southwest of
Ch’eng-tu).
12. Yi-chou was a province corresponding roughly to modern Ssu-ch'uan. Chu Fu is mentioned in HHS 24.860, where his personal name is written 酂, and again in HHS 56.1827. Liang-kuo was an administrative area in what is now eastern Ho-nan. The T'ang commentator, Li Hsien (cf. note 3), states that Chu was a native of Ning-ling 寧陵 which is located in Ho-nan about 200 kilometers east of Lo-yang.

13. This event is also mentioned in HHS 2.121 where it is said to have occurred in the seventeenth year of the yung-p'ing era (74 A.D.).

14. Cf. Shih-ching 詩經, ode 270, where the wording differs slightly from Chu Fu's version. Ch'i 齊 was the principality of King Wen 文王, father of the first ruler of the Chou dynasty.

15. This line does not occur in any known Shih-ching commentary, but Li Hsien cites a similar passage from a now lost Han 韓 school commentary. The point of this line is that though Mt. Ch'i was remote, people went there because they were attracted by the wise rule of King Wen.

16. T'ang Tsou appears to be the name of the king of Pai-lang in this passage and is in fact taken as such by Wang (1932:15), Ting (1935:17), Tung (1937:9) and Lo and Chou (1958:128 and passim). It is quite curious that this name is identical with the tribal name T'ang-tsou mentioned above. The T'ang-tsou tribe is also mentioned in HHS 56.1827; but, to our knowledge, the name of the Pai-lang king does not occur elsewhere in the text.

17. The Ch'iung-lai-shan (來 now usually written 廬) is an extensive range of mountains located about 150 kilometers northwest of modern Ch'eng-tu. The location of the Ling-kao Slope is unknown.

18. Chien-wei Commandery lay in the area of modern Chien-wei, Ssu-ch'uan (about 260 kilometers southwest of Chungking). T'ien Kung is not known from other sources.

19. The lines of the three song texts will be numbered continuously throughout. Reconstructed forms are given for rime syllables.

20. Literally: "The great Han, that one, they have put in order."

21. Some versions read 意合 here, but the rime pattern of the text indicates that 合 is the correct reading.

22. The rime pattern indicates that 來 should be read in the ch'ü tone, thus meaning "cause to come".

23. The expression pao-ssu 報脯 is apparently a hapax legomenon in this passage. Morohashi (1955-60, #5275.77) states that it is a variant form of pao-shih 報施 "to give as recompense", but cites no source for this interpretation.

24. The huang-fu region is traditionally identified as an area extending from 2000 to 2500 li from the capital.

25. We follow Wang (1932:27) in taking feng 風 here in the sense of "news, account".
26. Lo and Chou (1958:231) consider *hsia in this line to be part of an intercategory (i.e. ho-yün 合韵) rime sequence in this poem. We read *hsia here as a loan for homophonous 畢 “gorge”.

27. *P’an 磐 is glossed in SW (SWKL 4206b) as a type of stone attached to a string which was tied to an arrow and used to retrieve the arrow after it was shot. The expression *p’an-shih 磐石 is apparently a hapax legomenon in our passage. Morohashi (1955-60, #24490.3) glosses it as “name of a stone” but gives no source for this interpretation. Wang (1932:28) states that *p’an means “to climb” and would thus apparently read our line as “We follow along the cliffs and climb the stones”. However, to our knowledge *p’an is not attested in any text in the sense of “to climb”. Here we wish to suggest that 磐 in our line is a loan for homophonous 磐 “large stone” (both words read *ban>EH ban>buán). The expression 磐石 is well attested in Han texts in the sense of “boulder, big rock”.

28. We take po 萄 here in its sense of “thicket, closely meshed growth of vegetation”. Cf. lin-po 林薄 “forest thicket” attested in SW (SWKL 400b) and various other Han texts.

29. Readers may consult the notes in HHS 76.2867-2868 regarding textual variants in the HHS versions.

30. See section 2.4 below for a discussion of these comparisons.

31. We suspect that Archaic Chinese *bl- merged with EH gl- in at least some EH dialects (see Coblin 1978:61-62).

32. Li (1971:12) derives Ancient dě- from Archaic *dj-. However, we have suggested elsewhere (Coblin, 1978:59-60) that Ancient dě- may sometimes derive from Archaic *r-, and we consequently reconstruct alternate *d-/*r- Archaic forms here.

33. For the sources of TB forms cited here see section 2.4.

34. We suspect that Chinese 漲 “a bank where the water is deep” is cognate to 洎 (*hrjəm>EH hrjəm>ʃəm) “deep” and therefore reconstruct its Archaic initial as *r-.

35. Wang (1932:17), Wen (1936:182), and Fang (1944:84) consider la diei and its variant form 34a djei “great” to be loans for Chinese 大 (*dʌd>EH dàd>dài) “great”. Wang (1932:26) and Fang (1944:84) take 29d ngjei “outside” as a loan for Chinese 外 (*ngwʌd>EH ngwɔd>ngwǎi) “outside”. We consider both these suggested loan relationships to be phonologically unlikely.

36. Where the cognate forms underlying the PTB and PLB forms were available in the sources we have cited some or all of these forms in footnotes. In several cases where the cognate forms were not given we have supplied them on the basis of Judson (1921) and Burling (1967).

37. WT kun, WB a-kun.

38. WB kok, Lahu qɔŋ, Ahi gu 44s.
40. WT 'phro-ba, Kachin pro (high tone).
41. WB hläi, Lisu lì, Sani hìx 55, Nasu hls 55.
42. WB lài, Kachin lai~gelai (mid tone).
43. WT grog-po, WB khyok.
44. Matisoff (1968:885-6) remarks that this is an areal word which is common to several genetically unrelated language families of Southeast Asia. It seems possible that Pai-lang pāg "cloth" may be a Chinese loan. Cf. Chinese 布 *pagh>EH pāg>puo "cloth".
45. WB pha, Nung pha.
46. WB la, Lisu lā.
47. WT 'don-pa, bton, gdon, thon: Kanauri dön, tön.
48. WB nák, Lahu nā.
49. This form is reconstructed by P. K. Benedict (personal communication) on the basis of WB ne “to stay” and West Himalayish *ni “to dwell”.
50. WB mre, Akha mîtsâ.
51. WB mre, Mikir mili~meli, Nung mōli, Manyak mōli~mli, Tavoyan mle.
52. WB tsa, Lisu dzā.
53. WT za-ba, WB tsa, Bading dża.
54. WT pha, WB bha.
55. WB pjam, Lisu byan.
56. WB pjam, Kachin pyen.
58. WB pè, Akha bi.
59. WT sbyin ba, WB pè, Miri bi.
60. WT klung, Kachin kruŋ.
61. WT 'bru, WB myu, Kachin myu.
62. WT mthe-bo "thumb", Nung the, Mikir the "big".
63. Lahu ni-mà, Hani nu 33, Bisu nuŋ-ba.
64. WT snying, Lushei niŋ, Mikir niŋ.
65. WT rmu-ba "fog", WB mü(gh) "sky, clouds, rain".
66. WB mraŋ, Atsi məyəŋ, Lisu mō.
67. WB mraŋ, Kanauri raŋ.
68. WB hræŋ, Manchati sriŋ.
69. WT ring-ba, sring-ba; WB hræn.
70. WB sà, Lahu sà.
71. WT sha, WB sà.
72. WT ma, WB -má (feminine suffix).
73. WT bra-ba, WB myà, Kanauri mra.
74. WB mà, Lisu mà-, Lahu mà.
75. WT mā, WB mà.
76. WB rak, Lahu hä.
77. WT zhag, WB rak, Lushei riak.
78. WB hù, Kachin gau.
79. WB rwa, Lushei ruǎ?, Bahing rya-wa.
80. WT tshwa, WB tshà.
81. WT gling, WB krañ.
82. Murmi mrag, WB mrag.
83. WB a-re.
84. WB kyok (inscriptional klokk), Ahi lu 44.
85. WB kyok, Lashi lāk, Mikir ļok.
86. Bahing tśyar, Kachin dżan, Garo sal.
87. Kachin dōūi~dwi, Lushei tui.
88. The stem of this verb is *zung; see Coblin (1976:58).
89. WB sac, Lahu stʔ, WT shing, Bisu tswg.
90. Kachin thap; Bahing dyam, WT tlam-pha.
91. WB yu, Lahu yū.
92. WT hlod-pha, glod-pha; WB lwat, hlwat, kywat.
93. WB râi.
94. WB kyā, Akha gākā.
95. WB kya, Lepcha klo.
96. Nishida (1964–66:361, #47-071) lists the Hsi-hsia graph referred to here by
Wang, but does not give a phonological reconstruction for it. Professor K.B.
Kepping informs me in a personal communication that M.V. Sofronov recon-
structs the pronunciation of this graph as nia (N 2264). If Sofronov is cor-
rect, then the comparison suggested here would be less appealing.
97. WB mre (inscriptional mliy), Nung phali, Lolo li.
98. WB im, Lahu yē.
99. WT khyim, WB im, Trung tśiam.
100. WT thug-pha, WB thuik. For the semantic connection in this comparison cf.
Chinese hou ng “thick; generous, kind”.
101. For the semantic connection in this comparison cf. Chinese hou ng “thick, sub-
stantial, rich”.
102. WB tat. For the semantic connection in this comparison cf. Nakhi "d'a "abili-
ity, power” and "d'a “courageous, efficient, keen” (Rock 1963:51) which we
suspect may be etymologically the same word. It is interesting to note that
Okrand (1974:83) suggests that Nakhi "d'a is cognate to PLB *dat “able”.
103. For the semantic relationship in this comparison cf. Chinese chieh 界 “border,
edge; region, territory”.
104. WB rak, Lahu pâ?
105. WB samak, Lahu má.
106. WT mag-pa, WB samak.
107. WT tsha, WB tsha “hungry”.
108. WB rau, Kachin yau.
109. WT ltab-po, WB thap. For the semantic connection here cf. Chinese hsi 習 “to do repeatedly, practice; usage, custom”.
110. In the light of this comparison it is intriguing to speculate that 5b 衷 might be reconstructed in Chinese as *-ljad>-EH ·ljai>-·jēi. This is phonologically possible in Chinese, but there is no firm internal evidence to support the reconstruction of *-l- here. On the other hand, Shih-ming 習名 glosses 術 *lag> lāi with 術 *-ad>-·āi, whose phonetic is 術. This may indicate that *-l- clusters can be reconstructed for at least some words in the 術 series.
111. WB le, Kachin buy-li, Gyarung khale.
112. WT tsha-bo “grandchild”, Maru tsò.
113. WB lum, Kachin lum, Nung lim.
APPENDIX

English-Pai-lang Glossary

In this glossary reconstructed EH readings for the Chinese graphs used to write the words in the Pai-lang songs are arranged according to English glosses. Each entry is identified according to the numbering system used in section 2.2. Chinese loan words are identified with the letters “CL”.

all 10c njàng
barbarian, Pai-lang person 11a-b, 15a-b gljuåg/gluaå ngång
beautiful, fine 8b dom
to bend 10a gjuk
boulder (?) 38c tsrsjak
bring forth, send forth 39c bjak
carry on the back 35b -joøw
cause to come, come 4d gljoøw
change, influence 5d, 17d gljåx
cherish 42a grwaì (CL)
cliff, precipice 38b glåg
cloth 7d påx (CL?)
cold, cool 23a mijaøw/mrakw
come or go out 18c tung/tång
consider to be too far 26b djøxw
danger 25b ngjuei (CL)
deep 19d nak
depart from, cast away 27a djwåt/rjwåt
different 6d ngåd
dwell 15d njiai/njåi
earth 30a-b liai/ljiai dzjiaak
eat 31a tsrsjåx
embrace 42b kåxw
encounter, butt against 36a lwai
enter (=set, of the sun) 16b kragw
face towards 5c, 17c zjuei/(rjuei ?)
fother 41a båg
follow along the edge of 38a bjåx
food 8d gjwån/gjwån
to fly 9d bjiai/bjiån
frost 21c ljøxw
give 7b, 41d bjiai
glorious 14d dzwan
gorge, chasm 36d gljung
grain 33d muk/hrjwôi
grandson 14b drjiai/drjåd
great 1a diei; 344a djåi
Han 1b kwan (CL); 34b hån (CL)
happy, happiness 9b, 34d gjåx/kjåx
hard, stony 30c-d tiåm-liåm
harmonious 22c zjam
have 24d thwai
have not 4b(?), 12a mak
hear 5a trjång/drjång
heart 23a njång
Heaven 2b mògw
high 37b lang
home, family 39d rjåm
honest 3d hjie
huang-fu region 229a-b hwång-bjåk (CL)
humaneness 35d njian (CL)
hundred 40a gljåx
intention 2d tsøxw
just, fair 3c gljøxw
kindness 9c dåg
li 26d gljøxw (CL)
life 13c sang
long 13d ljiam; 44a ljang
to long for 17a djång/rjång
loving 28c dzjåg (CL)
Lo-yang 40d glak (CL)
meat 9c, 31b saå
mother 28d maz/mak
mountain 37a gljåwån/gjiåm
much 7a, 21b, 22b, 24c rjia/zjia
news, account 33d mjåi/hjwåi
official 3a, 33a mjång
overnight stay 40b liek
outside 29d ngjei
pass through 25c kjwai
peaceful 34c rjà
people 20b gjiwôn
person, man (nominalizing suffix) 24b
pày
peril 25d hjiâm/hjâm (CL)
poor 11c gljung
possessive particle 29c t[j] (CL)
precipitous 36c hjiâm/hjâm (CL);
37c-d dzang/dang drung/phjan
provided, furnished, prepared 10d ljiei
pursue, follow 4a bang
put in order 1d kuâg
rain 22d la
reach, arrive at 40c tsjiei
relative clause nominalizer 4c, 12b tjei;
6a trjiei; 15c bjiei/bjíëi/bjíëi/bjíëi
repay 12c dág/dak; 12d rjozw
return 18a, 28a, 35c glâg; 27c bhuâg
rich 20c dág
righteousness 17b dúng
to risk, to brave 36b tjat/djat
a roll (of silk) 42c phjiat (CL)
ruler 13b, 18d glâk (CL)
sage 19a hrijing (CL)
salt 32c tshaç
same, together 41c gjiwôn
sector 16c ljâng; 16d ngâg
see 6b, 32b dang
servant 44d buk/bokw (CL)
silk 7c khâm; 42d luâg
skin 31d liâi/liâi
snow 21d pjän
son 14a mak; 41b thj[ç]/tj[ç] (or: tsj[ç]/
tshj[ç]/tsra. See section 2.4)
splendid 14c kruk
splendid, bright 9a thak
stone 38d gluk
strange 6c sang
stretch 10b guâg
subject 44c djim (CL)
suitable, in balance 23d ljiei
summer 22a dzak
sun 16a, 18b tshjiâ
sweet 8a thwai
take by the hand 35a tsjung
tell 43b hrjiat/ngjan
ten thousand 26c mjân (CL)
that (demonstrative) 1c ngwôi/kwâi
thick (=affluent) 20d siôn/siôi
thicket 39b glâk
thin (=poor) 11d dúng
time, season 23c glâg
together with 2a, 20a ngjwôi/ngjwôd
translator 3b, 33b rjak (CL)
transmit 33c, 43a drjuân (CL)
traverse 35a pjiek/bjiek
tribesman 24a-b gjiwôn pày; 43c-d hâç/hâg thriak
unite, join 2c rjuax
verbal negative 26a, 32a mak
virtue 19b, 27d tak (CL)
vulgar, common 27b diop
warm 23b zjâm (rjâm ?)
wear (clothes) 31c rjia/zjia
wind (=custom) 5b ·jai/bjak
wine 8c buk/bokw
winter 21a tsôngw
wish, desire 13a, 44b rjäng
wood 39a sjok
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白狼歌新探

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後漢書西南夷列傳收有白狼王所漢歌詩三篇，唐章懷太子李賢錄其白狼本語之漢字音譯，此三篇音譯或為藏緬語系最早的語言記錄，民初許多學人曾將白狼歌予以分析。但因當時漢語音韻學與藏緬語系比較研究尚在萌芽時期，結果未臻理想。現今漢藏語研究已十分發達，我們有更多的資料能為重新探討。此文試將漢語白狼歌譯成英文，再將音譯之白狼歌擬以東漢之音值，最後以音義已擬定之白狼語和藏緬語加以比較。