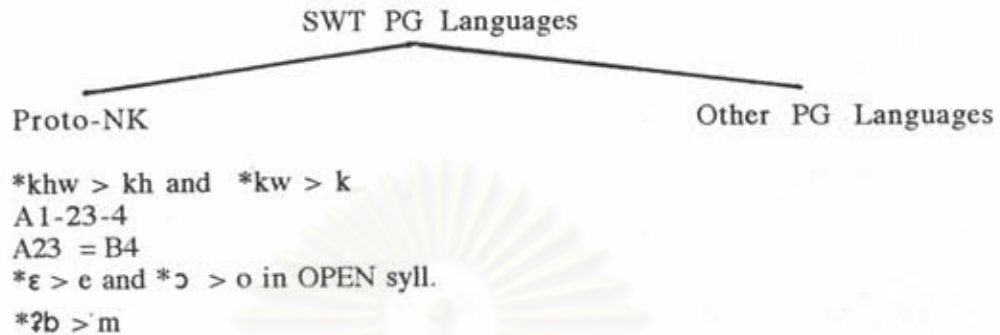# Chapter V

Classification of P Group Languages

In this chapter the sound correspondences presented in Chapter IV are reviewed and conclusions drawn concerning relationships between the PG languages. Tai Mao, Tai Nüa and Tai Khamti will be shown to be more closely related to each other than to any of the other PG languages considered and will support the hypothesis of a Proto-Nüa-Khamti (Proto-NK) language[†]. Tai Lü, White Tai, Black Tai, and Red Tai show some evidence for claims that they are more closely related to each other than to the other PG languages. However, these similarities appear to be based on language contact or sporadic change rather than on having shared a common parent language. As we review the sound correspondences presented in Chapter IV, first we will consider those which can be posited as indicating a definitive relationship between the languages.

[†] Proto-Nüa-Khamti should be understood to include Tai Mao. Up to this point, Tai Mao has been kept as a separate language from Tai Nüa. This has been a working procedure principally for the inclusion of the author's Tai Mao data. So far, no criteria have been found to distinguish Tai Mao from Tai Nüa and it seems that Tai Mao is most likely a dialect of Tai Nüa.

Figure 8 Division of PG Languages - Proto-NK

SWT PG Languages

Proto-NK   Other PG Languages

*khw > kh and *kw > k
A1-23-4
A23 = B4
*ε > e and *ɔ > o in OPEN syll.
*ʔb > ˈm

2. Tone Split Patterns

According to the prevailing theory, PT tone split patterns indicate differences in the genetic relationships among Tai languages. The ways in which these splits affected Tai languages in tone splits and coalescences are useful in determining the relationships between languages. The assumption being that languages or dialects which have identical tone split patterns show evidence for decending from a common parent.

PG languages present three different types of tone splits for the A tone. Based on the correspondence of tone splits in the PT A tone, (See Chapter IV: Tone Correspondences), it is possible to divide the PG languages into three types. The first type, which includes the languages NK, has developed three phonemic tones from the single PT A tone. This tone split is described as an A1-23-4 tone split where PT words with an A tone and PT class 2 and class 3 initial consonant words have the same tone which is different from the tones of PT words with A tone and class 1 initial consonant or class 4 initial consonants. Words with class 1 initial consonants and words with class 4 initial consonants also have different tones. The result of this tone split is that there are three tones among the words which in PT shared the same tone, the A tone.

A second type of tone split has developed in Tai Khün and Tai Yuan. This tone split in the A tone words is described as an A12-34 tone split where PT A tone words with class 1 and class 2 initial consonants have the same tone which is different from the tone on words with class 3 and class 4 initial consonants. The remaining PG languages, Tai Lü, Tai Yai, White Tai, Black Tai, and Red Tai share a third type of tone split. This tone split is referred to as an A123-4 tone split where PT A tone words with class 1, 2 and 3 initial consonants have the same tone which is a different tone from the tone on words with class 4 initial consonants.† Table 80 lists these three types of tone splits with their languages.

Table 80   A Tone Splits Types for PG Languages

A1-23-4	A12-34	A123-4
Tai Nüa	Tai Khün	Tai Yai
Tai Mao	Tai Yuan	Tai Lü
Tai Khamti		White Tai
		Black Tai
		Red Tai

Sound Correspondences - Non-Definitive

1. Other Similarities among NK Dialects

In addition to the five correspondences which we used to define Proto-NK, there are a few other phonological similarities between the three languages which add support to the hypothesis that NK are closely related. These include: no contrast for voiced stops, particularly the

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† The A123-4 is also the common tone split pattern for CT and NT languages. Tai Lü, White, Black and Red Tai are also in close contact with CT languages (Clément 1985).

lack of a voiced stop series, the monophthongization of the SWT vowel diphthongs *ia, *ɯa, and *ua, to /e/, /ə/, and /o/, and the presence of the vowel diphthong /aɯ/ in each language. This evidence is considered secondary either because it may not be entirely consistent or may not be unique to these three languages.

NK are similar in that they all have relatively small initial consonant inventories for a Tai language, the smallest inventories of all of the PG languages. One of the reasons for this is that these three languages do not have a voiced vs. voiceless distinction for stop consonants. We have already seen that *ʔb > m can be used as a defining feature of Proto-NK. This feature of Proto-NK for the development of *ʔb is in contrast with other PG languages which have *ʔb > b or *ʔb > b ~ w.

In some PG languages *ʔb > b and in a parallel development, *ʔd > d. In NK dialects and in Tai Yai, *ʔd initial words are realized with an initial /l/, i.e. *ʔd > l. Unlike *ʔb > m, Tai Yai as well as the NK dialects report *ʔd > l and therefore *ʔd > l is not proposed as a defining feature of Proto-NK. (In Tai Khün, Black Tai and Red Tai *ʔd > d~l adding a further indication that *ʔd > l is not a unique sound change.)

Concerning the evolution of *ʔd, one additional comment should be made. Many Tai Mao and Tai Nüa dialects do not have a contrast between /l/ and /n/ and as such the question arises could the process of evolution of *ʔd been *ʔd > n > l, paralleling *ʔb > m reported for Proto-NK? Unfortunately the data does not support this conclusion. There is no consistent reporting of *ʔd > n even in NK dialects which maintain an

initial /n/ vs. /l/ distinction. Tai Khamti which has a contrast between /n/ and /l/ reports *ʔd > l and similarly Gedney's (1976) Tai Nüa which has the /n/, /l/ contrast reports *ʔd > l.

So, even though it is not possible to posit *ʔd > l as a defining feature of Proto-NK, the loss of the voiced stops which are present as /b/ and /d/ in other PG languages is proposed as a feature of Proto-NK separate from what appears to be a later merging of /b/ with /w/ and /d/ with /l/ in Tai Khün, Black Tai and Red Tai.

In NK the PT vowel diphthongs *ia, *ɯa, and *ua have become /e/, /ə/, and /o/. For example, *ia as in 'wife': /me A4/, *ɯa as in 'house' /hən A4/ and *ua as in 'garden' /son A1/. This correspondence is not unusual among the PG languages. Only Yuan and Black Tai have vowel diphthongs of the form /ia/, /ɯa/ and /ua/. Even so, the fact that all of the researchers who have reported on NK dialects have not found these vowel diphthongs provides a further indication that our hypothesis for grouping these three languages together is correct. The fusion of *ia, *ɯa, and *ua, to /e/, /ə/, and /o/ can in fact be hypothesized as a characteristic of Proto-NK. Although the monophthongization of these diphthongs is consistent in the NK dialects this sound correspondence is only considered a secondary support for the Proto-NK hypothesis as the loss of these diphthongs is not unique to the NK dialects.

NK have maintained the PT vowel diphthong *aɯ in such words as 'heart' /caɯ/ and 'leaf' /maɯ/. Like /ia/, /ɯa/ and /ua/, this correspondence is not unusual among the PG languages but as was said above, the fact that all of the researchers who have reported on dialects which would fall into the NK group have recorded this diphthong gives further support to our hypothesis that NK are closely related. The presence

of the diphthong /aɯ/ is only considered to be secondary evidence for Proto-NK as the presence of /aɯ/ is not unique to NK dialects.

In summary, NK are proposed as having descended from a single parent language, Proto-NK. The characteristics which define Proto-NK are: 1) labialized velar stops become velar stops, 2) a tripartite split in the A tone, 3) a coalescence of the A23 and B4 tone boxes, 4) the low vowels *ɛ and *ɔ become mid vowels /e/ and /o/ in OPEN syllables and 5) *ʔb becomes /m/ in the modern languages. In addition to the five correspondences which we will use to define Proto-NK, there are a few other phonological similarities which add secondary support to the Proto-NK hypothesis. These secondary supports for the NK hypothesis are: the loss of voiced stops in Proto-NK, the monophthongization of PT vowel diphthongs: *ia > e, *ɯa > ə, and *ua > o in Proto-NK, and the presence of the PT vowel diphthong *aɯ as a phoneme in Proto-NK. Figure 9 adds these similarities to the criteria defining NK.

Figure 9   Features of NK

Features Supporting Proto-NK
*khw > kh and *kw > k
    Tone split A1-23-4
    Tone coalescence A23 = B4
    *ɛ > e and *ɔ > o in OPEN syll.
    *ʔb > m
Other Shared Features
    Loss of voiced stops
    Fusion of vowel diphthongs
    *aɯ as a phoneme

2. The A123-4 Tone Split Languages

Li (1960) offers a tentative (genetic) classification of Tai languages where Tai Lü and White Tai are classified as being more closely related to each other than to several other SWT languages. Williams (1986) claims that the features underlying Li's classification include, "monophthongization, nasal umlaut, and a contrast between kh and x" (Williams 1986: 43)[†] . In addition to these three features Tai Lü and White Tai also have the same type of tone split ABCD123-4 and a coalescing of the DS4 and DL4 tone boxes.

2.1   Monophthongization

We have discussed the monophthongization of PT diphthongs in NK where the PT vowel diphthongs *ia, *ɯa, and *ua, have become /e/, /ə/, and /o/. This monophongization of PT diphthongs also occurs for Tai Lü and White Tai. (See Tables 72-75.) Li uses this monophthongization as one of the features which indicate a relationship between Tai Lü and White Tai. Although the value of this feature as a defining criteria for subdividing PG languages is questionable as in addition to NK this fusion also has occurred in Tai Yai and Tai Khün, leaving only Tai Yuan, Black Tai and Red Tai as languages in this study which have vowel diphthongs of the form /ia/, /ɯa/ and /ua/.

[†]   It should be understood that Williams does not necessarily agree with Li; in fact he points out that these features are shared by "closely related speech variants which stretch from in a band east to west from northern Vietnam through southern China to eastern Burma" (Williams 1986: 48).

2.2 Nasal Umlaut

In Tai Lü and White Tai there is a set of PT words which have high vowels followed by a nasal consonant but which correspond with mid vowels followed by a nasal consonant in other PG languages. It has been hypothesized that in the environment of a nasal final, /e/ and /o/ have been raised to /i/ and /u/ in Tai Lü and White Tai. Examples of this correspondence include 'to be': /pen A1/ and 'heel' /son C1/ which in White Tai and Tai Lü are /pin A1/ and /sun C1/. (Tables 76 and 77 contain other examples.) Williams (1986) reports the nasal umlaut for Tai Yong which, based on an A12-34 tone split, Williams has classified as "being aligned" with Tai Yuan and Tai Khün rather than as a subdivision of Tai Lü. As such, Williams (1986: 265) concludes that nasal umlaut is the result of areal convergence.

2.3 /x/ versus /kh/ Contrast

The maintenance of a phonemic contrast between /x/ and /kh/ in Tai Lü (Li 1964) and White Tai has also been proposed as a criteria for classification. Solnit (1994) proposes that the existence of a distinction between aspirated stops and fricatives in the velar position is a criteria for classifying SWT languages. Citing Tai dialect discretions contained in Luo Meishen (1993), Solnit proposes that an isogloss can be drawn for those languages which maintain a /kh/ versus /x/ distinction. Although it appears that the kh ≠ x isogloss can be drawn, this lack of distinction may be a fairly recent development. Certainly the fact that the /x/ versus /kh/ distinction is not reported in the Tai Lü of Yu Tsui Nung (1979) nor in any other Tai Lü dialect of Williams (1986) indicates a change in the consonant inventory for Tai Lü.

Fippingers (1970) feel that the loss of a /kh/ versus /x/ distinction in Black Tai is a recent development. Fippingers propose a Proto Black-White Tai[†] with three velar phonemes and the loss of the /kh/ versus /x/ distinction as a subsequent development in Black Tai. Fippingers propose the merging of Proto BLACK-WHITE Tai velars in Black Tai as occurring after the languages A123-4 tone split but as being affected by the resultant tones. Figure 10 is taken from Fippinger (1970); it shows, from center to left, the progression from Proto-BW Tai to W.T. and, from center to right, the simultaneous progression from Proto-BW Tai to Early Black Tai and finally to B.T. The numbers in Figures 10 and 11 refer to the modern tones which correspond to the PT tone boxes as follows 1 = A123, 2 = B123, 3 = C123, 4 = A4, 5 = B4 and 6 = C4.

Figure 10   Proto BLACK-WHITE Tai Velar Consonants


| W.T | Proto-BW Tai | Early Black Tai | B.T. |
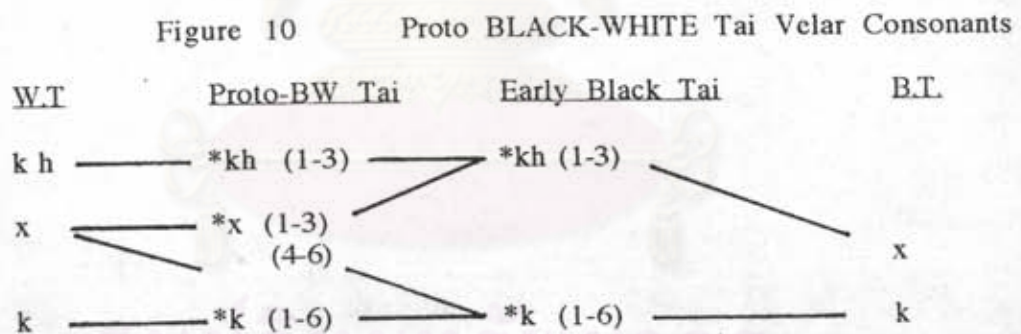
Fippingers' figure shows /x (3-6)/ merging with /k/ in Black Tai while /x (1-3)/ merging with /kh/ and for White Tai /x (1-6)/ being maintained.

Unfortunately the Fippingers' conception of the chronology of Proto-BW Tai velar development appears flawed. The error results from

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† Fippingers do not claim that White and Black Tai form a separate subdivision of Tai languages to the exclusion of other Tai dialects. "Considering only data from these two languages, and excluding information from other Tai languages, we would reconstruct three velar sounds in Proto-Black-White Tai: */kh, x, k/" (Fippinger 1970: 92).

Fippingers limiting the number of Proto-BW Tai velar phonemes to the maximum contrasts existing in the modern languages. This forces Fippingers to posit that the differences in the tones of *x syllables underlie the subsequent split and merger of *x with /kh/ and with /k/ in Early B.T. By adding a voiced velar fricative to the inventory of Proto-BW Tai Fippingers could have avoided the unusual situation of having tone motivate a split/merger of initial consonants. Fippingers note that Gedney (1964) has proposed just such a solution. The revision of the Proto-BW Tai velar development is presented in Figure 11.

Figure 11   Revised Proto-BW Tai Velar Consonants

<u>W.T</u>	<u>Proto-BW Tai</u>	<u>B.T.</u>
k h	*kh	
x	*x	x
	*ɣ̥	
k	*k	k
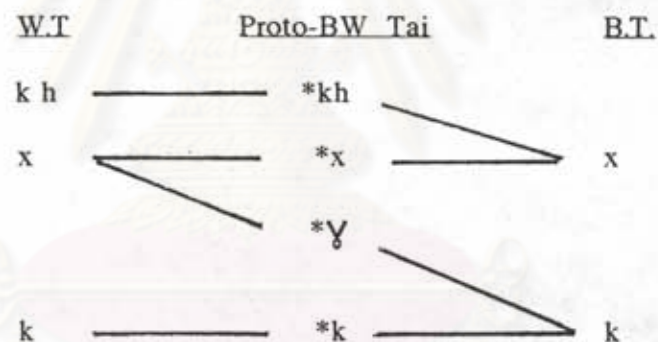
Diller (1988) agrees with this revision of the Fippinger's velar consonant inventory which also is a revision of the PT inventory of Li (1977). Diller writes of the *x versus *ɣ̥ contrast:

> It would seem more plausible to interpret the comparative evidence as strongly indicating that 'enter' (*x) and 'rice' (*ɣ̥), and similar pairs, were differentiated by initial consonant type and were not homophonous for speakers of Proto-Tai   (Diller 1988: 51).

Like Fippingers' Black Tai, Yu Tsui Nung's (1984) Tai Lü shows *ɣ > k. The similarity of Yu Tsui Nung's Tai Lü and Black Tai's loss of the distinction between /kh/ and /x/ contrasts with Li's Tai Lü and White Tai's retention of the distinction between /kh/ and /x/. Therefore it seems that no firm conclusions for a subdivision of PG languages is possible based on the contrast between /x/ and /kh/. Nor on the development of PT velar fricatives *X and *ɣ in the modern languages except for the relatively trivial conclusion that the proto language for the Tai Lü, White Tai, and Black Tai languages would need to include a velar fricative in its consonant inventory.

2.4   Tone Coalescence Patterns

Tai Yai, Tai Lü, White Tai, Black. Tai and Red Tai have both similarities and differences in their tone coalescence patterns. All five languages have the same tone split pattern: ABCD123-4. Similarities in coalescence patterns exist for: 1) Tai Yai and Red Tai, 2) White Tai , Black Tai and Red Tai, and 3) Tai Lü, White Tai and Black Tai.

Tai Yai and Red Tai have a total inventory of 5 rather than 6 tones. This reduction in the total number of tones is a result of the coalescence of the tone for B4 and C123 tone boxes in both languages. Although it is not impossible that this coalescence indicates a common parent for these two languages, no other correspondence have been found to support this conclusion. It is also unlikely that this similarity in tone coalescence is a result of direct contact between the two languages as their present locations are not contiguous and in fact are separated by several other Tai languages. It is most likely then that the tone coalescence of B4 and C123 tone boxes for both Tai Yai and Red Tai is coincidental. For Red

Tai, Gedney (1964) regards the coalescence of the B4 and C123 tone boxes as a secondary tone development having been derived from a tone system of the White and Black Tai type. Similarly I have elicited a dialect of Tai Yai from Thein Ni, Shan States, Myanmar which has six tones, a A123-4 tone split but does not coalesce the B4 and C123 tone boxes.

Tai Lü, White Tai, Black Tai and Red Tai all show a coalescence of the DS and DL tone categories. (See Table 48.) In White Tai, Black Tai and Red Tai there is no tonal distinction between DS123 and DL123 words. This is also true for Hanna's (1989) Tai Lü. White Tai, Black Tai and the majority of Tai Lü dialects (Williams 1986) coalesce the tones of tone boxes DL4 and DS4 whereas Red Tai and Hanna's Tai Lü keep the tone on these tone boxes distinct. (Red Tai also has a coalescence of the DS4 with DS123 tone boxes. This is unique to Red Tai. Gedney (1964) regards the coalescing of the DS123 and DS4 tone boxes in Red Tai as a secondary tone development having been derived from a tone system of the White and Black Tai type.)

The basic similarities between the tone coalescence on DEAD syllables in Tai Lü, White Tai, Black Tai and Red Tai could support the hypothesis of a relationship between these languages. Such a relationship has already been posited based on the ABCD123-4 tone and the coalescence of DEAD syllable tones would then serve as a criteria for the division of Tai Yai from the other PG ABCD123-4 tone split languages. Although, given the lack of consistency in what is reported for the coalescence of DEAD tones in Tai Lü dialects[†], it seems unlikely that the similarities in the coalescence of DEAD syllable tones can be attributed to a common parent language.

[†] Williams (1986) provides the description of the tones for Tai Lü from 19 sources. 7 of these are published sources and 12 are from his own fieldnotes. 12 sources show DS4 = DL4, DS123 ≠ DL123. 5 dialects show no coalescence of the DS and DL tone categories and 2 sources show DS123 = DL123, DS4 ≠ DL4.

2.5   PT Velar Clusters become Palatal Stops

Speaking of the relationships between Tai languages, Gedney writes that White, Black and Red Tai "are very closely related to each other" (Gedney 1964: 415).   Gedney comes short of stating that these three languages form a separate subdivision of ST languages or that they are genetically more closely related to each other than to other ST languages. In reviewing Gedney's data there is one set of correspondences which distinguishes White, Black and Red Tai from other PG languages.

The distinguishing sound correspondence is in PT words which Li (1977) reconstructed as having an initial consonant cluster with a velar stop as the first element and an *l or *r as the second element.   These PT clusters became aspirated or unaspirated velar stops in all PG languages except White, Black and Red Tai.   In White, Black and Red Tai they palatalized and have become /c/, /ch/ or /s/[†] .   For example; 'egg' (*khr B1) is realized as /khai B1/ with an initial aspirated velar stop in all PG languages except in White Tai where 'egg' is /chai B1/ and in Black and Red Tai where it is /sai B1/.   While in the context of our study, this regular sound correspondence is unique to White, Black and Red Tai and therefore could be used to support the hypothesis of a common parent language for White, Black and Red Tai it is the only such unique sound correspondence for these languages and therefore is not very strong evidence.   Looking beyond the PG languages, Chamberlain (personal communication) reports that the paltalization of PT velar clusters is common to other Tai languages of the White-Black-Red Tai area.   With this additional information it is

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†   For Black and Red Tai ch > s.

possible that this sound correspondence should be attributed to language contact.

In the previous sections we have reviewed sound correspondences found between Tai Lü, White Tai, Black Tai and Red Tai. Some of these correspondencs have previously been reported to support a genetic grouping of Tai Lü with White Tai. We have shown that while there are sound correspondences which indicate similarities between Tai Lü, White Tai, Black Tai and Red Tai these correspondences overlap in such a way as to present mutually exclusive scenarios for the genetic subdivision of PG languages. For example, from the perspective of White Tai, White Tai's common ancestor language with Black and Red Tai underwent a sound change of *kl > c but Tai Lü did not undergo this change. Conversely White Tai's common ancestor language with Tai Lü underwent a nasal umlaut sound change but Black and Red Tai do not have these features.

We have seen that Tai Lü, White Tai, Black Tai and Red Tai can be grouped with Tai Yai as the PG languages which underwent an ABCD123-4 tone split. Neither the nasal umlaut, the /kh/ versus /x/ distinction, the *kl > c, nor the coalescing of the DS and DL tone boxes occurs for Tai Yai. The fact that Tai Yai does not collectively or individually share these features with Tai Lü, White Tai, Black Tai and Red Tai may support a hypothesis that the latter are more closely related to one another than any of them are to Tai Yai. One possible conclusion would be that Tai Yai was the first group to separate from a hypothetical Proto-YAI-LÜ-WHITE-BLACK-RED.

3. /ph/ vs. /f/ Contrast

The /ph/ versus /f/ has been proposed by Solnit (1994) as a criteria for classification of SWT languages. Among the PG languages Tai

Nüa, Tai Lü, Tai Yuan, White Tai have a contrast between /ph/ and /f/. If we were to consider this to be criteria of determining genetic relationships Tai Nüa would be classified as coming from a different parent language than Tai Mao and Tai Khamti, similarly White Tai would be separated from Black and Red Tai but grouped with Yu Tsui Nung's Tai Lü. Note that this grouping of White Tai with Yu Tsui Nung's Tai Lü is the exact opposite of what is true for the velar contrast where Yu Tsui Nung's Tai Lü is grouped with Black and Red Tai. All three of these languages have only the /f/ phoneme.

Perhaps an investigation of extra-Tai contact relationships may provide some insight into the loss of distinction between fricatives and aspirated stops in Tai languages. For instance, the ph = f isogloss which would divide Tai Nüa from Tai Mao and Tai Khamti is roughly contiguous with the the Myanmar border. That is to say those Tai languages which could be expected to have received more influence from contact with Burmese, Tai Mao, Tai Khamti, Tai Yai, and Tai Khün, all lack the /ph/ versus /f/ distinction. The lack of contrast between /ph/ and /f/ is a feature of Burmese phonology. Vietnamese similarly lacks a phonemic contrast between /ph/ and /f/ and may have had an influence on Black and Red Tai.

4. Contrastive Vowel Length

Tai Khün and Tai Yuan are the two PG languages which have a tone split in the A tone of A12-34. Tai Khün and Tai Yuan are also the only two PG languages which are reported to have phonemic vowel length

distinctions for vowels other than [a]† . Although a closer look at the lexicons shows that there is not consistent correspondence between vowel length in Tai Khün and Tai Yuan. Petsuk (1978) explains the development of contrastive vowel length for low vowels in Tai Khün as part of the process of the fusion of the diphthongs where *ia > e, *ɯa > ə and *ua>o.

This is obviously not a process which Tai Khün shares with Tai Yuan as Tai Yuan is one of the two PG languages which still has the *ia, *ɯa, *ua inventory of vowel diphthongs. The development of vowel length therefore can not be proposed as a feature of a possible Proto-KHÜN-YUAN but contrastive vowel length is a feature of other languages of the area, such as central Thai and various Mon-Khmer languages and is more likely the result of language contact.

5. The *aɯ Diphthong

The vowel diphthong /aɯ/ occurs as a phoneme in the majority of the PG languages and corresponds with /-ay/ in Tai Lü, Tai Khün, Tai Yuan and corresponds with /ə:/ in Red Tai. The loss of *aɯ as a phoneme in Tai Lü, Tai Khün, Tai Yuan and Red Tai cuts across the tonal criteria upon which we have based our preliminary division of PG languages. This lack of correspondence with the most widely accepted criteria for the classification of Tai languages as well as the nature of the change which is more or less independent of other developments in the languages' phonologies leads us to posit that *aɯ > ay is a sporadic develop-ment rather than a genetic one. Therefore the loss of the *aɯ phoneme in

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† Gedney reports that Red Tai also appears to have a vowel length but he is uncertain if "it is really a Red Tai distinction or the result of a combination from Lao" (Gedney 1964: 443). Until there is more data available on Red Tai we will not consider the question of vowel length in Red Tai.

Tai Lü, Tai Khün, Tai Yuan and Red Tai is not considered to indicate a genetic subdivision of PG languages.

In the second section of this chapter we have reviewed various sound correspondences among PG languages. These included the development of PT velar clusters, contrast between velar fricatives and aspirated stops, the fusion of vowel diphthongs, the contrast between labial fricatives and aspirated stops, the correspondence of *aɯ and contrastive vowel length. Figure 12 diagrams these correspondences. The size and location of the language names in Figure 12 is intended to reflect, in only the most general terms, the distribution of the languages as contained in Clément (1985). The lines are used to represent a feature which is common to the languages contained within them; these are not isoglosses and are not in any way an attempt to indicate the dialect boundaries where the presence of these features change. The definitive sound correspondences from the first section of this chapter are not included in this figure.

Figure 12   PG Language Non-Definitive Sound
Correspondences
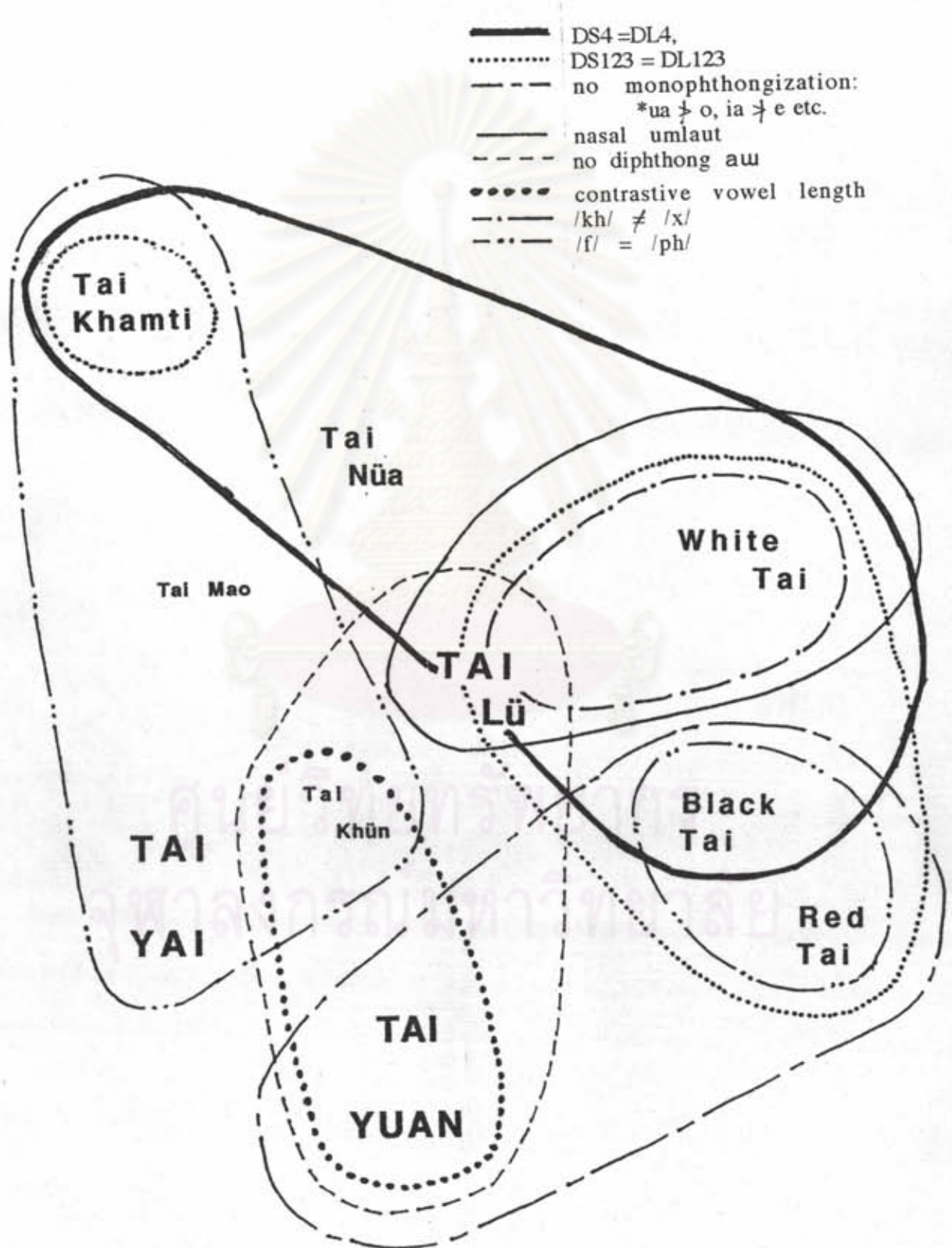
Borrowed Terms

Contact relations are often proposed as underlying similarities in language phonologies. One way to determine the existence of language contact is by examining the modern languages' lexicons for borrowed terms. In addition to the evidence provided by borrowings, languages which have written histories often provide clues to the contact relations between language groups. Among the PG languages, Tai Yai, Tai Khün, Tai Lü and Tai Yuan contain borrowed terms and have written histories which indicate a history of contact with Burmese speakers.

Many of the PG languages contains borrowings from Burmese, Pali and Sanskrit. Most of these borrowings have been assimilated into the language being modified by the phonological rules of the receiving language. One set of borrowings though is easily recognized because it is of a form which is not found for PT cognates. Tai Yai, Tai Khün, and Tai Yuan all have a series of initial consonant clusters which are not found in other PG languages. These clusters take the form of a non-velar initial consonant followed by a semivowel such as /tw-/, /sw-/, /lw-/, /py-/, /phy-/, /my-/, /ky-/ etc. Table 81 contains some examples of borrowed terms from Burmese in Tai Khün.

Table 81   Borrowed Terms from Burmese in Tai Khün

'to calculate'	twa:k 21	'monetary unit'	pya: 45
'to show'	pya 51	'one o'clock'	pya:n 21
'clever'	kya 51	'school'	kyɔ:ŋ 45
'to make tea'	phyɔ: 21	'to gain, to profit'	mya:t 21

(Petsuk 1978).

Ethnic Histories

Contact between the Burmese and the Tai Lü and the Tai Khün
are recorded in The Xishuangbanna Chronicle (Tai Lü) and the Jengtung
State Chronicle (Tai Khün). The Xishuangbanna Chronicle reports the
defeat of the King Cau Unmuang[†] to King Sutthotammaracha of Burma in
1609 and the resulting marriage of the new King Sunantha[††] to Suwanna-
pakthumma a Burmese princess (Swangpanyangkoon 1986: 90-91). This is
also the period when the Buddhist scriptures are reportedly introduced to
the Tai Lü. The contact between Burma and Xishuangbanna continued.
For example, The Xishuangbanna Chronicle records that while the royal
regent, an uncle of the young king, Mom Upparacha (1856-1762 sic)[†††] was
visiting Burma the throne in Xishuangbanna was assumed by the rightful
king (Swangpanyangkoon 1986: 79-80). There is no indication that such a
visit to Burma was unusual. Rungruengsri (1990: ก) in fact reports that
Chiang Mai was a vasal state of Burma until 1774. The chronicles also
record contacts with China and in more recent times with Laos and France.
None of this is surprising as the history of mainland southeast Asia is
resplendent with histories or wars and the rise and falls of various nations
and city states.

In addition to recording contacts with non-Tai languages, the
chronicles also record the diplomatic relations between the various Tai
princedoms. Often the children of one prince are given the administrative
responsibility over a city which looking at the modern distribution of

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[†]   The name of the king is not given in the narrative but appears in
the listing of the kings for that year.
[††]   This name does not appear in the listing of the kings.
[†††]   Most probably 1856-1862 from pages 78-79.

dialects, we would expect to belong to a different language group. For example, The Xishuangbanna Chronicle (Tai Lü) records that Cau Faa-Waung's third son, Cau Cetphannpratu (who reigned sometime before AD 1042), (Swangpanyangkoon 1984b: 62) administered Chiang Mai (Tai Yuan) and then went on to administer Jengung (Tai Khün). During this period Jengung was separated from Xishuangbanna (Swangpanyangkoon 1986: 60). The Jengtung State Chronicle (Tai Khün) reports a similar story with Cau Cetphaanpratu marrying a woman from Chiang Mai and his son Cau Aye-oon ending up administering Jengtung (Swangpanyangkoon 1984a: 71).

Rungruengsri (1991) also speaks of the interrelationship of Tai Khün, Tai Lü and Tai Yuan. Rungruengsri writes that at the time of the TonBuri Dynasty (1774) the prince of Chiang Mai was able to defeat the Burmese and at this same time there was cooperation between various city states such as Jengtung and Chiang Rung. This cooperation resulted in Tai Lü and Tai Khün speakers living in the cities and villages around Chiang Mai. (Rungruengsri 1991: ก).

It is perhaps because of these various layers of contact over long periods of time that it is hard to draw any clear conclusions on the relationships between several of the Tai PG languages, namely Tai Yai, Tai Khün, Tai Lü and Tai Yuan.

In the previous section of this chapter we discussed the possible connection between Tai Lü and White, Black and Red Tai. It seems worthwhile to note that while there are several parallel passages in the chronicles of Tai Lü and Tai Khün, there are no parallel passages between the portion of The Black Tai Chronicle presented by Chamberlain (1993) and the Xishuangbanna and Jengtung chronicles. A common parent

language for Tai Lü and Black Tai, which the linguistic evidence for is at best tentative, would accordingly have to predate these histories.