

The Chosŏn Border Defense Council's Drifting Records of Chinese Vessels in Early Modern East Asia: A Quantitative Analysis of Statistically Salient Place Names and Common Nouns in the *Pibyŏnsa Tŭngnok* (1687–1880) Conversation Records

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Abstract

This study aims at building a part-of-speech tagged corpus for all the drifting conversation records from *Pibyŏnsa Tŭngnok*, which is the official record of the daily affairs of the Border Defense Council of the Chosŏn dynasty, and conducting a quantitative analysis of the statistically salient place names and common nouns therein. The author also establishes a methodological framework and demonstrates how to conduct quantitative analysis when extrapolating patterned information in a vast corpus by using techniques like a word frequency table and co-occurrence analysis to uncover hidden patterns and correlations in a large dataset. Our results show that Fujian was the major source of the crew members and passengers of these sailboats, while some crew members were hired in Thailand. Beijing is the most frequently observed non-native place in the conversation records, since the officials were deeply interested in the distance between Beijing and other places in China. The Chosŏn officials appeared to grasp every opportunity to inquire about the physical geography, political institutions, military power, current maritime situation, newsworthy events, and the recent development of Qing China.

Keywords

Pibyŏnsa Tŭngnok, Border Defense Council, drifting records, early modern East Asia, quantitative analysis, conversation record

1. Introduction

Maritime trading started to become prosperous after the full lifting of the sea ban policy (Ch. *haijin* 海禁, Jp. *kaikin*) of the Qing (1644–1911) court from 1684.¹ Before the invention of steamships, all maritime trade relied on sailboats. During the monsoon season, the stranding of these sailboats, and even shipwreck incidents, were not uncommon. Records of vessels drifting to Chosŏn were observed periodically in *Pibyŏnsa Tŭngnok* 備邊司謄錄 (Records of the Border Defense Council of the

¹ To curb the armed resistance of the Southern Ming in Taiwan, the Qing court resumed the sea ban in 1647. The coastal residents in southern China were required to destroy their property and move inland by sixteen to twenty-six kilometers.

Chosŏn Dynasty). Such records are remarkable materials in studying Sino-Chosŏn relations during the Qing dynasty.

Pibyŏnsa Tŭngnok (Figure 1) is the official record of the daily affairs of *Pibyŏnsa* 備邊司, the Border Defense Council of the Chosŏn dynasty (1392–1897), from 1617 to 1892. It comprises 273 volumes in total, written mostly in Literary Sinitic. The Border Defense Council was established after an uprising in 1510 of Japanese residents living in Sambo 三浦, to tackle emergency issues such as social unrest and seaborne invasion. Later, its duties broadened to include general administration and diplomatic issues.



Figure 1. Excerpts of *Pibyŏnsa Tŭngnok*, adapted from the Kukka Munhuayusan P’ot’ŏl 國家文化遺產포털 (Portal of National Cultural Heritage), Cultural Heritage Administration of South Korea, <http://www.heritage.go.kr/>, last modified 2000.

The National Institute of Korean History published reproductions of all 273 scrolls in 1960, in 28 volumes,² and reprinted them in 1982.³ The records dated 1617 to 1731 were translated into modern Korean, and were subsequently published from 1989 to 2007, in 30 volumes.⁴ Recently, the institute also published this work online in the Database of Korean History (Han’guksa Teit’ŏpeisŭ 韓國史데이터베이스). Users can read the whole text, its translation into modern Korean, as well as perform keyword searches.⁵ Figure 2 shows a screen capture of this database, showing the record of a drifting incident on the fifteenth day of the fifth lunar month in 1687.⁶

² National Institute of Korean History 韓國國史編纂委員會, ed., *Pibyŏnsa Tŭngnok* 備邊司謄錄 (A Collection of the Records of the Border Defense Command), 28 vols. (Seoul: National Institute of Korean History, 1959–1960).

³ National Institute of Korean History, ed., *Pibyŏnsa Tŭngnok*, 28 vols. (Seoul: National Institute of Korean History, 1982).

⁴ National Institute of Korean History, ed. *Kukyŏk Pibyŏnsa Tŭngnok* 國譯備邊司謄錄 (A Korean Translation of *Pibyŏnsa Tŭngnok*), 30 vols. (Seoul: National Institute of Korean History, 1989–2007).

⁵ “Pibyŏnsa Tŭngnok” 備邊司謄錄 (A Collection of the Records of the Border Defense Command), Han’guksa Teit’ŏpeisŭ 韓國史데이터베이스 (Database of Korean History), National Institute of Korean History, <http://db.history.go.kr/item/level.do?itemId=bb>, accessed August 25, 2020,

⁶ The format of the dates presented in the database is in a lunisolar calendar format: the year is labelled according to the Gregorian calendar, which is commonly used today, but the month and day follow the lunar calendar date as written in the record. For instance, in Figure 2, the date 연월일=年月日 of the record is shown as 숙종 13 년 1687 년 05 월 15 일(음). Here, “숙종 13 년” refers to the thirteenth

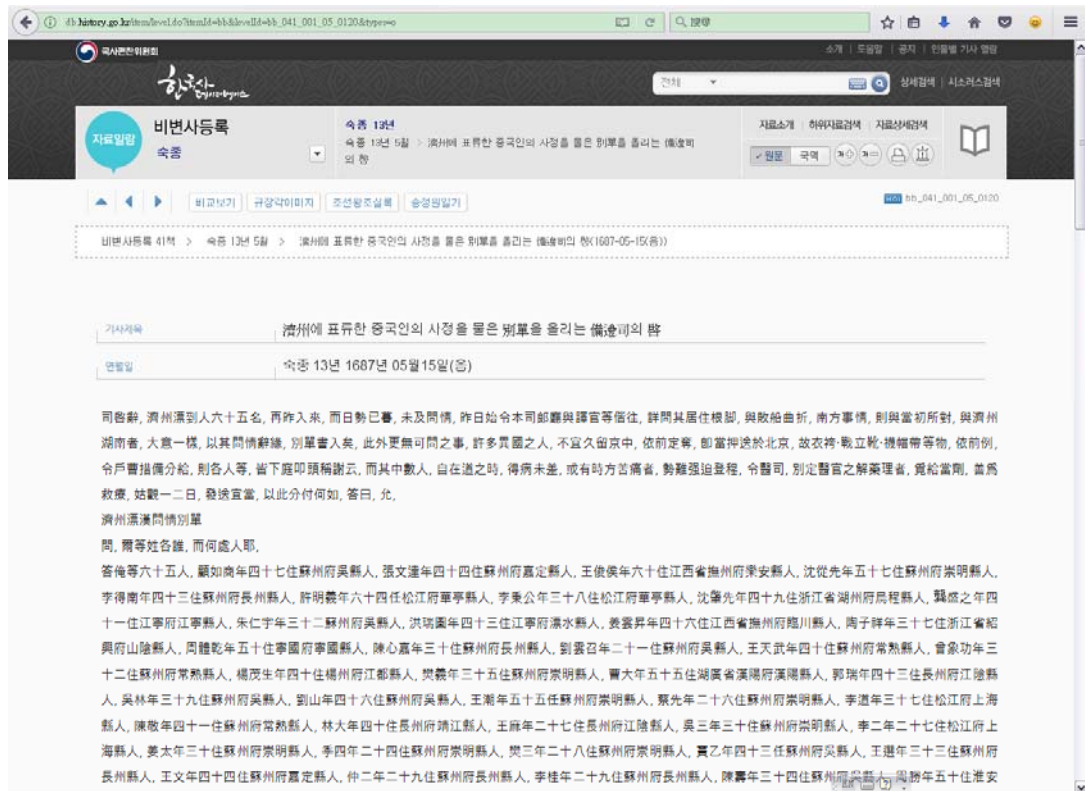


Figure 2. Screen capture of a record from *Pibyönsa Tüngnok* in 1687, from the Database of Korean History.

The Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies further published the scanned images of the original work online.⁷ Figure 3 shows a screen capture displaying the first page of the same record as in Figure 2.

year of the reign of King Sukchong 숙종=肅宗 (r. 1675–1720), which translates to the year 1687 (년=年) in the Gregorian calendar. “05 월 15 일(음)” refers to the fifteenth day of the fifth lunar month, in the Chinese lunar calendar, which is also indicated by 음 (equivalent to 陰).

⁷ “Pibyönsa Tüngnok,” Kyujanggak Wönmun Kömsaek Söpisü 奎章閣原文檢索서비스 (Kyujanggak Original Text Searching Service), Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies 奎章閣韓國學研究會, http://kyudb.snu.ac.kr/series/main.do?item_cd=VBS, accessed August 25, 2020.

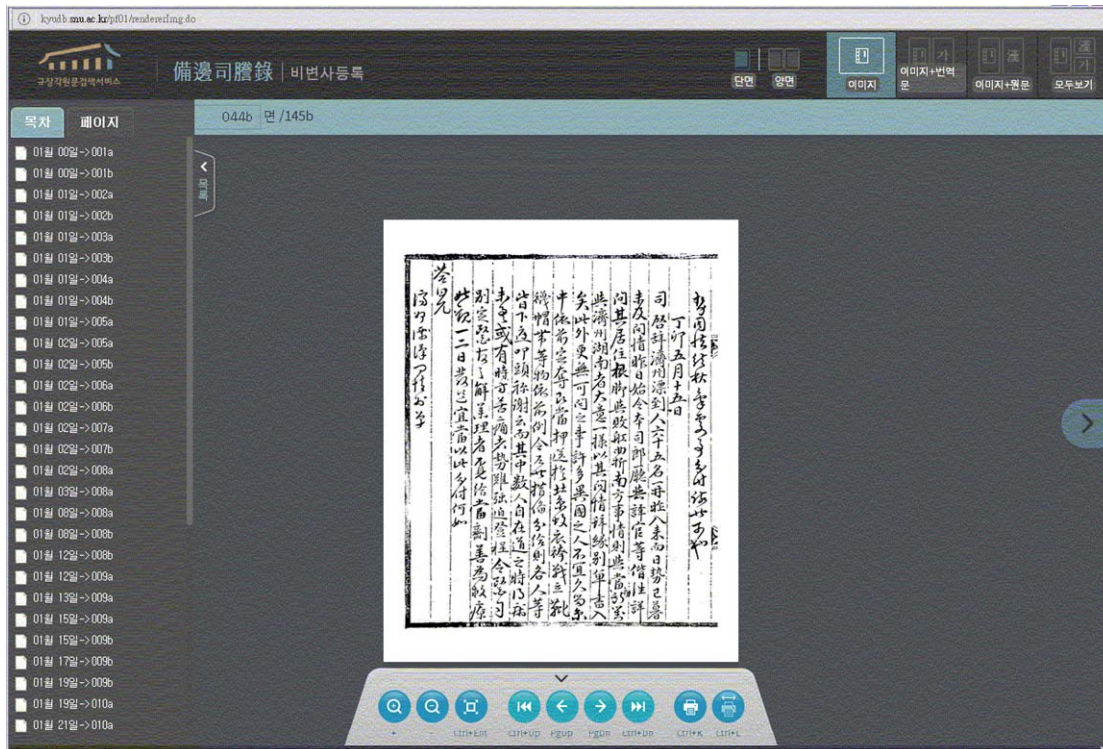


Figure 3. Screen capture of a photocopied original, from the Kyujanggak Original Text Searching Service.

Written records pertaining to illegal entry to Chosŏn—by land or sea—are documented periodically from 1617 to 1880. These records typically consist of a brief introduction of the incident followed by details of the interrogation of the “illegal immigrants” in the form of questions and answers (“conversations” hereafter). The latter section is often called *munjŏng piŏltan* 問情別單, or “individual records of interrogation about the situation” (Figure 3). Among these records, those involving sailboat drifting incidents were extracted and analyzed by Matsuura in Japanese during the 1980s.⁸ These records were later reprinted in 2007,⁹ with an introduction in Chinese. In these publications, forty drifting records were extracted by Matsuura, while thirty-nine conversation records are presented (except record 1). In this study, we will focus on these thirty-nine records, from record 2 to record 40.

⁸ Akira Matsuura 松浦章, “Ri chō hyōchaku Chugoku hansen no *monjō betsutan*-ni tsuite (jou)” 李朝漂着中国帆船の「問情別單」に就いて(上) (On the *Munjŏng Piŏltan* Made Up for the Chinese Merchant Vessels Cast Ashore on the Korean Coast in the Yi Dynasty, Part 1), *Kansaidaigaku tōzai gakujutsu kenkyūjo kiyō* 関西大学東西学術研究所紀要 (Bulletin of the Institute of Oriental and Occidental Studies, Kansai University) 17 (March 1984): 25–83, <http://hdl.handle.net/10112/16041>. Akira Matsuura 松浦章, “Ri chō hyōchaku Chugoku hansen no *monjō betsutan*-ni tsuite (ka)” 李朝漂着中国帆船の「問情別單」に就いて(下) (On the *Munjŏng Piŏltan* Made Up for the Chinese Merchant Vessels Cast Ashore on the Korean Coast in the Yi Dynasty, Part 2), *Kansaidaigaku tōzai gakujutsu kenkyūjo kiyō* 18 (March 1985): 33–96, <http://hdl.handle.net/10112/16030>.

⁹ Akira Matsuura 松浦章, *Qingdai fanchuan dongya hangyun shiliao huibian* 清代帆船東亞航運史料彙編 (Compilation of Historical Materials on Junks in East Asian Shipping During the Qing Dynasty), ed. and trans. Feng-Kwei Pien 卞鳳奎 (Taipei: Lexis Book Company, 2007).



Figure 3. Sample pages of *munjŏng piŏltan*, adapted from the Kyujanggak Original Text Searching Service.

These 39 extracted records amount to 61,000 sinograms in total. The shortest document has 486 sinograms while the longest has 3,952; the median is 1,310. Lengthy documents often pose a great challenge to quantitative analysis since it is time-inefficient to conduct a close reading from the beginning to the end. Probably for this reason there is hardly any large-scale quantitative analysis of all these 39 *munjŏng piŏltan* records in previous literature by other scholars. By conducting a quantitative analysis of the most frequently observed place names and common nouns in these interrogation records, this study aims to unravel the issues that the Chosŏn officials were most concerned about.

2. Literature Review

Previous studies of *Pibyŏnsa Tŭngnok* have mainly focused on qualitative aspects. For instance, Song Xianchao discussed the value of this volume as a historical document,¹⁰ and Wang Tianquan investigated why the repatriation of the Chinese drifters gradually changed from an overland route to an overseas route.¹¹ On the study

¹⁰ Song Xianchao 宋先超, “‘Beibiansi tenglu’ shiliao jiazhi chutan” 《備邊司謄錄》史料價值初探 (Preliminary Investigation on the Historical Value of *Pibyŏnsa Tŭngnok*) (master’s thesis, Dongbei shifan daxue, 2011).

¹¹ Wang Tianquan 王天泉, “Ch’ŏngch’o Chosŏn p’yodo chungguk p’yoryumin songhwan pangshigüi pyŏnhwawa iyu” 清初 朝鮮 漂到 中國 漂流民 送還 方式의 變化와 理由 (The Change and Reason of the Returning of Chinese Drifters to Joseon During the Early Period of the Qing Dynasty),

of the conversation records in this work, Matsuura discussed the maritime trading and sea traffic in Qing China;¹² Zou Ran studied the Chosŏn officials' knowledge of the sea ban policy,¹³ and compared the drifting records before and after the mid-eighteenth century in regard to the focus of the questions raised by the officials.¹⁴ The linguistic features of the texts in these records were briefly discussed by Matsuura,¹⁵ while Okumura analyzed the vocabulary used in the interrogations conducted by the Chosŏn officials.¹⁶

Quantitative studies on the interrogation records in *Pibyŏnsa Tŭngnok* also exist but the scale of analysis is quite small. For instance, Matsuura conducted a statistical analysis of the native places of the crew members and passengers for records 1–4,¹⁷ while he also presented a quantitative study on the native places of the sailboats and the number of drifters in each sailboat.¹⁸ Song Xianchao mentioned that most drifters were from Jiangsu, Fujian, Zhejiang, and Guangdong provinces.¹⁹ Kim concluded that the native places of the drifters were mainly Jiangnan, Fujian, and Zhejiang provinces, and determined that many drifters arrived in winter.²⁰

Chungkukhak yŏnku 中國學研究 (Journal of Chinese Studies) 91 (February 2020): 321–356.

¹² Matsuura, “Ri chō hyōchaku Chugoku . . . (ka),” 82–95.

¹³ Zou Ran 鄒然, “Cong ‘Beibiansi tenglu’ ‘wenqing biedan’ kan Chaoxian wangchao dui haijinling de renshi” 從《備邊司謄錄》“問情別單”看朝鮮王朝對海禁令的認識 (A Look at the Chosŏn Dynasty’s Knowledge of the Sea Ban from the *Munjŏng Piŏltan* in *Pibyŏnsa Tŭngnok*), *Heilongjiang shizhi* 黑龍江史志 (Heilongjiang Chronicles) 15 (August 2014): 52.

¹⁴ Ran Zou 鄒然, “‘Beibiansi tenglu’ yu Zhongguo piaoliumin: yi ‘wenqing biedan’ wei zhuyao shiliao” 《備邊司謄錄》與中國漂流民——以“問情別單”為主要史料 (*Pibyŏnsa Tŭngnok* and Drifters from China: *Munjŏng Piŏltan* as Primary Source) (master’s thesis, Zhejiang gongshang daxue, 2015).

¹⁵ Akira Matsuura 松浦章, “Chōsen kuni hyōchaku Chūgoku-sen no hitsudan kiroku-ni miru shosō” 朝鮮国漂著中国船の筆談記録にみる諸相 (Aspects Observed in Records of Written Dialogues Concerning Chinese Shipwrecks in Joseon Dynasty Korea), *Kansaidaigaku tōzai gakujutsu kenkyūjo kiyō* 47 (April 2014): 57–69, <https://kuir.jm.kansai-u.ac.jp/dspace/handle/10112/8430>.

¹⁶ Kayoko Okumura 奥村佳代子, “Chaoxian wenda jilu baohan de hanyu ziliao jiazhi: ‘Beibiansi tenglu’ hainan shiliao ‘wen’ bufen de yuyan” 朝鮮問答記錄包含的漢語資料價值——《備邊司謄錄》海難史料“問”部分的語言 (The Value of Linguistic Data in the Dialogues Performed between Koreans and Chinese: Language in the “Question” Part of *Pibyŏnsa Tŭngnok*), *Guoji hanyu xuebao* 國際漢語學報 (International Journal of Chinese Studies) 6, no. 1 (2015): 76–93. Okumura Kayoko 奥村佳代子, “Hi-kango-ken-ni okeru chūgokugo mondō kiroku: ‘Bihenshi Tōroku’ ‘monjō betsutan’ no ‘mon’ no kotoba” 非漢語圏における中国語問答記録——『備邊司謄錄』「問情別單」の「問」の言葉—— (Records of Dialogues of Chinese in Non-Chinese-Speaking Regions: An Investigation of the Surveys of Shipwrecked Chinese Sailors in *Pibyŏnsa Tŭngnok* with a Focus on Their Linguistic Significance), *Kansaidaigaku tōzai gakujutsu kenkyūjo kiyō* 49 (April 2016): 21–36, <http://hdl.handle.net/10112/10269>.

¹⁷ Matsuura, “Ri chō hyōchaku Chugoku . . . (jou),” 28, 33, 39, 42.

¹⁸ Matsuura, “Ri chō hyōchaku Chugoku . . . (ka),” 83.

¹⁹ Song Xianchao, “‘Beibiansi tenglu’ shiliao jiazhi chutan,” 42.

²⁰ Kim Gyung-ok 김경옥, “18~19 segi sŏ’namhae tosŏjijyŏk p’yodomin-dŭrui ch’ui: ‘Pibyŏnsa Tŭngnok’ ‘munjŏng piŏltan’-ŭl chungshim-ŭro” 18~19 世紀 西南海 島嶼地域 漂到民들의 推移 ——『備邊司謄錄』『問情別單』을 中心으로 —— (The Change of People Drift on the Sea in the Islands Region of the Southwest Sea in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: Focusing on the *Munjŏng Piŏltan* in *Pibyŏnsa Tŭngnok*), *Chosŏn shidaesa hakpo* 朝鮮時代史學報 (Journal of

For a database of 61,000 sinograms, conducting statistical analysis manually is very time-inefficient. This explains why Matsuura only analyzed the native places of four records, rather than all forty records.²¹ Fortunately, thanks to advances in information and communication technologies, quantitative analysis can now be performed much more efficiently. Provided that a machine-readable version of the source text is available, we can utilize computational tools to create a tagged corpus and use it to conduct further statistical analysis with relative ease. With the help of a digitized corpus of these drifting records, the author will address the following research questions: (1) Were there any routine questions asked by the Chosŏn officials when interrogating the drifters? Did they follow a protocol? (2) What was the age distribution of the crew members and the passengers on board the sailboats? (3) From which provinces did the drifters originate? Were there any foreigners who were not from China? (4) What did the drifters bring along with them? Did they engage in trading activities? (5) What are the most frequently mentioned place names and common nouns in the conversation records? What do they tell us about maritime activities in Korean waters during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries?

The first four sets of questions will be addressed by conducting a descriptive statistical analysis after extracting the data from the relevant sections from each record. The fifth set of questions will be addressed by producing and examining word-frequency lists of the place names and common nouns in our corpus. By analyzing the frequency tables, key issues that the Chosŏn officials were most concerned about will also become apparent. In addition, this study serves to exemplify how to uncover hidden patterns and correlations in a large dataset using the technique of co-occurrence analysis.

3. Methodology and Procedure

In this study, all the drifting conversation records from *Pibyŏnsa Tŭngnok* were extracted as the source material, which are identical to the records 2–40 in Matsuura’s study.²² The electronic texts of these records were copied from the Database of Korean History. The typographical mistakes in this database were corrected according to Matsuura’s work and the scanned images accessible from the Kyujanggak Original Text Searching Service (Kyujanggak Wŏnmun Kŏmsaek Sŏpisŭ 奎章閣原文檢索 서비스). The size of this database is approximately 61,000 sinograms.

The texts in this database were then used to generate a part-of-speech tagged

Chosŏn Dynasty History) 44 (March 2008): 5–36.

²¹ Matsuura, “Ri chō hyōchaku Chugoku . . . (jou),” 28, 33, 39, 42.

²² Matsuura, “Ri chō hyōchaku Chugoku . . . (jou),” 25–83; Matsuura, “Ri chō hyōchaku Chugoku . . . (ka),” 33–96; Matsuura, *Qingdai fanchuan dongya hangyun shiliao huibian*.

corpus using a free tool provided by the Chinese Knowledge and Information Processing (CKIP) Laboratory of the Institute of Information Science, Academia Sinica.²³ The total number of word tokens in this corpus is 42,000, while there are about 6,000 word types. The type–token ratio is about one to seven.

Word frequency tables were then generated. These tables were used as a basis of the data analysis in section 0 of this article. Since proper nouns and common nouns are not distinguished and are categorized as “noun” in the output of this tool, the author has separated the place names from the common nouns manually. Most words were recognized by the tagging device except some infrequently used words, and those written using allographs that were also commonly used in China. This suggests that the Chosŏn officials attained a high proficiency of Literary Sinitic. It is interesting to note that in record 5, a number of answers given by the drifters ended “*hasalpchyŏ/haopnida*” 爲白齊 (“to do”), which is a word commonly used in the Idu 吏讀 style²⁴ of writing encountered before the twentieth century. Nevertheless, it does not pose any problem in understanding the text since in most cases this ending is redundant.

4. Layout of the Interrogation Records

All of the interrogation records are composed of pairs of questions and answers. The enquiry was made by one or more Chosŏn officials from the Border Defense Council with the help of an official interpreter (Ch. 譯官 *yiguan*, Kr. *yŏkkuan*),²⁵ who usually had received training at the Ministry of Interpretation.²⁶ Some scholars believe that writing-mediated interaction (“brush conversations” or “brushtalk”) between the crew members and the interpreters was involved.²⁷ However, we did not observe any direct

²³ “Zhongwen duanci xitong” 中文斷詞系統 (Chinese Word Segmentation System), Zhongwen cizhishiku xiaozu 中文詞知識庫小組 (Chinese Knowledge and Information Processing Laboratory), Institute of Information Science, Academia Sinica, <http://ckipsvr.iis.sinica.edu.tw/>, accessed September 6, 2020. Wei-Yun Ma [馬偉雲] and Keh-Jiann Chen [陳克健], “Introduction to CKIP Chinese Word Segmentation System for the First International Chinese Word Segmentation Bakeoff,” in *Proceedings of the Second SIGHAN Workshop on Chinese Language Processing*, ed. Qing Ma and Fei Xia (Stroudsburg, PA: Association for Computational Linguistics, 2003), n.p. Available at: <https://www.aclweb.org/anthology/W03-1726/>.

²⁴ The Idu script was a highly developed writing system for official documents in the Koryŏ period (918–1392). It records Korean expressions by borrowing sinograms’ meanings but reading as the corresponding Korean sounds, which is somewhat similar to the Japanese *kunyomi*.

²⁵ “.....濟州漂到人六十五名，再昨入來，而日勢已暮，未及問情，昨日始令本司郎廳與譯官等偕往，詳問其居住根腳，興敗船曲折.....” (Record 2, dated 1687-05-15)

²⁶ Law Lok Yin [羅樂然], “Hanyu yu shi da: cong Chaoxian de hanyu fanyi rencai peixun kan qi dui Ming zhengfu de zhuanbian” 漢語與事大: 從朝鮮的漢語翻譯人材培訓看其對明政策的轉變 (Chinese Language and Serving the Great: The Training of Chosŏn Interpreters of Chinese Language and the Transformation of Chosŏn’s Diplomatic Policy toward the Ming Dynasty), *Hanxue yanjiu jikan* 漢學研究集刊 (Yuntech Journal of Chinese Studies) 19 (December 2014): 109–136.

²⁷ Matsuura, “Chōsen kuni hyōchaku Chūgoku-sen no hitsudan kiroku-ni miru shoos.”

evidence pointing to this conjecture. Nevertheless, direct evidence indicating that brush conversations were conducted between the crew members and the Koreans that they met is observed:

[1] 問，黑山·楸子兩島人，都不會漢語，何以通話？

答，寫字問答。

Q: The inhabitants in Hūksan Island and Ch’uja Island do not speak Chinese. How did you hold conversations [with them]?

A: We held dialogues with them by writing.

(Record 14, dated 1786-03-11)²⁸

The responses to individual questions were given by one or more crew members on the sailboat. The frequently asked question types are (1) the sailboat drifters’ names, native places, and occupations; (2) details of the voyage; (3) merchandise intended for export and import; (4) details of the native places of the crew members; (5) possession of a permit issued by the Customs Office of the Qing court. In addition, various kinds of questions irrelevant to drifting but ranging from China’s physical geography to the Qing court’s military power were also raised. Each of these will be illustrated with one or two examples below.

4.1. Sailboat drifters’ names, native places, and occupations

Since the Chosŏn officials had no idea about the identity of the drifters, they always inquired into their names and native places. In example [2], according to the representative who answered the official’s question, there were sixty-five people on the sailboat. That representative then listed the name, age, and native place of each drifter. For instance, the first person was called Gu Runian, aged 47, who lived in Wu county.

[2] 問，爾等姓名誰，而何處人耶？

答，俺等六十五人，顧如商年四十七住蘇州府吳縣人，張文達年四十四住蘇州府嘉定縣人，[.....] 楊寶年二十五住蘇州府嘉定縣人矣。

Q: What are your **names**? **Where** are you from?

A: In total we are sixty-five people: Gu Rushang, aged 47, who lives in Wu county, Suzhou prefecture; Zhang Wenda, aged 44, lives in Jiading county, Suzhou prefecture; . . . Yang Baonian, aged 25, lives in Jiading county, Suzhou prefecture.

²⁸ Also cited in Okumura, “Hi-kango-ken-ni.”

(Record 2, dated 1687-05-15)

[3] 問, 爾等在本土時, 有何身役, 而以何事爲業耶?

答, 俺等素無身役, 以商賈爲業耳。

Q: In your native place, what are your **positions** and what is your **occupation**?

A: We do not have any positions; we are businessmen.

(Record 2, dated 1687-05-15)

Questions on the drifters' names and native places ([2]) were made in all records but questions on their occupations ([3]) were optional. In some cases, the official would ask directly what business they were engaged in. For example:

[4] 問, 你們做甚麼賣買?

答, 打魚生活。

Q: **What business dealings** do you engage in?

A: We engage in fishing for a living.

(Record 38, dated 1877-03-16)

In the whole corpus, the ages of all the 135 passengers and 766 crew members of the drifting vessels were recorded. The ages of the crew members ranged from 15 to 70, while those of the passengers ranged from 3 to 67. Their median ages were 35 and 33, respectively. The descriptive statistics on the ages of the crew members and the passengers is provided in

Table 1.

	μ	σ	Median	Mode	Min.	Max.	N
Crew members	36.0	10.7	35	35	15	70	766
Passengers	35.0	12.4	33	38	3	67	135

Table 1. Simple statistics on the age of the passengers and crew members in the *Pibyõnsa Tũngnok* drifting conversation records.

It is also interesting to see that there were animals (other than human beings) on the sailboats. In two records, the crew members also brought along their pets with them. For instance, in example [5], a dog and a cat were present on the sailboat:

[5] 問, 你們見有甚麼帶來的東西麼?

答, 媽祖神像一位, [.....] 竝船上雜用傢伙一狗一貓。

Q: What things did you bring?

A: An idol of Mazu, . . . and other utensils used on the vessel, as well as **a dog and a cat**.

(Record 40, dated 1880-11-09).

In example [2], the structure of each clause showing the name, age and native place of the ship members is fairly uniform: “[name] 年 [age] 住 [place of living] [native place] 人.”

Intuitively, the distribution of the places in the response would suggest the distribution of the native places of all those on board. In a few records, clauses with a similar information structure are observed, but there are exceptions. For example:

[6] 問, 你們大清國人, 住在那個地方?

答, 我們九個人, 住在廣東省潮州府汕頭埠, 一個人, 住在海南。

Q: All of you are from the Great Qing. **In which place do you live?**

A: Nine of us **live in** the Swatow Port, Teochew prefecture, Guangdong province, and one of us **lives in** Hainan.

...

問, 你們各人姓名甚麼, 年紀多少?

答, 許必濟年三十四, 吳丁年三十一, 貞興年二十五。

Q: For each of you, **what is your name and age?**

A: Xu Bijī, aged 34, Wu Ding, aged 31, . . . Zhen Xing, aged 25.

(Record 40, dated 1880-11-09)

In example [6], the questions posed by the Chosŏn official were quite different from those in example [2]. In the latter, the official asked where the ship members lived in one question, then their names and ages in another question. Naturally, the clause structure of the drifter’s response was different from that in example [2]. In this example, the native places of the drifters were not spelt out clause by clause, but voiced out collectively in two clauses: “[number of people] 住在 [place of living].” A given place name may be associated with the place of origin of more than one person. Thus, the distribution of the place names in the responses cannot be used to estimate the distribution of the native places of those on board. For this reason, the author has tallied the thirty-nine responses provided by the drifters’ representatives manually.

The distribution of the native provinces of all the 817 crew members in the thirty-nine records is shown in

Figure 4, while their ten most frequently observed native places are given in Table 2. It can be seen that almost half of them (47%) were from Fujian province (aka Fukien) while quite a number of them (19%) lived in Jiangnan province, which was later split and subdivided into Jiangsu (including present-day Shanghai) and Anhui in 1667. It is also worth noting that fourteen crew members (1.7%) were from Siam (Thailand):

[7] 問, 你們甚麼緣故, 與那暹羅國人, 一同騎船?

答, 以做買賣緣故 [.....] 載暹羅國十七人, 作為船格, 使之行船。

Q: For what reason did you take the vessel with those from **Siam**?

A: For the sake of business dealings. . . . The seventeen Siamese were made to operate this sailboat.

(Record 40, dated 1880-11-09).

Three of the Siamese people also brought their family members onto the sailboat:

[8] 問, 暹羅國人姓名年紀?

答, 毛紅年五十二, [.....] 已上十四人, 都是船格, 一女人是番班年二十四, 毛紅之妻, 一女人是番只年二十五, 番目之妻, 一幼男是毛彬年二歲, 毛紅之兒子。

Q: Name and age of the Siamese?

A: Red Hair, aged 52, . . . All of the above fourteen people are crew members. One woman, called Foreign Rank, aged 24, who is Red Hair's **wife**. One woman, called Foreign Single, aged 25, who is Foreign Eye's **wife**. One boy, called Cultivated Hair, aged 2, who is the son of Red Hair.

(Record 40, dated 1880-11-09).

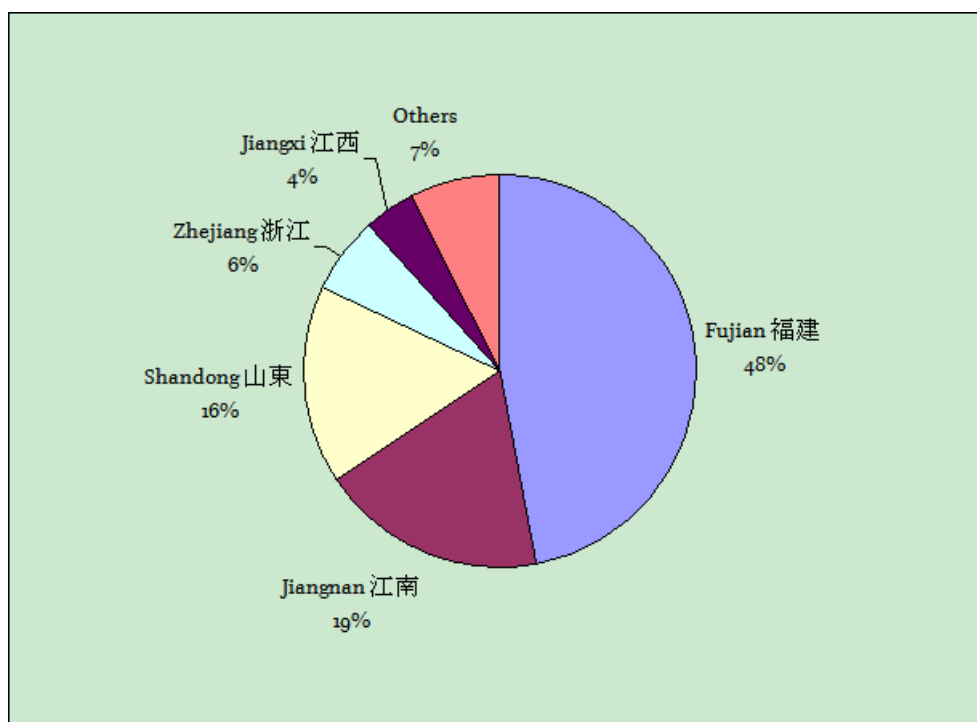


Figure 4. Native places of the crew members in the *Pibyõnsa Tũngnok* drifting conversation records, by province.

Note: N = 817

Native place of the crew members	No. of instances
福建省泉州府同安縣 Tong'an county, Quanzhou prefecture, Fujian	176
福建省泉州府同安縣廈門 Xiamen, Tong'an county, Quanzhou, Fujian	55
山東省登州府福山縣 Fushan county, Dengzhou prefecture, Shandong	45
福建省漳州府海澄縣 Haicheng county, Zhangzhou prefecture, Fujian	32
福建省漳州府詔安縣 Zhaoan county, Zhangzhou prefecture, Fujian	32
山東省登州府蓬萊縣 Penglai county, Dengzhou prefecture, Shandong	31
江南省松江府上海縣 Shanghai county, Songjiang prefecture, Jiangnan	28
江南省楊州府南通州 Nantongzhou, Yangzhou prefecture, Jiangnan	28
江南省太倉州寶山縣 Baoshan county, Taicang subprefecture, Jiangnan	21
山東省登州府黃縣 Huang county, Dengzhou prefecture, Shandong	19
Total	467

Table 2. The ten most frequently occurring native places of the crew members in the *Pibyõnsa Tũngnok* drifting conversation records.

The distribution of the native provinces of the passengers and their ten most frequently occurring native towns are presented in Figure 5 and

Table 3, respectively. It can be seen that the majority (38%) of the passengers were also from Fujian while a third of them were from Abkai Aliyangga Fu (*Fengtian Fu* 奉天府 in Chinese), which covered today's Shenyang and some of its neighboring counties. The most frequently occurring native place, for both crew members and passengers, is Tong'an county, Fujian.

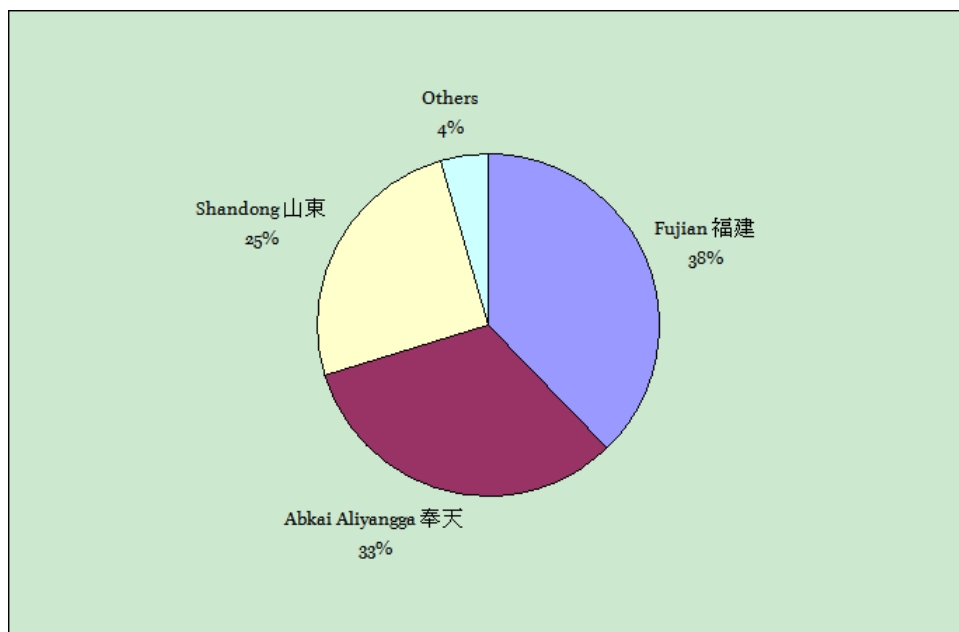


Figure 5. Native place of the passengers in the *Pibyönsa Tüŋnok* drifting conversation records, by province.

Note: N = 135

Native places of the passengers	No. of instances
福建省泉州府同安縣 Tong'an county, Quanzhou prefecture, Fujian	36
奉天府岫巖縣 Seheun county, Abkai Aliyangga Fu	29
山東省登州府寧海州 Ninghaizhou, Dengzhou prefecture, Shandong	10
福建省漳州府詔安縣 Zhaoan county, Zhangzhou prefecture, Fujian	10
山東省東昌府聊城縣 Liucheng county, Dongchang prefecture, Shandong	8
山東省登州府榮城縣 Rongcheng county, Dengzhou prefecture, Shandong	8
奉天府復州縣 Dahvngga Jeo county, Abkai Aliyangga Fu	8
山東省登州府萊陽縣 Laiyang county, Dengzhou prefecture, Shandong	4
浙江省寧波府鄞縣 Yin county, Ningbo prefecture, Zhejiang	3
奉天府海州縣 Haizhou county, Abkai Aliyangga Fu	3

Total	119
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Table 3. Ten most frequently occurring native places of the passengers in the *Pibyönsa Tüingnok* drifting conversation records.

Note: Appendix 1 and Appendix 2 for a full list of their native places.

4.2. Details of the voyage

The details of the voyage are the core part of the drifting story and are thus naturally observed in every record. For instance, in example [9] the official asked the drifters about the date and place of their departure from China, the destination of their voyage, and the total number of drifters:

[9] 問, 爾等何時何處發船, 往于何處, 漂到本國, 而同船者幾人耶?

答, 俺等今年二月十六日, 納稅于戶工部, 十七日乘船, [.....] 二十二日晚夕, 卒過東南風, [.....] 而同船者七十人, 滄死四名, [.....]

Q: **When and from where** did you depart? Before drifting to our nation, where were you going? How many people stayed on the same vessel with you?

A: We paid tax to the Ministry of Revenue and the Ministry of Public Works on the sixteenth day of the second lunar month, and set off on the seventeenth day. On the evening of the twenty-second day, we suddenly encountered typhoon blowing from southeast . . . seventy people stayed with me on the sailboat and four were drowned.

(Record 2, dated 1687-05-15)

In seventeen cases among all the records, the sailboats visited other ports before drifting to Korea:

[10] 問, 爾們何月日緣何事往何處, 何月日漂到我境耶?

答, 俺們本年四月初七日, 自同安縣往臺灣府裝載糖屬, 五月十五日, 往江南省松江府上海縣交易茶葉, 七月初六日, 又自上海縣往奉天省西錦州交易後, 初六日, 漂到貴國地方。

Q: On which date and for what reason did you leave, and to which place were you going? When did you drift into our territory?

A: On the seventh day of the fourth lunar month of this year, we went from **Tong'an county** to **Taiwan prefecture** to load sugar onto our vessel. On the fifteenth day of the fifth lunar month, we went to **Shanghai county, Songjiang prefecture, Jiangnan province** to trade tea. On the sixth day of the seventh lunar month, after we travelled from **Shanghai county** to **West Junggin Jeo**,

Abkai Aliyanga Fu for a business deal. . . . On the sixth day, we drifted to your esteemed country.

(Record 23, dated 1813-12-23)

According to the conversation records, the drifters set sail on a fishing boat in three records: 14, 38, and 39. For the other records, the number of drifters on the sailboats ranged from 3 to 116 while the median is 21.5. For the number of drifters in each record and the ports where these sailboats had stopped by, see Matsuura.²⁹

4.3. Merchandise intended for export and import

Except for the drifting records of fishing boats, merchandise is found in every record. In example [11], the official asked what products the crew members intended to import and export:

[11] 問、爾等所持者、何様物貨、而所欲買者何物耶？

答、俺等所持者白絲·抗綾·走紗·人蔘·麝香·藥材、而所買者銀·銅·蘇木·海參·卜魚·胡椒等物矣。

Q: For the things that you are holding, what products are they? What products did you **intend to trade in**?

A: We have white silk, fabric runs, white cotton yarn, ginseng, musk, and medicine. We wanted to trade for silver, copper, sappanwood, sea cucumber, woodblock [a musical instrument], pepper, and so on.

(Record 2, dated 1687-05-15)

Among all the records, only three of the vessels engaged in foreign trade in Japan. Table 4 shows the major merchandise that the vessels intended to import to and export from Japan:

Record	Merchandize to be exported (to Japan)	Merchandize to be imported (to China)
No. 2	白絲, 抗綾, 走紗, 人蔘, 麝香, 藥材 White silk, fabric runs, cotton yarn, ginseng, musk, medicine	銀, 銅, 蘇木, 海參, 卜魚, 胡椒 Silver, copper, sappanwood, sea cucumber, woodblock [a musical instrument],

²⁹ Matsuura, “Ri chō hyōchaku Chugoku . . . (ka),” 83.

		pepper
No. 3	蘇木, 白糖, 烏漆, 烏糖, 犀角, 象牙, 黑角, 藤黃, 牛皮, 鹿皮, 魚皮, 烏鉛, 秤藤, 大楓子, 檳榔, 銀硃, 水粉 Sappanwood, white sugar, black paint, black sugar, rhinoceros horn, ivory, black horn, gamboge, cowhide, deerskin, fish skin, black lead, <i>Polygonum chinensis</i> Linn., maple seed, areca nut, mercury sulphide, lead carbonate.	紅銅, 金, 銀, 鮑魚, 海蔘, 漆器, 銅器 Copper, gold, silver, abalone, sea cucumber, lacquerware, copperware
No. 5	白走紗, 八段絲, 香木, 雪糖, 花布, 紅沙, 玄花布 White cotton yarn, <i>baduan</i> silk, fragrant wood, sugar, cotton prints, red cloth, black cloth.	

Table 4. Sample merchandise as documented in the *Pibyōnsa Tūngnok* drifting conversation records.

It can be seen in Table 4 that among those merchandise products, “silk” exists in two records as a product to be exported to Japan while “silver,” “copper,” and “sea cucumber” appear in two records as products to be imported.

In the list of import items, two major types of products are found: metal and seafood, including silver, copper, gold, sea cucumber, and abalone. This suggests that the demand for precious metal and high-end seafood was high in Qing China. Among the items to be exported are three major types of goods: (1) raw materials for textile and clothing, for example, “silk,” “golden thread,” “fabric runs,” and “white cotton yarn”; (2) Chinese medicines, for example, “ginseng,” “musk,” and “rhinoceros horn”; and (3) hides and skins, for example, “cowhide,” “deerskin,” and “fish skin.” This indicates that expensive textile products, rare Chinese medicine, hides, and skin had strong market value in Japan.

For domestic maritime trading, seventy-nine types of merchandise products are found in the conversation records. Among these products, “soybean,” “raw cotton,” “sugar,” and “green pea” are goods frequently traded in China. The most frequently mentioned items of merchandise are listed in Table 5:

Merchandise	No. of instances
黃豆/黃荳/飯豆 soybean	9
綿花/涼花 raw cotton	7
青豆 green pea, 糖屬/糖/沙糖/砂糖 sugar	5

紅棗/大棗 red date, 繭紬/山繭/繭包 unbleached silk, 棗子/棗 jujube	4
瓜子, 白米, 杏仁, 牛筋, 木耳/黑菜 melon seeds, polished rice, almond, tendon of cattle, black fungus	3
牛油, 甘草, 防風, 粉條, 茶葉, 酒, 燒酒, 鹽魚, 黑棗/烏棗, 豆餅/荳餅 butter, licorice root, <i>siler</i> , cellophane noodle, tea, liquor, arrack, salted fish, pickled jujube, bean cake	2

Table 5. The most frequently mentioned domestic maritime trade goods in the *Pibyōnsa Tūngnok* drifting conversation records.

Note: See Appendix 3 for a full list of the products.

4.4. Possession of permits issued by the Customs Office of Qing court

In many records, the officials requested the crew members to show documents or permits issued by the Customs Office of the Qing court to show that they had obtained the permission to navigate the seas. In example [12], the crew member replied to the official that they had lost their documents during their trip:

[12] 問, 你等年年海行, 必有公文, 然後可以行商, 而今則無之, 其故何耶?
答, 俺等納稅於戶工部, 例出標帖, 而今因敗船, 漂失海中矣。

Q: You travel on the ocean every year. You must have **documents** so that you can engage in business, but now you say you don't have any. What is the reason?

A: Every time we pay tax to the Ministry of Revenue and the Ministry of Public Works, they issue **permits**. This time, because the vessel was broken, they were lost while drifting at sea.

(Record 2, dated 1687-05-15)

Nevertheless, this question about permits appears to be optional. T lists the terms used by the officials to refer to the permits. In a number of records, this question was not asked and the permit was not referred to.

Terms for permit	Record nos.
公文 <i>gongwen</i> (document)	2, 6, 7, 13, 22, 23, 30, 31, 32, 34, 37, 38
文引 <i>wenyin</i> (permit)	3, 9, 15
船票 <i>chuanpiao</i> (vessel permit)	5, 9, 11, 12, 14–16, 18–30, 33, 34
票文 <i>piaowen</i> (permit)	7, 9–12, 14–17, 19, 20, 22–24, 28, 32
總票 <i>zongpiao</i> (chief permit)	10

Table 6. Terms referring to “permits” of crew members and vessels in the *Pibyōnsa Tūngnok* drifting conversation records.

4.5. Details of the native places of the crew members

In many records, the official asked about the details of the native place of the crew members. In example [13], the official raised a query about the political institution of the Suzhou prefecture:

[13] 問，蘇州府似不及此四省之大，而官員之多少同之，其故何耶？

答，蘇州幅員，雖不及省，人物之衆多，財貨之所聚，又有加於諸省而然矣。

Q: **Suzhou prefecture** seems to be no bigger than these four provinces but the number of officials is the same, why?

A: Although **Suzhou** is smaller than a province, there are many people with no shortage of money and merchandise. Suzhou compares favorably with other provinces in this regard.

(Record 2, dated 1687-05-15)

4.6. Miscellaneous questions unrelated to drifting

It is worth noticing that, in all records, questions unrelated to drifting are always present. In examples [14], [15], and [16], the officials raised questions about pirates and the military power and geography of China.

[14] 問，近來海路，有水賊出沒之事耶？

答，鄭克塽歸順之後，別無海賊矣。

Q: Recently on the sea route, are there any **pirates**?

A: After the submission of Zheng Keshuang, there are no more **pirates**.

(Record 2, dated 1687-05-15)

[15] 問，陸軍有操鍊之事，水軍摠治者何官，以何技藝鍊習耶？

答，蘇州有戰船三百餘艘，水軍七千餘人，技藝則鳥鎗·弓箭·長槍·大砲等物，而水軍摠兵主之矣。

Q: The **army** has regular drills. Who supervises the **navy**? What skills do the navy practice?

A: In Suzhou, there are more than three hundred **warships** and more than seven thousand marine troops in the **navy**. They practice shotgun, archery, pike, cannon, and so on. The navy is supervised by the commander-in-chief.

(Record 2, dated 1687-05-15)

[16] 問, 江西省距北京幾里耶?

答, 五千二百里矣。

Q: What is the distance between Jiangxi province and Beijing? [Lit. ‘**How many li** is Jiangxi province from Beijing?’]

A: 5,200 *li*.

(Record 2, dated 1687-05-15)

Was a standardized protocol used for the interrogations? Although frequently asked questions exist, some of them appear to be optional. For instance, in record 4, the request to show a permit issued by the Customs Office is not found. In addition, the order of these questions is not uniform and varies from record to record. For example, in record 2, the order is roughly names–voyage–merchandise–permit–native place–miscellaneous, but in record 40 the order is roughly permit–voyage–names–merchandise. For these reasons, we are inclined to conclude that no standardized protocol was followed when the interrogation was conducted.

5. An Analysis of Statistically Salient Place Names and Common Nouns

In this section, a statistical account of the most frequently observed place names and common nouns in the interrogation records will be presented.

5.1. Place names

The ten most frequently observed place names in the drifting records are shown in Table 7. Since the major purpose of the interrogation was to investigate the cause behind the drifting incident, some readers might conjecture that the distribution of these place names represents the distribution of the places from where the drifting sailboats departed and to which they had visited. However, as mentioned in section 0, inquiries on the details of the native places of the crew members and passengers, as well as various kinds of questions about China, where place names also frequently appear, are present. For instance,

[17] 問, 山東所屬州縣, 共幾何耶?

答, 山東一省, 有登州·萊州·青州·兗州·東昌·濟南六府, 而其所屬州縣, 則未能詳知耳。

Q: For the prefectures and counties that belong to **Shandong**, how many are there in total?

A: In **Shandong**, there are six prefectures: **Dengzhou, Laizhou, Qingzhou,**

Yanzhou, Dongchang, Jinan. I have no idea about the sub-prefectures and counties under them.

(Record 4, dated 1706-04-13)

In example [17], the official asked the representative drifter the number of counties and prefectures in Shandong province. The drifter only recalled the six prefectures but could not recall the names of the sub-prefectures and counties under these prefectures.

Thus, the distribution of these place names does not reflect the distribution of the places visited by the drifting vessels.

Place names	No. of instances
福建 Fujian	167
同安 Tong'an	125
山東 Shandong	122
泉州 Quanzhou	86
登州 Dengzhou	78
北京 Beijing	77
蘇州 Suzhou	71
江南 Jiangnan	48
天津 Tianjin	48
福山 Fushan	45
Total	867

Table 7. Most frequently observed place names in the *Pibyōnsa Tūngnok* drifting conversation records.

As shown in T, among the most frequently observed places, the only places not appearing in Appendix 1 and Appendix 2 are Beijing 北京 and Tianjin 天津 (aka Tientsin). Tianjin, literally, “port of (the son of) Heaven,” had been the center of shipping in northern China since the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), and was frequently visited by the sailboats engaging in maritime trade. In example [18], the drifters visited Tianjin to trade in red dates.

[18] 問，爾們載何物往天津，而買何物回福建耶？

答，載砂糖·胡椒·蘇木到天津，買紅棗回福建耳。

Q: What did you load and transport to Tianjin? What products do you trade in back to Fujian?

A: We loaded sugar, pepper, and sappanwood and transported them to Tianjin and trade in **red dates** for Fujian.

(Record 24, dated 1813-12-23)

Even though Beijing is not a port, it is frequently mentioned. Example [18] illustrates the kind of context in which Beijing was invoked in the conversation records:

[19] 問, 南通州距北京, 幾許道里?

答, 距北京三千三百里。

Q: What is the distance between **Nantongzhou** and Beijing?

A: It is 3,300 *li* from **Beijing**.

問, 南通州屬於揚州, 揚州府屬於江南省, 則江南省距北京幾許道里?

答, 江南省距北京, 四千五百里。

Q: **Nantongzhou** belongs to **Yangzhou**. **Yangzhou prefecture** belongs to **Jiangnan province**. So, what is the distance between **Jiangnan province** and **Beijing**?

A: **Jiangnan province** is 4,500 *li* from **Beijing**.

(Record 6, dated 1733-01-07)

In example [19], the Chosŏn official asked about the distance between Nantongzhou and Beijing as well as that between Jiangnan province (covering present-day Jiangsu, Shanghai, and Anhui) and Beijing. In all cases, the representative drifter was able to give a reply probably because at least one crew member was familiar with the geography of China. It is found that among the seventy-seven occurrences of “Beijing,” a number of keywords are frequently found to co-occur within the same sentence. Table 6 shows the details of the words frequently co-occurring with “Beijing,” where all the categories are mutually exclusive:

Co-occurring word(s)	No. of instances	Fraction	Example	Record nos.
<i>duo yuan</i> 多遠 (how far)	1	1%	[20]	25
<i>li</i> 里 ³⁰	2	3%	[21]	6
<i>ji li</i> 幾里 (how many <i>li</i>)	3	4%	[22]	6, 8, 23
<i>ju</i> 距 (away from)	3	4%	[23]	5, 14
<i>ju . . . li</i> 距.....里 (<i>li</i> . . . away from)	10	14%	[24]	5, 6, 7, 13
<i>ju . . . ji li</i> 距.....幾里 (from . . . how many <i>li</i> ?)	40	54%	[25]	2, 3, 13, 28

³⁰ The traditional measure of distance, roughly equivalent to five hundred meters.

<i>li . . . duo yuan</i> 離.....多遠 (from . . . how far?)	3	4%	[26]	26, 27
<i>li . . . ji li</i> 離.....幾里 (from . . . how many <i>li</i> ?)	5	7%	[27]	29, 34
Total	67	91%		

Table 6. Words frequently co-occurring with “Beijing” within the same sentence in the *Pibyōnsa Tūngnok* drifting conversation records.

It can be seen that in most cases, the appearance of “Beijing” in a sentence implies an inquiry or answer related to distance. One example for each type is given below:

[20] *duo yuan* 多遠 (how far)

問, 同安縣那裏, 到北京那邊有多遠呀?

答, 雖然摸不着幾千里地, 打水路去麼, 二十天工夫到京, 打旱路走麼, 兩個月工夫橫豎到罷。

Q: **How far** is Tong’an county from Beijing?

A: Although I have no idea how many thousands of *li*, if we go by the water route, it would take twenty days [to travel from Tong’an] to Beijing. If we travel by an overland route, it would take about two months in any case.

(Record 25, dated 1819-11-10)

[21] *li* 里

問, 自南通州, 至北京, 道路幾許里耶?

答, 三千三百里矣。

Q: From Nantongzhou to Beijing, how many *li* are there in between?

A: 3,300 *li*.

(Record 6, dated 1733-01-07)

[22] *ji li* 幾里 (how many *li*?)

問, 自江南省, 至北京幾里耶?

答, 四千五百里矣。

Q: From Jiangnan province to Beijing, **how many *li*** are there in between?

A: 4,500 *li*.

(Record 6, dated 1733-01-07)

[23] *ju* 距 (away from)

問, 榮成距北京多少遠近?

答, 一千八百里。

Q: How far is Rongcheng **from** Beijing?

A: 1,800 *li*.

(Record 14, dated 1786-03-11)

[24] *ju . . . li* 距.....里 (*li . . . away from*)

問, 南通州距北京, 幾許道里?

答, 距北京三千三百里。

Q: How many *li* is Nantongzhou **from** Beijing?

A: 3,300 *li* **from** Beijing.

(Record 6, dated 1733-01-07)

[25] *ju . . . ji li* 距.....幾里 (*from . . . how many li?*)

問, 蘇州府距北京幾里耶?

答, 三千六百里矣。

Q: **How many li** is Suzhou prefecture **from** Beijing?

A: 3,600 *li*.

(Record 2, dated 1687-05-15)

[26] *li . . . duo yuan* 離.....多遠 (*from . . . how far?*)

問, 自海澄縣, 離北京有多遠?

答, 六千一百三十里。

Q: **From** Haicheng county, **how far** is Beijing?

A: 6,130 *li*.

(Record 26, dated 1825-01-19)

[27] *li . . . ji li* 離.....幾里 (*from . . . how many li?*)

問, 文東縣離北京水旱路幾里地?

答, 不曾走過, 未省多少程途。

Q: **How many li** is Wendong county **from** Beijing, if you travel by the water route?

A: I have never tried. I have no idea how far.

(Record 29, dated 1830-01-20)

“Beijing” appears mostly in questions raised by the Chosŏn officials inquiring into the distance between Beijing and other cities. We analyze the frequency distribution of “Beijing” in our corpus, which is shown in Table 7. It can be seen that among all the occurrences of “Beijing,” 77 percent (fifty-seven instances in ten records) fall in the period of the early Qing dynasty, 1687–1775. Most interrogations about Beijing were made during this period. The officials asked substantially fewer questions about

Beijing in the subsequent periods.³¹

Period (total no. of records)	1687–1775 (10)	1777–1809 (11)	1813–1837 (10)	1840–1880 (9)
Record nos.	2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8	13, 14	23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29	34
No. of instances (fraction of total)	57 (77%)	6 (8%)	7 (10%)	4 (5%)

Table 7. Frequency distribution of the keyword “Beijing” in the *Pibyōnsa Tūngnok* drifting conversation records.

In example [28], the official was interested in piracy in China:

[28] 問, 四五年前, 海賊甚多, 故自北京有報諭事矣, 近年則聲息如何耶?

答, 南方有賊, 則商船何能任意通行乎, 聞山東, 有出沒之患云.

Q: About four or five years ago, there were many **pirates**. We also received news from Beijing. How is it going recently?

A: If there are pirates in the south, how could the merchant vessels navigate at sea? I have heard that pirates were active in Shandong.

(Record 5, dated 1713-11-18)

Every time when there was a drifting incident involving Chinese vessels, the officials would grasp the opportunity to make inquiries on newsworthy events and the latest development in China. This suggests that in addition to the Chosŏn t’ongsinsa 朝鮮通

³¹ Why were these questions frequently asked? Could it be because they were deeply interested in the geography of China, or did they try to verify the nationality of the drifters by giving them a quiz on their geographic knowledge of China? Although our data alone cannot explain why there was a downward trend, we conjecture that the inquiries from the Chosŏn officials were due to a lack of knowledge about the geography of China. In the Chosŏn dynasty, all the officials were literati who were supposed to be knowledgeable since most candidates of the state bureaucracy were selected by the civil service examination system which was institutionalized from 958 CE. Their lack of knowledge about China’s geography suggests that such knowledge was probably not in the examination syllabus. This is most likely due to the poor circulation and dissemination of books from China to Korea at that time, which in turn may be due to the inconvenience of transportation and, by extension, the underdeveloped logistics system at that time. Consequently, the officials had to rely on the people from China they encountered to fill the gaps in their geographic knowledge as well as for the latest news of contemporary China.

信使,³² the Chinese intruders on the drifting vessels also played an important role in importing new knowledge of China to the Korean government.

5.2. Common nouns

The eighteen most frequently observed nouns in the whole corpus are listed in Table 8. Most of these nouns are clearly related to shipping, details of drifting, and maritime trade. For this reason, only the less obvious cases (i.e., those with looser relation with shipping, highlighted) will be discussed.

Nouns	No. of instances
人 <i>ren</i> (man)	547
船 <i>chuan</i> (ship)	290
地方 <i>difang</i> (place)	209
票 <i>piao</i> (permit)	172
貴國 <i>guiguo</i> (your esteemed nation)	134
物 <i>wu</i> (thing)	119
旱路 <i>hanlu</i> (overland route)	118
風 <i>feng</i> (wind; typhoon)	112
情 <i>qing</i> (situation)	85
事 <i>shi</i> (affair)	83
水路 <i>shuilu</i> (water route)	80
姓名 <i>xingming</i> (name)	73
錢 <i>qian</i> (money)	71
水 <i>shui</i> (water)	64
水手 <i>shuishou</i> (sailor)	61
年紀 <i>nianji</i> (age)	55
船主 <i>chuanzhu</i> (ship owner)	54
漢人 <i>hanren</i> (Han people)	53

Table 8. The most frequently observed common nouns in the *Pibyōnsa Tūngnok* drifting conversation records.

***Difang* 地方 (place).** This word frequently co-occurs with other keywords, like *he* 何 (what), *nimen* 你們 (you, plural) and *niancheng* 年成 (year’s harvest). The

³² The Chosŏn t’ongsinsa, literally “Chosŏn communication envoys,” were the thirteen diplomatic delegations sent at irregular intervals, at the request of the Muromachi shogunate 室町幕府, Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉, and Tokugawa shogunate 徳川幕府, by Chosŏn to Japan between 1428 to 1811. These missions contributed to the cultural and political development of Japan to some extent by sharing their knowledge to Japanese.

details are shown in Table 9, where all the non-summation counts are mutually exclusive.

Co-occurring word(s)	No. of instances	%	Record nos.
“what/where/which” (+ <i>difang</i>)			
那個 <i>nage</i> (which)	3	2%	32, 38, 40
那裏 <i>nali</i> (where)	6	4%	35, 36
甚麼 <i>shenme</i> (what)	11	8%	9, 20, 21, 25, 32, 35, 35, 36
何 <i>he</i> (what)	32	22%	3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 14, 16, 17, 18, 23, 28, 29, 31, 37, 39
Total	52	36%	
“your” (+ <i>difang</i>)			
爾們 <i>nimen</i> (you [plural])	13	9%	23, 28, 35, 36
你們 <i>nimen</i> (you [plural])	17	12%	5, 7, 8, 14, 16, 17, 20, 21
Total	30	21%	
Harvest			
豐歉 <i>fengqian</i> (bumper/poor harvest)	2	1%	7
秋成 <i>qiucheng</i> (autumn’s harvest)	2	1%	11, 12
年成 <i>niancheng</i> (year’s harvest)	3	2%	20, 21, 23
你們/爾們……年成 <i>nimen . . . niancheng</i> (you [plural] . . . year’s harvest)	12	8%	14, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 28, 33, 35, 36
Total	19	13%	

Table 9. Words frequently co-occurring with *difang* in the *Pibyōnsa Tŭngnok* drifting conversation records.

In more than a third of all sentences containing *difang*, it is pre-modified by a question word, namely, *nage* 那個 (which), *nali* 那裏 (where),³³ *shenme* 甚麼 (what), and *he* 何 (what). The Chosŏn officials frequently used these four words with *difang* to inquire about the native place of the drifters, as shown in examples [29] and [30]:

³³ During the Qing period, it was a common practice to use the character 那 to denote both the interrogative pronoun *nǎ* and the distal demonstrative pronoun *nà*. The pronoun usage of the character 哪 is only attested to as late as the early twentieth century.

[29] 問，你們元來住在甚麼地方？

答，小的兩人，都是蘇州府太倉州崇明縣人。

Q: **Where** do you live originally (in your nation)?

A: We, two people, are from Chongming county, Taicang subprefecture, Suzhou prefecture.

(Record 9, dated 1775-02-11)

[30] 問，你們二十四人，居在何地方？

答，小的等，俱是福建省泉州府同安縣人。

Q: **Where** do you twenty-four people live?

A: We are from Tong'an county, Quanzhou prefecture, Fujian Province.

(Record 7, dated 1760-12-25)

In 21 percent of the sentences with *difang*, the officials made an inquiry on the details of the drifters' native place by using *nimen difang* (your place) to refer to their native place. For instance, in examples [31] and [32], the official would like to know the famous products and popular occupations of their native place:

[31] 問，你們地方，土產何物耶？

答，綿花也，大米也。

Q: For **your [native] place**, what are the famous products?

A: Cotton and rice.

(Record 20, dated 1809-01-14)

[32] 問，爾們地方風俗，以何爲業耶？

答，士則績文好學，民則農商相半。

Q: Regarding the customs of **your [native] place**, what do people do for a living?

A: The scholars like to learn very much, and for the common people, half of them are farmers and half of them do business.

(Record 28, dated 1827-01-12)

In many examples, the officials also asked about the autumn harvest of the drifters' native place:

[33] 問，你們地方，年成好不好？

答，八分年成。

Q: For **your place**, is the **yield** good or not?

A: Eight-tenths satisfactory.

(Record 14, dated 1786-03-11)

[34] 問，寧海地方，今年秋成何如？

答，俺們地方薄海風多，常患失稔，今年則中年矣。

Q: For **Ninghai**, how was the **autumn harvest** this year?

A: We are close to the sea [and thus it was] rather windy. We always have poor harvests. The yield of this year is only average.

(Record 11, dated 1777-11-25)

[35] 問，你們地方，今年豐歉何如？

答，今年只是平常。

Q: For **your place**, how was the **yield** this year?

A: So-so for this year.

(Record 7, dated 1760-12-25)

These examples again show that the Chosŏn officials were deeply interested in the demographic and agricultural information of China and tried to grasp every opportunity to gain more knowledge about China's geography.

Piao 票 (permit). *Piao 票* in modern Chinese refers to a “ticket.” However, in the drifting records, *piao* refers to a “permit.” In example [36], the official wondered if the crew members would be subject to punishment since they had left China without a permit:

[36] 問，你們無票越海，回到你們地方，能不得罪麼？

答，漂風出境，與故犯有異，雖無公票，必不得罪。

Q: You crossed the ocean without a **permit**. When you go back to your place, will you not be subject to punishment?

A: I left my country because of boat drifting, which is different from committing a crime intentionally. Although I do not have a **permit**, I am sure that I would not be subject to punishment.

(Record 14, dated 1813-12-23)

The various types of permits appearing in the drifting records are listed in Table 10:

Types of permits	No. of instances
<i>Chuanpiao</i> 船票 (vessel permit)	58
<i>Guanpiao</i> 關票 (permit from the Customs Office)	5

Table 10. Frequency distribution of different types of permits in the *Pibyōnsa Tūngnok* drifting conversation records.

In modern Chinese, *chuanpiao* 船票 refers to a “ship ticket” issued by a ship operator and giving the holder the right to travel on the vessel. However, in the drifting conversations, *chuanpiao* refers to a type of warrant issued by a Qing official. For instance, in example [37], the Chosŏn official asked for the vessel’s warrant but the vessel representative said that it was lost during a typhoon. In example [38] it is interesting to see that the warrant had been torn into two halves, with the upper half being kept by the Qing official and the lower half by the ship’s owner:

[37] 問, 船票文引, 有麼?

答, 船破時, 皆失於水中矣。

Q: Do you have the **vessel permit** document?

A: It was dropped to the sea when our vessel was broken.

(Record 9, dated 1775-02-11)

[38] 問, 你們帶來船票, 只書于忠盛·趙永禮二人姓名, 而來者為七人, 何其相左?

答, 船票之規, 踏印於票文當中, 仍割其半, 留上半截於官府, 給下半截於船主……

Q: On the **vessel permit** that you have with you, only the names Yu Zhongsheng and Zhao Yongli are shown. However, seven of you arrived. Why is it so different?

A: As is the usual practice with vessel permits, after putting a chop on the document, it is cut into halves, whereby the upper half is kept by the [Qing] official and the lower half is kept by the ship’s owner.

(Record 14, dated 1813-12-23)

In some cases, the offices that issued the warrant were also spelt out. For instance, in example [39], the crew members got the permit from a county Customs Office.

[39] 問, 有船票耶?

答, 關票二張, 縣票一張, 稅單一張……在矣。

Q: Any **vessel permit**?

A: I have . . . two **Customs Office permits**, one **county permit**, one receipt from the tax revenue.

(Record 11, dated 1777-11-25)

In several cases, the term *piaowen* 票文 was used to refer to a “permit” (see Table 6); as is the term of *guanpiao* 關票, short for *haiguan piaowen* 海關票文. For instance:

[40] 問, 你們有票文, 則出示之。

答, 有閩海關票文一張, 同安縣票文一張耳。

Q: If you have **permits**, show them to us.

A: I have a **permit from the Fujian Customs Office**, and **one** [permit] from Tong’an county.

(Record 7, dated 1760-12-25)

Guiguo 貴國 (**your esteemed nation**). The canonical meaning of *gui* 貴 is “valuable.” In the case of *guiguo* 貴國, it is used as an honorific word meaning “esteemed.” In all the drifting records, the representative drifter would use *guiguo* to refer to Chosŏn. For instance,

[41] 俺們萬死之餘, 幸到貴國, 賜衣賜食, 恩德如天, 頂戴不起云云。

It is so lucky that having encountered great danger we arrived at **your esteemed nation**, which supplies us with clothes and food. The benevolence is so great that we cannot afford to accept it.

(Record 34, dated 1855-05-20)

[42] 貴國恩德如天無以報答。

The benevolence of **your esteemed nation** is so great that I have no way to repay it.

(Record 37, dated 1860-03-14)

Hanlu 旱路 (**overland route**), **shuilu** 水路 (**water route**), **shuihanlu** 水旱路 (**land and water route**). These terms refer to the transportation by land, by water, or a combination of both. They often co-occur with words related to distance (Table 13).

Co-occurring words (no. of instances)	<i>Hanlu</i> (17)	<i>Shuilu</i> (22)	<i>Hanlu and shuilu</i> (45)	<i>Shuihanlu</i> (34)
<i>Li</i> 里 (91)	3	15	41	32
<i>Richeng</i> 日程 (days of travel) (5)	1	1	3	—
<i>Li and richeng</i> (1)	—	—	1	—
Total	4	16	46	33

Table 11. Words frequently co-occurring with *shuihanlu*, *hanlu*, and *shuilu* (all categories mutually exclusive) in the *Pibyōnsa Tūngnok* drifting conversation records.

This shows that in most cases, again, these terms tend to occur in discussions about the geography of China. For example, in example [43], the Chosŏn official was interested in how far it would take to travel from Jiangnan province to Jinzhou.

[43] 問, 江南到關東金州, 水旱路各幾里。

答, 旱路則不知, 水路則順風七晝夜可到, 而不知爲幾許里。

Q: From Jiangnan to Jinzhou, Guandong, **how many li** is the journey **by the overland route and the water route**?

A: I have no idea about **the overland route**. If we travel **by the water route**, it would take seven days but I am not sure about the **distance**.

(Record 20, dated 1809-01-1)

Similarly, in example [44], the official was interested in how far it would take to travel from Shanghai to Jiaozhou.

[44] 問, 自上海縣, 距山東膠州, 旱路幾里, 水路幾里?

答, 旱路三千餘里, 水路二千餘里。

Q: From Shanghai county to Jiaozhou, Shandong, **how many li** is the journey **by the overland route, and the water route**?

A: Over three thousand **li** for **the overland route** and over two thousand **li** for **the water route**.

(Record 19, dated 1809-02-15)

Hanren 漢人 (Han people). In some cases, the Chosŏn official made inquiries about the ethnic identity of the drifters, for instance:

[45] 問, 你們漢人耶, 滿洲人耶?

答, 俱是漢人。

Q: Are you **Han people**, or Manchus?

A: All (of us) are Han people.

(Record 11, dated 1777-11-25)

According to the responses from the drifter representatives, in all of the thirty-nine conversation records all of the people on board the vessels were Han people by ethnicity, except for the seventeen Siamese.

6. Conclusion

In this study, we have automatically generated a part-of-speech-tagged corpus based on the conversation records from *Pibyŏnsa Tŭngnok* and conducted a statistical analysis of the details of the sailboat drifters and the merchandise products on the sailboats. A statistical account of the most frequently observed place names and common nouns in our digital corpus is also presented.

Our results show that the officials were most interested in the sailboat drifters' names, native places, occupations, the details of their intended voyage, their merchandise intended for export and import, and details of their permits issued by the Customs Office of the Qing court. We also found that the officials appeared to grasp every opportunity to inquire about the physical geography, political institutions, military power, current maritime situation, newsworthy events, and the recent developments of Qing China. However, there is insufficient evidence to show that an interrogation protocol was developed and followed when interrogating the sailboat drifters.

The results of our statistical analysis show that Fujian was the major source of the crew members and passengers of these sailboats. Some of the crew members were hired in Siam (today's Thailand). Most of the sailboats engaged in trading, but in three cases, the sailboats were used for fishing. Beijing is the most frequently observed non-native place in the conversation records since the officials were deeply interested in the distance between Beijing and other places in China, among other details pertaining to the physical geography of Qing China.

We also have established a methodological framework and demonstrated how to conduct quantitative analysis when extrapolating patterned information from a vast corpus like the *munjŏng piŏltan*. We do this by using techniques like word frequency table and co-occurrence analysis.

In the future, we plan to expand the scope of analysis beyond common nouns by analyzing other parts of speech in our corpus, such as verbs and measure words, in order to uncover other patterns. In addition, we will also analyze the interrogation records pertaining to illegal entry to Chosŏn via overland routes, as well as similar records found in other historical documents from Chosŏn like *Kaksa Tŭngnok* 各司膳錄, which records the activities of the local government offices.

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Appendix 1: Complete List of the Native Places of the Passengers Recorded in the *Pibyŏnsa Tŭngnok* Drifting Conversation Records

Place name	No. of instances
福建省泉州府同安縣 Tong’an county, Quanzhou prefecture, Fujian	36
奉天府岫巖縣 Sehehun county, Abkai Aliyangga Fu	29
山東省登州府寧海州 Ninghai subprefecture, Dengzhou, Shandong	10
福建省漳州府詔安縣 Zhaoan county, Zhangzhou prefecture, Fujian	10
山東省東昌府聊城縣 Liaocheng county, Dongchang prefecture, Shandong	8
山東省登州府榮城縣 Rongcheng county, Dengzhou prefecture, Shandong	8
奉天府復州縣 Dahvngga Jeo county, Abkai Aliyangga Fu	8
山東省登州府萊陽縣 Laiyang county, Dengzhou prefecture, Shandong	4
奉天府海州縣 Haizhou county, Abkai Aliyangga Fu	3
浙江省寧波府鄞縣 Yin county, Ningbo prefecture, Zhejiang	3
山東省登州府海陽縣 Haiyang county, Dengzhou prefecture, Shandong	2
江南省蘇州府 Suzhou prefecture, Jiangnan	2
奉天府寧海縣 Ninghai county, Abkai Aliyangga Fu	2
奉天府遼陽縣 Liyooaha Antu county, Abkai Aliyangga Fu	2
山東省登州府黃縣 Huang county, Dengzhou prefecture, Shandong	1
山東省萊州府掖縣 Ye county, Laizhou prefecture, Shandong	1
江南省松江府上海縣 Shanghai county, Songjiang prefecture, Jiangnan	1
福建省泉州府南安縣 Nan’an county, Quanzhou prefecture, Fujian	1
福建省泉州府同安縣金門 Jinmen, Tong’an county, Quanzhou, Fujian	1
福建省泉州府同安縣廈門 Xiamen, Tong’an county, Quanzhou, Fujian	1
福建省泉州府晉江縣 Jinjiang county, Quanzhou prefecture, Fujian	1
福建省漳州府海澄縣 Haicheng county, Zhangzhou prefecture, Fujian	1

Appendix 2: Complete List of the Native Places of the Crew Members Recorded in the *Pibyŏnsa Tŭngnok* Drifting Conversation Records

No. of

Place name	instances
福建省泉州府同安縣 Tong'an county, Quanzhou prefecture, Fujian	176
福建省泉州府同安縣廈門 Amoy, Tong'an county, Quanzhou, Fujian	55
福建省漳州府海澄縣 Haicheng county, Zhangzhou prefecture, Fujian	51
山東省登州府福山縣 Fushan county, Dengzhou prefecture, Shandong	45
江南省蘇州府太倉州崇明縣 Chongming, Taicang, Suzhou, Jiangnan	43
福建省漳州府詔安縣 Zhaoan county, Zhangzhou prefecture, Fujian	32
浙江省寧波府鄞縣 Yin county, Ningbo prefecture, Zhejiang	32
山東省登州府蓬萊縣 Penglai county, Dengzhou prefecture, Shandong	32
江南省松江府上海縣 Shanghai county, Songjiang prefecture, Jiangnan	31
江南省楊州府南通州 Nantongzhou, Yangzhou, Jiangnan	28
江南省太倉州寶山縣 Baoshan county, Taicang subprefecture, Jiangnan	21
山東省登州府黃縣 Huang county, Dengzhou prefecture, Shandong	19
暹羅國 Siam	14
福建省漳州府龍溪縣 Longxi county, Zhangzhou prefecture, Fujian	14
江南省鎮江府丹陽縣 Danyang county, Zhenjiang prefecture, Jiangnan	14
江南省太倉州鎮洋縣 Zhenyang county, Taicang subprefecture, Jiangnan	14
廣東省潮州府汕頭埠 Swatow Port, Chaozhou prefecture, Guangdong	10
福建省泉州府晉江縣 Jinjiang county, Quanzhou prefecture, Fujian	13
福建省泉州府同安縣金門 Jinmen, Tong'an county, Quanzhou, Fujian	10
浙江省寧波府勤縣 Qin county, Ningbo prefecture, Zhejiang	9
山東省登州府文登縣威海鎮 Weihai, Wendeng, Dengzhou, Shandong	9
江南省蘇州府長州縣 Changzhou county, Suzhou prefecture, Jiangnan	8
江南省蘇州府吳縣 Wu county, Suzhou prefecture, Jiangnan	8
山東省登州府榮城縣 Rongcheng county, Dengzhou prefecture, Shandong	8
奉天府金州城寧海縣 Ninghai county, Aisin Jeo city, Abkai Aliyangga Fu	7
福建省泉州府南安縣 Nan'an county, Quanzhou prefecture, Fujian	6
江南省蘇州府南通州呂四場 Lüsichang, Nantongzhou, Suzhou, Jiangnan	6
江南省松江府華亭縣 Huating county, Songjiang prefecture, Jiangnan	6
山東省登州府 Dengzhou prefecture, Shandong	6
福建省福州府侯官縣 Houguan county, Fuzhou prefecture, Fujian	5
山東省登州府文東縣 Wendong county, Dengzhou prefecture, Shandong	5
福建省漳州府漳浦縣 Zhangpu county, Zhangzhou prefecture, Fujian	4
福建省泉州府 Quanzhou prefecture, Fujian	4
山東省登州府萊陽縣 Laiyang county, Dengzhou prefecture, Shandong	4

福建省泉州府南安縣	Nan'an county, Quanzhou prefecture, Fujian	4
廣東省潮州府澄海縣	Chenghai county, Chaozhou prefecture,	
Guangdong		3
福建省漳州府詔安縣	Zhaoan county, Zhangzhou prefecture, Fujian	3
浙江省湖州府烏程縣	Wucheng county, Huzhou prefecture, Zhejiang	3
江南省蘇州府嘉定縣	Jiading county, Suzhou prefecture, Jiangnan	3
江南省蘇州府常熟縣	Changshu county, Suzhou prefecture, Jiangnan	3
廣東省廣州府新會縣	Xinhui county, Guangzhou prefecture, Guangdong	2
廣東省廣州府南海縣	Nanhai county, Guangzhou prefecture, Guangdong	2
鳳凰城首陽府首陽縣	Shouyang county, Shouyang, Fuhaqan Hoton	2
福建省福州府閩縣	Min county, Fuzhou prefecture, Fujian	2
福建省泉州府安溪縣	Anxi county, Quanzhou prefecture, Fujian	2
福建省汀州府	Tingzhou prefecture, Fujian	2
浙江省寧波府鎮海縣	Zhenhai county, Ningbo prefecture, Zhejiang	2
江南省蘇州府太倉州寶山縣	Baoshan county, Taicang, Suzhou, Jiangnan	2
江南省長州府江陰縣	Jiangyin county, Changzhou prefecture, Jiangnan	2
山東省登州府寧海州	Ninghai subprefecture, Dengzhou, Shandong	2
廣東省潮州府潮陽縣	Chaoyang county, Chaozhou prefecture,	
Guangdong		1
廣東省潮州府海陽縣	Haiyang county, Chaozhou prefecture, Guangdong	1
廣東省廣州府東莞縣	Dongguan county, Guangzhou, Guangdong	1
福建省興化縣	Xinghua county, Fujian	1
福建省興化府莆田縣	Putian county, Xinghua prefecture, Fujian	1
福建省汀州府永定縣	Yongding county, Tingzhou prefecture, Fujian	1
湖廣省漢陽府漢陽縣	Hanyang county, Hanyang prefecture, Huguang	1
浙江省湖州府歸安縣	Guian county, Chaozhou prefecture, Zhejiang	1
浙江省湖州府烏程縣	Wucheng county, Chaozhou prefecture, Zhejiang	1
浙江省紹興府山陰縣	Shanyin county, Shaoxing prefecture, Zhejiang	1
浙江省寧波府慈溪縣	Cixi county, Ningbo prefecture, Zhejiang	1
浙江省寧波府	Ningbo prefecture, Zhejiang	1
浙江省紹興府山陰縣	Shanyin county, Shaoxing prefecture, Zhejiang	1
浙江省杭州府仁和縣	Renhe county, Hangzhou prefecture, Zhejiang	1
直隸省天津府天津縣	Tianjin county, Tianjin prefecture, Jyli Golo	1
江南省蘇州府吳江縣	Wujiang county, Suzhou prefecture, Jiangnan	1
江南省徽州府休寧縣	Xiuning county, Huizhou prefecture, Jiangnan	1
江南省寧國府寧國縣	Ningguo county, Ningguo prefecture, Jiangnan	1
江南省揚州府江都縣	Jiangdu county, Yangzhou prefecture, Jiangnan	1
江南省淮安府山揚縣	Shanyang county, Huaian prefecture, Jiangnan	1

江南省長州府靖江縣	Jingjiang county, Changzhou prefecture, Jiangnan	1
江南省長州府無錫縣	Wuxi county, Changzhou prefecture, Jiangnan	1
江南省江寧府漂水縣	Piaoshui county, Jiangning prefecture, Jiangnan	1
江南省江寧府江寧縣	Jiangning county, Jiangning prefecture, Jiangnan	1
江西省撫州府臨川縣	Linchuan county, Fuzhou prefecture, Jiangxi	1
江西省撫州府樂安縣	Lean county, Fuzhou prefecture, Jiangxi	1
山東省萊州府即墨縣	Jimo county, Laizhou prefecture, Shandong	1
山東省登州府文登縣	Wendeng county, Dengzhou prefecture, Shandong	1
山東省山海縣	Shanghai county, Shandong	1

Appendix 3: Complete List of Domestic Maritime Trade Goods Mentioned in the *Pibyōnsa Tūngnok* Drifting Conversation Records

黃豆/黃荳/飯豆 soybean, 綿花/涼花 raw cotton, 青豆 green pea, 瓜子 melon seeds, 白米 polished rice, 杏仁 almond, 牛筋 tendon of cattle, 糖屬/糖/沙糖/砂糖 sugar, 木耳/黑菜 black fungus, 牛油 butter, 甘草 licorice root, 防風 siler, 紅棗/大棗 red date, 粉條 cellophane noodle, 茶葉 tea, 酒 liquor, 棗子/棗 jujube, 燒酒 arrack, 繭紬/山繭/繭包 unbleached silk, 鹽魚 salted fish, , 小米 millet, 丹蔘 *Salvia miltiorrhiza*, 包米 corn, 布 cloth, 布被 quilt, 白布 white cloth, 白蠟 white wax, 豆子/豆 bean, 豆餅/荳餅 bean cake, 赤芍藥 root of common peony, 赤豆 rice bean, 斧子 axe, 武彝茶 Wuyi tea, 粗碗 unglazed bowl, 炒餅 noodle, 芝麻 sesame, 雨傘 umbrella, 洋毛褥 western blanket, 洋鐵小匣 western iron box, 洋鐵筒 western iron tube, 炭 charcoal, 荳 red bean, 黑棗/烏棗 pickled jujube, 紅蔘 red ginseng, 胡桃油 walnut oil, 胡椒 pepper, 香干 dried soybean curd, 梨 pear, 苡仁 Job's tear, 柴胡 *Bupleuri Radix*, 桐油 tung oil, 琉璃壺 glass pot, 高糧 sorghum, 乾小魚 small dried fish, 乾飯 dried rice, 乾葡萄 raisin, 瓷器 porcelain, 魚 fish, 魚脯 dried fish, 鹿肉餅 venison patty, 紫草 red-root gromwell, 黑布 black cloth, 槐花 flower of pagoda tree, 綿布 cotton cloth, 遠志 milkwort, 酸乾 dried plum, 銅茶罐 copper teapot, 銅碗 copper bowl, 環刀 sword, 柴 firewood, 鯉魚 carp, 蘇木 sappanwood, 鹽豬 salted pork, 烟草 tobacco, 豬肉 pork, 青藍 indigo plant