Three TB/ST Word Families:
*set* (of the sun); *pheasant/peacock; scatter/pour*

James A. Matisoff
University of California, Berkeley

This paper is a quick look at three interesting word families, each with its own story. All three require the reconstruction of variant prototypes (allofams). The first, *SET* (of the sun), is entirely new. The second, *PHEASANT/PEACOCK*, takes off from an established etymology and demonstrates that it is broader in semantic scope than previously recognized, so that many more cognate forms may be identified. (For good measure we include a couple of unrelated new roots in this semantic area). The third word family, *SCATTER/POUR*, represented in Chinese as well as Tibeto-Burman (TB), is a combination of two previously proposed etymologies.

1.0 Set (of the sun)

This etymology began to take shape when I had the pleasure of going through Boyd Michailovsky's (still unpublished) manuscript *Proto-Kiranti* at STEDT back around 1989. Further supporting data was found in the two chief compendia of TB lexical items published in China, Sun Hongkai et al. 1986 ("ZMYYC") and Dai Qingxia et al. 1992 ("TBL").
1.1 Forms that point to PTB simple velar initials: PTB *gim \( \cong \) *gum

Michailovsky reconstructed Proto-Kiranti *gim 'set (of the sun)' on the basis of two forms: Dumi gi:m; Thulung gam.

This immediately rang a bell for me, since the Lahu word is qê, used for the setting of several heavenly bodies: (mû-ni qê ve 'sun sets', mû-ni qê phô 'the west'), 'moon sets' (ha-pa qê ve), 'morning star sets' (pô-tô? qê ve). The initial correspondence between the Proto-Kiranti and Lahu forms is perfect, since PTB/PLB *g- regularly > Lahu q- (cf. 'nine' PTB *d-gôw > PLB *gôw\(^2\) > Lahu qô; 'crooked' PTB *guk > PLB *gôk\(^L\) > Lahu qô)). As for the rhyme correspondence, Lahu -ê is the reflex of both *-im and *-um, which have largely merged in Lolo-Burmese.

The variation between -i- \( \cong \) -u- in closed syllables is in fact very common in TB word families, especially when one of the neighboring consonants is labial.\(^3\) Among many examples which could be cited:\(^4\)

| 'sleep' | *yip \( \cong \) *yip                     | 'beat/strike' | *dup \( \cong \) *dip                      |
| 'house' | *k-yim \( \cong \) *k-yum                  | 'sink'        | *nup \( \cong \) *nip\(^5\)               |
| 'wrap'  | *tip \( \cong \) *tup                       | 'tear/rip'    | *džit \( \cong \) *džut                  |
| 'dusk/darkness' | *rum \( \cong \) *rim                   | 'wipe'        | *sut \( \cong \) *sit                     |
| 'warm'  | *lum \( \cong \) *lim                      | 'body hair'   | *g-mul \( \cong \) *g-mil                |

The other Loloish cognates to Lahu qê to be found in ZMYYC #752 "luòxià (tàiyáng)" and TBL #1512 "luò (tàiyáng)" all have back vowels:
These Loloish reflexes are rather similar, but by no means identical to those of PLB *sum² 'three', an indubitable word with the rhyme *-um (cf. Written Burmese sûm): Lahu šē, Nanjian sa³³, Lisu sq³³, Naxi sɣ²¹ (see below 1.2), Hani Caiyuan se⁵⁵, Haoni Shuikui su⁵⁵. Neither do they seem particularly parallel to those of PLB *s-dim¹ 'cloud', a word to be reconstructed with the indubitable rhyme *-im⁸ (cf. Written Burmese (WB) tim):

ZMYYC: Yi Dafang tie³³, Yi Nanjian a⁵⁵mu²¹ti⁵⁵, Yi Mile (Axi) te³³, Yi Mojiang te⁵⁵, Naxi Lijiang tci³³, Caiyuan Hani ni³¹tshi³¹, Hani Shuikui u³¹tu⁵⁵, Jinuo mu³³tja³³
TBL: Yi Xide mu³³ti³³ (mu³³ 'sky'), Yi Weishan a⁵⁵p²¹ti⁵⁵, Yi Nanhua ti³³ tʃo³³, Yi Wuding to³³, Sani tæ⁴⁴, Jinuo p³³te³³, Gazhuo ty²⁴.

So on balance, perhaps we should reconstruct the basic Proto-Loloish allofam with a back vowel: *gum.

Further support for this etymology is to be found in Qiangic and Baic. The Qiangic forms point to a *front vowel:

ZMYYC: Qiang (Mawo) a qe, Shixing mie³³ɣi⁵⁵
TBL: Shixing gi, Namuyi mi³³qe⁵³ (cf. ni⁵⁵mi⁵⁵ 'sun'), Qiang (Mawo) a qa
The root for 'cloud', with front-vowel vocalism, is also well-attested in Qiangic languages:

**ZMYYC:**  Qiang (Mawo) zdym, Qiang Taoping χde₃³,  
Pumi Taoba z̥₃⁵ r̥₃⁵,  
Pumi Jinghua sdī₃⁵, rGyalrong zdem,  
Ergong zdo-me, Muya ndw₃³ że₃⁵

**TBL:**  Qiang (Mawo) zdam, rGyalrong zdem, Daofu zdo,  
Queyu ctie₅⁵, Zhaba śtei¹³, Pumi (Lanping) zdī₅⁵,  
Pumi (Jiulong) dē₃⁵, Muya ndo₃³ re₅⁵,  
Shixing tī₅⁵ rō₃³.

Note the identical rhyme reflexes in the Shixing forms for 'set' and 'cloud'.

On the other hand, Baic forms have back vowels:

**ZMYYC:**  Bai (Jianchuan) yo⁴², Bai (Dali) o⁴²
**TBL:**  Bai (Jianchuan) yu²¹

So far then we may provisionally reconstruct PTB *gim ≊ *gum. But further complications soon arise.

1.2 Forms with affricates or clusters that might point to an earlier *cluster:  
PTB *glim ≊ *glum

Strong support for a medial glide in this etymon is provided by Nungish forms (cited identically in ZMYYC and TBL):  
Anong Nu dzim₅⁵, Dulong glom₅³, implying Proto-Nungish *glim ≊ *glum.
Several other Loloish forms to be found in ZMYYC and TBL have fricative, affricate, or cluster initials which suggest a PLB form with medial glide, perhaps *glum or *gyum:

ZMYYC:  ]kia$35
TBL:  Yi Weishan ze$55, Yi Nanhua dzo$33,
      Yi Wuding dy$11, Sani ty$33,
      Jinuo krø$33

While these reflexes look quite different from those of 'cloud' (above 1.1), they look more similar to 'three':

Yi Nanhua so$33, Sani sy$55 (at least the Nanhua and Sani reflexes are the same!), Yi Xide so$33,
Yi Weishan sa$33, Yi Wuding so$33

Similarly with 'warm' (PTB *lum ≠ *lim [STC #381]; TB: #1065): Yi Xide tsha$34fo$33, Yi Weishan xa$55ly$55 mu$21, Yi Nanhua lu$33 mo$21, Yi Wuding ly$11 my$23 Note the identical Wuding rhyme reflex in '(sun) sets' and 'warm').

Qiangic also has a number of resemblant forms for '(sun) sets' with affricated or fricative initials:

TBL:  Daofu (Ergong) no ndzo,
      Queyu pu$55 tcha$13, Lusu ne$33 tcu$53

Note that the Daofu rhyme reflex is identical to 'cloud' < *-im (Daofu zdo), but unlike that in Daofu xsu 'three' (< *-um).

ZMYYC:  Pumi (Taoba) no$35 dz$35,
         Pumi (Jinghua) no$13 zie$55, Ersu tcho$55
The Daofu, Lusu, and Pumi first syllables mean 'sun' (< PTB *ność).

The Ergong (= Daofu) form cited in ZMYYC is dza, very close to Amdo Tibetan ndza. Curiously the several ways of expressing '(sun) sets' in Lhasa Tibetan all involve other roots: nub-pa ('sink'), bzud-pa ('go away'), skyod-pa ('move; go; elapse'). Especially hard to evaluate in the present state of our knowledge is Alike Tibetan njep '(sun) sets', which simultaneously resembles Lhasa nub-pa, Amdo ndza and Daofu no ndzo.

The relationship of these affricated forms for '(sun) sets' to those with simple velars remains highly speculative, but for now let us set up this word-family as PTB *g(l)im ≠ *g(l)um.

Even more speculative are several possible comparisons with Chinese:

淹 OC *ʔiam/MC ?iām [GSR 614c] > Mand. yān 'flood; submerge', yānsǐ 'drown'

黒 OC *ʔiam/MC ?iām: [GSR 614e] 'dark'

涵 OC *γám 'submerge; vast, capacious; magnanimous' [AD 63].

2.0 Pheasant/peacock

The root PTB *doŋ 'peacock' is set up in STC #341⁹ on the basis of WT mdoŋ 'eye in peacock's feather', Jingpho u-doŋ
'peacock', WB ?u'-dâuŋ 'id.' (the first element in the Jingpho (Jg.) and Burmese forms means 'bird' (< PTB *wa ≡ *wu 'bird; wing; feather'), and appears in many other Jg. bird-names. The voiced initial in the Jg. form cited in STC appears to be inaccurate. It is transcribed as u-tawng in Hanson 1906/1954:52, and as u³tɔŋ³³ in TBL:857. The voiced d- in the WB form is quite genuine, however. WB voiced obstruents are rare, since they are secondary developments that reflect earlier prefixal elements. (The original PTB *voiced series was devoiced in Burmese at an early date.) In Lahu (Loloish group), as in Burmese, the original *voiced series has been devoiced, but there is a robust series of secondary voiced obstruents /b d j g/ that clearly descend from earlier *prenasalized initials, i.e. initials preceded by the PTB nasal prefix *m-. It seems likely therefore that the anomalous voiced initial in Burmese reflects in this case the same nasal prefix to be found in the WT form. Hence we may set the root up as *m-dɔŋ on the PTB level, as Benedict hesitantly did in the Indexes.

So far so good. The search for further cognates with the meaning 'peacock' is quickly stymied by the fact that most dictionaries and wordlists of TB languages lack any such gloss. What set me off on the expansion of this etymology was finding the Kanauri form dāh, glossed "pheasant" (STEDT database #337169). I vaguely remembered that there was a bird in Thailand called the peacock pheasant. A quick consultation of a couple of bird-books (Lekagul and Cronin, Eve & Guigue) confirms that what we call peacocks are merely a subclass of the pheasants, which in turn are members of a larger order of birds called the Phasianidae, which also includes the quails and partridges. So now anything glossed "partridge" or "pheasant" was fair game, as it were.
Lekagul (p. 45) describes the Phasianidae as follows:

*Plump bodies, strong unfeathered legs, and strong bills. Terrestrial, feed on seeds, berries, worms, insects, etc. In most, sexes differ, with the male more brightly colored...form three distinct groups in Thailand: small Quails, medium Partridges, and large Pheasants.*

The *American Heritage Dictionary* defines 'peafowl' as:

*either of two large pheasants, *Pavo cristatus*, of India and Ceylon, or *P. muticus*, of Southeast Asia.*

The WB bird-name māñ-dâun clinches the matter, as can be seen from the sketch in Bernot's dictionary (reproduced here as Figure 3), where the bird is identified (with no French gloss) as *Argusianus argus*. This bird is called the 'great argus pheasant' in Lekagul & Cronin, p. 51-2. The first syllable māñ- undoubtedly means 'kingly, royal' in this compound, as in another compound illustrated on the same page of Bernot, māñ-thuin ("king-sit") 'area on the back of an elephant where the king sits'.

Besides Kanauri dāñ, other Himalayish cognates include Limbu sam-dan-wa (wa 'bird') 'pheasant'; Sherpa dângan (Hale 1973; it is not clear whether this form is to be syllabified as d-an-an or as dān-gan).

Similar forms are to be found in many languages spoken in Burma belonging to the Burmish, Chin, and Karen groups, though some of them look as if they are loanwords from Burmese ?u'-dâun: 14 (Chin) Tiddim u'tong² 'peacock', Lai ?oo-too 'id.'; (Burmish) Leqi wo³³toŋ³³, Zaiwa u⁵⁵toŋ⁵⁵, Hpun ú-tōŋ; (Karenic) Pa-o (Taungthu) wâ tōŋ.
Several Loloish forms look like genuine cognates to (not loans from) Burmese: Hani (Luchun) $s^55d^3l$ ‘peacock’; Hani (Mojiang) $fu^55ti^3l$; Akha $sh^m\ d^c$ (for the first syllables, see below 2.1). Bradley (forthcoming) cites a Northern Lisu form $na^{35}d^a^2l$ ‘pheasant’ (first syllable ‘bird’ < PLB $s-s^n^a^k$), with a stopped final that suggests a Pre-Lisu allofam $*d^o^k$.

Solid cognates are also found in Nungish:

Dulong $pu^{31}d^a^5$ ‘pheasant’, Bijiang Nu $d^55$ ‘id’ (TBL #340)

Possibly related is a group of Mirish forms with final vowel:

Darang Deng $on^{55}d^i^5$ ‘peacock’, $xa^{31}t^u^5$ ‘pheasant’; Geman Deng $u^{55}d^i^5$, Idu $ja^n^{55}d^a^i^5$ ‘pheasant’ (Darang $on^{55}$ is certainly cognate to Idu $ja^n^{55}$, whatever these syllables might mean!)

How to reconstruct this etymon? The rhyme is reconstructed as $*o^n$ in STC #341 on the basis of the correspondence of WT and Jingpho $-o^n$ to WB $-au^n$ ($= o^n$). Several cognates in other languages have rhymes with -a-vocalism (e.g. Kanauri $d^a\h$, Limbu sam-$d^a$-wa, Dulong $pu^{31}d^a^n$), which might reflect a prototype like $*d^w^n$. The PTB rhymes $*o^n$ and $*-wa^n$ have in fact merged to $-o^n$ in both WT and Jingpho, but they have been kept apart in WB, i.e. if the proto-rhyme had been $*-wa^n$, we would expect WB $-wa^n$ as well. Perhaps then we should set up proto-variation in this root, something like PTB $*m-d(w)a^n-s$, or $*d(w)a^n \neq *d^n$.15
2.1 A distinct 'peasant' etymology: PTB *san

Loloish:
PLB *san² > Lahu š̄ 'Siamese fireback pheasant' (Lophura diardi) DL 1222; Yi Xide ᵄu³³ 'short-tailed pheasant'; Yi Weishan ᵃ₄₄ ᵄuⁿ²¹; Yi Nanhua ᵄu⁵⁵, Yi Wuding ᵄy¹¹ ᵅy³³; Sani ᵃ₄₅. Perhaps also Naxi ᵄy³³ and Gazhuo ᵃ₅⁵ ᵅ₁³¹ (all 'pheasant').

The first syllables of these Southern Loloish compounds are also cognate: Hani (Luchun) ᵄdṁô 'peacock'; Hani (Mojiang) ᵃt̄i³ 'id.'; Akha shí mā. (The second syllables have been discussed above, 2.0.)

Qiangic:
Pumi (Jiulong) ᵃfⁿ 'pheasant', Shixing dzⁿ ra⁵⁵

2.2 Another interesting 'peacock' etymology: PTB *s- النوع

The color term *نَوًَ white; green; yellow' is reconstructed in STC #296 on the basis of WT sño 'blue, green' and a number of forms from Kuki-Chin languages: Lushai sño 'white', Thado sño 'clean', Sho nau 'green', Bete әәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәәã

16 The final -n in -هن looks like an derivational suffix. This is undoubtedly cognate to the hitherto mysterious Lahu form a-هن-ما 'peacock' (probably literally "the blue one"), where the very-low tone of
the syllable -ŋō- reflects a PLB *?- prefix, which in turn derives from PTB *s- (attested directly in the WT form).

The peacock is also associated with the color blue/green in Chinese, as in the compounds kǒngque-lyù 'peacock green' and kǒngque-shí 'malachite' ("peacock-stone": a dark green mineral carbonate of copper).

2.3 *s-rik ≈ *s-ryak

Still another root for 'pheasant' is reconstructed in STC #403 with *-ik ≈ *-yak variation (like 'eye'): *s-rik ≈ *s-ryak. STC (p. 172) compares this etymon to Chinese 話 (OC *d'iok : GSR 1124a-b > Mandarin dí): "ST and TB *ry- apparently shifted to *ly- (perhaps because of the prefix)."17

Lahu ꦘ 'silver pheasant [Lophura nycthemera]; bartailed pheasant/Hume's pheasant [Syrmaticus humiae]' descends from an allofam with medial -w- rather than -y-: *rwak (not directly cognate to WB rac < PLB *rik). See JAM 1988 (DL) p. 1141.

3.0 Scatter/pour

George van Driem, in his attempt to demonstrate a special relationship between Chinese and the Kiranti languages, attached special significance to the following valid and impressive-looking Chinese/Limbu comparison:

OC 散 *sàn [GSR 156a] (Mand. sàn) 'disperse' ≠ 撒 *sât [AD 767] (Mand. sǎ) 'scatter, disperse; spread, distribute; let loose' / Limbu -sĕr- ≈ -sĕt- 'scatter, be spilt, go in
separate directions', \texttt{send-} \neq \texttt{sen-} 'split up, disperse, break up', \texttt{-ses-} \neq \texttt{-se-} 'scatter, spill, sow'

The only trouble is, the very same allofamic alternation is exemplified in a pair of indubitable cognates from Lolo-Burmese, PLB \texttt{*šan} \neq \texttt{*šat}\textsuperscript{18}:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textbf{\texttt{*šat} >} Lahu šè' 'pour, spill'; Akha sj\texttt{eq} (Hansson) / she\texttt{h} (Lewis 1989:416-7); Sani xy\texttt{44}; Bisu šèt
  \item \textbf{\texttt{*šan} >} Lahu šè; Akha se\texttt{h} \texttt{_<} 'sow seeds' (Lewis:398), se\texttt{h} \texttt{_<} 'pour' (Lewis:416); Sangkong san\texttt{31}; Mpi se\texttt{l} 'sow broadcast (as mustard seeds), scatter seed' (all < PLB Tone *2); Achang san\texttt{35} 'scatter', Naxi sa\texttt{21} ('id.': TBL #1235)\textsuperscript{19}; Written Burmese swān (< Tone *2) 'pour upon, cast out by pouring' \neq swan (<= Tone *1) 'pour out, spill, shed'
\end{itemize}

These correspondences/reflexes are perfectly regular (initials, rhymes, tones).\textsuperscript{20} There is, however, much more to say about this particular etymology. While this final stop/nasal variation both in Chinese and Lolo-Burmese is valid as far as it goes, all these forms are in fact to be subsumed under an even more widespread root \texttt{*šwar} 'flow; pour', reconstructed in STC #241 on the basis of WB swān and swān (cited above\textsuperscript{21}), along with WT \texttt{htśhor-ba} (perf. \texttt{śor}) 'escape, flow out, run over', Lepcha t\texttt{śhor} 'pouring of water', Garo sol\texttt{-aŋ} 'flow, Jingpho šon 'flow as tears or sweat'.\textsuperscript{22} Fitting perfectly with this forms is the rhotic allofam just cited from Limbu: -\texttt{śer-}. Can we guess that the Chinese and Lolo-Burmese variation between final dental nasal and dental stop might be evidence for PST final \texttt{*-r} (which is only preserved directly in certain Himalayish, Nungish, and Kamarupan languages)?\textsuperscript{23} Can we find other examples?
NOTES

1 Kiranti (=Rai) refers to a highly pronominalized group of closely related languages spoken in Eastern Nepal, which constitute a well defined nucleus within the "Himalayan" branch of TB.

2 No etymology for this word is given in Matisoff 1988: 247-8.

3 This was recognized as far back as Wolfenden 1929:114-5. See also Benedict 1972:80-4 and Matisoff 1988:41-2.

4 Reconstructions are based on Benedict 1972 (STC) and/or Matisoff 1972 (TSR).

5 Interestingly enough this verb is used for the sun's setting in several languages, notably Written Tibetan nub-pa.

6 The transcriptions in these two sources frequently differ, sometimes considerably. The data in both sources seems in fact to be under-phonemicized, especially as far as vowels are concerned, which makes it tricky to use it for comparative purposes.

7 This rhyme reflex is identical to that in 'warm' (Naxi lty21), though this root itself shows *-i- × *-u- variation. The Lahu reflex iê could descend from either proto-vowel. Lisu lekü11 also has a front vowel.

8 Although the rarer rhyme *-em is also a possibility: *s-dem.

9 The reconstruction is given somewhat differently in the Indexes to STC (pp. 200, 217): "*donj = (m-)donj".

10 This WB form is cited right after the Jg. cognate in STC #341, and it is possible that the d- in the Jingpho was a simple anticipatory typo that went undetected in the editing process. The voiced series of obstruents in Jingpho remains something of a diachronic mystery in any case.

11 See STC p.21, including n. 75.

12 In Thai these are called nökwiên, represented in Thailand by the Burmese Grey Peacock Pheasant (Polyplectron bicalcaratum; Thai nökwiênslîthaw) and the Brown Peacock Pheasant (Polyplectron malacense; Thai nökwiênslînámtaan) (Lekagul pp. 49-50, E. & G. 163). The Green Peafowl (Pavo muticus) (Lekagul p. 51-2, Eve & Guigue p.163) is called nökjuûng in Thai. See Figures 1 and 2.

13 In Greek mythology, Argos or Argus was a monster with a hundred eyes, eventually slain by Hermes who had lulled all hundred eyes to sleep with his lyre. Hera then put the eyes of the fallen monster into the tail of the peacock, a bird sacred to her.

14 Many of the forms cited in this section are from TBL #340 'pheasant' (Mand. yêjî, lit. "wild chicken"), and *345 'peacock' (Mand. kôngque)

15 This *-wan × *-oj variation would then be quite parallel to the variation between *-yak and *-ik that is attested in several roots, including EYE (PTB *myak × *mik) and -- coincidentally -- another root for PHEASANT (PTB *s-ryak × *s-rik) [see below].

16 There is a semantically parallel compound in Sanskrit, nîlakañtha.

17 This word is glossed as "Tartar pheasant; plumage, feather trimming" in Mathews, p. 902.

18 I have discussed this etymon and the parallel allofamy it displays with Chinese in at least five places: JAM 1972 ("TSR") #114; "God and the ST copula" (1985, set #40); "Regularity and variation in ST" (1994a, p. 53); "Sangkong of Yunnan" (1994b, p. 606);
"On 'Sino-Bodic" (1999:#10a,b,c and §IV). Both Chinese allofams have been borrowed into Siamese: sāan-sen 'be scattered', sāat 'scatter'.

19 Yi Weishan dèèèè™™™™¡¡¡¡ssssåååånnnn∞∞∞∞∞∞∞∞, Jinuo tttt∑∑∑∑¢¢¢¢¢¢¢¢sssseeee££££∞∞∞∞, and Bai tā³³sā³²¹ (also in TBL #1235) all seem to be loans from Chinese dā sān.

20 The regular Lahu reflexes of *-an and *-at are -e and -e?, respectively, e.g.: 'slave' PLB *gywan¹ > Lh. cè, 'hawk' PLB *jwan¹ > Lh. á-cè; 'vomit' PLB *C-pat¹ > Lh. phè?, 'leech' PLB *k-r-wat¹ > Lh. vè?

21 Note that our previous reconstruction *šat ≈ *šan had not accounted for the medial -w- in the Burmese forms.

22 To these we may add Lai Chin sur 'pour' (pers. comm., Kenneth VanBik). An open-syllable allofam *iwa is reflected by WT gōo-ba ~ bóo-ba 'pour out' and Jingpho džo ~ tšyo 'pour out, cast, enamel, dye'. Also perhaps related are Northern Qiang svi, Southern Qiang sje³.

23 Although Benedict observed (STC n.460, p. 172) that "it now appears that ST *-r was generally replaced by -n in Chinese, with some -r - -n doublet formation", but he never noticed the Chinese and Loloish cognates to the forms he assembled in STC #241.

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