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

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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This etymology began to take shape when I had the pleasure of going through Boyd Mikhailovsky's (still unpublished) manuscript Proto-Kiranti at STEDT back around 1989.1 Further supporting data was found in the two chief compendia of TB lexical items published in China, Sun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  
≠ *gum

Mikhailovsky 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 qè, used for the setting of several heavenly bodies: (mû-ni qè
ve 'sun sets', mû-ni qè phô 'the west'), 'moon sets' (ha-pa qè ve), 'morning star sets' (pê-tê? qè ve).2 The initial correspondence between the Proto-Kiranti and Lahu forms is perfect, since PTB/PLB *g- regularly > Lahu q- (cf. 'nine' PTB *d-gow > PLB *gow² > Lahu qê; 'crooked' PTB *guk > PLB *gok¹ > Lahu qê?). 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- = -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 ※ *yip
'house' *k-yim ※ *k-yum
'wrap' *tiy ※ *tup
'dusk/darkness' *rum ※ *rim
'warm' *lum ※ *lim

'beat/strike' *dup ※ *dip
'sink' *nup ※ *nip
'tear/rip' *džit ※ *džut
'wipe' *sut ※ *sit
'body hair' *g-mul ※ *g-mil

The other Loloish cognates to Lahu qê to be found in ZMYYC #752 "luòxià (tàiyáng)" and TBL #1512 "luò (tàiyáng)"6 all have back vowels:

ZMYYC: Nanjian Yi yu⁵⁵, Lisu go³³ ze⁴⁴, Naxi (Lijiang and Yongning) gv³¹,⁷ Hani Caiyuan (Biyue) kô³³, Hani Shuikui (Haoni) kô³² ji⁵⁵

TBL : Lisu go³³, Naxi Lijiang gy²¹

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 êê, Nanjian so³³, Lisu sg³³, Naxi s¹²¹ (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 α₅₅mu₂¹ti₅₅, 
Yi Mile (Axi) te₃³, Yi Mojiang te₅₅, 
Naxi Lijiang tci₃³, Caiyuan Hani ni₃¹tshi₃¹, Hani 
Shuikui u₃¹tu₅₅, Jinuo mu₃³tje₃³
TBL:  Yi Xide mu₃³ti₃³ (mu₃³ 'sky'), 
Yi Weishan α₅₅m₂¹ti₅₅, Yi Nanhua ti₃³ tšo₃³, 
Yi Wuding tə₃³, Sani tæ₄⁴, 
Jinuo m₃³te₃³, 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 mie₃³yi₅₅ 
TBL: Shixing gĩ, Namuyi mi₃³qæ₅₃ (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 xde₃³, 
Pumi Taoba zo₅₅rē₅₅, 
Pumi Jinghua sdì₅₅, rGyalrong zdem, 
Ergong zdo-me, Muya ndu₃₃ze₃₅
TBL:  Qiang (Mawo) zdam, rGyalrong zdem, Daofu zdo, 
Queyu ctie₅₅, Zhaba stei₁³, Pumi (Lanping) zdì₅₅, 
Pumi (Juulong) dê₅₅, Muya ndə₃³re₅₅, 
Shixing ti₅₅ 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 dzim\(^{55}\), Dulong glom\(^{53}\), 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:**  Jinuo kla\(^{35}\)

**TBL:**  Yi Weishan ze\(^{55}\), Yi Nanhua dzø\(^{33}\), Yi Wuding qy\(^{11}\), 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 se\(^{33}\),
Yi Weishan sa\(^{33}\), Yi Wuding so\(^{33}\)

Similarly with 'warm' (PTB *lum ≠ *lim [STC #381]; TB: #1065): Yi Xide tsha\(^{34}tø\(^{33}\), Yi Weishan xa\(^{55}ly\(^{55}\) mu\(^{21}\), Yi Nanhua lu\(^{33}\) mo\(^{21}\), Yi Wuding ly\(^{11}\) mv\(^{23}\)  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\emptyset e\(^{35}\),
             Pumi (Jinghua) no\(^{13}dzie\(^{55}\), Ersu tcho\(^{55}\)
The Daofu, Lusu, and Pumi first syllables mean 'sun' (< PTB *noplay).

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 njjep '(sun) sets', which simultaneously resembles Lhasa nub-pa, Amdo ndza and Daofu na 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:

湾 OC *ʔjam/MC ?jäm [GSR 614c] > Mand. yān 'flood; submerge', yānsi 'drown'

唵 OC *ʔjam/MC ?jäm: [GSR 614e] 'dark'

涵 OC *ɣâm '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'-dāŋ '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-ta:wŋ in Hanson 1906/1954:52, and as u³tŋ³³ in TBL:857. The voiced d- in the WB form is quite genuine, however.10 WB voiced obstruents are rare, since they are secondary developments that reflect
earlier prefixal elements.\textsuperscript{11} (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-don̂ 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 dañ, glossed "pheasant" (STEDT database #337169). I vaguely remembered that there was a bird in Thailand called the peacock pheasant.\textsuperscript{12} 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 mâñ-dâun̂ 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 man- undoubtedly means 'kingly, royal' in this compound, as in another compound illustrated on the same page of Bernot, man-thuin ('king-sit') 'area on the back of an elephant where the king sits'.

Besides Kanauri dañ, other Himalayish cognates include Limbu sam-dañ-wa (wa 'bird') 'pheasant'; Sherpa dāngan (Hale 1973; it is not clear whether this form is to be syllabified as d-añ-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'-dān: (Chin) Tiddim u1 tong2 'peacock', Lai loo-too 'id.'; (Burmish) Leqi wo3 tong3, Zaiwa u5 tong5, Hpun ú-tôñ; (Karenic) Pa-o (Taungthu) wà tôñ.

Several Loloish forms look like genuine cognates to (not loans from) Burmese: Hani (Luchun) s95 d631 'peacock'; Hani (Mojiang) j95 tî31; Akha shîn dê (for the first syllables, see below 2.1). Bradley (forthcoming) cites a Northern Lisu form na95 d921 'pheasant' (first syllable 'bird' < PLB *s-ŋak), with a stopped final that suggests a Pre-Lisu allofam *dêk.

Solid cognates are also found in Nungish:

Dulong pu31 dañ53 'pheasant', Bijiang Nu d955 'id' (TBL #340)

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

Darang Deng on55 diu55 'peacock', xa31 tuí53 'pheasant'; Geman Deng u55 diu55; Idu jañ55 daí53 'pheasant' (Darang on55 is certainly cognate to Idu jañ55, whatever these syllables might mean!)

How to reconstruct this etymon? The rhyme is reconstructed as *-on in STC #341 on the basis of the correspondence of WT and Jingpho -on to WB -auñ (= -on).
Several cognates in other languages have rhymes with *a*-vocalism (e.g. Kanauri dañ, Limbu sam-dañ-wa, Dulong puw\(^{31}\) dañ\(^{55}\) ), which might reflect a prototype like *dwanj. The PTB rhymes *-onj and *-wanj have in fact merged to -onj in both WT and Jingpho, but they have been kept apart in WB, i.e. if the proto-rhyme had been *-wanj, we would expect WB -wanj as well. Perhaps then we should set up proto-variation in this root, something like PTB *m-d(w)anja-s, or *d(w)anja / *donj.\(^{15}\)

2.1 A distinct 'pheasant' etymology: PTB *sanj

Loloish:
PLB *sanj\(^2\) > Lahu ʂו 'Siamese fireback pheasant' (Lophura diardi) DL 1222; Yi Xide ʂu\(^{33}\) 'short-tailed pheasant', Yi Weishan o\(^{55}\) ʂu\(^{21}\) ; Yi Nanhua ʂu\(^{55}\), Yi Wuding ʂy\(^{11}\) py\(^{33}\); Sani ʂζ\(^{55}\). Perhaps also Naxi fy\(^{33}\) and Gazhuan ya\(^{55}\) zζ\(^{31}\) (all 'pheasant').

The first syllables of these Southern Loloish compounds are also cognate: Hani (Luchun) ʂo\(^{55}\) dζ\(^{31}\) 'peacock'; Hani (Mojiang) ʐu\(^{55}\) ti\(^{31}\) 'id.'; Akha shüm dće. (The second syllables have been discussed above, 2.0.)

Qiangan:
Pumi (Jiulong) jʊ\(^{55}\) 'pheasant', Shixing dzʊ\(^{33}\) ra\(^{55}\)

2.2 Another interesting 'peacock' etymology: PTB *s-ŋow-n

The color term *ŋow 'white; green; yellow' is reconstructed in STC #296 on the basis of WT sŋo 'blue, green' and a number of forms from Kuki-Chin languages: Lushai ȵou 'white', Thado ȵou 'clean', Sho nau 'green', Bete ȵoi 'yellow'. Two of the WT compounds for 'peacock' include this morpheme: mgul-sŋon, mгрин-sŋon, literally "blue-necked" (mgul, mгрин 'neck'), the latter form glossed also as 'mahadeva', or 'blue-necked, an epithet of gods' (Jäschke 32).\(^{16}\) The final -n in -sŋon looks like an derivational suffix. This is undoubtedly cognate to the hitherto mysterious Lahu form a-ŋo-ma 'peacock' (probably literally "the blue one"), where the very-low tone of
the syllable -ŋȳ- 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 艳 (OC *d’iok: GSR 1124a-b > Mandarin dí): "ST and TB *ry- apparently shifted to *ly- (perhaps because of the prefix)".17

Lahu ḡò? 'silver pheasant [Lophura nycthemera]; barded 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 *sān [GSR 156a] (Mand. sàn) 'disperse' ≠ 撒 *sāt [AD 767] (Mand. să) 'scatter, disperse; spread, distribute; let loose'/ Limbu -sɛr- ≠ -sɛt- 'scatter, be spilt, go in separate directions', sɛnd ≠ sɛn- 'split up, disperse, break up', -sɛs- ≠ -sɛ- 'scatter, spill, sow'

The only trouble is, the very same allofamic alternation is exemplified in a pair of indubitable cognates from Lolo-Burmese, PLB *šan ≠ *šat18:

*šat >      Lahu ṣê? 'pour, spill'; Akha sjëq (Hansson) / sheh^ (Lewis 1989:416-7); Sani xy^44; Bisu ṣêt
*šan > Lahu šē; Akha seh, 'sow seeds' (Lewis:398), sheh, 'pour' (Lewis:416); Sangkong san³¹; Mpi se¹ 'sow broadcast (as mustard seeds), scatter seed' (all < PLB Tone *2); Achang san³⁵ 'scatter', Naxi sa²¹ ('id.': TBL #1235)¹⁹; Written Burmese swân (< Tone *2) 'pour upon, cast out by pouring' ≈ swan (< Tone *1) 'pour out, spill, shed'

These correspondences/reflexes are perfectly regular (initials, rhymes, tones).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 *šwar 'flow; pour', reconstructed in STC #241 on the basis of WB swan and swân (cited above²¹), along with WT htśhor-ba (perf. šor) 'escape, flow out, run over', Lepcha tśhor 'pouring of water', Garo sol-an 'flow, Jingpho şon 'flow as tears or sweat'.²² Fitting perfectly with this forms is the rhotic allofam just cited from Limbu: -ser-. Can we guess that the Chinese and Lolo-Burmese variation between final dental nasal and dental stop might be evidence for PST final *-r (which is only preserved directly in certain Himalayish, Nungish, and Kamarupan languages)?²³ Can we find other examples?
Figure 1
Pheasants II (Pheasants, Fireback Pheasants)

L. l. junosi

L. l. lewisii

L. l. crawfordii

114 Kasu Pheasant

115 Silver Pheasant

116 Crested Fireback Pheasant

117 Siamese Fireback Pheasant

120 Burmese Grey Peacock Pheasant

121 Malay Brown Peacock Pheasant

Lekagul & Cronin 1974, 49 [Plate 24]
Figure 2
Pheasants III (Pheasants, Peafowl)

119 Hume’s Pheasant
R.K.

122 Great Argus Pheasant
R.S.

123 Green Peafowl
R.A.
Figure 3

Argusianus argus

barre du verrou, cl. - ə.

ခ: ေက: /'min 'THI/ n. fondateur
d'un royaume indé-
pendant, après re-
jet de la souverai-
neté d'un autre
roi, prince
ayant fait
sécession et devenu
soeur de rois, en
vivant selon son rang,
conformément à son rang.

ခ: ေက: /'min THAI/ n. adv. du
temps des rois, en
vivant selon son rang,
conformément à son rang.

ခ: ေက: /'min 'THAiN/ n. littéral. "(là où) le roi s'assoit", partie du dos
de l'éléphant.

ခ: ေက: /'min 'TON/ n. ornith. Argusianus Argus.

ခ: ေက: /'min TaN/ n. bir. p.
châtiment royal, cl. - ə.

ခ: ေက: /'min TaN əIN'/ u.
être condamné par le roi.

ခ: ေက: /'min 'Na po?/-
ue littéral. "s'infiltrer dans
l'oreille du roi", parvenir aux
oreilles du roi, ex. ေက: ေက: ေက: ေက:

ခ: ေက: ေက: "nous devons faire rapport sur
ceux qui agissent mal, dans le royaume, afin que le roi soit
informé".

ခ: ေက: ေက: /'min 'Pa 'so Kluin/ n. aire où s'exerce le pouvoir, ex. ေက:

ခ: ေက: "pour avoir accès aux cercles du pouvoir, étudiez beaucoup
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 1971:80–4 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 Tibentan 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 1y²¹), though this root itself shows *-i- ≠ *-u- variation. The Lahu reflex le could descend from either proto-vowel. Lisu le³³ mi³¹ 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): "*dọŋ = (m-)dọŋ".

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 nökwen, represented in Thailand by the Burmese Grey Peacock Pheasant (*Polyplectron bicalcaratum; Thai nökwen*thaw) and the Brown Peacock Pheasant (*Polyplectron malacense; Thai nökwenin*ntaan) (Lekagul pp. 49–50, E. & G. 163). The Green Peafowl (*Pavo muticus*) (Lekagul p. 51–2, Eve & Guigue p. 163) is called nökjuuŋ in Thai. See Figures 1 and 2.
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.

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

This *-wāŋ ≠ *-oŋ variation would then be quite parallel to the variation between *-yāk and *-i-k that is attested in several roots, including EYE (PTB *myāk ≠ *mik) and – coincidentally – another root for PHEASANT (PTB *s-ryāk ≠ *s-rīk) [see below].

There is a semantically parallel compound in Sanskrit, nilakānga.

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

I have discussed this etymology 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: sānsen 'be scattered', sāat 'scatter'.

Yi Weishan de²¹ san⁵⁵, Jinuo tur⁴⁴ se⁵⁵, and Bai tā³⁳ sō²¹ (also in TBL #1235) all seem to be loans from Chinese dā sān.

The regular Lahu reflexes of *-an and *-at are -e and -ē, respectively, e.g.: 'slave' PLB *gywan¹ > Lh. cē, 'hawk' PLB *jwan¹ > Lh. ā-cē, 'vomit' PLB *C-pat¹ > Lh. phēʔ, 'leech' PLB *k-r-wat¹ > Lh. vēʔ.

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

To these we may add Lai Chin sur 'pour' (pers. comm., Kenneth VanBik). An open-syllable allofam *šwa is reflected by WT gśo-ba ~ bśo-ba 'pour out' and Jingpho dzō ~ tśo 'pour out, cast, enamel, dye'. Also perhaps related are Northern Qiang sỹi, Southern Qiang sicolor.

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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