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# **The Tibeto-Burman Reproductive System**

**Toward an Etymological  
Thesaurus**

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**James A. Matisoff**

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# The Tibeto-Burman Reproductive System



# The Tibeto-Burman Reproductive System: Toward an Etymological Thesaurus

*James A. Matisoff*

*Comments on Chinese comparanda by Zev J. Handel*

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# Acknowledgments

This volume may be considered to be a sort of “down payment” or pilot project for a much larger effort: the creation of a computerized etymological thesaurus that will eventually include the entire proto-lexicon of the Tibeto-Burman/Sino-Tibetan family. That has been the ultimate goal of the *Sino-Tibetan Etymological Dictionary and Thesaurus* project (STEDT) since its inception in 1987.

As explained in more detail in the *Introduction* (Section 1, below), progress toward this goal has not been as speedy as we would have liked, due both to the inherent complexity of the project and to the rapidly evolving nature of computer technology. The early years of STEDT were devoted to the creation of our lexical database from a multitude of published and unpublished sources (see the *Appendix of Source Abbreviations*), the necessary prerequisite for assembling cognate sets. Among the heroic “Stedtniks” of that era, special thanks are due to John B. Lowe, Randy J. LaPolla, Zev J. Handel, Jonathan P. Evans, Matthew Juge, and Richard S. Cook, all of whom are now Berkeley Ph.D.’s.

During this period J. B. Lowe devised a pioneering program called “The Tagger’s Assistant”, that enabled me to etymologize tens of thousands of syllables in our database by labelling them with numerical “tags” that could then be used to assemble them into cognate sets. (That is, each syllable deemed to be a reflex of a particular etymon would be tagged with the same number.) With an eye to the eventual publication of our results, J. B. also solved such essential formatting problems as how to insert footnotes at any point in a printed etymological text, whether on a semantic diagram, an etymon as a whole, or a particular supporting form.<sup>1</sup>

A preliminary version of the book the reader now holds in his/her hands, then called the “Reproductive Fascicle of the Bodypart Volume” of STEDT, was in fact submitted to the *UCPL* Series of the University of California Press in 1998-99. It was provisionally accepted for publication, but only on condition that we could commit to firm deadlines for the publication of subsequent fascicles and volumes until the project was completed.<sup>2</sup> However, since some 80 percent of our laboriously created database, huge as it was, consisted of bodypart terms, we were hardly in a position to make such a commitment.

So I decided to let the thesauric side of STEDT slide for awhile, and to switch the emphasis of the project to *phonologically* presented etyma (the “D” or “dictionary” part

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<sup>1</sup>See Section 2.9 of the *Introduction*, below.

<sup>2</sup>Thanks are due to the then *UCPL* Series editor, Rose Anne White, for her support at this stage.

## Acknowledgments

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of “STEDT”), an effort which culminated in the publication of the *Handbook of Proto-Tibeto-Burman* (2003).

Since that time, several other projects have intervened, but now finally we are again in a position to concentrate fully on semantically based collections of etymologies. The present volume is meant to serve as an example of what the entire *Sino-Tibetan Etymological Dictionary and Thesaurus* would eventually look like in print. However, for the foreseeable future we are planning to switch to an electronic and interactive approach, whereby batches of suggested etyma will be periodically released for feedback from colleagues.<sup>3</sup>

It gives me special pleasure to thank Professor Zev J. Handel of the University of Washington for taking time out between the two halves of his 2007-08 sabbatical year in Korea to update his discussions of the Chinese comparanda in this volume.<sup>4</sup> Zev had originally contributed such comments to the preliminary version of the manuscript some ten years ago, evaluating my suggested Proto-Tibeto-Burman/Old Chinese comparisons in terms of the competing reconstructive systems of leading Sinologists, past and present. These updated comments, presented in a neutral, non-judgmental tone, constitute a precious guide through the minefield of Chinese historical phonology!

The attractive appearance of this book is entirely due to the talent and industry of Dominic Yu, who has been working for the better part of a year to solve the intricate problems of formatting that have presented themselves through the various redactions of the manuscript. Among his accomplishments are the semantic diagrams<sup>5</sup> that grace the beginning of each chapter. Although these are based on the diagrams from the previous draft of this volume (the exception is the WATER/FLUID diagram, which is new), each diagram had to be remade from scratch during the revision process. On the back end, his efforts involved porting the entire database to a web-accessible engine using MySQL, accomplished in conjunction with David R. Mortensen and J. B. Lowe, and simultaneously converting our in-house legacy STEDT Font encoding to Unicode. The final print volume is typeset in X<sub>Y</sub>L<sup>A</sup>T<sub>E</sub>X using Charis SIL as the main font.

I am grateful to the *University of California Publications in Linguistics* (UCPL) series for accepting a book of mine for the fifth time.<sup>6</sup>

The STEDT project has been sponsored from the beginning by the National Endowment for the Humanities and the National Science Foundation. To both agencies I express again my enduring gratitude.<sup>7</sup>

Finally I would like to thank my wife Susan for her constant support, and for having taught me so much about the reproductive system over the past 46 years.

JAM  
Berkeley, February 2008

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<sup>3</sup>As noted in the *Introduction (ibid.)*, this aspect of our enterprise will be called the *STEDT Root Canal*.

<sup>4</sup>See the *Introduction*, Section 2.8.

<sup>5</sup>See the *Introduction*, Section 2.1.

<sup>6</sup>See Matisoff 1973 (UCPL #75), 1988 (#111), 2003 (#135), 2006 (#139).

<sup>7</sup>See *Grant Support*, p. i above.

# Symbols and Abbreviations

## Books, Monographs, Monograph Series\*

- AHD** *American Heritage Dictionary*
- CISTL** Kitamura, Nishida, and Nagano, eds. (1994)
- CSDPN** Hale (1973)
- CTT** Hyman, ed. (1973)
- GL** Matisoff (1973b/1982)
- GSR** Karlgren (1957)
- GSTC** Matisoff (1985a)
- HCT** Li (1977)
- HPTB** Matisoff (2003)
- HRAF** *Human Relations Area Files* (New Haven)
- NHTBM** Nishi, Matisoff, and Nagano, eds. (1995)
- OED** *Oxford English Dictionary*
- OPWSTBL** *Occasional Papers of the Wolfenden Society on Tibeto-Burman Linguistics*
- PPPB** Luce (1986)
- STC** Benedict (1972)
- TBL** Dai et al., eds. (1992)
- TBT** Weidert (1987)
- TSR** Matisoff (1972a)
- UCPL** *University of California Publications in Linguistics* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London)
- SELAF** *Société d'Etudes Linguistiques et Anthropologiques de France* (Paris)
- VSTB** Matisoff (1978a)
- ZMYYC** Sun et al., eds. (1991)

## Journals

- AM** *Asia Major* (Leipzig; London; Taipei)
- AO** *Acta Orientalia* (Copenhagen)
- BIHP** *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology* (Taipei)
- BMFEA** *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* (Stockholm)
- BSLP** *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* (Paris)
- BSOAS** *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (London)
- GK** *Gengo Kenkyū* (Tokyo)

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\*Here listed only by author and date. For full citations see the References, pp. 249-257.

## Symbols and Abbreviations

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**HJAS** *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*  
(Cambridge, MA)

**IJAL** *International Journal of American Linguistics* (Chicago)

**JAOS** *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (New Haven)

**JASB** *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Calcutta)

**LTBA** *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*  
(Berkeley; Chico, CA; Melbourne)

**MSOS** *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen an der königlichen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin* (Berlin)

**TAK** *Tōnan Azia Kenkyū* (Southeast Asian Studies) (Kyoto)

**ZDMG** *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Wiesbaden)

## Conferences

**ICSTLL** International Conferences on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics

**SEALS** Southeast Asia Linguistics Society

## Research Units

**AS** Academia Sinica (Taipei)

**CIIL** Central Institute of Indian Languages  
(Mysore)

**EFEO** Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient  
(Hanoi/Paris)

**ILCAA** Institute for the Study of Cultures of Asia and Africa (Tokyo)

**POLA** Project on Linguistic Analysis  
(Berkeley)

**SIL** Summer Institute of Linguistics  
(Dallas)

**STEDT** Sino-Tibetan Etymological Dictionary and Thesaurus (Berkeley)

## Languages

**HM** Hmong-Mien (= Miao-Yao)

**IA** Indo-Aryan

**IE** Indo-European

**Jg.** Jingpho (= Kachin)

**KC** Kuki-Chin

**LB** Lolo-Burmese

**Lh.** Lahu

**MC** Middle Chinese

**OC** Old Chinese

**PIE** Proto-Indo-European

**PLB** Proto-Lolo-Burmese

**PNN** Proto-Northern Naga

**PST** Proto-Sino-Tibetan

**PTB** Proto-Tibeto-Burman

**ST** Sino-Tibetan

**TB** Tibeto-Burman

**TK** Tai-Kadai

**WB** Written Burmese

**WT** Written Tibetan

## Miscellaneous

> goes to; becomes

< comes from; is derivable from

**A**  $\approx$  **B** A and B are co-allofams; A and B are members of the same word-family

**Clf.** classifier

**JAM** James A. Matisoff

**lit.** literally

**OICC** “obscure internal channels and connections” (see Ch. III)

**ult.** ultimately

**WHB** William H. Baxter

**ZJH** Zev J. Handel



# Introduction

## 1 The place of this volume in the STEDT project

The Sino-Tibetan (ST) language family, comprising Chinese on the one hand, and the hundreds of Tibeto-Burman (TB) languages on the other, is one of the largest in the world, with well over a billion and a half speakers.<sup>1</sup> Yet the field of ST linguistics is only about 70 years old, and many TB languages remain virtually unstudied. The *Sino-Tibetan Etymological Dictionary and Thesaurus* project (STEDT) was begun in August 1987, with the goal of reconstructing the lexicon of Proto-Sino-Tibetan and Proto-Tibeto-Burman from both the phonological and the semantic point of view.

In a sense the present work is a companion volume to the *Handbook of Proto-Tibeto-Burman* (HPTB; Matisoff 2003), where TB/ST roots were discussed, sorted, and analyzed according to their *phonological shapes*, regardless of their meanings. In the present volume, a group of phonologically disparate TB/ST etyma have been assembled according to their *meanings*, all of which have to do with the body's reproductive system.<sup>2</sup>

Even though the number of etyma reconstructed in this volume (nearly 200) is not inconsiderable, they represent only a small fraction of the thousands of roots in the proto-lexicon. Experience has taught us that STEDT's original goal of simultaneously etymologizing the entire vocabulary of the proto-language was unrealistic. As originally conceived, STEDT was to produce a series of large print volumes, each devoted to the exhaustive presentation of the reconstructed roots in a specific semantic area, covering the entire lexicon, approximately as follows:

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<sup>1</sup>Some scholars, especially in China, consider Sino-Tibetan to include the Tai-Kadai (TK) and Hmong-Mien (HM) (= Miáo-Yáo) language families as well. While there is definitely a striking typological similarity among Chinese, TK, and HM, this is undoubtedly due to prolonged ancient contact rather than genetic relationship. See Benedict 1975a (*Austro-Thai Language and Culture, with a glossary of roots*).

<sup>2</sup>My ultimate inspiration for a thesaurus-like approach to the proto-lexicon was Buck 1949 (*A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages: a contribution to the history of ideas*), a copy of which I purchased as a graduate student in the early 1960's, at the then astronomical price of \$40. In each section of this great work, arranged Roget-like into semantic categories and subcategories, Buck first lists the forms for each concept in 30-plus modern and ancient IE languages; then he assembles these synonymous forms into etymological groups. Each of these etyma is briefly discussed in terms of breadth of attestation, solidity of the reconstruction, and semantic connections with other areas of the lexicon.

## Introduction

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Volume I: *Body Parts*

Volume II: *Animals*

Volume III: *Natural Objects, Plants, Foods*

Volume IV: *Kinship Terms, Ethnonyms, Social Roles*

Volume V: *Culture, Artifacts, Religion*

Volume VI: *Verbs of Motion, of Manipulation, and of Production*

Volume VII: *Adjectival Verbs*

Volume VIII: *Abstract Nouns and Verbs, Psychological Verbs, Verbs of Utterance*

Volume IX: *Shape, Size, Color, Measure, Number, Time, Space*

Volume X: *Grammatical words*

Each volume was in turn to be divided into a number of smaller units called “fascicles”. Thus Vol. I *Body Parts* was to comprise the following nine fascicles:

1. *Body (general)*
2. *Head and Face*
3. *Mouth and Throat*
4. *Torso*
5. *Limbs, Joints, and Body Measures*
6. *Diffuse Organs*
7. *Internal Organs*
8. *Secretions and Somatophonics*<sup>3</sup>
9. *Reproductive System*

Despite the limitations of computer technology in the 1980s and 1990s, the STEDT staff and I managed to build up a database of nearly 300,000 forms from some 250 TB languages and dialects, using a wide variety of heterogeneous sources.<sup>4</sup> I spent several years laboriously “tagging” tens of thousands of individual words and syllables in the database with numerals, each of which corresponded to a reconstructed etymon in an ever-growing list of “official STEDT roots”.<sup>5</sup> All forms tagged with a certain number could then be assembled into an etymological set supporting the reconstruction. Some 2000 etyma were eventually set up in this manner. As the work proceeded, however, every subpart and sub-subpart of the lexicon expanded and bloomed into a major project, forcing me to gradually lower my sights: first from dealing with the whole lexicon to confining myself to bodyparts; then from dealing with the whole body to confining myself to one of the nine “fascicles” of the bodypart volume as originally planned. I decided to select the Reproductive System as a pilot project, not merely for its prurient interest, but also because this semantic field tends to be neglected in historical linguistic studies, despite the fact that it is particularly rich in metaphorical associations with other areas of the lexicon.

Clearly it would be impractical to continue with print publications in this fashion for a century or so until the entire lexicon is covered. Our approach in the future must be electronic and interactive. Over the next several years, it is planned gradually to release groups of STEDT etymologies on the web, perhaps 25 or so at a time, in one semantic

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<sup>3</sup>By “somatophonics” I mean sneezes, belches, farts, and the like.

<sup>4</sup>See the section on *Source Abbreviations* below.

<sup>5</sup>For example, the Lahu word *yû-tu-ši* ‘navel’ was tagged with the numerals “137, 520, 1019”, indicating that the first syllable descends from PTB \**ram* ‘belly’, the second syllable from PTB \**du* ‘navel’ (see #44 in this volume), and the third syllable from PTB \**sey* ‘fruit; small round object’.



field after another. This electronic conduit I would like to call the *STEDT Root Canal*. Colleagues will be invited to comment on roots already reconstructed and to establish new ones.

## 2 Structure of the chapters and sections

The material in each of the nine chapters of this book is presented in a certain order, as outlined in 2.1-2.9.

### 2.1 Semantic diagrams

Each chapter begins with a semantic diagram. These diagrams, called “metastatic flowcharts” in STEDT parlance, were first introduced in Matisoff 1978a (*VSTB*), and have been used subsequently in many of my articles.<sup>6</sup> They are intended to represent the paths of semantic association undergone by etyma, as established by comparative/historical and/or internal synchronic evidence. An association between two points (X,Y) in semantic space may be established either synchronically or diachronically, either on the basis of a single language or comparatively.<sup>7</sup> I rely on three basic types of evidence:<sup>8</sup>

- (a) *Synchronic intra-lingual vagueness*. A given daughter language has a single form that means X or Y according to context, e.g. Mikir **artho** means either ‘blood vessel’ or ‘tendon’ or ‘muscle’ or ‘nerve’. In many Chin languages reflexes of \***m-luŋ** can mean either HEART or LIVER.
- (b) *Inter-lingual semantic shift of phonological cognates*, i.e. reflexes of the same etymon mean X in Lg. A but Y in Lg. B, e.g.:  
 PTB \***r-klɿŋ** ‘marrow/brain’ > Mikir **arkleŋ** ‘marrow’, Dimasa **buthluŋ** ‘brain’;  
 PTB \***s-p<sup>w</sup>ik** ‘bowels/stomach’ > Mikir **phek** ‘bowels’, Lahu **ḍ-fĭ-qō** ‘stomach’.
- (c) *Association via compounding*. Three points (A,B,C) in semantic space are related, such that in some language a compound of two morphemes, A + B, has the meaning C. In other words, an etymon appears as a constituent in compounds, such that part of the meaning of the compound derives from it, e.g.:  
 FOOT + EYE → ANKLE (Lahu **khi-mêʔ-šĭ** < **khi** ‘foot’ + **mêʔ-šĭ** ‘eye’); similarly Indonesian **mata-kaki** ‘ankle’ (< **mata** ‘eye’ + **kaki** ‘foot’), which establishes the

<sup>6</sup>See, e.g., Matisoff 1980 (“Stars, moon, and spirits”); 1985a (“God and the ST copula”); 1985b (“Arm, hand, wing”); 1988b (“Property, livestock, talent”); 1991a (“Grammatization in Lahu”); 1991b (“Mother of all morphemes”); 1994b (“Buttock and dull”); 2000b (“Three TB word-families”); 2004 (“Areal semantics”).

<sup>7</sup>As a desideratum for the future, one can envision three-dimensional semantic diagrams like those used to model molecules in organic chemistry!

<sup>8</sup>See the discussion in *VSTB*: 194-200.

association EYE  $\longleftrightarrow$  ANKLE<sup>9</sup>

Certain conventions are observed in the metastatic flowcharts of this volume:


- (a) Points in semantic space between which an association has been established are connected by solid lines. If a point is a bodypart, it is labelled in capital letters. An association between two points that are both bodyparts is an “intra-field association”, e.g.:

EGG ————— TESTICLE  
 WOMB ————— PLACENTA

- (b) If the association crosses into another semantic field (i.e., with respect to this volume, if it is between a bodypart and a non-bodypart), the non-bodypart point is labeled with small letters, e.g.:

PENIS ————— banana  
 NAVEL ————— center

- (c) Antonymic associations (cases where the etymon has acquired opposite meanings) are diagrammed by a curved *yin-yang* type of line, e.g.:

PENIS  
  
 VAGINA

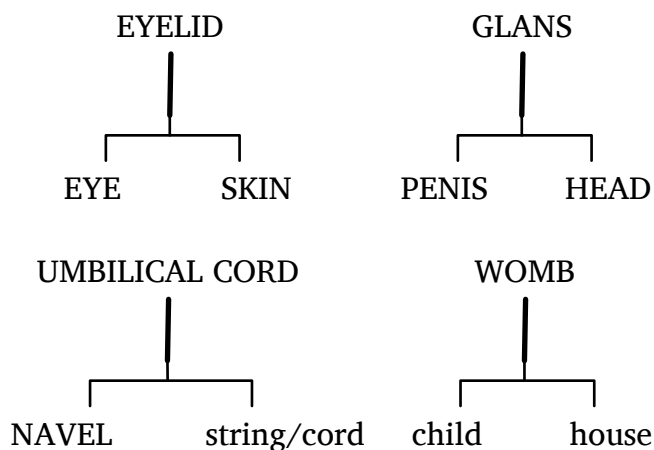
- (d) Compounds are diagrammed by a pitchfork-like symbol, with the two constituents appearing at the points of the fork, and the overall meaning of the compound indicated at the tip of the handle, e.g.:

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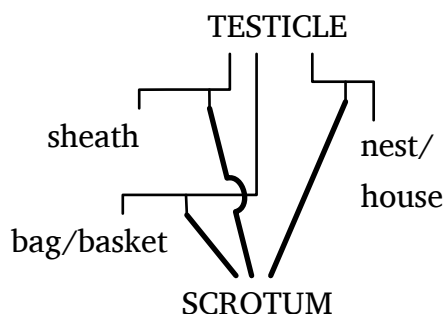
<sup>9</sup>The same formation is found in many other TB languages, e.g.:

	<i>FOOT</i>	<i>EYE</i>	<i>ANKLE</i>
Lalung	<b>ia-thong</b>	<b>mi</b>	<b>ia-thong-mi</b>
Limbu	<b>lāŋ</b>	<b>mik</b>	<b>lāŋ-mik</b>
Lushai	<b>ke</b>	<b>mit</b>	<b>ke-mit</b>
Meithei	<b>khu</b>	<b>mit</b>	<b>khu-mit</b>
Tangkhul	<b>phei</b>	<b>mik-ra</b>	<b>phei-mik-ra</b>
Written Burmese	<b>khre</b>	<b>myak-ci'</b>	<b>khre-myak-ci'</b>

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The same convention with respect to capital vs. small letters applies to compounds. In cases where several different combinations of morphemes are attested in compounds with the same meaning, graphic constraints sometimes require geometric reorientations of the pitchfork, e.g.



The category of “reproductive bodyparts” is construed broadly to include related verbs (e.g., KISS, SUCK, LOVE, SQUIRT). This volume also includes some non-bodypart terms which frequently appear in compounds with etyma referring to the reproductive system. See especially Ch. IX, “Body fluids”.

Deciding how much semantic latitude to allow among putative cognates is definitely an art rather than a science. Here as elsewhere a middle-of-the-road approach is necessary, neither overly conservative nor too wildly speculative. As a positive example of a promising new etymology involving a semantic leap, we may offer \***m-t(s)i** ‘salt / yeast’ [*HPTB* 3.3.1]. Although forms in the daughter languages sometimes mean ‘salt’ and sometimes ‘yeast’, the phonological correspondences between both semantic groups of forms are good. On the other hand, the semantic association between ‘salt’ and ‘yeast’ has yet to be attested in other language families, even though it has great initial plausibility. Both are efficacious substances that have dramatic effects on the taste of food or drink; their lack renders the food or drink insipid.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup>Yeast is used for brewing liquor rather than for baking bread in East and SE Asia.

## 2.2 Reconstructed PTB etyma

After the semantic chart which begins each chapter, the reconstructed PTB roots of the chapter are presented one after the other, roughly in the order of the strength of their attestation. After preliminary remarks about the distribution of the etymon, the “supporting forms” for the reconstruction are listed, subgroup by subgroup.

The reconstructions all conform to the syllable canon posited for the proto-language,<sup>11</sup>

$$(P^2) \quad (P^1) \quad C_i \quad (G) \quad V \quad (:)\quad (C_f) \quad (s),$$

where the initial consonant ( $C_i$ ) may be preceded by up to two prefixes (with the inner prefix  $P^1$  assumed to be historically prior to the outer one ( $P^2$ )); the  $C_i$  may optionally be followed by one of four glides (G),  $*/-y-$ ,  $-r-$ ,  $-w-$ ,  $-l-$ , and the vowel, which may be long (:), may be followed by a final consonant ( $C_f$ ); if the syllable does contain a  $C_f$ , it may also (although quite rarely) end with suffixal  $-s$ . It should be noted that many daughter TB languages have much simpler canons, e.g. Lahu, where native syllables consist maximally of an initial consonant, a vowel, and a tone:

$$\begin{array}{c} T \\ (C_i) \quad V \end{array}$$

No attempt is made to reconstruct tones beyond the subgroup level, since it is far from proven that a single system of tonal contrasts can be set up for PTB.

Reconstructions at the subgroup level (i.e. “meso-reconstructions” like Proto-Lolo-Burmese (PLB), Proto-Northern-Naga (PNN), Proto-Tani) are listed as individual records along with their supporting forms.

A few notational conventions with respect to my PTB reconstructions should be mentioned:

- Variant reconstructed forms are indicated in several ways. They are usually written with the “allofam symbol”  $\approx$  between them, e.g.: **\*glim**  $\approx$  **\*glip** BROOD / INCUBATE; **\*s-riŋ**  $\approx$  **\*s-r(y)aŋ** LIVE / ALIVE / GREEN / RAW / GIVE BIRTH. Sometimes, however, I use an alternative notation with parentheses, e.g.: **\*(t)si** COPULATE/LOVE; this is equivalent to **\*si**  $\approx$  **\*tsi**. Slashes may also be used, e.g. **\*p/buk**  $\approx$  **\*p/bik** BORN/GIVE BIRTH; this is equivalent to **\*puk**  $\approx$  **\*buk**  $\approx$  **\*pik**  $\approx$  **\*bik**. Finally, still another way of indicating proto-variation is by means of a “vertical reconstruction”, e.g.:

$$\begin{array}{c} * \quad t \\ \quad d \end{array} \text{ uŋ NAVEI. This means the same as } *t\text{uŋ} \approx *d\text{uŋ}.$$

- Parentheses are especially appropriate for those frequent cases where there is variation or indeterminacy between dental and palatal fricatives; in fact that is one of my principal motivations for writing the palatal series as sequences of dental plus  $-y-$ , rather than writing them with *haček*s or grave accents, e.g.:

<sup>11</sup>See *HPTB*, pp. 11-13.

* <b>ts(y)u:ŋ</b>	NAVEL / CENTER	(= * <b>tsu:ŋ</b> ≠ * <b>tʂu:ŋ</b> )
* <b>s(y)ok</b>	DRINK / SUCK / SMOKE	(= * <b>sok</b> ≠ * <b>ʂok</b> )

- Etyma which show variation between initial \***p-** and \***w-** are reconstructed with the morphophonemic symbol \***p<sup>w</sup>-**, which is roughly equivalent to treating the stop element as a prefix (\***p-w-**).<sup>12</sup> Thus, a reconstruction like \***p<sup>w</sup>u** EGG / BIRD / ROUND OBJECT implies the existence of two sub-roots, \***pu** and \***wu**, whatever the ultimate explanation for this variation might prove to be.
- In the original version of Benedict 1972 (henceforth *STC*, ca. 1943), Benedict reconstructed two PTB high long vowels \***-iy** and \***-uw**, contrasting with the much less frequent short high vowels \***-i** and \***-u**. In the published version (1972) he modified the reconstruction of these long vowels to \***-əy** and \***-əw**, a practice which I follow myself. Occasionally, however, when the evidence does not permit us to decide between a long and a short high proto-vowel, it is convenient to revert to the earlier notation, with parentheses, e.g. \***b-ni(y)** ‘petticoat’ (*STC* #476); \***sru(w)** ‘relative’ (*STC* p. 108). There are no such cases among the etyma in this volume, however.

For more discussion of variational patterns in PTB, see “Regularity and variation”, section 3.1 below.

Many of the PTB etyma in this volume are here reconstructed for the first time in print, and a good number of the TB/Chinese comparanda are likewise here proposed for the first time. If references are not explicitly given to *STC* and/or *HPTB* in the introductory note for an etymon it may be assumed that the reconstruction is new.<sup>13</sup>

### 2.3 Subgroup names

Tibeto-Burman is an extremely complex language family, with great internal typological diversity, comparable to that of modern Indo-European. This diversity is due largely to millennia of language contact, especially with the prestigious cultures of India and China,<sup>14</sup> but also with the other great language families of Southeast Asia (Austroasiatic, Tai-Kadai, Hmong-Mien), as well as with other TB groups. We are thus faced with what I have described as “an interlocking network of fuzzy-edged clots of languages, emitting waves of mutual influence from their various nuclear ganglia. A mess, in other words.”<sup>15</sup> While subgrouping such a recalcitrant family is difficult, there is certainly no need to go so far as van Driem by denying that TB subgroups exist at all, or by claiming that even if they do exist, there are so many of them that there is no point in talking about them!<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup>For extended discussion of this issue, see Matisoff 2000a.

<sup>13</sup>References to *HPTB* as labelled with “**H:**” followed by a page number, e.g. (**H:165**) \***wa** ≠ \***wu** BIRD / FOWL means that the root is discussed chiefly on page 165 of *HPTB*.

<sup>14</sup>I have called the Indian and Chinese areas of linguistic and cultural influence the *Indosphere* and the *Sinosphere*. See Matisoff 1973.

<sup>15</sup>Matisoff 1978 (*VSTB*), p. 2.

<sup>16</sup>See his review (2003) of G. Thurgood & R.J. LaPolla, eds. (2003), *The Sino-Tibetan Languages*.

In the published version of *STC* (1972), P. K. Benedict wisely refrained from offering a pseudo-precise family-tree model of the higher-order taxonomic relationships in TB, presenting instead a schematic chart where Kachin (= Jingpho) was conceived as the center of geographical and linguistic diversity in the family. See Fig. 1.

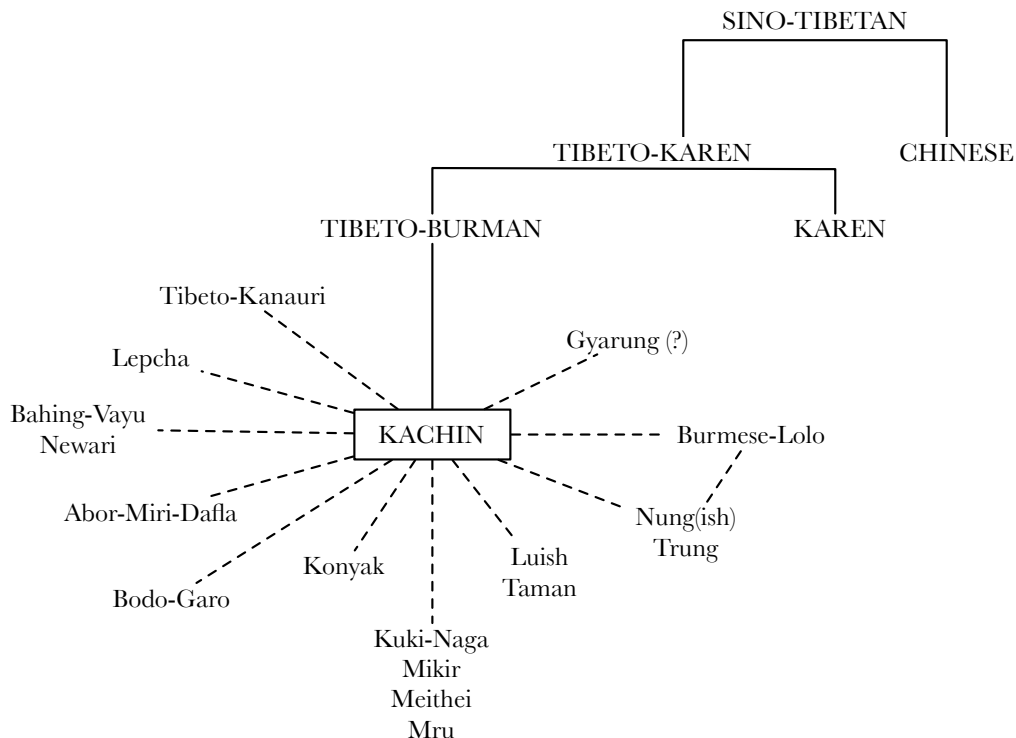


Figure 1. Schematic Chart of Sino-Tibetan Languages<sup>17</sup>

A simpler scheme represents the heuristic model now used at STEDT. See Fig. 2.

This diagram differs from *STC* in several respects:<sup>18</sup>

- Karenic is no longer regarded as having a special status, but is now considered to be a subgroup of TB proper.
- Baic, hardly mentioned (under the name “Minchia”) in *STC*, but later hypothesized by Benedict to belong with Chinese in the “Sinitic” branch of Sino-Tibetan, is now also treated as just another subgroup of TB, though one under particularly heavy Chinese contact influence. Both Karenic and Baic have SVO word order, unlike the rest of the TB family.
- The highly ramified Kuki-Chin and Naga groups have provisionally been amalgamated with Bodo-Garo (= Barish) and Abor-Miri-Dafla (= Mirish) into a supergroup called by the purely geographical name of *Kamarupan*, from the old Sanskrit name for Assam.
- The important Tangut-Qiang languages (deemed to include rGyalrong [= Gyarung = Jiarong] and the extinct Xixia [= Tangut]) were hardly known to Western

<sup>17</sup>Reproduced from *STC*, p. 6; *VSTB*, p. 3; *HPTB*, p. 4.

<sup>18</sup>See *HPTB*, pp. 5-6.

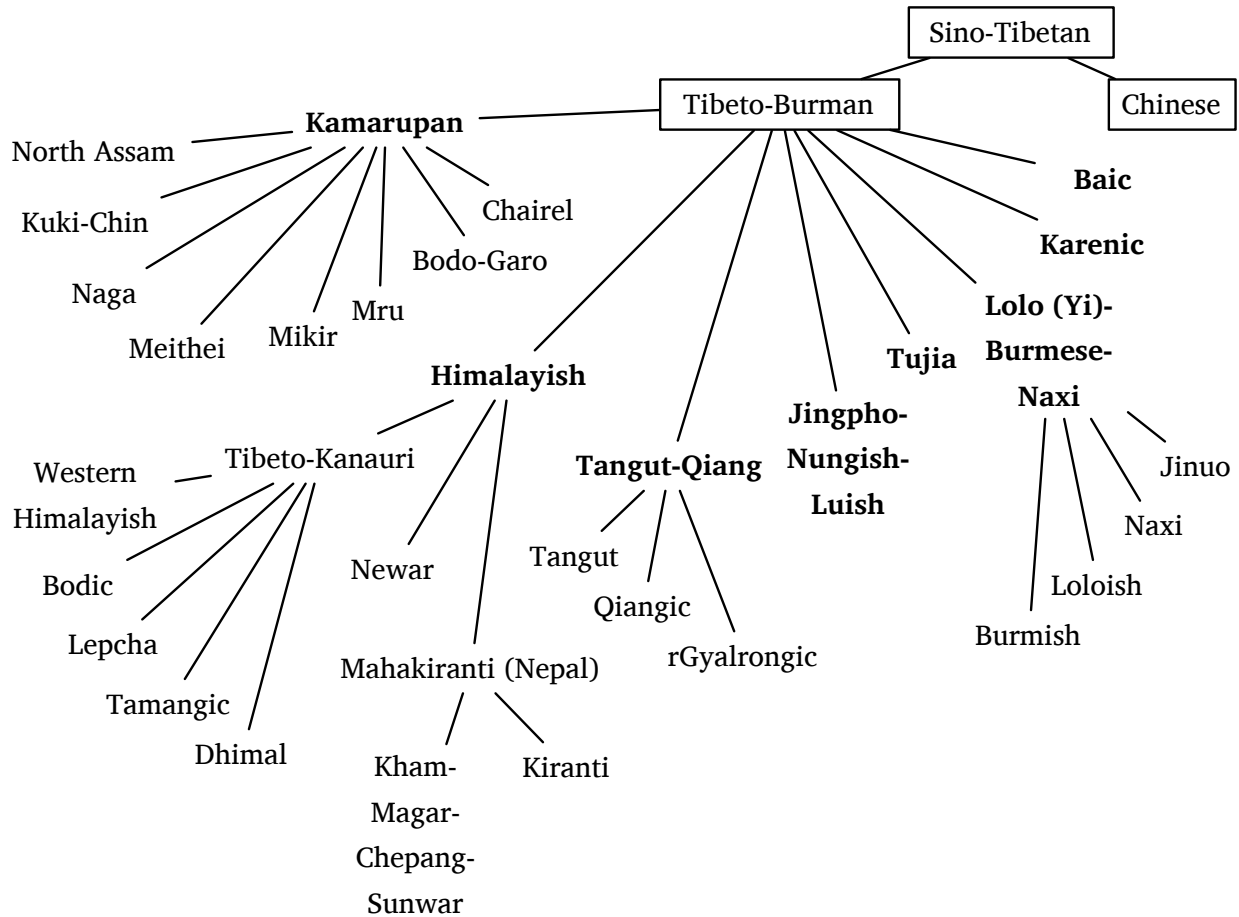


Figure 2. Simplified STEDT Family Tree of ST Languages

scholars at the time *STC* was written (ca. 1942-3) or published (1972). It seems doubtful that a special relationship exists between Qiangic and Jingpho, or between Qiangic and Lolo-Burmese, as some Chinese scholars maintain.<sup>19</sup>

- The Nungish and Luish languages are grouped with Jingpho (= Kachin). Jingpho is also recognized to have a special contact relationship with the Northern Naga (= Konyak) group.<sup>20</sup>
- The somewhat idiosyncratic Mikir, Meithei (= Manipuri), and Mru languages are included under Kamarupan.

<sup>19</sup>A supergroup called “Rung” was proposed by Thurgood (1984), into which he placed, among others, some Qiangic languages, Nungish, and Lepcha. This grouping was based partly on shared “protomorphosyntax”, and partly on nomenclature, including the *-rong* of *rGyalrong*, the Nungish language *Rawang*, and the Lepcha autonym *Rong*.

<sup>20</sup>The *Linguistic Survey of India* (Grierson and Konow, 1903-28) recognized a “Bodo-Naga-Kachin” group, an idea revived by Burling (1983), whose “Sal” supergroup comprises Bodo-Garo (Barish), Northern Naga (Konyak), and Jingpho (= Kachin). Burling’s name for this grouping is derived from the etymon \*sal ‘sun’ (ult. < PTB \*tsyar ‘sunshine’), one of a number of roots which is attested chiefly in these languages. See *HPTB*:393-4.

- The Himalayish (= Himalayan) group is considered to include Bodic (i.e. Tibetanoid) languages, as well as Kanauri-Manchad, Tamang-Gurung-Thakali, Kiranti (= Rai), Lepcha, and Newar.
- The relatively well-studied Lolo-Burmese group (= *STC*'s "Burmese-Lolo") is deemed to include the aberrant Jinuo language of Xishuangbanna, Yunnan.<sup>21</sup> The Naxi/Moso language is quite close to LB, but stands somewhat outside the core of the family.<sup>22</sup>
- The mysterious Tujia language of Hunan and Hubei (not mentioned in *STC*) has so far not been assigned to a subgroup.

Still, a schema like Fig. 2 hardly does justice to the complexity of the problem of subgrouping the TB languages. In particular, the "Kamarupan" and "Himalayish" groupings are based more on geographical convenience than on strong constellations of similar characteristics.<sup>23</sup> More detailed subgroupings are certainly possible, as in *STEDT Monograph #2*,<sup>24</sup> which makes distinctions like the following:

*Kamarupan*

- Abor-Miri-Dafla (= Mirish)<sup>25</sup>
- Kuki-Chin
- Naga
  - Konyak (= Northern Naga)
  - Angamoid
  - Central
  - Eastern
  - Southern
  - Southwestern
- Meithei
- Mikir
- Mru
- Bodo-Garo (= Barish)
- Chairel

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<sup>21</sup>Chinese scholars have further divided the Loloish languages of China into six nuclei, although no attempt is made in this volume to distinguish them. In a recent talk (Matisoff 2007b) I examined Loloish tonal developments and the fate of the PLB rhyme \*-a in terms of this six-way grouping, with inconclusive results.

<sup>22</sup>I have grouped Naxi with Lolo-Burmese proper in a supergroup called "Burmo-Naxi-Lolo" (Matisoff 1991c). On the basis of some shared tonal developments, I have also entertained the idea of a special relationship between Lolo-Burmese and Jingpho, to which I assigned the jocular designation *Jiburish* (< **Ji**-(ngpho) + **-bur**(mish) + (Lolo)**ish**). See Matisoff 1974, 1991c.

<sup>23</sup>Several scholars have objected to the term Kamarupan, largely on the grounds that it has distinctly Indo-Aryan connotations, which might irritate TB groups. See, e.g. R. Burling, "On *Kamarupan*" (1999; *LTBA* 22.2:169-71), and the reply by Matisoff, "In defense of *Kamarupan*" (1999; *LTBA* 22.2:173-82). The only alternative term suggested so far to refer to these geographically contiguous languages collectively is the verbose "TB languages of Northeast India and adjacent areas".

<sup>24</sup>J. Namkung, ed. (1996), *Phonological Inventories of Tibeto-Burman Languages*, pp. 455-457.

<sup>25</sup>A well-defined subgroup of AMD has been dubbed *Tani* by J. Sun (1993).



*Himalayish*

- Western (Bunan, Kanauri, Manchad/Pattani)
- Bodic (Tibetanoid)
- Lepcha
- Tamangic (incl. Chantyal, Gurung, Tamang, Thakali, Manang, Narphu)
- Dhimalish
- Newar
- Central Nepal Group (Kham, Magar, Chepang, Sunwar)
- Kiranti (= Rai), including Bahing and Hayu

## 2.4 Language names

Tibeto-Burman languages are notorious for the multiplicity of names by which they are referred to. These may include the name they use for themselves (autonym), as opposed to the name(s) other groups use for them (exonyms). Languages are frequently referred to by the principal town in which they are spoken (loconyms). Some exonyms are now felt to be pejorative, and have been abandoned, thus acquiring the status of “paleonyms” for which “neonyms” have been substituted.<sup>26</sup> A certain Angamoid Naga group call themselves and their language *Memi* (autonym), and their chief village they call *Sopvoma*; but other groups use *Mao* for this village or its people (exonym), and either *Mao* or *Sopvoma* (exonymic loconym) for their language. There is an older term *Imemai* (probably an autonymic paleonym) which refers to the same language and people.

Some names are used in both a broader and a narrower sense, both for a specific language and for a group of languages that share a close contact relationship. The Maru, Atsi, and Lashi<sup>27</sup> (who speak Burmish languages) consider themselves to be “Kachin” in the broad sense, and in this the Jingpho themselves seem to agree, even though the Jingpho language belongs to a different TB subgroup.

In recent years cultural sensitivities have forced the abandonment of many language names that had been well established in the academic literature. The important Central Chin language that used to be called *Lushai* (a name which is said to mean “long-headed”) should now properly be called *Mizo*. A Karenic group that used to be known by the Burmese exonym *Taungthu* (lit. “mountain folk”) now prefers to be referred to by their autonym *Pa-o*. The Southern Loloish people formerly known by the Tai exonym *Phunoi* (lit. “little people”) should now be called by their autonym *Coong*. Speakers of several TB languages of Nepal now object to the Indianized versions of their names with the Indo-Aryan *-i* suffix (e.g. *Newari*, *Magari*, *Sunwari*), and prefer to omit the suf-

<sup>26</sup>The terminology for the various types of TB language names was developed in Matisoff 1986a: “The languages and dialects of Tibeto-Burman: an alphabetic/genetic listing, with some prefatory remarks on ethnonymic and glossonymic complications.” In John McCoy and Timothy Light, eds., *Contributions to Sino-Tibetan Studies*, pp. 1-75. This article was later (1996) expanded into a STEDT Monograph, with the assistance of J.B. Lowe and S. P. Baron.

<sup>27</sup>Referred to as Langsu, Zaiwa, and Leqi in Chinese sources.

fix, even though this can lead to ambiguity between the names of the people and their languages (*Newar, Magar, Sunwar*). The psychological dimensions of these issues are often as fascinating as they are paradoxical. Chinese linguists now feel that the term *Lolo(ish)*, widely used outside of China, is offensive, and insist that the proper respectful term is *Yi*, written with the character 彝 ‘type of sacrificial wine vessel’. Yet this is only a recent substitution for the homophonous character 夷 ‘barbarian; savage group on the fringes of the Chinese empire’.

Naturally enough, what is true for the names of individual languages is also true for the names of subgroups. Some of this nomenclatural variation goes back to differences between Benedict and his former collaborator and supervisor Robert Shafer,<sup>28</sup> e.g. Shafer’s *Barish* and *Mirish* are the same as Benedict’s *Bodo-Garo* and *Abor-Miri-Dafla*, respectively. An important group of at least a dozen TB languages spoken in East Nepal is known either as *Kiranti* or *Rai*.<sup>29</sup> An extreme example of proliferation is furnished by the well-established and non-controversial group I call Lolo-Burmese, which has also been referred to as Burmese-Lolo, Yi-Burmese, Burmese-Yi, Burmese-Yipho, Yipho-Burmese, Yi-Myanmar, Myanmar-Yipho, etc.—and even Myanmar-Ngwi!

Bearing all these complicating factors in mind, an attempt has been made in this volume to use maximally clear and consistent designations for the TB languages and subgroups.

## 2.5 Supporting forms in the individual languages

The forms which support the reconstructions are cited according to the notation of the particular source. Although this policy of “following copy” often leads to redundancy (see 2.7 below), since one and the same form in a given language may be transcribed in a variety of different ways,<sup>30</sup> it seems preferable to a policy of “normalization”, which might have the effect of losing some phonetic detail that is captured in one source but not in another.

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<sup>28</sup>Shafer and Benedict collaborated on the Depression-era *Sino-Tibetan Linguistics* project at Berkeley (1939-40), which aimed to assemble all data then available on TB languages. The direct fruits of this project were Shafer’s *Introduction to Sino-Tibetan* (1967-73), 5 vols. (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz) and the MS of Benedict’s *STC*. Benedict produced (1975) an entertaining account of this seminal project in *LTBA* 2.1:81-92: “Where it all began: memories of Robert Shafer and the *Sino-Tibetan Linguistics* project, Berkeley (1939-40).”

<sup>29</sup>According to K. P. Malla (p.c. 2008), “*Kirāt* is a loose label in Old Indo-Aryan for the cave-dweller, attested in late Vedic texts as well as in the *Mahābhārata*.” *Rai* is “a Nepali word, linked to IA *raaya* ‘lord’, given to the Khambu chiefs by the Gorkhali rulers in the late 18th century.”

<sup>30</sup>Cf. the multiple transcriptions of the Written Burmese form for BREAST/MILK under \**s-nəw*, #53 below: **no**<sup>1</sup> (ZMYYC:281.39); **nuí** (AW-TBT:327; *STC*:419); **núi** (WSC-SH:48); **nui**’ (JAM-Ety; GEM-CNL; PKB-WBRD); **nui**. (GEM-CNL); **nuiw**’ (GHL-PPB). For these source abbreviations, see the *Appendix*. Similarly, cf. the many slightly different forms from the Bodic and Tamangic groups that reflect the etymon \**tsaŋ* NEST/WOMB/PLACENTA (#103 below).

## 2.6 Glosses of the supporting forms

In almost all cases, the gloss given in each particular source is preserved, unless it is so awkward or misleading as to require emendation. Even if the glosses in consecutive records are identical, the gloss is repeated for each individual record, instead of using a symbol like the “ditto-mark”.

If a gloss is too long to fit onto a single line, it is “wrapped” so that the additional lines are indented under the first one.

## 2.7 Source abbreviations

Each supporting form is ascribed to a particular source. Many forms are cited in more than one source in our database. If the form is not identical in different sources, we include them all. This is especially useful in cases where one or more of the sources might not be totally accurate phonemically, or where subphonemic phonetic detail is provided. When the forms in different sources are identical, the form only appears once, but there are multiple source abbreviations, separated by commas. Forms from well-studied languages (e.g. Written Tibetan, Written Burmese, Jingpho) are likely to appear in several sources used by STEDT.

The STEDT database contains forms from sources of many different kinds, including:

- printed books, monographs, articles, especially dictionaries and grammars of individual languages;
- synonym lists (i.e. groups of forms from different languages with the same meaning, but with no reconstructions provided), e.g. Luce 1986 (PPPB); Sun Hongkai et al. 1991 (ZMYYC); Dai Qingxia, Huang Bufan et al. 1992 (TBL);
- semantically based questionnaires solicited by STEDT from fieldworkers working on particular languages;
- monographs and treatises of an etymological nature, including works which provide reconstructions at the subgroup level, e.g.:

Proto-Bodo: Burling 1959

Proto-Karenic: Haudricourt 1942-45/1975, Jones 1961, Burling 1969,  
Benedict 1972 (*STC*), Solnit, in prep.

Proto-Kiranti: Michailovsky 1991

Proto-Kuki-Chin: VanBik 2003

Proto-Lolo-Burmese: Burling 1968, Matisoff 1969/1972, Bradley 1979

Proto-Northern-Naga: French 1983

Proto-Tamangic: Mazaudon 1978

Proto-Tani: Sun Tianshin 1993

The abbreviations used in these source attributions are in general quite transparent,<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup>For a complete list of the source abbreviations that appear in this volume, see the *Appendix*.

e.g.:

CK-YiQ	Chen Kang, “Yi Questionnaire”
JZ-Zaiwa	Xu Xijian, <i>Outline Grammar (Jiǎnzhì) of Zaiwa</i>
AW-TBT	A. Weidert, <i>Tibeto-Burman Tonology</i>
GHL-PPB	G. H. Luce, <i>Phases of Pre-Pagán Burma</i>
JAM:MLBM	J. A. Matisoff, “Mpi and Lolo-Burmese microlinguistics”
EJAH:BKD	E. J. A. Henderson, <i>Bwo Karen Dictionary</i>

The abbreviation “JAM-Ety” refers to my own etymological notes compiled in the pre-STEDT era, derived especially from older, classic sources. These specific sources can easily be tracked down from the *Bibliography*.

## 2.8 Chinese comparanda

After the evidence for a TB etymon is presented, one or more Chinese comparanda are often suggested in the interests of pushing the reconstruction further back to the Proto-Sino-Tibetan stage. For all of these comparanda Zev J. Handel has kindly provided comparisons of the Old Chinese reconstructions cited in Karlgren’s (1957) system with those of Li Fang-kuei (1971, 1976, 1980) and William Baxter (1992),<sup>32</sup> evaluating the plausibility of the putative TB/Chinese comparison according to each of these systems.<sup>33</sup> Handel’s invaluable contributions are marked with his initials “ZJH”. Comparisons between TB and OC etyma that are not explicitly ascribed to a particular scholar are original with me, as far as I know.

## 2.9 Notes

Footnotes may appear at virtually any point in the text. They may refer to an entire chapter, to a semantic diagram, to an etymon as a whole, to a specific supporting form, or to a Chinese comparandum.

## 3 Theoretical issues

Implicit in the reconstructions of this volume are my positions on certain theoretical issues.

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<sup>32</sup>Handel also contributed a detailed comparison of these systems in his *A Concise Introduction to Old Chinese Phonology*, which appeared as Appendix A to *HPTB*, pp. 543-74.

<sup>33</sup>Handel also frequently refers to several other reconstructive systems for OC that are to be found in the literature, e.g. those of W. South Coblin (1986), Axel Schuessler (1987), Laurent Sagart (1999), Gong Hwang-cherng (1990, 1994, 1995, 1997, 2000), and Pan Wuyun (2000).

### 3.1 Regularity and variation

It must be admitted that a lot of guesswork is involved in etymologizing material from hundreds of languages and dialects at once, without having established the “sound laws” in advance. The problems are especially acute when comparing phonologically depleted languages with those having richer syllable canons. When there is a partial phonological similarity between distinct etyma with the same meaning (e.g. \***sem** and \***sak** ‘mind / breath’; \***mu:r** and \***muk** ‘mouth’; \***s-ma:y** and \***s-mel** ‘face’; \***s-r(y)ik** and \***s(y)ar** ‘louse’), it is not easy to decide by simple inspection to which etymon we should assign a phonologically slight form in a daughter language (e.g. **so** ‘mind’, **mo** ‘mouth’, **hme** ‘face’).

There is a dialectical relationship between synchronic data and sound laws. The “laws” are derived by inference from the data in the first place, but once proto-forms are reconstructed, they can be used to guide us in our hunt for cognates in languages not yet examined (even if they have undergone semantic change). Almost every TB/ST etymology so far proposed presents problems and complications—irregularities—in some language or other, which is par for the course even in the much better known Indo-European family. Part of our task is to indicate where the exceptions, problems, and irregularities lie, in the hope that they can ultimately be explained.<sup>34</sup> The concept of “regularity” itself is by no means simple, nor does it mean the same thing to different scholars.<sup>35</sup>

Those who lack what I have called “Proto-Sprachgefühl”<sup>36</sup> can produce abstract, formulaic reconstructions bristling with strange symbols but devoid of any phonetic or typological plausibility.<sup>37</sup> Given sufficient semantic latitude and proto-forms that are complex enough, one can formulate “sound laws” in such a way that they appear completely regular and exceptionless. At an extreme level we find “megalocomparative” proposals of genetic relationship that turn received notions upside down (e.g. Sino-Mayan, Sino-Caucasian, Sino-Austronesian, Japanese-Dravidian), and which can lead the unwary down fruitless paths, obscuring the differences among cognates, borrowings, and chance resemblances.<sup>38</sup> Various tricks of analysis that I have lumped under the rubric of “proto-form stuffing” can help the Nostraticist or Sino-Mayanist convince

<sup>34</sup>The computer can be very useful in deciding between alternative etymologies. Once “sound-laws” have been formulated, computer checking can test whether a particular reconstruction follows the laws, identifying inconsistencies in the reflexes of the same proto-element in a given language. Such a methodology has been applied to the Tamangic languages, using the “reconstruction engine” developed by J.B. Lowe at STEDT in collaboration with Martine Mazaudon and Boyd Michailovsky during their sojourns at Berkeley as visiting scholars (1987-89, 1990-91).

<sup>35</sup>See Matisoff 1992 (“Following the marrow”) and 1994a (“Regularity and variation”).

<sup>36</sup>See Matisoff 1982.

<sup>37</sup>Recent examples of this genre include Sedláček 1970; Weidert 1975, 1979, 1981, 1987; Peiros & Starostin 1996; Sagart 2007.

<sup>38</sup>See Matisoff 1990a (“On megalocomparison”). Megalocomparison has the apparent advantage of non-falsifiability, since, as Haudricourt has observed, one can never prove that any two languages are not related. But non-falsifiable hypotheses are not scientific. When presented with alternative non-falsifiable proposals it is impossible to choose among them.

himself that his fantastical comparisons are “perfectly regular”. Paradigmatically, one can multiply the number of proto-phonemes. If you reconstruct 35 proto-vowels, any anomalous vowel correspondence can be regarded as “regularly reflecting” a separate proto-vowel. Syntagmatically, if you reconstruct etyma like \***mrgsla**, and the monstrous proto-cluster \***mrgsl-** occurs only in a single etymon, any set of reflexes in the daughter languages can be said to be “regular”.<sup>39</sup>

The time-depth of PST is perhaps 6000 years B.P., about at the limits of the comparative method. We can hardly afford to insist on “perfect regularity” of correspondence among our putative cognates. But instead of resorting to “proto-form stuffing” to try to explain away problems, what is needed is an explicit theory of variational phenomena. TB and ST etyma, like those of other language families, are not independent isolated entities, but stand in complex phonosemantic relationships with each other. It has been recognized for a long time that words in Chinese and TB languages participate in morphophonemic groups of partially resemblant forms that have been called “word families”.<sup>40</sup> In Matisoff 1978 (*VSTB*) I developed the notion of the *alloyfam*, or individual member of a word-family, and advocated the formulation of “alloyfamic reconstructions” that accommodated all the well-attested variants deemed to descend from the same proto-word-family. The symbol  $\approx$  was introduced to symbolize an alloyfamic relationship between variant forms, i.e., “A  $\approx$  B” means that “A and B are synchronic alloyfams of each other”, while “\*A  $\approx$  \*B” means that there is a word-family relationship between A and B at the proto-level.<sup>41</sup>

Needless to say, extreme care must be used in claiming that different forms are variants of the same etymon. Alloyfamic theory must be applied in a controlled and constrained way.<sup>42</sup> Not everything may be said to vary with everything else! It is sometimes quite difficult to decide whether partially resemblant forms represent separate etyma or whether they are merely alloyfams of the same word-family. Not only must each proto-alloyfam fit our canonic template (above 2.2), but the type of variation posited must be abundantly replicated in other examples. This volume does not attempt to conceal such uncertainties, but frequently entertains the possibility that etyma set up as independent might actually be co-alloyfams, or *vice versa*.

The best attested patterns of variation in ST/TB are all exemplified in the etymologies of this volume. They include the following:

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<sup>39</sup>This is actually the proto-form offered in Weidert 1981:25 for an etymon meaning ‘spirit, ghost, shadow’ (reconstructed as \***m-hla** in *STC* #475). As I have observed (Matisoff 1982:22), “It is always possible and sometimes necessary to invent an *ad hoc* explanation for an anomalous case. It is even true that some such *ad hoc* ‘solutions’ are more plausible than others. The only harm is in deluding oneself that an explanation which covers only a single case establishes a ‘regularity’.”

<sup>40</sup>See the pioneering study of Karlgren (1933), “Word families in Chinese”.

<sup>41</sup>This symbol  $\approx$ , a combination of > ‘goes to’ and < ‘comes from’, is meant to suggest that neither variant is necessarily deemed to have temporal priority, but that both must be set up to account for attested forms.

<sup>42</sup>See the extended discussion in Ch. XII of *HPTB* (pp. 491-534), “Alloyfamic variation in rhymes”.

(a) Voicing vs. voicelessness of the initial consonant:<sup>43</sup>

- \***gop** ⋈ \***kop** (11a) HATCH/INCUBATE/COVER  
 \***prat** ⋈ \***brat** (75) BREAK/WEAN  
 \***tuŋ** ⋈ \***duŋ** (44a) NAVEL

(b) Variation between fricative and affricate:

- \***(t)sum** (45) NAVEL  
 \***(t)sip** ⋈ \***(t)sup** (107) NEST/WOMB/SCROTUM<sup>44</sup>

(c) Presence vs. absence of medial **-y-**

- \***b(y)at** (81) VAGINA  
 \***l(y)ap** (151) COPULATE

A special case of (c) is the alternation between dental and palatal fricatives and affricates:

- \***s(y)ok** (61) DRINK/SUCK/SMOKE  
 \***dz(y)əw** (56) BREAST/MILK  
 \***ts(y)u:ŋ** (44b) NAVEL

(d) Variation between labial stop and labial semivowel:

- \***pu** ⋈ \***wu** (1a, 1b) EGG  
 \***pam** ⋈ \***wam** (98a, 98b) WOMB/PLACENTA/NEST

(e) Variation between different prefixes:

- \***r-ga** ⋈ \***N-ga** ⋈ \***d-ga** ⋈ \***s-ga** (141) COPULATE/LOVE/WANT  
 \***n-tow** ⋈ \***s-tow** (3) EGG  
 \***m-ŋal** ⋈ \***l-ŋal** (100) WOMB/PLACENTA

(f) Variation between **-u-** and **-i-** in closed syllables:

- \***dul** ⋈ \***dil** (2b) EGG/TESTICLE  
 \***m-dzip** ⋈ \***m-dzip** (55) SUCK/SUCKLE/MILK/KISS  
 \***tsyur** ⋈ \***tsyir** (66) MILK/SQUEEZE/WRING

(g) Variation between medial **-ya-** and **-i-**:

- \***s-riŋ** ⋈ \***s-ryaŋ** (39) LIVE/ALIVE/GREEN/RAW/GIVE BIRTH  
 \***s-nik** ⋈ \***s-nyak** (124) PENIS/COPULATE  
 \***b-rim** ⋈ \***b-ryam** (46) NAVEL/UMBILICAL CORD

(h) Alternation between medial **-wa-** and **-u-**:

- \***tsyul** ⋈ \***tsywal** (105) WOMB/PLACENTA

<sup>43</sup>Nothing is more common in TB word families than variation of voicing in initial consonants, largely due to the pervasive influence of prefixes on the manner of the initial. This is in sharp contrast to the situation in Indo-European, where such variation in manner is quite rare, and is usually not tolerated in PIE reconstructions.

<sup>44</sup>This etymon also illustrates (f), below.

(i) Alternation between final homorganic stops and nasals:

* <b>glim</b> × * <b>glip</b>	(15)	BROOD/INCUBATE EGGS
* <b>s-nəwn</b> × * <b>s-nəwt</b>	(53c)	BREAST/MILK/SUCK
* <b>tsiŋ</b> × * <b>tsik</b>	(78)	VAGINA

As some of the above examples illustrate, some roots show more than one type of variation. When a posited allofamic reconstruction (e.g. \***sir** × \***sit** (6) EGG) does not fall into a well-attested variational category, I comment on it. Handel makes similar remarks with respect to some of my TB comparisons with OC.

Occasionally, when the phonosemantic variation among the allofams is considerable, and when each variant is amply attested, I split up the presentation of the data into subroots that are designated by the same number but with different lower case letters, e.g.: \***p-wu** (1) EGG is split into \***wu** (1a) and \***pu** (1b); \***m/s-la(:)y** × \***s-tay** (40) NAVEL/CENTER/SELF is split into \***m/s-la(:)y** (40a) and \***s-tay** (40b); \***m-ley** × \***m-li** × \***m-ney** (114) PENIS is broken down into \***m-ley** × \***m-li** (114a) and \***m-ney** (114b).

As I put it 35 years ago, “We must steer an Aristotelian middle path between a dangerous speculativism and a stodgy insensitivity to the workings of variational phenomena in language history.”<sup>45</sup>

### 3.2 Etymological accuracy and rectification of possible errors

There are all too many ways in which one can make etymological mistakes, and I have been guilty of all of them at one time or another.<sup>46</sup> A rough taxonomy of errors would have to include the following:

- Treating a loanword as native

I was at first delighted when I ran across the Jingpho form **wéʔ-wū** ‘screw’, since its first syllable looked like an excellent match with Lahu **ḍ-vèʔ** ‘id.’, for which I then had no etymology. Could this be a precious example of the rare PTB rhyme \***-ek**? But the screw is hardly an artifact of any great antiquity, and it would be *prima facie* implausible that a root with such a meaning would have existed in PTB. The truth quickly became apparent. The modern Burmese form for ‘screw’, **wéʔ-ʔu** (WB **wak-ʔu**), the obvious source from which both Jingpho and Lahu borrowed these words, means literally “pig-intestine”. The semantic association is the corkscrew-like appearance of a pig’s small intestine. This etymology is also interesting from the viewpoint of distinguishing native vs. borrowed co-allofams. The usual, native words for ‘pig’ in Jingpho and Lahu are **wàʔ** and **vàʔ**, respectively; but the doublets borrowed from Burmese have front vowels, as in spoken Burmese. Unless a native speaker of Jingpho knows Burmese, s/he is unlikely to realize that the first syllable of **wéʔ-wū** means ‘pig’, especially since this syllable is in the high-stopped tone, while ‘pig’ is low-stopped. The native Lahu speaker

<sup>45</sup>Matisoff 1972b (“Tangkhul Naga and comparative TB”), p. 282.

<sup>46</sup>The discussion in this section is adapted from *HPTB*, pp. 538-40.



is even less likely to recognize the source of ̂-vɛ̂ʔ, since the morpheme for ‘intestine’ has been completely dropped from the original Burmese compound, rather like the way our word *camera* (< Lat. ‘room; chamber; vaulted enclosure’) is a shortening of the old compound *camera obscura* (“dark chamber”).<sup>47</sup>

- Combining reflexes of unrelated roots

When two forms bearing a semantic resemblance in a phonologically depleted language differ only in tone, it is tempting to try to relate them. I once entertained the possibility that such pairs of Lahu forms as **phu** ‘silver, money’ / **phû** ‘price, cost’ and **mu** ‘high, tall’ / **mû** ‘sky’ were co-allofams, though they can easily be shown to descend from quite separate etyma: **phu** < PTB \***plu** (*STC* p. 89) / **phû** < PTB \***pəw** (*STC* #41); **mu** < PTB \***mraŋ** (*STC* p. 43) / **mû** < PTB \***r-məw** (*STC* #488).<sup>48</sup>

- Failure to recognize that separately reconstructed etyma are really co-allofams

An opposite type of error is to overlook the etymological identity between sets of forms, assigning them to separate etyma when they are really co-allofams. Thus *STC* sets up two independent PTB roots, both with the shape \***dyam**, one meaning ‘full; fill’ (*STC* #226) and the other glossed as ‘straight’ (*STC* #227). Yet it can be shown that the latter root also means ‘flat’, and that all reflexes of #226 and #227 may be subsumed under a single etymon, with the underlying idea being “perfection in a certain dimension”.<sup>49</sup>

Similarly, I was slow to recognize that two roots I had set up separately, PLB \***dzay**<sup>2</sup> ‘cattle; domestic animal’ (Matisoff 1985a #129) and Kamarupan \***tsa:y** ‘elephant; cattle’ (#143) are really one and the same.<sup>50</sup>

- Double-dipping

This embarrassing situation occurs when an author inadvertently assigns the same form in a daughter language to two different etyma, perhaps within the pages of the same book, but more likely in separate articles. At different times I have compared Chinese **chún** 唇 ‘lip’ (OC **ḍiwən**) to both PTB \***dyal** and \***m-ts(y)ul**, finally deciding in favor of the latter.<sup>51</sup> It is of course perfectly legitimate to change one’s mind, as long as one explains why. The best course is to present the alternative etymologies together, inviting the reader to choose between them.

- Misanalyses of compounds

A vast number of words in TB languages are di- or tri-syllabic compounds, a fact

<sup>47</sup>There is a difference in detail between the two cases, however: the deleted ‘intestine’ is the head of the compound “pig-intestine”, but the deleted *obscura* is the modifier in the collocation “dark-chamber”.

<sup>48</sup>See Matisoff 1973b (*GL*:29); such speculations were debunked in the 2nd Printing (1982) of *GL*, p. 675.

<sup>49</sup>See Matisoff 1988b:4-9.

<sup>50</sup>I have argued that a third root set up in Matisoff 1985a (*GSTC* #106), \*(**t**)**sa:y** ≈ \*(**d**)**za:y** ‘temperament / aptitude /talent’, is also related, the common notion being ‘property (either material or intellectual)’. See Matisoff 1985a:44-45; 1988b:10-13.

<sup>51</sup>See *HPTB* 9.2.1, 9.22(4), 9.2.4.

which greatly complicates the task of etymologization. Many traps lie in wait for the analyst, leading to potential errors of several kinds.

(a) Wrong segmentation

This can happen when a form in an inadequately transcribed source is not syllabified. The Pochury and Sangtam forms for ‘star’, transcribed as **awutsi** and **chinghi**, respectively, in the little glossaries compiled by the *Nagaland Bhasha Parishad*,<sup>52</sup> should be segmented as **a-wu-tsi** and **ching-hi**, and not as **a-wut-si** and **chi-nghi**, as I imprudently did in Matisoff 1980:21.

(b) Misunderstanding the meaning of a constituent

A special case of this problem is mistaking an affix for a root, especially likely to occur when no grammatical description exists for a language. Several Naga languages have dissyllabic forms for ‘moon’ with similar final syllables, e.g. Chang **litnyu**, Konyak **linnyu**, Phom **linnyü**, Sangtam **chonu**, Liangmai **chahiu**. Yet these final elements do not constitute a new root meaning ‘moon’, as I had originally guessed; rather they represent an abstract formative, ultimately grammaticalized from a root **\*n(y)u** ‘mother’, that occurs in nouns from all sorts of semantic fields (e.g. Chang **chinyu** ‘center’, **henyu** ‘ladder’, **lamnyu** ‘road’, **pinyu** ‘snake’).<sup>53</sup>

(c) Choosing the wrong syllable of a compound for an etymology

This can happen when two different syllables of a compound are phonologically similar, especially if one is dealing with a poorly known language with depleted final consonants, e.g. forms like Guiqiong Ganzi **tʃhə<sup>55</sup>sā<sup>55</sup>** and Ersu **ʂ<sup>55</sup>ji<sup>55</sup>** ‘otter’. Which syllables are to be ascribed to PTB **\*sram**?

### 3.3 Looking toward the future of ST/TB studies

Although I feel that we are entering a new era of etymological responsibility in TB/ST studies—the bar has been raised, as it were—I am not suggesting that we turn our field into a “tough neighborhood” like that of the Indo-Europeanists. In particular I hope we can avoid the “*Gotcha!*” attitude,<sup>54</sup> whereby if a single error, real or fancied, is found in an article or book, the whole work is impugned. This attitude is encapsulated in the dreadful maxim *Falsum in uno, falsum in omnibus*.<sup>55</sup> Historical linguists cannot afford to be too thin-skinned, as long as criticism is fair, constructive, and proportionate. As I

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<sup>52</sup>Kumar et al., *Hindi Pochury English Dictionary* (1972); *Hindi Sangtam English Dictionary* (1973). Kohima: Linguistic Circle of Nagaland.

<sup>53</sup>See Matisoff 1980 (“Stars, moon, spirits”), p. 35; for the suffixal use of morphemes meaning ‘mother’, see Matisoff 1991b (“The mother of all morphemes”).

<sup>54</sup>Non-American readers might need a word of explanation here. “Gotcha!” is an attempt to render the colloquial pronunciation of “(I’ve) got you (now)!”; a triumphant phrase used by someone who feels he has won an argument.

<sup>55</sup>“If one thing is wrong, it’s all wrong.”

have said in print, “I ask nothing better than to be corrected.”<sup>56</sup> Or again, “We can take comfort from our mistakes. Reconstruction of a proto-lexicon is a piecemeal process. It is hardly surprising that we stumble along from one half-truth to another, as we try to trace the [phonological and] semantic interconnections among our reconstructed etyma. We should not be discouraged if we barge off down blind alleys occasionally, or if the solution to one problem raises as many questions as it answers.”<sup>57</sup> After all, a computerized etymological enterprise by its very nature is eminently revisable. The reconstructive process by its very nature is provisional and open-ended. Our STEDT etymologies undergo a constant process of “rectification”, and may be roughly divided into three types: (a) those to be accepted as is; (b) those to be accepted with modifications; (c) those to be rejected. As with all scientific hypotheses, our reconstructions are falsifiable in the light of new data or better analyses.

We still have a long way to go before comparative/historical TB studies are as advanced as they deserve to be. Despite the quickening pace of research, our knowledge of the various branches of this multifarious family remains highly uneven. With a few important exceptions mentioned above, reliable reconstructions at the subgroup level are not yet available. Many more roots remain to be reconstructed at all taxonomic levels of the family. Much remains to be done on the Chinese side as well, and we seem destined for a period of flux until the dust settles and competing reconstructions of OC have sorted themselves out.

Nevertheless, it is hard not to be optimistic about the future of TB/ST linguistics, as fieldwork opportunities increase and new generations of talented researchers enter the discipline. Eventually it seems inevitable that scholars throughout the world will share their information more and more, granting mutual access to their databases for the common good. On the other hand, too many TB languages are endangered, and may well disappear before they have been adequately recorded. In any case, “the reconstruction of PTB is a noble enterprise, where a spirit of competitive territoriality is out of place. We should pool our knowledge and encourage each other to venture outside of our specialized niches, so that we begin to appreciate the full range of TB languages....”<sup>58</sup>

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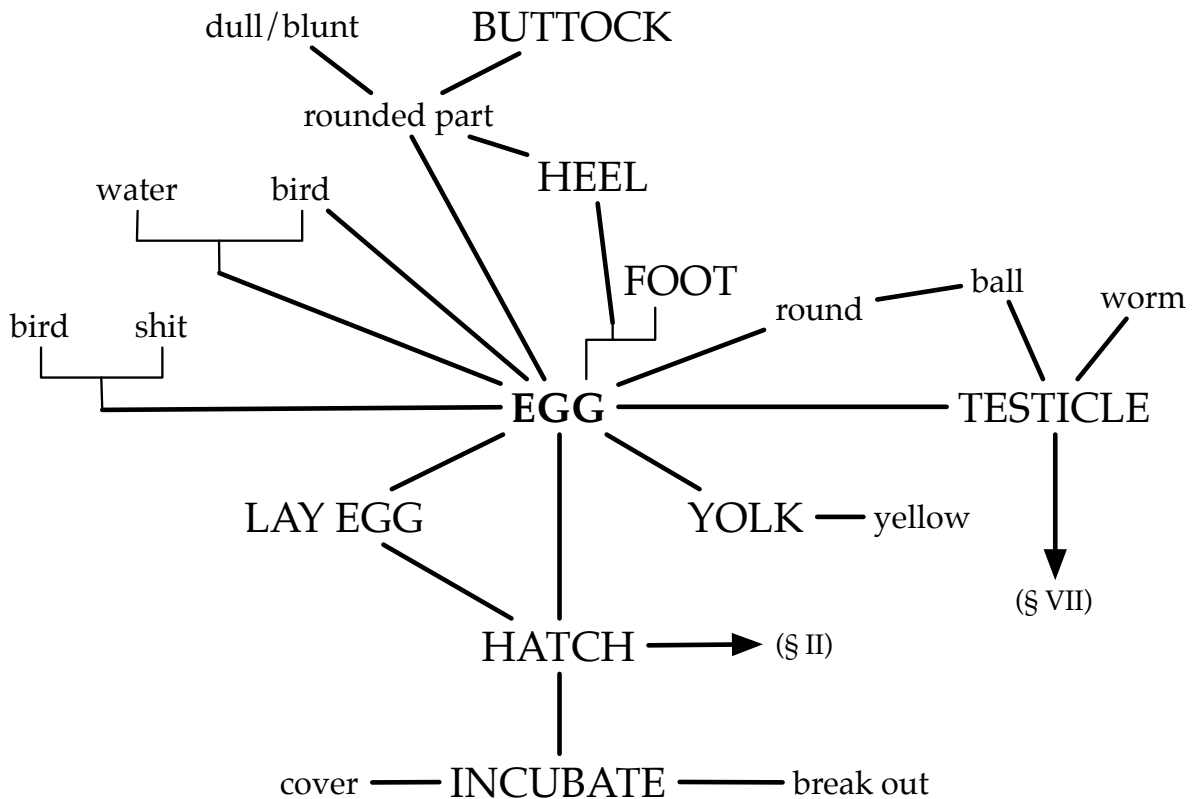
<sup>56</sup>Matisoff 1985b:422 (“Out on a limb”).

<sup>57</sup>Matisoff 1988a:13.

<sup>58</sup>Matisoff 1982:41. There is nothing more satisfying than to have inadequate data on a language of which one has no firsthand knowledge corrected by a specialist in that language. The STEDT project has recently (summer of 2007) benefited tremendously from the kindness of K.P. Malla, who edited all the Newar(i) forms in our database, identifying loanwords, putting verbs into their proper citation forms, and correcting the transcription of vowels and consonants used in our previous sources.



# I. Egg



An important associated concept is BIRD, with several distinct roots appearing in compounds for EGG, including (H:165) \*wa ≈ \*wu BIRD / FOWL, (H:386) \*ha:r BIRD / CHICKEN, (H:171) \*bya ≈ \*bra BIRD, (H:226-7) \*daw BIRD, \*s-ŋak BIRD. It is sometimes hard to distinguish reflexes of \*wa and \*ha:r; cf. the first syllable in Wancho **ao-ti**, below. Similarly, it is sometimes hard to distinguish reflexes of \*wa and \*bya; cf. the first syllable in Bahing **?ba-di**.

## (1) \*p<sup>w</sup>u EGG / BIRD / ROUND OBJECT

This is one of over 30 TB etyma showing interchange between \*p- and \*w-, including such important roots as AXE, BAMBOO, BELLY, MAN/HUSBAND, PIG, etc. In this volume, see also (98) \*p<sup>w</sup>am WOMB / PLACENTA / NEST / BELLY. These are reconstructed with \*pw- clusters in the revised version of *STC* (e.g. \*pak = \*pwak; see n. 78, pp. 23-4). I originally preferred to treat the stop component as prefixal (e.g. \*p-wak), but later abandoned this approach in favor of an “extrusional” interpretation, where the [-w-] is considered to be a mere phonetic perseveration of the preceding

## I. Egg

stop, e.g. \*p<sup>w</sup>ak (see Matisoff 2000a). This extrusion is especially common before the vowel [-a-], but also, as in EGG, occasionally occurs before [-u-]. See also *HPTB*:61-62.

In the following sections, the reflexes of this etymon are presented separately, according to whether they derive from the variant with semivowel (\*wu) or stop (\*pu) initial.

### (1a) \*wu EGG / BIRD

This etymon is closely related to one for BIRD, set up as (H:165) \*wa ≈ \*wu BIRD / FOWL. The original version of *STC* sets up \*wa for BIRD (*STC* #99), but this is revised to \*(b)wa (largely because of Bahing ba ‘fowl’) in the indexes (pp. 209, 211). In some languages (e.g. Jingpho and Kadu) a reflex of (1a) \*wu EGG / BIRD occurs as a prefix in bird-names (û-). Marrison (p. 459) sets up three Proto-Northern Naga allofams for BIRD: \*C-waw, \*ua, and \*wa. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish the reflexes of \*wa and \*wu. For example, in the following Kamarupan forms, the italicized syllables are to be derived from \*wa ≈ \*wu BIRD, with another constituent conveying the meaning EGG: Chang *aokiak*, Chokri *thüvuzü*, Konyak *aokiak*, Konyak (Tamlu) *luji*, Ntenyi *awüü-atsü*, Sema *aukhu*, Tangsa *vu<sup>1</sup>lai*, Tangsa (Moshang) *wu di*, Wancho *ao-ti/ɔ-ti*, Yacham-Tengsa *u-tü*.

These roots have a wide distribution in TB. In Lolo-Burmese (including Jinuo), the root \*wu is widely attested with the predominant meanings ‘egg; lay egg; hatch’. In Bai this root means ‘hatch’, while in Northern Naga and Qiang (Mawo, Yadu) it generally means ‘bird’, occurring as the first element in compounds for ‘egg’ (see below).

See *HPTB* \*ʔu, p. 199.

#### 1.3. Naga

Chokri	thü <b>wu</b> zü	egg	GEM-CNL
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#### 6. Lolo-Burmese

*Lolo-Burmese	*ʔu <sup>3</sup>	egg	JAM-Ety
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#### 6.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	a <sup>31</sup> <b>u</b> <sup>31</sup>	egg	JZ-Achang
Achang (Longchuan)	<b>u</b> <sup>35</sup>	lay (egg)	JZ-Achang; ZMYYC:785.41
	<b>uʔ</b> <sup>31</sup>	egg	JZ-Achang; TBL:0450.28; ZMYYC:170.41
Achang (Luxi)	a <sup>31</sup> <b>u</b> <sup>35</sup>	egg	JZ-Achang
	<b>u</b> <sup>51</sup>	lay (egg)	JZ-Achang
Achang (Xiandao)	pzap <sup>35</sup> <b>u</b> <sup>31</sup>	duck egg	DQ-Xiandao:575
	<b>u</b> <sup>31</sup>	egg	DQ-Xiandao:573
	<b>u</b> <sup>35</sup>	lay egg	DQ-Xiandao:2363
	ʃan <sup>31</sup> <b>u</b> <sup>31</sup>	nit	DQ-Xiandao:418
Bola	pjet <sup>55</sup> <b>u</b> <sup>35</sup>	duck egg	DQ-Bola:575
	<b>u</b> <sup>35</sup>	egg	DQ-Bola:573
Bola (Luxi)	<b>u</b> <sup>35</sup>	egg	TBL:0450.32
Bola	yaʔ <sup>31</sup> <b>u</b> <sup>35</sup>	chicken egg	DQ-Bola:574
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	<b>u</b> <sup>53</sup>	egg; lay (egg)	ZMYYC:170.40,785.40
Burmese (Written)	krak <b>u</b> <sup>ʔ</sup>	hen's egg	GEM-CNL

	lə ʔu than <sup>3</sup> u <sup>1</sup> u <sup>1</sup>	scrotum nit ("louse-egg") egg; lay (egg)	JAM-Ety ZMYYC:163.39 TBL:0450.26; ZMYYC:170.39,785.39	1
	u' ə-u' ʔu' ʔəʔu' ǎ ʔù'; chó ʔù'	egg egg egg egg egg	JAM-Ety PKB-WBRD ILH-PL:493 JAM-Ety EJAH-Hpun	
Hpun (Northern)	lauŋ u'	scrotum; testicles	EJAH-Hpun	
Langsu (Luxi)	au <sup>55</sup>	egg	TBL:0450.31	
Lashi	u <sup>53</sup>	egg (of animal)	DQ-Lashi:10.4.16	
Leqi (Luxi)	u <sup>53</sup>	egg	TBL:0450.33	
Maru [Langsu]	au <sup>55</sup>	egg; egg (of animal)	ZMYYC:170.43; DQ-Langsu:10.4.16	
	ʃiŋ <sup>35</sup> au <sup>55</sup> a <sup>21</sup> u <sup>55</sup>	nit egg	ZMYYC:163.43 JZ-Zaiwa; TBL:0450.30; ZMYYC:170.42	
Atsi [Zaiwa]				
6.2. Loloish				
*Loloish	*u <sup>3</sup>	egg	DB-PLolo:86; ILH-PL:493	2
Achang (Xiandao)	u <sup>31</sup>	egg	TBL:0450.29	
Akha (Thai)	ja-uq	egg	ILH-PL:493	3
Akha	leh <sub>ˆ</sub> u <sup>ˆ</sup> leh <sub>ˆ</sub> u <sup>ˆ</sup> leh <sub>ˆ</sub> si <sub>ˆ</sub>	scrotum scrotum	JAM-Ety PL-AETD	
	uq	egg	ILH-PL:493	
Akha (Yunnan)	xha wuq	egg	ILH-PL:493	4
Bisu	hlǎ ʔu <sup>33</sup> lè ʔu ʔaŋ ʔu ʔu	testicles testicles egg; egg (animal) egg	DB-PLolo PB-Bisu:15 DB-Bisu; PB-Bisu:2 DB-PLolo	5 6
Gazhuo	fɿ <sup>33</sup>	lay (egg); egg	DLF-Gazhuo; DQ-Gazhuo:10.4.16; TBL:0450.47	
Hani (Lüchun)	á wu	egg	ILH-PL:493	
Hani (Dazhai)	a <sup>55</sup> u <sup>33</sup> na <sup>31</sup> u <sup>33</sup> se <sup>55</sup> u <sup>33</sup> u <sup>33</sup>	egg earlobe nit sit on, hatch (egg)	JZ-Hani; ZMYYC:170.31 JZ-Hani ZMYYC:163.31 JZ-Hani; ZMYYC:786.31	
Hani (Lüchun)	(xa <sup>33</sup> ) u <sup>33</sup>	egg	TBL:0450.41	
Hani (Caiyuan)	se <sup>55</sup> ɿ <sup>33</sup>	nit	ZMYYC:163.30	
Hani (Pijo)	vu	egg	ILH-PL:493	

<sup>1</sup>The first syllable is reduced to schwa in this compound. This atonic syllable is a reduction of *li* ‘penis’, and is not to be identified with the first syllable of WB *lin-khu* ‘scrotum’, which is ultimately from Skt. *lingam*.

<sup>2</sup>The constriction in the Akha form is unexplained; it is perhaps due to assimilation to the glottal-stop (= zero) initial. This is a Tone \*3 etymon in Lolo-Burmese, which is associated with creakiness in any case. The same holds for Achang Longchuan and several Hani forms.

<sup>3</sup>First syllable means “chicken”.

<sup>4</sup>First syllable means “animal”.

<sup>5</sup>Literally “penis + egg”.

<sup>6</sup>Literally “penis + egg”.

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Hani (Caiyuan)	v̄ <sup>33</sup> v̄ <sup>33</sup> v̄ <sup>33</sup>	egg sit on, hatch (egg) hatch	JZ-Hani; ZMYYC:170.30 JZ-Hani ZMYYC:786.30	
Hani (Pijo)	ḍ vu	egg	ILH-PL:493	
Hani (Gelanghe)	u <sup>33</sup>	sit on, hatch (egg); egg	JZ-Hani	
Hani (Wordlist)	al wuv	egg	ILH-PL:493	7
Hani (Shuikui)	a <sup>55</sup> v̄ <sup>33</sup> a <sup>55</sup> v̄ <sup>33</sup> v̄ <sup>33</sup> <sup>7</sup> ʃe <sup>55</sup> v̄ <sup>33</sup>	egg egg egg hatch nit	JZ-Hani ZMYYC:170.32 ZMYYC:786.32 ZMYYC:163.32	
Hani (Khatu)	à vu vu	egg egg	ILH-PL:493 ILH-PL:493	
Hani (Mojiang)	(xa <sup>33</sup> ) v̄ <sup>33</sup>	egg	TBL:0450.42	
*Common Lahu	*u:	egg	DB-PLolo:86	
Lahu (Black)	nī-sī-u nī-u-té se <sup>33</sup> u <sup>33</sup> u u <sup>33</sup> v̄ <sup>33</sup> ɔ <sup>31</sup> v̄ <sup>33</sup> ḍ-u ḍ-u u ve u <sup>33</sup> ɔ <sup>31</sup> u <sup>33</sup>	testicle testicle nit egg; lay an egg egg lay (egg) egg egg lay an egg lay (egg)	JAM-Ety JAM-Ety ZMYYC:163.33 JAM-Ety ZMYYC:170.33 JZ-Lahu JZ-Lahu JAM-Ety JAM-DL:135 JZ-Lahu	8
Lahu (Yellow)	de-fu fu fu <sup>33</sup> de <sup>33</sup> fu <sup>33</sup> fu <sup>33</sup>	egg testicle egg (of animal) testicle egg	SB-Lalo SB-Lalo CK-YiQ:10.4.16 CK-YiQ:10.3.5 CK-YiQ:10.4.16	
Lisu (Northern)	a <sup>21</sup> gɣ <sup>21</sup> ma <sup>33</sup> fu <sup>33</sup> a <sup>55</sup> ya <sup>55</sup> fu <sup>33</sup> e <sup>55</sup> fu <sup>44</sup> e <sup>55</sup> fu <sup>44</sup> fo <sup>3</sup> fu <sup>33</sup>	egg capsule of man- tis chicken egg egg egg egg; tuber; testicles egg; spawn; repro- duce	DB-Lisu DB-Lisu JZ-Lisu ZMYYC:170.27 GHL-PPB:G.80 DB-Lisu	
Lisu (Nujiang)	fu <sup>33</sup> gɔ <sup>21</sup> fu <sup>44</sup> fu <sup>44</sup> hu <sup>3</sup> hu <sup>3</sup> hu <sup>3</sup>	rotten egg lay (egg) lay (egg) egg egg; tuber; testicles lay (as egg); egg	DB-Lisu JZ-Lisu ZMYYC:785.27 DB-PLolo:86 GHL-PPB:G.80 JF-HLL	
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	hɣ <sup>33</sup> fu <sup>33</sup> ji <sup>55</sup> fu <sup>33</sup> la <sup>55</sup> fu <sup>33</sup>	egg of a louse egg; spawn testicle	DB-Lisu DB-Lisu DB-Lisu	
Lisu (Central)	la <sup>55</sup> fu <sup>33</sup>	testicle	DB-Lisu	
Lisu (Northern)	xu <sup>44</sup> fu <sup>44</sup>	nit	ZMYYC:163.27	9

<sup>7</sup>The final -v is a tonemark in this transcription.

<sup>8</sup>Literally “louse-egg”.

<sup>9</sup>Lit. “penis + egg”.



Lisu (Northern)	ʃ <sup>33</sup> fu <sup>33</sup>	goose egg	DB-Lisu
	ɣa <sup>33</sup> fu <sup>33</sup>	chicken egg	DB-Lisu
	ɣa <sup>33</sup> fu <sup>33</sup> fj <sup>33</sup>	egg yolk	DB-Lisu
Lolopho	fɿ <sup>33</sup>	egg (of animal)	DQ-Lolopho:10.4.16
Mpi	?u? <sup>4</sup>	egg	DB-PLolo; ILH-PL:493
Nesu	der <sup>21</sup> fu <sup>21</sup>	testicle	CK-YiQ:10.3.5
	fu <sup>21</sup>	egg (of animal)	CK-YiQ:10.4.16
Nusu (Central)	u <sup>33</sup>	lay egg	DQ-NusuB:2363.
	u <sup>31</sup>	egg	DQ-NusuB:573.; TBL:0450.34
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	u <sup>31</sup>	egg	DQ-NusuA:573.
	u <sup>31</sup> u <sup>35</sup>	lay egg	DQ-NusuA:2363.
Nusu (Northern)	fu <sup>31</sup>	lay (egg)	JZ-Nusu
Nusu (Bijiang)	ɪq <sup>31</sup> ?u <sup>31</sup>	egg	ZMYYC:170.45
Nusu (Central)	ɪq <sup>31</sup> ?u <sup>31</sup>	egg	JZ-Nusu
Nusu (Bijiang)	ʂa <sup>155</sup> u <sup>31</sup>	nit	ZMYYC:163.45
Nusu (Southern)	?u <sup>31</sup>	egg	JZ-Nusu
Nusu (Northern)	?u <sup>55</sup>	egg	JZ-Nusu
Nusu (Southern)	?u <sup>55</sup>	lay (egg)	JZ-Nusu
Nusu (Bijiang)	?u <sup>55</sup> a <sup>55</sup>	lay (egg)	ZMYYC:785.45
Phunoi	hə-?u?	egg	JAM-Ety
	hə <sup>33</sup> ?u? <sup>33</sup>	egg	DB-Phunoi
	shè ?u	testicle	JAM-Ety
	s <sup>h</sup> ɛ <sup>11</sup> ?u <sup>33</sup>	testicles	DB-Phunoi
	?u?	egg	DB-PLolo
Yi (Dafang)	fɒ <sup>33</sup>	sit on (egg)	JZ-Yi
Yi (Mojiang)	fu <sup>21</sup>	egg; lay (egg)	ZMYYC:170.26,785.26
Yi (Nanhua)	xu <sup>33</sup>	egg; lay (egg)	TBL:0450.37; ZMYYC:785.24
	xu <sup>33</sup> ; fu <sup>33</sup>	egg	ZMYYC:170.24
Yi (Nanjian)	fu <sup>33</sup>	egg; lay (egg)	JZ-Yi; ZMYYC:170.23,785.23
Yi (Weishan)	fɿ <sup>33</sup>	egg	TBL:0450.36
Yi (Xide)	vɿ <sup>33</sup>	hatch	CSL-YIzd; ZMYYC:786.21
6.3. Naxi			
Naxi (Eastern)	a <sup>31</sup> o <sup>13</sup>	egg	JZ-Naxi
6.4. Jinuo			
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	vu <sup>33</sup>	egg	DQ-JinA:604
	vu <sup>31</sup>	incubate	DQ-JinA:1899
	vu <sup>31</sup> p <sup>h</sup> o <sup>44</sup>	incubate	DQ-JinA:1899.1
Jinuo (Youle)	vu <sup>42</sup>	sit on (egg)	JZ-Jinuo
Jinuo (Buyuan)	vu <sup>44</sup>	hatch (an egg); hatch, incubate	JZ-Jinuo
Jinuo	vu <sup>44</sup>	egg	TBL:0450.44
Jinuo (Baka)	ɿ <sup>33</sup>	egg	DQ-JinB:604
	ɿ <sup>31</sup>	incubate	DQ-JinB:1899
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	ʃe <sup>31</sup> u <sup>33</sup>	nit	DQ-JinA:441
Jinuo (Baka)	ʃj <sup>31</sup> ɿ <sup>33</sup>	nit	DQ-JinB:441
Jinuo	a <sup>33</sup> vu <sup>33</sup>	egg	ZMYYC:170.34

<sup>10</sup>First syllable means 'chicken' < \*k-rak.<sup>11</sup>First syllable is 'chicken' < \*k-rak.

## I. Egg

Jinuo (Youle)	ɑ <sup>44</sup> vu <sup>33</sup>	egg	JZ-Jinuo
8. Bai			
Bai (Bijiang)	ue <sup>44</sup>	hatch	ZMYYC:786.37
Bai (Dali)	vu <sup>44</sup>	sit on (egg)	JZ-Bai
	ɣu <sup>44</sup>	hatch	ZMYYC:786.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	vu <sup>44</sup>	sit on (egg)	JZ-Bai
	vu <sup>44</sup>	hatch	ZMYYC:786.36

### (1b)

### \*pu

### EGG

This morpheme appears in cognate object constructions, e.g. Bengni **pu-pu pu** ‘lay an egg’, where the last element is the verb. The noun looks reduplicated in Bengni, but Apatani has **pa-pu** ‘egg’, with apparently distinct components. Similar cognate objects are characteristic of (1a) \*wu EGG / BIRD, e.g. Lahu ð-u u ve ‘lay an egg’, where the noun appears with a prefix.

This root may well be related to a morpheme with a more general meaning of BALL / EGG / ROUND OBJECT (1c, below).

#### 1.1. North Assam

*Tani	*pu	egg	JS-HCST:122	12
Padam-Mising [Abor-Miri]	a-pui	egg	JAM-Ety	
	a-pu	egg	JS-HCST	
Apatani	pa-pu	egg	JS-HCST; JS-Tani	
	pà-pu	egg	JS-Tani	
	pà-pu pa-xu	egg shell	JS-Tani	
	pù	lay egg	JS-Tani	
	<sup>2</sup> pa <sup>1</sup> pu	egg	AW-TBT:555	
Bengni	pu-pu	egg	JS-HCST; JS-Tani	
	pu-pu pu	lay egg	JS-Tani	
Bokar Lhoba	pu pu:	egg	ZMYYC:170.51	
Bokar	pu-pu	egg	JS-HCST	
	pu-pu:	egg	JS-Tani	
Bokar Lhoba	pu:	lay (egg)	ZMYYC:785.51	
	pu jak	hen's egg	SLZO-MLD	
	pu pu:	egg	SLZO-MLD	
Damu	cok-pu xum	lay egg	JS-Tani	13
	rok-pu	egg	JS-Tani	
	təp-pu	testicle	JS-Tani	
Gallong	pi-pɣ	egg	KDG-IGL	
	pi: pi	egg	KDG-IGL	
	ˆut-tum `a pɣ	testicle	AW-TBT:617a	
	`pu pɣ	egg	AW-TBT:555	
Tagin	pu pu	egg	KDG-Tag	
1.4. Meithei				
Meithei	bu ri khaw	testicle	CYS-Meithei:10.3.5	

<sup>12</sup>The first elements in the Bengni, Bokar, Gallong, and Tagin forms are either morphemes meaning ‘bird’ or ‘chicken’ (cf. Damu **rok-pu**, where **rok** clearly < \***k-rak** ‘chicken’), or else reduplications of the root.

<sup>13</sup>The final nasal in this Damu form is similar to those in Rongmei, Thado, and Mzieme.

Moyon	<b>b</b> ʌ thí	testicle	DK-Moyon:10.3.5
2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepang-Sunwar			
Sunwar	<b>bo-phu</b>	egg	JAM-Ety
3.2. Qiangic			
Muya [Minyak]	t <sup>h</sup> u <sup>31</sup> <b>bu</b> <sup>53</sup>	testicle	SHK-MuyaQ:10.3.5
Qiang (Mawo)	<b>b</b> ʌ <sup>ʔ</sup>	testicle	SHK-MawoQ:10.3.5
Qiang (Yadu)	<b>b</b> ə <sup>ʔ</sup>	testicles	DQ-QiangN:145
3.3. rGyalrongic			
rGyalrong	ta <b>bo</b> ci	testicle	DQ-Jiarong:10.3.5
5. Tujia			
Tujia	<b>phue</b> <sup>21</sup>	hatch	ZMYYC:786.38
6.2. Loloish			
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	<b>bu</b> <sup>55</sup> be <sup>35</sup>	testicles	DQ-NusuA:142.
6.3. Naxi			
Naxi (Lijiang)	<b>bv</b> <sup>31</sup>	hatch	ZMYYC:786.28
Naxi (Yongning)	<b>bv</b> <sup>55</sup>	hatch	ZMYYC:786.29
6.4. Jinuo			
Jinuo	<b>pho</b> <sup>55</sup>	hatch	ZMYYC:786.34
7. Karenic			
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	dj <sup>31</sup> <b>bo</b> <sup>33</sup>	testicles	DQ-KarenB:145.1

## Chinese comparandum

孵 **fū** ‘to hatch (eggs); incubate’

GSR: not in 1233      Karlgren: \*p’iōg      Li: \*phjəgw      Baxter: \*ph(r)ju

The earliest attested use of this Chinese character seems to be the Han Dynasty work *Fangyan*. However, it is clearly a later graphic variant of 孚, which is attested writing ‘hatch’. Thus although the character may be of later development, the word itself obviously existed at the Old Chinese time period.

Characters with the 孚 phonetic are generally placed in the OC 幽 Yōu rhyme group. However, some members of this phonetic series are found in the Middle Chinese 虞 Yú rhyme, which is not regularly derivable from the OC 幽 Yōu group.

Neither Li nor Baxter specifically discusses the difficulties of reconstructing this set of characters. Baxter (1992:757) does however list a reconstruction for 孚 (square brackets represent irregular development): 孚 [fú] < [phju] < \*ph(r)ju. It is treated as an irregular development from the OC 幽 Yōu group into the MC 虞 Yú rhyme. I have therefore provided a parallel reconstruction for 孵 in the systems of Li and Baxter.

Karlgren reconstructs other characters in this phonetic series with \*-ug (equivalent to the OC 侯 Hóu rhyme group), which yields a regular development into MC. However, I have provided a Karlgren-system reconstruction based on the assumption that the word belongs in the 幽 Yōu rhyme group.

The OC-PTB correspondence of finals is regular. PTB *\*-u* and *\*-əw* phonemically differ only in length, and show identical OC correspondences. In open syllables the long vowel *\*-əw* (which could be written /uw/ or /u:/) is more common, and so cognate sets exemplifying this correspondence usually involve that vowel. Examples include ‘nine’ (TB *\*d-kəw*, OC *\*kjəgw*), ‘dove/pigeon’ (TB *\*khəw*, OC *\*kjəgw*) and (102) *\*r-bu*  $\times$  *\*pru* NEST / WOMB / PLACENTA (elsewhere in this volume). It is interesting to note that this correspondence seems to be attested only after grave initials.

As for the mismatch in aspiration of the OC and PTB initials, this raises the broader issue of voicing and aspiration within and across Chinese and TB. PTB is reconstructed with a two-way voicing contrast (e.g. *\*p* vs. *\*b*), while Old Chinese is reconstructed with a three-way voicing and aspiration contrast (e.g. *\*p* vs. *\*ph* vs. *\*b*). Voicing and aspiration correspondences between cognates are notoriously imprecise. This is because of various complex morphological processes, not yet entirely understood, at play in word families on both sides, which can affect voicing and aspiration. On the Chinese side, it has become increasingly clear in recent decades that prefixal elements, such as *\*s-* and various nasals, can voice or devoice root initials. (See for example Baxter and Sagart 1998, Sagart 1999, and Gong 2000.) It has also been argued that Chinese aspiration is mostly, or entirely, a secondary feature. (See Schuessler 2007:58ff for a recent articulation of this view.) Similar processes have been observed in various TB languages and posited for PTB. Because not all of these processes are fully understood, and because of the complex history of individual words and word families, it is not always possible to be sure that one is comparing etymological roots, rather than derived forms, in established OC/PTB cognate sets.

For this reason the correspondence of PTB *\*p-* with OC *\*ph-*, for the comparison under discussion here, must be considered regular, with the assumption that aspiration in the Chinese form is a secondary development. Similarly, mismatches in voicing or aspiration will not be considered impediments in the proposal of Chinese comparanda for PTB etyma elsewhere in this volume. We assume, ultimately, that PTB voiceless initials correspond to Chinese voiceless initials, and that PTB voiced initials correspond to Chinese voiced initials, and that as our understanding of morphological processes on each side improves, these patterns of correlation will become more evident.

[ZJH]

(1c) **\*pu** **BALL / EGG / ROUND OBJECT**

These forms are undoubtedly related to those meaning “egg”, but have acquired or retained the more general meaning of BALL / SMALL ROUND OBJECT. This morpheme appears in several compound body part terms like “eyeball” and perhaps “head” (cf. (H:477) *\*d-bu* HEAD). See also the discussion under (98c) *\*p<sup>w</sup>am* BELLY, where this morpheme occurs as second element in compounds.

## 1.1. North Assam

Padam-Mising [Abor-Miri]	mik- <b>pu</b> i	eyeball ("eye-egg")	JAM-Ety
Bengni	ñik- <b>pu</b>	eyeball	JS-Tani
Bokar Lhoba	a <b>pu</b>	ball	ZMYYC:501.51

Bokar	mik <b>pu</b>	eyeball	SLZO-MLD
Damu	ə- <b>pu</b>	ball	JS-Tani
Idu	mik- <b>pu</b>	eyeball	JS-Tani
	<b>po</b> <sup>55</sup> lo <sup>55</sup>	ball	ZMYYC:501.50
1.3. Naga			
Sema	a ye <b>pu</b>	star	GEM-CNL
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	lem <b>phu</b>	skull	JAM-Ety
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	<b>po</b> <sup>55</sup> lo <sup>13</sup>	ball	JZ-CLMenba
	<b>po lo</b>	ball	ZMYYC:501.7
Tshona (Wenlang)	<b>pu</b> <sup>55</sup> lu <sup>55</sup>	ball	JZ-CNMenba
Tshona (Mama)	meʔ <sup>53</sup> pri: <sup>13</sup> <b>pu</b> <sup>53</sup>	eyeball	SLZO-MLD
	<b>po</b> <sup>55</sup> lo <sup>53</sup>	ball	ZMYYC:501.6
	ʔA <sup>55</sup> <b>pu</b> <sup>53</sup>	eye	SLZO-MLD
Tibetan (Balti)	<b>po:lo</b>	ball	RAN1975:22
	<b>po lo</b>	ball	RAN1975:54
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	<b>po</b> <sup>55</sup> lo <sup>53</sup>	ball	ZMYYC:501.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	<b>po</b> <sup>53</sup> lo <sup>13</sup>	ball	ZMYYC:501.2
Tibetan (Written)	<b>spo lo</b>	ball	ZMYYC:501.1
2.1.4. Tamangic			
Gurung (Ghachok)	miq <b>phu</b>	eyeball	JAM-Ety
	mĩq p <sup>h</sup> ũ	eyeball	SIL-Gur:2.A.23
3.2. Qiangic			
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	<b>pa</b> <sup>55</sup> lo <sup>55</sup>	ball	ZMYYC:501.16
4.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	<b>po</b> <sup>31</sup> luŋ <sup>55</sup>	ball	ZMYYC:501.47
5. Tujia			
Tujia	a <sup>35</sup> bo <sup>55</sup> <b>bu</b> <sup>21</sup>	head	CK-TujMQ:2.1
	a <sup>35</sup> la <sup>55</sup> <b>bu</b> <sup>21</sup>	eyeball	CK-TujMQ:3.4.2
Tujia (Northern)	lo <sup>35</sup> <b>pu</b> <sup>35</sup>	eye	JZ-Tujia
	lo <sup>35</sup> <b>pu</b> <sup>35</sup> pie <sup>55</sup>	tears	JZ-Tujia
	ts <sup>h</sup> e <sup>21</sup>		
Tujia	lo <sup>35</sup> <b>pu</b> <sup>55</sup>	eye	CK-TujBQ:3.4
	lo <sup>35</sup> <b>pu</b> <sup>55</sup> pue <sup>55</sup>	tears	CK-TujBQ:3.4.6
	ts <sup>h</sup> e <sup>21</sup>		
	lo <sup>35</sup> <b>pu</b> <sup>55</sup> t <sup>h</sup> a <sup>55</sup> p <sup>h</sup> a <sup>21</sup>	eyelid	CK-TujBQ:3.4.1
6.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	<b>bɔ</b> <sup>55</sup> lɔ <sup>55</sup>	ball	ZMYYC:501.40
Maru [Langsu]	<b>pɔ</b> <sup>33</sup> luŋ <sup>55</sup>	ball	ZMYYC:501.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	<b>po</b> <sup>21</sup> luŋ <sup>51</sup>	ball	ZMYYC:501.42
6.2. Loloish			
Ahi	ne <sup>33</sup> <b>bu</b> <sup>33</sup> ts'ε <sup>22</sup>	eyebrow	LMZ-AhiQ:3.4.3
	o <sup>55</sup> ko <sup>33</sup> <b>bu</b> <sup>55</sup>	skull	LMZ-AhiQ:2.4
Lahu (Black)	mêʔ-qha- <b>phu</b>	eyeball	JAM-Ety:DL 1022
	ú- <b>phu</b>	head (in idioms)	JAM-DL:115

<sup>14</sup>This Balti word is the source of English *polo*!

## I. Egg

Nasu	o <sup>33</sup> bu <sup>55</sup>	skull	CK-YiQ:2.4
Nusu (Central)	u <sup>33</sup> p <sup>h</sup> u <sup>55</sup> gu <sub>2</sub> <sup>53</sup>	bald person	DQ-NusuB:246.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	u <sup>31</sup> p <sup>h</sup> u <sup>55</sup>	head	DQ-NusuA:96.
Nusu (Central)	u <sup>31</sup> p <sup>h</sup> u <sup>55</sup>	head	DQ-NusuB:96.; JZ-Nusu
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	u <sup>31</sup> p <sup>h</sup> u <sup>55</sup> tɕ <sup>h</sup> ʔ <sup>35</sup>	bald person	DQ-NusuA:246.
Nusu (Bijiang)	u <sup>31</sup> p <sup>h</sup> u <sup>55</sup>	head	ZMYYC:232.45
Nusu (Northern)	ʔo <sup>31</sup> p <sup>h</sup> u <sup>55</sup>	head	JZ-Nusu
Nusu (Southern)	ʔo <sup>31</sup> p <sup>h</sup> u <sup>55</sup>	head	JZ-Nusu
6.3. Naxi			
Naxi (Yongning)	pu <sup>33</sup> pu <sup>33</sup>	ball	ZMYYC:501.29
7. Karenic			
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	mi <sup>33</sup> bua <sup>33</sup> p <sup>h</sup> o <sup>55</sup>	eyeball	DQ-KarenB:104.1
8. Bai			
Bai	ŋui <sup>33</sup> p <sup>h</sup> o <sup>44</sup>	eye	ZYS-Bai:3.4

(2a)

\*d(w)əy

EGG / TESTICLE

Especially in Himalayish and Kamarupan, it is often difficult to distinguish \*d(w)əy from its probable co-allofam (2b) \*dil ≈ \*dul EGG / TESTICLE. Thus, Kulung wa-di (“bird + egg”) looks like Tangsa (N.Naga) wu-di, Mikir vo-ti, etc., but other Kiranti languages (e.g. Limbu, Athpare) have reflexes with -n, apparently from \*-l. Kanauri, Lepcha, and Tibetan retain -l. For now, we are assigning all Himalayish reflexes of this word-family to \*dil, though a better Proto-Himalayish reconstruction would be \*di-l. Similarly, some Kamarupan languages retain overt reflexes of \*-l, but many have forms with open syllables. Our assignment of some Kamarupan forms to (2a) \*d(w)əy EGG / TESTICLE rather than (2b) \*dil ≈ \*dul EGG / TESTICLE remains arbitrary.

Benedict 1939:225 (“Semantic differentiation in Indo-Chinese” HJAS 4:213-229) analyzed compounds like Lushai ar-tui ‘egg’ as “bird + water”. *STC* postulates a connection between \*twəy ‘egg’ (*STC* #168) and a general root \*ti(y) ‘water; moist’ (*STC* #55 and pp. 45, 135, 196). (This latter root should actually be set up as (162) \*m-t(w)əy ≈ \*m-ti WATER / FLUID / LIQUID / SOAK.<sup>15</sup> The proposed connection between EGG and WATER is complicated by the related forms for EGG with final \*-l. *STC* (n. 149) admits that Dhimal has different forms for EGG (tui) and WATER (tśi), and yet a third form in hna-thi ‘snot’. Elsewhere in *STC* (p. 135, discussing the Karen cognates; and p. 196, in connection with the putative two-tone contrast for PTB), Benedict suggests that the etyma for EGG and WATER do indeed descend from separate allofams, different in both tone and initial at the PTB stage.

There is a further semantic connection between EGG and HEEL (both being smooth and rounded). Cf. Lushai ar-tui ‘egg’ (perhaps “bird-water”, ke-ar-tui ‘heel’ (“foot-egg”, i.e. “foot-bird-water”). The syllable -ar- must be bleached of all avian meaning by the time it gets incorporated into HEEL. See Matisoff 1994b, which also brings BUTTOCK into the same network of semantic associations as HEEL.

<sup>15</sup>See also *TSR* #109 \*N/?-tit/k ‘soak; saturate’.

The putative semantic connection between BIRD and WATER is strengthened by compounds of BIRD with other roots for WATER, e.g. < (H:433) \*k/r/s-wa WATER / RAIN (Tangkhul **tara** ‘water’, **har-ra** ‘egg’ (**har** ‘bird’), **hai-ra** ‘semen’).<sup>16</sup> Less clear, but possibly a parallel formation is Muya **va<sup>33</sup> va<sup>55</sup>** ‘egg’ (**va<sup>33</sup>** ‘bird’). Cf. also Maring **wa-yui** ‘egg’, with the second element < (164) \*rəy WATER / LIQUID.

This root is widely distributed, appearing in Kamarupan, Himalayish, Jingpho-Luish, Karen, and Qiangic (including Tangut), and perhaps in a few Loloish forms (Xide, Nosu) where the initial is palatalized to an affricate.

Seven forms from four Sak-Luish languages (Sak Bawtala, Sak Dodem, Ganan, Kadu) cited in Luce 1986 (Chart L) have the confusing gloss ‘Penis/Testicles’. Since there are two phonologically similar etyma in this area, \*ti EGG/TESTICLE and (117) \*ti-k PENIS, these forms have presented serious problems of analysis, and have been re-glossed to mean either ‘penis’ or ‘testicle’, but not both. See Etymon Note under (117), below.

See *HPTB* \*twəy ≈ \*dwəy ‘water; egg’, p. 195.

#### 1.1. North Assam

Darang [Taraon]	a:teɪ	egg	JAM-Ety
	grō-ti	heel	JAM-Ety
	gɪoŋ <sup>53</sup> ti <sup>55</sup>	heel	SLZO-MLD
Milang	ci-ci	egg	AT-MPB
Darang [Taraon]	a:teɪ	egg	NEFA-Taraon

#### 1.2. Kuki-Chin

Khumi (Bangladesh)	<b>kduy</b> yaang <b>kduy</b>	testicles male genitals ("penis + testicles")	DAP-Chm DAP-Chm
Awa Khumi	yã <sup>3</sup> dü <sup>2</sup>	testicles	GHL-PPB:P.13
Kom Rem	ər <b>tui</b>	egg (of animal)	T-KomRQ:10.4.16
Lai (Hakha)	ti <sup>5</sup>	egg; tuber; testicles	GHL-PPB:G.80
Lailenpi	a'ti <sup>1</sup> -	testicles	GHL-PPB:P.13
Lakher [Mara]	ti-pao	elephantiasis of testicles	JAM-Ety
	ti-tla	bereft of testicles	JAM-Ety
Lushai [Mizo]	ar <b>tui</b> ke-ar- <b>tui</b>	egg heel ("foot-chicken- egg")	GEM-CNL JAM-Ety; STC:45n149; GEM-CNL
	<b>tui</b>	egg	JAM-Ety; PB-CLDB:1845
Puiron	maka <b>tui</b>	egg	GEM-CNL
Thanphum	tə dui <sup>1</sup>	testicles	GHL-PPB:P.13
Tiddim	<b>tui</b> <sup>1</sup> <b>tui</b> : <sup>2</sup>	egg; tuber; testicles egg	GHL-PPB:G.80 PB-CLDB:1845
Tiddim Chin	` <b>tui</b>	egg	EJAH-TC
Tiddim	` <b>tui</b>	egg	JAM-Ety
Womatu	yak <sup>1</sup> <b>tui</b> <sup>4</sup>	testicles	GHL-PPB:P.13

<sup>16</sup>See also (157) \*ra ≈ \*wa SEMEN.

<sup>17</sup>For the first syllable, see (115) \*N-yaŋ PENIS / TESTICLE / STINGER (of bee), below. The final stop arose through assimilation to the stop initial of the second syllable.

## I. Egg

Zotung	tju <sup>i4</sup>	testicles	GHL-PPB:P.13	
1.3. Naga				
*Northern Naga Chang	*(C-)wa(w) təy au <b>tei</b>	egg egg ("bird-egg")	WTF-PNN WTF-PNN:481; GEM-CNL	
Konyak (Tamlu) Nocte	Λu <b>ji</b> (a) <b>ti</b> a <b>ti</b> <sup>1</sup> Λ <sup>2</sup> <b>ti</b>	egg egg egg its egg; egg	AW-TBT:896 WTF-PNN:481 GEM-CNL	
Phom	a <b>ti</b>	egg	AW-TBT:1190,896 WTF-PNN:459; GEM-CNL	
Rongmei	kə <b>dui</b> roi <b>dui</b>	egg egg	JAM-Rong GEM-CNL	
Tangsa Tangsa (Moshang)	<sup>1</sup> vu <sup>1</sup> <b>ɬai</b> wu <b>di</b>	egg egg	AW-TBT:896 WTF-PNN:481; STC:45n149; GEM-CNL	
Wancho	ao <b>ti</b> tau- <b>ci</b> ɔ <b>ti</b>	egg egg egg	GEM-CNL JAM-Ety WTF-PNN:481	
Yacham-Tengsa	u <b>tü</b>	egg	GEM-CNL	
1.4. Meithei				
Moyon	bΛ <b>thí</b>	testicle	DK-Moyon:10.3.5	
1.5. Mikir				
Mikir	kəng- <b>tì</b> keng <b>ti</b> keŋ- <b>ti</b> <b>ti</b> <b>tì</b>  vo <b>ti</b> wō a- <b>tì</b> wò- <b>tì</b>	heel heel ("foot-egg") heel egg egg (of animal); testicle egg egg (of animal) egg (of animal)	KHG-Mikir:42 GEM-CNL; JAM-Ety STC:45n149 JAM-Ety KHG-Mikir:88,88  GEM-CNL KHG-Mikir:217 KHG-Mikir:glossary p	
1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish				
Bodo	bi- <b>dəy</b> daw <b>dəy</b>	egg egg (hen's); egg	JAM-Ety; Bhat-Boro Bhat-Boro	
Dimasa	dao <b>di</b>	egg	GEM-CNL	
Bodo	dau?- <b>dəi</b>	egg	JAM-Ety	
Garo	do?- <b>ci</b>	egg	JAM-Ety; AW-TBT:1190	
Kokborok	bə- <b>təy</b> tau?- <b>təy</b>	egg egg	PT-Kok PT-Kok	
Lalung	tu <b>di</b>	egg	MB-Lal:78	18
3.1. Tangut				
Tangut [Xixia]	l <b>dai</b> <sup>1</sup>	testicle	MVS-Grin	19

<sup>18</sup>The first syllable **tu-** of this Lalung form means “bird” (< (H:226-7) \***daw** BIRD). But in the Lalung compound **tu-dar** ‘penis’, the **tu-** cannot mean ‘bird’, but is rather to be assigned to (116a) \***k-tu-k** PENIS.

<sup>19</sup>The first element **l-** ‘penis’ appears in reduced form in this “crypto-compound”.



## 3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Mawo)                    **zdi**                    hatch                    ZMYYC:786.8

## 4. Jingpho-Nung-Luish

Ganan                    **käpɔ<sup>3</sup> ti<sup>1</sup>**                    testicles                    GHL-PPB:L.149  
                                  **ti<sup>1</sup>**                    egg; tuber; testicles                    GHL-PPB:G.80  
 Kadu (Kantu)                    **käpɔt<sup>3</sup> ti<sup>1</sup>**                    testicles                    GHL-PPB:L.149  
 Kadu                    **ti<sup>1</sup>**                    egg; tuber; testicles                    GHL-PPB:G.80  
                                  **u-di**                    egg                    JAM-Ety  
 Sak (Bawtala)                    **ǎ<sup>1</sup>tji<sup>4</sup>**                    egg; tuber; testicles                    GHL-PPB:G.80  
                                  **ǎ tji<sup>2</sup> tu<sup>4</sup>**                    testicles                    GHL-PPB:L.149  
 Sak                    **wa-tí**                    egg                    JAM-Ety

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## 4.1. Jingpho

Jingpho                    **di**                    egg                    JAM-Ety; STC:45n149  
                                  **ne-di**                    testicle                    JAM-Ety  
                                  **ne<sup>31</sup>ti<sup>31</sup>**                    scrotum                    JCD  
                                  **ti**                    egg                    GEM-CNL  
                                  **ti<sup>31</sup>**                    egg                    JZ-Jingpo;  
                                                                     TBL:0450.19;  
                                                                     ZMYYC:170.47  
                                  **<sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup>di**                    egg                    AW-TBT:896

## 6.2. Loloish

Nosu                    **tɕhi<sup>21</sup>**                    egg                    CK-YiQ:10.4.16  
 Yi (Xide)                    **tɕhi<sup>21</sup>**                    egg                    TBL:0450.35;  
                                                                     ZMYYC:170.21  
                                  **tɕ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>21</sup>**                    egg                    CSL-Yizd; JZ-Yi

## 7. Karenic

\*Karen (Pho-Sgaw)                    **\*dìq**                    egg                    RBJ-KLS:81  
 \*Karen                    **\*díq**                    egg                    RBJ-KLS:81  
 \*Karen (Pho)                    **\*díq**                    egg                    RBJ-KLS:81  
 \*Karen (TP)                    **\*díq**                    egg                    RBJ-KLS:81  
 \*Karen (Sgaw)                    **\*dí?**                    egg                    RBJ-KLS:81  
 \*Karen                    **\*?di**                    egg                    STC:135n367  
 Bwe                    **dè-?dì**                    egg                    AW-TBT:896  
                                  **đi**                    egg; testicle; lay an  
                                                                     egg                    EJAH-BKD  
 Bwe (Western)                    **đi<sup>2</sup>**                    egg; tuber; testicles                    GHL-PPB:G.80  
 Geba                    **đi<sup>2</sup>**                    egg; tuber; testicles                    GHL-PPB:G.80  
 Karen                    **đi<sup>31</sup>**                    egg                    TBL:0450.50  
 Pa-O                    **dí**                    egg; lay eggs                    AW-TBT:896; DBS-PaO;  
                                                                     RBJ-KLS:81  
 Pa-O (Northern)                    **di<sup>1</sup>**                    egg; tuber; testicles                    GHL-PPB:G.80  
 Palaychi                    **điq**                    egg                    RBJ-KLS:81  
 Pho (Tenasserim)                    **s<sup>ʰ</sup>ǎ<sup>4</sup> đí<sup>1</sup>**                    egg; tuber; testicles                    GHL-PPB:G.80  
 Pho (Delta)                    **s<sup>ʰ</sup>ǎ<sup>4</sup> đí<sup>4</sup>**                    egg; tuber; testicles                    GHL-PPB:G.80  
 Pho (Bassein)                    **đi**                    egg                    AW-TBT:896  
                                  **dí?**                    egg                    RBJ-KLS:81

<sup>20</sup>Sak also has a compound **u-kyi** ‘egg’, which apparently means “bird-shit”, where we interpret the first syllable as meaning ‘bird’, not ‘egg’. Cf. the Jingpho prefix **ù-**, which occurs in many bird-related words, e.g. **ù-dì** ‘egg’, **ù-mài** ‘bird’s tail’ (more examples in Hanson, pp. 50-53). (**H:165**) **\*wa** ≠ **\*wu** BIRD / FOWL seems related to **\*wu** EGG/BIRD in any case.

## I. Egg

Pho (Moulmein)	<b>díq</b>	egg	RBJ-KLS:81
	<b>díʔ</b>	egg	AW-TBT:896
Sgaw	<b><sup>2</sup>ʔdi</b>	egg	AW-TBT:896
Paku	<b>dí<sup>3</sup></b>	egg; tuber; testicles	GHL-PPB:G.80
Sgaw	<b>dí<sup>4</sup></b>	egg; tuber; testicles	GHL-PPB:G.80
Sgaw (Bassein)	<b>dì</b>	egg	RBJ-KLS:81
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	<b>a<sup>31</sup> dī<sup>31</sup></b>	egg	DQ-KarenB:573.1
	<b>dī<sup>31</sup></b>	egg	DQ-KarenB:573
	<b>dī<sup>31</sup> bō<sup>33</sup></b>	testicles	DQ-KarenB:145.1
	<b>dī<sup>31</sup> k<sup>h</sup>li<sup>55</sup></b>	testicles	DQ-KarenB:145
	<b>dī<sup>55</sup> glo<sup>31</sup> dī<sup>31</sup></b>	castrate	DQ-KarenB:2303.1
	<b>ts<sup>h</sup>ō<sup>55</sup> dī<sup>31</sup> lō<sup>33</sup></b>	lay egg	DQ-KarenB:2468.1
	<b>xw<sup>55</sup> dī<sup>31</sup></b>	incubate	DQ-KarenB:1899.1
Sgaw (Moulmein)	<b>díʔ</b>	egg	RBJ-KLS:81
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	<b>dī<sup>31</sup></b>	lay egg; egg	DQ-KarenA:2468,604
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Mandarin)	<b>ch’i</b>	egg (of an ant)	GSR:590m
Chinese (Old/Mid)	<b>d’iær/d’i</b>	egg (of an ant)	GSR:590m

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## Chinese comparandum

𧈧 **chí** ‘ant egg’

GSR: 590m

Karlgren: \*d’iær

Li: \*drjid

Baxter: \*drjij

This rare character does not appear in Li or Baxter. However, reconstruction in either system is not in doubt based on reconstruction of other characters with the same phonetic and identical Middle Chinese pronunciation (E.g. Baxter 1992:750 𧈧 **chí** < **drjij** < \***drjij**.) But it is worth noting that at least one character with the same phonetic is placed in the 微 Wēi group by Baxter and reconstructed with \*-ij: 鷓 **chī** < **tsyhij** < \***thjij**, presumably because it is found rhyming with a 微 Wēi group word (*Shijing* 24.3A). If this character is not simply an exception, then according to Baxter’s rhyme group division, characters with the same phonetic are spread across the two rhyme groups. In the absence of rhyming evidence, \***drjij** is also a possible reconstruction for 𧈧 in Baxter’s system.

Assuming the semantics are not problematic,<sup>22</sup> the correspondences are quite sound. Examples of OC \*-id (Li) corresponding to TB \*-əy are numerous, and include ‘die’ OC 死 \***sjid** (Li), TB \***səy**; ‘four’ OC 四 \***sjid** (Li), TB \***b-ləy**; ‘excrement’ OC 屎 \***hrjid**, TB \***kləy**. The TB final \*-i should not be troubling; we would expect this relatively rare PTB final to correspond to OC in the same way as \*-əy (in parallel to TB \*-əw and \*-u; see the discussion of (1) \***p<sup>w</sup>u** EGG / BIRD / ROUND OBJECT). On the correspondence of OC medial \*-r-, see the discussion of 中 under (44) \***t/dun** × \***ts(y)u:ŋ** NAVEL / CENTER.

[ZJH]

<sup>21</sup>It is the first syllable which is the verb, since Karen is VO.

<sup>22</sup>R. S. Cook (1995:63) offers much evidence that the real meaning of GSR 590m is ‘scorpion’. [JAM]

## (2b) \*dil ≈ \*dul EGG / TESTICLE

This etymon is sometimes hard to distinguish from (2a) \*d(w)əy EGG / TESTICLE, above. It is possible that conflation with an Indo-Aryan root is involved. Jäschke (p. 234) says that WT **thul** is “according to Cunningham a Cashmiri word”. The TB cognates are indeed confined to Indospheric branches of TB (Kamarupan and Himalayish).

Some Himalayish forms for HEEL have an element like **-din-** which look as if they could probably come from this etymon for EGG (see the note on Lushai **ke-ar-tui**): these include Kulung **'dhin-di-ri**, and Thulung and Khaling **din-di-ri**. Yet the suspicious similarity among these forms suggest that they might be loans from Nepali.

This is very likely the same etymon as \*r-tul ≈ \*r-til DULL / BUTTOCK / HEEL / ROUNDED PART (*HPTB* p. 419), cf. WT **rtul-po** ‘blunt, dull’; Abor-Miri **ko-dun** ‘buttock’; Meithei **mə-thun** ‘buttock’; Wancho **chi-dun** ‘heel’ (**chi** ‘foot’); Khözha **šú-dò**; Lisu **khi<sup>21</sup>du<sup>21</sup>** ‘buttock’ (**khi<sup>21</sup>** ‘excrement’); Phunoi **pi<sup>33</sup>tun<sup>11</sup>** ‘heel’. See Matisoff 1994b<sup>23</sup>, and the Chinese comparanda, below. The allofam with medial **-i-** is represented by Jingpho **šətin** ‘buttock’, **ləthin** ‘heel’, and also perhaps by WT **rtiŋ-pa** ‘heel’.

Benedict apparently had a different theory. He implies a connection between Lushai **til** ‘testicle’ and Thado **til** ‘earthworm; testicle’ (cf. also PLB \*di ‘worm’ > WB **ti**, Lisu **bi-di**), which he reconstructs as PTB \*zril ‘worm’ (*STC*, n.121, p. 37). Several Chinese comparanda meaning WORM are offered (n.457, p. 171). It must be said, however, that the semantic association between TESTICLE and WORM is a bit obscure.

## 1.1. North Assam

Apatani	ar-tiŋ <sup>1</sup> ar <sup>2</sup> tiŋ	testicle testicle	JS-Tani AW-TBT:617a	
1.2. Kuki-Chin				
Anal	à-dál	testicle	AW-TBT:617b	
Khualsim	ti <sup>2</sup>	testicles	GHL-PPB:P.13	
Kom Rem	ǰəŋ kəti mu	testicle	T-KomRQ:10.3.5	
	kəti kək	scrotum	T-KomRQ:10.3.4	24
	kəti sem	castrate (v.)	T-KomRQ:10.3.9	
Lai (Hakha)	til	testicle	KVB-Lai	
	til de?	fart around lazily	KVB-Lai	25
	ti <sup>5</sup>	testicles	GHL-PPB:P.13	
Lakher [Mara]	ti hmô	scrotum	JAM-Ety	26
Liangmei	mai-tiŋ-kha	testicle	AW-TBT:617a	
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	θɣ <sup>3</sup> -	testicles	GHL-PPB:P.13	
	θɣ <sup>1</sup> -	testicles	GHL-PPB:P.13	
Lushai [Mizo]	tīl	testicle	AW-TBT:617b	
	til	testicle	JAM-Ety	
	til-mu	testicle	JAM-Ety	27
	ti <sup>3</sup>	testicles	GHL-PPB:P.13	

<sup>23</sup>“How dull can you get?: buttock and heel in Sino Tibetan”.

<sup>24</sup>EGG + **kok** ‘hanging basket’.

<sup>25</sup>Literally, “play with one’s testicles”.

<sup>26</sup>Second element means ‘seed’. See (132) \*s-mu SEED / TESTICLE / ROUND OBJECT, below.

<sup>27</sup>Second element means ‘seed’. See (132) \*s-mu SEED / TESTICLE / ROUND OBJECT, below.

## I. Egg

Matupi	<b>ti:l</b> <sup>4</sup>	testicles	GHL-PPB:P.13	
Mera	<b>ti</b> <sup>6</sup>	testicles	GHL-PPB:P.13	
Tha'oa	<b>ti</b> <sup>2</sup>	testicles	GHL-PPB:P.13	
Thado	<b>tí</b>	testicle	THI1972:31	
	<b>tíl cáŋ</b>	testicle	THI1972:30	
Tiddim	<b>tjil</b> <sup>3</sup>	testicles	GHL-PPB:P.13	
	<b>tsíl-táj</b>	testicle	AW-TBT:617a	
Xongsai	<b>ti</b> <sup>2</sup>	testicles	GHL-PPB:P.13	
1.4. Meithei				
Moyon	<b>i tír</b>	testicle	DK-Moyon:10.3.5	28
1.5. Mikir				
Mikir	<b>tì a-thijā</b> <b>ti athija</b>	scrotum scrotum	KHG-Mikir:88 JAM-Ety	
1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish				
Garo (Bangladesh)	<b>ri-sip-il</b>	testicles	RB-GB	
Lalung	<b>tu ki ku thi</b>	testicle	MB-Lal:78	
2.1.1. Western Himalayish				
Kanauri	<b>kǒ tǒl</b> <b>kǒ tǒl ũ pǒtō</b>	testicle testicle	JAM-Ety JAM-Ety	
2.1.2. Bodic				
Baima	<b>li</b> <sup>53</sup> <b>de</b> <sup>341</sup>	testicle	SHK-BaimaQ:10.3.5	
Tibetan (Balti)	<b>t<sup>h</sup>ul</b> <b>yo t<sup>h</sup>ul</b>	egg testicle	RAN1975:41 RAN1975:59	
Tibetan (Written)	<b>thul</b>	egg; tuber; testicles	GHL-PPB:G.80; JAM-Ety	29
2.1.3. Lepcha				
Lepcha	<b>a-tí</b> <b>a-t'ól</b>	egg testicle	JAM-Ety JAM-Ety	
2.1.4. Tamangic				
Gurung (Ghachok)	<b>nyiq ri</b>	egg (louse)	SIL-Gur:3.A.88	
Thakali (Tukche)	<b>ne t̥i</b>	egg (louse)	SIL-Thak:3.A.88	
2.1.5. Dhimal				
Dhimal	<b>tui</b>	egg	STC:45n149	
2.3. Mahakiranti				
*Kiranti	<b>*di:n</b> <b>*tin</b>	testicle egg	AW-TBT:617b BM-PK7:55	
Athpare (Rai)	<b>le wa d̥in</b>	testicle	AW-TBT:617b	
2.3.2. Kiranti				
Bahing	<b>din</b> <b>ba-di</b> <b>?ba di</b>	testicle egg egg	JAM-Ety JAM-Ety BM-PK7:55	
Bantawa	<b>din</b> <b>Din</b> <b>din</b>	egg; testicle egg egg	BM-PK7:55; JAM-Ety NKR-Bant WW-Bant:23	

<sup>28</sup>Cf. also Moyon **ba-thí**, where the second element is assigned to **\*dwəy**, above.

<sup>29</sup>As mentioned above, Jäschke (p. 234) says that “according to Cunningham [this is] a Cashmiri word”.

	li-wa- <b>din</b>	testicle	WW-Bant:46	30
	l Ua <b>Din</b>	testicle	NKR-Bant	
	wa <b>Din</b>	egg of hen	NKR-Bant	
	wa <b>din</b>	chicken egg	BM-PK7:55	
	<b>din</b>	egg	BM-PK7:55	
Chamling	<b>daif</b>	egg	BM-PK7:55	
	<b>dAyN</b>	egg	WW-Cham:10	
	<b>duif</b>	egg	BM-PK7:55	
	wa- <b>daif</b> ma	chicken egg	BM-PK7:55	
Dumi	<b>ti:</b>	egg, testicle	BM-PK7:55	
Khaling	<b>ti</b>	egg	BM-PK7:55; JAM-Ety	
	<b>ti</b> mū-ne	lay egg	AH-CSDPN:03b.14	
Kulung	wa <b>di</b>	egg	BM-PK7:55; RPHH-Kul	
Limbu	le <b>thim</b> ba	testicle	BM-Lim	31
	le <b>dhi:m</b> ba	testicle ("penis-egg")	AW-TBT:142,617b	
	<b>thi:n</b>	egg	BM-Lim; BM-PK7:55	
	wā <b>thin</b>	egg	JAM-Ety	
Thulung	<b>Di</b>	egg	NJA-Thulung	
	le koak <b>ti</b>	testicle	NJA-Thulung	
	<b>dj</b>	egg	BM-PK7:55	

## Chinese comparanda

There are several likely Chinese comparanda (*HPTB* pp. 422, 504), including 臀 OC \***d'wən** (*GSR* 429b-c) 'buttocks', 殿 OC \***tiən** (*GSR* 429d) 'rear of an army', 沌 OC \***d'wən** (*GSR* 427h) 'confused / stupid', 鈍 OC \***d'wən** (*GSR* 427i) 'dull', 頓 OC \***twən** (*GSR* 427j) 'worn / dull / spoiled'.

[JAM]

As noted above, if this PTB root is related to \***r-tul** ɤ \***r-til** DULL / BUTTOCK / HEEL / ROUNDED PART, then it can be compared to the following Chinese word family (see Coblin 1986:67-68; Gong 1995 set 154; *HPTB* pp. 422, 504):

臀 **tún** 'buttocks'

*GSR* 429b-c                      Karlgren: \***d'wən**                      Li: \***dən**                      Baxter: \***dun**

殿 **diàn** 'rear of an army'

*GSR* 429d                      Karlgren: \***tiən**                      Li: \***tiənh**                      Baxter: \***tins**

沌 **dùn** 'confused / stupid'

*GSR*: 427h                      Karlgren: \***d'wən**                      Li: \***dənx**                      Baxter: \***dun?**

鈍 **dùn** 'dull'

*GSR* 427i                      Karlgren: \***d'wən**                      Li: \***dənh**                      Baxter: \***duns**

頓 **dùn** 'worn / dull / spoiled'

*GSR* 427j                      Karlgren: \***twən**                      Li: \***tənh**                      Baxter: \***tuns**

<sup>30</sup>Literally "penis + bird + egg". Cf. also the Athpare form.

<sup>31</sup>With assimilation to -m, before the labial suffix.

## I. Egg

The correspondence between PTB \*-l and OC \*-n is regular (see Gong 1995 for numerous examples). The initials and vowels also match well. The voicing alternation and suffixation seen in the Chinese word family are typical, although in this case the morphological function is not clear.

[ZJH]

The following comparanda are offered for PTB \*zril EARTHWORM in *STC* p. 171: 蠃 **ḍian** 148p; 蚓 **ḍiën** 371c; 蟥 **ḍiən** 450j.

[JAM]

蠃 **shàn** ‘earthworm’

GSR: 148p                      Karlgren: \***ḍian**                      Li: \***djanx**                      Baxter: \***djan?**

蚓 **yǐn** ‘earthworm’

GSR: 371c                      Karlgren: \***ḍiën**                      Li: \***rinx**                      Baxter: \***ljin?**

蟥 **yǐn** ‘earthworm’

GSR: 450j                      Karlgren: \***ḍiən**                      Li: \***rənx ?**                      Baxter: \***lji/in?**

Benedict (*STC* p. 37 note 121 and p. 171 note 457) argues that all three Chinese words are related and ‘point... to an original initial such as \*zr-’. These in turn are compared to TB \*zril ‘worm’.<sup>32</sup> Based on this and a handful of other comparisons, Benedict argues for the following developments from PST to Chinese: \*zr- > \*ẓr- > \*ḍi<sup>33</sup> varying with \*zr- > \*zy- > \*y- > \*ḍi.

Based on our current understanding of Old Chinese, Benedict’s hypothesis is no longer sustainable, at least not in full. *GSR* 148 is a dental series while *GSR* 371 and 450 are lateral series. This and the vowel difference indicate that 蠃 **shàn** is not an alloform of 蚓 **yǐn** and 蟥 **yǐn**.<sup>34</sup> As for the latter two, the reconstruction in both Li’s and Baxter’s systems is difficult. The Middle Chinese forms might be descended from either OC \*i or OC \*ə (Li)/\*i (Baxter). Li and Baxter agree that *GSR* 371 has main vowel \*i, but the reconstruction of *GSR* 450 is ambiguous.

Schuessler 2007:574 explicitly relates 蚓 **yǐn** and 蟥 **yǐn**, indicating that they are variant graphs used to write the same morpheme. He reconstructs OC \*lə/in? or \*jə/in?. While various attested binomial forms for ‘earthworm’ suggest that \*i is the OC vowel, Min dialect forms point to \*ə.

As for the initial, it is now generally agreed that it should be \*l or \*j, not \*r.

Looking again at Benedict’s comparison with PTB \*zril, we note that the vowel and coda correspondences are regular. A comparison of PTB \*zr- with OC \*l- or \*j- looks

<sup>32</sup>It is in footnote 121 that Benedict seems to relate TB \*zril to Lushai **til** ‘testicles’, the TB etymon currently under discussion in this volume.

<sup>33</sup>**ḍi** is mistakenly written *ḍi* in *STC*; in Karlgren’s reconstruction *d* with an inverted breve above is distinct from *d* followed by an apostrophe, but as far as I can tell Benedict transcribes them identically, perhaps due to typographic limitations.

<sup>34</sup>Peiros and Starostin 1996 v2:156 set 570 relate Chinese 蠃 **shàn** to Lushai **tāl** ‘to struggle, wriggle, writhe’. See also Schuessler 2007:453.

doubtful on phonetic grounds, but cannot be dismissed out of hand. Since \*zr- is so rare in TB, it is difficult to establish regularity of correspondence.

Whatever the fate of that comparison, Benedict's claim that these Chinese words are ultimately connected to (2b) \*dil ≈ \*dul EGG / TESTICLE now seems quite unlikely to be true.

[ZJH]

(3) \* n -tow EGG  
s

This etymon appears in Kamarupan (Idu), Loloish, and Qiangic, and looks safe to set up for PTB. There is evidence for both a nasal (Loloish) and a sibilant (Qiangic) prefix.

## 1.1. North Assam

Idu	e to-cu	egg	NEFA-PBI; JP-Idu
	e to cu lo	egg (white)	JP-Idu
	e to cu mi	egg (yolk)	JP-Idu
	e to cu roka	egg (shell)	JP-Idu

## 3.2. Qiangic

Ergong (Daofu)	ra stu	egg (of animal)	DQ-Daofu:10.4.16
Ergong (Danba)	za stu	egg (of animal); egg	SHK-ErgDQ:10.4.16; ZMYYC:170.14
Ersu (Central)	tse <sup>55</sup>	egg	SHK-ErsCQ
Ersu	tse <sup>55</sup>	egg	ZMYYC:170.18
Pumi (Jinghua)	skhi <sup>55</sup> tsə <sup>55</sup>	egg	ZMYYC:170.11
	sk <sup>h</sup> i <sup>55</sup> tsə <sup>55</sup>	egg	JZ-Pumi
Qiang (Mawo)	tçi wə st	egg	ZMYYC:170.8; JZ-Qiang
	wu stə	egg (of animal)	SHK-MawoQ:10.4.16
Qiang (Taoping)	χtə <sup>55</sup>	egg	JZ-Qiang; ZMYYC:170.9
Qiang (Yadu)	wə s	egg	DQ-QiangN:604 <span style="float:right">35</span>

## 6.2. Loloish

Ahi	da <sup>33</sup> tho <sup>22</sup>	testicle	CK-YiQ:10.3.5
	da <sup>33</sup> t'o <sup>22</sup>	testicle	LMZ-AhiQ:10.3.5
	i <sup>33</sup> t'o <sup>22</sup>	egg (of animal)	LMZ-AhiQ:10.4.16
	tho <sup>22</sup>	egg	CK-YiQ:10.4.16
Nasu	t <sup>h</sup> o <sup>21</sup>	egg (of animal)	CK-YiQ:10.4.16
Noesu	ndo <sup>55</sup>	egg	CK-YiQ:10.4.16
Yi (Dafang)	ndo <sup>55</sup>	egg; lay (egg)	JZ-Yi; ZMYYC:170.22
Yi (Mile)	i <sup>33</sup> tho <sup>33</sup>	egg	ZMYYC:170.25

(4) \*dz(y)u EGG

This etymon seems confined mostly to Kamarupan, with a likely Himalayish cognate in Kham. The Idu form e-to-cu proves that this root is distinct from (3) \*n/s-tow EGG.

<sup>35</sup>Comparison with other Qiangic forms indicates that the final -s in Yadu is a truncated version of stə or stu. This apocopation of the vowel of second elements in compounds is characteristic of Qiangic. See Benedict (1983), "Qiang monosyllabization: a third phase in the cycle" (*LTBA* 7.2:113-4).

## I. Egg

### 1.1. North Assam

Idu	e to- <b>cu</b>	egg	NEFA-PBI; JP-Idu
	e to <b>cu</b> lo	egg (white)	JP-Idu
	e to <b>cu</b> mi	egg (yolk)	JP-Idu
	e to <b>cu</b> roka	egg (shell)	JP-Idu

### 1.3. Naga

Angami (Khonoma)	<b>dzü</b>	egg	GEM-CNL
Angami (Kohima)	<b>dzü</b> ; thevü <b>dzü</b>	egg	GEM-CNL
	khu <sup>55</sup> nuo <sup>31</sup> <b>dzü</b> <sup>33</sup>	egg (of animal)	VN-AngQ:10.4.16
	pe <sup>31</sup> ra <sup>31</sup> <b>dzü</b> <sup>33</sup>	egg (of animal)	VN-AngQ:10.4.16
Ao (Chungli)	aen <b>tzü</b>	egg	GEM-CNL
Ao (Mongsen)	an <b>sü</b>	egg	GEM-CNL
Chokri	(u) <b>dzü</b> <sup>33</sup>	testicle	VN-ChkQ:10.3.5
	<b>dzü</b> <sup>33</sup>	egg (of animal)	VN-ChkQ:10.4.16
	thü vu <b>zü</b>	egg	GEM-CNL
Khezha	'e <b>juá</b>	testicle	SY-KhözhaQ:10.3.5
Khezha	me <b>ju</b>	egg (of animal)	SY-KhözhaQ:10.4.16
Lotha Naga	E <b>ju</b>	egg (of animal)	VN-LothQ:10.4.16
	hono-e <b>tchhü</b>	egg	GEM-CNL
Mao	ho <b>dzü</b>	egg	GEM-CNL
Ntenyi	a wüü-a <b>tsü</b>	egg	GEM-CNL
Rengma	tero <b>zü</b>	egg	GEM-CNL

### 2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar

Kham	'bā- <b>zu</b> -ri:	egg	JAM-Ety
	'ba <b>zu</b> ri:	egg (non-human)	DNW-KhamQ:1.33
	<b>zuh</b> ri:	testicles	DNW-KhamQ

(5)

**\*rum** ≈ **\*lum**

**EGG**

This root is attested in Kamarupan, Nungish, and perhaps Qiangic, as well as in Himalayish (Hayu, Tshona). The proto-initial seems to have been **\*r-**, though some reflexes have **l-**. It is possible that there is a connection with **\*s-lum** or **\*z-lum** ‘round’ (STC #143).

### 1.1. North Assam

Sulung	mə <sup>33</sup> <b>ri</b> <sup>33</sup>	egg	ZMYYC:170.52
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### 1.2. Kuki-Chin

Khoirao	a roi <b>ghum</b>	egg	GEM-CNL
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### 1.4. Meithei

Meithei	mə <b>rum</b>	egg (of animal)	CYS-Meithei:10.4.16	36
	ye <b>rum</b>	egg	GEM-CNL	

### 2.1.2. Bodic

Tshona (Wenlang)	k <sup>h</sup> a <sup>55</sup> <b>lum</b> <sup>55</sup>	egg	JZ-CNMenba
Tshona (Mama)	khAʔ <sup>53</sup> <b>lum</b> <sup>53</sup>	egg	ZMYYC:170.6
	k <sup>h</sup> Aʔ <sup>53</sup> <b>lum</b> <sup>53</sup>	egg	SLZO-MLD

<sup>36</sup>Note that the Sulong form has the same mə- prefix as in Meithei.



2.3.2. Kiranti			
Hayu	<b>rum</b>	brood (of a hen)	BM-Hay:84.113
3.2. Qiangic			
Namuyi	fi̯ <sup>55</sup> yo <sup>55</sup>	egg (of animal); egg	SHK-NamuQ:10.4.16; 37 ZMYYC:170.19
Shixing	re <sup>33</sup> ko <sup>35</sup>	egg	SHK-ShixQ; ZMYYC:170.20
4.2. Nungic			
Anong	<b>lim</b> <sup>55</sup>	egg	ZMYYC:170.44
Trung [Dulong]	ka <sup>55</sup> lũm <sup>53</sup>	egg	ZMYYC:170.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	ka <sup>55</sup> lũm <sup>53</sup>	egg	JZ-Dulong
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	k <sup>h</sup> a <sup>31</sup> lũm <sup>53</sup>	egg	JZ-Dulong
5. Tujia			
Tujia	a <sup>21</sup> le <sup>55</sup>	egg (of animal)	CK-TujMQ:10.4.16
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Mandarin)	luǎn	egg	GSR:179a
Chinese (Old)	<b>C-ron?</b>	egg	WHB-OC:949
	<b>g-ron?</b>	egg	WHB-OC:557
Chinese (Old/Mid)	lwân/luân:	egg	GSR:179a

## Chinese comparandum

卯 **luǎn** ‘egg; testicle’

GSR: 179a      Karlgren: \*lwân      Li: \*luanx      Baxter: \*g-ron? (557)

In Baxter’s system, MC **l-** is always derived from OC \***C-r-**, that is, an initial **r** with a prefixed consonant (to be distinguished from \***Cr-** in which **r** functions as a medial). In other systems, MC **l-** may descend from simple initial \***r-**. Baxter gives two separate reconstructions for this word: \***g-ron?** (set 557) and \***C-ron?** (set 949, with **C** unspecified). There is some reason to suppose that if the prefix \***C-** is to be reconstructed it would be a velar (Baxter 1992:387).

The correspondence between PTB \***r-** and Middle Chinese **l-** is well-attested. Although both the Chinese and PTB forms have a rounded vowel and a nasal final, the correspondences are problematic. No generally accepted OC/PTB cognates show an \***-n**/**-m** correspondence. OC \***ua** (Li) / \***o** (Baxter) generally corresponds to PTB \***o**, not \***u**. (For example, ‘remove’, OC 脱 \***hluat** (Li), PTB \***hlot**.) We would expect PTB rhyme \***-um** to correspond to OC \***-əm** (Li) (see examples in Gong 1995).

Gong 1995 (set 41) compares Chinese 卯, which he reconstructs \***ruanx**, with Written Tibetan **sro-ma** ‘nit’ (see (20) \***s-row** EGG / NIT, below), following Benedict 1976:190. Schuessler 2007:369 makes the same comparison, citing PTB \*(**s**)**rwa** rather than

<sup>37</sup>We are provisionally assigning the second syllable of the Namuyi and Shixing forms to this etymon, but the second syllables of Pumi 𑖇𑖃<sup>11</sup>qu<sup>55</sup>, re<sup>35</sup> ku<sup>55</sup> to (7) \***s/r-go-ŋ** EGG / TESTICLE, below. The first syllables of all these compounds mean ‘fowl’, from (H:317) \***k-rak** FOWL.

## I. Egg

\***s-row**. For this comparison to hold, a nominalizing \***-n** suffix must be posited for the Chinese form (Schuessler 2007:74-75).

[ZJH]

### (6) \***sir** ≈ \***sit** EGG

This root is not widely attested, though identical reflexes occur as the last syllables of compounds in Geman, Miju, and Hayu. The Monpa forms in **-r** are of uncertain affiliation, since **-r** and **-t** do not usually cooccur in TB word-families.

#### 1.1. North Assam

Kaman [Miju]	kré- <b>sit</b>	egg	AW-TBT:1190
	kɿai <sup>55</sup> <b>sit</b> <sup>55</sup>	egg	ZMYYC:170.48
	kɿai <sup>55</sup> <b>sit</b> <sup>55</sup>	egg	SLZO-MLD

#### 2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	<b>ser</b> <sup>h</sup> um	egg	SLZO-MLD
Tshona (Mama)	<b>sir</b> <sup>55</sup> <b>sir</b> <sup>55</sup> mo <sup>53</sup>	egg	SLZO-MLD

#### 2.3.2. Kiranti

Hayu	kuŋ <b>sit</b>	egg	BM-Hay:84.229
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### (7) \* $\begin{matrix} \mathbf{s} \\ \mathbf{r} \end{matrix}$ -go-ŋ EGG / TESTICLE

WT has a doublet with and without the final nasal. It looks as if the nasal-finalled variant is due to assimilation to a following syllable **-ŋa** (8) \***s-ŋa** EGG / HATCH in WT, but other languages have a nasal final even before other consonants (Tsangla [Monpa] **khong-lung**, Hayu **kuŋ-luŋ**). This etymon also appears in Qiangic, but some of these forms may be loans from Tibetan. The rGyalrong forms in **-m** are of uncertain affiliation. The **-m** makes them look somewhat like the second syllables of some Monpa Tsangla forms with dental initials, though we are referring these to ((9) \***t-lam** EGG / TESTICLE. This root also occurs in Bai (where it means ‘testicle’), in scattered Kamarupan languages, and in Lolo-Burmese.

The Newar forms **i khě**, **khēc-**, **khe:**, **khě jə**, **khě** ‘egg’ are similar to the second syllable of Yakha **li:geŋ** ‘testicle’ (**li** ‘penis’), and should probably be set up as a separate etymon, perhaps \***keŋ**.

#### 1.3. Naga

Sema	au <b>khu</b>	egg	GEM-CNL
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#### 1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish

Lalung	tu ki <b>ku</b> thi	testicle	MB-Lal:78
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#### 2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Central)	<b>go</b> tham	egg	EA-Tsh:87
	<b>khong</b> lung	testicle	SER-HSL/T:34 4
Tsangla (Motuo)	<b>go</b> -tham	egg	ZMYYC:170.7
	<b>go</b> t <sup>h</sup> am	egg	SLZO-MLD
	<b>ko</b> <sup>13</sup> t <sup>h</sup> am <sup>55</sup>	egg	JZ-CLMenba

	ser k <sup>h</sup> um	egg	SLZO-MLD	
Tsangla (Tilang)	goi-t <sup>h</sup> am	egg	JZ-CLMenba	
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	hgoŋ wa	egg	ZMYYC:170.4	
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	goŋ-wæ	egg	JS-Amdo:218	
	rgoŋ ŋwa	egg	ZMYYC:170.5	
Tibetan (Batang)	gō <sup>231</sup> ŋa <sup>13</sup>	egg (of animal)	DQ-Batang:10.4.16	
Tibetan (Jirel)	go-ŋgā	egg	JAM-Ety	
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	go <sup>13</sup> ŋa <sup>53</sup>	egg	ZMYYC:170.3	
Tibetan (Lhasa)	ko <sup>13</sup> ŋa <sup>13</sup>	egg	ZMYYC:170.2	
Spiti	gō-ŋa	egg (of animal)	CB-SpitiQ:10.4.16	
Tibetan (Written)	sgo ŋa	egg	ZMYYC:170.1	38
	sgo-ŋa ~ sgoŋ (-ŋa)	egg	JAM-Ety	
	sgo-ŋa	egg	ZLS-Tib:6	
	sgo.ŋga	egg	JS-Tib:218	
	sgo ŋa	egg	GEM-CNL	
2.1.4. Tamangic				
Tamang (Sahu)	k <sup>h</sup> o syop	egg white	SIL-Sahu:7.13	
2.2. Newar				
Newar	gwa	Clf. for round ob- jects	KPM-pc	
	mikh ā-gwa(l)	eyeball	JAM-Ety	
2.3.2. Kiranti				
Bahing	kə lə	egg; testicle	JAM-Ety	39
Hayu	kuŋ-luŋ	egg	JAM-Ety	
	kuŋ sit	egg	BM-Hay:84.229	
3.2. Qiangic				
Ergong (Northern)	lɔ <sup>33</sup>	testicle	SHK-ErgNQ:10.3.5	
	lɔ <sup>33</sup> ɕip <sup>53</sup>	scrotum	SHK-ErgNQ:10.3.4	40
	zgo <sup>33</sup> ŋa <sup>33</sup>	egg (of animal)	SHK-ErgNQ:10.4.16	
Muya [Minyak]	kuu <sup>53</sup>	testicle	SHK-MuyaQ:10.3.5	
Pumi (Jiulong)	zɑ <sup>11</sup> qu <sup>55</sup>	egg	TBL:0450.10	
Pumi (Lanping)	qu <sup>55</sup>	egg	TBL:0450.09	
	zɑ <sup>13</sup> qu <sup>55</sup>	egg	TBL:0450.09	
Pumi (Taoba)	re <sup>35</sup> ku <sup>55</sup>	egg	JZ-Pumi;	41
			ZMYYC:170.10	
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	gō <sup>35</sup> ŋa <sup>53</sup>	egg (of animal); egg	SHK-ZhabQ:10.4.16;	
			ZMYYC:170.16	
Zhaba (Daofu County)	ʂkui <sup>13</sup>	egg	TBL:0450.14	
3.3. rGyalrongic				
rGyalrong	ta gam	egg (of animal); egg	DQ-Jiarong:10.4.16;	
			ZMYYC:170.12	
rGyalrong (NW)	tan gum	egg (of animal)	SHK-rGNWQ:10.4.16	

<sup>38</sup>The first syllable of WT **sgo-pur** ‘foreskin (vulg.)’ does not appear to descend from this etymon, but seems rather to mean ‘door; aperture, outlet’. However, Jäschke does not include this under compounds with **sgo** ‘door’ (114-6), but rather lists it as a separate head-entry (p. 116). The meaning of the second syllable **-pur** is unclear, though there might be a connection with **hp’ur-ba** ‘wrap up, envelop’.

<sup>39</sup>The second element of this Bahing form apparently means ‘stone’, as in the Monpa and Hayu forms.

<sup>40</sup>Literally, TESTICLE + NEST.

<sup>41</sup>See the note about the Namuyi and Shixing forms under (5) \*rum ≈ \*lum EGG, above.

## I. Egg

rGyalrong (Northern)	taŋ gom	egg (of animal)	SHK-rGNQ:10.4.16
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ta gam	egg (of animal)	SHK-rGEQ:10.4.16
	tə rgo	testicle	SHK-rGEQ:10.3.5
	tə rgo pok cço	scrotum	SHK-rGEQ:10.3.4
rGyalrong (NW)	tə rgu	testicle	SHK-rGNWQ:10.3.5
	tə rgu tɕ <sup>h</sup> im	scrotum	SHK-rGNWQ:10.3.4
6.2. Loloish			
Ugong	ní khû	testicle	DB-Ugong:10.3.5
Yi (Mile)	ko <sup>33</sup>	lay (egg)	ZMYYC:785.25
6.3. Naxi			
Naxi (Yongning)	ko <sup>55</sup>	egg	ZMYYC:170.29
Naxi (Western)	kv <sup>33</sup>	egg	JZ-Naxi
Naxi (Lijiang)	kv <sup>33</sup>	egg	ZMYYC:170.28
Naxi (Eastern)	kv <sup>31</sup>	lay (egg)	JZ-Naxi
Naxi (Western)	kv <sup>31</sup>	lay (egg)	JZ-Naxi
Naxi (Lijiang)	kv <sup>31</sup>	lay (egg)	ZMYYC:785.28
Naxi	ky <sup>33</sup>	egg	TBL:0450.45
8. Bai			
Bai	kuã <sup>33</sup>	testicle	ZYS-Bai:10.3.5
	kuã <sup>33</sup> lō <sup>21</sup>	scrotum	ZYS-Bai:10.3.4

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(8)

**\*s-ŋa****EGG / HATCH**

This root is confined to Tibetan, where it always seems to occur in binomes after reflexes of (7) \*s/r-go-ŋ EGG / TESTICLE. It also appears in Qiangic, although these forms look like loans from Tibetan.

### 2.1.2. Bodic

Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	ḥgoŋ wa	egg	ZMYYC:170.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	goŋ-wæ	egg	JS-Amdo:218
	rgoŋ ŋwa	egg	ZMYYC:170.5
Tibetan (Batang)	gō <sup>231</sup> ŋa <sup>13</sup>	egg (of animal)	DQ-Batang:10.4.16
Tibetan (Jirel)	go-ŋgā	egg	JAM-Ety
Tibetan (Kham:Dege)	go <sup>13</sup> ŋa <sup>53</sup>	egg	ZMYYC:170.3
	ŋa <sup>13</sup>	hatch	ZMYYC:786.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	ko <sup>13</sup> ŋa <sup>13</sup>	egg	ZMYYC:170.2
Spiti	gō-ŋa	egg (of animal)	CB-SpitiQ:10.4.16
Tibetan (Written)	sgo-ŋa ~ sgoŋ (-ŋa)	egg	JAM-Ety
	sgo-ŋa	egg	ZLS-Tib:6
	sgo.ŋga	egg	JS-Tib:218
	sgo ŋa	egg	GEM-CNL

### 3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	nge <sup>1</sup>	testicle	MVS-Grin
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### 3.2. Qiangic

Ergong (Northern)	zgo <sup>33</sup> ŋa <sup>33</sup>	egg (of animal)	SHK-ErgNQ:10.4.16
Ergong (Danba)	zŋa	hatch	ZMYYC:786.14

<sup>42</sup>Literally “testicle” + “house” (< PTB \*k-yim).

Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	gō <sup>35</sup> ŋa <sup>53</sup>	egg (of animal); egg	SHK-ZhabQ:10.4.16; ZMYYC:170.16
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## (9) \*t-lam EGG / TESTICLE

This root is attested in Himalayish (including Tsangla), Abor-Miri-Dafla, and also perhaps in Chang Naga. The Lepcha and rGyalrong forms are good evidence for prefixal *t-*, which seems to have preempted the root-initial in all the other forms.

## 1.1. North Assam

Padam-Mising [Abor-Miri]	'et- <b>tum</b>	testes and scrotum	JAM-Ety
Damu	təp-pu	testicle	JS-Tani
Gallong	ˆut- <b>tum</b> `a pɹ	testicle	AW-TBT:617a

## 1.3. Naga

Chang	<b>tam</b> laŋ	testicle	WTF-PNN:540	43
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## 2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	khuar <b>tum</b>	egg (of animal)	SBN-BunQ:10.4.16
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## 2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Central)	go <b>tham</b>	egg	EA-Tsh:87
Tsangla (Motuo)	go- <b>tham</b>	egg	ZMYYC:170.7
	go t <sup>h</sup> <b>am</b>	egg	SLZO-MLD
	ko <sup>13</sup> t <sup>h</sup> <b>am</b> <sup>55</sup>	egg	JZ-CLMenba
Tsangla (Tilang)	goi-t <sup>h</sup> <b>am</b>	egg	JZ-CLMenba

## 2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	<b>tālam</b>	scrotum, testicles	JAM-Ety	
	<b>tālam</b> sə təblyóŋ	scrotum	JAM-Ety	
	<b>tālam</b> t'yeŋ	testicle	JAM-Ety	44
	<b>tālam</b> pot	testicle	JAM-Ety	45

## 3.3. rGyalrongic

rGyalrong	tə <b>lem</b>	scrotum	DQ-Jiarong:10.3.4
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə <b>lam</b> ndzj	foreskin	SHK-rGEQ:10.3.3
	tə <b>lam</b> tʃi	semen	SHK-rGEQ:10.3.7

## (10) \*krak ≈ \*kwak EGG / TESTICLE

This etymon appears in only a few Kamarupan and Himalayish languages. Thulung reflects medial \*-w- rather than \*-r-. This root is quite distinct from the coincidentally nearly homophonous etymon (H:317) \*k-rak FOWL (cf. Bokar **po-rok** 'chicken', WB **krak** 'id.'), despite the fact that many languages have an association between 'chicken' and 'penis' (cf. Spanish *polla* 1. 'chicken' 2. [Slang] 'penis').

<sup>43</sup>The second syllable of this Chang form is referred by W. T. French (p. 540) to PNN \*C-ruŋ 'round (of body parts)'. This binome is thus not a dimidation of a sesquisyllabic combination of prefixal \*t- plus root-initial \*l- (as in Lepcha). Besides no final -ŋ occurs anywhere else in the set.

<sup>44</sup>According to Mainwaring/Grünwedel 1898:164, t'yeŋ actually means 'the chief or most precious part', as in **sā-būr t'yeŋ** 'the musk bag or gland of the musk-deer'.

<sup>45</sup>The last syllable **pot** means "fruit, ball".

## I. Egg

1.3. Naga				
Konyak	ao kiak	egg	GEM-CNL	46
1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish				
Deuri	du-jā <sup>2</sup> du ja	egg egg	Deuri WBB-Deuri:65	47
2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepang-Sunwar				
Chepang (Eastern)	krak krak pun	testicle scrotum	RC-ChepQ:10.3.5 RC-ChepQ:10.3.4	
2.3.2. Kiranti				
Thulung	le koak ti	testicle	NJA-Thulung	

### (11a) \*gop ≈ \*kop HATCH / INCUBATE / COVER

This etymon, with velar stop or fricative initial reflexes, seems clearly to have an allofamic relationship to (11b) \*ʔup COVER / INCUBATE / HATCH. Other TB etyma showing variation between velar and zero (= glottal stop) initial include NEEDLE \*kap (but WB ʔap), HOUSE \*kyim (but WB ʔim), etc. See *STC* pp. 25-6, Matisoff 1997, and *HPTB* p. 57.

This etymon, which seems to include both simplex and causative allofams (thus the variation in voicing) is widely attested, occurring in Kamarupan, Himalayish, Jingpho, and perhaps Karenic. There is a good Chinese comparandum, 蓋, meaning ‘cover; lid’ (below).

See *HPTB* \*ʔup ≈ \*gup, pp. 57, 369.

0. Sino-Tibetan				
*Sino-Tibetan	*gap/kap	cover	WSC-SH:59	
*Tibeto-Burman	*gab/khab	cover	WSC-SH:59	
1.1. North Assam				
Apatani	gúnj guʔ	hatch brood	JS-Tani JS-Tani	
Bengni	gup	hatch	JS-Tani	
Bokar	gup kup-lup me:kap pam-kap	hatch cover up cover with the hand cover up	JS-Tani JS-Tani JS-Tani JS-Tani	
Damu	cok-pu xum	lay egg	JS-Tani	48
Gallong	porok-ape gup- nam	hatch	KDG-IGL	
Milang	ci-ci gup-le-ma	hatch	AT-MPB	
1.2. Kuki-Chin				
Thado	xú xùm	cover	THI1972:61	

<sup>46</sup>The first element means “bird”.

<sup>47</sup>The first element means “bird”.

<sup>48</sup>The final nasal in this Damu form is similar to those in Rongmei, Thado, and Mzieme.

1.3. Naga			
*Northern Naga	<b>*kup</b>	cover / shut	WTF-PNN:472
	<b>*ku:p</b>	cover / shut	WTF-PNN:472
Ao (Chungli)	<b>küp</b> bang	cover	GEM-CNL
Chang	<b>kap</b>	cover	GEM-CNL
Konyak	<b>küp</b>	cover	GEM-CNL
Nocte	<b>ka hap</b>	cover	GEM-CNL
Phom	<b>küp</b>	cover	GEM-CNL
Rongmei	<b>gum</b>	cover	GEM-CNL
Tangsa (Yogli)	<b>a hip</b>	cover	GEM-CNL
Mzieme	<b>gum</b>	cover	GEM-CNL
1.5. Mikir			
Mikir	<b>kup</b>	cover	GEM-CNL
2.1.2. Bodic			
Kaike	<b>kap pā</b>	covered	AH-CSDPN:12c.14
Tibetan (Written)	<b>sgab-pa</b>	cover	WSC-SH:59
2.1.4. Tamangic			
*Tamang	<b>*<sup>A</sup>gap</b>	cover (v.)	MM-Thesis:142
	<b>*<sup>Bh</sup>ɲup</b>	brood	MM-Thesis:6
Gurung	<b>kā:q bā:</b>	covered	AH-CSDPN:12c.14
Gurung (Ghachok)	<b>ka:q ba:</b>	covered	SIL-Gur:12.C.14
Tamang (Risiangku)	<b><sup>3</sup>kap</b>	cover (n.) / lid	MM-Thesis:142
Tamang (Sahu)	<b><sup>3</sup>kap</b>	cover, lid	MM-Thesis:142
Tamang (Taglung)	<b><sup>3</sup>kap-pa</b>	cover	MM-Thesis:142
Thakali	<b>kəhp-ci-wa</b>	covered	AH-CSDPN:12c.14
Thakali (Marpha)	<b>gō<sup>fi</sup>-wa</b>	cover (v.)	MM-Thesis:142
	<b><sup>3</sup>ko<sup>fi</sup></b>	cover (n.) / lid	MM-Thesis:142
Thakali (Tukche)	<b>kəhp</b>	cover / lid	SIL-Thak:6.A.58
	<b>kəhp-ci-wə</b>	covered	SIL-Thak:12.C.14
	<b>kəhp-lə</b>	cover	SIL-Thak:7.B.1.34 3
	<b><sup>3</sup>kəp</b>	cover (n.) / lid	MM-Thesis:142
	<b><sup>3</sup>kəp-lə</b>	cover (v.)	MM-Thesis:142
2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar			
Kham	<b>kap sio</b>	covered	AH-CSDPN:12c.14
Magar	<b>hup-ke</b>	covered	AH-CSDPN:12c.14
2.3.2. Kiranti			
Dumi	<b>khop ni</b>	cover, cap	SVD-Dum
	<b>kop mit ni</b>	cover someone with a blanket	SVD-Dum
Kulung	<b>khəpp-u</b>	cover (with a lid)	RPHH-Kul
	<b>kupp-u</b>	brood (eggs)	RPHH-Kul
Limbu	<b>khapt-</b>	cover (e.g. so. with a blanket), to roof	SVD-LimA
4.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	<b>gàp</b>	cover / top	JAM-TJLB:327
	<b>mə gəp</b>	cover	JAM-TJLB:327
6.1. Burmish			
Achang (Xiandao)	<b>xup<sup>55</sup></b>	incubate	DQ-Xiandao:1834

## I. Egg

### 6.2. Loloish

Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	ʏɔ <sup>31</sup>	incubate	DQ-NusuA:1834.
Nusu (Central)	ʏɔ <sup>53</sup>	incubate	DQ-NusuB:1834.

### 7. Karenic

*Karen (Pho)	*ɣwýq	brood (eggs)	RBJ-KLS:356
*Karen (Sgaw)	*ɣý	brood (eggs)	RBJ-KLS:356
*Karen (Pho-Sgaw)	*ɣýh	brood (eggs)	RBJ-KLS:356
Pa-O	khóʔ	brood, sit on eggs	DBS-PaO; RBJ-KLS:356
Pho (Bassein)	ɣý	brood (eggs)	RBJ-KLS:356
Pho (Moulmein)	ɣúʔ	brood (eggs)	RBJ-KLS:356
Sgaw (Bassein)	hý	brood (eggs)	RBJ-KLS:356
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	xu <sup>55</sup>	incubate	DQ-KarenB:1899
	xu <sup>55</sup> dī <sup>31</sup>	incubate	DQ-KarenB:1899.1
Sgaw (Moulmein)	ɣý	brood (eggs)	RBJ-KLS:356

### 9. Sinitic

Chinese (Middle)	ɣâp	cover	WSC-SH:59
Chinese (Old)	gap	cover	WSC-SH:59
	kabh	cover	WSC-SH:59
	kaps	cover; conceal	WHB-OC:1731,1825
	ʔjap	cover	WSC-SH:59

## Chinese comparandum

蓋 hé ‘to cover, thatch’ ≈ 蓋 gài ‘a cover, lid’

GSR: 642q Karlgren: \*gâp / \*kâb > \*kâd Li: \*gap / \*kabh > \*kadh Baxter: \*fikap / \*kaps > \*kats (1732, 1731)

These two related words perhaps derive from an unattested root \*kap. The noun has an \*-s suffix, which derives a passive noun from a transitive verb (i.e. ‘the thing that is used to cover’ > ‘a lid’). In the verb form, Baxter’s \*fikap develops as \*gap, the notation suggesting morphological derivation from a root with initial \*k-. While voicing derivation is a well-known Old Chinese morphological process, it usually derives intransitives from transitive verbs, so the function here is not clear.

The only difficulty with the TB comparison is the vowel. While Baxter’s six-vowel system permits the possibility of reconstructing \*fikop or \*gop for the verb, the noun must be reconstructed with \*a to account for subsequent sound changes, and this forces a reconstruction of \*a in the verb as well.

It is possible that OC \*a corresponds regularly to PTB \*o before bilabial codas. Unfortunately, there are very few proposed cognate sets that would help us establish or refute such a possibility.

[ZJH]

## (11b) \*ʔup COVER / INCUBATE / HATCH

This is STC #107, which cites forms from Jingpho, Mikir, Written Burmese, and Lushai. This etymon is most likely an allofam of (11a) \*gop ≈ \*kop HATCH / INCUBATE / COVER.



See *HPTB* \*ʔup ≠ \*gup, pp. 57, 369.

## 0. Sino-Tibetan

*Tibeto-Burman	*up	cover	STC:107
1.2. Kuki-Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	up	shelter	STC:107
Tiddim	op <sup>3</sup>	brood over eggs	PB-TCV
1.5. Mikir			
Mikir	up	cover	STC:107
2.1.4. Tamangic			
*Tamang	* <sup>A</sup> u	cover	MM-Thesis:3
	* <sup>A</sup> up	cover	MM-Thesis:5
	* <sup>B</sup> up	brood	MM-Thesis:6
Gurung (Ghachok)	hu ba	cover	SIL-Gur:6.B.2.11
	uh ba	cover	SIL-Gur:7.B.1.34
Gurung	<sup>3</sup> u- = uh ba	cover (v.)	MM-Thesis:5
Manang (Prakaa)	<sup>2</sup> ʔu:-	cover	HM-Prak:0797
	<sup>3</sup> u:-	cover	MM-Thesis:5
Tamang (Sahu)	'up-pā(p)	brood (hens)	AH-CSDPN:03b.16
	'wah-pa	cover	SIL-Sahu:18.A.34
	<sup>2</sup> up=pa = 'up-pa	brood	MM-Thesis:6
4.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	úp ≠ wúp	cover	STC:107
6.1. Burmish			
Achang (Longchuan)	up <sup>55</sup>	sit on, hatch (egg)	JZ-Achang; ZMYYC:786.41
Bola	ʔaʔ <sup>31</sup> ap <sup>55</sup>	incubate	DQ-Bola:1834
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	wuʔ <sup>44</sup>	hatch	ZMYYC:786.40
Burmese (Written)	up	cover; rule over	GEM-CNL; PKB-WBRD; STC:107
	wap	hatch	ZMYYC:786.39
Hpun (Northern)	àʔ	incubate	EJAH-Hpun
Maru [Langsu]	ap <sup>55</sup>	hatch	ZMYYC:786.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	up <sup>55</sup>	sit on (egg); hatch	JZ-Zaiwa; ZMYYC:786.42
6.2. Loloish			
Lisu (Northern)	fu <sup>35</sup>	cover up; boil in a covered pot	DB-Lisu
Lisu (Central)	ū <sup>3</sup>	cover (house with roof)	JF-HLL
6.4. Jinuo			
Jinuo (Buyuan)	vu <sup>13</sup>	cover (muffle)	JZ-Jinuo
7. Karenic			
Palaychi	hùq	brood (eggs)	RBJ-KLS:356
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	uʔ <sup>55</sup>	incubate	DQ-KarenA:1899

(12) \*p<sup>w</sup>um EGG / SIT ON EGGS / HATCH / TESTICLE

This well-attested etymon occurs in Kamarupan, Himalayish, and Jingpho-Nung, with a variety of ovoid meanings.

The Hill Miri and Sunwar forms reflect a variant \*pup, perhaps to be explained in terms of assimilation to the initial.

A couple of other Himalayish languages, Magar and Manang (Prakaa), seem to reflect still another variant, \*puŋ. The zero (ʔ-) initial in Chepang is unexplained.

It is not clear whether this root is to be related to (1) \*p<sup>w</sup>u EGG / BIRD / ROUND OBJECT.

See *HPTB* \*p<sup>w</sup>um, p. 57.

## 1.1. North Assam

Miri, Hill pup egg IMS-HMLG

## 1.2. Kuki-Chin

Liangmei marui bum egg GEM-CNL

## 1.3. Naga

Zeme nrui bum egg GEM-CNL

## 2.1.2. Bodic

Kaike k̄a pum egg JAM-Ety

## 2.1.4. Tamangic

\*Tamang \*Bp<sup>h</sup>um egg MM-Thesis:653  
 Gurung <sup>2</sup>p<sup>h</sup>ũ = p<sup>h</sup>ũq egg MM-Thesis:653  
 Manang (Gyaru) gar<sup>3</sup> bum<sup>2</sup> testicles YN-Man:042-08  
 pum<sup>2</sup> egg YN-Man:076  
 Manang (Prakaa) <sup>2</sup>p<sup>h</sup>uŋ egg MM-Thesis:653  
<sup>1</sup>p<sup>h</sup>uŋ egg HM-Prak:0061  
 Tamang 'phum egg AW-TBT:555  
 Tamang (Risiangku) <sup>2</sup>p<sup>h</sup>um egg; testicle MM-TamRisQ:10.4.16;  
 MM-Thesis:653  
 Tamang (Sahu) 'mi: phum eyeball JAM-Ety  
 'phum egg JAM-Ety  
 'phum 'phum- lay egg AH-CSDPN:03b.14  
 p̄ā(m)  
 'p<sup>h</sup>um ki 'mar egg SIL-Sahu:7.11  
<sup>2</sup>p<sup>h</sup>um egg MM-Thesis:653  
 Thakali phum phum-la lay egg AH-CSDPN:03b.14  
 Thakali (Syang) <sup>54</sup>p<sup>h</sup>um egg MM-Thesis:653  
<sup>55</sup>p<sup>h</sup>um egg MM-Thesis:653  
 Thakali (Tukche) naka p<sup>h</sup>um egg SIL-Thak:7.A.10  
 phum egg JAM-Ety  
 p<sup>h</sup>um egg SIL-Thak:1.33  
 p<sup>h</sup>um nahŋ-ri-we egg white SIL-Thak:7.A.12  
 t̄r  
<sup>H</sup>p<sup>h</sup>um egg MM-Thesis:653

## 2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepang-Sunwar

Chepang ʔum egg; egg (louse) JAM-Ety;  
 SIL-Chep:1.33,3.A.88

Chepang (Eastern)	<b>ʔum</b> ʔot.sā <b>ʔum</b>	lay egg egg (of birds, insects)	AH-CSDPN:03b.14 RC-ChepQ:10.4.16
Kham	<b>pum</b> -nyā	brood (hens)	AH-CSDPN:03b.16
Magar	<b>pung</b> -khe	brood (hens)	AH-CSDPN:03b.16
Sunwar	<b>pup</b> -cā	brood (hens)	AH-CSDPN:03b.16
4.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	<b>phum</b> <sup>55</sup>	hatch	ZMYYC:786.47
4.2. Nungic			
Anong	<b>bum</b> <sup>31</sup> <b>bum</b> <sup>35</sup>	hatch hatch	SHK-Anong ZMYYC:786.44
Trung [Dulong]	su <sup>31</sup> <b>bum</b> <sup>55</sup>	hatch	ZMYYC:786.46
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	<b>pəm</b> <sup>55</sup>	birth, give (to child)	JZ-Dulong
6.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	<b>phum̐</b> <b>phum̐</b> ə- <b>phum̐</b>	cover cover, cover up cover of a vessel	GEM-CNL PKB-WBRD PKB-WBRD
6.2. Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	<b>phe</b> <sup>53</sup>	hatch	ZMYYC:786.33
7. Karenic			
Bwe	<b>phe</b> -tha	hatch out, to open up	EJAH-BKD

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## (13) \*pay HATCH

The basic meaning of this etymon seems to be ‘break out’. It is reconstructed in *STC* #254 as \***be** ~ \***pe** ‘broken; break’, though the present reconstruction with \***-ay** seems preferable.

This root is possibly related to Proto-Kuki-Chin \***pa:y** CONCEIVE / PREGNANT (Tiddim **ʔpai**/**pa:i**; Lushai **păi**). See *GSTC* #140; *HPTB*:210.

## 1.2. Kuki-Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	<b>peʔ</b>	break; be broken; broken (off)	AW-TBT:319; JAM-GSTC:074; RJL-DPTB:75; STC:254
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## 1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish

Dimasa	<b>bai</b>	break; get broken	GEM-CNL; RJL-DPTB:75; STC:254
	<b>do-phai</b>	break with an instrument	JAM-GSTC:074; STC:254
	<b>ga bai</b>	broken	JAM-GSTC:074; STC:254

<sup>49</sup>This Lahu form in **-e** shows the regular reflex of the \***-um** rhyme, but the meaning is basically ‘release, come forth’ rather than ‘cover, incubate’. The same seems to be true of the Bwe form (**phe-tha**). For now we include them here, however.

## I. Egg

	<b>phai</b>	hatch	JAM-GSTC:074; STC:254
	<b>sa bai</b>	break	GEM-CNL; JAM-GSTC:074; STC:254
Garo	<b>be</b>	break; broken	JAM-GSTC:074; RJL-DPTB:75; STC:254
	<b>beʔ-a</b>	broken (off)	AW-TBT:319
	<b>pe</b>	break down	JAM-GSTC:074; STC:254
2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar			
Kham	<b>phay-nyā</b>	hatch	AH-CSDPN:03b.17
6.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	<b>paiʔ</b>	broken off; chipped; crumble; hare- lipped	PKB-WBRD
	<b>phaiʔ</b>	break off a small piece from a larger; crumble; break off a piece	JAM-GSTC:074; PKB-WBRD
7. Karenic			
Pa-O	<b>ʔə pé páʔ</b>	hatch	DBS-PaO

(14)

**\*s-mu**

**HATCH / BROOD ON EGGS**

This root is solidly attested, but almost exclusively in Loloish. There also seems to be a good Gallong cognate. The very-low tone in Lahu **mū** (Matisoff 1988a, p. 1005), as well as the Lalo form **ʔmò**, point to a Proto-Loloish **\*ʔ-** prefix, ultimately from prefixal **\*s-**.

The constriction in Yi Mojiang is perhaps due to the **\*ʔ-** prefix.

See *HPTB* PLB **\*ʔ-mu<sup>2</sup>**, pp. 112, 180.

### 1.1. North Assam

Gallong	<b>muu-nam</b>	brood	KDG-IGL
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### 6.2. Loloish

*Loloish	<b>*ʔ-mu<sup>2</sup></b>	hatch	JAM-II
Lahu (Black)	<b>mū</b>	brood; sit on eggs	JAM-DL:1005
	<b>mṽ<sup>31</sup></b>	hatch (a chick)	JZ-Lahu
Lahu (Yellow)	<b>mṽ<sup>11</sup></b>	hatch (a chick)	JZ-Lahu
Lalo	<b>ʔmò</b>	incubate / sit on egg	SB-Lalo
Lisu (Central)	<b>mū<sup>4</sup></b>	hatch	JF-HLL
Lisu	<b>mu<sup>55</sup></b>	hatch	ZMYYC:786.27
Lisu (Northern)	<b>my<sup>55</sup></b>	hatch	DB-Lisu
Yi (Mile)	<b>mu<sup>55</sup></b>	hatch	ZMYYC:786.25
Yi (Mojiang)	<b>mu<sup>33</sup></b>	hatch	ZMYYC:786.26
Yi (Nanhua)	<b>mu<sup>55</sup></b>	hatch	ZMYYC:786.24
Yi (Nanjian)	<b>mu<sup>21</sup></b>	sit on, hatch (egg)	JZ-Yi
	<b>m(ɯ)<sup>21</sup></b>	hatch	ZMYYC:786.23

## (15) \*glim ≈ \*glip BROOD / INCUBATE (eggs)

This root is attested mainly in Himalayish. The Jinuo and Bola forms also look related, though more evidence is needed to establish this etymon for Lolo-Burmese.

## 2.3.2. Kiranti

Bahing	glyp dzi	brood (of a hen)	BM-Bah
Dumi	gim ni	brood (eggs)	SVD-Dum
Khaling	glam-ne	brood (hens)	AH-CSDPN:03b.16
Thulung	ghleom-	brood; to hatch; to keep sthg warm	NJA-Thulung

## 6.1. Burmish

Bola	k <sup>h</sup> ja <sup>35</sup>	lay egg	DQ-Bola:2363
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## 6.4. Jinuo

Jinuo (Baka)	k <sup>h</sup> lo <sup>44</sup>	lay egg	DQ-JinB:2468
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	k <sup>h</sup> lo <sup>44</sup>	lay egg	DQ-JinA:2468

## (16) \*puk ≈ \*buk HATCH / EGG

This etymon, which quite distinct from (1b) \*pu EGG, seems to be confined to Himalayish. It is perhaps to be identified with (30) \*p/buk ≈ \*p/bik BORN / GIVE BIRTH, below.

## 1.3. Naga

Tangkhul	huk	hatch	Bhat-TNV:90
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## 2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	buŋ	hatch	ZMYYC:786.7	50
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## 2.1.4. Tamangic

Gurung (Ghachok)	phuq	egg	JAM-Ety
Gurung	phuq phuq-bā	lay egg	AH-CSDPN:03b.14
Gurung (Ghachok)	p <sup>h</sup> ūq	egg	SIL-Gur:1.33

## 2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar

Chepeng	bhyuk.sā	hatch	AH-CSDPN:03b.17
	b <sup>h</sup> yuk-sa	hatch	SIL-Chep:3.B.17
Sunwar	'pu:k-cā	hatch	AH-CSDPN:03b.17

## (17) \*du BROOD / INCUBATE (eggs)

This root, like (19) \*naŋ BROOD / INCUBATE (eggs), seems confined to the Tamang-Gurung-Thakali branch of Himalayish.

## 2.1.4. Tamangic

*Tamang	* <sup>A</sup> du:	brood	MM-Thesis:514
Tamang (Sahu)	'nakca T <sup>h</sup> o-pa	brood	SIL-Sahu:14.16
Thakali	tun-la	brood (hens)	AH-CSDPN:03b.16
Thakali (Tukche)	tuh-lə	brood	SIL-Thak:3.B.16
	<sup>3</sup> tu-lə	brood	MM-Thesis:514

<sup>50</sup>The final nasal in this form is unexplained.

**(18) \*a HATCH / LAY EGG**

This beautifully minimalist root (minimal both from the point of view of its phonological shape and the paucity of languages in which it is attested) seems unimpeachable, occurring both in Kamarupan and Loloish with exactly the same meaning.

First reconstructed in Matisoff 1996, “Primary and secondary laryngeal initials in Tibeto-Burman”, 7.1 (p. 42).

## 1.1. North Assam

Darang [Taraon]	a <sup>53</sup>	lay (egg)	ZMYYC:785.49
Idu	aŋ <sup>55</sup> a <sup>55</sup>	hatch	ZMYYC:786.50
	a <sup>55</sup>	lay (egg)	ZMYYC:785.50

## 6.2. Loloish

Nusu (Bijiang)	ʔu <sup>55</sup> a <sup>55</sup>	lay (egg)	ZMYYC:785.45
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**(19) \*naŋ BROOD / INCUBATE (eggs)**

This root, like (17) above, is confined to the Tamang-Gurung-Thakali branch of Himalayish. It may well be related to (29) \*naŋ GIVE BIRTH, below.

## 2.1.4. Tamangic

*Tamang	* <sup>Bh</sup> naŋ	brood	MM-Thesis:576
Gurung (Ghachok)	naqga nōq ba	brood	SIL-Gur:3.B.16
Gurung	nāq gā noq bā	brood (hens)	AH-CSDPN:03b.16
	<sup>2</sup> nō-	brood	MM-Thesis:576
Thakali	cahca nāng-la	hatch	AH-CSDPN:03b.17
Thakali (Tukche)	cəh cə naŋ-lə	hatch	SIL-Thak:3.B.17

**(20) \*s-row EGG / NIT**

This etymon is set up in *STC* #278 (and note 201), where the Tibetan, Jingpho, and rGyalrong forms are cited.

Possibly to be compared with this etymon is Chinese 卵 (Mand. **luǎn**) ‘ovum; egg; spawn’, perhaps with the collective \*-n suffix. See note under (5) \*rum × \*lum EGG for an alternative etymology.

See *HPTB* \*s-row, p. 224.

## 0. Sino-Tibetan

*Tibeto-Burman	*(s-)row	nit	STC:278
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## 1.2. Kuki-Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	hrū	egg	JHL-Lu:186
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## 1.3. Naga

Tangkhul	ruu	egg	Bhat-TNV:88
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## 2.1.2. Bodic

Tibetan (Central)	sro-ma	nit	STC:278
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Tibetan (Western)	<b>sro</b> -ma	nit	STC:278
2.1.4. Tamangic			
Tamang (Sahu)	<b>ru</b>	egg	SIL-Sahu:1.33
2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar			
Magar	<b>mi-rhu</b> <b>rhu</b> -ke	egg lay egg	JAM-Ety AH-CSDPN:03b.14
3.2. Qiangic			
Shixing	ra <sup>33</sup> <b>ku</b> <sup>55</sup>	egg	TBL:0450.17
3.3. rGyalrongic			
rGyalrong	<b>dzə ru</b>	egg (louse)	STC:64n201
4.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	<b>tsiʔ-rù</b>	nit	STC:278
6.2. Loloish			
Namuyi	<b>fiæ</b> <sup>155</sup> <b>kuo</b> <sup>55</sup>	egg	TBL:0450.46
Yi (Wuding)	<b>tu</b> <sup>2</sup>	egg	TBL:0450.38

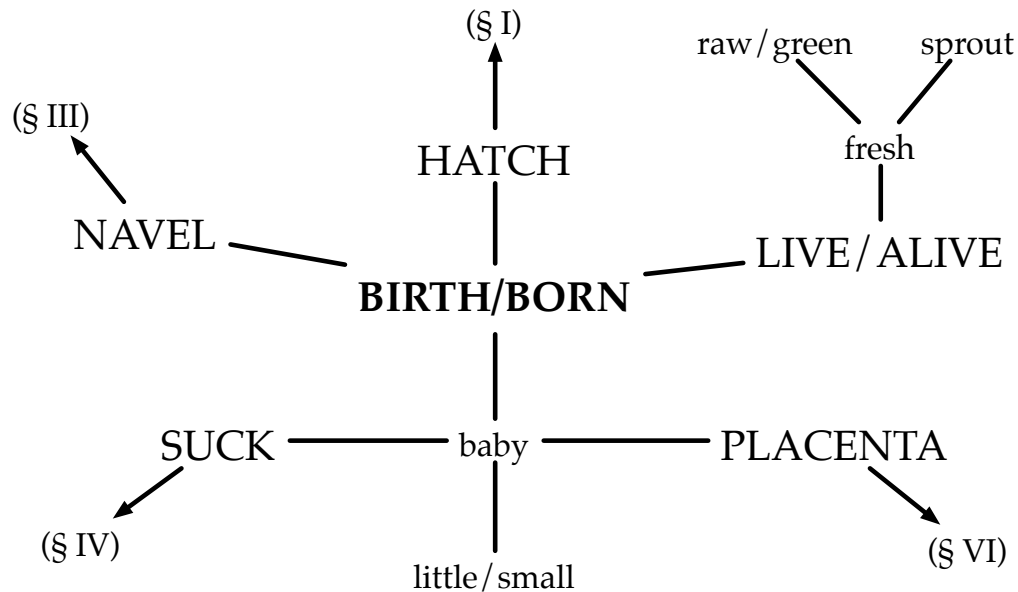
\* \* \*

The English word *yolk* (< OE *geolca*) is an allofam of *yellow* (< OE *geolu*) < PIE \***ghel-** ‘shine; shiny object’ [AHD:2029]. Similarly, TB words for YOLK typically contain a morpheme meaning YELLOW, e.g. Lahu **gãʔ-u-ši** ‘yolk of hen’s egg’ < (H:317) \***k-rak** FOWL + (1a) \***wu** EGG / BIRD + **ši** ‘yellow/gold’ < PLB (H:191) \***s-rwəy**<sup>1</sup> ≠ \***s-rwe**<sup>1</sup> GOLD / YELLOW. See HPTB:191.





## II. Birth



(21) **\*braŋ** **BORN / BIRTH**

This well-attested root occurs in Kamarupan, Himalayish, and Lolo-Burmese, and probably in Karenic and Qiangic as well. It is reconstructed in *STC* #135, which only lists the WT and Lushai forms. The Jingpho forms **pràt**, **šəpràt** ‘bear, give birth’ do not belong in this set, since **-ŋ** ≠ **-t** is not an established pattern of variation in TB word-families.<sup>1</sup>

The Himalayish forms with high vowels (Tamangic **-u/-i**, Pattani **-i**) are tentatively assigned to this etymon.

See *HPTB* **\*braŋ**, p. 264.

0. Sino-Tibetan

*Tibeto-Burman	<b>*braŋ</b>	born, give birth	STC:135
1.1. North Assam			
Idu	<b>bra</b> <sup>55</sup>	birth, give	SHK-Idu:10.4.15
	<b>bra</b> <sup>55</sup>	birth, give	ZMYC:774.50
1.2. Kuki-Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	<b>piang</b>	birth, give	GEM-CNL
	<b>piaŋ</b>	born, be	STC:135
1.5. Mikir			
Mikir	<b>keplang</b>	birth, give	GEM-CNL

<sup>1</sup>As a longshot, we might relate these Jingpho forms to (75) **\*prat** ≠ **\*brat** BREAK / WEAN, below.

## II. Birth

2.1.1. Western Himalayish Pattani [Manchati]	zir <b>p<sup>hi</sup></b>	born, be / to rise	DS-Patt
2.1.2. Bodic Tibetan (Written)	<b>hbraŋ</b> -ba	birth, give	STC:135
2.1.4. Tamangic *Tamang Gurung	* <b>A<sup>h</sup>ju:</b> <b>phi</b> bāq	born, be birth, give (ani- mals?)	MM-Thesis:673 AH-CSDPN:03b.46
Gurung (Ghachok) Gurung	<b>p<sup>hi</sup></b> baq <sup>1</sup> <b>p<sup>hi</sup></b> - = <b>p<sup>hi</sup></b> baq	born, be born, be	SIL-Gur:2.B.2.11 MM-Thesis:673
2.3.2. Kiranti Limbu	<b>po:ŋ</b> ma?	born, be	SVD-LimA:491
3.2. Qiangic Namuyi	e <sup>33</sup> <b>ba</b> <sup>35</sup> ə <sup>33</sup> <b>ba</b> <sup>35</sup>	birth, give birth, give	SHK-NamuQ:10.4.15 ZMYC:774.19
Qiang (Mawo)	<b>pæ'</b> (?æ zæ pæ')	birth, give	SHK-MawoQ:10.4.15
6. Lolo-Burmese *Lolo-Burmese	* <b>b(r)añ</b> <sup>3</sup>	born / birth	JAM-DL:p.857
6.1. Burmish Achang (Xiandao)	<b>pɔ</b> <sup>35</sup>	birth, give	DQ-Xiandao:2227
6.2. Loloish Ahi Akha	ɑ <sup>33</sup> bɑ <sup>55</sup> zo <sup>21</sup> <b>bu</b> <sup>33</sup> <b>baw</b> -eu	birth, give be born	LMZ-AhiQ:10.4.15 PL-AETD:73-74
Hani (Gelanghe)	<b>bɔ</b>	born, be	ILH-PL:265
Hani (Shuikui)	<b>bɔ</b> <sup>33</sup> <b>pɸ</b> <sup>33</sup>	birth, give birth, give	JZ-Hani JZ-Hani
*Common Lahu	* <b>paw:</b>	born, be	DB-PLolo:597
Lahu (Black)	<b>pɔ</b>	born, be; give birth to	JAM-DL
Nesu Nusu (Southern)	<b>pɔ</b> <sup>33</sup> <b>ba</b> <sup>21</sup> <b>p<sup>h</sup>a</b> <sup>53</sup>	birth, give birth, give birth, give	JZ-Lahu; ZMYC:774.33 CK-YiQ:10.4.15 JZ-Nusu
7. Karenic Bwe	ɔ <b>phle</b> ɔ <b>phle</b> -la	born, be born, be	EJAH-BKD EJAH-BKD
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	ɔ <sup>31</sup> <b>p<sup>h</sup>le</b> <sup>31</sup> a <sup>31</sup> p <sup>h</sup> o <sup>55</sup>	birth, give	DQ-KarenB:2320
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	ɔ <sup>31</sup> <b>p<sup>h</sup>le</b> <sup>31</sup>	birth, give	DQ-KarenA:2320

(22)

\***hu**

**BORN / BIRTH / REAR**

This excellent root, with a relatively rare laryngeal proto-initial, appears in Kamarupan, Lolo-Burmese, and Qiangic, with a range of meanings including ‘be pregnant’; ‘give birth’; ‘bring up, rear (a child)’; ‘nourish, feed’, covering the whole range of parental

<sup>2</sup>This etymon is mistakenly reconstructed as Proto-Loloish \***baw**<sup>3</sup> in Bradley 1979 (DB-PL) #597, on the basis of WB **paw** ‘to appear’.

responsibility from conception to childhood. It is reconstructed in Matisoff 1985a (note 69, p. 38) and in Matisoff 1988a (p. 1071), and discussed in the context of TB laryngeal-initial etyma in general in Matisoff 1997 “Primary and secondary laryngeals in TB” (section 5.3).

See *HPTB* \***hu**, p. 58.

### 1.1. North Assam

Padam-Mising [Abor-Miri]	<b>u</b>	raise (child)	JAM-II	3
Bokar	<b>ho:</b>	birth, give	JS-Tani	

### 1.4. Meithei

Meithei	əŋaŋ <b>u</b> nə bə	birth, give	CYS-Meithei:10.4.15
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### 3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Mawo)	<b>χu</b>	birth, give	JZ-Qiang; ZMYYC:774.8
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### 6.2. Loloish

Gazhuo	za <sup>21</sup> ni <sup>24</sup> za <sup>21</sup> fɿ <sup>33</sup>	birth, give	DQ-Gazhuo:10.4.15
Lahu (Black)	cê <b>hu</b> ve	raise animals	JAM-DL:1072
	<b>hu</b>	support; nourish; rear	JAM-DL:1071
	yâ <b>hu</b> ve	be pregnant; raise a child	JAM-DL:1259
Lipho	<b>xo</b> <sup>33</sup>	birth, give	CK-YiQ:10.4.15
Lisu	<b>h'ũ</b> <sup>4</sup>	born, be	DB-PLolo:597
Lisu (Nujiang)	<b>he</b> <sup>33</sup>	birth, give (human)	JZ-Lisu
Lisu	<b>he</b> <sup>33</sup>	birth, give	ZMYYC:774.27
Lisu (Nujiang)	<b>he</b> <sup>42</sup>	birth, give (animal)	JZ-Lisu
Lisu (Northern)	<b>hi</b> <sup>33</sup> gu <sup>33</sup>	birth place	DB-Lisu
Lisu (Central)	<b>hy</b> <sup>33</sup> gu <sup>44</sup>	birth place	DB-Lisu
Lisu (Northern)	<b>hõ</b> <sup>33</sup>	birth, give ; support; feed and educate; raise	DB-Lisu
	<b>hõ</b> <sup>33</sup> gu <sup>33</sup>	birth place	DB-Lisu
	<b>hõ?</b> <sup>21</sup> la <sup>33</sup>	birth, give	DB-Lisu
Lisu (Central)	<b>h'ũ</b> <sup>4</sup>	birth, give	JF-HLL
	<b>h'ũ</b> <sup>4</sup> ta <sup>1</sup> law <sup>3</sup>	born, be	JF-HLL
Luquan	<b>?hy</b> <sup>11</sup>	raise, bring up (child)	MXL-Lolo
Yi (Nanjian)	<b>hu</b> <sup>55</sup>	birth, give	JZ-Yi
Yi (Xide)	<b>hu</b> <sup>55</sup>	birth, give	JAM-II

### 9. Sinitic

Chinese (Old)	<b>xu(?)s</b>	love	WHB-OC:737b
	<b>xu?</b>	good	WHB-OC:1566

<sup>3</sup>J. H. Lorrain (1907:229) glosses this word as ‘to bring up; to tend; to rear; to keep; to support; to feed (as child, etc.).’

<sup>4</sup>The nasalization in some of the Lisu forms is due to rhinoglottophilia. See Matisoff 1975.

## Chinese comparandum

好 **hǎo** ‘good’ ≈ hào ‘love, like’<sup>5</sup>GSR: 1044a Karlgren: \***χôg** Li: \***həgwɣ** / \***həgwh** Baxter: \***xu?** / \***xu(?)s** (737)

The word for ‘love, like’ is a putative form derived from ‘good’ through \*-s suffixation. This presents some semantic difficulty for the OC-PTB comparison, since the basic meaning of the PTB root is closer to that of the derived Chinese transitive verb.

Corroborated as it is by other etyma (e.g. (1) \***p<sup>w</sup>u** EGG / BIRD / ROUND OBJECT, (102) \***r-bu** ≈ \***pru** NEST / WOMB / PLACENTA), the correspondence TB \*-**u** with OC \*-**əgw** (Li)/\*-**u** (Baxter) is well attested. The initial correspondence is difficult to evaluate because there are so few proposed cognates involving words with OC \***h-** (Li)/\***x-** (Baxter) or PTB \***h-**. Of these several (such as Gong 1995 set 142 comparing OC 鼾 \***xan** ‘snore’ to PTB \***hal** ‘snore’) are clearly onomatopoeic. In other cases Gong has derived OC \***x-** from earlier \***skh-**, facilitating comparison with Written Tibetan forms having initial velars (see Gong 2000). Nevertheless, there is no specific reason to doubt the validity of the initial correspondence.

[ZJH]

(23) \***?-bu** ≈ \***pu** BORN / BIRTH / BUD / BLOOM

The basic meaning of this root seems to be ‘bloom, open up (as a flower), bud’, thence ‘give birth’. It is reconstructed in *STC* #260 as ‘open, bud’, with reflexes offered from WT, Nung, Jingpho, WB, and Mikir. The semantic connection between this root for ‘open, bloom’ and ‘bear a child’ was first suggested by W. T. French (1983:455), who reconstructs Proto-Northern Naga \***?-bəw**. *STC* reconstructs both voiceless- and voiced-initial allofams (\***bu** ≈ \***pu**), which we can now interpret as reflecting a simplex/causative opposition (‘bloom’ vs. ‘cause to bud’ [i.e. ‘give birth’]). A PLB reconstruction \***?pu<sup>2</sup>** (equivalent to \***?bu<sup>2</sup>**) is given in Matisoff 1988a (p. 831), with the glottalization inferred from the very-low tone of the Lahu reflex **pū**. This reinforces French’s PNN reconstruction with \***?-**, as does the *a-chung* [**h**] in the WT reflex (**hbu**). The Phom form **bə?** cited by French (*loc. cit.*) has been reanalyzed as belonging under (30) \***p/buk** ≈ \***p/bik** BORN / GIVE BIRTH [q.v.].

See *HPTB* \***s-bu**, p. 184.

## 0. Sino-Tibetan

*Tibeto-Burman	* <b>bu</b> ≈ <b>pu</b>	open / bud	STC:260
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## 1.1. North Assam

Apatani	a- <b>pú</b>	blossom	JS-Tani
	o- <b>bu</b>	birth, give	JS-Tani
	o- <b>bu-nu</b>	birth	JS-Tani
	ó-hó <b>bu</b>	birth, give	JS-Tani

6

<sup>5</sup>This comparison is correctly cited in *HPTB* (p. 58), although by an unfortunate error the Chinese character 愛 is given instead of 好. [JAM]

<sup>6</sup>Apatani preserves reflexes of both the voiceless and voiced allofams of this etymon; cf. **pú** ‘bloom’, alongside **bu** ‘give birth’.

## (23) \*ʔ-bu ≈ \*pu BORN / BIRTH / BUD / BLOOM

Gallong	<b>pù</b> ao be-nam	bloom birth	JS-Tani KDG-IGL
1.3. Naga			
*Northern Naga	<b>*ʔ-bəw</b>	bear a child	WTF-PNN:455
Chokri	<b>pü</b>	birth, give	GEM-CNL
Konyak	<b>pu</b>	birth, give	GEM-CNL; WTF-PNN:455
Ntenyi	<b>pfüa</b>	birth, give	GEM-CNL
1.5. Mikir			
Mikir	iŋ <b>pú</b> iŋ <b>pu</b> <b>phu</b>	bud / swell open, dilate bud	AW-TBT:264 STC:260 STC:260
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tibetan (Written)	<b>ḥbu</b> -ba	open (of flowers)	STC:260
2.2. Newar			
Newar	<b>bu</b> -ye <b>bwui:ke</b>	be born birth, give	JAM-II AH-CSDPN:03b.46
2.3.2. Kiranti			
Hayu	<b>pho</b> ku	birth, give; bear a child	BM-Hay:84.101
Khaling	' <b>bu</b> -ne	birth, give	AH-CSDPN:03b.46
3.2. Qiangic			
Shixing	<b>bu</b> <sup>35</sup>	bloom	ZMYYC:789.20
4.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	<b>pu</b> <b>pu</b> <sup>31</sup> ə <b>pu</b>	bloom, bud bloom blossom, bud	STC:260 ZMYYC:789.47 STC:260
4.2. Nungic			
Anong	nam- <b>phu</b> <b>phu</b>	blossom, bud open	STC:260 STC:260
Trung [Dulong]	<b>pu</b> <sup>31</sup> ju <sup>53</sup>	birth, give	ZMYYC:774.46
5. Tujia			
Tujia (Northern)	kha <sup>55</sup> <b>phu</b> <sup>55</sup> <b>phu</b> <sup>21</sup>	bloom	JZ-Tujia
Tujia	<b>phu</b> <sup>21</sup>	bloom	ZMYYC:789.38
Tujia (Southern)	tsu <sup>33</sup> <b>pu</b> <sup>35</sup> do <sup>55</sup>	bloom	JZ-Tujia
6. Lolo-Burmese			
*Lolo-Burmese	<b>*ʔbu</b> <sup>2</sup>	bloom	JAM-DL:831
6.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	ɑ <sup>31</sup> <b>po</b> <sup>31</sup> <b>po</b> <sup>31</sup>	bloom	JZ-Achang
Achang (Xiandao)	<b>p<sup>h</sup>o</b> <sup>31</sup>	birth, give (pig)	DQ-Xiandao:2362
Burmese (Written)	ǎ <b>phù</b> <b>phù</b>	bud, swelling bud / swell into protuberance	STC:260 AW-TBT:264; STC:260
Maru [Langsu]	<b>pu</b> <sup>55</sup>	bloom	ZMYYC:789.43

<sup>7</sup>Contrast Achang Xiandao **pɔ**<sup>35</sup> 'give birth' < (21) **\*braŋ** BORN / BIRTH.

## II. Birth

Atsi [Zaiwa]	<b>pau</b> <sup>21</sup>	birth, give	JZ-Zaiwa; ZMYYC:774.42
	<b>po</b> <sup>55</sup>	bloom	ZMYYC:789.42
6.2. Loloish			
Ahi	<b>bu</b> <sup>22</sup>	birth, give	CK-YiQ:10.4.15
Hani	<b>by</b> <sup>21</sup>	bloom	JAM-DL:831
Hani (Pijo)	<b>phu</b>	open	ILH-PL:429
Lahu (Black)	<b>pū</b>	bloom	JAM-DL:831
Lisu	<b>bu</b> <sup>21</sup>	bloom	JAM-DL:831
Noesu	<b>bo</b> <sup>21</sup>	birth, give	CK-YiQ:10.4.15
Sani [Nyi]	<b>a</b> <sup>21</sup> <b>nu</b> <sup>44</sup> <b>bu</b> <sup>21</sup>	birth, give	YHJC-Sani:25.4
	<b>bu</b> <sup>21</sup>	birth, give	YHJC-Sani
Yi (Mile)	<b>bu</b> <sup>33</sup>	birth, give (taboo)	ZMYYC:774.25
6.4. Jinuo			
Jinuo (Youle)	<b>po</b> <sup>33</sup>	bloom	JZ-Jinuo
Jinuo	<b>pɔ</b> <sup>33</sup>	bloom	ZMYYC:789.34
7. Karenic			
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	<b>o</b> <sup>31</sup> <b>p<sup>h</sup>lɛ</b> <sup>31</sup> <b>a</b> <sup>31</sup> <b>p<sup>h</sup>o</b> <sup>55</sup>	birth, give	DQ-KarenB:2320
	<b>p<sup>h</sup>ui</b> <sup>55</sup>	birth, give (to piglet)	DQ-KarenB:2467
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	<b>p<sup>h</sup>ui</b> <sup>55</sup>	birth, give (pig)	DQ-KarenA:2467

(24)

\*s-**kya-y**

**BORN / GIVE BIRTH**

This newly established root seems quite solid. The Barish forms (esp. Dimasa, Kokborok) point to a diphthongal prototype, while most Loloish (including Jinuo) and Qiangic forms seem to reflect a monophthong. (\*-a > -i is a common Qiangic development.) The Himalayish evidence is mixed: Bantawa has -a, but WT and Pattani have -e (presumably from \*-ay). There is evidence from Bahing for alternation between voiced and voiceless initial stops, reflecting a distinction between simplex ('be born') vs. causative ('give birth').

### 1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish

Deuri	<b>je</b>	born, be	WBB-Deuri:72
	<b>je</b> <sup>1</sup>	born, be	Deuri
Dimasa	<b>ha dźai</b>	birth, give	STC:65n206
	<b>ha jai</b>	birth, give	GEM-CNL
Garo	<b>at tśi</b>	birth, give	STC:65n206
Kokborok	<b>a-čay</b>	born, be	PT-Kok
Lalung	<b>chonja ha je na</b>	birth, give (twins)	MB-Lal:85
	<b>ha je o sa</b>	birth, give	MB-Lal:27
	<b>ha je na</b>	born, be	MB-Lal:27

### 2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Pattani [Manchati]	<b>ze pi</b>	birth	DS-Patt
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### 2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	<b>ke</b>	birth, give	ZMYYC:774
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	<b>htɕe</b>	birth, give	ZMYYC:774.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	<b>rcɕe</b>	birth, give	ZMYYC:774.5
Tibetan (Batang)	<b>xhɛʔ</b> <sup>53</sup>	birth, give	DQ-Batang:10.4.15
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	<b>ɕe</b> <sup>53</sup>	birth, give	ZMYYC:774.3

Tibetan (Lhasa)	ceʔ <sup>53</sup>	birth, give	ZMYC:774.2
Spiti	tu ke ze	birth, give	CB-SpitiQ:10.4.15
Tibetan (Written)	skje	birth, give	ZMYC:774.1
2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepang-Sunwar			
Sunwar	'giy-cā	birth, give (animals?)	AH-CSDPN:03b.46
2.3.2. Kiranti			
Bahing	gi gi (moeba)	born, be	BM-Bah
	kik-	birth, give	BM-Bah
Bantawa	cha tokt-	birth, give	WW-Bant:18
	chas-	birth, give	WW-Bant:18
3.2. Qiangic			
Ergong (Northern)	vjjə <sup>53</sup>	birth, give	SHK-ErgNQ:10.4.15
Ergong (Danba)	nʒɛ	birth, give	SHK-ErgDQ:10.4.15; ZMYC:774.14
Ergong (Daofu)	ɬŋɑ ʔʒɑ	birth, give	DQ-Daofu:10.4.15
Ersu (Central)	dzɿ <sup>55</sup>	birth, give	SHK-ErsCQ
Ersu	dzɿ <sup>55</sup>	birth, give	ZMYC:774.18
Pumi (Jinghua)	khə <sup>13</sup> dzə <sup>55</sup>	birth, give	ZMYC:774.11
	k <sup>hə</sup> <sup>13</sup> dzə <sup>55</sup>	birth, give	JZ-Pumi
Pumi (Taoba)	khə <sup>35</sup> zɛ <sup>35</sup>	birth, give	ZMYC:774.10
	k <sup>hə</sup> <sup>35</sup> zɛ <sup>55</sup>	birth, give	JZ-Pumi
Qiang (Yadu)	ʔi tɕi	birth, give	DQ-QiangN:2227
Shixing	ji <sup>35</sup>	birth, give	SHK-ShixQ; ZMYC:774.20
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	tə <sup>35</sup> tɕe <sup>53</sup>	birth, give	SHK-ZhabQ:10.4.15; ZMYC:774.16
3.3. rGyalrongic			
rGyalrong (Northern)	cç <sup>h</sup> o scçi	birth, give	SHK-rGNQ:10.4.15
rGyalrong	kə scçə	birth, give	ZMYC:774.12
rGyalrong (Eastern)	nə scçi	birth, give	SHK-rGEQ:10.4.15
6.2. Loloish			
Lahu (Yellow)	dʒɑ <sup>55</sup>	birth, give	JZ-Lahu
Lalo	tjhy	birth, give (of animals)	SB-Lalo
Noesu	zɛ <sup>33</sup>	birth, give	CK-YiQ:10.4.15
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	tsa <sup>55</sup>	birth, give; birth, give (to piglet)	DQ-NusuA:2227.,2362.
Nusu (Central)	tsa <sup>55</sup>	birth, give; birth, give (to piglet)	DQ-NusuB:2227.,2362.
Nusu (Northern)	tsɑ <sup>35</sup>	birth, give	JZ-Nusu
Yi (Mojiang)	tshɛ <sup>55</sup>	birth, give	ZMYC:774.26
Yi (Nanhua)	dʒɑ <sup>33</sup>	birth, give	ZMYC:774.24
Yi (Nanjian)	tɕ <sup>h</sup> y <sup>21</sup>	birth, give	JZ-Yi
Yi (Xide)	a <sup>34</sup> -dzi <sup>33</sup>	birth, give	CSL-YIzd
6.3. Naxi			
Naxi (Western)	tɕi <sup>33</sup> xə <sup>31</sup>	birth, give	JZ-Naxi
Naxi (Lijiang)	tɕi <sup>33</sup> xə <sup>31</sup>	birth, give	ZMYC:774.28

<sup>8</sup>The final velar stop in this form is unexplained.

## II. Birth

### 6.4. Jinuo

Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	tʃa <sup>31</sup>	birth, give; birth, give (to piglet)	DQ-JinA:2320,2467
Jinuo (Baka)	tʃa <sup>31</sup>	birth, give; birth, give (to piglet)	DQ-JinB:2320,2467
Jinuo	tʃa <sup>42</sup>	birth, give	ZMYYC:774.34
Jinuo (Youle)	tʃa <sup>42</sup>	birth, give	JZ-Jinuo

### (25) \*b-na BEAR A CHILD / BORN

This root is widespread in Naga languages, where it is always accompanied by a labial prefix. The Tamangic cognates show no evidence of the prefix. This etymon seems unrelated to (29) \*naŋ GIVE BIRTH.

### 1.3. Naga

Angami (Khonoma)	peno	birth, give	GEM-CNL
Angami (Kohima)	penuo	birth, give	GEM-CNL
	pe <sup>31</sup> nuo <sup>33</sup>	birth, give	VN-AngQ:10.4.15
Chokri	mü <sup>31</sup> nou <sup>33</sup>	birth, give	VN-ChkQ:10.4.15
Lotha Naga	ngaro vana	birth, give	VN-LothQ:10.4.15
Mao	mono	birth, give	GEM-CNL
Sema	punu	birth, give	GEM-CNL
Mzieme	mna	birth, give	GEM-CNL

### 2.1.4. Tamangic

*Tamang	* <sup>A</sup> na	born, be	MM-Thesis:537
Manang (Prakaa)	<sup>2</sup> nə-	born, be	HM-Prak:0395
	<sup>3</sup> nɾ-	born, be	MM-Thesis:537
Tamang (Risiangku)	<sup>3</sup> na	put down (e.g. a load); give birth, be born; care for (a child); raise, rear	MM-Thesis
Tamang (Sahu)	<sup>2</sup> kola <sup>3</sup> na-pa	born, be	MM-Thesis:537
Thakali	nah-la	birth, give (ani- mals?)	AH-CSDPN:03b.46
Thakali (Marpha)	na <sup>f11</sup> -wa <sup>11</sup>	birth, give / lay down	MM-Thesis:541
Thakali (Tukche)	nɔh-lɔ	birth, give; born, be; birth, give (animals)	SIL-Thak,2.B.2.11,3.B.46
	nɔh-lɔ tɔn-lɔ	birth, give	SIL-Thak:2.B.2.11a
	<sup>3</sup> nə-lə; nɔh-lɔ	birth, give	MM-Thesis:537

### (26) \*mun GIVE BIRTH / CONCEIVE / CREATE

This root is reconstructed for Proto-Kiranti by Michailovsky (1991). The Burmese form definitely appears cognate. It is possible that this etymon should be reconstructed with the PTB rhyme \*-ul, as suggested by apparently parallel examples: (H:388) \*mul BODY HAIR (> WB mwê); (H:385) \*b-ru:l SNAKE (> WB mrwe).



## 2.3. Mahakiranti

*Kiranti	*mun-	created	BM-PK7:39
2.3.2. Kiranti			
Bahing	mun-	conceived (of a child)	BM-PK7:39
Bantawa	mun-	birth, give	BM-PK7:39
Chamling	mun-a	originate, to be born	BM-PK7:39
Dumi	min-	conceived (of a child)	BM-PK7:39
Thulung	mun-	created	BM-PK7:39

## 6.1. Burmish

Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	mwe <sup>55</sup>	birth, give	ZMYYC:774.40
Burmese (Written)	mwê	bear, bring forth	PKB-WBRD
	mwe:	birth, give	GEM-CNL
	mwe <sup>3</sup>	birth, give	ZMYYC:774.39

## (27)

## \*pwa

## BORN / BIRTH

This root is solidly established for Lolo-Burmese. The Pa-O (Karenic) form may be a borrowing from Burmese.

## 6.1. Burmish

Achang (Luxi)	pa <sup>31</sup>	birth, give (to child)	JZ-Achang
Burmese (Written)	phwâ	bear, bring forth	PKB-WBRD
Atsi [Zaiwa]	vo <sup>55</sup>	birth, give (child); birth, give	JZ-Zaiwa; ZMYYC:774.42

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## 6.2. Loloish

Nusu (Bijiang)	phuɔ <sup>53</sup>	birth, give	ZMYYC:774.45
Nusu (Central)	p <sup>h</sup> uɔ <sup>53</sup>	birth, give	JZ-Nusu

## 7. Karenic

Pa-O	phwā	born, be; birth, give (humans only)	DBS-PaO
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## (28)

## \*g-sow

## REAR (child) / BEAR (child)

The WT form is the key to this reconstruction, although no other Himalayish cognates have been found so far. This etymon seems to be widespread in Loloish, with probable reflexes also in Kamarupan, Nungish (Dulong), and Qiangic (Muya).

## 1.1. North Assam

Damu	ɕo-tuŋ-xo	birth, give (calves)	JS-Tani
Milang	miu-cu-ma	birth of a boy	AT-MPB
	or-mi cu-ma	birth of a girl	AT-MPB

## 1.3. Naga

Ao (Chungli)	a so	birth, give	GEM-CNL
Ao (Mongsen)	so	birth, give	GEM-CNL

<sup>9</sup>Zaiwa treats the labial stop in this etymon as a prefix, so that it reflects an immediate prototype \*wa.

## II. Birth

Sangtam Yimchungrü	su ro zü pe	birth, give birth, give	GEM-CNL GEM-CNL
2.1.2. Bodic Tibetan (Written)	gso-ba	feed, nourish; bring up, rear	HAIJ-TED:590
3.2. Qiangic Muya [Minyak]	muw <sup>55</sup> zu <sup>55</sup>	birth, give	SHK-MuyaQ:10.4.15; ZMYYC:774.15
4.2. Nungic Trung [Dulong]	puw <sup>31</sup> ju <sup>53</sup>	birth, give	ZMYYC:774.46
6.1. Burmish Achang (Lianghe)	ʃu <sup>31</sup>	birth, give (to child)	JZ-Achang
6.2. Loloish Ahi Hani (Caiyuan) Nasu Nosu Sani [Nyi]	zu <sup>33</sup> tsu <sup>55</sup> zo <sup>21</sup> zu <sup>33</sup> ku <sup>33</sup> zo <sup>44</sup> zo <sup>33</sup> zo <sup>44</sup> zu <sup>44</sup> zu <sup>44</sup> a <sup>33</sup> ŋa <sup>55</sup> zo <sup>33</sup> zo <sup>33</sup>	birth, give birth, give birth, give birth, give born, be birth, give birth, give grow, be born birth, give to birth, give born, be; grow (up); birth, give	CK-YiQ:10.4.15 JZ-Hani; ZMYYC:774.30 CK-YiQ:10.4.15 CK-YiQ:10.4.15 YHJC-Sani:263.2 JAM-II CK-YiQ:10.4.15 MXL-SaniQ:346.1 TBL:1620.39 JAM-II JZ-Yi; ZMYYC:774.22
Yi (Sani) Yi (Dafang)		birth, give to	TBL:1620.39
Yi (Mile)	zu <sup>33</sup>	birth, give (polite term)	ZMYYC:774.25
Yi (Xide)	cu <sup>33</sup> zu <sup>33</sup>	birth, give birth, give	CSL-YIzd JZ-Yi
6.3. Naxi Naxi (Yongning) Naxi (Eastern)	dzu <sup>13</sup> tɕu <sup>31</sup>	birth, give birth, give	ZMYYC:774.29 JZ-Naxi

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(29)

\*naŋ

GIVE BIRTH

This root is attested in a few widely separated languages: Kaman [Miju], Guiqiong (Qiangic), and Tujia. It is perhaps to be related to (19) \*naŋ BROOD / INCUBATE (eggs), but seems quite distinct from (25) \*b-na BEAR A CHILD / BORN.

1.1. North Assam Kaman [Miju]	xa <sup>31</sup> naŋ <sup>55</sup>	birth, give	ZMYYC:774.48
3.2. Qiangic Guiqiong	nɔ̃ <sup>35</sup>	birth, give	SHK-GuiqQ; ZMYYC:774.17
5. Tujia Tujia Tujia (Northern)	nũ <sup>55</sup> nũ <sup>55</sup>	birth, give birth, give (to child)	CK-TujBQ:10.4.15 JZ-Tujia

<sup>10</sup> a<sup>33</sup>ŋa<sup>55</sup> means 'child'. See (37) \*m/s-ŋa-y CHILD / BIRTH / SMALL, below.

(30) \*  $\begin{matrix} P \\ b \end{matrix}$  uk  $\approx$  \*  $\begin{matrix} P \\ b \end{matrix}$  ik BORN / GIVE BIRTH

This root may well be related to (16) \*puk  $\approx$  \*buk HATCH / EGG.

## 1.1. North Assam

Bengni (ku:) buŋ birth, give JS-Tani 11

## 1.3. Naga

Chang puk birth, give GEM-CNL  
 Lotha Naga pok birth, give GEM-CNL  
 Phom büh birth, give GEM-CNL  
 bəʔ birth, give WTF-PNN:455 12

## 1.4. Meithei

Meithei pok birth, give GEM-CNL  
 əŋaŋ pok pə birth, give CYS-Meithei:10.4.15 13

## 2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo) phok bloom ZMYC:789.7  
 p<sup>h</sup>ek<sup>55</sup> birth, give (of an animal) JZ-CLMenba

## 2.3.2. Kiranti

Bantawa puk- birth, give (medical) WW-Bant:59  
 Chamling puk-(a) birth, give (animal) WW-Cham:29  
 Dumi bik ni birth, give (of non-humans) SVD-Dum

## 6.1. Burmish

Hpun (Northern) əsə phóʔ birth, give EJAH-Hpun 14

## (31) \*wat GIVE BIRTH

This splendid little root is well-established in Himalayish (Chepang, Dumi), with likely cognates in Barish (Lalung) and Karenic.

## 1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish

Lalung ha je o sa birth, give MB-Lal:27

## 2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepang-Sunwar

Chepang coʔ ʔo.sa birth, give (animals?); birth, give AH-CSDPN:03b.46; SIL-Chep:3.B.46  
 ʔot-sa birth, give SIL-Chep:2.B.2. 11.  
 ʔum ʔot.sā lay egg AH-CSDPN:03b.14  
 Chepang (Eastern) coʔ ʔot naʔ birth, give RC-ChepQ:10.4.15

<sup>11</sup>The final nasal in the Bengni form is unexplained.

<sup>12</sup>W.T. French (1983:455) assigned this Phom form to PNN \*ʔ-bəw; see (23) \*ʔ-bu  $\approx$  \*pu BORN / BIRTH / BUD / BLOOM above.

<sup>13</sup>əŋaŋ means ‘child’. Cf. Lhoba aŋa:, Yi (Dafang) a<sup>33</sup>ŋa<sup>55</sup>, as well as set (37) \*m/s-ŋa-y CHILD / BIRTH / SMALL.

<sup>14</sup>əsə means “child”.

## II. Birth

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### 2.3.2. Kiranti

Dumi	<b>wa:t ni</b>	bear (children, offspring); yean, calve, whelp	SVD-Dum
Limbu	ku-hiŋ <b>wEt</b>	alive	BM-Lim
7. Karenic			
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	<b>o<sup>31</sup> p<sup>h</sup>le<sup>31</sup> a<sup>31</sup> p<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup></b>	birth, give	DQ-KarenB:2320
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	<b>o<sup>31</sup> p<sup>h</sup>le<sup>31</sup></b>	birth, give	DQ-KarenA:2320

(32) **\*to** **k** **GIVE BIRTH (of animals)**  
**ŋ**

This sparsely attested root seems to be associated especially with animal births. It appears in Himalayish, Damu (Abor-Miri-Dafla) and Mikir.

### 1.1. North Assam

Damu	<b>me:-təŋ xo</b> <b>ɕo-tuŋ-xo</b>	birth, give (babies) birth, give (calves)	JS-Tani JS-Tani
1.5. Mikir			
Mikir	<b>ching thòk-</b>	birth, give (animals)	KHG-Mikir:68
2.1.4. Tamangic			
Tamang (Sahu)	<b>T<sup>h</sup>ok-pa</b>	birth, give (animals)	SIL-Sahu:14.46
2.3.2. Kiranti			
Bantawa	<b>cha tokt-</b>	birth, give	WW-Bant:18

(33) **\*ra** **GIVE BIRTH**

This etymon is so far attested only in a few Naga (Sangtam, Tangkhul) and Burmish (Bola, Maru) languages.

### 1.3. Naga

Sangtam	<b>su ro</b>	birth, give	GEM-CNL
Tangkhul	<b>pha ra</b>	birth, give	GEM-CNL
6.1. Burmish			
Bola	<b>ya<sup>35</sup></b>	birth, give	DQ-Bola:2227
Maru [Langsu]	<b>ya<sup>55</sup></b>	birth, give	DQ-Langsu:10.4.15; ZMYYC:774.43

(34) **\*sut** **GIVE BIRTH**

This etymon is worth setting up, even though it only occurs for sure in two widely separated languages, one Himalayish (Yakha) and one Burmish (Lashi). The affiliation of the Karen form is uncertain, though it possibly reflects an allofam **\*sit**.

### 2.3.2. Kiranti

Yakha	<b>sut ke:ri</b>	birth, give	TK-Yakha:10.4.15
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6.1. Burmish			
Lashi	su:t <sup>55</sup>	birth, give	DQ-Lashi:10.4.15
7. Karenic			
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	siŋ <sup>55</sup> sa <sup>31</sup>	birth, give	DQ-KarenA:2320.1

## (35) \*kək ≈ \*gak LIFE / BORN

This root has so far been discovered only in two languages, in the Naga (Tangkhu) and Kiranti (Thulung) groups. The Thulung allofams with voiced vs. voiceless initials reflect a simplex/causative distinction: ‘be born’ (with g-) / ‘give birth’ (with k-).

1.3. Naga			
Tangkhu	khək	breath / life	JAM-Ety
	khək-kasui	breath / life	JAM-Ety
	khək-khā	breath / life	JAM-Ety
2.3.2. Kiranti			
Thulung	gəks-	born, be	NJA-Thulung
	gək siu ma	childbirth, woman in	NJA-Thulung
	kəks-	birth, give	NJA-Thulung

## (36) IA \*jan GIVE BIRTH

This is an Indo-Aryan root, borrowed into the Hayu language of Nepal (cf. Nepali **jan-ma** ‘birth’, **jan-manu** ‘be born’). Two Tamangic languages have superficially similar forms: Chantyal **yā-wā** ‘give birth’ and Tamang (Sahu) **kola yaŋ-pa** ‘be born’, **nah yahm-pa** ‘give birth’, but these are actually object + verb expressions meaning literally “find a baby”, from an unrelated Tamangic root meaning ‘find’ (M. Mazaudon, p.c. 2008).

2.3.2. Kiranti			
Hayu	jā:sa	birth, give; bear a child	BM-Hay:84.59
X. Non-TB			
Nepali	jan manu	born, be	AH-CSDPN:02b2.11

(37) \*  $\begin{matrix} m \\ s \end{matrix}$  -ŋa-y CHILD / BIRTH / SMALL

This etymon has a range of meanings from ‘small’ to ‘child’ to ‘give birth’. Most reflexes descend from a diphthongal prototype in \*-ay, but occasionally from monophthongal \*-a (e.g. Yi Dafang a<sup>33</sup> ŋa<sup>55</sup> [see \*g-sow above], and Bokar Lhoba a-ŋa:), so that this is a good candidate for a putative PTB palatal suffix, one of the functions of which is to mark diminutives. See Matisoff 1995.

Chinese 兒 ‘child’ (Mand. ér) is a plausible comparandum.

1.1. North Assam			
Bokar	a-ŋa:	baby	JS-HCST

## II. Birth

Bokar Lhoba	a ŋa:	child	SLZO-MLD	
1.4. Meithei				
Meithei	ə-ŋaŋ	child	CYS-Meithei:10.4.15	15
1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish				
Bodo	ma ŋáy	small	JAM-GSTC:111; RJL-DPTB:211	
3.3. rGyalrongic				
rGyalrong (NW)	ta lŋa k <sup>h</sup> ŋe t <sup>hi</sup>	birth, give	SHK-rGNWQ:10.4.15	
4.1. Jingpho				
Jingpho	chi ŋgai šəŋàì ʃa <sup>31</sup> ŋai <sup>31</sup> ʃǎ <sup>31</sup> ŋai <sup>31</sup> ʃa <sup>1</sup> ŋai <sup>31</sup> ʔŋāi	birth, give birth, give birth, give birth, give birth, give (to child) birth, give	GEM-CNL JAM-GSTC:111 RJL-DPTB:211 ZMYYC:774.47 JZ-Jingpo JAM-GSTC:111	
6.1. Burmish				
Achang (Lianghe)	ŋe <sup>55</sup>	small	RJL-DPTB:211	
Achang (Luxi)	ŋəi <sup>31</sup>	small	JZ-Achang; RJL-DPTB:211	
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	ŋe <sup>22</sup>	small	ZMYYC:801.40	
Burmese (Written)	ŋay nây ŋqj <sup>2</sup> ŋai <sup>31</sup>	small small small small	GEM-CNL ILH-PL:120 ZMYYC:801.39 ZMYYC:801.43	
Maru [Langsu]				
6.2. Loloish				
Yi (Dafang)	a <sup>33</sup> ŋa <sup>55</sup>	child	ZMYYC:295.22	
Yi (Mojiang)	ŋe <sup>55</sup>	small	ZMYYC:801.26	
9. Sinitic				
Chinese (Old)	ngje	child; son	WHB-OC:1452,352	

## Chinese comparandum

兒 *ér* ‘child’

GSR: 873a-d      Karlgren: \**ńjěg*      Li: \**ngrijig*      Baxter: \**ngje* (1452)

In Li’s system, \*-*rj*- is reconstructed to account for the palatalization of the velar initial in Middle Chinese. This palatalizing medial is no longer accepted by most scholars today. In Baxter’s system, medial \*-*r*- blocks palatalization, and must be omitted.

The TB/Chinese correspondences look good. We would expect \**a* vocalism in Chinese, but \**i* (Li)/\**e* (Baxter) could be the result of an original \**a* fusing irregularly with the palatal suffix. As seen in (40b) \**s-tay* NAVEL / ABDOMEN / CENTER / SELF and (140) \**ŋ-(w)a:y* COPULATE / MAKE LOVE / LOVE / GENTLE), TB \*-*ay* may correspond to OC \*-*əd* (Li)/\*-*ij* (Baxter), and there is some evidence that OC \*-*ig* (Li)/\*-*e* (Baxter) also can correspond to this same TB final. Consider, for example, ‘crab’ (*STC* #51), TB \**d-kay*, which is likely cognate to OC 蟹 \**grigx* (Li) (see *STC* p. 166, *GSR* 861d).

<sup>15</sup>The final nasal perhaps arose by assimilation to the syllable initial.

Schuessler (2007:225) believes that this is an area word, with connections to forms in Austroasiatic and Miao-Yao.

[ZJH]

## (38) \*kruŋ LIVE / BORN / GREEN / SPROUT

This root is reconstructed in *STC* #382, which cites the WT, Jingpho, Bodo, and Dimasa forms. The Bai and Lolo-Burmese forms look cognate, but the relationship of the Jinuo form to this set is uncertain. The semantic range of this etymon, which extends from the notion of birth to that of sprouting, greenness, freshness, is paralleled by another root (39) \*s-riŋ ≈ \*s-r(y)aŋ LIVE / ALIVE / GREEN / RAW / GIVE BIRTH (q.v.).

See *HPTB* \*kruŋ, pp. 285, 288.

## 0. Sino-Tibetan

*Tibeto-Burman	*kruŋ	alive	STC:382
1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish			
Bodo	ga khraŋ	fixed, firm, healthy	STC:382
Dimasa	ga khraŋ	green	STC:382
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tshona (Wenlang)	k <sup>h</sup> roŋ <sup>55</sup>	birth, give (to child)	JZ-CNMenba
Tshona (Mama)	khroŋ <sup>53</sup>	birth, give	ZMYC:774.6
Tibetan (Written)	'khruŋ-ba	be born; shoot, sprout, grow (of seeds and plants)	STC:382
2.1.4. Tamangic			
Tamang (Sahu)	k <sup>h</sup> rui la-pa	live	SIL-Sahu:13.B.32
2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar			
Chepeng	jhuŋ-sa	born, be	SIL-Chep:2.B.2.11,2.B.2.11
4.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	khruŋ mə kruŋ	live, be alive fresh sprouts, new twigs	STC:382 STC:382
6.1. Burmish			
Bola	k <sup>ɔ̃</sup> <sup>55</sup>	life; life-span	DQ-Bola:193,194
6.2. Loloish			
Lolopho	g <sup>ɣ</sup> <sup>33</sup> l <sup>ɣ</sup> <sup>44</sup>	alive / be living	DQ-Lolopho:1.12
6.4. Jinuo			
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	a <sup>44</sup> k <sup>h</sup> Λ <sup>44</sup>	life	DQ-JinA:201
Jinuo (Baka)	a <sup>44</sup> k <sup>h</sup> Λ <sup>44</sup>	life	DQ-JinB:201
8. Bai			
Bai	kv <sub>1</sub> <sup>42</sup>	alive / be living	ZYS-Bai:1.12

## (39) \*s-riŋ ≈ \*s-r(y)aŋ LIVE / ALIVE / GREEN / RAW / GIVE BIRTH

This etymon constitutes a large set in *STC* (#404), where it was originally reconstructed with \*-a- ≈ \*-i- variation at the PTB level: \*s-riŋ ≈ \*s-raŋ. Benedict later changed the reconstruction to \*śriŋ (n. 252, n.128), explaining the -a- in WB *hraŋ* as being ‘conditioned by the initial cluster’. I find this revision unconvincing, and prefer to posit vocalic variation at the proto-level.<sup>16</sup> There is an excellent Chinese comparandum, 生, reconstructed in *GSR* #812a-d as OC \*səŋ/MC ʃəŋg. But here too Karlgren notes an irregular vocalic development from OC to MC (one would have expected MC ʃəŋg). The semantic fit between the TB forms and Chinese is extraordinarily good.

This root is perhaps to be reconstructed \*tsiŋ at the PLB level (cf. Lahu *chê*).

See *HPTB* \*s-riŋ ≈ \*s-r(y)aŋ, pp. 29, 78, 282, 283, 307, 506, 528.

## 0. Sino-Tibetan

*Sino-Tibetan	*sring	live / bear	WSC-SH:104
*Tibeto-Burman	*s-raŋ	live	AW-TBT:199
	*s-ring(*A)	live / bear	WSC-SH:104
	*s-riŋ	live	AW-TBT:199
	*s-riŋ ~ *s-raŋ	live / alive / green / raw	STC:404
	*s-riŋ ~ s-raŋ	live / bear / be born / fresh (e.g. greens)	ACST:812a-d
	*śriN	live	BM-PK7:109
	*śriŋ	live / alive / green / raw	ACST:812a-d

## 1.1. North Assam

Darang [Taraon]	ɑ <sup>31</sup> suŋ <sup>55</sup>	alive, live; birth, give	SLZO-MLD; ZMYYC:774.49
Kaman [Miju]	ku <sup>31</sup> ɹǎŋ <sup>35</sup>	alive, live	SLZO-MLD
Idu	suŋ <sup>55</sup>	alive / be living	SHK-Idu:1.12
Milang	ʃuŋ-dom-pi	live	AT-MPB

## 1.2. Kuki-Chin

Anal	rhìn	fresh / green / unripe	AW-TBT:199
Kom Rem	ə kə riŋ	alive / be living	T-KomRQ:1.12
Lakher [Mara]	<sup>3</sup> ə <sup>1</sup> hrɔ	fresh / green / unripe	AW-TBT:199
Lushai [Mizo]	hrìn	fresh, green, unripe	AW-TBT:199
	hríŋ	fresh / green / unripe	AW-TBT:199
	hriŋ	fresh, green	STC:404
	hriŋ?	birth, give	STC:404

## 1.3. Naga

*Northern Naga	*criŋ	alive	WTF-PNN:449
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<sup>16</sup>This is similar to the \*-ya- ≈ \*-i- variation found in several roots, notably EYE and PHEASANT. See *STC* pp. 84-5, *VSTB* pp. 40-1.

<sup>17</sup>W.T. French (1983:449-50) sets up no fewer than four allofams of this root at the Proto-Northern Naga level.



## (39) \*s-riŋ ≈ \*s-r(y)aŋ LIVE / ALIVE / GREEN / RAW / GIVE BIRTH

	*C <sub>VL</sub> -raŋ	alive	WTF-PNN:449
	*C <sub>VL</sub> -rin	alive	WTF-PNN:450
	*ryəŋ	alive	WTF-PNN:449
Angami Naga	<sup>2</sup> hri	live	AW-TBT:199
	<sup>2</sup> ke <sup>3</sup> hri	life	AW-TBT:199
Chang	laŋ	live, living	WTF-PNN:449
	səŋ-dúŋ-	green	AW-TBT:199
Konyak	a yin	life	WTF-PNN:450
Konyak (Tamlu)	k <sub>Λ</sub> -húŋ	green	AW-TBT:199
Konyak (Wakching)	Λ-húŋ	green	AW-TBT:199
Mao	<sup>1</sup> hrw	live	AW-TBT:199
Nocte	hiŋ	live	WTF-PNN:449
	<sup>1</sup> Λ <sup>2</sup> hin(?)	green	AW-TBT:199
Phom	yaŋ ñu	live	WTF-PNN:449
	yem ñu	live	WTF-PNN:450
	yem(bəm)	life	WTF-PNN:450
Rengma (Northern)	<sup>1</sup> ga <sup>3</sup> hã	live	AW-TBT:199
Tangsa (Moshang)	a ta roŋ	live	WTF-PNN:449
Wancho	a raŋ	alive; raw	WTF-PNN:449
	a zaŋ	live	WTF-PNN:449
	e zaŋ	green	WTF-PNN:449
Zeme	<sup>1</sup> ke <sup>1</sup> riŋ	fresh / green / unripe	AW-TBT:199
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	hiŋ	alive	STC:404
	hiŋ bə	alive / be living	CYS-Meithei:1.12
Moyon	lríŋ	alive / be living	DK-Moyon:1.12
	nə nríŋ	birth, give	DK-Moyon:10.4.15
1.5. Mikir			
Mikir	reŋ	live, come to life	STC:404
	reŋ-seŋ	green, verdant	STC:404
1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish			
Atong	raŋ-sət-	breath / life	JAM-Ety
Bodo	gɣ táŋʔ	green	AW-TBT:199
Dimasa	ga thaŋ	alive, living; green, unripe	STC:404
Bodo	haŋ-sur	breath / life	JAM-Ety
Garo	ga thaŋ	green	STC:404
	raŋ-sit-	breath / life	JAM-Ety
	taŋ-sek	green	AW-TBT:199
	taŋ-sik	green	AW-TBT:199
	thaŋ	live	STC:108n304
Khiamngan	<sup>12</sup> a <sup>3</sup> saŋ <sup>21</sup> ñã	green	AW-TBT:199
Kokborok	mə-t <sup>h</sup> aŋ	keep alive	PT-Kok
	t <sup>h</sup> aŋ	alive, live	PT-Kok
Meche	mo ʔaŋ	green	AW-TBT:199
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Kanauri	kə tsíŋ	fresh, green, raw, unripe	STC:404
	riŋ sã	breath / life	JAM-Ety
	sã sön	breath / life	JAM-Ety

## II. Birth

Pattani [Manchat]	sa səŋ śöŋg śöŋ šij mi sring sriŋ	breath live, alive live, be alive alive / be living live, alive live, be alive	DS-Kan:30 WSC-SH:104 STC:404 STP-ManQ:1.12 WSC-SH:104 STC:404
2.1.2. Bodic			
Chamba Lahuli * Tsangla (Motuo)	sriŋ × śij sik siŋ <sup>55</sup>	live, be alive birth, give birth, give (to child)	STC:404 ZMYC:774.7 JZ-CLMenba
2.1.4. Tamangic			
Thakali (Tukche)	mih li	life	SIL-Thak:10.A.12
2.3.2. Kiranti			
*SE Kiranti	*hiŋ-	live	BM-PK7:109
Bahing	seli	alive	BM-Bah
Bantawa	hiŋ- hUN	alive alive	BM-PK7:109 NKR-Bant
Chamling	hing-a	sit; to rest, to remain	BM-PK7:109
Kulung	hiŋŋ-u	care for; care for (children)	BM-PK7:109; RPHH-Kul
Limbu	hiŋ-	live	BM-PK7:109
Yakha	ku-hiŋ wEt wə hiŋ glik	alive alive / be living	BM-Lim TK-Yakha:1.12
4.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	tsiŋ	grass; grassy; fresh	STC:404
4.2. Nungic			
Anong	məśiŋ śin əthiŋ	green (color) grass unripe, uncooked	STC:404 STC:404 STC:404
6. Lolo-Burmese			
*Lolo-Burmese	*tsiŋ <sup>2</sup>	live	JAM-II
6.1. Burmish			
Bola	ŋji <sup>55</sup> jeʔ <sup>55</sup>	life	DQ-Bola:976
Burmese (Written)	hrang hraŋ	live, alive live; to live, be alive	WSC-SH:104 AW-TBT:199; PKB-WBRD; STC:404
Lashi	ə-hraŋ tə <sup>31</sup> tsə <sup>55</sup>	alive alive / be living	PKB-WBRD DQ-Lashi:1.12
6.2. Loloish			
Gazhuo	sy <sup>24</sup>	alive / be living	DQ-Gazhuo:1.12
Hani (Dazhai)	zi <sup>55</sup>	life	JZ-Hani
Hani (Shuikui)	ɔ <sup>31</sup> zi <sup>55</sup>	life	JZ-Hani
Lahu (Black)	chê	live, dwell, stay	JAM-DL:542-3
Sani [Nyi]	sɿ <sup>44</sup> zɿ <sup>33</sup> çæ <sup>33</sup>	alive long life	MXL-SaniQ:354.4 MXL-SaniQ:356.1

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<sup>18</sup>I am interpreting the syllable **se-** as deriving from prefixal **\*s-**, and **-li** as coming from the major syllable **\*-riŋ**. For the same last element see the Thakali (Tukche) form **mih-li** ‘life’ (**mih** ‘person’).

## (39) \*s-riŋ ≈ \*s-r(y)aŋ LIVE / ALIVE / GREEN / RAW / GIVE BIRTH

Phunoi	hnã <sup>55</sup> ce <sup>11</sup> ji <sup>55</sup> ʔã <sup>55</sup> ca <sup>33</sup>	live live	DB-Phunoi DB-Phunoi	19
8. Bai				
Bai	xã <sup>55</sup>	alive / be living	ZYS-Bai:1.12	
9. Sinitic				
Chinese (Middle)	ʃeŋg	live, life; bear, be born	WSC-SH:104	
	ʃoŋ	live / bear / be born / fresh (e.g. greens)	ACST:812a-d	
Chinese (Old)	sěŋ	live / bear / be born / fresh (e.g. greens)	ACST:812a-d	
	śrěŋ	live / bear / be born / fresh (e.g. greens)	ACST:812a-d	
	sring srjeng	live / bear be born; live, be alive; be fresh	WSC-SH:104 WHB-OC:130,1497,1912,303,573	

**Chinese comparandum**

生 **shēng** ‘live; bear, born; fresh’

GSR: 812a

Karlgren: \*sěŋ

Li: \*sring

Baxter: \*srjeng (130)

For the reconstruction of \*-j- in Baxter’s system, see Baxter 1992:580-581. The development to Middle Chinese is regular in Baxter’s system, while it is irregular in Li’s system.

This is a long-recognized cognate (see e.g. *STC* #404). The Chinese initial and coda correspond to the Tibeto-Burman. In Li’s reconstruction, the main vowel \*i is also a perfect match for the TB vowel. Baxter’s OC system does not permit a final \*-ing reconstruction. Baxter postulates developments \*-ing > \*-in and \*-ing > \*-eng (depending on dialect) predating the Old Chinese period (1992:299,563). In this case the comparative evidence points to \*-ing > \*-eng, and Baxter’s reconstruction is also a perfect match for the Tibeto-Burman.

Other Chinese members of the word family (such as 青 **qīng** ‘green; color of living things’) apparently reflect PST allofams with vowel \*a and/or lacking medial \*r. See Schuessler (2007:431, 459-460) for tables comparing Chinese and Tibeto-Burman allofams.

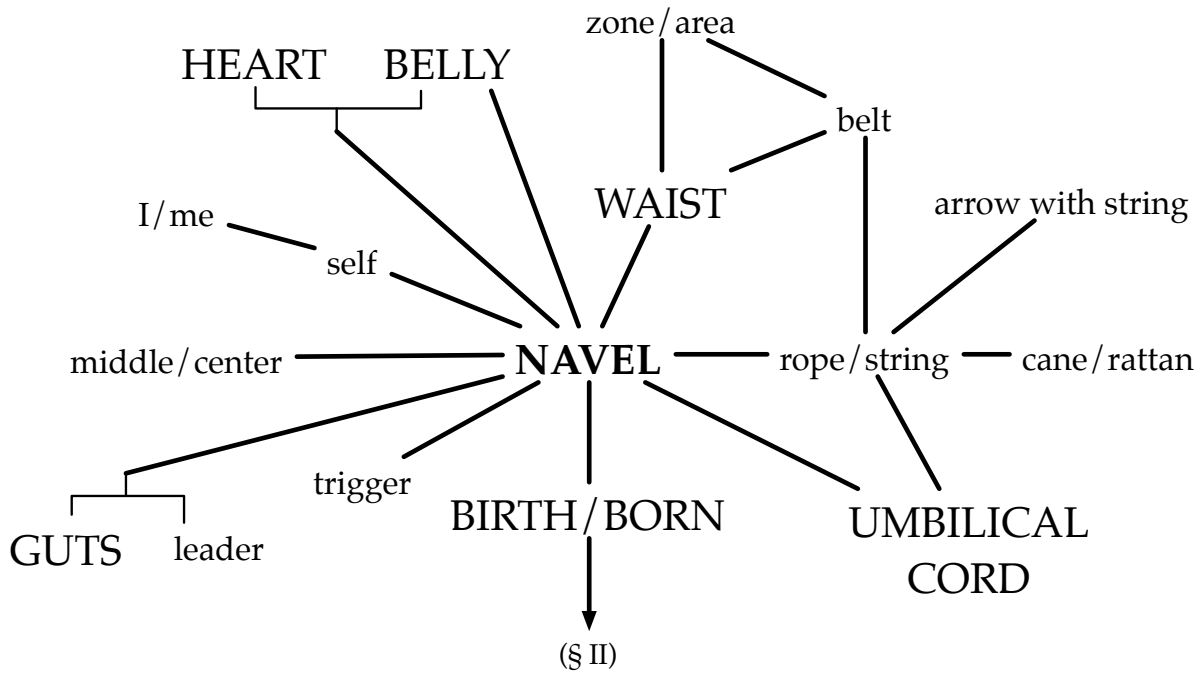
Schuessler (2007:76, 460) further argues that this etymon derives from PST \*sri ‘to be, exist’.

[ZJH]

<sup>19</sup>The cognacy of these two Phunoi forms is uncertain, but ce<sup>11</sup> ≈ ca<sup>33</sup> perhaps reflects \*-iŋ ≈ \*-aŋ.



### III. Navel



(40)  $\begin{matrix} * & \mathbf{m} \\ & \mathbf{s} \end{matrix} \text{-la(:)y} \approx * \mathbf{s-tay}$  NAVEL

A root *\*la:y* is set up in *STC* #287 with the meaning MIDDLE/CENTER, on the basis of WB *ălai* and Lushai *lai*.<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere, *STC* presents two additional roots: *\*s-tay* ‘navel’ (*STC* #299), based on WT *lte-ba*, Jingpho *dài* ~ *šədāi*, Garo *ste*; and *\*tay* ‘self’ (*STC* #284), based on Jingpho *dāi* (also *dāidāi*) and Lushai *tei*. Yet Benedict himself implies by a cross-reference (p. 65) that these latter two roots are really one and the same. I wish to go a step further to claim that all three *STC* roots (#284, #287, #299) are collofamic.

The interchange of *l-* with dental stops occurs in several other TB roots, including TONGUE and ARROW (and this phenomenon is known from other language families as well, notably Indo-European, where by coincidence TONGUE is also one of the best examples (cf. Latin *lingua* vs. pGmc *\*tungōn-*), alongside TEAR (cf. Latin *lacrima* vs. pGmc *\*tahr-* ≈ *\*tagr-*), BROTHER-IN-LAW (cf. Latin *lēvir* vs. Lithuanian *dieveris*), etc.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>This root, widespread in Chin languages, is also used in an ethno-geographical sense. The glossonym *Lai* is used broadly for a group of languages in the *central* subdivision of the Chin area in Burma, and more narrowly for the language of Hakha, its most important town.

<sup>2</sup>See Matisoff 1990b (“The linguist’s dilemma: *l/d* interaction in Sino-Tibetan”), presented at ICSTLL

### III. Navel

There is strong evidence for both a nasal and a sibilant prefix with this root (occasionally with both together, as in the Ashö Sandoway form  $\text{ã}^{\text{hmlai}}^1$  ‘navel’ <  $*\text{s-m-la:y}$ ). However, the appearance of a cluster like **tl-** in TB words for SELF or NAVEL does not by itself indicate the co-allofamy of the stop and lateral prototypes, since **tl-** is frequently the reflex of  $*\text{sl-}$  (especially in Kuki-Chin and other Kamarupan languages), so that these forms could be referred directly to  $*\text{s-la:y}$ . See the Lakher (Mara), Miju, Bantawa, and Kham forms below.

In forms like Ao  $^2\text{tuw}^2\text{puw}^2\text{la}$ , Rengma  $^1\text{a}^2\text{bvuu}^3\text{li}$ , it might be plausible to treat the second syllables like dimidiations (syllabizations) of the labial prefix  $*\text{bV-} \approx *m\text{V-}$ , since in that position many other languages have elements with unstressed vowels (transcribed  $\text{pə-}$ ,  $\text{mə-}$ ,  $\text{pü-}$ , etc.). On the other hand, when the quality of the vowel in such a syllable is clearly [u], it seems preferable to analyze this element as descending from  $*\text{s-bu-k}$  BELLY / STOMACH / CAVE or  $*\text{poŋ/n}$  BELLY / CENTER. This is especially clear in Himalayish: cf. the Bantawa and Kham reflexes.

Both the lateral- and stop-initialled variants of this etymon are widely attested in TB. In the following sections, the reflexes are divided between the two allofams.

The semantic scope of this etymon is already quite broad, but I would like to claim that there is also a genuine phonosemantic connection with a root meaning BELT / ZONE / WAIST (see below).

There is an interesting Dumi compound **sa:khil tim** ‘navel’ composed of **sa:khil** ‘viscera, guts’ < **khil** ‘feces’, plus **tim** ‘head, leader’: i.e. the navel is viewed in Dumi as the leader of the intestines. See van Driem 1993:415.

See *HPTB*  $*\text{la:y} \approx *m/\text{s-ta:y}$ , pp. 52, 210.

(40a)  $\begin{matrix} * & \text{m} \\ & \text{s} \end{matrix} -\text{la(:)y}$  NAVEL / CENTER / SELF

Reflexes of this allofam occur in Kamarupan, Himalayish, and Lolo-Burmese, as well as in Tujia.

0. Sino-Tibetan

*Tibeto-Burman	$*\text{la:y}$	navel; middle, center	AW-TBT:214; JAM-GSTC:062; STC:287
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1.1. North Assam

Padam-Mising [Abor-Miri]	<b>ai</b>	self	JAM-GSTC:071	3
Kaman [Miju]	<b>pa<sup>31</sup> tu<sup>31</sup> lai<sup>55</sup></b>	center	SLZO-MLD	

#23, Univ. of Texas, Arlington, still unpublished in English, but translated into Chinese (2006) by 蘇玉玲 邱彥遂 李岳儒 Sū Yùlíng et al., as 漢藏語和其他語言中邊音的塞音化 *Hàn-Zàng-yǔ hé qí tā de yǎnyán zhōng biānyīn de sèyīnhuà* in Chinese Phonology 聲韻論叢 [*Shēngyùn lùncóng*] (Taipei) 14:45-65. See also the discussion in *HPTB*, pp. 50-53.

<sup>3</sup>For now we are including this Abor-Miri form for ‘self’ with zero-initial in this set, along with several zero-initial forms meaning ‘I/me’ from Naga languages. One can imagine a scenario whereby the  $*\text{s-l}$  cluster became a voiceless lateral  $*\text{hl-}$ , thence a plain  $*\text{h-}$ , then zero. (Such was the fate, e.g. of the voiceless PLB resonants  $*\text{hl-}$ ,  $*\text{hr-}$ ,  $*\text{hy-}$ , which all became **h-** in Lahu.) Cf. also the Tangkhul reflexes in **h-**.

	<b>tlái</b>	navel / center	AW-TBT:214	4
1.2. Kuki-Chin				
Ashö [Sho] (Sandoway)	ǎ <sup>h</sup> mlai <sup>1</sup>	navel	GHL-PPB:N.16	5
Khualsim	lai <sup>3</sup>	navel	GHL-PPB:N.16	
Awa Khumi	le <sup>3</sup> lun <sup>4</sup>	navel	GHL-PPB:N.16	
Khumi (Ahraing)	lae <sup>2</sup>	navel	GHL-PPB:N.16	
	lae <sup>4</sup> [leũ <sup>4</sup> ]	navel	GHL-PPB:N.16	
Kom Rem	mälai	navel	T-KomRQ:5.7.1	
	mäláai	navel / center	AW-TBT:214	
	nai mälai rui	umbilical cord	T-KomRQ:10.4.12	
Lai (Hakha)	lai <sup>5</sup>	navel	GHL-PPB:N.16	
Lailenpi	mǎ <sup>3</sup> pǎle <sup>4</sup> ri <sup>1</sup>	navel	GHL-PPB:N.16	
Lakher [Mara]	(pa-)lia-ri	umbilical cord	JAM-Ety	
	palia	navel	JAM-Ety	
	tlai	oneself, self	JAM-GSTC:071	
	<sup>2</sup> pǎ <sup>1</sup> liə	navel / center	AW-TBT:214	
Liangmei	cha la	navel	GEM-CNL	
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	pǎ <sup>3</sup> lie <sup>1</sup>	navel	GHL-PPB:N.16	
Lushai [Mizo]	láai	navel / center	AW-TBT:214	
	lai	navel; middle; center	GEM-CNL; JAM-Ety; JAM-GSTC:062; STC:287	
	lai <sup>1</sup>	navel	GHL-PPB:N.16	
Maram	puk la	navel	GEM-CNL	
Maring	palai	navel	GEM-CNL	
Matupi	buŋ <sup>4</sup> lai <sup>4</sup>	navel	GHL-PPB:N.16	
Mera	pǎ <sup>5</sup> le <sup>6</sup>	navel	GHL-PPB:N.16	
Puiron	ai	I	GEM-CNL	
Tha'oa	lai <sup>1</sup>	navel	GHL-PPB:N.16	
Thanphum	nai <sup>1</sup> nũ <sup>3</sup>	navel	GHL-PPB:N.16	
Tiddim	lai <sup>1</sup>	navel; middle	GHL-PPB:N.16	
Womatu	lai <sup>4</sup>	navel	GHL-PPB:N.16	
Xongsai	lai <sup>3</sup>	navel	GHL-PPB:N.16	
Zotung	la <sup>5</sup> rwi <sup>4</sup>	navel	GHL-PPB:N.16	
1.3. Naga				
Angami Naga	<sup>5</sup> u <sup>3</sup> luo	navel / center	AW-TBT:214	
Angami (Khomoma)	lo	navel	GEM-CNL	
Angami (Kohima)	(u) lou <sup>33</sup>	navel	VN-AngQ:5.7.1	
	u lo	navel	GEM-CNL	
Ao (Chungli)	te pela	navel	GEM-CNL	
Ao (Mongsen)	tü püla	navel	GEM-CNL	
Ao Naga	<sup>2</sup> tu <sup>2</sup> pu <sup>2</sup> la	navel / center	AW-TBT:214	
Chokri	(u) lou <sup>33</sup>	navel	VN-ChkQ:5.7.1	

<sup>4</sup>The **tl-** cluster in this Miju form looks like a reduction of the disyllabic sequence **tu-lai** (previous record). This disyllabic form in turn is susceptible of two interpretations. Either it is a two-morpheme sequence where the first element is < \***du** NAVEL/UMBILICAL CORD (i.e. < \***du-lai**; see below), or more plausibly it, as well as the first consonant in the monosyllabic form **tlái**, is simply a reflex of the \***s-** prefix (\***s-lai** > **tlái**, or \***s-lai** > **tu-lai**). See also the Bantawa, Kham, and Lakher (Mara) reflexes with **tl-** in this section, as well as the WT form with **lt-**, under (40b) \***s-tay** NAVEL / ABDOMEN / CENTER / SELF.

<sup>5</sup>This form attests to the simultaneous presence of the \***s-** and \***m-** prefixes with this root: \***s-m-lay**.

### III. Navel

Khezha	<b>pələ́</b>	navel	SY-KhözhaQ:5.7.1	
Lotha Naga	<b>ai</b>	I	GEM-CNL	
	<b>Nla</b>	navel	VN-LothQ:5.7.1	
	<b>nna</b>	navel	GEM-CNL	
	<b><sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>la</b>	navel / center	AW-TBT:214	
Mao	<b>ai</b>	I	GEM-CNL	
Rengma	<b>nnu</b>	navel	GEM-CNL	
Rengma (Northern)	<b><sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>bvu<sup>3</sup>li</b>	navel / center	AW-TBT:214	
Rengma (Southern)	<b><sup>4</sup>n<sup>4</sup>lu</b>	navel / center	AW-TBT:214	
Rongmei	<b>ai</b>	I	GEM-CNL	
	<b>la</b>	navel	GEM-CNL	
Sema	<b>a pfo la</b>	navel	GEM-CNL	
Tangkhum	<b>hai zo</b>	navel	GEM-CNL; JAM-Ety	6
	<b>hay toŋ</b>	navel	JAM-GSTC:071	
	<b>hay zo</b>	navel	JAM-GSTC:071	
Zeme	<b>mi la ria</b>	navel	GEM-CNL	
	<b><sup>3</sup>mi<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>la</b>	navel / center	AW-TBT:214	
1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish				
Bodo	<b>a má tu~ a máy tu</b>	navel	JAM-Ety	7
Dimasa	<b>ho tha mai</b>	navel	GEM-CNL	8
Khamngan	<b><sup>23</sup>li?</b>	navel / center	AW-TBT:214	
Meche	<b>u-tu-mxi</b>	navel	AW-TBT:15	
2.1.1. Western Himalayish				
Bunan	<b>rè</b>	umbilical cord	SBN-BunQ:10.4.12	
Pattani [Manchati]	<b>re</b>	navel	STP-ManQ:5.7.1	
	<b>ré(h)</b>	navel	DS-Patt	
2.1.2. Bodic				
Sherpa	<b>lhyeq</b>	navel	JAM-Ety	
2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar				
Chepeng	<b>ləy?</b>	self	SIL-Chep:13.B.28	
Kham	<b>'pū:h təli</b>	navel	DNW-KhamQ:2.A.38	
	<b>pūh tali</b>	navel	JAM-Ety	
2.3.2. Kiranti				
Bantawa	<b>chum buy tli</b>	navel	AW-TBT:214	9
	<b>chum bu li</b>	middle; navel	AW-TBT:214; WW-Bant:21	
	<b>tshum-bu li</b>	navel	JAM-Ety	
Hayu	<b>su li puŋ</b>	navel	BM-PK7:129	

<sup>6</sup>The **h-** in these Tangkhul forms apparently descends from the lateral cluster **\*s-l**. Cf. the forms from Abor-Miri and Naga languages with zero initial.

<sup>7</sup>We are assuming preemption by the nasal prefix in this Bodo form, as well as in Dimasa **ho-tha-mai**.

<sup>8</sup>We are assuming preemption by the labial prefix in this Dimasa form, as well as in Bodo **a-má(y)-tu**.

<sup>9</sup>The **tl-** in the last syllable seems to be the reflex of the **\*s-l** cluster (cf. the Lakher and Miju forms with similar initials). If the second syllable **-bu(y)-** were really just a fully vocalized reflex of a labial prefix **\*bV-**, this form would reflect a doubly-prefixed prototype like **\*b-s-lay** (cf. the Ashö Sandoway **hmlai** < **\*s-m-lay**). On the other hand, the second syllable seems to descend from a separate etymon (perhaps **\*s-bu-k** BELLY / STOMACH / CAVE or **\*poŋ/n** BELLY / CENTER), especially in view of Kham forms like **pū:h-tali**.



5. Tujia			
Tujia (Northern)	lo <sup>35</sup> li <sup>55</sup>	center	JZ-Tujia
Tujia	mue <sup>21</sup> t <sup>h</sup> i <sup>55</sup> k <sup>h</sup> u <sup>55</sup> li <sup>55</sup>	navel	CK-TujBQ:5.7.1
6.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	ǎlai	middle, center, navel	STC:287
	a lay	middle	GEM-CNL
	ə lai	navel / center	AW-TBT:214
	?ə lai	middle, center	JAM-Ety
6.2. Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	khâ?-le	trigger of crossbow	JAM-DL:p.369; JAM-GSTC:062
	le	trigger	JAM-GSTC:062
	nâ?-le	trigger; trigger of gun	JAM-DL:p.751; JAM-GSTC:062

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## (40b) \*s-tay NAVEL / ABDOMEN / CENTER / SELF

I regard this root as a co-allofam of (40a) \*m/s-la(:)y NAVEL / CENTER / SELF. Both *STC* #299 \*s-tay ‘navel’ and *STC* #284 \*tay ‘self’ are to be subsumed under this stop-initialled allofam. Reflexes occur widely in TB: Kamarupan, Himalayish, Jingpho, Karenic, Qiangic (including Tangut), Bai, and Tujia, as well as occasionally in Loloish.

There is also an excellent Chinese comparandum 臍 (Mand. qí), *GSR* 593f \*dz’iər/dz’iei, perhaps < \*s-tay via \*\*zday. This comparison has been suggested several times, including by Weidert (*TBT* #843).

See *GSTC* #62 and #71, and *HPTB* pp. 52, 208, 217.

## 0. Sino-Tibetan

*Tibeto-Burman	*s-tay	navel	AW-TBT:738
	*s-tǎy	self / navel	JAM-GSTC:071
	*s-tay	navel, abdomen	STC:299
	*s-ta[:]y	navel, abdomen	WTF-PNN:525
	*tay	self	STC:284
1.2. Kuki-Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	tei	self	STC:284
1.3. Naga			
*Northern Naga	*tay	navel	JAM-GSTC:071; WTF-PNN:525
Ao (Chungli)	te pela	navel	GEM-CNL
Ao (Mongsen)	tü püla	navel	GEM-CNL
Ao Naga	<sup>2</sup> tu <sup>2</sup> pu <sup>2</sup> la	navel / center	AW-TBT:214
Nocte	po te	navel	WTF-PNN:525; JAM-GSTC:071
	<sup>2</sup> po <sup>1</sup> te	navel	AW-TBT:15
	<sup>3</sup> po <sup>1</sup> te	navel / center	AW-TBT:214
Mzieme	ka tei	self	GEM-CNL

<sup>10</sup>The trigger is, as it were, the navel of a gun or crossbow. See Matisoff 1988a, p. 1373.

### III. Navel

#### 1.5. Mikir

Mikir	ce <b>tè</b> che <b>te</b> che <b>tè</b> che <b>tè</b> a-charàng che <b>te</b> acharang	navel; center navel navel umbilical cord umbilical cord	AW-TBT:15,214 GEM-CNL; JAM-Ety KHG-Mikir:60 KHG-Mikir:60 JAM-Ety	11
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#### 1.6. Mru

Mru	<b>dai</b>	navel	JAM-Ety; JAM-GSTC:071	
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#### 1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish

Bodo Garo	u <b>dóy</b> <b>ste</b>	abdomen / belly abdomen	JAM-Ety JAM-GSTC:071; STC:96n276	
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#### 2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	por <b>tsi</b>	navel	SBN-BunQ:5.7.1	12
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#### 2.1.2. Bodic

Baima	<b>tɛ</b> <sup>13</sup> <b>tɛ</b> <sup>35</sup>	navel	SHK-BaimaQ:5.7.1	
Bumthang	<b>ti</b> wit	navel	AW-TBT:738	
Dzongkha	<b>ti</b> -u:	navel	AW-TBT:738	
Kaike	<b>Tya</b>	navel	JAM-Ety	
Tsangla (Central)	phu <b>chi</b>	navel	SER-HSL/T:33 13	
Tsangla (Motuo)	pu <sup>55</sup> <b>ti</b> <sup>55</sup> ma	navel	JZ-CLMenba	
Sakka Trokpa	<b>tī</b> -a	navel	AW-TBT:738	
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	<b>hte</b>	navel	JS-Amdo:627	
Tibetan (Balti)	<b>ṭi</b> ya·	navel	RAN1975:77	
Tibetan (Batang)	<b>tia</b> <sup>55</sup>	navel	DQ-Batang:5.7.1	
Tibetan (Jirel)	<b>teq</b>	navel	JAM-Ety	
Jirel	<b>teq</b>	navel	JAM-GSTC:071	
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	<b>tē</b> gah	navel	B-ShrpaHQ:5.7.1	
Spiti	<b>tiya</b>	navel	CB-SpitiQ:5.7.1	
Tibetan (Written)	<b>lte</b> <b>lte</b> -ba	navel navel; center; ab- domen	JAM-Ety AW-TBT:214,738; JAM-GSTC:071; STC:299; JS-Tib:627; GEM-CNL	13

#### 2.1.4. Tamangic

Chantyal Gurung (Ghachok)	põ <b>ti</b> pa <b>diq</b>	navel navel	NPB-ChanQ:5.7.1 JAM-Ety; SIL-Gur:2.A.38	
Manang (Gyaru)	bi <sup>1</sup> <b>dɛ</b> <sup>1</sup>	navel	YN-Man:039	
Manang (Prakaa)	<sup>2</sup> pi <b>te</b>	navel	HM-Prak:0027	
Tamang (Bagmati)	pe <b>te</b>	navel	AW-TBT:738	
Tamang (Risiangku)	<sup>2</sup> pe <b>te</b>	navel, umbilical cord	MM-TamRisQ:5.7.1, 10.	
Tamang (Sahu)	'pe <b>te</b>	navel; umbilical cord	AW-TBT:738; JAM-Ety; SIL-Sahu:2.36	

<sup>11</sup>The last element **charang** means 'pipe, tube' (Walker 1925:24).

<sup>12</sup>The first syllable of this form is to be compared to the second syllable of Bahing **sy-pyr** 'navel'. See (46) \***bryam** ≈ \***brim** NAVEL / UMBILICAL CORD, below.

<sup>13</sup>The **It**- cluster in the WT form looks like a metathesized version of the **tl**- cluster found in Kham, Bantawa, Lakher (Mara), and Miju (above), further justifying the treatment of \***s-lay** and \***s-tay** as colofams of the same etymon.

	<b>-Ti</b>	self	SIL-Sahu:12.E.28	
2.1.5. Dhimal				
Dhimal	<b>bo dhi</b>	navel	JK-Dh	
2.2. Newar				
Newar (Dolakhali)	<b>ṭẽ bu ri</b>	navel	CG-Dolak	
Newar	<b>te pu</b>	navel	JAM-Ety	
	<b>te pu ca</b>	navel	SH-KNw:5.7.1	14
Newar (Kathmandu)	<b>te pɔ ca</b>	navel	CG-Kath	
2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar				
Chepeng	<b>toi</b>	navel	AW-TBT:15	
	<b>toy</b>	navel	AW-TBT:738	
	<b>toy?</b>	navel	JAM-Ety; JAM-GSTC:071; SIL-Chep:2.A.38	
	<b>toy?-ru</b>	umbilical cord	SIL-Chep:2.A.39; JAM-Ety	
Chepeng (Eastern)	<b>toy</b>	navel	RC-ChepQ:5.7.1	
Magar	<b>me-pe de</b>	navel	JAM-Ety	
	<b>me-pe .re</b>	navel	AW-TBT:738	
3.1. Tangut				
Tangut [Xixia]	( <b>γɔfi</b> ) <b>tefi</b>	navel	NT-SGK:191	
	<b>tefi</b>	navel	NT-SGK:106-061	
	<b>tin<sup>2</sup></b>	navel	MVS-Grin	
	<b>?o tĩ</b>	navel	DQ-Xixia:5.7.1	
4.1. Jingpho				
Jingpho	<b>dāi</b>	navel; self	JAM-Ety; JAM-GSTC:071	
	<b>dai</b>	self	STC:284	
	<b>dài ~ śədāi</b>	navel	JAM-GSTC:071	15
	<b>dai × śədai</b>	navel, abdomen	STC:299	
	<b>dāi-dāi</b>	self	JAM-Ety	
	<b>shadai</b>	navel	GEM-CNL	
	<b>shədāi</b>	navel	JAM-Ety	
	<b><sup>1</sup>šə<sup>2</sup>dai</b>	navel; center	AW-TBT:214,843	
5. Tujia				
Tujia (Southern)	tu <sup>35</sup> <b>dī</b> <sup>21</sup> ŋã <sup>33</sup>	navel	JZ-Tujia	
6.2. Loloish				
Nosu	tçho <sup>21</sup> bu <sup>21</sup> <b>dī</b> <sup>33</sup>	navel	CK-YiQ:5.7.1	
Yi (Xide)	tç <sup>h</sup> ɔ <sup>33</sup> -bu <sup>21</sup> - <b>dī</b> <sup>33</sup>	navel	CSL-Ylzd	
7. Karenic				
*Karen (Sgaw)	<b>*dé</b>	navel	RBJ-KLS:143	
*Karen (Pho)	<b>*dè'</b>	navel	RBJ-KLS:143	

<sup>14</sup>K. P. Malla (p.c. 2007) analyzes this form as consisting of **te** ‘navel’ plus **pu** ‘seed, round thing’ plus **ca** (preferably **chaa**) ‘diminutive morpheme; child’. The last element also appears in compounds like **ma-chaa** ‘a child’ and **khi-chaa** ‘a dog’.

<sup>15</sup>The sibilant prefix might be a reduction of PTB \***sya** ‘flesh; animal’. This prefix occurs productively with body parts in a number of other TB languages (e.g. Nung **sərō** ‘bone’, WT **skra** ‘hair’, Dimasa **salai** ‘tongue’, WT **snabs** ‘snot’, etc.).

### III. Navel

*Karen (TP)	*dè'	navel	RBJ-KLS:143
*Karen	*dài'	navel	RBJ-KLS:143
*Karen (Pho-Sgaw)	*dàih	navel	RBJ-KLS:143
Bwe	-đí mú	navel	EJAH-BKD
Bwe (Western)	đr <sup>1</sup>	navel	GHL-PPB:F.19
Bwe	?đí-phló	navel	AW-TBT:843
Geba	ă di <sup>1</sup>	navel	GHL-PPB:F.19
Pa-O (Northern)	pă de <sup>6</sup>	navel	GHL-PPB:F.19
Pa-O	pó? de	navel	JAM-Ety; RBJ-KLS:143
Palaychi	điq bòq	navel	JAM-Ety; RBJ-KLS:143
Pho	dé	navel	AW-TBT:843
Pho (Tenasserim)	ə de <sup>5</sup>	navel	GHL-PPB:F.19
Pho (Delta)	ə di <sup>2</sup>	navel	GHL-PPB:F.19
Pho (Bassein)	dé	navel	JAM-Ety; JAM-GSTC:071; RBJ-KLS:143
Pho (Moulmein)	de	navel	AW-TBT:843; JAM-Ety; JAM-GSTC:071; RBJ-KLS:143
Sgaw	de <sup>1</sup>	navel	GHL-PPB:F.19
Paku	de <sup>1</sup> b <sup>2</sup>	navel	GHL-PPB:F.19
Sgaw	<sup>4</sup> ?de	navel	AW-TBT:843
Sgaw (Bassein)	dé	navel	JAM-Ety; RBJ-KLS:143
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	di <sup>55</sup> b <sup>33</sup>	navel	DQ-KarenB:123
Sgaw (Moulmein)	dé	navel	JAM-Ety; RBJ-KLS:143
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	de <sup>55</sup>	navel	DQ-KarenA:123
	de <sup>55</sup> b <sup>55</sup>	umbilical cord	DQ-KarenA:148
8. Bai			
Bai	jō <sup>21</sup> f <sub>v</sub> <sup>44</sup> te <sup>44</sup>	navel	ZYS-Bai:5.7.1
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Mandarin)	ts'i	navel	GSR:593f
Chinese (Old)	dz'iei	navel	AW-TBT:843
Chinese (Old/Mid)	dz'iær/dz'iei	navel	GSR:593f

### Chinese comparanda

臍 qí 'navel'

GSR: 593f

Karlgren: \*dz'iær

Li: \*dziæd

Baxter: \*dzij

The initial correspondence of OC \*dz- to PTB \*s-t- could be explained by metathesis, as discussed in Bodman 1969<sup>16</sup>. Baxter (1992:229-30) allows for the general developments \*St- > ts- and \*Sd- > dz-, where \*S is a metathesizing prefix. This prefix is usually reconstructed when phonetic series evidence suggests an original stop initial. Within GSR 593, however, there is no evidence for original dental stops. Nevertheless, Schuessler (2007:421) admits the possibility, suggesting possible pre-Old Chinese forms \*dz(l)əi < \*s-d(l)əi.

<sup>16</sup>“Tibetan *sdud* ‘folds of a garment’, the character 卒, and the \*st- hypothesis.” *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 39:327-45.

On the apparent mismatch between the voiceless PTB initial and the voiced OC initial, see the discussion under (1b) \*pu EGG.

For a discussion of the correspondence between OC \*-ij and TB \*-ay, see (140) \*ŋ-(w)ay COPULATE / MAKE LOVE / LOVE / GENTLE.

[ZJH]

There also seems to be a phonosemantic connection between the stop-initialled allofam \*s-tay and a PTB root \*ta:y meaning BELT/ZONE/WAIST, first reconstructed in Matisoff 1985a (GSTC #95) on the basis of WT sde ‘part, portion (e.g. of a country), province, district, territory, zone’, Lahu de ‘belt of land between the high rain-forest and the plains; large expanse of terrain’, Luquan Lolo nt<sup>h</sup>e<sup>11</sup> ‘plain, flat expanse’, Lushai tai ‘waist’, Mikir daykha ‘middle, intermediate’. This implies that WT lte-ba ‘navel’ is a co-allofam of WT sde ‘zone’.

A very likely Chinese comparandum is 帶 OC \*tâd ‘girdle, sash’, Mand. dài ‘belt, zone’. For the semantics, cf. Eng. zone < Gk. zōnē ‘girdle’ < PIE \*yōs-nā (\*yōs ‘to gird’).

[JAM]

帶 dài ‘belt, sash’

GSR: 315a

Karlgren: \*tâd

Li: \*tadh

Baxter: \*tats (p. 753)

This word is reconstructed with a final stop by both Baxter and Li. As Schuessler (2007:72) notes, there is reason to think that some of the words reconstructed by Baxter in \*-ts should be revised to \*-s. 帶 is one of the words that Schuessler so revises, supporting the comparison made here (Schuessler 2007:203).

The comparison of PTB \*-ay with either OC \*-as or \*-ats is still problematic, as I know of no other examples of such a correspondence. It must be noted, however, that a regular pattern of correspondence between OC and PTB \*-ay has not yet emerged. The most commonly attested correspondences are with OC \*-aj or \*-ij on the one hand (as with 臍, above), and OC \*-e on the other (see (37) \*m/s-ŋa-y CHILD / BIRTH / SMALL).

[ZJH]

(41) \*kyak NAVEL / UMBILICAL CORD / ROPE

This root is abundantly attested in Lolo-Burmese and in Qiangic. It is reconstructed as PLB \*ʔkyak in TSR #58, with the meaning ROPE/STRING; TSR also tentatively assigns several forms for NAVEL to this etymon.

There are two Chinese candidates for relationship to this etymon: 弋 GSR 918a-b dīæk / jīæk ‘shoot with arrow with string attached; such an arrow’ ≈ 繳 GSR 1258e tīæk / tījæk [OC form not cited in GSR] ‘string attached to arrow’. STC (p. 176) attempts to relate these Chinese words to PTB \*b-la ‘arrow’ [STC #449], via a hypothetical intermediate form \*\*plīæk. I consider this to be far-fetched phonologically and unsatisfying semantically. The semantic association between an umbilical cord and an arrow with string attached is irresistible. The metaphor is still alive today, e.g. in spacecraft, where the lifeline attaching a space-walking astronaut to the mother ship is commonly called an *umbilical cord*. For more discussion of these Chinese words, see ZJH’s note below.

### III. Navel

See *HPTB*, pp. 318, 319.

#### 1.1. North Assam

*Tani	* <b>kri-ni</b>	navel	JS-HCST:268
Padam-Mising [Abor-Miri]	<b>ki-ni</b>	navel	JAM-Ety; JS-HCST
	<b>ki-nyo</b>	navel	JAM-Ety
Apatani	<b>k<sup>h</sup>rju-nə</b>	navel	JS-Tani
	<b>k<sup>h</sup>rə-nə</b>	navel	JS-Tani
	<b>xrju-nu</b>	navel	JS-HCST
	<b>xu-nu</b>	navel	JS-Tani
Bengni	<b>ki-ni</b>	navel	JS-HCST; JS-Tani
Bokar	<b>ki:ni:</b>	navel	JS-HCST
Idu	<b>i ci-be</b>	navel	NEFA-PBI
	<b>i ci bɣ</b>	navel	JP-Idu

#### 1.2. Kuki-Chin

Liangmei	<b>cha la</b>	navel	GEM-CNL
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#### 1.4. Meithei

Meithei	<b>cə niŋ</b>	navel	CYS-Meithei:5.7.1
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#### 3.2. Qiangic

Ergong (Northern)	<b>vəu<sup>13</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ya<sup>33</sup></b>	umbilical cord	SHK-ErgNQ:10.4.12
	<b>vəu<sup>53</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ya<sup>13</sup></b>	navel	SHK-ErgNQ:5.7.1
Ergong (Danba)	<b>wu tɕ<sup>h</sup>i</b>	navel	SHK-ErgDQ:5.7.1
Muya [Minyak]	<b>vi<sup>33</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>a<sup>53</sup></b>	navel	SHK-MuyaQ:5.7.1
Qiang (Mawo)	<b>pu ɣ</b>	navel	JS-Mawo
	<b>pʌ tɕɔ</b>	navel	SHK-MawoQ:5.7.1
Qiang (Yadu)	<b>pu tɕu</b>	navel	DQ-QiangN:123

#### 3.3. rGyalrongic

rGyalrong (Eastern)	<b>pok tɕ<sup>h</sup>u</b>	navel	SHK-rGEQ:5.7.1
rGyalrong	<b>tə pok tɕ<sup>h</sup>u</b>	navel	DQ-Jiarong:5.7.1
rGyalrong (Northern)	<b>tə po tɕ<sup>h</sup>ak</b>	navel	SHK-rGNQ:5.7.1
	<b>tə pu cɕ<sup>h</sup>ak</b>	umbilical cord	SHK-rGNQ:10.4.12
rGyalrong (NW)	<b>tə wu tɕ<sup>h</sup>ak</b>	umbilical cord	SHK-rGNWQ:10.4.12
	<b>tə ɣ tɕ<sup>h</sup>ak</b>	navel	SHK-rGNWQ:5.7.1

#### 6. Lolo-Burmese

*Lolo-Burmese	* <b>kyak<sup>H</sup>, ʔkyak<sup>H</sup></b>	navel	JAM-MLBM:75
	* <b>ʔkyak</b>	rope; string; navel	JAM-TSR:58,58

#### 6.1. Burmish

*Burmese	* <b>khyak</b>	navel	JO-PB
Achang (Lianghe)	<b>tshɑ<sup>ʔ55</sup></b>	navel	JZ-Achang
Achang (Longchuan)	<b>tɕhi<sup>31</sup> tɔt<sup>55</sup></b>	navel	JZ-Achang
Achang (Luxi)	<b>tɕha<sup>51</sup></b>	navel	JZ-Achang
Achang (Xiandao)	<b>tɕ<sup>h</sup>ɔ<sup>ʔ55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>oŋ<sup>31</sup></b>	navel; umbilical cord	DQ-Xiandao:120,145
Arakanese	<b>hco'</b>	navel	JO-PB
Bola	<b>tɕ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>ʔ55</sup></b>	navel; umbilical cord	DQ-Bola:120,145
Burmese (Modern)	<b>k'yak</b>	navel	GHL-PPB:V.118

<sup>17</sup>This is a contraction of the other Mawo form **pʌtɕɔ**.

<sup>18</sup>The first constituent looks like a contraction of **tə wu** 'belly'. See previous record **tə wu tɕ<sup>h</sup>ak** 'umbilical cord'.

## (41) \*kyak NAVEL / UMBILICAL CORD / ROPE

Burmese (Standard Spoken)	<b>hce'</b>	navel	JO-PB
Burmese (Written)	<b>khyak</b>	navel	GEM-CNL; JAM-Ety; JAM-MLBM:75; JO-PB; PKB-WBRD
	<b>khyak-krúi</b>	umbilical cord	JAM-Ety
	<b>k'yak</b>	navel	GHL-PPB:V.118
Hpun (Northern)	<b>shèʔ shú, shè əshú</b>	navel	EJAH-Hpun
Intha	<b>hye'</b>	navel	JO-PB
Lashi	<b>tʃhɔʔ<sup>55</sup></b>	navel	DQ-Lashi:5.7.1
Maru [Langsu]	<b>chó'</b>	navel	JO-PB
	<b>tʃhɔʔ<sup>55</sup></b>	navel	DQ-Langsu:5.7.1
Tavoyan	<b>hyi'</b>	navel	JO-PB
Atsi [Zaiwa]	<b>tʃhɔʔ<sup>55</sup></b>	navel	JZ-Zaiwa
6.2. Loloish			
*Loloish	<b>*(C-k)yak<sup>H</sup></b>	navel	DB-PLolo:120A
Ahi	<b>tʃe 44</b>	rope / string	JAM-TSR:58
	<b>tʃe<sup>33</sup>bu<sup>21</sup>du<sup>55</sup>lu<sup>55</sup></b>	navel	CK-YiQ:5.7.1
	<b>tʃi<sup>21</sup>bu<sup>21</sup>du<sup>55</sup>lu<sup>55</sup></b>	navel	LMZ-AhiQ:5.7.1
Akha (Yunnan)	<b>á tjaq / á tsaq</b>	rope	ILH-PL:451
Akha	<b>a-ca H-HS</b>	rope / string	JAM-TSR:58
Akha (Thai)	<b>á tjáq</b>	rope, string, cord	ILH-PL:451
Akha	<b>ca<sup>ˆ</sup> tah<sub>˘</sub></b>	navel	JAM-Ety
	<b>ca<sup>ˆ</sup> u<sup>˘</sup></b>	umbilical cord	JAM-Ety
	<b>tjaq</b>	rope	ILH-PL:451
Gazhuo	<b>tv<sup>35</sup> tsh<sub>1</sub><sup>35</sup> je<sup>323</sup></b>	navel	DQ-Gazhuo:5.7.1
Hani (Lüchun)	<b>à tjaq</b>	rope	ILH-PL:451
Hani (Dazhai)	<b>a<sup>55</sup>tsa<sup>33</sup></b>	rope	ZMYYC:422.31
Hani (Pijo)	<b>tjho</b>	rope	ILH-PL:451
	<b>tə tjho</b>	rope	ILH-PL:451
Hani (Gelanghe)	<b>a<sup>55</sup>tca<sup>33</sup></b>	rope	JZ-Hani
Hani (Wordlist)	<b>al zav</b>	rope	ILH-PL:451
Hani (Shuikui)	<b>a<sup>55</sup>tʃha<sup>33</sup></b>	rope	ZMYYC:422.32
Hani (Khatu)	<b>tjho</b>	rope	ILH-PL:451
	<b>tsỳ tjho</b>	rope	ILH-PL:451
Lahu (Black)	<b>câʔ</b>	rope / string	JAM-TSR:58
	<b>gǔ(˜ gǔ)-tu-câʔ</b>	umbilical cord	JAM-DL:1138
	<b>ǝ-pi-câʔ</b>	strap; sash; belt	JAM-DL:p. 817
	<b>yǔ-tu-ǝi-câʔ</b>	umbilical cord	JAM-DL:1129
Lahu (Yellow)	<b>tsa<sup>6</sup>khe<sup>1</sup></b>	rope	JZ-Lahu
Lalo	<b>hí-tshí</b>	rope	SB-Lalo
	<b>tɕ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>33</sup> pa<sup>33</sup> tʃa<sup>33</sup></b>	umbilical cord	CK-YiQ:10.4.12
	<b>tɕ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>33</sup> ma<sup>33</sup> du<sup>21</sup></b>	navel	CK-YiQ:5.7.1
	<b>ʃa<sup>55</sup> ku<sup>55</sup> tʃa<sup>33</sup></b>	backbone / spine	CK-YiQ:5.5.4
Lipho	<b>tshe<sup>55</sup>du<sup>21</sup></b>	navel	CK-YiQ:5.7.1
Lisu (Central)	<b>chi<sup>1</sup>-hchya<sup>5</sup></b>	self	JF-HLL
Lisu (Putao)	<b>ch'e<sup>2</sup>du<sup>5</sup></b>	navel	GHL-PPB:V.118
Lisu (Central)	<b>hchi<sup>3</sup> ra<sup>5</sup></b>	rope	JF-HLL
Lisu	<b>hchi<sup>3</sup>-ra<sup>5</sup></b>	rope / string	JAM-TSR:58

<sup>19</sup>Note the similarity between the last two syllables and the Lahu forms **ǝ-ku-câʔ** 'vein, sinew, tendon' and **ǝ-ku-ǝ-câʔ** 'every bone in the body'.

### III. Navel

Lisu (Central)	<b>hchya</b> <sup>4</sup> -du <sup>5</sup>	navel	JF-HLL
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	<b>hchya</b> <sup>4</sup> du <sup>5</sup>	navel	GHL-PPB:V.118
Lisu (Nujiang)	<b>tʃ<sup>h</sup>ɛ</b> <sup>35</sup> du <sup>31</sup>	navel	JZ-Lisu
Lisu (Northern)	<b>tɕhæ</b> <sup>35</sup> du <sup>21</sup>	navel	DB-Lisu
	tɕi <sup>55</sup> tɕhæ <sup>21</sup>	self; individual	DB-Lisu
Lolopho	<b>tshe</b> <sup>44</sup> dɿ <sup>31</sup>	navel	DQ-Lolopho:5.7.1
Luquan	<b>tʃa</b> 22s	rope / string	JAM-TSR:58
Mpi	<b>tɕe</b> ʔ <sup>4</sup> -thuŋ <sup>2</sup>	navel	JAM-MLBM:75; DB-PLolo
Nasu	<b>ts<sup>h</sup>a</b> <sup>21</sup> bi <sup>21</sup> du <sup>33</sup>	navel	CK-YiQ:5.7.1
	<b>tʃa</b> 32s	rope / string	JAM-TSR:58
	<b>ts<sup>h</sup>a</b> <sup>21</sup>	umbilical cord	CK-YiQ:10.4.12
Nesu	<b>ts<sup>h</sup>ɿ</b> <sup>33</sup> bi <sup>21</sup> tu <sup>55</sup>	navel	CK-YiQ:5.7.1
Noesu	<b>tʃha</b> <sup>33</sup> bi <sup>21</sup> du <sup>33</sup>	navel	CK-YiQ:5.7.1
Nosu	<b>tɕho</b> <sup>21</sup> bu <sup>21</sup> di <sup>33</sup>	navel	CK-YiQ:5.7.1
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	<b>ts<sup>h</sup>ɛ</b> <sup>31</sup>	navel	DQ-NusuA:120.
	<b>ts<sup>h</sup>ɛ</b> <sup>1</sup>	umbilical cord	DQ-NusuA:145.
Nusu (Bijiang)	tɕhi <sup>55</sup> tɕha <sup>31</sup>	self	ZMYC:979.45
Nusu (Central)	<b>ts<sup>h</sup>a</b> <sup>53</sup>	navel; umbilical cord	DQ-NusuB:120.,145.
Sani [Nyi]	<b>tʃe</b> 44	rope / string	JAM-TSR:58
	<b>tɕhe</b> <sup>33</sup> bu <sup>21</sup> du <sup>55</sup>	navel	YHJC-Sani
	<b>tɕhe</b> <sup>33</sup> tʃp <sup>33</sup>	umbilical cord	YHJC-Sani 20
	<b>tɕhe</b> <sup>44</sup> bu <sup>21</sup> du <sup>55</sup>	navel	CK-YiQ:5.7.1
	<b>tɕhe</b> <sup>44</sup> tʃa <sup>33</sup>	umbilical cord	CK-YiQ:10.4.12
	<b>tɕ<sup>h</sup>e</b> <sup>33</sup> tʃa <sup>33</sup>	umbilical cord	YHJC-Sani:233.1
Phunoi	mǎ chǎ?	navel	JAM-Ety
	mǎ chǎ	navel	DB-PLolo
	mǎ c <sup>h</sup> aʔ <sup>11</sup>	navel	DB-Phunoi
Ugong	cʃ?	navel	DB-Ugong:5.7.1
	cʃ? ʔɛŋ/ cʃ? khlí	navel lint	DB-Ugong 21
Woni	<b>ts'a</b> 33	rope / string	JAM-TSR:58
Yi (Dafang)	<b>tʃa</b> <sup>33</sup>	rope	ZMYC:422.22
Yi (Mile)	ni <sup>55</sup> tɕe <sup>33</sup>	rope	ZMYC:422.25
Yi (Mojiang)	<b>tɕe</b> <sup>33</sup>	rope	ZMYC:422.26
Yi (Nanhua)	<b>tʃa</b> <sup>33</sup> vɛ <sup>21</sup>	rope	ZMYC:422.24
Yi (Nanjian)	pǎ <sup>33</sup> tɕe <sup>33</sup>	rope	ZMYC:422.23
Yi (Xide)	<b>tɕ<sup>h</sup>ɔ</b> <sup>33</sup> -bu <sup>21</sup> -di <sup>33</sup>	navel	CSL-YIzd
6.4. Jinuo			
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	<b>tʃ<sup>h</sup>a</b> <sup>31</sup> to <sup>44</sup>	navel; umbilical cord	DQ-JinA:123,148
	<b>tʃ<sup>h</sup>a</b> <sup>31</sup> to <sup>44</sup> lo <sup>44</sup>	umbilical cord	DQ-JinA:148.1
Jinuo (Youle)	<b>tʃ<sup>h</sup>a</b> <sup>42</sup> to <sup>44</sup> lo <sup>44</sup>	navel	JZ-Jinuo
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	tʃiak/tʃjak	string attached to arrow	ACST:1258e

### Chinese comparanda

弋 yì 'shoot arrow (with string attached)'

GSR: 918a

Karlgren: \*djak

Li: \*rək

Baxter: \*ljik (467)

<sup>20</sup>The Sani forms **tɕhe**<sup>33</sup>tʃp<sup>33</sup>, **tɕhe**<sup>44</sup>tʃa<sup>33</sup>, **tɕ<sup>h</sup>e**<sup>33</sup> tʃa<sup>33</sup> are puzzling, since either syllable is a plausible reflex of this root. Perhaps two Sani variants have developed, one (with aspirated initial) < \*kyak, meaning 'navel'; and the other (with unaspirated initial) < \*gyak, meaning 'cord'.

<sup>21</sup>The second element means 'shit'.



There is considerable disagreement about the reconstruction of words with MC initial *j-* which appear in phonetic series with words having dental initials. While Karlgren's \**d-* is no longer accepted, variations of \**r-*, \**l-*, and \**j-* are proposed by a number of scholars.

This Chinese word does not appear to be directly cognate to the PTB form, as there is no evidence of a velar initial. Gong (2001) revives Benedict's (*STC* p. 176) comparison with PTB \**b-la* 'arrow', reconstructing OC \**blək*, with the regular development \**bl-* > \**l-*. Gong's system would also admit the possibility of reconstructing \**glək*.

A more likely candidate for cognacy is 繳 *zhuó* (see below).

Cf. 射 *shè* 'shoot with bow', OC \**mljaks* (Baxter 1992 sets 1357, 1393, with revision of \**L-* to \**ml-*), which may also be etymologically related to 弋 and/or PTB \**b-la*.

繳 *zhuó* 'string attached to arrow'

GSR: 1258e

Karlgren: --

Li: \**krjakw* ?

Baxter: \**kjewk* ?

This character has two Middle Chinese readings, one with velar initial and no coda, and one with palatal initial and velar coda. Based on internal Chinese evidence, the Old Chinese reconstruction cannot be determined with certainty. Karlgren placed this word in series 1258, which is not a phonetic series at all but a collection of words that Karlgren deemed unreconstructible for lack of evidence. Other characters that appear to have the same phonetic element appear in GSR 1162, all of which are reconstructed as open syllables with velar initial.

The character 激 *jī* 'dam up and cause (water) to rush up', found in GSR 1162 and apparently sharing a phonetic element with 繳, is reconstructed 激 \**kewk* by Baxter and \**kiakw* by Li, suggesting that in Baxter's system 繳 should be reconstructed \**kjewk* and \**kew?* to account for the two Middle Chinese pronunciations. An \**a* vocalism in Baxter's system cannot be completely discounted, but it would make it difficult to explain the subsequent palatalization of the initial velar in one of the Middle Chinese forms.

All of the possible Old Chinese reconstructions present problems in terms of the Chinese/PTB vowel correspondence. Old Chinese coda \**-kw* (Li)/\**-wk* (Baxter) regularly corresponds to TB rounded vowels.

Given the difficulty of determining the Old Chinese reconstruction of 繳, this proposed cognate set must be considered tentative.

[ZJH]

(42)

\**du*

NAVEL / UMBILICAL CORD

The stronghold of this etymon is Lolo-Burmese (including Jinuo), but cognates also occur in Kamarupan, Himalayish, and Tujia.

The second syllable of the Kaman [Miju] form *pa<sup>31</sup> tu<sup>31</sup> lai<sup>55</sup>* is probably just a reflex of the \**s-* prefix in (40a) \**m/s-la(:)y* NAVEL / CENTER / SELF, above. See note on Kaman [Miju] *tlái* (*ibid.*).

### III. Navel

#### 1.4. Meithei

Meithei                      khoi **dou**                      navel                      GEM-CNL

#### 1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish

Bodo                      a má **tu**~ a máy **tu**                      navel                      JAM-Ety  
 Garo (Bangladesh)                      gan-**du**-ri                      navel                      RB-GB  
 Meche                      u-**tu**-m̃xi                      navel                      AW-TBT:15

#### 2.1.4. Tamangic

Gurung (Ghachok)                      **thu**                      umbilical cord                      JAM-Ety  
    **t<sup>h</sup>u**                      umbilical cord                      SIL-Gur:2.A.39

#### 5. Tujia

Tujia                      m̃ue<sup>13</sup> t̃ci<sup>55</sup> **du**<sup>35</sup>                      navel                      CK-TujMQ:5.7.1                      22  
 Tujia (Southern)                      **tu**<sup>35</sup> d̃i<sup>21</sup> ŋã<sup>33</sup>                      navel                      JZ-Tujia

#### 6.2. Loloish

Ahi                      t̃che<sup>33</sup>bu<sup>21</sup>**du**<sup>55</sup>lu<sup>55</sup>                      navel                      CK-YiQ:5.7.1  
    t̃ɕ<sup>421</sup> bu<sup>21</sup> **du**<sup>55</sup>                      navel                      LMZ-AhiQ:5.7.1  
    lu<sup>55</sup>  
 Gazhuo                      t̃y<sup>35</sup> t̃sh<sup>35</sup> je<sup>323</sup>                      navel                      DQ-Gazhuo:5.7.1  
 Lahu (Nyi)                      g'aw<sup>˘</sup> **tu**: shi<sub>˘</sub>                      navel                      DB-Lahu:120  
 Lahu (Bakeo)                      g'u<sup>˘</sup> **tu**: shi<sub>˘</sub>                      navel                      DB-Lahu:120  
 Lahu (Shehleh)                      g'u<sub>˘</sub> **tu**:                      navel                      DB-Lahu:120  
 \*Common Lahu                      \***tu**:                      navel                      DB-PLolo:120B  
 Lahu (Banlan)                      u<sup>˘</sup> **tu**: shi<sub>˘</sub>                      navel                      DB-Lahu:120  
 Lahu (Black)                      g̃û(~ g̃ô)-**tu**-câ?                      umbilical cord                      JAM-DL:1138  
    g̃û(~ g̃ô)-**tu**-š̃i                      navel                      JAM-DL:1138  
    yû-**tu**-š̃i-câ?                      umbilical cord                      JAM-DL:1129  
    yu<sup>53</sup> t̃y<sup>33</sup> si<sup>11</sup>                      navel                      JZ-Lahu  
    ʔu<sup>55</sup> **tu**<sup>33</sup> ɕi<sup>21</sup>                      navel                      JZ-Lahu  
 Lahu (Yellow)                      t̃ɕ<sup>h33</sup> m̃a<sup>33</sup> **du**<sup>21</sup>                      navel                      CK-YiQ:5.7.1  
 Lalo                      t̃she<sup>55</sup>**du**<sup>21</sup>                      navel                      CK-YiQ:5.7.1  
 Lipho                      ch'ɛ<sup>2</sup>**du**<sup>5</sup>                      navel                      GH-PPB:V.118  
 Lisu (Putao)                      hchya<sup>4</sup>-**du**<sup>5</sup>                      navel                      JF-HLL  
 Lisu (Central)                      hchya<sup>4</sup>**du**<sup>5</sup>                      navel                      GH-PPB:V.118  
 Lisu (Theng-yüeh)                      t̃j<sup>hɛ35</sup> **du**<sup>31</sup>                      navel                      JZ-Lisu  
 Lisu (Nujiang)                      t̃chæ<sup>35</sup>**du**<sup>21</sup>                      navel                      DB-Lisu  
 Lisu (Northern)                      t̃she<sup>44</sup> **d̃y**<sup>31</sup>                      navel                      DQ-Lolopho:5.7.1  
 Lolopho                      ts<sup>h</sup>a<sup>21</sup> bi<sup>21</sup> **du**<sup>33</sup>                      navel                      CK-YiQ:5.7.1  
 Nasu                      ts<sup>h</sup>ɿ<sup>33</sup> bi<sup>21</sup> **tu**<sup>55</sup>                      navel                      CK-YiQ:5.7.1  
 Nesu                      t̃sha<sup>33</sup>bi<sup>21</sup>**du**<sup>33</sup>                      navel                      CK-YiQ:5.7.1  
 Noesu                      t̃che<sup>33</sup>bu<sup>21</sup>**du**<sup>55</sup>                      navel                      YHJC-Sani  
 Sani [Nyi]                      t̃che<sup>44</sup>bu<sup>21</sup>**du**<sup>55</sup>                      navel                      CK-YiQ:5.7.1

#### 6.3. Naxi

Naxi (Western)                      **dv**<sup>31</sup>me<sup>33</sup>                      belly                      JZ-Naxi

#### 6.4. Jinuo

Jinuo (Baya/Banai)                      t̃j<sup>h</sup>a<sup>31</sup> **to**<sup>44</sup>                      navel; umbilical cord                      DQ-JinA:123,148  
    t̃j<sup>h</sup>a<sup>31</sup> **to**<sup>44</sup> lo<sup>44</sup>                      umbilical cord                      DQ-JinA:148.1  
 Jinuo (Youle)                      t̃j<sup>h</sup>a<sup>42</sup> **to**<sup>44</sup> lo<sup>44</sup>                      navel                      JZ-Jinuo

<sup>22</sup>The first two syllables mean “belly”.

## Chinese comparandum

肚 dù ‘stomach’

GSR: not in 62

Karlgren: \*d’o

Li: \*dagx

Baxter: \*laʔ or \*daʔ

There is also a variant with a voiceless initial, meaning ‘animal stomach used as food’. GSR 62 is reconstructed as a lateral-initial series by Baxter, but since the character is not attested until late, it is possible that this word had a dental initial, and that the character used to write it was created after the change \*l- > \*d- had taken place, making 肚 \*hlaʔ > \*thaʔ a suitable phonetic element.

The difficulty with this comparison lies in the vowel, as we would expect to find PTB \*a corresponding with OC \*a, as in Chinese 吾 \*ngag (Li)/\*nga (Baxter) and PTB \*ŋa ‘first person pronoun’ (STC #406), and Chinese 魚 \*ngjag (Li)/\*ng(r)ja (Baxter) and PTB \*ŋya ‘fish’ (STC #189).

[ZJH]

(43)

\*ni(n)

NAVEL

This relatively rare root appears in Kamarupan, Himalayish, and Nungish. It is quite possible that it is related to (H:347) \*s/k-niŋ BRAIN / HEART / MIND, STC #367. The Dulong compounds look as if they could mean “belly-heart”, although the usual Dulong word for ‘heart’ is 𑖦𑖯<sup>31</sup> mǎʔ<sup>55</sup>. Cf. also Meithei puk-ning ‘heart’ (Marrison 1967:120), where BELLY + HEART apparently means ‘heart’, not ‘navel’.

### 1.1. North Assam

*Tani	*kri-ni	navel	JS-HCST:268
Padam-Mising [Abor-Miri]	ki-ni	navel	JAM-Ety; JS-HCST
	ki-nyo	navel	JAM-Ety
Apatani	k <sup>h</sup> rjw-nə	navel	JS-Tani
	k <sup>h</sup> rə-nə	navel	JS-Tani
	xrjw-nu	navel	JS-HCST
	xu-nu	navel	JS-Tani
Bengni	ki-ni	navel	JS-HCST; JS-Tani
Bokar	ki:-ni:	navel	JS-HCST

### 1.2. Kuki-Chin

Thanphum	nai <sup>1</sup> nũ <sup>3</sup>	navel	GHL-PPB:N.16
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### 1.4. Meithei

Meithei	cə niŋ	navel	CYS-Meithei:5.7.1
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### 2.3.2. Kiranti

Limbu	nim-rök	navel	JAM-Ety
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### 4.2. Nungic

Trung [Dulong]	pu <sup>44</sup> ñin <sup>42</sup>	navel	JAM-Ety
	pu <sup>55</sup> jin <sup>55</sup>	navel	JAM-Ety
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	pu <sup>55</sup> jin <sup>55</sup>	navel	JZ-Dulong

(44)  $\begin{matrix} * & t \\ & d \end{matrix} u\eta \approx *ts(y)u:\eta$  NAVEL / CENTER

This etymon was originally set up as *\*tsyu:ŋ* in *STC* #390, on the basis of Lushai, Bodo, and Dimasa forms. Benedict later revised this to *\*tu:ŋ* (*STC* n. 63, p.17), and specifically banished WT *gzuŋ* as probably not cognate. This reconstruction was also adopted in *HPTB* pp. 287, 310. It seems clear that the most ancient version of this root had a simple or palatalized dental stop, as witnessed by the certain Chinese cognate 中 *GSR* #1007a-e *tjông/tjung* ‘middle’ (see below). From an early date, however, many languages developed a sibilant or affricate initial before this medial vowel *-u-*, in a manner reminiscent of a phenomenon in modern Japanese, where the phonemic syllable /tu/ has come to be pronounced [tsu]. The same variation between stop and (af)fricate initials before *-u-* is to be found in ‘mortar’ PTB *\*(t)sum*, with most reflexes pointing unambiguously to PTB *\*tsum* (e.g. WB *chum*, Lahu *che*, Lushai *sum*), while Jingpho *thùm* reflects *\*tum*. See also (45) *\*(t)sum* NAVEL, below.

For convenience I am here assigning the reflexes of this etymon into two allofamic roots, according to whether they have retained a stop initial (44a) or have undergone initial frication (44b).

The semantic range of this word-family includes the notion of CENTER (as does the phonologically unrelated root (40a) *\*m/s-la(:)y* NAVEL / CENTER / SELF [q.v.]).

(44a)  $\begin{matrix} * & t \\ & d \end{matrix} u\eta$  NAVEL

To this more conservative allofam we assign reflexes with dental stop initials.

See *HPTB* *\*tu:ŋ*, pp. 287, 310.

## 0. Sino-Tibetan

*Tibeto-Burman	<i>*tuuŋ</i>	middle	RJL-DPTB:208	
1.3. Naga				
Tangkhol	hay <i>toŋ</i> kui <i>tuŋ</i> yāŋ	navel center of skull	JAM-GSTC:071 JAM-Ety	23
4.2. Nungic				
Anong (Rawang)	mə <i>duŋ</i> ə <i>duŋ</i>	perpendicular; straighten in; middle	STC:17n63 ACST:1007a-e; RJL-DPTB:208; STC:17n63	
Trung [Dulong]	a <i>tuŋ</i> ɑ <sup>31</sup> <i>duŋ</i> <sup>55</sup> ɑ <i>tuŋ</i> ɑ <sup>31</sup> <i>duuŋ</i> <sup>55</sup>	middle middle middle middle	RJL-DPTB:208; STC:17n63 ZMYC:56.46 ACST:1007a-e RJL-DPTB:208	
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	ɑ <sup>31</sup> <i>duŋ</i> <sup>55</sup>	middle	JZ-Dulong	

<sup>23</sup>The first syllable is part of the Tangkhol word for ‘skull’: *mi-kui* or *ā-kui-ra*.

Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	a <sup>31</sup> <b>duuŋ</b> <sup>55</sup> ɑ <sup>31</sup> <b>duŋ</b> <sup>55</sup>	middle middle	RJL-DPTB:208 JZ-Dulong
6.1. Burmish			
Achang (Xiandao)	tɕ <sup>h</sup> ɔ <sup>55</sup> t <sup>h</sup> oŋ <sup>31</sup>	navel; umbilical cord	DQ-Xiandao:120,145
6.2. Loloish			
*Loloish	*ʔ-don <sup>1</sup>	navel	DB-PLolo:120B
Akha	ca <sup>ˆ</sup> tah <sub>˘</sub>	navel	JAM-Ety
Bisu	sa tɔŋ	navel	DB-PLolo 24
	ʃa tɔŋ	navel	PB-Bisu:15
	ɕa tɔŋ	navel	PB-Bisu:15
	ɕa tɔŋ sàj	umbilical cord	PB-Bisu:16 25
Mpi	tɕe <sup>ʔ</sup> ⁴-thuŋ <sup>2</sup>	navel	JAM-MLBM:75; DB-PLolo
9. Sinitic			
Chinese	tjɔŋ / tjɔŋ	middle	STC:17n63
Chinese (Mandarin)	jong jian	middle	JS-Ch:485
Chinese (Old)	k-ljung	middle	WHB-OC:1641
Chinese (Old/Mid)	tjɔŋ/tjɔŋ	middle	ACST:1007a-e
	tjɔŋ	middle	RJL-DPTB:208
	tjɔŋ	middle	RJL-DPTB:208

## Chinese comparandum

中 **zhōng** ‘middle, center’

GSR: 1007a-e    Karlgren: \*tjɔŋ<sup>26</sup>    Li: \*trjəŋw    Baxter: \*k-ljung (477, 1641)

There are at least two competing etymologies for this Chinese word, one relating it to Tibetan **gzung** ‘middle, midst’ (e.g. Bodman 1980:123 set 240, Coblin 1986:53) and the other the one proposed here (e.g. *STC* p. 182).

Baxter (1992:525) follows Bodman, reconstructing \*k-l- rather than \*trj- to match Tibetan **gzung** and to explain the use of the character as a sound gloss for 宮 \*k(r)jung in the Eastern Han.

The original comparison in *STC* seemed suspect because of the irregular correspondence between the stop initial in Chinese and the sibilant initial in Tibeto-Burman, but the revised PTB etymon makes a good match. If we consider the possibility of reconstructing \*r-tjung, as proposed in Handel 1998, then there is no mismatch in the medial.

For another example of the same final correspondence, compare (93) \*guŋ ≈ \*kuŋ HOLE / ORIFICE / ROUNDED PART with Chinese 孔 (elsewhere in this volume).

[ZJH]

<sup>24</sup>The first syllable probably means ‘flesh’ < PTB \*sya.

<sup>25</sup>The last syllable is a borrowing from Thai **sǎaj** ‘cord, string’. This morpheme, interestingly enough, occurs in reduced form in the Thai word for ‘navel’, **sədi**. Cf. Li Fang Kuei 1977:92.

<sup>26</sup>*HPTB* pp. 287, 310 incorrectly cites *GSR*’s reconstruction as \*tjɔŋ. This was corrected in L. Sagart’s review of *HPTB* (2006:217) to \*tjɔŋ, which is also incorrect: this is Karlgren’s MC form. [JAM]

III. Navel

(44b)	*ts(y)u:ŋ		NAVEL / CENTER
1.2. Kuki-Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	<b>tśhu:ŋ</b>	inside (of anything); inside	STC:17n63,390; ACST:1007a-e
Tiddim	<b>suŋ</b>	inside; middle	ACST:1007a-e; RJL-DPTB:208; STC:17n63
1.3. Naga			
*Northern Naga	<b>*dzu:ŋ</b>	navel	WTF-PNN:525
Ao (Chungli)	te <b>tsung</b> da <b>tiong</b>	middle middle	GEM-CNL GEM-CNL
Ao (Mongsen)	<b>tiyung</b> ko	middle	GEM-CNL
Chang	<b>shung</b> <b>śuŋ</b>	navel navel	GEM-CNL WTF-PNN:525
Mao	to <b>tsü</b>	middle	GEM-CNL
Wancho	<b>sung</b> <b>suŋ</b>	navel navel	GEM-CNL WTF-PNN:525
1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish			
Bodo	<b>siŋ</b>	middle	RJL-DPTB:208
Deuri	u-jũ <sup>2</sup>	navel	Deuri
Dimasa	<b>bising</b> <b>bisiŋ</b>	among inside; within; mid- dle	GEM-CNL ACST:1007a-e; RJL-DPTB:208; STC:17n63,390
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	bar <b>zuŋ</b>	center	SLZO-MLD
Tibetan (Written)	<b>gzuŋ</b>	middle	STC:17n63

(45) \*(t)sum NAVEL

This root is virtually confined to Himalayish. The Konyak form with initial **h-** is also probably related. Note the two Thulung forms, which may be co-allofams; **theom** seems to fit better phonologically, despite the semantic divergence.

1.3. Naga			
Konyak	<b>hum</b> bo	navel	GEM-CNL
2.3.2. Kiranti			
Bantawa	<b>chum</b> buy tli <b>chum</b> bu li	navel middle; navel	AW-TBT:214 AW-TBT:214; WW-Bant:21
	<b>tshum</b> -bu li <b>tshum</b> bu ri	navel umbilical cord	JAM-Ety JAM-Ety
Hayu	<b>suq</b> wo su li puŋ	navel navel	BM-Hay:84.146 (fo) BM-PK7:129
Limbu	nā <b>sum</b> bro <b>sām</b> brok pā	navel navel	JAM-Ety JAM-Ety
Thulung	byu <b>syu</b> ma <b>theom</b>	navel belly	JAM-Ety BM-PK7:90; NJA-Thulung
Yakha	phok <b>su</b> kəli:k	navel	TK-Yakha:5.7.1

## (46) \*bryam ≈ \*brim NAVEL / UMBILICAL CORD

This etymon is mostly confined to Himalayish, though there is an excellent Moyon cognate. The initial labial stop may be a reduction of one of several etyma for ‘belly’ that begin with a labial (probably \*s-bu-k BELLY / STOMACH / CAVE), as illustrated by the disyllabic Moyon doublet and the Lepcha form, so that this root should perhaps be reconstructed \*b-ryam ≈ \*b-rim.

## 1.4. Meithei

Moyon	<b>bræ ~ baræ</b>	navel	DK-Moyon:5.7.1
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## 2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	<b>por tsi</b>	navel	SBN-BunQ:5.7.1
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## 2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	<b>bāk-lim</b>	navel	JAM-Ety
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## 2.1.4. Tamangic

Thakali (Tukche)	<b>'prih-khum</b>	navel	JAM-Ety
	<b>'prih-k<sup>h</sup>um</b>	navel	SIL-Thak:2.A.38

## 2.3.2. Kiranti

Bahing	<b>sy pym</b>	navel	BM-PK7:129; JAM-Ety
	<b>sy pyr</b>	navel	BM-Bah
Khaling	<b>'baram</b>	navel	BM-PK7:130
	<b>baram</b>	navel; umbilical cord	JAM-Ety
Kulung	<b>birim</b>	navel	BM-PK7:130
	<b>birim_</b>	navel	RPHH-Kul
Thulung	<b>biurium</b>	navel, umbilical cord	BM-PK7:130; NJA-Thulung

## (47) \*br(w)ak NAVEL

This etymon appears fairly solid, though it has so far been unearthed only in three scattered languages (Himalayish, Karenic, and Qiangic).

## 2.3.2. Kiranti

Limbu	<b>nā sum bro</b>	navel	JAM-Ety
	<b>nim-rōk</b>	navel	JAM-Ety
	<b>sām brok pā</b>	navel	JAM-Ety

## 3.3. rGyalrongic

rGyalrong (Eastern)	<b>pəkt<sup>h</sup>u sprak</b>	umbilical cord	SHK-rGEQ:10.4.12
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## 7. Karenic

Bwe	<b>?dí-phlɔ́</b>	navel	AW-TBT:843
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## (48) \*koy NAVEL

This root has only been discovered in two Kamarupan languages of Manipur, Meithei and Puiron, but the semantic and phonological correspondence is perfect. However, since Meithei (also known as Manipuri) is the dominant TB language of Manipur, the Puiron form may well be borrowed from it.

### III. Navel

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
Puiron	<b>koi</b>	navel	GEM-CNL
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	<b>khôi</b>	navel	JAM-Ety
	<b>khoi dou</b>	navel	GEM-CNL

#### (49) **\*zo** **NAVEL / UMBILICAL CORD**

This root is of restricted distribution, but the Lepcha form certainly looks related to the Meluri and Tangkhul ones, which might be enough to set it up for PTB.

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
Meluri	a bo <b>zü</b>	navel	GEM-CNL
1.3. Naga			
Tangkhul	hai <b>zo</b>	navel	GEM-CNL; JAM-Ety
	hay <b>zo</b>	navel	JAM-GSTC:071
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	'ayen̄ <b>zo</b>	umbilical cord	JAM-Ety

#### (50) **\*bi** **STRING / STRAP / BELT**

This etymon basically means ‘string, strap, belt’, but also occurs in compounds for UMBILICAL CORD. It has been discovered in Himalayish and Lolo-Burmese.

1.1. North Assam			
Padam-Mising [Abor-Miri]	rí- <b>bí</b> , ri- <b>bui</b>	creeper of any sort; cane, wire, rope, string	JAM-GSTC:053
2.2. Newar			
Newar	<b>pi</b>	umbilical cord	JAM-Ety; SH-KNw:10.4.12
2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepang-Sunwar			
Chepang (Eastern)	<b>pay?</b> ra	umbilical cord	RC-ChepQ:10.4.12
Kham	<b>bi kha</b>	umbilical cord	JAM-Ety
	<b>bi khə</b>	umbilical cord	DNW-KhamQ:2.A.39
	<b>bi k<sup>hə</sup></b>	umbilical cord	DNW-KhamQ:2.A.39
6.2. Loloish			
Hani (Pijo)	lò <b>phfi</b>	belt	ILH-PL:410
	lò <b>phi</b>	belt	ILH-PL:410
Lahu (Black)	gú- <b>pi</b>	string coiled around an object	JAM-DL:p. 817
	gò?- <b>pi</b>	needle and thread	JAM-DL:p.817
	ò- <b>pi</b> -câ?	strap; sash; belt	JAM-DL:p. 817

<sup>27</sup>The **h-** in these Tangkhul forms apparently descends from the lateral cluster **\*s-l**. Cf. the forms from Abor-Miri and Naga languages with zero initial. See the note under (40a) **\*m/s-la(:)y** NAVEL / CENTER / SELF above.

<sup>28</sup>The first constituent means “child”.



## (51) \*rup ≈ \*rip CORD / STRING

This root is set up to account for certain Himalayish forms with final **-p** and high vowel, as well as the Chepang morpheme **-ru**. Forms from the Angamoid branch of the Naga group are also included.

## 1.3. Naga

Angami (Khonoma)	ke ro	rope	GEM-CNL
Angami (Kohima)	ke ro	rope	GEM-CNL
Chokri	kü ro	rope	GEM-CNL

## 2.1.4. Tamangic

Gurung (Ghachok)	ruq	string	SIL-Gur:8.A.34
Thakali (Tukche)	r <sup>h</sup> up	string	SIL-Thak:8.A.34 34

## 2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepang-Sunwar

Chepang	toy?-ru	umbilical cord	SIL-Chep:2.A.39; JAM-Ety
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## 2.3.2. Kiranti

Khaling	hi rip	blood vessel / vein / artery	JAM-Ety
Thulung	so: rip	tendon, vein	BM-PK7:124

## (52) \*s-rwəy OICC / CORD / STRING / CANE / RATTAN

The basic meaning of this etymon seems to be ‘cord, string’. It also appears in a large number of compounds referring to “OICC’s” (obscure internal channels and connections), such as NERVE, VEIN, MUSCLE, SINEW. In addition it appears in compounds for UMBILICAL CORD, thence by extension to NAVEL itself. For the concept of “OICC’s”, see *VSTB* pp. 184-5.

*STC* sets up two roots with the meaning ‘cane, rattan’, *STC* #478 \*rey and *STC* #201 \*s-rwi(y), which I am collapsing into a single set. The meaning of this etymon ranges from ‘string, cord’ to ‘OICC’ to the specific plants ‘cane, rattan’.

Several Himalayish forms which look superficially as if they descend from this morpheme are actually loans from Sanskrit *nālī* ~ *nāḍī* ‘any tubular vessel or vein of the body’ (Monier-Williams:537): Sunwar *nā:ri* ‘nerve’, Newar *hi nu(li)* ‘blood vessel; vein; artery’ (*hi* ‘blood’ < PTB \*s-hywəy),<sup>29</sup> Bahing *sā:ti* ‘vein, blood vessel’, Bantawa *tshum-buri* ‘umbilical cord’, Khaling *'sö ri* ‘nerve’. A couple of Barish forms, Bodo *na-ri* and Lalung *na-ti* ‘navel’ (Balawan 1965:42), are also probably borrowings from this Sanskrit word, despite the semantic difference. Note that **r** and **t/d** are frequently confused in Barish languages. (Cf. the language name *Bodo* ~ *Boro*).

## 0. Sino-Tibetan

*Tibeto-Burman	*rey	cane; rattan; rope; string, thread; rattan, cane	AW-TBT:754; JAM-GSTC:053; RJL-DPTB:151; STC:478
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<sup>29</sup>See *HPTB*:194.

### III. Navel

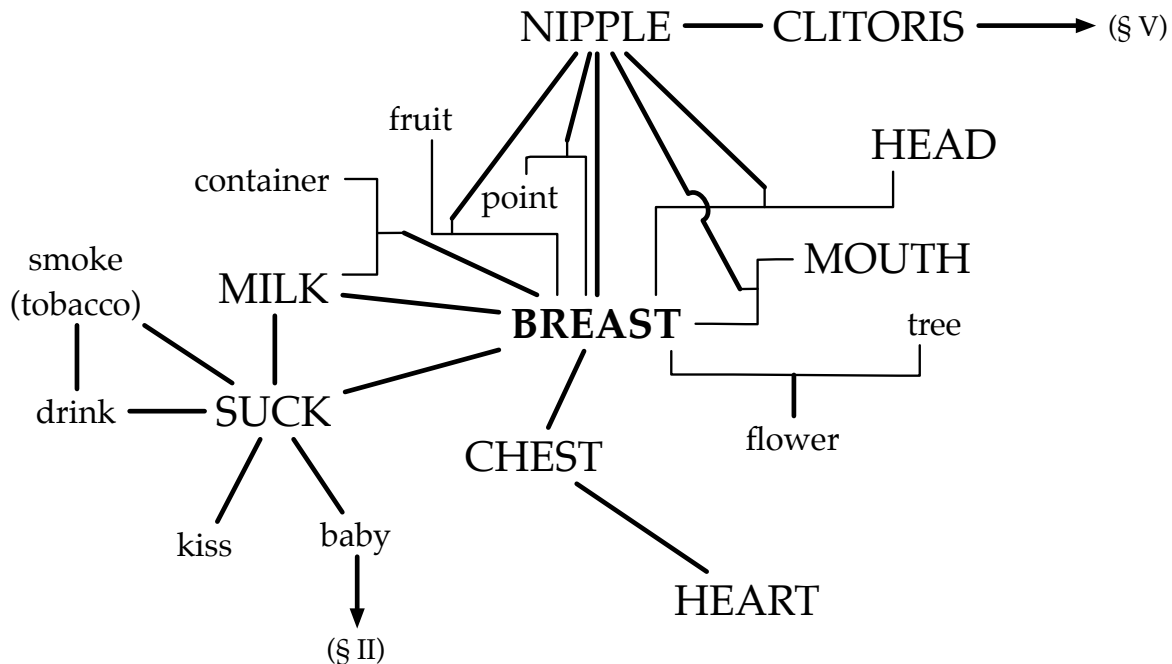
	<b>*rwi(y)</b>	cane (plant)	STC:201
1.1. North Assam			
Padam-Mising [Abor-Miri]	<b>rí-bí, ri-bui</b>	creeper of any sort; cane, wire, rope, string	JAM-GSTC:053
	<b>tə rü</b>	cane plant	STC:201
1.2. Kuki-Chin			
Kom Rem	<b>məti rui</b>	sinew / tendon (muscle to bone)	T-KomRQ:8.5
	<b>ru rui</b>	ligament (bone to bone)	T-KomRQ:8.6
	<b>rəlhə rui</b>	nerve	T-KomRQ:8.10
	<b>rət<sup>hə</sup> rui</b>	blood vessel / vein / artery	T-KomRQ:8.7.1
Kuki	<b>hrwi</b>	cane plant	STC:201
Lailenpi	<b>mə'pələ<sup>4</sup>ri<sup>1</sup></b>	navel	GHL-PPB:N.16
Lakher [Mara]	<b>(pa-)lia-ri</b> <b>tha-ri</b>	umbilical cord blood vessel; vein; artery; nerve; sinew; tendon	JAM-Ety JAM-Ety
Lushai [Mizo]	<b>hrwi</b>	cane plant	STC:201
Zotung	<b>la<sup>5</sup>rwi<sup>4</sup></b>	navel	GHL-PPB:N.16
1.3. Naga			
*Northern Naga	<b>*rey</b>	cane; rattan; rope	JAM-GSTC:053; WTF-PNN:466
Angami (Khonoma)	<b>ke re</b>	rope	GEM-CNL
Chang	<b>li</b>	cane; rattan; rope	GEM-CNL; JAM-GSTC:053
Konyak	<b>wei</b>	cane; rattan; rope	GEM-CNL; JAM-GSTC:053
Nocte	<b>ri</b>	cane; rattan; rope	GEM-CNL; JAM-GSTC:053
Tangkhul	<b>khə rüy</b>	string flowers	JAM-GSTC:176
	<b>ruy</b>	string	Bhat-TNV:98
Tangsa (Moshang)	<b>ri</b>	cane; rattan; rope	GEM-CNL; JAM-GSTC:053
	<b>tag ri</b>	blood	GEM-CNL
Wancho	<b>re</b>	cane; rattan; rope; reed	GEM-CNL; JAM-GSTC:053
Zeme	<b>mi la ria</b>	navel	GEM-CNL
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	<b>sing li</b>	blood vessel / vein / artery	JAM-Ety
	<b>siŋ li</b>	blood vessel; vein; artery; nerve	CYS-Meithei:8.10,8.7.1
Moyon	<b>šij rí</b>	blood vessel / vein / artery	DK-Moyon:8.7.1
1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish			
Digaro	<b>təruí ≠ təroi</b>	cane plant	STC:201

## (52) \*s-rwəy OICC / CORD / STRING / CANE / RATTAN

Dimasa	<b>rai</b>	cane; rattan, cane	GEM-CNL; JAM-GSTC:053; RJL-DPTB:151
Garo	<b>re</b>	string, thread	RJL-DPTB:151
Garo (Bangladesh)	<b>gan-du-ri</b>	navel, belly button	RB-GB
2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepang-Sunwar			
Magar	<b>ri</b>	cane	RJL-DPTB:151
2.3.2. Kiranti			
Dumi	<b>kəm ri səm</b>	moustache	SVD-Dum
3.2. Qiangic			
Ergong (Danba)	<b>su z̥i</b>	rope	ZMYYC:422.14
Namuyi	<b>z̥l<sup>55</sup></b>	rope	ZMYYC:422.19
Qiang (Taoping)	<b>sia<sup>33</sup> li<sup>55</sup></b>	string, thread	RJL-DPTB:151
4.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	<b>gin ri</b> <b>ri</b>	fine thread rattan, cane; cord, string	RJL-DPTB:151 RJL-DPTB:151
	<b>sum<sup>33</sup> z̥i<sup>33</sup></b> <b>sum ri, siŋ-ri</b>	rope rope, cord	ZMYYC:422.47 GEM-CNL
4.2. Nungic			
Anong	<b>ban-ri</b> <b>sə ri</b> <b>thə ri</b>	rope, string thread cane	RJL-DPTB:151 RJL-DPTB:151 RJL-DPTB:151
Anong (Rawang)	<b>təri</b>	cane	STC:56n185
Anong (Rawang/Lungmi)	<b>təru</b>	cane	STC:56n185
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	<b>tsu<sup>31</sup> ri<sup>55</sup></b>	string, thread	RJL-DPTB:151
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	<b>pu<sup>31</sup> ri<sup>53</sup></b> <b>tsu<sup>31</sup> ri<sup>55</sup></b>	navel string, thread	JZ-Dulong RJL-DPTB:151
6.2. Loloish			
Yi (Xide)	<b>gu<sup>33</sup> z̥i<sup>33</sup></b> <b>gu<sup>33</sup>-ci<sup>33</sup></b>	muscle / sinew muscle	JZ-Yi CSL-YIzd
7. Karenic			
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	<b>a<sup>31</sup> yi<sup>31</sup></b>	muscle	DQ-KarenB:162
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	<b>yi<sup>31</sup></b>	muscle	DQ-KarenA:162



## IV. Breast



The roots in this chapter refer primarily to the female breast as part of the reproductive system, rather than BREAST in the sense of CHEST (but see (65) \*b(y)at BREAST / CHEST, below).

### (53) \*s-nəw(-) BREAST / MILK / SUCK

This root is reconstructed as \*nəw in *STC* #419, on the basis of forms from WT, Tsangla, WB, and Lushai. (The rhyme \*-əw in *STC* is equivalent to Benedict's earlier reconstruction \*-uw.) The \*s- in our reconstruction is reflected in the voiceless nasals in Kuki-Chin and Barish languages (including the Lushai form **hnu-te** cited in *STC* #419), the **tā-** prefix in Awa Khumi, and directly in Thanphum **ʃənu<sup>5</sup>** and WT **snun-pa** 'suckle'.

This root has been frequently combined with dental and velar suffixal elements, both nasals and stops. The reflexes are presented in the following sections according to the particular allofam they represent: the unsuffixed root \*s-nəw in (53a); forms with dental suffixes (\*s-nəwt, \*s-nəwn) in (53b); and forms with velar suffixes (\*s-nəwk, \*s-nəwŋ) in (53c).

This etymon is very widely distributed in ST, appearing in Chinese, Kamarupan, Himalayish, Lolo-Burmese, Karenic, and Qiangic (including Tangut). Many languages have reduplicated forms (e.g. Ergong **nu-nu**), as is to be expected in such a hypocoristic concept as BREAST.

IV. Breast

Somewhat similar phonologically is the root *\*s-nye-n*, which is here treated as a separate etymon, below (54).

See *HPTB \*nəw*, p. 198.

(53a) *\*s-nəw* BREAST / MILK / SUCK

Despite the phonological similarity of the Newar forms **nu gər** (Dolakhali) and **nu gɔː** (Kathmandu) ‘heart’ to other Himalayish reflexes of this etymon, K. P. Malla denies their cognacy.

In fact, the semantic connection, between BREAST (of female) and HEART has yet to be demonstrated for Tibeto-Burman.

0. Sino-Tibetan

*Sino-Tibetan	<i>*njuy</i>	breast / nipple / milk	WSC-SH:48
*Tibeto-Burman	<i>*nuw</i>	milk; breast	AW-TBT:327,926; BM-PK7:117; STC:419
	<i>*nuw*C</i>	breast / nipple / milk	WSC-SH:48
	<i>*nəw</i>	breast; milk	ACST:135a; AW-TBT:327,926

1.1. North Assam

Idu	<b>no bra</b>	nipple	JP-Idu
	<b>no ci e co ga</b>	suckle	JP-Idu
	<b>no ci bra</b>	nipple	JP-Idu
	<b>nu ci</b>	milk	JP-Idu
	<b>nu pū</b>	breasts	NEFA-PBI
	<b>no<sup>55</sup>bi<sup>35</sup></b>	breast	SHK-Idu:5.4; ZMYYC:259.50
	<b>no<sup>55</sup>bra<sup>55</sup></b>	milk	SHK-Idu:5.4.3
	<b>no<sup>55</sup>bra<sup>55</sup></b>	milk	ZMYYC:281.50

1.2. Kuki-Chin

Chiru	<b>ru nu</b>	milk / breast	AW-TBT:327
Khualsim	<b>hn̄i<sup>1</sup></b>	breasts	GHL-PPB:P.17
Khumi (Ahraing)	<b>kə nu<sup>1</sup></b>	breasts	GHL-PPB:P.17
Awa Khumi	<b>tānu<sup>4</sup></b>	breasts	GHL-PPB:P.17
Lailenpi	<b>mə hn̄au<sup>1</sup> beʔ<sup>1</sup></b>	breasts	GHL-PPB:P.17
Liangmei	<b>n dui, bui na dui</b>	milk	GEM-CNL 1
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	<b>ə hn̄i<sup>3</sup></b>	breasts	GHL-PPB:P.17
Lushai [Mizo]	<b>hnu-te</b>	breast, milk	STC:419; WSC-SH:48 2
	<b>hn̄u</b>	breast / milk	LL-PRPL
	<b>hnu tē</b>	breast	GEM-CNL
	<b>hnu te tui</b>	milk	GEM-CNL
	<b>hnu<sup>4</sup>te<sup>3</sup></b>	breasts	GHL-PPB:P.17
Maram	<b>ta na dui</b>	milk	GEM-CNL

<sup>1</sup>Note the reduction of this morpheme to a syllabic nasal in **ndui**.

<sup>2</sup>This Lushai form was miscopied from *STC* #419 in Coblin 1986:48, where it is attributed to Written Burmese.

Mera	<b>hnəu</b> <sup>1</sup>	breasts	GHL-PPB:P.17
Paangkhuva (??)	<b>ra nuù</b>	breast / milk	LL-PRPL
Puiron	<b>se nu</b>	breast	GEM-CNL
	<b>se nu tui</b>	milk	GEM-CNL
1.3. Naga			
Angami Naga	<sup>5</sup> <b>u</b> <sup>1</sup> <b>ñu</b>	breast; milk	AW-TBT:131,327
Angami (Khonoma)	<b>nu</b>	breast; suck	GEM-CNL
	<b>nu dzü</b>	milk	GEM-CNL
Angami (Kohima)	(u) <b>nou</b> <sup>11</sup>	breast	VN-AngQ:5.4
	(u) <b>nou</b> <sup>11</sup> <b>tia</b> <sup>33</sup>	nipple	VN-AngQ:5.4.1
	<b>nou</b> <sup>31</sup> <b>dzü</b> <sup>55</sup>	milk	VN-AngQ:5.4.3
	<b>nu, nyu</b>	suck	GEM-CNL
	<b>nu dzü</b>	milk	GEM-CNL
	<b>pe</b> <sup>31</sup> <b>nou</b> <sup>11</sup>	nurse (v.) / suckle	VN-AngQ:5.4.6
	<b>u nu</b>	breast	GEM-CNL
Chokri	(u) <b>no</b> <sup>11</sup>	breast	VN-ChkQ:5.4
	(u) <b>no</b> <sup>11</sup> <b>she</b> <sup>55</sup>	nipple	VN-ChkQ:5.4.1
	(u) <b>no</b> <sup>11</sup> <b>ta</b> <sup>33</sup>	nipple	VN-ChkQ:5.4.1
	<b>mü</b> <sup>31</sup> <b>no</b> <sup>11</sup>	nurse (v.) / suckle	VN-ChkQ:5.4.6
	<b>no</b> <sup>31</sup> <b>dzü</b> <sup>35</sup>	milk	VN-ChkQ:5.4.3
	<b>tho no zü</b>	milk	GEM-CNL
Chakrü	<sup>1</sup> <b>no</b>	milk / breast	AW-TBT:327
Khezha	<sup>1</sup> <b>e</b> <sup>2</sup> <b>ñu</b>	milk / breast	AW-TBT:327
	<b>'è ñu</b>	breast	SY-KhözhaQ:5.4
	<b>'è ñu ké</b>	nipple	SY-KhözhaQ:5.4.1
	<b>'è ñu ju</b>	milk	SY-KhözhaQ:5.4.3
Mao	<b>o ne dzü</b>	milk	GEM-CNL
	<sup>2</sup> <b>o</b> <sup>4</sup> <b>ne</b>	milk / breast	AW-TBT:327
Nocte	<b>ñu?</b> <sup>-1</sup> <b>po</b>	milk; breast	AW-TBT:327,131
	<b>ñju po</b>	milk	WTF-PNN:490
Rengma	<b>nyu ju</b>	breast	GEM-CNL
Rongmei	<b>nau dui</b>	milk	GEM-CNL
	<b>nou</b>	breast	GEM-CNL
	<b>nouh'</b>	suck	GEM-CNL
Sangtam	<b>nyi ki</b>	milk	GEM-CNL
Yimchungrü	<b>(<sup>1</sup>)ñu?</b> <sup>1</sup> <b>ge</b>	milk / breast	AW-TBT:327
	<b>niu</b>	breast	GEM-CNL
1.4. Meithei			
Moyon	<b>næ thén</b>	milk	DK-Moyon:5.4.3
1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish			
Khiamngan	<sup>1</sup> <b>ñau?</b>	milk / breast	AW-TBT:327
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Kanauri	<b>nu ni</b>	nipple	DS-Kan:12
Pattani [Manchati]	<b>pa: nu</b>	milk	STP-ManQ:5.4.3
	<b>pa nu</b>	milk	DS-Patt
2.1.2. Bodic			
Baima	<b>no</b> <sup>35</sup> <b>ne</b> <sup>13</sup> <b>ne</b> <sup>35</sup>	milk	SHK-BaimaQ:5.4.3
	<b>ro</b> <sup>13</sup> <b>no</b> <sup>53</sup>	bosom	SHK-BaimaQ:1.9

## IV. Breast

Tsangla (Central)	<b>nu</b>	milk; breast	EA-Tsh:90; SER-HSL/T:33 11; STC:419; WSC-SH:48
Tsangla (Motuo)	<b>nu ma</b> <b>nu</b>	breast (woman's) milk; breast	EA-Tsh:11 SLZO-MLD; ZMYYC:259.7,281.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	<b>nu</b> <sup>13</sup> <b>nu</b>	breast; milk breast; milk	JZ-CLMenba JZ-CLMenba
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	<b>nə ma</b>	breast	ZMYYC:259.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	<b>nə ma</b>	breast	JS-Amdo:96; ZMYYC:259.5
Tibetan (Batang)	<b>ṅə</b> <sup>13</sup> ngo <sup>55</sup>	nipple	DQ-Batang:5.4.1
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	<b>nu</b> <sup>13</sup> ma <sup>53</sup>	breast	ZMYYC:259.3
Tibetan (Written)	<b>nu ma</b>	breast; nipple; to suckle; milk	ZMYYC:259.1; GHL-PPB:G.53,U.9,W.75; STC:419; WSC-SH:48
	<b>nu-ṣa</b>	chest / thoracic muscle	JAM-Ety
	<b>nu-tog</b> <b>nu.ma</b>	nipple breast	ZLS-Tib:47 JS-Tib:96; GEM-CNL
2.1.4. Tamangic			
*Tamang Chantyal	* <b>Anew</b> <b>nu nu</b> <b>nu nu</b> khwaya-wa <b>nu nu-ye</b> kəpal	milk bosom; breast nurse (v.) / suckle nipple	MM-Thesis:561 NPB-ChanQ:1.9,5.4 NPB-ChanQ:5.4.6 NPB-ChanQ:5.4.1
Thakali (Marpha)	<sup>11</sup> <b>ju</b> <sup>fi</sup>	milk	MM-Thesis:561 3
2.1.5. Dhimal			
Dhimal	<b>du du no si</b>	nipple	JK-Dh
2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar			
Kham	<b>nwi:</b>	breast	DNW-KhamQ:1.51
2.3.2. Kiranti			
Bahing	<b>nyrs-</b> <b>ny tsy</b>	milk milk	BM-Bah BM-PK7:117 4
Limbu	<b>nu</b> <b>nu:</b> <b>nu seq</b>	breast, udder, milk breast / milk nipple	BM-Lim; BM-PK7:117 AW-TBT:131 BM-Lim
Yakha	<b>nu:</b> <b>nu:</b> uṅme? <b>nu:</b> ga ɔ cam <b>nu:</b> pi? me?mana	breast nurse (v.) / suckle nipple nurse (v.) / suckle	TK-Yakha:5.4 TK-Yakha:5.4.6 TK-Yakha:5.4.1 TK-Yakha:5.4.6
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	<b>new mbuο</b> <b>new</b> <sup>1</sup> <b>nəw</b>	breast breast milk	DQ-Xixia:5.4 MVS-Grin NT-SGK:204-09y
3.2. Qiangic			
Ergong (Daofu)	<b>nu ma</b>	nipple	DQ-Daofu:5.4.1

<sup>3</sup>Literally “breast-head”; **ye** is a genitive particle; **kəpal** ‘head’ is a loan from Nepali.

<sup>4</sup>Bahing **ny-tsy** is glossed as ‘nipple’ by Hodgson (1857-8); Michailovsky (1991) suggests a connection of the second syllable with an etymon for ‘point, tip’.



Ergong (Danba)	<b>nu nu</b>	breast	SHK-ErgDQ:5.4; ZMYYC:259.14
Ergong (Daofu)	<b>nu nu da phra</b>	wean	DQ-Daofu:5.4.7
Ergong (Northern)	<b>nu nu sthei</b>	nurse / suckle	DQ-Daofu:5.4.6
	<b>nəu<sup>53</sup></b>	breast	SHK-ErgNQ:5.4
	<b>nəu<sup>53</sup> tok<sup>53</sup></b>	nipple	SHK-ErgNQ:5.4.1
Ersu (Central)	<b>nə<sup>33</sup></b>	suck	SHK-ErgNQ:5.4.5
	<b>ŋo<sup>33</sup> ŋo<sup>33</sup></b>	suck	SHK-ErsCQ
	<b>ŋo<sup>55</sup> ŋo<sup>55</sup></b>	milk; breast	SHK-ErsCQ
Ersu	<b>ŋo<sup>55</sup> ŋo<sup>55</sup></b>	breast; milk	ZMYYC:259.18,281.18
Guiqiong	<b>ni<sup>55</sup> ni<sup>55</sup></b>	milk	SHK-GuiqQ; ZMYYC:281.17
Muya [Minyak]	<b>ni<sup>55</sup> ni<sup>55</sup> wi<sup>55</sup> jɛ<sup>55</sup></b>	nipple	SHK-GuiqQ
	<b>k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>55</sup> nu<sup>55</sup></b>	suck	SHK-MuyaQ:5.4.5
	<b>nu<sup>33</sup> nɔ<sup>53</sup></b>	breast	SHK-MuyaQ:5.4; ZMYYC:259.15
Namuyi	<b>nu<sup>35</sup> nɔ<sup>35</sup></b>	nipple	SHK-MuyaQ:5.4.1
	<b>ny<sup>33</sup> ny<sup>55</sup></b>	breast; milk; suck	SHK-NamuQ:5.4,5.4.3,5.4.5; ZMYYC:259.19,281.19
Pumi (Taoba)	<b>ny<sup>33</sup> ny<sup>55</sup> ɣo<sup>55</sup> ba<sup>55</sup></b>	nipple	SHK-NamuQ:5.4.1
	<b>ne<sup>35</sup></b>	milk	JZ-Pumi; ZMYYC:281.10
Qiang (Taoping)	<b>ny<sup>55</sup> ny<sup>55</sup></b>	breast	JZ-Qiang
	<b>ny<sup>55</sup> ny<sup>55</sup> tsuə<sup>33</sup></b>	milk	JZ-Qiang
	<b>ny<sup>55</sup> ny<sup>55</sup></b>	breast	ZMYYC:259.9
	<b>ny<sup>55</sup> ny<sup>55</sup> tsuə<sup>55</sup></b>	milk	ZMYYC:281.9
Shixing	<b>nie<sup>55</sup></b>	milk	SHK-ShixQ; ZMYYC:281.20
	<b>nu<sup>55</sup> nu<sup>33</sup></b>	breast; nipple	SHK-ShixQ; ZMYYC:259.20
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	<b>nu<sup>53</sup></b>	breast	SHK-ZhabQ:5.4; ZMYYC:259.16
	<b>nu<sup>53</sup> tɕ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>53</sup></b>	milk	SHK-ZhabQ:5.4.3
	<b>nu<sup>53</sup> tɕhi<sup>53</sup></b>	milk	ZMYYC:281.16
3.3. rGyalrongic			
rGyalrong (Northern)	<b>kə nu nu</b>	suck	SHK-rGNQ:5.4.5
rGyalrong	<b>tə nu</b>	breast	DQ-Jiarong:5.4.0; ZMYYC:259.12
rGyalrong (Eastern)	<b>tə no</b>	breast	SHK-rGEQ:5.4
rGyalrong (NW)	<b>tə no ko</b>	nipple	SHK-rGEQ:5.4.1
	<b>tə noŋ</b>	breast	SHK-rGNWQ:5.4
rGyalrong (Northern)	<b>tə noŋ ku</b>	nipple	SHK-rGNWQ:5.4.1
	<b>tə nu</b>	breast	SHK-rGNQ:5.4
rGyalrong	<b>tə nu ku</b>	nipple	SHK-rGNQ:5.4.1
	<b>tə nu wa ko</b>	nipple	DQ-Jiarong:5.4.1
6. Lolo-Burmese			
*Lolo-Burmese	<b>*nəw<sup>3</sup></b>	milk / breast	AW-TBT:327

<sup>5</sup>It seems to be the first syllable of these Muya forms which belongs in this set, since PTB \*-əw most often becomes Muya -u, e.g. ‘steal’ PTB \*r-kəw > WT rku, WB khûi, Muya ku<sup>55</sup>; ‘sky’ PTB \*r-məw > WT rmu-ba ‘fog’, WB mûi(gh), Muya mu<sup>55</sup>.

## IV. Breast

### 6.1. Burmish

Achang (Longchuan)	<b>nau</b> <sup>35</sup>	milk	JZ-Achang; ZMYYC:281.41
	<b>nau</b> <sup>35</sup> tʂu <sup>35</sup>	breast	JZ-Achang; ZMYYC:259.41
Achang (Xiandao)	no <sup>31</sup> <b>nau</b> <sup>31</sup>	milk (cow's)	DQ-Xiandao:311
Bola	<b>nau</b> <sup>35</sup>	breast	DQ-Bola:118
	nö <sup>31</sup> <b>nau</b> <sup>35</sup>	milk (cow's)	DQ-Bola:311
Burmese (Modern)	<b>nui?</b>	breasts	GHL-PPB:U.9
	<b>nui</b> <sup>71</sup>	breasts; nipple	GHL-PPB:G.53
Burmese (Spoken)	no <sup>2</sup>	breasts	GHL-PPB:U.9
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	no <sup>53</sup>	milk	ZMYYC:281.40
	no <sup>53</sup> ö <sup>22</sup>	breast	ZMYYC:259.40
Burmese (Written)	no <sup>1</sup>	milk	ZMYYC:281.39
	no <sup>1</sup> um <sup>2</sup>	breast	ZMYYC:259.39
	<b>nuí</b>	milk, breast	AW-TBT:327; STC:419
	<b>núi</b>	breast, milk	WSC-SH:48
	<b>nui.</b>	breast	GEM-CNL
	<b>nuiw'</b>	breasts; nipple; to suckle	GHL-PPB:G.53,U.9,W.75
	<b>nui'</b>	breast; milk	GEM-CNL; JAM-Ety; PKB-WBRD
Danu	no <sup>2</sup>	breasts	GHL-PPB:U.9
Hpun (Northern)	ǎ nù raíŋ	milk ('breast liquid')	EJAH-Hpun
	ǎ nù, ǎ nú	breast	EJAH-Hpun
Hpun (Metjo)	ǎ nuh <sup>4</sup>	breasts; nipple	GHL-PPB:G.53,U.9
Hpun (Northern)	ǎ nù' s(h)ù'	suck (the breast)	EJAH-Hpun
Lashi	nou <sup>55</sup>	breast	DQ-Lashi:5.4
	nou <sup>55</sup> jiiŋ <sup>31</sup>	milk	DQ-Lashi:5.4.3
	nou <sup>55</sup> ʂ <sup>55</sup>	nipple	DQ-Lashi:5.4.1
Lashi (Lachhe')	nau <sup>2</sup>	breasts	GHL-PPB:U.9
	nau <sup>1</sup>	breasts	GHL-PPB:U.9
Maru [Langsu]	no <sup>2</sup>	breasts	GHL-PPB:U.9
	nuk <sup>55</sup>	breast; udder (of cow, goat); milk	DQ-Langsu:5.4,5.4.2; 6 ZMYYC:259.43,281.43
	nuk <sup>55</sup> xək <sup>55</sup>	colostrum	DQ-Langsu:5.4.4
	nuk <sup>55</sup> ɣək <sup>31</sup>	milk	DQ-Langsu:5.4.3 7
	nuk <sup>55</sup> ʃ <sup>35</sup>	nipple	DQ-Langsu:5.4.1
	nú kàm	milk / breast	AW-TBT:327
Taung-Yo	no <sup>2</sup>	breasts	GHL-PPB:U.9
Atsi [Zaiwa]	nāu	milk / breast	AW-TBT:327

<sup>6</sup>The final **-k** in the Maru form is secondary; **-uk** is the regular Maru reflex of **\*-əw**, as first noted in the original version of *STC* (p. 60 in the published version, 1972) and for the first time in print by Burling 1966 (*Language* 42.3). Thus this form is not to be referred to the stop-finalled allofam (**53c**) **\*s-nəwk/ŋ** BREAST / MILK. Burling's correct observation about the secondariness of the velar stop in the Maru rhyme **-uk** (which is paralleled by the secondary **-t** in Maru **-it** < PTB **\*-əy**), was attacked by Roy Andrew Miller "Once again, the Maru final stops" (1968 paper presented at ICSTLL #1, Yale University). This attack was in turn refuted in *STC*, in the new note 193 (added in 1972).

<sup>7</sup>The second syllable ɣək<sup>31</sup> is from PLB **\*rəy**<sup>1</sup> 'water; liquid' (see (164) **\*rəy** WATER / LIQUID below). As just noted, final **\*-əy** regularly becomes **-it** in the Maru dialect described in Burling 1968. The unreleased final stop evidently sounds more like a velar in the dialect recorded by Dai Qingxia, who transcribes this rhyme as **\*-ək**.

	<b>nau</b> <sup>55</sup>	breast; milk	JZ-Zaiwa; ZMYYC:259.42,281.42
	<b>nau</b> <sup>1</sup>	breasts	GHL-PPB:U.9
6.2. Loloish			
*Loloish	* <b>no</b> <sup>3</sup>	milk; breast	AW-TBT:327; DB-PLolo:119B,155B
Ahi	<b>a</b> <sup>33</sup> <b>nu</b> <sup>33</sup>	milk	CK-YiQ:5.4.3
	<b>a</b> <sup>33</sup> <b>nu</b> <sup>33</sup> <b>o</b> <sup>55</sup> <b>du</b> <sup>33</sup>	nipple	CK-YiQ:5.4.1
	<b>a</b> <sup>33</sup> <b>nu</b> <sup>33</sup> <b>pi</b> <sup>55</sup>	breast	CK-YiQ:5.4
	<b>a</b> <sup>33</sup> <b>nu</b> <sup>33</sup>	milk	LMZ-AhiQ:5.4.3
	<b>a</b> <sup>33</sup> <b>nu</b> <sup>33</sup> <b>ni</b> <sup>21</sup>	nipple	LMZ-AhiQ:5.4.1
	<b>a</b> <sup>33</sup> <b>nu</b> <sup>33</sup> <b>pi</b> <sup>55</sup>	breast	LMZ-AhiQ:5.4
	<b>a</b> <sup>33</sup> <b>nu</b> <sup>33</sup> <b>ŋu</b> <sup>55</sup>	wean	LMZ-AhiQ:5.4.7
Gazhuo	<b>a</b> <sup>24</sup> <b>ŋ</b> <sup>33</sup>	milk	DQ-Gazhuo:5.4.3
Hani (Caiyuan)	<b>na</b> <sup>55</sup> <b>ny</b> <sup>33</sup>	milk; breast	JZ-Hani; ZMYYC:259.30,281.30
Lisu	<b>na</b> <sup>3</sup> <b>naw</b> <sup>3</sup>	breast	DB-PLolo:119A
Lisu (Putao)	<b>no</b> <sup>2</sup> <b>nu</b> <sup>7</sup> <sup>6</sup>	breasts; nipple	GHL-PPB:G.53,U.9
Lisu (Northern)	<b>no</b> <sup>35</sup> <b>no</b> <sup>7</sup> <sup>21</sup>	milk; breast	DB-Lisu
Nusu (Central)	<b>nu</b> <sup>55</sup> <b>nu</b> <sup>33</sup> <b>nu</b> <sup>33</sup>	milk (cow's)	DQ-NusuB:311.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	<b>no</b> <sup>55</sup> <b>nu</b> <sup>35</sup> <b>nu</b> <sup>31</sup>	milk (cow's)	DQ-NusuA:311.
Nusu (Northern)	<b>nə</b> <sup>31</sup> <b>nə</b> <sup>55</sup>	breast	JZ-Nusu
Nusu (Central)	<b>nu</b> <sup>33</sup> <b>nu</b> <sup>31</sup>	breast	DQ-NusuB:118.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	<b>nu</b> <sup>35</sup> <b>nu</b> <sup>31</sup>	breast	DQ-NusuA:118.
Nusu (Central)	<b>nu</b> <sup>55</sup> <b>nu</b> <sup>31</sup>	breast	JZ-Nusu
Nusu (Southern)	<b>nu</b> <sup>55</sup> <b>nu</b> <sup>31</sup>	breast	JZ-Nusu
	<b>nu</b> <sup>55</sup> <b>nu</b> <sup>31</sup> <b>ɬ</b> <sup>55</sup>	milk	JZ-Nusu
Nusu (Bijiang)	<b>nu</b> <sup>55</sup> <b>nu</b> <sup>31</sup>	breast; milk	ZMYYC:259.45,281.45
Sani [Nyi]	<b>a</b> <sup>44</sup> <b>ŋ</b> <sup>33</sup>	milk (from breast)	MXL-SaniQ:368.2
Phunoi	<b>nù</b> <sup>1</sup> <b>lǎ</b>	milk	DB-PLolo
Ugong	<b>nù</b>	breast	DB-Ugong:5.4
	<b>nù</b> <sup>1</sup> <b>wǔŋ</b>	milk	DB-Ugong:5.4.3
	<b>nù</b> <sup>1</sup> <b>ʔa</b> <b>ɛ</b>	nipple	DB-Ugong:5.4.1
Yi (Mile)	<b>A</b> <sup>33</sup> <b>nu</b> <sup>33</sup>	milk	ZMYYC:281.25
6.3. Naxi			
Naxi (Lijiang)	<b>no</b> <sup>33</sup>	milk	ZMYYC:281.28
Naxi (Eastern)	<b>nu</b> <sup>31</sup> <b>bi</b> <sup>33</sup>	breast	JZ-Naxi
Naxi (Yongning)	<b>nu</b> <sup>31</sup> <b>bi</b> <sup>33</sup>	breast; milk	ZMYYC:259.29,281.29
6.4. Jinuo			
Jinuo (Buyuan)	<b>a</b> <sup>31</sup> <b>na</b> <sup>11</sup>	milk	JZ-Jinuo
7. Karenic			
*Karen	* <b>nu</b> <sup>1</sup>	breast	AW-TBT:926
*Karen (Pho)	* <b>nu</b> <sup>1</sup>	breast	RBJ-KLS:23
*Karen (Sgaw)	* <b>ny</b>	breast	RBJ-KLS:23
*Karen (Pho-Sgaw)	* <b>ny</b>	breast	RBJ-KLS:23
Bwe	<b>-nu</b>	breast	EJAH-BKD
	<b>dɛ nu</b> <sup>1</sup> <b>chi</b>	milk	EJAH-BKD

<sup>8</sup>The **-u** vowel has been completely swallowed up by the nasal initial in this Gazhuo form, a phenomenon which is typical of Loloish: e.g. the Lahu phonemic syllable /**mu**/ is pronounced as a syllabic labiodental nasal [m̥] (see Matisoff 1973b, *The Grammar of Lahu*, pp. 3-4).

## IV. Breast

	<b>nù</b>	breast	AW-TBT:926
	<b>nu-chi</b>	milk	EJAH-BKD
Bwe (Western)	<b>nu<sup>2</sup></b>	breast	AW-TBT:926
	<b>nũ<sup>2</sup></b>	breasts; nipple	GHL-PPB:G.53
Geba	<b>nũ<sup>2</sup></b>	breasts; nipple	GHL-PPB:G.53
Palaychi	<b>nù</b>	breast	RBJ-KLS:23
Pho (Delta)	<b>nu<sup>1</sup></b>	breasts; nipple	GHL-PPB:G.53
Pho (Tenasserim)	<b>nu<sup>4</sup></b>	breasts; nipple	GHL-PPB:G.53
Pho (Bassein)	<b>nú?</b>	breast	RBJ-KLS:23
Pho (Moulmein)	<b>nú</b>	breast	AW-TBT:926; RBJ-KLS:23
Paku	<b>nu<sup>3</sup></b>	breasts; nipple	GHL-PPB:G.53
	<b>nɣ<sup>3</sup></b>	breasts; nipple	GHL-PPB:G.53
Sgaw	<b>nɣ<sup>6</sup></b>	breasts; nipple	GHL-PPB:G.53
	<b><sup>1</sup>nü</b>	breast	AW-TBT:926
Sgaw (Bassein)	<b>nỳ</b>	breast	RBJ-KLS:23
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	<b>da<sup>31</sup> ny<sup>31</sup> t<sup>h</sup>i<sup>55</sup></b>	milk	DQ-KarenB:161
	<b>ny<sup>31</sup></b>	breast	DQ-KarenB:121
Sgaw (Moulmein)	<b>nỳ</b>	breast	RBJ-KLS:23
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	<b>ta<sup>31</sup> nu<sup>31</sup> t<sup>h</sup>i<sup>55</sup></b>	milk	DQ-KarenA:161
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Mandarin)	<b>naai</b>	milk	JS-Ch:486
Chinese (Middle)	<b>ńźju:</b>	nipple, milk, suckle	WSC-SH:48
Chinese (Old)	<b>ńĵu</b>	breasts; nipple; suckle	GHL-PPB:G.53,U.9,W.75
	<b>njugx</b>	breast / nipple / milk	WSC-SH:48
Chinese (Old/Mid)	<b>ńĵu/ńźju:</b>	breast, nipple; milk, suckle; hatch	GSR:135a

## Chinese comparandum

乳 **rǔ** 'breast'

GSR: 135a

Karlgren: \***ńĵu**

Li: \***njugx**

Baxter: \***njo?**

This is a long-recognized cognate (see Shafer IST 1966:38, *STC* p. 184, Bodman 1980:171 set 444, Coblin 1986:48, Gong 1995 sets 16 and 70, Schuessler 2007:446).

The correspondence of TB final \***-əw** (or \***-u**) to OC \***-ug** (Li)/\***-o** (Baxter) is regular. (Examples: 'head' OC 頭 \***đug** (Li)/\***do** Baxter, TB \***d-bu**; 'fog' OC 霧 \***mjuġh** (Li)/\***m(r)jos** (Baxter), TB \***r-məw**; 'steal' OC 寇 \***khugs** (Li)/\***kh(r)os** (Baxter), TB \***r-kəw**). This TB final also corresponds to OC \***-əgw** (Li)/\***-u** (Baxter), as seen in (102) \***r-bu** ≈ \***pru** NEST / WOMB / PLACENTA.

[ZJH]

(53b)

\***s-nəw** <sup>t</sup>  
n

**BREAST / MILK / SUCK**

1.1. North Assam

Padam-Mising [Abor-Miri]

a **nyun**

breast milk

JAM-Ety

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
Thanphum	ʃənũ <sup>5</sup>	breasts	GHL-PPB:P.17
Tiddim	n̄i <sup>3</sup>	breasts; nipple	GHL-PPB:G.53,P.17
Xongsai	n̄i <sup>2</sup>	breasts	GHL-PPB:P.17
1.3. Naga			
Rengma	nyun	chest	GEM-CNL
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tibetan (Written)	nud-pa	breasts; nipple; suckle	GHL-PPB:G.53,U.9,W.75
	snun-pa	suckle	STC:p.100
3.2. Qiangic			
Pumi (Jinghua)	niãu <sup>13</sup>	milk	JZ-Pumi; ZMYYC:281.11
	niãu <sup>13</sup> po <sup>13</sup>	breast	JZ-Pumi; ZMYYC:259.11

(53c) \*s-nəw <sup>k</sup> <sub>ŋ</sub> BREAST / MILK

1.1. North Assam			
Padam-Mising [Abor-Miri]	a-nyuk	breast milk	JAM-Ety
Milang	aɲuŋ	breast	AT-MPB
	ɲun-pi	nipple	AT-MPB
9			
1.2. Kuki-Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	hnuk <sup>1</sup>	breasts; nipple	GHL-PPB:G.53,P.17
2.1.4. Tamangic			
Manang (Gyaru)	nyog <sup>1</sup> ro <sup>1</sup> nye: <sup>4</sup>	breast (woman)	YN-Man:034
Manang (Prakaa)	<sup>2</sup> ɲok ro:	breast	HM-Prak:0025
10			
3.2. Qiangic			
Pumi (Taoba)	ɲõ <sup>35</sup>	breast	JZ-Pumi; ZMYYC:259.10
11			
4.2. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong]	nuŋ <sup>55</sup>	breast; milk	ZMYYC:259.46,281.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	nuŋ <sup>55</sup>	milk; breast	JZ-Dulong
6.2. Loloish			
Lisu (Putao)	no <sup>2</sup> nuʔ <sup>6</sup>	breasts; nipple	GHL-PPB:G.53,U.9
Lisu (Northern)	no <sup>35</sup> noʔ <sup>21</sup>	milk; breast	DB-Lisu
7. Karenic			
*Karen (TP)	*náun'	breast	RBJ-KLS:23

<sup>9</sup>Despite the final dental nasal in this form, it is assigned to the present set because of the doublet in -ŋ.

<sup>10</sup>This Manang form proves the independence of etyma (53c) \*s-nəwk/ŋ BREAST / MILK (first syllable) and (54) \*s-nye-n BREAST / MILK / SUCK (third syllable).

<sup>11</sup>This form is rather arbitrarily assigned to this set, rather than to (53b) \*s-nəwt/n BREAST / MILK / SUCK.

*Karen	*náun'	breast	RBJ-KLS:23	12
Pho (Bassein)	núʔ	breast	AW-TBT:926	

(54) **\*s-nye-n** **BREAST / MILK / SUCK**

This etymon, which frequently occurs reduplicated, may have a hypocoristic (baby-talk) flavor. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish reflexes of this etymon from those of (53a) \*s-nəw BREAST / MILK / SUCK, which also often appear reduplicated. Particularly problematic are the Qiangic forms, many of which have front vowels, but which after much vacillation I have finally assigned to (53a) \*s-nəw BREAST / MILK / SUCK instead of to the present set. Both (53) \*s-nəw(-) BREAST / MILK / SUCK and (54) \*s-nye-n BREAST / MILK / SUCK occasionally take a nasal suffix, which further complicates the picture (cf. the \*Tamang, Chepang, Hayu, and Pa-O forms, below).

A couple of Himalayish languages (Gurung, Thakali) have a velar initial, which appears to be a secondary development from the palatal nasal \*ny-. A pair of other forms with voiceless nasals (Lushai, E. Chepang) reflect the \*s- prefix.

1.1. North Assam

Apatani	a-ñi	milk	JS-Tani
	à-ñi ñi-pe	nipple	JS-Tani
	a-ñiŋ	milk	JS-Tani
	ñim-pur	nipple	JS-Tani
Darang [Taraon]	nye cei	breast milk	JAM-Ety
	nye ma: cei	breast milk	JAM-Ety
Sulung	a <sup>33</sup> nie <sup>11</sup>	breast	SHK-Sulung; ZMYYC:259.52
	mə <sup>33</sup> nie <sup>11</sup>	milk	SHK-Sulung; ZMYYC:281.52

1.2. Kuki-Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	hne	suck	GEM-CNL
Thado	nói mùʔ	nipple	THI1972:66

1.3. Naga

Mao	ne	suck	GEM-CNL
	o ne	breast	GEM-CNL
Nocte	ni po	breast	WTF-PNN:490
Sema	ni	suck	GEM-CNL

1.4. Meithei

Moyon	ni	nipple	DK-Moyon:5.4.1
	ni mówr	nipple	DK-Moyon:5.4.1

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	nu ni	nipple	DS-Kan:12
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2.1.2. Bodic

Baima	ne <sup>13</sup> ne <sup>35</sup>	breast	SHK-BaimaQ:5.4
	ne <sup>13</sup> po <sup>35</sup>	breast	SHK-BaimaQ:5.4
	no <sup>35</sup> ne <sup>13</sup> ne <sup>35</sup>	milk	SHK-BaimaQ:5.4.3

<sup>12</sup>These Karenic forms are assigned to this set because of the final glottal stop in Weidert's Pho (Bassein) form.

Tibetan (Batang)	ɲə <sup>13</sup>	suck	DQ-Batang:5.4.5
2.1.4. Tamangic			
*Tamang	* <sup>A</sup> ne: * <sup>A</sup> ɲjan	milk milk	MM-Thesis:555 MM-Thesis:213
Chantyal	nfiə	milk	NPB-ChanQ:5.4.3
Gurung	<sup>3</sup> ɲẽ = ɲẽh <sup>3</sup> ɲe = ɲeh <sup>3</sup> ɲe- = ɲeh ba	breasts milk milk (cow)(v.t.)	MM-Thesis:213 MM-Thesis:561 MM-Thesis:561
Gurung (Ghachok)	ɲẽh ɲeh ɲeh pip ba ɲeh tiq ba ɲeh ba ɲeh kra	breasts milk wean nurse milk (cow) nipple	SIL-Gur:1.51 SIL-Gur:7.A.16 SIL-Gur:6.B.2.3 SIL-Gur:6.B.2.1 SIL-Gur:3.B.41 SIL-Gur:2.A.35
Manang (Gyaru)	nyog <sup>1</sup> ro <sup>1</sup> nye: <sup>4</sup> nye: <sup>3</sup> ba nye: <sup>1</sup> nye: <sup>4</sup> buwn <sup>1</sup>	breast (woman) suck milk nipple	YN-Man:034 YN-Man:087 YN-Man:079 YN-Man:034-01
Manang (Prakaa)	<sup>2</sup> ɲe: <sup>3</sup> ɲe: <sup>4</sup> ɲe:-	milk milk suck	HM-Prak:0528 MM-Thesis:561 HM-Prak:0287
Tamang (Risiangku)	<sup>3</sup> ne- <sup>2</sup> t <sup>h</sup> un <sup>3</sup> ne:	nipple breast; teat; milk; udder	MM-TamRisQ:5.4.1 MM-TamRisQ:5.4, 5.4.2; MM-Thesis:555
Tamang (Sahu)	nyeh c <sup>h</sup> uT Tai' ti- pa <sup>3</sup> ɲe <sup>3</sup> ɲe-pa = nyeh-pa	suck milk milk (a cow)	SIL-Sahu:17.B.2 MM-Thesis:561 MM-Thesis:561
Tamang (Taglung)	<sup>3</sup> ɲe <sup>3</sup> ɲe-ba	milk milk	MM-Thesis:561 MM-Thesis:561
Thakali (Syang)	<sup>1</sup> ɲje = Xɲje <sup>6</sup>	milk	MM-Thesis:561
Thakali (Tukche)	<sup>3</sup> ɲje = ɲjeh ɲjeh ɲjeh coh ɲjeh k <sup>h</sup> a-lə ɲjeh pi-la	breasts breasts; milk nipple nurse wean	MM-Thesis:561 SIL-Thak:1.51,7.A.16 SIL-Thak:2.A.35 SIL-Thak:6.B.2.1 SIL-Thak:6.B.2.3
2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar			
Chepeng	nyonʔ-sa	suck	SIL-Chep:6.B.2.2
Chepeng (Eastern)	hnyonh naʔ nyonʔ naʔ	suck suck	RC-ChepQ:5.4.5 RC-ChepQ:5.4.5
Kham	nwi: səy	nipple	DNW-KhamQ:2.A.35
2.3.2. Kiranti			
Hayu	nyen	breast milk	JAM-Ety
Limbu	nE	nipple	BM-Lim
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	ne <sup>2</sup>	breast	MVS-Grin

<sup>13</sup>The second syllable is probably from (H:252) \*s-bwam ≈ \*s-bwap PLUMP / SWOLLEN / PROTUBERANCE.

## IV. Breast

### 3.2. Qiangic

Muya [Minyak]	nu <sup>33</sup> nø <sup>53</sup>	breast	SHK-MuyaQ:5.4; ZMYYC:259.15	14
	nu <sup>35</sup> nø <sup>35</sup>	nipple	SHK-MuyaQ:5.4.1	

### 6.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	ɲɛ̃ <sup>31</sup>	breast; milk	JZ-Achang
Achang (Luxi)	ɲɛn <sup>31</sup>	breast; milk	JZ-Achang
Achang (Xiandao)	ɲɔn <sup>35</sup>	breast	DQ-Xiandao:118

### 6.2. Loloish

Lolo (Ni)	a gni	breasts	GHL-PPB:U.9
Ahi	ɑ <sup>33</sup> nu <sup>33</sup> ni <sup>21</sup>	nipple	LMZ-AhiQ:5.4.1
Nesu	a <sup>55</sup> ɲi <sup>21</sup> ʒ <sup>21</sup>	nipple	CK-YiQ:5.4.1
	a <sup>55</sup> ɲi <sup>21</sup> ʒl <sup>21</sup>	milk	CK-YiQ:5.4.3
Nosu	a <sup>44</sup> ne <sup>33</sup>	breast; milk	CK-YiQ:5.4,5.4.3
	a <sup>44</sup> ne <sup>33</sup> ma <sup>44</sup> ma <sup>33</sup>	nipple	CK-YiQ:5.4.1
Nusu (Northern)	nə̃ <sup>31</sup> nə̃ <sup>55</sup> ɲu <sup>35</sup> ɑ <sup>55</sup>	milk	JZ-Nusu
Sani [Nyi]	A <sup>33</sup> ni <sup>33</sup>	milk	YHJC-Sani
	A <sup>33</sup> ni <sup>33</sup> to <sup>33</sup>	nurse (v.)	YHJC-Sani
	ɑ <sup>44</sup> ɲ <sup>33</sup> o <sup>55</sup> qo <sup>11</sup>	nipple	MXL-SaniQ:368.3
	ɑ <sup>44</sup> ɲ <sup>33</sup>	milk	CK-YiQ:5.4.3
	ɑ <sup>44</sup> ɲ <sup>33</sup> o <sup>55</sup> qo <sup>21</sup>	nipple	CK-YiQ:5.4.1
Phunoi	lɑ̃ <sup>55</sup> cu <sup>11</sup> ɲiʔ <sup>55</sup>	suck	DB-Phunoi
Yi (Mojiang)	A <sup>55</sup> ne <sup>21</sup> ʒi <sup>21</sup>	milk	ZMYYC:281.26
Yi (Xide)	a <sup>34</sup> -ne <sup>33</sup>	breasts, milk	CSL-YIzd
	a <sup>34</sup> -ne <sup>33</sup> ma <sup>34</sup> -ma <sup>33</sup>	nipple	CSL-YIzd
	a <sup>34</sup> -ne <sup>33</sup> to <sup>21</sup>	breast feed	CSL-YIzd
	a <sup>44</sup> ne <sup>33</sup>	milk; breast	JZ-Yi; ZMYYC:259.21,281.21
	ɲi <sup>21</sup>	breasts, milk	CSL-YIzd

### 6.3. Naxi

Naxi (Eastern)	ɲi <sup>31</sup> bi <sup>33</sup>	milk	JZ-Naxi
Naxi (Western)	ɲi <sup>55</sup> ɲi <sup>33</sup>	milk	JZ-Naxi

### 7. Karenic

Pa-O (Northern)	neɲ <sup>2</sup>	breasts; nipple	GHL-PPB:G.53
Pa-O	nɛn	breast	RBJ-KLS:23

## (55) \*m-dzup ≈ \*m-dzip SUCK / SUCKLE / MILK / KISS

This widespread etymon is set up as \*dzo:p in *STC* #69, on the basis of forms from four Barish and Kuki-Chin languages: (Barish) Dimasa **dʒop** and (Kuki-Chin) Lushai **fo:p**, Thado **tsop**, and Siyin **tuop** ‘suck; kiss’. (Cf. also Kom Rem **məjop**, Tiddim **to:p**, and Lai Chin **doop**.) However, the rhymes \*-op and \*-o:p are extremely rare in TB, with virtually no other examples (see *HPTB*, pp. 381-2), and it seems preferable to consider these forms with -o(:)- vocalism to reflect a localized secondary development. (On the other hand, there is a parallel form in NW rGyalrong **kants<sup>h</sup>rop**, alongside Ma’erkang

<sup>14</sup>It seems to be the second syllable of these Muya forms which belongs in this set. See the note under (53a).

<sup>15</sup>Literally “breast-head”.



rGyalrong **ka mə scçup**.) The vast majority of the reflexes point to a high proto-vowel, either \*-u- or \*-i-. The alternation between these two vowels is especially frequent in the environment of labial consonants, and indeed this is one of the best attested patterns of variation in TB, as well as in Chinese. (See *VSTB* pp. 41-2, *HPTB* pp. 493-505. See also (58a) \***m-pup** KISS / SUCK and (107) \*(t)sip ≈ \*(t)sup NEST / WOMB / SCROTUM, below.) Several languages show internal variation between these vowels (e.g. Dimasa **džop** ‘suck’ ≈ **sep** ‘milk’; Tiddim **te:p**<sup>1</sup> ‘suck’ ≈ **to:p**<sup>1</sup> ‘kiss’).

The nasal prefix \***m-** has been added to the reconstruction since it occurs in many Kamarupan languages (e.g. Sema **mtsü**, Ao Chungli **mechep**, Kom Rem **məjop**, Moyon **njúp**, etc.), as well as in Qiangic (e.g. Ergong **ndzip**<sup>53</sup>, Namuyi **ntshu**<sup>53</sup>), and WT **h̄jib(s)-pa**, where *a-chung* “h̄” is interpreted as a nasal prefix (see *HPTB* pp. 115-6).

Reflexes of the allofam with \*-u- vocalism are presented in (55a), and those from the \*-i- variant in (55b).

I also recognize an opened-syllable allofam \***dz(y)əw** MILK/BREAST, treated separately below (56).

A few languages show secondary variants with final stops other than **-p**. Jingpho has a doublet, one with the expected **-p** (**tšúp** ‘suck, kiss, absorb’), and one that reflects final \*-k (**tšúʔ** ‘breast’; -ʔ is the regular Jg. reflex of \*-k). Similar forms appear in several other languages: Sherpa (Helambu) **chuk pekin** ‘kiss’, Tamang (Sahu) **cyok-pa** ‘kiss’, Lashi **tʃu:k**<sup>55</sup> ‘nurse; suckle’, Bisu **tʃhòk** ‘suck’. All these languages seem to have doublets with both **-p** and **-k**. WB has an aberrant form with a final dental (**cut** ‘suck’), paralleled by Dulong **tsut**<sup>55</sup> ‘suckle’ and Tamang (Sahu) **nyeh c<sup>h</sup>uT Tai ti-pa**.<sup>16</sup>

For other etyma with similar variation in final position, cf. (58a) \***m-pup** KISS / SUCK and (107) \*(t)sip ≈ \*(t)sup NEST / WOMB / SCROTUM.

The semantic connection between SUCK and KISS is paralleled by the vulgar English expression *suck face* for ‘kiss’.

There is a possible Chinese comparison, 嚼 (Mand. **cǎn** ~ **zǎn**); this character has two OC readings, \***ts’əm** ‘have in the mouth’ and \***tsəp** ‘bite; sting and suck (as a mosquito)’ [*GSR* 660f, 660o]; see also Coblin 1986:144. TB also shows some variation between final stop and nasal in this etymon: cf. Sunwar **cim-cā** ‘milk a cow’ ≈ **yup-** ‘suck’; Tsangla (Motuo) **jum** ‘suck (milk)’ ≈ **tçup**<sup>55</sup> **a**<sup>55</sup> ‘kiss’. The final nasal in the Milang form **jim-ma** seems clearly to be due to assimilation of the initial to the suffix. See the discussion by ZJH, below.

See *HPTB* \***dz(y)o:p** ≈ \***ts(y)o:p**, pp. 31, 371, 382; \***dzyuk**, p. 382; \***dzyup** ≈ \***dzyip**, pp. 382, 500; \***dzyut**, p. 382; \***tsyup** ≈ \***tsyip**, p. 500; PLB \***C-tšup**<sup>L</sup>, p. 316; PLB \***tšuk**<sup>L</sup>, p. 30.

(55a) \***m-dzup** SUCK / SUCKLE / MILK / KISS

0. Sino-Tibetan

\*Sino-Tibetan

\***tsop** ~ **dzop**

suck

WSC-SH:144

<sup>16</sup>Cf. JAM-TSR #73, which contains several typos corrected in *VSTB*, p. 32 and p. 239, n. 41.

## IV. Breast

*Tibeto-Burman	<b>*dzo:p</b>	suck; kiss	AW-TBT:963; BM-PK7:171; STC:69; WSC-SH:144
1.1. North Assam			
Apatani	mó-čù mo-č <u>u</u> (sú) mo-č <sup>h</sup> <u>u</u> ? (sú)	kiss kiss kiss	JS-Tani JS-Tani JS-Tani
Bokar	bjuŋ-čup	suck	JS-Tani
Damu	dʒup-ra	suck	JS-Tani
Kaman [Miju]	tá-yəp yəp yáp	suck suck suck	AW-TBT:963 AW-TBT:963 AW-TBT:1221
1.2. Kuki-Chin			
Khoirao	<b>chup</b>	kiss	GEM-CNL
Kom Rem	məʃop mə čop	kiss suck	T-KomRQ:3.9.5 T-KomRQ:5.4.5
Lai (Hakha)	<b>doop</b>	suck	KVB-Lai
Lushai [Mizo]	<b>fāwp</b> <b>fo:p</b>	kiss suck, kiss	GEM-CNL STC:69; WSC-SH:144
Maring	<b>chup</b>	kiss	GEM-CNL
Siyin	<b>tuop</b>	suck, kiss	STC:69; WSC-SH:144
Thado	<b>cóp</b> <b>cóp</b> <b>cèp</b>	kiss kiss suck	THI1972:57 THI1972:57 THI1972:57
Tiddim	<b>tsop</b> <b>to:p</b> <sup>1</sup>	suck, kiss kiss	STC:69; WSC-SH:144 PB-TCV
1.3. Naga			
*Northern Naga	<b>*C<sub>VD</sub>-cu:p</b> <b>*C<sub>VD</sub>-c<sup>h</sup>up</b>	suck kiss	WTF-PNN:561 WTF-PNN:561
Ao (Chungli)	tebang-mesap	kiss	GEM-CNL
Chang	<b>shap, ship</b> <b>šlɔp</b>	suck suck	GEM-CNL AW-TBT:1114
Konyak	<b>hüp</b> <b>həp</b>	suck suck	GEM-CNL WTF-PNN:561
Konyak (Tamlu)	<b>jup</b>	suck / kiss	AW-TBT:1114
Lotha Naga	<b>ntsap</b> <b>Ntsup</b> <b>Ntsup a</b> <b>zua</b>	suck kiss suck nurse (v.) / suckle	GEM-CNL VN-LothQ:3.9.5 VN-LothQ:5.4.5 VN-LothQ:5.4.6
Nocte	<b>a cup</b> <b>a cup (jok)</b> <b>tšup</b>	kiss kiss suck	WTF-PNN:561 WTF-PNN:561 AW-TBT:963
Phom	<b>jüp</b> <b>jəp</b>	kiss kiss	GEM-CNL WTF-PNN:561
Rengma	<b>sü shi</b>	suck	GEM-CNL
Sangtam	<b>mü thsüp</b>	kiss	GEM-CNL
Sema	<b>mtsü</b>	suck; kiss	GEM-CNL
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	<b>chap</b> <b>chup</b> <b>cup pə</b>	suck kiss kiss	GEM-CNL GEM-CNL CYS-Meithei:3.9.5

## (55a) \*m-dzup SUCK / SUCKLE / MILK / KISS

Moyon	<b>cu cu?</b> mówr <b>njup</b> <b>njup</b> ~ <b>njúp</b>	nipple suck kiss	DK-Moyon:5.4.1 DK-Moyon:5.4.5 DK-Moyon:3.9.5
1.5. Mikir			
Mikir	<b>ing jup</b> <b>ing jùp-</b>	kiss suck	GEM-CNL KHG-Mikir:20
1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish			
Bodo	<b>sɤp</b>	suck	AW-TBT:1114
Dimasa	<b>džop</b> <b>džop</b> <b>job ji</b>	suck, kiss suck, kiss suck	STC:69 WSC-SH:144 GEM-CNL
Lalung	<b>khu jub a</b>	suck	MB-Lal:88
Meche	<b>cop</b>	suck	AW-TBT:1114
17			
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Pattani [Manchati]	<b>cug</b> tʃ <sup>hi</sup> <b>cəpu</b> <b>cəpu</b> rəndʒri	suckle, suck kiss kiss	DS-Patt DS-Patt DS-Patt
2.1.2. Bodic			
Dzongkha	<b>džup</b>	suck	AW-TBT:664
Tsangla (Motuo)	<b>jum</b> <b>tɕup</b> <sup>55</sup> a <sup>55</sup> <b>tɕup</b> ʔa <b>ʔo</b> <sup>55</sup> t <sup>h</sup> ɕp <sup>53</sup>	suck (milk) kiss kiss kiss	SLZO-MLD JZ-CLMenba SLZO-MLD SLZO-MLD
Tshona (Mama)	<b>chuk</b> pekin	kiss	B-ShrpaHQ:3.9.5
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)			
18			
2.1.4. Tamangic			
Tamang (Risiangku)	<b><sup>1</sup>tsjo:</b>	kiss	MM-TamRisQ:3.9.5
Tamang (Sahu)	<b>cyok-pā</b> nyeh <b>c<sup>h</sup>uT</b> Tai' ti-pa	kiss suck	AH-CSDPN:10b1.51 SIL-Sahu:17.B.2
2.2. Newar			
Newar	<b>cup-ā</b> na-ye <b>cup</b> ā-nala <b>cup</b> pa nɔ egu	be kissed ("eat a kiss") he kissed kiss ("have a kiss")	KPM-pc AH-CSDPN:10b1.51 SH-KNw:3.9.5
2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar			
Sunwar	<b>yup-</b>	suck	BM-PK7:170
2.3.2. Kiranti			
Bantawa	<b>chUp</b> <b>cup</b> ma	suck up kiss	NKR-Bant NKR-Bant
Khaling	<b>cūp</b> mū-ne	kiss	AH-CSDPN:10b1.51
Limbu	<b>tsup</b> mEtt-	kiss	BM-Lim
Yakha	<b>cup</b> pa cok ma	kiss	TK-Yakha:3.9.5
3.2. Qiangic			
Ergong (Danba)	wu <b>mtsu</b> mtsi	suck	SHK-ErgDQ:5.4.5

<sup>17</sup>The **-b** in **-jub-** represents an unreleased (not truly voiced) stop. Lalung has a doublet **chu-ma** 'kiss', from the open-syllable allofam (56) \***dz(y)əw** MILK / BREAST, below.

<sup>18</sup>The final nasal in this form is unexplained, but is perhaps due to assimilation to a now-lost suffix with nasal initial: cf. Milang **jim-ma**.

## IV. Breast

Ergong (Daofu)	<b>ɕhuə</b>	milk	DQ-Daofu:5.4.3	
Ergong (Danba)	<b>ɕhu</b>	milk	ZMYYC:281.14	
	<b>ɕ<sup>h</sup>u</b>	milk	SHK-ErgDQ:5.4.3	
Ergong (Daofu)	<b>?tsau</b>	suck	DQ-Daofu:5.4.5	
Namuyi	<b>ntshu</b> <sup>53</sup>	milk (v.)	ZMYYC:611.19	
	<b>tʂu</b> <sup>55</sup> <b>tʂu</b> <sup>55</sup> <b>mu</b> <sup>55</sup>	kiss	SHK-NamuQ:3.9.5	
Pumi (Jinghua)	<b>nə</b> <sup>13</sup> <b>tsə</b> <sup>55</sup>	milk (v.)	ZMYYC:611.11	
Qiang (Mawo)	<b>tsəp</b>	milk	JS-Mawo; JZ-Qiang; SHK-MawoQ:5.4.3; ZMYYC:281.8	
	<b>tʂhə</b>	suck / inhale	JZ-Qiang	
Qiang (Taoping)	<b>tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə (tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə la)</b>	suck	SHK-MawoQ:5.4.5	
Shixing	<b>ɲy</b> <sup>55</sup> <b>ɲy</b> <sup>55</sup> <b>tsuə</b> <sup>55</sup>	milk	ZMYYC:281.9	
	<b>tshu</b> <sup>33</sup>	milk (v.)	ZMYYC:611.20	
3.3. rGyalrongic				
rGyalrong (NW)	<b>ka nts<sup>h</sup>rop</b>	suck	SHK-rGNWQ:5.4.5	
rGyalrong	<b>kə mə scup</b>	suck	DQ-Jiarong:5.4.5	
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	<b>ka mə scəp</b>	suck	TBL:1648.11	
4. Jingpho-Nung-Luish				
Ganan	<b>tsup</b> <sup>3</sup>	suck	GHL-PPB:L.294	
	<b>tsə</b> <sup>4</sup>	suck	GHL-PPB:L.294	
Kadu (Kantu)	<b>so?</b> <sup>1</sup>	suck	GHL-PPB:L.294	
	<b>s'up</b> <sup>1</sup>	suck	GHL-PPB:L.294	
Sak (Dodem)	<b>su</b> <sup>3</sup>	suck	GHL-PPB:L.294	
	<b>tsô?</b> <sup>2</sup>	suck	GHL-PPB:L.294	
Sak (Bawtala)	<b>tsô</b> <sup>4</sup>	suck	GHL-PPB:L.294	
4.1. Jingpho				
Jingpho	<b>chu</b>	milk; breast	GEM-CNL	19
	<b>chu, chyup</b>	suck	GEM-CNL	
	<b>chup</b>	kiss	GEM-CNL	
	<b>chyu</b>	breasts of a female	OH-DKL:90	
	<b>chyup</b>	suck, as through a straw	OH-DKL:92	
	<b>tʂú?</b>	breast	JAM-TSR:#73	
	<b>tʂup</b> <sup>31</sup>	suck up, absorb	JCD:98	
	<b>tʂu?</b> <sup>55</sup>	breast; suck; milk	JCD:96; JZ-Jingpo; ZMYYC:259.47,281.47	
	<b><sup>1</sup>tʂup</b>	kiss; suck	AW-TBT:1114,1144	
	<b>ʃup</b> <sup>31</sup>	milk (v.)	ZMYYC:611.47	
4.2. Nungic				
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	<b>tsut</b> <sup>55</sup>	suckle (milk)	JZ-Dulong	20
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	<b>tɕ<sup>h</sup>ũ?</b> <sup>55</sup>	milk; breast	JZ-Dulong	
6. Lolo-Burmese				
*Lolo-Burmese	<b>*C-cup</b>	suck / milk	JAM-TSR:73(c)	
	<b>*?cup</b>	suck / milk	JAM-TSR:73(a)	

<sup>19</sup>These Jingpho forms are transcribed as if they were open syllables in Hanson (and sources which recycled his data), but they really have a final glottal stop -ʔ (< \*-k), as noted in *ZMYYC* and other more modern sources.

<sup>20</sup>See also WB **cut**.

## (55a) \*m-dzup SUCK / SUCKLE / MILK / KISS

	*ʔcup × *ʔjup × *C-cup	suck / milk	JAM-TSR:69a	
	*ʔjup	suck / milk	JAM-TSR:73(b)	
6.1. Burmish				
Achang (Xiandao)	ʃuʔ <sup>55</sup>	suck (milk)	DQ-Xiandao:2262	
Bola	tʃap <sup>55</sup>	suck (milk)	DQ-Bola:2262	
Burmese (Modern)	cut	suck	GHL-PPB:V.108	
Burmese (Written)	(cut)	suck / kiss	JAM-MLBM:42	
	cut	suck, absorb, imbibe	GEM-CNL; JAM-Ety; PKB-WBRD	21
Hpun (Northern)	ǎ nù' s(h)ù' s(h)àʔ	suck (the breast) suck	EJAH-Hpun EJAH-Hpun	
Lashi	tʃu:k <sup>55</sup>	nurse / suckle	DQ-Lashi:5.4.6	
Maru [Langsu]	tʃap <sup>55</sup>	suck (as babe at breast); milk (v.)	DQ-Langsu:add3; ZMYYC:611.43	
Atsi [Zaiwa]	tʃup <sup>55</sup>	milk (v.)	ZMYYC:611.42	
6.2. Loloish				
*Loloish	*C-cut <sup>L</sup>	suck	DB-PLolo:633	22
Akha	cu HS	suck up (e.g. bird sucking nectar, vampire)	JAM-TSR:73(a)	
	cu LS	suck up (e.g. through small bamboo tube) / kiss	JAM-TSR:73(b)	
Bisu	cu <sup>˩</sup> kjū tʃù ~ kjù tʃhù tʃhòk tʃup	suck / kiss suck / milk suck / milk suck at the breast suck kiss	JAM-MLBM:42 JAM-TSR:73(a) JAM-TSR:73(b) PB-Bisu:35 PB-Bisu:35 PB-Bisu:32	23
Hani (Hu T'an)	tsu 33c	suck / milk	JAM-TSR:73(a)	
Hani (Shuikui)	a <sup>55</sup> tʃy <sup>33</sup> a <sup>55</sup> tʃỹ <sup>33</sup> a <sup>55</sup> tʃy <sup>33</sup>	breast milk breast; milk	JZ-Hani JZ-Hani ZMYYC:259.32,281.32	
*Common Lahu	tʃhv <sup>31</sup>	milk (v.)	ZMYYC:611.32	
Lahu (Banlan)	*chaw <sup>˩</sup> /htsuh <sup>˩</sup> cu: g'i <sup>˩</sup> cu: peh <sup>˩</sup>	suck milk breast	DB-PLolo:633 DB-Lahu:155 DB-Lahu:119	
*Common Lahu	*cu <sup>˩</sup>	milk	DB-PLolo:155A	
Lahu (Bakeo)	cu <sup>˩</sup> peh <sup>˩</sup>	breast	DB-Lahu:119	
Lahu (Black)	cú-phù chòʔ	breast suck; kiss	JAM-II JAM-MLBM:42; JAM-TSR:73(c)	
	cú	milk	JAM-TSR:73(b)	24

<sup>21</sup>This final -t is unexplained. See also Dulong tsut<sup>55</sup>.

<sup>22</sup>This PLB form set up by Bradley (#633) has only WB for support; elsewhere all Lolo-Burmese forms point to \*-p. See e.g. the Bisu, Bola, Maru, and Zaiwa cognates. In general it is difficult to distinguish the PLB rhymes \*-ut and \*-up based entirely on Loloish (as opposed to Burmish) evidence.

<sup>23</sup>Note the Bisu doublet with tʃ- × kj-.

<sup>24</sup>Lahu cú, despite its non-checked tone synchronically, reflects a PLB prototype with final stop, \*ʔjup;

## IV. Breast

	cú phâ?	wean	JAM-DL:p.466	
	cú-phô	breast	JAM-II	
	cha-cú-ni	clitoris	JAM-DL:517	25
	dzy <sup>35</sup> fy <sup>53</sup>	breast	JZ-Lahu	
	tsu <sup>35</sup> fu <sup>33</sup>	breast	ZMYYC:259.33	
	tsu <sup>35</sup> yw <sup>31</sup>	milk	ZMYYC:281.33	
	tsy <sup>35</sup> yw <sup>31</sup>	milk	JZ-Lahu	
Lahu (Yellow)	tsy <sup>35</sup> pɛʔ <sup>54</sup>	breast	JZ-Lahu	
	tsy <sup>35</sup> yw <sup>31</sup>	milk	JZ-Lahu	
Lolopho	tshu <sup>31</sup>	nurse; suckle; suck	DQ-Lolopho:5.4.5,5.4.6	
Mpi	tchu <sup>21</sup>	suck / kiss	JAM-MLBM:42	
Noesu	tɕy <sup>13</sup>	suck	CK-YiQ:5.4.5	
Nusu (Bijiang)	tsɔ <sup>53</sup>	milk (v.)	ZMYYC:611.45	
6.3. Naxi				
Naxi (Lijiang)	tshua <sup>31</sup>	milk (v.)	ZMYYC:611.28	
6.4. Jinuo				
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	tʃ <sup>h</sup> u <sup>55</sup>	suck (milk)	DQ-JinA:2360	
Jinuo (Baka)	tʃ <sup>h</sup> y <sup>55</sup>	suck (milk)	DQ-JinB:2360	
7. Karenic				
*Karen (Sgaw)	*shu?	suckle / nurse	RBJ-KLS:562	
*Karen (Pho)	*shó?	suckle / nurse	RBJ-KLS:562	
Bwe	á-džù	suck	AW-TBT:963	
Pa-O	có?	suckle / nurse	JAM-Ety; RBJ-KLS:562	
Palaychi	có	suckle / nurse	JAM-Ety; RBJ-KLS:562	
Pho (Bassein)	shò?	suckle / nurse	JAM-Ety; RBJ-KLS:562	
Pho (Moulmein)	shàu?	suckle / nurse	JAM-Ety; RBJ-KLS:562	
Sgaw	<sup>4</sup> shu?	suck	AW-TBT:963	
Sgaw (Bassein)	shu?	suckle / nurse	JAM-Ety; RBJ-KLS:562	
Sgaw (Moulmein)	shu?	suckle / nurse	JAM-Ety; RBJ-KLS:562	
9. Sinitic				
Chinese (Middle)	tsəp	sting and suck (sc. mosquito)	WSC-SH:144	
Chinese (Old)	tsəp	suck	WSC-SH:144	

## Chinese comparandum

嚼 cǎn, zǎn ‘have in mouth; bite; sting’

GSR: 660f; 660o Karlgren: \*ts’əm / \*tsəp Li: \*tshəm/p Baxter: \*tshim/p

Neither Li nor Baxter reconstructs this word. As Baxter notes (1992:555), this phonetic series presents unusual difficulties for OC reconstruction. Baxter reconstructs some words with \*o and others with \*i/î.

the high-rising tone is the result of “glottal dissimilation”, which occurred in pre-Lahu syllables that had both a \*glottalized initial and a \*final stop (which was reduced to -ʔ in Lahu). For a detailed account of this phenomenon, see Matisoff 1970 (“Glottal dissimilation and the Lahu high-rising tone”). Cf. also Matisoff 1972a #73b.

<sup>25</sup>Literally “vagina-nipple”. The last syllable probably means ‘red’. Cf. also Lahu ha-cú-ni ‘uvula’ (lit. “tongue-nipple”).

It is not clear why Karlgren lists the character twice in *GSR* 660. At *GSR* 660f he reconstructs \***ts'əm** for the meaning ‘have in mouth’ and \***tsəp** for the meaning ‘bite’, while at *GSR* 660o he reconstructs \***tsəp** meaning ‘sting and suck’. Karlgren’s usual practice in *GSR* is to group multiple readings of a single character together, listing that character only once.

On the apparent mismatch between the voiceless PTB initial and the voiced OC initial, see the discussion under (1b) \***pu** EGG.

Vowel correspondences between OC and PTB before labial codas are difficult to pin down. In Li’s system, OC \*-ə- regularly corresponds to TB \*-u- and/or \*-i-. Examples include ‘three’ 三 OC \***səm**, PTB \***gsum**; ‘enter / sink’ 入 OC \***njəp**, PTB \***nup** ≈ \***nip**; and ‘sleep’ 寢 OC \***tshjəm**, WT **gzim** (Coblin 1986:134). Using Baxter’s system, however, where six vowels (as opposed to just \***a**, \***ə** in Li’s system) occur before bilabial consonants, correspondences are less regular. This is in part because in many cases there is ambiguity in the reconstruction of vowels before bilabial codas in his system. At the present state of our knowledge, the proposed cognate set is viable.

[ZJH]

(55b)	*m-dzip		SUCK / KISS
1.1. North Assam			
Kaman [Miju]	<b>jip</b> <sup>55</sup>	suck (milk)	SLZO-MLD
Milang	<b>jim</b> -ma	suck	AT-MPB
1.2. Kuki-Chin			
Tiddim	<b>te:p</b> <sup>1</sup>	suck fluids	PB-TCV
1.3. Naga			
Ao (Chungli)	<b>me sep</b>	suck	GEM-CNL
Ao (Mongsen)	<b>mechep</b>	suck; kiss	GEM-CNL
Chang	<b>šep</b>	kiss; suck	WTF-PNN:561,561
	<b>shap, ship</b>	suck	GEM-CNL
	<b>shep</b>	kiss	GEM-CNL
Konyak	<b>jep</b>	kiss	GEM-CNL; WTF-PNN:561
Lotha Naga	<b>chon chi</b>	kiss	GEM-CNL
Rengma	<b>sü shi</b>	suck	GEM-CNL
Sema	<b>a ke chi</b>	breast	GEM-CNL
	<b>a ke chi zü</b>	milk	GEM-CNL
1.5. Mikir			
Mikir	<b>ing sip</b>	suck	GEM-CNL
1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish			
Dimasa	<b>sep</b>	milk	GEM-CNL
Garo	<b>ca?-sip-a</b>	suck	AW-TBT:1114
Garo (Bangladesh)	<b>-srip-</b>	slurp, swirl with the mouth	RB-LMMG:154
Khamngan	<sup>12</sup> <sub>a</sub> <sup>23</sup> <b>džer?</b>	suck	AW-TBT:1114
	<sup>12</sup> <sub>a</sub> <sup>12</sup> <b>tšep</b>	kiss; suck	AW-TBT:1114,1144

## IV. Breast

### 2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Pattani [Manchati]	cug tʃʰi tsip tsi Tùn dʒi	suckle, suck suck nurse (v.) / suckle	DS-Patt STP-ManQ:5.4.5 STP-ManQ:5.4.6
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### 2.1.2. Bodic

Baima	pɛ <sup>53</sup> tɕi <sup>13</sup>	kiss	SHK-BaimaQ:3.9.5
Bumthang	zip	suck	AW-TBT:664
Kurtey	dʒip	suck	AW-TBT:664
Tshona (Mama)	dʒip <sup>13</sup>	suck (milk)	SLZO-MLD
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	jip ken	nurse; suckle; suck	B-ShrpaHQ:5.4.5,5.4.6
Spiti	jip ce	suck	CB-SpitiQ:5.4.5
Tibetan (Written)	'jibs 'jibs-pa bʒibs bzip fjib(s)-pa	suck suck suck suck suck	BM-PK7:171 GEM-CNL AW-TBT:664 AW-TBT:664 AW-TBT:664

### 2.1.4. Tamangic

Tamang (Bagmati)	'sip	suck	AW-TBT:664
Tamang (Risiangku)	<sup>3</sup> sip	suck (milk, fingers)	MM-TamRisQ:5.4.5

### 2.3. Mahakiranti

*Dum-Thu-Kha	*chip-	suck	BM-PK7:171
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### 2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar

Magar	cip-ke	milk a cow	AH-CSDPN:03b.41
Sunwar	cim-cā	milk a cow	AH-CSDPN:03b.41

### 2.3.2. Kiranti

Thulung	chip-	suck (marrow); encroach (on another's land)	BM-PK7:171; NJA-Thulung
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### 3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	ndīufi Tīu	kiss / suck suckle / breastfeed / nourish	NT-SGK:255-122 NT-SGK:7-145
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### 3.2. Qiangic

Ergong (Northern)	ndʒip <sup>53</sup>	suck	SHK-ErgNQ:5.4.5
Ergong (Danba)	ntʂhe wu mtsu mtsi	milk (v.) suck	ZMYYC:611.14 SHK-ErgDQ:5.4.5
Ersu (Central)	tsɿ <sup>55</sup>	nurse / suckle	SHK-ErsCQ
Ersu	tʃɛ <sup>33</sup>	milk (v.)	ZMYYC:611.18
Guiqiong	ntʃhɿ <sup>55</sup> tsy <sup>55</sup> tsi <sup>33</sup>	milk (v.) kiss; suck	ZMYYC:611.17 SHK-GuiqQ
Muya [Minyak]	ne <sup>33</sup> tsi <sup>135</sup>	milk (v.)	ZMYYC:611.15
Pumi (Taoba)	nə <sup>35</sup> tsi <sup>53</sup>	milk (v.)	ZMYYC:611.10
Qiang (Mawo)	tʂhi tʂhi	milk (v.)	ZMYYC:611.8
Qiang (Yadu)	tʂ <sup>h</sup> e	suck (milk)	DQ-QiangN:2262
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	lə <sup>35</sup> dʒe <sup>53</sup>	milk (v.)	ZMYYC:611.16

### 4.2. Nungic

Anong	ɑ <sup>31</sup> tʂhu <sup>55</sup> tʂhɿ <sup>31</sup>	milk	ZMYYC:281.44
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5. Tujia			
Tujia	tɕi <sup>21</sup>	milk (v.)	ZMYYC:611.38
6.1. Burmish			
Lashi	ʃɛ: <sup>33</sup>	suck	DQ-Lashi:5.4.5
Maru [Langsu]	ʃɛ <sup>31</sup>	suck	DQ-Langsu:5.4.5
6.2. Loloish			
Ahi	tɕi <sup>55</sup> tɕɿ <sup>55</sup> tɕɿ <sup>55</sup> ɑ <sup>33</sup> nu <sup>33</sup> tɕi <sup>55</sup>	nurse / suckle suck / milk suck suck	LMZ-AhiQ:5.4.6 JAM-TSR:73(b) CK-YiQ:5.4.5 LMZ-AhiQ:5.4.5
Gazhuo	sɿ <sup>24</sup>	suck	DQ-Gazhuo:5.4.5
Lalo	tɕɿ <sup>55</sup> tɕɿ <sup>h-21</sup> ɑ <sup>55</sup> tɕɿ <sup>-33</sup> ɑ <sup>55</sup> tɕɿ <sup>-33</sup> bɿ <sup>33</sup> ɑ <sup>55</sup> tɕɿ <sup>-33</sup> bɿ <sup>33</sup> y <sup>21</sup> dy <sup>55</sup>	kiss suck milk breast nipple	CK-YiQ:3.9.5 CK-YiQ:5.4.5 CK-YiQ:5.4.3 CK-YiQ:5.4 CK-YiQ:5.4.1
Lipho	pa <sup>21</sup> dzɿ <sup>33</sup> pa <sup>21</sup> dzɿ <sup>33</sup> vi <sup>33</sup> tɕhɿ <sup>21</sup>	breast milk suck	CK-YiQ:5.4 CK-YiQ:5.4.3 CK-YiQ:5.4.5
Lisu (Central)	a <sup>5</sup> -chi <sup>2</sup>	milk	JF-HLL
Lisu	a <sup>5</sup> chi <sup>2</sup>	milk	DB-PLolo:155A
Lisu (Northern)	a <sup>55</sup> tɕɿ <sup>35</sup> a <sup>55</sup> tɕɿ <sup>35</sup> ɔ <sup>55</sup> dy <sup>33</sup> a <sup>55</sup> tɕɿ <sup>35</sup> hɿ <sup>21</sup>	milk nipple milk powder	DB-Lisu DB-Lisu DB-Lisu
Lisu (Putao)	ch'ɿ <sup>6</sup>	suck	GHL-PPB:V.108
Lisu	hchi <sup>6</sup>	suck	DB-PLolo:633
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	hchi <sup>6</sup>	suck	GHL-PPB:V.108
Lisu	hchi <sup>6</sup>	suck	JAM-TSR:73(c)
Lisu (Central)	hchi <sup>6</sup>	suck	JF-HLL
Lisu	tɕhɿ <sup>35</sup>	milk (v.)	ZMYYC:611.27
Lisu (Nujiang)	tɕhɿ <sup>42</sup> ɑ <sup>55</sup> tɕɿ <sup>35</sup>	suck breast; milk	JZ-Lisu JZ-Lisu
Lisu	ɑ <sup>55</sup> tɕɿ <sup>35</sup>	breast; milk	ZMYYC:259.27,281.27
Nasu	tɕɿ <sup>44</sup> tɕɿ <sup>55</sup>	suck / milk suck	JAM-TSR:73(b) CK-YiQ:5.4.5
Nesu	tɕɿ <sup>21</sup>	suck	CK-YiQ:5.4.5
Nosu	bu <sup>55</sup> tɕɿ <sup>55</sup> tɕɿ <sup>55</sup>	kiss suck	CK-YiQ:3.9.5 CK-YiQ:5.4.5
Sani [Nyi]	tɕzɿ <sup>55</sup>	suck / milk	JAM-TSR:73(b)
Yi (Mojiang)	tɕi <sup>21</sup>	milk (v.)	ZMYYC:611.26
Yi (Nanhua)	bu <sup>33</sup> dzi <sup>33</sup> bu <sup>33</sup> dzi <sup>33</sup> zi <sup>33</sup>	breast milk	ZMYYC:259.24 ZMYYC:281.24
Yi (Nanjian)	a <sup>55</sup> tɕɿ <sup>-33</sup> pi <sup>33</sup> a <sup>55</sup> tɕɿ <sup>-33</sup> a <sup>55</sup> tɕɿ <sup>-33</sup> a <sup>55</sup> tɕɿ <sup>-33</sup> pi <sup>33</sup> ɕy <sup>33</sup>	breast milk milk breast milk (v.)	JZ-Yi JZ-Yi ZMYYC:281.23 ZMYYC:259.23 ZMYYC:611.23
Yi (Xide)	tshi <sup>33</sup>	milk (v.)	ZMYYC:611.21

<sup>26</sup>Literally “breast-head”.<sup>27</sup>Literally “breast-head”.

## IV. Breast

	<b>tɕ</b> <sup>55</sup> - <b>ɕo</b> <sup>55</sup>	suck	CSL-Ylzd
8. Bai			
Bai	<b>pa</b> <sup>42</sup> <b>tɕi</b> <sup>44</sup> <b>tɕi</b> <sup>44</sup> <b>tɕui</b> <sup>21</sup>	breast suck kiss	ZYS-Bai:5.4 ZYS-Bai:5.4.5 ZYS-Bai:3.9.5
Bai (Dali)	<b>tsue</b> <sup>44</sup>	milk (v.)	ZMYYC:611.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	<b>tsui</b> <sup>44</sup>	milk (v.)	ZMYYC:611.36

(56)

**\*dz(y)əw**

**MILK / BREAST**

This root frequently occurs reduplicated, for obvious hypocoristic reasons, occasionally with voicing of the second reduplicate (cf. the Lalung form). This root is allofamically connected to (55) **\*m-dzup** ≈ **\*m-dzip** SUCK / SUCKLE / MILK / KISS. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish reflexes of the various allofams, especially in branches like Loloish that have reduced final consonantism. Many languages have allofamic doublets in any case.

See *HPTB* **\*dz(y)əw**, p. 382.

### 1.1. North Assam

Bengni	<b>a-č</b> <b>u</b>	breast; milk	JS-Tani	
Bokar Lhoba	<b>a tɕu:</b>	breast	ZMYYC:259.51	
Bokar	<b>a-č</b> <b>u</b>	breast	JS-Tani	
	<b>a-č</b> <b>u:</b>	breast	JS-Tani	
Bokar Lhoba	<b>dzu:</b>	milk (v.)	ZMYYC:611.51	
	<b>tɕu rə</b>	milk dregs	SLZO-MLD	28
Gallong	<b>a co</b>	breasts	KDG-IGL	
	<b>a co cu: cir:</b>	nipple	KDG-IGL	
Idu	<b>no ci e co ga</b>	suckle	JP-Idu	
	<b>nu ci</b>	milk	JP-Idu	
Miri, Hill	<b>o ci</b>	milk	IMS-HMLG	
Tagin	<b>a cu</b>	breast	KDG-Tag	

### 1.2. Kuki-Chin

Kom Rem	<b>ču</b> <b>ču</b>	breast	T-KomRQ:5.4	
	<b>ču</b> <b>ču mur</b>	nipple	T-KomRQ:5.4.1	29
Maring	<b>chu chu</b>	breast	GEM-CNL	
	<b>chu chu yui</b>	milk	GEM-CNL	

### 1.3. Naga

Angami (Khonoma)	<b>nu dzü</b>	milk	GEM-CNL	
Angami (Kohima)	<b>nou</b> <sup>31</sup> <b>dzü</b> <sup>55</sup>	milk	VN-AngQ:5.4.3	
	<b>nu dzü</b>	milk	GEM-CNL	
Ao (Chungli)	<b>ma ma tzü</b>	milk	GEM-CNL	
Ao (Mongsen)	<b>ma ma tzü</b>	milk	GEM-CNL	
Chokri	<b>no</b> <sup>31</sup> <b>dzü</b> <sup>35</sup>	milk	VN-ChkQ:5.4.3	
	<b>tho no zü</b>	milk	GEM-CNL	

<sup>28</sup>This is a loanword from Tibetan, referring actually to a kind of dried cheese. Cf. WT **ru-ma** 'curdled milk, used as a ferment' (Jäschke 1881/1958:531). See also the Tsangla forms (Motuo; Mama) similarly glossed.

<sup>29</sup>The last syllable means MOUTH.

Khezha	ńu juú me tsuí	suck suck	SY-KhözhaQ:5.4.3 SY-KhözhaQ:5.4.4	
Mao	o ne dzü	milk	GEM-CNL	
Rengma	nyu ju	breast	GEM-CNL	
1.4. Meithei				
Moyon	cu cu?	breast	DK-Moyon:5.4	
1.5. Mikir				
Mikir	chù-bōng chù-bōng-chethè chū-lāng	breast nipple milk	KHG-Mikir:74 KHG-Mikir:74 KHG-Mikir:74	30
1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish				
Deuri	ce <sup>2</sup> che	milk milk	Deuri WBB-Deuri:73	
Lalung	chu ju chu ju cha na chu ma chu ma cha na	breast suck breast kiss kiss	MB-Lal:9 MB-Lal:9 MB-Lal:9 MB-Lal:9	
2.1.1. Western Himalayish				
Bunan	pel tsi	milk	SBN-BunQ:5.4.3	
Kanauri	ču ču	nipple	DS-Kan:29	
Pattani [Manchati]	cu cu	breast	DS-Patt; STP-ManQ:5.4	
2.1.2. Bodic				
Tsangla (Motuo)	tɕ <sup>h</sup> u ra	milk dregs	SLZO-MLD	31
Tshona (Wenlang)	jo <sup>35</sup>	milk	JZ-CNMenba	
Tshona (Mama)	jo <sup>13</sup>	milk	SLZO-MLD; ZMYYC:281.6	
Tibetan (Balti)	tɕ <sup>h</sup> u <sup>55</sup> ru <sup>53</sup>	milk dregs	SLZO-MLD	
Tibetan (Written)	ču ču bzo hjo-ba zo	nipple milk (v.) milk (v.) milk	RAN1975:67 ZMYYC:611.1 HAJ-TED:179 GEM-CNL	32
2.1.4. Tamangic				
Tamang (Risiangku)	<sup>1</sup> tsju- <sup>1</sup> tsju	milk (baby-talk)	MM-TamRisQ:5.4.3	
Tamang (Sahu)	cya	milk	SIL-Sahu:7.20	
2.2. Newar				
Newar	cu cu pyae gu	suck	SH-KNw:5.4.5	
2.3.2. Kiranti				
Bahing	ny tsy	milk	BM-PK7:117	33
Hayu	tshux tsu	breast	BM-PK7:28	

<sup>30</sup>The Mikir word **chethè** is defined as ‘life, breath, stature; pipe’ in Walker 1925:31, as in **chethè ari** ‘larynx, windpipe’. Thus this form seems to mean ‘breast-pipe’. For reasons of space, this semantic association is not diagrammed in the chart at the beginning of this chapter.

<sup>31</sup>This is a loanword from Tibetan, referring to a kind of dried cheese. Cf. the Bokar Lhoba form (above) similarly glossed.

<sup>32</sup>This is actually the future form of the verb, whose principal parts are **hjo-ba** (Pres.), **bzos** (Perf.), **bzo** (Fut.), **hjos** (Impv.). See Jäschke 1881/1958:179.

<sup>33</sup>Bahing **ny-tsy** is glossed as ‘nipple’ by Hodgson (1857-8); Michailovsky (1991) suggests a connection of the second syllable with an etymon for ‘point, tip’.

## IV. Breast

	<b>tshu</b>	breast, nipple	BM-Hay:84.171	
4. Jingpho-Nung-Luish				
Sak (Bawtala)	ǎ <b>tsô</b> <sup>2</sup>	breasts	GHL-PPB:L.146	
4.2. Nungic				
Anong	ɑ <sup>31</sup> <b>tshu</b> <sup>55</sup> ɑ <sup>31</sup> <b>tshu</b> <sup>55</sup> tshŋ <sup>31</sup>	breast milk	ZMYYC:259.44 ZMYYC:281.44	
6.1. Burmish				
Achang (Longchuan)	nau <sup>35</sup> <b>tshu</b> <sup>35</sup>	breast	JZ-Achang; ZMYYC:259.41	
Burmese (Written)	<b>cui</b> <sup>?</sup>	suck	GEM-CNL	
Maru [Langsu]	<b>tshauk</b> <sup>55</sup>	nurse / suckle	DQ-Langsu:5.4.6	34
6.2. Loloish				
*Loloish	* <b>co</b> <sup>1</sup>	milk	DB-PLolo:155A	
Akha	a <sub>~</sub> <b>coe</b> <sup>v</sup>	breast; milk	PL-AED:50	
Gazhuo	ɕo <sup>33</sup> pɣ <sup>35</sup>	breast	DQ-Gazhuo:5.4	
Hani (Dazhai)	a <sup>31</sup> <b>tɕ</b> <sup>h</sup> u <sup>55</sup>	breast; milk	JZ-Hani	
	a <sup>31</sup> <b>tɕhu</b> <sup>55</sup>	breast; milk	ZMYYC:259.31,281.31	
Hani (Gelanghe)	a <sup>31</sup> <b>tɕ</b> <sup>h</sup> ø <sup>55</sup>	milk	JZ-Hani	
	a <sup>31</sup> <b>tɕ</b> <sup>h</sup> ø <sup>55</sup> bɛ <sup>33</sup>	breast	JZ-Hani	
Phunoi	lɑ̃ <sup>55</sup> <b>cu</b> <sup>11</sup> ni <sup>?</sup> <sup>55</sup>	suck	DB-Phunoi	
Sangkong	loŋ <sup>33</sup> <b>tɕhø</b> <sup>55</sup>	breast milk	LYS-Sangkong	
Yi (Dafang)	<b>tsɔ</b> <sup>13</sup> mo <sup>21</sup>	breast	JZ-Yi	
	<b>tsɔ</b> <sup>13</sup> ʒi <sup>21</sup>	milk	JZ-Yi	
	<b>tsɔ</b> <sup>13</sup> mo <sup>21</sup>	breast	ZMYYC:259.22	
	<b>tsɔ</b> <sup>13</sup> ʒi <sup>21</sup>	milk	ZMYYC:281.22	

(57)

\***pa**

**BREAST / NIPPLE / MILK**

This root appears mostly in Lolo-Burmese, Qiangic, and Baic. It frequently occurs reduplicated, and its simple phonological shape makes it likely that it is hypocoristic in origin. (The same may be said for (60) \***mam** BREAST, below.) Some Lolo-Burmese and Bai forms have been recorded with vowel constriction, but it is not yet clear whether these reflect an allofam with final stop.

### 1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish

Deuri	<b>pu-pu</b> -ti <sup>1</sup>	breast of a female	Deuri
	<b>pu-pu</b> <sup>2</sup>	breast of male	Deuri

### 2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Pattani [Manchati]	<b>pa pa</b>	breast; nipple	DS-Patt; STP-ManQ:5.4.1
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### 3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	<b>phə</b>	nipple	DQ-Xixia:5.4.1
	<b>phə</b> <sup>2</sup>	nipple	MVS-Grin

### 3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Mawo)	<b>pa pa</b>	breast	SHK-MawoQ:5.4
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<sup>34</sup>Note the secondary final velar, the regular Maru reflex of the rhyme \*-əw. See note under (53a) \***s-nəw** BREAST / MILK / SUCK, above.

	<b>pa pa</b> qəsti	nipple	SHK-MawoQ:5.4.1
	<b>pa pa</b>	breast	ZMYYC:259.8;
Qiang (Yadu)	<b>pa pə</b>	breast	JZ-Qiang; JS-Mawo DQ-QiangN:121
6.2. Loloish			
Lipho	<b>pa</b> <sup>21</sup> <b>dzɿ</b> <sup>33</sup>	breast	CK-YiQ:5.4
	<b>pa</b> <sup>21</sup> <b>dzɿ</b> <sup>33</sup> <b>vi</b> <sup>33</sup>	milk	CK-YiQ:5.4.3
Lolopho	<b>pɔ</b> <sup>31</sup> <b>pɔ</b> <sup>31</sup>	breast; milk	DQ-Lolopho:5.4,5.4.3
	<b>pɔ</b> <sup>31</sup> <b>pɔ</b> <sup>31</sup> <b>v</b> <sup>55</sup> <b>du</b> <sup>33</sup>	nipple	DQ-Lolopho:5.4.1
Mpi	<b>m</b> <sup>4</sup> <b>poʔ</b> <sup>4</sup>	breast	DB-PLolo
	<b>m</b> <sup>4</sup> <b>poʔ</b> <sup>4</sup> <b>ʔu</b> <sup>6</sup>	milk	DB-PLolo
Nasu	<b>a</b> <sup>55</sup> <b>pa</b> <sup>21</sup>	breast	CK-YiQ:5.4
	<b>a</b> <sup>55</sup> <b>pa</b> <sup>21</sup> <b>ne</b> <sup>55</sup>	nipple	CK-YiQ:5.4.1
	<b>a</b> <sup>55</sup> <b>pa</b> <sup>21</sup> <b>zi</b> <sup>21</sup>	milk	CK-YiQ:5.4.3
Noesu	<b>pa</b> <sup>55</sup>	breast; milk	CK-YiQ:5.4,5.4.3
	<b>po</b> <sup>55</sup> <b>mo</b> <sup>55</sup>	nipple	CK-YiQ:5.4.1
Yi (Nanhua)	<b>bu</b> <sup>33</sup> <b>dzi</b> <sup>33</sup>	breast	ZMYYC:259.24
	<b>bu</b> <sup>33</sup> <b>dzi</b> <sup>33</sup> <b>zi</b> <sup>33</sup>	milk	ZMYYC:281.24
6.3. Naxi			
Naxi (Western)	<b>ə</b> <sup>55</sup> <b>po</b> <sup>31</sup>	breast	JZ-Naxi
Naxi (Lijiang)	<b>ə</b> <sup>55</sup> <b>po</b> <sup>31</sup>	breast	ZMYYC:259.28
8. Bai			
Bai	<b>pa</b> <sup>42</sup>	milk	ZYS-Bai:5.4.3
	<b>pa</b> <sup>42</sup> <b>tu</b> <sup>55</sup> <b>tsɿ</b> <sup>33</sup>	nipple	ZYS-Bai:5.4.1
	<b>pa</b> <sup>42</sup> <b>tɯ</b> <sup>21</sup> <b>pɔ</b> <sup>21</sup>	nipple	ZYS-Bai:5.4.1
	<b>pa</b> <sup>42</sup> <b>tɕi</b> <sup>44</sup>	breast	ZYS-Bai:5.4
Bai (Bijiang)	<b>pɑ</b> <sup>42</sup>	breast; milk	JZ-Bai
	<b>pɑ</b> <sup>42</sup>	breast; milk	ZMYYC:259.37,281.37
Bai (Dali)	<b>pɑ</b> <sup>42</sup>	breast	JZ-Bai
	<b>pɑ</b> <sup>42</sup> <b>tsi</b> <sup>44</sup>	milk	JZ-Bai
	<b>pɑ</b> <sup>42</sup>	breast	ZMYYC:259.35
	<b>pɑ</b> <sup>42</sup> <b>tsi</b> <sup>44</sup>	milk	ZMYYC:281.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	<b>pɑ</b> <sup>42</sup>	breast	JZ-Bai
	<b>pɑ</b> <sup>42</sup> <b>tse</b> <sup>44</sup>	milk	JZ-Bai
	<b>pɑ</b> <sup>42</sup>	breast	ZMYYC:259.36
	<b>pɑ</b> <sup>42</sup> <b>tse</b> <sup>44</sup>	milk	ZMYYC:281.36

(58)

**\*m-pup ≈ \*pip****SUCK / KISS**

This etymon displays the same \*-u- ≈ \*-i- variation found with (55) \*m-dzip ≈ \*m-dzip SUCK / SUCKLE / MILK / KISS, as well as a similar variation in the position of articulation of the final stop: compare Bengni **mu:-pup**, Rongmei **ka-pút**, and Sunwar **'pu:k pu 'pā-cā**. Weidert 1987 (#651, #1017) sets up “Kuki-Naga-Chin” \*m-but, and J. Sun 1993 reconstructs Proto-Tani \*pup ≈ \*puk, but in TB generally -p seems to be the most widespread final consonant.

The two labials (initial and final) in this root have an imitative flavor, apparently mimicking the labial activity involved in sucking and kissing.

<sup>35</sup>The second element **v**<sup>55</sup> **du**<sup>33</sup> means ‘head’.

(58a)

**\*m-pup****KISS / SUCK**

This allofam with **-u-** vocalism is more common, and so far it is only before this variant that the nasal prefix is attested. This prefix should be set up for PTB as a whole, since it occurs in Himalayish (Bunan) **a mbok də ca** and Qiangic (rGyalrong) **kəwu nəpok**, as well as widely in Naga languages.

This variant frequently occurs in compounds after reflexes of (72) **\*m-ʔum** × **\*mum** KISS / HOLD IN THE MOUTH, below (e.g. Milang **mum-pup-ma**), and this may in fact be the source of the prefixal **\*m-** in my reconstruction.

## 1.1. North Assam

*Tani	<b>*pup ~ puk</b>	kiss	JS-HCST:224	
Padam-Mising [Abor-Miri]	<b>mam-puk</b>	kiss	JS-HCST	36
Bengni	<b>mu:-pup</b>	kiss	JS-HCST; JS-Tani	
Bokar	<b>a-pup</b>	kiss	JS-HCST; JS-Tani	
Damu	<b>ʔa-put-nə</b>	kiss	JS-Tani	
Gallong	<b>bu:-nam</b>	sucking	KDG-IGL	
	<b>mum-puk-nam</b>	kiss	KDG-IGL	
Kaman [Miju]	<b>bup<sup>55</sup></b>	kiss	SLZO-MLD	
Milang	<b>mum-pup-ma</b>	kiss	AT-MPB	
Tagin	<b>mo pup-nam</b>	kiss	KDG-Tag	

## 1.2. Kuki-Chin

*Kuki-Naga	<b>*m-but</b>	kiss	AW-TBT:1017
*Kuki-Naga-Chin	<b>*m-but</b>	kiss / suck	AW-TBT:651
Liangmei	<b>ka-pût</b>	kiss	AW-TBT:1017

## 1.3. Naga

Angami Naga	<b><sup>2</sup>me<sup>1</sup>bo</b>	kiss	AW-TBT:1017
Angami (Khonoma)	<b>mebo</b>	kiss	GEM-CNL
Angami (Kohima)	<b>mebo</b>	kiss	GEM-CNL
	<b>me<sup>31</sup> bo<sup>11</sup></b>	kiss	VN-AngQ:3.9.5
Chokri	<b>bo</b>	kiss	GEM-CNL
	<b>mü<sup>31</sup> bo<sup>11</sup></b>	kiss	VN-ChkQ:3.9.5
	<b>m<sup>31</sup> bo<sup>11</sup></b>	kiss	VN-ChkQ:3.9.5
Rengma	<b>bo</b>	kiss	GEM-CNL
Rengma (Southern)	<b><sup>1</sup>n<sup>2</sup>bo</b>	kiss	AW-TBT:1017
Rongmei	<b>ka-pút</b>	kiss	AW-TBT:1017
	<b>kü put</b>	kiss	GEM-CNL
Zeme	<b>ke put</b>	kiss	GEM-CNL

## 2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	<b>a mbok də ca</b>	kiss	SBN-BunQ:3.9.5
Pattani [Manchati]	<b>pok</b>	kiss, love	DS-Patt

## 2.1.2. Bodic

Spiti	<b>po lenje</b>	kiss	CB-SpitiQ:3.9.5
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## 2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar

Sunwar	<b>'pu:k pu 'pā-cā</b>	kiss	AH-CSDPN:10b1.51
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<sup>36</sup>The first syllable of this form looks like (60) **\*mam** BREAST, but the gloss 'kiss' shows that it belongs here.

2.3.2. Kiranti			
Khaling	√ <b>phəp-</b>	suck	BM-PK7:170
3.2. Qiangic			
Ergong (Daofu)	<b>bo pa</b>	kiss	DQ-Daofu:3.9.5
Ergong (Danba)	<b>bo pa</b>	kiss	SHK-ErgDQ:3.9.5
Ergong (Northern)	<b>pau<sup>53</sup> (pək<sup>53</sup>)</b>	kiss	SHK-ErgNQ:3.9.5
3.3. rGyalrongic			
rGyalrong (Northern)	<b>kəwu nəpok</b>	kiss	SHK-rGNQ:3.9.5
rGyalrong	<b>po pok kapa</b>	kiss	DQ-Jiarong:3.9.5
rGyalrong (NW)	<b>pox</b>	kiss	SHK-rGNWQ:3.9.5
rGyalrong (Eastern)	<b>po pot</b>	kiss	SHK-rGEQ:3.9.5
4.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	<b>pùp</b>	kiss	GEM-CNL
6.1. Burmish			
Maru [Langsu]	<b>pɔ̃<sup>31</sup></b>	kiss	DQ-Langsu:3.9.5
6.2. Loloish			
Ahi	<b>bu<sup>21</sup></b>	kiss	CK-YiQ:3.9.5; LMZ-AhiQ:3.9.5
Lisu (Central)	<b>baw<sup>6</sup></b>	kiss	JF-HLL
Lisu (Northern)	<b>bɔʔ<sup>21</sup></b>	kiss	DB-Lisu
	<b>bɔʔ<sup>21</sup> læ<sup>21</sup>hɔ<sup>33</sup></b>	kiss	DB-Lisu
Nasu	<b>bɔ<sup>55</sup></b>	kiss	CK-YiQ:3.9.5
Noesu	<b>bie<sup>13</sup></b>	kiss	CK-YiQ:3.9.5
Nosu	<b>bu<sup>55</sup>tɕ<sup>55</sup></b>	kiss	CK-YiQ:3.9.5

## (58b) \*pip SUCK / SUCKLE

This allofam has so far only been found in Himalayish. The variation in position of articulation of the final consonant seems clearly to have been caused by the influence of suffixal material. Cf. the consonantal sequences across morpheme boundary in forms like Bantawa **phüpt-** and Chamling **pips-**, which seem to lie behind forms like Limbu **pi:tt-**, where the labial final has been assimilated to an earlier dental suffix. Note also the variation between final stop and nasal in Thulung.

2.1.2. Bodic			
Tibetan (Balti)	<b>pipi·</b>	breast	RAN1975:47
2.3. Mahakiranti			
*Kiranti	<b>*Pip-</b>	suck	BM-PK7:170
2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar			
Kham	<b>pi-nya</b>	suck	DNW-KhamQ:6.B.2.2
2.3.2. Kiranti			
Bahing	<b>bip-</b>	suck	BM-PK7:170
	<b>biŋ khu ma</b>	suck	BM-Bah 37
Bantawa	<b>phüpt-</b>	suck	BM-PK7:170 38

<sup>37</sup>The final velar in the first syllable is due to assimilation to the initial of the second syllable.

<sup>38</sup>Note the internal Bantawa vocalic variation between this form and **phüpt-**.

#### IV. Breast

	<b>phipt-</b>	suck	BM-PK7:170
	<b>phUp</b>	suck / sip	NKR-Bant
	<b>phüpt-</b>	suck / absorb	WW-Bant:60
Chamling	<b>pibd-(u)</b>	suck	WW-Cham:28
	<b>pibd-yu</b>	suck	BM-PK7:170
	<b>pips-(u)</b>	suck	WW-Cham:28
	<b>pips-yu</b>	suck	BM-PK7:170
Dumi	<b>phip-</b>	suck	BM-PK7:170
	<b>phip ni</b>	suck, draw (through a straw)	SVD-Dum
Hayu	<b>pip-</b>	suck, to nurse, to smoke (tobacco)	BM-PK7:170
	<b>pip i ra</b>	suck, nurse, smoke (tobacco)	BM-Hay:84.15
Kulung	<b>hipp-u</b>	suck	BM-PK7:170; RPHH-Kul
Limbu	<b>pi:tt-</b>	suck	BM-Lim; BM-PK7:170
Thulung	<b>phim-</b>	suck	NJA-Thulung
	<b>phip-</b>	suck	NJA-Thulung
	<b>phip-/phim-</b>	suck	BM-PK7:170
Yakha	<b>pi:ʔ ma:</b>	suck	TK-Yakha:5.4.5

(59)

**\*m-boŋ**

**BREAST / MILK**

This root is solidly attested in Kamarupan. There is also an excellent match between the Kaman reflex and the reconstructed Tangut form, on the basis of which we set up a nasal prefix for the etymon. W.T. French (1983:490-1) suggests that this root shows an association in Northern Naga between BREAST and FLOWER (“flower” = tree + breast).

##### 1.1. North Assam

Kaman [Miju]	tɕin <sup>55</sup> <b>mphauŋ</b> <sup>53</sup>	breast	ZMYYC:259.48
Idu	nu pũ	breasts	NEFA-PBI

##### 1.3. Naga

*Northern Naga	<b>*pu:ŋ</b>	breast / flower	WTF-PNN:490
Yogli	<b>pauŋ</b>	breast	WTF-PNN:490
	<b>pil pauŋ</b>	flower	WTF-PNN:490
Tangsa (Yogli)	<b>paung</b>	breast	GEM-CNL

##### 1.5. Mikir

Mikir	chù- <b>bōng</b>	breast	KHG-Mikir:74
	chù- <b>bōng</b> -chethè	nipple	KHG-Mikir:74

##### 1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish

Bodo	<b>bun dəy</b>	breast milk	JAM-Ety
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##### 3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	new <b>mbuo</b>	breast	DQ-Xixia:5.4
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(60)

**\*mam**

**BREAST**

This root is evidently hypocoristic in origin (see also (57) **\*pa** BREAST / NIPPLE / MILK, above), and in fact is practically identical to the Indo-European root **\*mā-** ‘mother;



breast' (> e.g. Latin *mamma*), of which the *American Heritage Dictionary* (1981:1527) says "An imitative root derived from the child's cry for the breast (a linguistic universal found in many of the world's languages, often in reduplicated form)." The final nasal in this etymon might have arisen through the reduction of an earlier reduplicated form \***ma-ma** (as in Ao, Sangtam, and Bunan).

There is a phonologically similar but apparently unrelated root (72) \***m-ʔum** ≈ \***mum** KISS / HOLD IN THE MOUTH, below.

## 1.2. Kuki-Chin

Paangkhuva	<b>ma</b> 'ír	breast	LL-PRPL
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## 1.3. Naga

Ao (Chungli)	<b>ma ma</b>	breast	GEM-CNL
	<b>ma ma</b> tziü	milk	GEM-CNL
Ao (Mongsen)	<b>ma ma</b>	breast	GEM-CNL
	<b>ma ma</b> tziü	milk	GEM-CNL
Phom	<b>a ma</b>	breast	GEM-CNL
Sangtam	<b>ma ma</b>	breast	GEM-CNL
Yacham-Tengsa	<b>mam</b> tü	milk	GEM-CNL

## 2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	<b>ma ma</b>	breast	SBN-BunQ:5.4
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## 5. Tujia

Tujia	<b>man</b> <sup>21</sup>	breast	ZMYYC:259.38
	<b>man</b> <sup>21</sup> tshie <sup>21</sup>	milk	ZMYYC:281.38
	<b>mã</b> <sup>21</sup>	breast	CK-TujBQ:5.4
Tujia (Northern)	<b>mã</b> <sup>21</sup>	milk	JZ-Tujia
Tujia	<b>mã</b> <sup>21</sup> pu <sup>35</sup> li <sup>55</sup>	nipple	CK-TujBQ:5.4.1
Tujia (Northern)	<b>mã</b> <sup>21</sup> p <sup>hie</sup> <sup>21</sup>	breast	JZ-Tujia
Tujia	<b>mã</b> <sup>21</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> e <sup>21</sup>	milk	CK-TujBQ:5.4.3
	<b>mã</b> <sup>55</sup>	breast	CK-TujMQ:5.4
	<b>mã</b> <sup>55</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> e <sup>35</sup>	milk	CK-TujMQ:5.4.3

## 6.4. Jinuo

Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	<b>me</b> <sup>44</sup> po <sup>31</sup>	breast	DQ-JinA:121
Jinuo (Youle)	<b>me</b> <sup>44</sup> po <sup>42</sup>	breast	JZ-Jinuo
Jinuo	<b>me</b> <sup>44</sup> ji <sup>33</sup>	milk	ZMYYC:281.34
	<b>me</b> <sup>44</sup> po <sup>42</sup>	breast	ZMYYC:259.34

## (61)

## \*s(y)ok

## BREAST / SUCK / DRINK

This root is quite widespread, and covers a broad semantic range, from BREAST to SUCK to DRINK (any liquid). By a relatively recent extension of meaning, this root is also used for SMOKE (tobacco), and thence for TOBACCO itself (as in Lahu).<sup>40</sup>

There is a promising Chinese comparandum 漱 proposed by Coblin (1986:144). In Matsoff 1970 (#57) I suggested that WB **sok** (also transcribable as **sauk**) 'drink, smoke'

<sup>39</sup>The second syllable means 'water'.

<sup>40</sup>The extension of 'drink/suck' to 'smoke (tobacco)' is common in the world's languages. Cf. e.g. Japanese *nomu* 'drink', *tabako wo nomu* 'smoke a cigarette'.

## IV. Breast

and Lahu **šú** ‘tobacco’ were cognate. I still believe that to be correct, even though in Matisoff 1988a:1192 I entertained an alternative comparison with WB **hrup** ‘snuff up; sniff; sip; sup’. It now looks as if WB **hrup** might be related rather to Chinese 呷 (OC **\*hrap**) ‘to drink in with a sucking movement’, cited in Coblin 1986:43. This seems preferable semantically and phonologically to Coblin’s comparison of the Chinese form to WB **hap** ‘bite at’ < PTB **\*hap** [STC #89].

### 0. Sino-Tibetan

*Sino-Tibetan	<b>*sr + uk</b>	suck / drink	WSC-SH:144
1.2. Kuki-Chin			
Matupi	<b>s’uk<sup>2</sup></b>	breasts	GHL-PPB:P.17
Tha’oa	<b>s’uk<sup>4</sup></b>	breasts	GHL-PPB:P.17
Womatu	<b>soʔ<sup>3</sup></b>	breasts	GHL-PPB:P.17
1.5. Mikir			
Mikir	<b>cho-sòk-</b>	suck	KHG-Mikir:73
1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish			
Garo (Bangladesh)	<b>sok</b> <b>sok-bit-chi</b> <b>sok-kit-ti</b>	breast; man's nipple breast milk; mother's milk nipple	RB-GB RB-GB RB-GB
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	<b>thruk ca</b>	nurse (v.) / suckle	SBN-BunQ:5.4.6
2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar			
Chepeng	<b>syuŋʔ-sa</b>	suck	SIL-Chep:6.B.2.2
2.3.2. Kiranti			
Bantawa	<b>soN</b>	drink in a gulp	NKR-Bant
3.3. rGyalrongic			
rGyalrong (Eastern)	<b>ka mə scçok</b>	suck	SHK-rGEQ:5.4.5
4. Jingpho-Nung-Luish			
Ganan	<b>sɔʔ<sup>4</sup>ʃi<sup>1</sup></b>	breasts	GHL-PPB:L.146
Kadu (Kantu)	<b>sòk<sup>3</sup>ʃi<sup>3</sup></b>	breasts	GHL-PPB:L.146
Sak (Dodem)	<b>ǎ suʔ<sup>2</sup></b>	breasts	GHL-PPB:L.146
6.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	<b>suʔ<sup>55</sup></b>	drink	JZ-Achang
Achang (Longchuan)	<b>ʃoʔ<sup>55</sup></b>	drink	JZ-Achang
Achang (Luxi)	<b>suʔ<sup>55</sup></b>	drink	JZ-Achang
Achang (Xiandao)	<b>ʃuʔ<sup>55</sup></b>	drink	DQ-Xiandao:1895
Bola	<b>ʃauʔ<sup>55</sup></b>	drink	DQ-Bola:1895
Burmese (Written)	<b>sok</b>	to drink, smoke	PKB-WBRD; WSC-SH:144
Lashi	<b>ə-sok- ʃu:k<sup>55</sup></b>	to drink, smoke drink	PKB-WBRD DQ-Lashi:3.7.7
Maru [Langsu]	<b>ʃauk<sup>55</sup></b>	drink	DQ-Langsu:3.7.7
Atsi [Zaiwa]	<b>ʃuʔ<sup>55</sup></b>	drink	JZ-Zaiwa
6.2. Loloish			
*Loloish	<b>*C-ʃuk<sup>L</sup></b>	tobacco	DB-PLolo:406B

Akha	shu <sup>ˆ</sup>	sniff up (as salt water for runny nose)	PL-AED
Lahu (Black)	sjuq	sniff; smell; suck	ILH-PL
	šú	tobacco	JAM-DL:1192
Lahu (Yellow)	su <sup>35</sup>	tobacco	ZMYYC:217.33
	su <sup>4</sup>	tobacco	JZ-Lahu
Nusu (Bijiang)	ɕhu <sup>55</sup>	drink	ZMYYC:534.45
Nusu (Southern)	ɕu <sup>31</sup>	drink	JZ-Nusu
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	ɕu <sup>31</sup>	drink	DQ-NusuA:1895.
Nusu (Central)	ɕ <sup>h</sup> u <sup>55</sup>	drink	JZ-Nusu
	ʂu <sup>53</sup>	drink	DQ-NusuB:1895.
Nusu (Northern)	ʂu <sup>55</sup>	drink	JZ-Nusu
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Middle)	ʂák	suck, inhale	WSC-SH:144
Chinese (Old)	sruk	suck / drink	WSC-SH:144

## Chinese comparanda

嗽 **shù**, **shuò** ‘suck’

GSR: 1222o

Karlgren: \*sǔk

Li: \*sruk

Baxter: \*srok

Gong 1995 set 279 reconstructed \***rsuk**. In Li’s system another possibility is \***sthruk**, by analogy with 束 **shù** ‘bundle’ which is reconstructed \***sthjuk** to account for the presence in this series of 諫/促 **cù** ‘urge on’ < \***tshjuk**. Schuessler 1987:567 reconstructed **shù** ‘bundle’ as \***?-juk** to indicate that the initial is uncertain, and in 2007:473 suggests a pre-Old Chinese form \***C-sok**.

This comparison is made in Coblin 1986:144.

The vowel correspondence is problematic. OC \***-uk** (Li)/\***-ok** (Baxter) normally corresponds to PTB \***-uk**, as in ‘bend /crooked’ PTB \***guk**~ \***kuk**, OC 曲 \***khjuk** (Li)/\***kh(r)jok** (Baxter).

[ZJH]

呷 **xiā**, **xiá** ‘to drink with a sucking movement’

GSR: not in GSR 629

Karlgren: \*ɣap

Li: \*hrap

Baxter: \*xrap

The Middle Chinese vocalism dictates an Old Chinese reconstruction with medial \***-r-**, but Schuessler 2007:526 has \***hap**, arguing that the MC vocalism may be due to “sound symbolism or archaistic colloquialism”. This enables him to make a comparison with PTB \***hap** [STC #89] as well as with Austroasiatic forms of similar shape.

Matisoff’s proposal that 呷 is instead cognate to WB **hrup** ‘snuff up; sniff; sip; sup’ provides a better match for Chinese \***-r-**, but the vocalism is problematic. We would expect a Burmese cognate in **-ap** < PTB \***-ap**. Of course, given the likelihood of sound symbolism in words with these semantics, irregular correspondences are to be expected. It is therefore not an easy matter to decide if Chinese 呷 is better compared to PTB \***hap** or WB **hrup**, or if the similarity of phonological shape is not due to cognacy at all.

[ZJH]

(62) **\*s-loŋ** **BREAST**

This root appears mainly in Southern Loloish. It is reconstructed as PLB **\*loŋ**<sup>2</sup> in Bradley 1979, #119A. The putative Womatu (Kuki-Chin) cognate with voiceless lateral leads me to reconstruct this etymon as **\*s-loŋ** at the PTB level. This etymon bears some resemblance to **\*b-raŋ** CHEST, but we are keeping them separate for now, despite the similarity between, e.g. WB **raŋ-pat** ‘chest’ and Bisu **loŋ-pét** ‘breast’, where the second syllables are both assigned to (65) **\*b(y)at** BREAST / CHEST.

1. Kamarupan			
Miji	loŋ-k <sup>h</sup> ju?	chest	IMS-Miji
1.2. Kuki-Chin			
Womatu	hloŋ <sup>3</sup>	breasts	GHL-PPB:P.17
6.2. Loloish			
*Loloish	<b>*loŋ</b> <sup>2</sup>	breast	DB-PLolo:119A
Bisu	loŋ pét	breast	DB-PLolo
	loŋ pet	breast	PB-Bisu:13
	loŋ pet láŋ	milk	PB-Bisu:15
Phunoi	lǎ si	breast	DB-PLolo
	lǒ si <sup>31</sup>	breast	MF-PhnQ:5.4
	lǎ <sup>33</sup> si <sup>11</sup>	breast	DB-Phunoi
	lǎ <sup>55</sup> cu <sup>11</sup> ni <sup>55</sup>	suck	DB-Phunoi
Sangkong	loŋ <sup>33</sup> tçhø <sup>55</sup>	breast milk	LYS-Sangkong

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(63) **\*wa** **SUCKLE / MILK / BREAST**

This etymon is particularly well attested in Himalayish. Most of the Kamarupan forms (especially those with **-ma** as final syllable) look like loans from Tibetan. The root also occurs in Baic. There are several possible explanations for the final **-m** in certain Himalayish forms (Bantawa, Chamling, Hayu), as well as the nasalization in Bai **ũ** ‘nurse; suckle’: (a) they could be due to rhinoglottophilia<sup>42</sup> because of the zero or glottal-stop initial; (b) they could have arisen by assimilatory epenthesis to the initial **p-** of the following syllable; or (c) they could have been metanalyzed from the initial of the second syllable of the binome **\*o-ma**, which might originally have been borrowed from Tibetan as a unit before being reduced to a single syllable in the new Bantawa/Chamling compounds. The development of **\*wa** > WT **o** is regular, e.g. **\*swa** TOOTH > WB **swâ**/WT **so**; **\*g-lwat** ≍ **\*s-lwat** LOOSEN / FREE > WB **lwat/hlwat** ≍ **kywat/khywat**/WT **glod-pa** ≍ **hlod-pa**.

This root appears principally in Himalayish and contiguous Kamarupan languages, but also in Bai, so that it must be set up for PTB.

1.1. North Assam			
Bokar	<b>*o-ma</b>	milk	JS-Tani

<sup>41</sup>The last element **láŋ** in this form means ‘water’; cf. (165) **\*laŋ** WATER / FLUID / RIVER / VALLEY, below.

<sup>42</sup>See Matisoff 1975.

Bokar Lhoba	o ma	milk	ZMYYC:281.51; SLZO-MLD
Damu	ʔu-ma	milk	JS-Tani
Darang [Taraon]	wo <sup>31</sup> ma <sup>55</sup>	milk	SLZO-MLD
	wa <sup>31</sup> ma <sup>55</sup>	milk	ZMYYC:281.49
Miri, Hill	o ci	milk	IMS-HMLG
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	o ma	milk	ZMYYC:281.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	o ma	milk	ZMYYC:281.5
	o-mæ	milk	JS-Amdo:486
Tibetan (Batang)	ʔo <sup>13</sup> ma <sup>55</sup>	milk	DQ-Batang:5.4.3
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	o <sup>13</sup> ma <sup>53</sup>	milk	ZMYYC:281.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	o <sup>13</sup> ma <sup>13</sup>	breast; milk	ZMYYC:259.2,281.2
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	ō ma	milk	B-ShrpaHQ:5.4.3
Spiti	o ma	milk	CB-SpitiQ:5.4.3
Tibetan (Written)	'o ma	milk	GEM-CNL
	o-ma	milk	ZLS-Tib:61
	o-ma ʔtshir-ba	milk (v.)	HAIJ-TED:459
	o.ma	milk	JS-Tib:486
	fo ma	milk	ZMYYC:281.1
2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar			
Chepeng	ʔoh	breasts	SIL-Chep:1.51
	ʔoh-say?	nipple	SIL-Chep:2.A.35
Chepeng (Eastern)	ʔoh (lay) ti?	milk	RC-ChepQ:5.4.3
	ʔoh say?	nipple	RC-ChepQ:5.4.1
2.3.2. Kiranti			
Bantawa	ʔom pi yang ma	milk	WW-Bant:5
Chamling	om pAy ma	milk	WW-Cham:27
	om pi yang ma	milk	WW-Cham:27
Hayu	pel um pol um(-ha)	milk	BM-Hay:84.142, 84
8. Bai			
Bai	o <sup>55</sup>	nurse / suckle	ZYS-Bai:5.4.6
	ũ <sup>33</sup>	nurse / suckle	ZYS-Bai:5.4.6

(64)

\*kom

BREAST / MILK

This root has so far been identified only in a few Kamarupan languages, though there is a possible Dumi (Himalayish) cognate. Several languages (Kom Rem, Meithei, Moyon) have compounds where this root occurs as second element, after a syllable səŋ-/səŋ-. This latter element bears a resemblance to (89) \*seŋ VAGINA, below.

## 1.2. Kuki-Chin

Kom Rem                      səŋ k<sup>h</sup>om                      milk                      T-KomRQ:5.4.3

## 1.4. Meithei

Meithei                      khom                      breast; udder (of  
cow, goat); milk                      CYS-Meithei:5.4,5.4.2,5.4.3;  
GEM-CNL

                                 khôm                      breast milk                      JAM-Ety

                                 khom khaynə bæ                      wean                      CYS-Meithei:5.4.7

<sup>43</sup>The Meithei verb *khaynə* in this expression means 'to part, to separate'.

#### IV. Breast

	<b>khom</b> pi thək pə	nurse / suckle	CYS-Meithei:5.4.6	
	<b>khom</b> -pi	nipple	JAM-Ety	
	<b>khom</b> jin	nipple	CYS-Meithei:5.4.1	
	san <b>gom</b>	milk	GEM-CNL	
	səŋ <b>gom</b>	milk	CYS-Meithei:5.4.3	
Moyon	saŋ <b>ŋom</b>	milk	DK-Moyon:5.4.3	44
1.5. Mikir				
Mikir	<b>kúm</b> bú	breast (poetic)	KHG-Mikir:50	
2.3.2. Kiranti				
Dumi	d̩i d̩i <b>kwam</b>	nipples (human)	SVD-Dum	

(65)

\*b(y)at

BREAST / CHEST

The semantic range of this etymon is similar to that of English ‘breast’; i.e. it can refer to the general thoracic area (like ‘chest’), or specifically to a woman’s mammary gland. In Southern Loloish this root typically occurs after (62) \*s-loŋ BREAST [q.v.]. The phonological resemblance of this root to (81) \*b(y)at VAGINA [q.v.] seems entirely fortuitous.

1.1. North Assam				
Kaman [Miju]	<b>bit</b> <sup>35</sup> niŋ <sup>55</sup>	milk (v.)	ZMYYC:611.48	
1.2. Kuki-Chin				
Lailenpi	mǎ hnau <sup>1</sup> bɛʔ <sup>1</sup>	breasts	GHL-PPB:P.17	
1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish				
Garó (Bangladesh)	sok- <b>bit</b> -chi	breast milk; mother's milk	RB-GB	
2.3.2. Kiranti				
Yakha	nu: <b>piʔ</b> meʔmana	nurse (v.) / suckle	TK-Yakha:5.4.6	
6.1. Burmish				
Burmese (Written)	rañ <b>pat</b> raŋ- <b>pat</b>	chest chest	GEM-CNL JAM-Ety	45
6.2. Loloish				
Bisu	lɔŋ <b>pét</b> lɔŋ <b>pet</b> lɔŋ <b>pet</b> láŋ	breast breast milk	DB-PLolo PB-Bisu:13 PB-Bisu:15	46
Hani (Gelanghe)	a <sup>31</sup> tɕ <sup>h</sup> ø <sup>55</sup> <b>bɛ</b> <sup>33</sup>	breast	JZ-Hani	
Lahu (Banlan)	cu: <b>peh</b> <sup>^</sup>	breast	DB-Lahu:119	
Lahu (Bakeo)	cu <sup>-</sup> <b>peh</b> <sup>^</sup>	breast	DB-Lahu:119	
Lahu (Yellow)	tsy <sup>35</sup> <b>pe</b> <sup>2</sup> <sup>54</sup>	breast	JZ-Lahu	
Lalo	a <sup>55</sup> tɕ <sup>h</sup> <sup>33</sup> <b>bɪ</b> <sup>33</sup>	breast	CK-YiQ:5.4	
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	ɣ <sup>1</sup> oŋ <sup>31</sup> <b>p</b> <sup>h1</sup> <sup>55</sup>	chest	DQ-NusuA:117.	
Nusu (Central)	ɣ <sup>1</sup> ɔ <sup>31</sup> <b>p</b> <sup>h1</sup> <sup>33</sup>	chest	DQ-NusuB:117.	

<sup>44</sup>The nasal initial in the second syllable of this Moyon form has undoubtedly arisen due to assimilation with the final nasal in the first syllable of the compound.

<sup>45</sup>The first syllables of the WB, Naxi, and Nusu compounds come from \*b-raŋ CHEST / BREAST.

<sup>46</sup>The last element láŋ in this form means ‘water’; cf. (165) \*laŋ WATER / FLUID / RIVER / VALLEY, below.

Nusu (Northern)	ɿa <sup>31</sup> p <sup>h</sup> e <sup>55</sup>	chest (of body)	JZ-Nusu
Nusu (Southern)	ɿɔ <sup>31</sup> p <sup>h</sup> a <sup>55</sup>	chest (of body)	JZ-Nusu
Yi (Nanjian)	a <sup>55</sup> tɕ <sup>33</sup> pi <sup>33</sup>	breast	JZ-Yi
6.3. Naxi			
Naxi (Yongning)	ɣa <sup>33</sup> pv <sup>33</sup>	chest	ZMYYC:257.29

## (66) \*tsyur ≈ \*tsyir MILK / SQUEEZE / WRING

This etymon is set up as \*tsyur (= \*tśur) in *STC* #188 with the proto-gloss SQUEEZE / WRING, on the basis of the Bahing, Bunan, Hakha, and Kanauri forms, the latter glossed as ‘to milk’. There does not seem to be any allofamic connection between this root and (56) \*dz(y)əw MILK / BREAST.

See *HPTB* \*tsyir ≈ \*tsyur, pp. 397, 426, 498.

## 1.1. North Assam

Gallong	a co cu: cir:	nipple	KDG-IGL
Kaman [Miju]	tɕin <sup>55</sup>	milk (n.)	SLZO-MLD; ZMYYC:281.48

## 1.2. Kuki-Chin

Lai (Hakha)	śur	wring	STC:188
Lai (Falam)	sūur/sūur	squeeze, milk; rain	KVB-PKC:694
Lakher [Mara]	sào	squeeze, wring	KVB-PKC:694

## 1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish

Deuri	dir bu	milk (human)	WBB-Deuri:67
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## 2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	tśhur	squeeze out	STC:188
Kanauri	tsür	milk (v.)	STC:188

## 2.1.2. Bodic

Tshona (Mama)	tɕir <sup>55</sup>	milk (v.)	ZMYYC:611.6
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	ptsər	milk (v.)	ZMYYC:611.5
Tibetan (Written)	o-ma htshir-ba	milk (v.)	HAJ-TED:459

## 2.1.4. Tamangic

Tamang (Sahu)	t <sup>h</sup> ur-pa	milk (a cow)	SIL-Sahu:14.41
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## 2.3.2. Kiranti

Bahing	tśyur	wring	STC:188
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## (67) \*s-lu MILK

This root so far seems to be confined to Qiangic (including Tangut). The \*s- prefix is reconstructed on the basis of the voiceless liquids in Ergong, NW rGyalrong, and (Sofronov’s) Tangut. The aspirated dental stops in Ergong and NW rGyalrong appear to be secondary “extrusions” of the previous liquids. There is no apparent connection with (62) \*s-loŋ BREAST, which always means BREAST, not MILK.

## 3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	lhju <sup>1</sup>	milk	MVS-Grin
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## IV. Breast

	<b>ziu</b> <sup>2</sup>	milk	MVS-Grin	
3.2. Qiangic				
Ergong (Northern)	<b>ɬhə</b> <sup>53</sup>	milk	SHK-ErgNQ:5.4.3	
Muya [Minyak]	<b>le</b> <sup>35</sup>	milk	SHK-MuyaQ:5.4.3	
	<b>le</b> <sup>35</sup>	milk	ZMYYC:281.15	
3.3. rGyalrongic				
rGyalrong (Northern)	<b>ta lu</b>	milk	SHK-rGNQ:5.4.3	
rGyalrong (NW)	<b>ta r̥t̥hə</b>	milk	SHK-rGNWQ:5.4.3	
rGyalrong (Northern)	<b>ta ʃtok lu</b>	colostrum	SHK-rGNQ:5.4.4	47
rGyalrong	<b>tə lo</b>	milk	DQ-Jiarong:5.4.3; ZMYYC:281.12	
rGyalrong (Eastern)	<b>tə lo</b>	milk	SHK-rGEQ:5.4.3	

(68)

IA \***du-t**

**MILK / BREAST**

This etymon is certainly of Indo-Aryan origin, from a root \***duh-** (cf. Nepali **dudh** ‘milk’, *CSDPN* p.166). See the series of entries beginning with **dugdhá-** in Turner 1966 (*A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*), pp. 365-6.

1.1. North Assam				
Milang	(gakir) <b>tut-ma</b>	milk	AT-MPB	
1.2. Kuki-Chin				
Khoirao	<b>a tu thui</b>	milk	GEM-CNL	
1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish				
Kokborok	<b>du</b>	milk	PT-Kok	
2.1.5. Dhimal				
Dhimal	<b>du du</b> <b>du du no si</b>	breast nipple	JK-Dh JK-Dh	
2.2. Newar				
Newar (Kathmandu)	<b>du-du-pwa-(la)</b>	breast	KPM-pc	48
Newar (Dolakhali)	<b>du du</b>	vagina / breast / milk	CG-Dolak	49
2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar				
Chepeng	<b>dut-say?</b>	nipple	SIL-Chep:2.A.35	
Chepeng (Eastern)	<b>dut</b> <b>dut.say?</b>	breast; milk nipple	RC-ChepQ:5.4,5.4.3 RC-ChepQ:5.4.1	
2.3.2. Kiranti				
Dumi	<b>di dhi kwam</b>	nipples (human)	SVD-Dum	
Thulung	<b>diu diu</b>	milk	NJA-Thulung	

<sup>47</sup>Colostrum is the thin secretion produced by the mother of a newborn for a few days before actual milk is produced.

<sup>48</sup>**pwala** means ‘round object; container’; thus the breasts are viewed as “milk containers”.

<sup>49</sup>According to K. P. Malla (p.c. 2007), the basic meaning of this form is ‘breast’, although it is also used euphemistically for ‘vagina’.



(69) \*  $\begin{matrix} N \\ s \end{matrix}$  -tuŋ DRINK / SUCKLE

This widespread etymon is attested all over TB (Kamarupan, Himalayish, Lolo-Burmese, Qiangic). It comprises both a simplex and a causative variant, i.e. DRINK (with underlying nasal prefix) vs. GIVE TO DRINK (with underlying \*s- prefix), and by extension SMOKE (tobacco) vs. GIVE TO SMOKE. (Cf. Japanese *tabako wo nomu* ‘smoke (“drink”) tobacco’.)

The nasal prefix is clearly reflected in Himalayish (Baima, Amdo Tibetan), Qiangic (Namuyi, Tangut), and Loloish (e.g. Yi Dafang, Luquan, Nasu, Xide), sometimes with an actual nasal segment, sometimes more indirectly (as in Lahu **d̥**, where the voiced initial is a reliable reflex of PLB \*prenasalization).

There is a phonologically excellent Chinese comparandum with the meaning MILK: 漚 [GSR 1188c]. See below.

See HPTB PLB \*m-daŋ<sup>1</sup> ≈ \*m-doŋ<sup>1</sup>, p. 123.

## 1.1. North Assam

Bokar Lhoba	<b>tuŋ</b>	drink	SLZO-MLD	
Gallong	<b>tu-nam</b>	drink	KDG-IGL	
Kaman [Miju]	<b>tauŋ</b> <sup>55</sup>	drink	SLZO-MLD	
	tán-t’àuŋ	drink	AW-TBT:812	
	t’àuŋ	drink	AW-TBT:812	
Idu	<b>tion</b> <sup>55</sup>	drink	SHK-Idu:3.7.7	
	tõ	drink	NEFA-PBI	
	tõ ga	drink	JP-Idu	
Miri, Hill	ish'- <b>tu-nam</b>	drink water	IMS-HMLG	
	<b>tu-nam</b>	drink; pluck	IMS-HMLG	
Tagin	<b>teŋ-nam</b>	drink	KDG-Tag	
1.3. Naga				
Zeme	<b>tung</b>	suck	GEM-CNL	
	<b>tung dui</b>	milk	GEM-CNL	
1.4. Meithei				
Meithei	<b>thək pə</b>	drink	CYS-Meithei:3.7.7	50
1.5. Mikir				
Mikir	<b>tong</b>	suck	GEM-CNL	
	<b>tòng-</b>	suck	KHG-Mikir:90	
2.1.1. Western Himalayish				
Bunan	<b>tuŋ re</b>	drink (v.)	SBN-BunQ:3.7.7	
Pattani [Manchati]	<b>Tùn d̥zi</b>	nurse (v.) / suckle	STP-ManQ:5.4.6	
	<b>tuŋ mi</b>	drink, smoke	DS-Patt	
	<b>tuŋ mi</b>	drink (v.)	STP-ManQ:3.7.7	
2.1.2. Bodic				
Baima	<b>ndo</b> <sup>35</sup>	drink	SHK-BaimaQ:3.7.7	
Dzongkha	<b>thũ:</b>	drink	AW-TBT:812	
Tshona (Wenlang)	<b>t<sup>h</sup>oŋ</b> <sup>55</sup> ŋa <sup>55</sup>	drink	JZ-CNMenba	

<sup>50</sup>The final stop probably arose via assimilation to the stop initial of the “infinitive nominalizer” -pə.

## IV. Breast

Tshona (Mama)	toŋ <sup>55</sup>	drink	SLZO-MLD
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	nt <sup>h</sup> oŋ	drink	JS-Amdo:544
Tibetan (Batang)	thō <sup>13</sup>	drink	DQ-Batang:3.7.7
Tibetan (Central)	thūŋ-	drink	AW-TBT:812
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	thung en	drink (v.)	B-ShrpaHQ:3.7.7
Spiti	thuŋ je	drink (v.)	CB-SpitiQ:3.7.7
Tibetan (Written)	'thuñ-ba	suck	GEM-CNL
	thung	drink	JS-Tib:544
	fi <thuŋ< th="">-ba</thuŋ<>	drink	AW-TBT:812
2.1.4. Tamangic			
Chantyal	thū-wa	drink (v.)	NPB-ChanQ:3.7.7
Gurung (Ghachok)	t <sup>h</sup> ūq-m	drink	SIL-Gur:1.54
	t <sup>h</sup> ūq ba	drink	SIL-Gur:7.B.2.28
	ŋeh tīq ba	nurse	SIL-Gur:6.B.2.1
Manang (Gyaru)	tuŋ <sup>2</sup> ba	drink	YN-Man:086
Manang (Prakaa)	<sup>1</sup> t <sup>h</sup> uŋ-	drink	HM-Prak:0329
	<sup>1</sup> t <sup>h</sup> uŋ pə	drink	HM-Prak:0525
Tamang (Bagmati)	'thuŋ	drink	AW-TBT:812
Tamang (Risiangku)	<sup>2</sup> t <sup>h</sup> uŋ	drink	MM-TamRisQ:3.7.7
Thakali (Tukche)	t <sup>h</sup> uŋ-pɔ	drink	SIL-Thak:1.54
2.2. Newar			
Newar	ton egu	drink	SH-KNw:3.7.7
Newar (Kathmandu)	twan-e	drink	KPM-pc
Newar (Dolakhali)	twɔn-	drink	CG-Dolak
Newar (Kathmandu)	twɔn-	drink	CG-Kath
2.3. Mahakiranti			
*Kiranti	*tuŋ-	drink	BM-PK7:49
2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar			
Chepeng	tuŋ	drink	AW-TBT:7
	tuŋ-sa	drink	SIL-Chep:1.54
Chepeng (Eastern)	tuŋ na?	drink (v.)	RC-ChepQ:3.7.7
Sunwar	tu:-	drink	BM-PK7:49
2.3.2. Kiranti			
Bahing	tuŋ-	drink	BM-PK7:49
	tuŋ ku luŋ ma	drink, smoke	BM-Bah
Bantawa	DuN	drink	NKR-Bant
	duŋ-	drink	BM-PK7:49
Chamling	ding-u	drink	BM-PK7:49
	dung-	drink	WW-Cham:11
	dung-u	drink	BM-PK7:49
Dumi	tīŋ-	drink	BM-PK7:49
Hayu	tun	drink (except water)	BM-Hay:84.245
Khaling	√tuŋ-	drink	BM-PK7:49
Kulung	duŋŋ-	drink	BM-PK7:49
	duŋŋ-u	drink	RPHH-Kul
Limbu	thuŋ-	drink	BM-Lim
Thulung	Du(ŋ)-	drink	NJA-Thulung
	du(ŋ)-	drink	BM-PK7:49

3.1. Tangut				
Tangut [Xixia]	<b>ndefi</b>	drink	JAM-MLBM:70	51
	<b>ndĩ</b>	drink	DQ-Xixia:3.7.7	
3.2. Qiangic				
Ergong (Daofu)	<b>nu nu sthei</b>	nurse / suckle	DQ-Daofu:5.4.6	
Ergong (Northern)	<b>st<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>33</sup></b>	nurse / suckle	SHK-ErgNQ:5.4.6	
	<b>t<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>13</sup></b>	drink	SHK-ErgNQ:3.7.7	
Ergong (Danba)	<b>w<sup>t</sup>hi</b>	drink	SHK-ErgDQ:3.7.7	
Ergong (Daofu)	<b>?thu</b>	drink	DQ-Daofu:3.7.7	
Ersu (Central)	<b>tshē<sup>55</sup></b>	drink	SHK-ErsCQ	
Guiqiong	<b>tɕhɑ<sup>35</sup></b>	drink	SHK-GuiqQ	
Muya [Minyak]	<b>tɕ<sup>h</sup>yur<sup>53</sup></b>	drink	SHK-MuyaQ:3.7.7	
Namuyi	<b>ndzɿ<sup>35</sup></b>	drink	SHK-NamuQ:3.7.7	
Pumi (Jinghua)	<b>t<sup>h</sup>iē<sup>55</sup></b>	drink	JZ-Pumi	
Pumi (Taoba)	<b>t<sup>h</sup>iē<sup>35</sup></b>	drink	JZ-Pumi	
Qiang (Mawo)	<b>sti</b>	nurse / suckle	SHK-MawoQ:5.4.6	
	<b>t<sup>h</sup>i</b>	drink	JZ-Qiang; SHK-MawoQ:3.7.7	
Qiang (Taoping)	<b>t<sup>h</sup>ie<sup>33</sup></b>	drink	JZ-Qiang	
Qiang (Yadu)	<b>tɕ<sup>h</sup>ə</b>	drink	DQ-QiangN:1964	
Shixing	<b>tɕhi<sup>35</sup></b>	drink	SHK-ShixQ	
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	<b>kə<sup>35</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ũ<sup>55</sup></b>	drink	SHK-ZhabQ:3.7.7	
3.3. rGyalrongic				
rGyalrong (NW)	<b>ka t<sup>h</sup>i</b>	drink	SHK-rGNWQ:3.7.7	
rGyalrong (Northern)	<b>kəwu ʃt<sup>h</sup>i</b>	nurse / suckle	SHK-rGNQ:5.4.6	
	<b>kəwu t<sup>h</sup>i</b>	drink	SHK-rGNQ:3.7.7	
6. Lolo-Burmese				
*Lolo-Burmese	<b>*ndaŋ<sup>1</sup> ≈ ?daŋ<sup>1</sup></b>	drink	JAM-MLBM:70	
6.2. Loloish				
*Loloish	<b>*m-daŋ<sup>1</sup></b>	drink	DB-PLolo:631; ILH-PL:245	
Ahi	<b>tu<sup>22</sup></b>	nurse; drink	CK-YiQ:5.4.6; LMZ-AhiQ:3.7.7	
Akha (Thai)	<b>dɔ́</b>	drink	ILH-PL:245	
Akha	<b>dɔ́</b>	drink	ILH-PL:245	
Akha (Yunnan)	<b>dɔ́</b>	drink	ILH-PL:245	
Bisu	<b>táŋ</b>	drink	DB-Bisu	
Gazhuo	<b>to<sup>213</sup></b>	drink	DLF-Gazhuo	
	<b>to<sup>323</sup></b>	drink	DHFRL; DQ-Gazhuo:3.7.7	
	<b>to<sup>33</sup></b>	nurse; suckle; drink	DLF-Gazhuo; DQ-Gazhuo:5.4.6	
Hani (Lüchun)	<b>dó</b>	drink	ILH-PL:245	
Hani (Dazhai)	<b>do<sup>55</sup></b>	drink	JZ-Hani	
Hani (Pijo)	<b>tú</b>	drink	ILH-PL:245	
Hani (Caiyuan)	<b>tu<sup>55</sup></b>	drink	JZ-Hani	
Hani (Gelanghe)	<b>dɔ́<sup>55</sup></b>	drink	JZ-Hani	
Hani (Wordlist)	<b>ddol</b>	drink	ILH-PL:245	
Haoni	<b>ty<sup>55</sup></b>	drink	ILH-PL:245	

<sup>51</sup>This form is originally from Nishida 1964-66:415.

## IV. Breast

Hani (Shuikui)	ty <sup>55</sup>	drink	JZ-Hani
Hani (Khatu)	tú	drink	ILH-PL:245
*Common Lahu	*daw <sub>v</sub>	drink	DB-PLolo
Lahu (Black)	dɔ <sup>31</sup>	drink	JZ-Lahu; ZMYYC:534.33
	dɔ̃	drink	JAM-MLBM:70
	šú dɔ̃ ve	smoke tobacco	JAM-DL:1193
	tɔ	give to drink; give to smoke	JAM-DL:649
Lahu (Yellow)	dɔʔ <sup>21</sup>	drink	JZ-Lahu
Lalo	du <sup>55</sup>	drink	CK-YiQ:3.7.7
	tu <sup>33</sup>	nurse / suckle	CK-YiQ:5.4.6
Lipho	ta <sup>33</sup>	nurse	CK-YiQ:5.4.6
Lisu	daw <sup>4</sup>	drink	DB-PLolo:631
Lisu (Nujiang)	do <sup>33</sup>	drink	JZ-Lisu
Lisu	do <sup>33</sup>	drink	ZMYYC:534.27
Lisu (Northern)	hwa <sup>21</sup> si <sup>21</sup> dɔ <sup>44</sup>	suck blood wine	DB-Lisu
Lolopho	ɗɔ <sup>33</sup>	drink	DQ-Lolopho:3.7.7
Luquan	nt'e <sup>11</sup>	drink	JAM-MLBM:70
Mpi	toŋ <sup>5</sup> /taŋ <sup>5</sup>	drink	ILH-PL:245
Nasu	d'ɔ <sup>13</sup>	drink	JAM-MLBM:70
	nd <sup>hɔ</sup> <sup>21</sup>	drink	CK-YiQ:3.7.7
	tɔ <sup>21</sup>	nurse / suckle	CK-YiQ:5.4.6
Nesu	da <sup>21</sup>	drink	CK-YiQ:3.7.7
Noesu	to <sup>21</sup>	nurse	CK-YiQ:5.4.6
Nosu	to <sup>21</sup>	nurse	CK-YiQ:5.4.6
Sani [Nyi]	A <sup>33</sup> ni <sup>33</sup> to <sup>33</sup>	nurse (v.)	YHJC-Sani
	to <sup>33</sup>	nurse	CK-YiQ:5.4.6
	tʂi <sup>55</sup>	drink	CK-YiQ:3.7.7; YHJC-Sani
	tʂl <sup>55</sup>	drink, smoke	MXL-SaniQ:341.1
Phunoi	tã <sup>55</sup> sɔ̃ <sup>11</sup>	drink	DB-Phunoi
Yi (Dafang)	ndɔ <sup>21</sup>	drink	JZ-Yi; ZMYYC:534.22
Yi (Lishan)	dɔ <sup>31</sup>	drink	DLF-Gazhuo
Yi (Mile)	tu <sup>33</sup>	drink	ZMYYC:534.25
Yi (Mojiang)	ɗɔ <sup>21</sup>	drink	ZMYYC:534.26
Yi (Nanhua)	da <sup>33</sup>	drink	ZMYYC:534.24
	ta <sup>31</sup>	give to drink	ZMYYC:534.24
Yi (Nanjian)	du <sup>55</sup>	drink	JZ-Yi; ZMYYC:534.23
Yi (Xide)	a <sup>34</sup> -ne <sup>33</sup> to <sup>21</sup>	breast feed	CSL-YIzd
	ndo <sup>33</sup>	drink	CSL-YIzd; JZ-Yi; ZMYYC:534.21
6.3. Naxi			
Naxi (Lijiang)	thw <sup>31</sup>	drink	ZMYYC:534.28
Naxi (Eastern)	t <sup>h</sup> w <sup>31</sup>	drink	JZ-Naxi
Naxi (Western)	t <sup>h</sup> w <sup>31</sup>	drink	JZ-Naxi
6.4. Jinuo			
Jinuo (Youle)	tə <sup>42</sup>	drink	JZ-Jinuo
Jinuo	te <sup>42</sup>	drink	ZMYYC:534.34
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	tʌ <sup>31</sup>	drink	DQ-JinA:1964
Jinuo (Baka)	tʌ <sup>31</sup>	drink	DQ-JinB:1964
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Mandarin)	tung	milk	GSR:1188c

Chinese (Old/Mid)	t̚iung/t̚iwong- tung/tung-	milk milk	GSR:1188c GSR:1188c
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## Chinese comparandum

漚 zhòng ‘milk’

GSR: 1188c Karlgren: \*t̚iung / \*tung Li: \*tjungh / \*tungh Baxter: \*tjongs / \*tongs

The correspondences are a perfect match. OC \*u (Li)/\*o (Baxter) regularly corresponds to PTB \*u before velar codas.

However, there is a competing etymology suggesting that this word is an early borrowing from a Central Asian language (Pulleyblank 1962:250ff). This etymology is supported by the fact that this is not the ordinary Chinese word for ‘milk’; early glosses define it as ‘milk (of cows and mares)’. The Chinese themselves did not drink such milk, so it would not be surprising if this word were borrowed from nomadic peoples.

[ZJH]

## (70) \*pil MILK (v.) / SQUEEZE / PRESS OUT

This etymon has so far been identified only in Himalayish.

### 2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	pel tsi	milk	SBN-BunQ:5.4.3
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### 2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar

Kham	pi:-nyā	milk a cow	AH-CSDPN:03b.41
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### 2.3.2. Kiranti

Bantawa	bitt- ʔom pi yang ma	milk milk	WW-Bant:10 WW-Bant:5
Chamling	om pAy ma om pi yang ma	milk milk	WW-Cham:27 WW-Cham:27
Hayu	pel pel um pol um(-ha)	milk, press (e.g. oil) milk	BM-Hay:84.142, 84 BM-Hay:84.142, 84
Khaling	pal-ne	milk a cow	AH-CSDPN:03b.41
Kulung	bill-u	milk	RPHH-Kul
Limbu	phi:nt-	milk	BM-Lim

## (71) \*bruŋ SUCK

This root is set up for “Proto-Tani” (part of the traditional “Mirish” or “Abor-Miri-Dafla” group) by Jackson T. Sun (1993). The possible Kanauri cognate suggests that it might actually be more widely distributed in TB.

### 1.1. North Assam

*Tani	*bruŋ	suck	JS-HCST:406
Padam [Abor]	bu	suck	JS-HCST
Apatani	bjū	suck	JS-Tani
	brju	suck; suckle	JS-HCST; JS-Tani
	ha-brjā	breast	JS-Tani

#### IV. Breast

	<sup>2</sup> <b>bryu:</b> (2)	suck	AW-TBT:651
Bengni	(dɯ)- <b>bjɯŋ</b>	suck	JS-Tani
	<b>bjɯŋ</b>	suck	JS-HCST
Bokar	<b>bjɯŋ</b>	suck	JS-HCST
	<b>bjɯŋ-čup</b>	suck	JS-Tani
Gallong	<sup>^</sup> <b>bu:-</b>	suck	AW-TBT:651
Idu	<b>pɔŋ</b> <sup>35</sup>	nurse / suckle	SHK-Idu:5.4.6
	ŋo <sup>55</sup> <b>ɓɔ</b> <sup>55</sup>	milk	ZMYC:281.50
Miri, Hill	<b>bu-nam</b>	suck	IMS-HMLG
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Kanauri	<b>khe rəŋ</b>	milk	DS-Kan

### (72) \*m-ʔum ≈ \*mum KISS / HOLD IN THE MOUTH

This root frequently occurs in Kamarupan compounds before (58a) \*m-pup KISS / SUCK (e.g. Milang **mum-pup**). In fact several of the forms treated under (58a) as having prefixal \*mV- (e.g. Angami **me<sup>31</sup>bo<sup>11</sup>**) might be better analyzed as compounds with \*mum as the first constituent.

STC reconstructs a root \*um (#108), later changed to \*(m)-u.m ‘hold in the mouth / mouthful’ on the basis of a group of zero/glottal stop-initialled forms like WT (?um and the prefixed Jingpho form **məūm**. These have been combined with a group of Kamarupan forms meaning ‘kiss’ to form the present set.

See *HPTB* \*m-ʔu:m, pp. 276, 308.

#### 1.1. North Assam

Padam-Mising [Abor-Miri]	<b>mam-puk</b>	kiss	JS-HCST	52
Apatani	<b>mó-čù</b>	kiss	JS-Tani	
	<b>mo-ču</b> (sú)	kiss	JS-Tani	
	<b>mo-č<sup>h</sup>u?</b> (sú)	kiss	JS-Tani	
Bengni	<b>mu:-pup</b>	kiss	JS-HCST; JS-Tani	
Milang	<b>mum-pup-ma</b>	kiss	AT-MPB	
Mising [Miri]	<b>um-bom</b>	hold (as inside the mouth)	STC:108	
Tagin	<b>mo pup-nam</b>	kiss	KDG-Tag	

#### 1.2. Kuki-Chin

Kom Rem	<b>ṃom</b>	hold in mouth (v.)	T-KomRQ:3.7.14	
Lai (Hakha)	<b>hmoom</b>	hold in the mouth	KVB-Lai	
Liangmei	<b>mun rui</b>	kiss	GEM-CNL	
Lushai [Mizo]	<b>hmuam</b>	hold in the mouth; suck; chew	JHL-Lu:164	53

#### 1.3. Naga

Mao	<b>momu</b>	kiss	GEM-CNL	
Sangtam	<b>mü thsüp</b>	kiss	GEM-CNL	
Mzieme	<b>mam</b>	kiss	GEM-CNL	54

<sup>52</sup>The first syllable of this form looks like (60) \*mam BREAST, but the gloss ‘kiss’ shows that it belongs here.

<sup>53</sup>The Lushai and Lai forms with voiceless nasals reflect a variant with the \*s- prefix.

<sup>54</sup>This form looks like (60) \*mam BREAST, but the gloss ‘kiss’ shows that it belongs here.

## (72) \*m-ʔum ≈ \*mum KISS / HOLD IN THE MOUTH

Yimchungrü	a man ji	kiss	GEM-CNL
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	um bæ	hold in mouth	CYS-Meithei:3.7.14
1.5. Mikir			
Mikir	om	chew; mouthful	STC:108
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	jum <sup>55</sup>	hold in mouth; suck	JZ-CLMenba
Tibetan (Written)	ʔum	a kiss	STC:108
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	ũm	receive into mouth without swallow- ing	STC:108
2.3. Mahakiranti			
*Kiranti	*um-	eat	BM-PK7:54
2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar			
Chepeng (Eastern)	ʔumh naʔ	hold in mouth (v.)	RC-ChepQ:3.7.14
2.3.2. Kiranti			
Bantawa	um t-	eat	BM-PK7:54
Chamling	up-s-yu	eat	BM-PK7:54
Yakha	u:m ma:	hold in mouth (v.)	TK-Yakha:3.7.14
4.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	məum	hold, as water or smoke in the mouth	STC:108
4.2. Nungic			
Anong	im	mouthful	STC:108
6.1. Burmish			
Achang (Longchuan)	mam <sup>31</sup> om <sup>55</sup>	chew hold in mouth	JZ-Achang JZ-Achang
Atsi [Zaiwa]	ɲum <sup>51</sup>	hold in mouth	JZ-Zaiwa
6.2. Loloish			
Hani (Dazhai)	ɔ <sup>31</sup>	hold in mouth	JZ-Hani
Hani (Gelanghe)	m(u)m <sup>55</sup>	hold in mouth	JZ-Hani
Hani (Shuikui)	mu <sup>31</sup>	hold in mouth	JZ-Hani
Lahu (Yellow)	mɔ <sup>31</sup>	hold in mouth	JZ-Lahu
Lalo	ʔm <sup>21</sup>	hold in mouth	CK-YiQ:3.7.14
6.4. Jinuo			
Jinuo (Youle)	mo <sup>42</sup>	hold in mouth	JZ-Jinuo
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Middle)	ʔəm:	hold in the mouth	WSC-SH:95
Chinese (Old)	ʔəmx	hold in the mouth	WSC-SH:95

**Chinese comparandum**

A Chinese comparandum was recognized already in *STC* #181: 吮 ʔəm. This form does





## (74) \*pi ≈ \*bi ROUNDED PART / NIPPLE / FOREHEAD / SHOULDER

Darang [Taraon]	ŋi <sup>55</sup> kha <sup>31</sup> bi <sup>35</sup>	breast	ZMYYC:259.49	
Gallong	lv bi	shoulder	KDG-IGL	
Milang	ɲun-pi	nipple	AT-MPB	
1.3. Naga				
Mao	ka phe	shoulder	GEM-CNL	
1.4. Meithei				
Meithei	khom-pi sej bi	nipple clitoris	JAM-Ety CYS-Meithei:10.4.4	
2.1.2. Bodic				
Tibetan (Written)	pi-pi	nipple / teat	HAI-TED:323	
2.2. Newar				
Newar	duru pi pi ca	nipple	SH-KNw:5.4.1	55
Newar (Kathmandu)	pi-pi pi-pi-li pi-si pi ci	nipple nipple (archaic) breast breast, milk; (euph.) vagina	KPM-pc KPM-pc KPM-pc CG-Dolak	56
2.3.2. Kiranti				
Hayu	phi	shoulder	BM-Hay:84.229	
Thulung	kup pi	forehead	BM-PK7:77; NJA-Thulung	
3.2. Qiangic				
Ersu (Central)	vɛ <sup>33</sup> bi <sup>55</sup>	shoulder	SHK-ErsCQ	
Ersu	vɛ <sup>33</sup> bi <sup>55</sup>	shoulder	ZMYYC:250.18	
Qiang (Taoping)	lɑ <sup>31</sup> χɑ <sup>55</sup> pi <sup>33</sup>	shoulder	JZ-Qiang; ZMYYC:250.9	
Qiang (Yadu)	ji pi	shoulder	DQ-QiangN:117	
6.2. Loloish				
Ahi	a <sup>33</sup> nu <sup>33</sup> pi <sup>55</sup> ɑ <sup>33</sup> nu <sup>33</sup> pi <sup>55</sup>	breast breast	CK-YiQ:5.4 LMZ-AhiQ:5.4	
Gazhuo	ɕo <sup>33</sup> pɣ <sup>35</sup>	chest	DLF-Gazhuo	57
Hani (Shuikui)	ɕiɔ <sup>33</sup> phɣ <sup>31</sup>	chest	ZMYYC:257.32	
*Common Lahu	*hpeh:/pui:	shoulder	DB-PLolo:107	
Lahu (Black)	làʔ-chíʔ-pi làʔ-qá-pi ni-ma-pi(ši) ni-ma-qa-pi ni <sup>33</sup> ma <sup>33</sup> pu <sup>33</sup>	fist shoulder chest chest chest (of body)	JAM-Ety JAM-Ety JAM-Ety JAM-Ety JZ-Lahu	
	ni: ma [pui:] pɛ <sup>31</sup> pu <sup>33</sup>	breast; chest; heart chest	GHL-PPB:U.9 ZMYYC:257.33	58
Lahu (Yellow)	qhê-qhɔ-pi	buttock	JAM-Ety	
Lisu	ŋi <sup>33</sup> pu <sup>33</sup> lá <sup>6</sup> -hprgh <sup>4</sup>	chest (of body) shoulder; arm	JZ-Lahu JAM-Ety; DB-PLolo:107,108	

<sup>55</sup>duru 'milk' is < Skt. (cf. *dugdha*-). See (68) \*du-t MILK / BREAST. The last constituent **ca** has a diminutive meaning (see note under (40b) \*s-tay NAVEL / ABDOMEN / CENTER / SELF).

<sup>56</sup>The last element **si** means 'round object; fruit' < PTB \*sey.

<sup>57</sup>The first syllables of the Gazhuo and Shuikui forms are probably < Chinese 胸 (Mand. *xiōng*) 'chest'.

<sup>58</sup>This form is also cited in JAM-DL:852 as **pè-pi** 'crop of bird; (human) breast, chest'. It is co-allofamic with **pè-pi(-qu)** 'chicken' s breast'. Cf. also **pè-qu** 'goiter'.

## IV. Breast

Lisu (Northern)	læʔ <sup>21</sup> phɣ <sup>33</sup>	shoulder	DB-Lisu
	læʔ <sup>21</sup> phɣ <sup>33</sup> nɔ <sup>55</sup> du <sup>33</sup>	shoulder pad	DB-Lisu
Lisu (Nujiang)	læʔ <sup>21</sup> phɣ <sup>33</sup> phi <sup>21</sup>	shoulder blade	DB-Lisu
Lisu	le <sup>31</sup> p <sup>h</sup> u <sup>33</sup>	shoulder	JZ-Lisu
Nesu	le <sup>31</sup> p <sup>h</sup> u <sup>44</sup>	shoulder	ZMYYC:250.27
Sani [Nyi]	ni <sup>33</sup> mo <sup>21</sup> po <sup>33</sup>	chest	CK-YiQ:5.1
	ŋ <sup>44</sup> ma <sup>33</sup> pr <sup>44</sup> be <sup>4</sup>	heartbeat	MXL-SaniQ:323.4
	ŋ <sup>44</sup> ma <sup>33</sup> pr <sup>44</sup> be <sup>44</sup>	heartbeat	CK-YiQ:9.3.1
Yi (Dafang)	la <sup>13</sup> bu <sup>21</sup>	shoulder	JZ-Yi; ZMYYC:250.22
Yi (Mile)	A <sup>33</sup> nu <sup>33</sup> pi <sup>55</sup>	breast	ZMYYC:259.25
Yi (Mojiang)	le <sup>21</sup> p <sup>h</sup> u <sup>33</sup>	shoulder	ZMYYC:250.26
Yi (Nanjian)	a <sup>55</sup> tɕ <sup>33</sup> pi <sup>33</sup>	breast	ZMYYC:259.23
6.3. Naxi			
Naxi (Eastern)	ŋu <sup>31</sup> bi <sup>33</sup>	breast	JZ-Naxi
Naxi (Yongning)	ŋu <sup>31</sup> bi <sup>33</sup>	breast	ZMYYC:259.29
Naxi (Eastern)	a <sup>13</sup> pv <sup>33</sup>	chest (of body)	JZ-Naxi
6.4. Jinuo			
Jinuo	phi <sup>33</sup> tha <sup>55</sup>	shoulder	ZMYYC:250.34
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	p <sup>h</sup> i <sup>31</sup> t <sup>h</sup> a <sup>55</sup>	shoulder	DQ-JinA:117
Jinuo (Youle)	p <sup>h</sup> i <sup>42</sup> t <sup>h</sup> a <sup>55</sup>	shoulder	JZ-Jinuo

(75)

\*prat ≈ \*brat

BREAK / WEAN

Jingpho **prət**, **ʂə prət** ‘bear, give birth’ are probably to be assigned to this etymon, the semantic connection being the separation of the child from the mother.

Likely comparanda are 裂 (OC \*l̥jat, GSR 291f) ‘tear asunder; divide’ and 別 (OC \*b’iät, GSR 292a) ‘divide, separate, distinguish, different’.

See \*brat ≈ \*prat ‘cut apart, cut open’, HPTB:330,334.

### 3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Mawo) p<sup>h</sup>æ wean SHK-MawoQ:5.4.7

### 3.3. rGyalrongic

rGyalrong ka pɾət wean DQ-Jiarong:5.4.7

rGyalrong (Eastern) ka sə p<sup>h</sup>jit wean SHK-rGEQ:5.4.7

rGyalrong (Northern) no pɾət wean SHK-rGNQ:5.4.7

### 4.1. Jingpho

Jingpho **prət** bear, give birth JAM-II

ʂə **prət** bear, give birth JAM-II

### 6. Lolo-Burmese

\*Lolo-Burmese \*(ʔ-)brat ≈ C<sub>VD</sub>-**prat** cut (open) JAM-GSTC:027

### 6.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written) nui’ **phrat** wean JAM-II

**phrat** cut something in two (causative) JAM-GSTC:027

**prat** cut in two (simplex) JAM-GSTC:027

## 6.2. Loloish

Lahu (Black)

pè?

split, crack, get  
cracked

JAM-DL:1072

phè?

cut open; perform a  
surgical opera-  
tion

JAM-GSTC:027

59

**Chinese comparanda**別 **bié** ‘divide, separate’

GSR: 292a

Karlgren: \*p̣i̯at

Li: \*p̣jiat

Baxter: \*prjat

There is a related Chinese word with voiced initial, GSR \*b’i̯at (*ibid.*), also written 別, meaning ‘to be different’. This voicing alternation is a common Old Chinese morphological process seen in transitive/intransitive verb pairs. Although the TB etymon also has a voicing alternation, this is likely to be an independent phenomenon.

The Chinese and PTB forms correspond perfectly. This cognate set has been proposed by Gong (1995 set 209). Gong 2001 reconstructs the intransitive Chinese verb as \*N-brjat > \*brjat and the transitive counterpart as \*s-brjat > \*s-prjat > \*prjat.

列 **liè** ‘divide, distribute; arrange; rank’

GSR: 291a

Karlgren: \*ḷi̯at

Li: \*ljat

Baxter: \*C-rjat

裂 **liè** ‘tear asunder, divide’

GSR: 291f

Karlgren: \*ḷi̯at

Li: \*ljat

Baxter: \*C-rjat

These two homophonous Chinese words are clearly related. Gong (2001) relates 裂 **liè** to the two words written with 別 **bié**, while Schuessler (2007:167) says that 別 **bié** is probably cognate to 列 **liè**.<sup>60</sup> Gong reconstructs 裂 **liè** as \*brjat > \*rjat, treating it as the root from which the two words written with 別 **bié** are derived.

On Baxter’s \*C-r-, see the discussion under (5) \*rum ≈ \*lum EGG. The relationship to 別 **bié** suggests that in Baxter’s reconstruction the consonant represented by \*C would most likely be reconstructed as \*b.

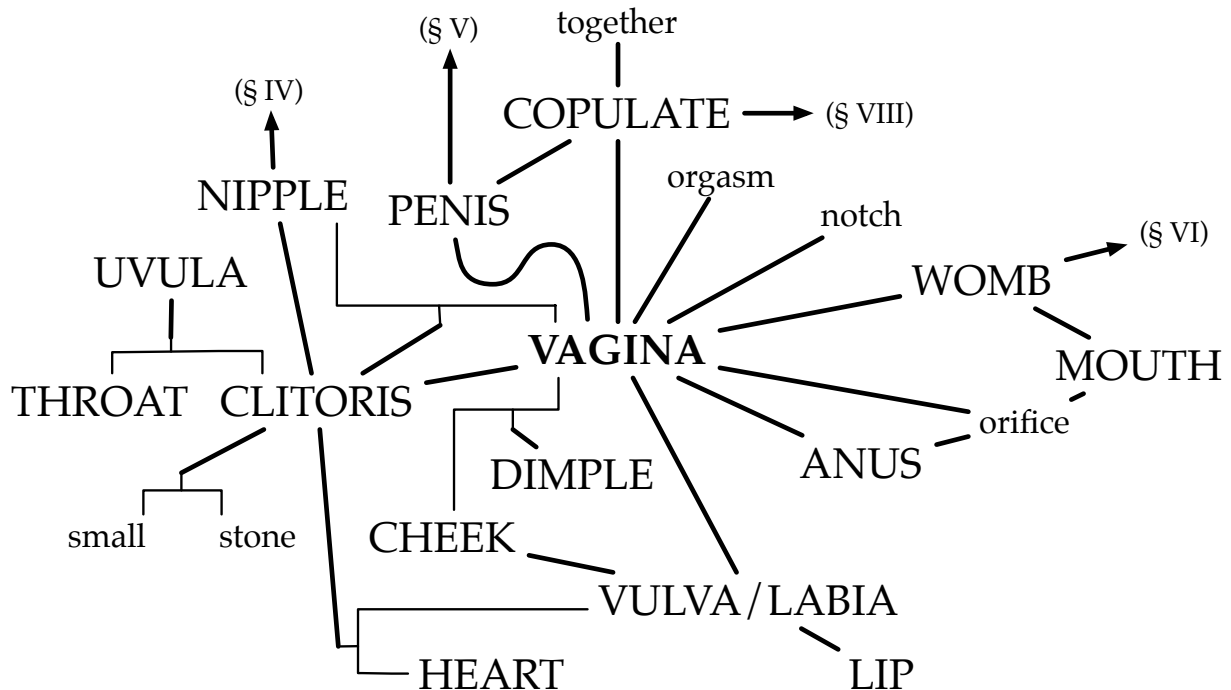
[ZJH]

<sup>59</sup>The Lahu expression **cú phâ?** means ‘to wean’, but the second syllable descends from PLB \*pak ‘take apart; dismantle; separate from’ (TSR #64), not from \*prat. (The regular Lahu reflex of \*-at is -e?.)

<sup>60</sup>Schuessler gives the Baxter system reconstruction of 別 as \*prjet. While this is a possible reconstruction, \*prjat is more likely given the word-family connections.



## V. Vagina



Etyma for VAGINA and PENIS show frequent interchange and/or phonological similarity, by a phenomenon felicitously dubbed “genital flipflop” by Benedict.<sup>1</sup> The roots where this interchange is most evident include: (76) \*s-tu ≈ \*tsu VAGINA : (116a) \*k-tu-k PENIS; (84) \*li-n VAGINA : (114a) \*m-ley ≈ \*m-li PENIS; (91) \*s-ti ≈ \*m-ti CLITORIS / VAGINA / NIPPLE : (117) \*ti-k PENIS; (86) \*mo VAGINA : (123) \*ma:k PENIS / MALE / SON-IN-LAW. This relationship is indicated by a *yin-yang* curve in the semantic diagram.

Roots for VAGINA also show interchange with etyma for MOUTH. See especially (77a) \*dzyuk ≈ \*tsyuk VULVA; (79) \*siŋ ≈ \*sik MOUTH / LIP; and (80) \*tsyin VAGINA / CLITORIS / MOUTH / LIP.

There is also an association between VAGINA and ANUS (see, e.g. (92) \*hoŋ VAGINA / RECTUM / HOLE and (94) \*kwar ≈ \*kor CONCAVITY / HOLE / EAR / VAGINA).

An association between CLITORIS and UVULA is shown by Lushai **daŋ-mɔn** ‘uvula’, literally “palate-clitoris”. See *VSTB*, p. 67.

<sup>1</sup>Benedict 1979, “A note on Karen genital flipflop” (*LTBA* 5.1:21-24); 1981 “A further (unexpurgated) note on Karen genital flipflop” (*LTBA* 6.1:103); 1991 “Genital flipflop: a Chinese note” (*LTBA* 14.1:143-6).

(76) **\*s-tu** ≈ **\*tsu** **VAGINA**

This is by far the best-attested root for VAGINA in TB, with reflexes in Kamarupan, Himalayish, Lolo-Burmese, Karenic, and Qiangic. While most of the supporting forms point to a prefixal **\*s-** plus **\*t-** root-initial, a few reflexes seem to have undergone meta-thesis, e.g. Hayu **pep-tshu**, Lakher **<sup>3</sup>tshu**, etc.

Some of the reflexes are transcribed with high front vowel **-i** instead of **-u**, but this fronting seems to be secondary. Compare, e.g. the Abor-Miri, Apatani, and Gallong forms; or the Chepang, Dumi, and Bantawa reflexes, etc.

See *HPTB* **\*s-tu**, p. 247.

## 1.1. North Assam

*Tani	<b>*tu</b>	vulva / vagina	JS-HCST:450
Padam-Mising [Abor-Miri]	<b>ít-tí</b>	vulva	JAM-Ety
	<b>tí-muit</b>	hair (pubic)	JAM-Ety
	<b>wt-tu</b>	vulva / vagina	JS-HCST
Apatani	<b>a-tú</b>	vagina	JS-Tani
	<b><sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup>tu</b>	vagina	AW-TBT:526
Bengni	<b>ti:</b>	vulva / vagina	JS-HCST
Gallong	<b><sup>^</sup>wt-tr</b>	vagina	AW-TBT:526
Sulung	<b>a<sup>31</sup> tui<sup>55</sup></b>	vagina	JAM-II

## 1.2. Kuki-Chin

*Chin	<b>*tshuu</b>	vagina	KVB-PKC:609
Kuki-Chin	<b>su</b>	vagina	Qbp-KC:10.4.1
Kom Rem	<b>su</b>	vagina	T-KomRQ:10.4.1
	<b>su-də</b>	hymen	T-KomRQ:10.4.3
	<b>su-mih</b>	female pubic hair	T-KomRQ:10.4.5
	<b>su-mət<sup>her</sup></b>	clitoris	T-KomRQ:10.4.4
	<b>su-ner</b>	vulva / labia	T-KomRQ:10.4.2
Lai (Hakha)	<b>bêel-tshùu</b>	dimple (lit. "cheek vagina")	KVB-Lai
	<b>tshùu</b>	vagina	KVB-Lai
Lakher [Mara]	<b>chhu-khao</b>	vulva	JAM-Ety
	<b><sup>3</sup>tshu</b>	vagina	AW-TBT:62
Lushai [Mizo]	<b>chhu</b>	vulva	JAM-Ety
	<b>tshû</b>	vagina	AW-TBT:526
	<b>tshu</b>	vulva / notch (v.)	STC:53n178
Tiddim	<b>sú</b>	vagina	AW-TBT:526

## 1.3. Naga

Lotha Naga	<b><sup>1</sup>o<sup>2</sup>šuw(?)</b>	vagina	AW-TBT:526
Nocte	<b><sup>1</sup>thu</b>	vagina	AW-TBT:526
Phom	<b>šuw<sup>33</sup></b>	vagina	JAM-II
Yimchungrü	<b>(<sup>1</sup>)tšú?</b>	vagina	AW-TBT:526

## 1.4. Meithei

Meithei	<b>thù</b>	vagina	AW-TBT:62; JAM-Ety
	<b>thu ban</b>	vulva / labia	CYS-Meithei:10.4.2
	<b>thu mək̄hun</b>	vagina	CYS-Meithei:10.4.1

<sup>2</sup>STC tentatively assigns this Lushai form to **\*tsyuk** (below, (77a)), though I prefer the present analysis.

Moyon	<b>sòw</b> <b>sòw khùr</b> ~ <b>sowr khùr</b> <b>sòw mòwr</b> ~ <b>sow mòwr</b>	vagina vulva / labia female pubic hair	DK-Moyon:10.4.1 DK-Moyon:10.4.2 DK-Moyon:10.4.5
1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish			
Khiamngan	<sup>12</sup> <b>tau?</b>	vagina	AW-TBT:62
Meche	<b>ki tu?</b>	vagina	AW-TBT:62
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	<b>pha šu</b>	vagina	SBN-BunQ:10.4.1
Kanauri	<b>shik ts</b>	vagina	JAM-Ety 3
Pattani [Manchati]	<b>pha šu</b> <b>p<sup>hə</sup> šu</b>	vagina vagina	STP-ManQ:10.4.1 DS-Patt
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Central)	<b>thu</b>	vagina	SER-HSL/T:34 5
Spiti	<b>tu<sup>~</sup> kup</b>	vagina	CB-SpitiQ:10.4.1 4
Tibetan (Written)	<b>stu</b>	vagina; orifice of vagina (vulg.)	BM-PK7:195; JAM-Ety
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	<b>tũ</b>	<i>pudenda muliebria</i>	JAM-Ety
2.1.4. Tamangic			
Manang (Gyaru)	<b>du<sup>1</sup></b>	vulva	YN-Man:042-09
Tamang (Risiangku)	<sup>2</sup> <b>tsjum tu</b>	vagina, vulva	MM-TamRisQ:10.4.4
Tamang (Sahu)	<sup>2</sup> <b>cjum-tu</b>	vagina	JAM-Ety
Thakali (Tukche)	<b>tu-cham</b> <b>tu-c<sup>həm</sup></b>	hair (pubic) hair (pubic, female)	JAM-Ety SIL-Thak:2.A.10.2
2.1.5. Dhimal			
Dhimal	<b>cu cu</b>	vagina	JK-Dh
2.3. Mahakiranti			
*Kiranti	<b>*tu</b>	vagina	BM-PK7:195
2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar			
Chepeng	<b>tu?</b>	vagina	AW-TBT:62
Chepeng (Eastern)	<b>tu?</b>	genitalia / pudenda (female)	RC-ChepQ:10.1
	<b>tu? bleŋ</b>	vulva / labia	RC-ChepQ:10.4.2
	<b>tu? ghaŋ</b>	vagina	RC-ChepQ:10.4.1
	<b>tu? men?</b>	female pubic hair	RC-ChepQ:10.4.5
2.3.2. Kiranti			
Bantawa	<b>dhī</b> <b>dhi</b> <b>dhī</b> <b>DhU</b> <b>dhü</b> <b>phu ci dhü</b> <b>qhi</b>	vagina vagina vagina vagina vagina vagina vagina	BM-PK7:195 BM-PK7:195 JAM-Ety NKR-Bant WW-Bant:27 WW-Bant:60 BM-PK7:195

<sup>3</sup>Notice the reduction of the vowel to zero in the second syllable.<sup>4</sup>The second syllable is the Spiti word for “buttocks”.

## V. Vagina

Dumi	ka: di?	vagina	BM-PK7:195; SVD-Dum	5
Hayu	pep tshu	vagina	BM-Hay:84.142, 84	
Limbu	tsu tsup ma	penis; vagina; child's sex organ	SVD-LimA	
Thulung	teor ciu thiu	vagina vagina	NJA-Thulung BM-PK7:195; NJA-Thulung	
3.1. Tangut				
Tangut [Xixia]	tə <sup>1</sup>	vulva	MVS-Grin	
3.2. Qiangic				
Ergong (Northern)	stə <sup>53</sup> stə <sup>53</sup> k <sup>h</sup> e <sup>13</sup> stə <sup>53</sup> no <sup>13</sup> stə <sup>53</sup> qrə <sup>53</sup> stə <sup>53</sup> rmo <sup>53</sup> stə <sup>53</sup> si <sup>53</sup> stə <sup>53</sup> si <sup>53</sup> nə <sup>53</sup> t <sup>h</sup> ie <sup>13</sup> stə <sup>53</sup> sqrə <sup>53</sup>	vagina vulva / labia vagina hymen female pubic hair menstrual blood menstruate clitoris	SHK-ErgNQ:10.4 SHK-ErgNQ:10.4.2 SHK-ErgNQ:10.4.1 SHK-ErgNQ:10.4.3 SHK-ErgNQ:10.4.5 SHK-ErgNQ:10.4.7 SHK-ErgNQ:10.4.6 SHK-ErgNQ:10.4.4	
3.3. rGyalrongic				
rGyalrong	tə ɕtu	genitalia; pudenda; vagina	DQ-Jiarong:10.1,10.4.1	
	tə ɕtu mo rɲe	female pubic hair	DQ-Jiarong:10.4.5	
	tə ɕtu ci	menstrual blood	DQ-Jiarong:10.4.7	
	tə ɕtu ci kə ɕut	menstruate	DQ-Jiarong:10.4.6	
rGyalrong (NW)	tə stə tə stə ku tə stə mtɕ <sup>h</sup> i tə stə rme tə stə tɕ <sup>h</sup> im	female; female organ vagina vulva / labia female pubic hair hymen	SHK-rGNWQ:10.4 SHK-rGNWQ:10.4.1 SHK-rGNWQ:10.4.2 SHK-rGNWQ:10.4.5 SHK-rGNWQ:10.4.3	
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə ʃtu	female; female organ	SHK-rGEQ:10.4	
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə ʃtu tə ʃtu k <sup>h</sup> uŋ du	female; female organ vagina	SHK-rGNQ:10.4 SHK-rGNQ:10.4.1	
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə ʃtu mor	female pubic hair	SHK-rGEQ:10.4.5	
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə ʃtu rme tə ʃtu ɣq <sup>h</sup> u	female pubic hair vulva / labia	SHK-rGNQ:10.4.5 SHK-rGNQ:10.4.2	
6.1. Burmish				
Hpun (Northern)	tsù má?	vulva	EJAH-Hpun	
6.2. Loloish				
Ahi	to <sup>55</sup> bi <sup>21</sup> to <sup>55</sup> bi <sup>21</sup> ne <sup>33</sup> ba <sup>55</sup> to <sup>55</sup> bi <sup>21</sup> ni <sup>21</sup> to <sup>55</sup> bi <sup>21</sup> tɕ <sup>ʼ</sup> ɛ <sup>22</sup> to <sup>55</sup> lo <sup>22</sup> zo <sup>21</sup> to <sup>55</sup> nu <sup>33</sup> to <sup>55</sup> tɕi <sup>22</sup> zo <sup>21</sup> to <sup>55</sup> bi <sup>21</sup>	genitalia / pudenda (general) vagina vulva / labia copulate clitoris female pubic hair hymen vagina	LMZ-AhiQ:10.1 LMZ-AhiQ:10.4.1 LMZ-AhiQ:10.4.2 LMZ-AhiQ:10.2 LMZ-AhiQ:10.4.4 LMZ-AhiQ:10.4.5 LMZ-AhiQ:10.4.3 CK-YiQ:10.4.1	6
Bisu	tə hóŋ	vagina	PB-Bisu:16	

<sup>5</sup>For the front vowel, cf. also the variously transcribed Bantawa forms, probably actually with [i].

<sup>6</sup>The third syllable is the same as the first syllable of Ahi ni<sup>21</sup> tɕi<sup>22</sup> “lip”.



	tə pé	vulva	PB-Bisu:16
	tə tshìŋ	clitoris	PB-Bisu:13
Lalo	tù	vagina	SB-Lalo
	tɰ <sup>21</sup>	vagina	CK-YiQ:10.4.1
	tɰ <sup>21</sup> tç <sup>h</sup> y <sup>55</sup>	female pubic hair	CK-YiQ:10.4.5
Lipho	tɰ <sup>55</sup> bi <sup>21</sup>	vagina	CK-YiQ:10.4.1
Lisu	tu <sup>1</sup> -bi <sup>6</sup>	vagina; vulva	JAM-Ety; JAM-TSR:5
Lisu (Central)	tu <sup>1</sup> -bi <sup>6</sup>	vagina	JF-HLL
Lisu	tu <sup>1</sup> bi <sup>6</sup>	vulva	DB-PLolo:123
Lisu (Northern)	tɔ <sup>55</sup> bi <sup>21</sup>	pubenda	DB-Lisu
	tɔ <sup>55</sup> khu <sup>33</sup>	vagina; orifice	DB-Lisu
Lolopho	tɣ <sup>55</sup> bi <sup>31</sup>	vagina	DQ-Lolopho:10.4.1
	tɣ <sup>55</sup> mu <sup>33</sup>	female pubic hair	DQ-Lolopho:10.4.5
Mpi	to <sup>2</sup> phe <sup>2</sup>	vagina	SD-MPD
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	tu <sup>55</sup>	vagina	DQ-NusuA:143.
Phunoi	pə̀ tò	vulva	JAM-Ety
7. Karenic			
Palaychi	zu	vagina	JAM-Ety
	zù	vagina	RBJ-KLS:17

## (77) \*dzyuk ≈ \*tsyuk MOUTH / LIP / VULVA

This etymon ranges semantically between VAGINA/VULVA and MOUTH/LIP. Reflexes with the latter meanings are assembled separately below as (77b) \*tsyuk MOUTH / LIP. Another root with similar semantic range is (78) \*tsiŋ ≈ \*tsik VAGINA [q.v.].

This etymon is well-attested in Burmish, with good-looking but scattered cognates in Loloish, Kamarupan, and Himalayish. It seems best to reconstruct this root with a palatal (rather than dental) affricate, as demonstrated in Matisoff 1969.<sup>7</sup> Some reflexes of this etymon are cited in Bauer's far-ranging article (Bauer, R. 1991. "Sino-Tibetan \*vulva", *LTBA* 14.1:147-172).

See *HPTB* \*dzyuk, p. 66.

## (77a) \*dzyuk ≈ \*tsyuk VULVA

1.3. Naga			
Chang	su·k	vulva	STC:53n178
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Kanauri	tsũk shi	copulate	JAM-Ety
6. Lolo-Burmese			
*Lolo-Burmese	*džuk	vulva	STC:53n178
6.1. Burmish			
Achang (Xiandao)	cu? <sup>55</sup>	vagina	DQ-Xiandao:143
Bola	tʃau? <sup>31</sup>	vagina	DQ-Bola:143
Burmese (Written)	cok	vagina; female private parts (vulg.)	JAM-Ety; PKB-WBRD

<sup>7</sup>"Lahu and Proto-Lolo-Burmese." Cf. the discussion in *STC*, n. 178 (p. 53).

## V. Vagina

	<b>cok-ce'</b>	vagina	JAM-Ety
	<b>cok-khôŋ</b>	female urethra	JAM-Ety
	<b>cok-khyê</b>	vagina	JAM-Ety
	<b>cok-pat</b>	vagina	JAM-Ety
	<b>cok-phut</b>	vagina	JAM-Ety
	<b>tsauk</b>	vulva	STC:53n178
Hpun (Northern)	<b>sóʔ</b>	vagina	EJAH-Hpun
	<b>zùʔ-mà</b>	vagina / vulva	EJAH-Hpun
Lashi	<b>tʃuʔ<sup>31</sup></b>	genitalia / pudenda	DQ-Lashi:10.1
	<b>tʃuʔ<sup>31</sup> mou<sup>55</sup></b>	female pubic hair	DQ-Lashi:10.4.5
Maru [Langsu]	<b>džok</b>	vulva	STC:53n178
	<b>tʃauk<sup>31</sup></b>	genitalia / pudenda	DQ-Langsu:10.1
	<b>tʃauk<sup>31</sup> muk<sup>55</sup></b>	female pubic hair	DQ-Langsu:10.4.5
Atsi [Zaiwa]	<b>džúʔ</b>	vulva	STC:53n178
6.2. Loloish			
Nasu	<b>tʃo<sup>21</sup> pi<sup>21</sup></b>	vagina	CK-YiQ:10.4.1

(77b)

**\*tsyuk**

**MOUTH / LIP**

This is undoubtedly the same etymon as (77a) **\*dzyuk** ≈ **\*tsyuk** VULVA, with obvious semantic connections. Reflexes with meanings like MOUTH or LIP have so far been found in Kamarupan (including Barish [Atong] and the outlying Sulung language), Himalayish (including Bodic [Tshona] and Kiranti), and Burmese (which has homophonous forms with both the VAGINA and MOUTH meanings).

### 1.1. North Assam

Sulung                      **ɕək<sup>33</sup>**                      mouth                      SHK-Sulung

### 1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish

Atong                      ku-**cuk**                      mouth                      JAM-Ety

### 2.1.2. Bodic

Tshona (Wenlang)                      **tɕ<sup>h</sup>uŋ<sup>55</sup> min<sup>55</sup>**                      lip                      JZ-CNMenba

### 2.3. Mahakiranti

\*Kiranti                      **\*cok siŋ**                      lip                      BM-PK7:108

8

### 2.3.2. Kiranti

Bantawa                      **do si ja**                      lip                      JAM-Ety

Dumi                      **Do si wa**                      lip                      NKR-Bant

Dumi                      **kəm tsok si**                      lips (human); mouth

(buccal cavity)

and lips; beak,

bill

**tsok si**                      lip                      BM-PK7:108; SVD-Dum

### 6.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)                      **ʔa-cok**                      bottom of mouth                      JAM-Ety

<sup>8</sup>These Kiranti forms demonstrate the independence of the present etymon from (79) **\*siŋ** ≈ **\*sik** MOUTH / LIP.

## (78) \*tsiŋ ≈ \*tsik VAGINA

This etymon is also best attested in Himalayish, with some support from Kamarupan, and perhaps from Qiangic.

For the moment it seems best to keep this set of forms distinct from (79) \*siŋ ≈ \*sik MOUTH / LIP. In spite of the plausible phonosemantic association between these etyma, the reflexes are different in languages like Garo (Bangladesh), Kokborok, Bahing, Bantawa, and Chepang [qq.v.].

Evidence for a final velar consonant comes from Barish (especially Lalung), Hayu, and Kanauri.

Complicating the picture is the fact that in some languages the putative cognate is an open syllable that occurs as the second element of compounds with (85) \*pu VAGINA or (81) \*b(y)at VAGINA. In such forms, it is possible that the second syllable may actually represent PTB (H:206) \*sey FRUIT / ROUND OBJECT. (Cf. e.g. Bantawa **si** ‘bear fruit’, Newar **maa-si** ‘vagina; breast; milk’, **si** ‘morpheme in fruit names’.)

## 1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish

Garo (Bangladesh)	<b>si</b>	vagina	RB-GB	
	<b>si'</b>	vagina	RB-GB	
	<b>si'-i</b>	vagina	RB-GB	
Kokborok	<b>ši-pa?</b>	vagina	PT-Kok	
Lalung	<b>she?</b>	vagina	MB-Lal:63	
2.1.1. Western Himalayish				
Kanauri	<b>shik ts</b>	vagina	JAM-Ety	9
2.1.4. Tamangic				
Chantyal	<b>ti si</b>	clitoris	NPB-ChanQ:10.4.4	
Tamang (Risiangku)	<sup>1</sup> pit <b>si</b>	vagina	MM-TamRisQ:10.4.1	
Tamang (Sahu)	<sup>1</sup> pi- <b>ci</b>	vagina	JAM-Ety	
2.2. Newar				
Newar (Dolakhali)	<b>pi ci</b>	breast, milk; (euph.) vagina	CG-Dolak	
2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepang-Sunwar				
Kham	<b>ti si:</b>	clitoris	DNW-KhamQ	
2.3.2. Kiranti				
Bahing	<b>pi-si</b>	vagina	JAM-Ety	
Bantawa	<b>phu ci</b>	vagina; vulva; vagina (baby talk)	NKR-Bant; WW-Bant:60	
Hayu	<b>phu ci dhü</b>	vagina	WW-Bant:60	
	<b>pu-tsiŋ</b>	vagina	JAM-Ety	10
Yakha	<b>pu tshi</b>	vagina	BM-Hay:84.189	
	<b>si:</b>	vagina	TK-Yakha:10.4.1	

<sup>9</sup>Notice the reduction of the vowel to zero in the second syllable.

<sup>10</sup>Note the variation between final velar nasal and zero-final in the Hayu forms. See also the similar Hayu reflexes of (79) \*siŋ ≈ \*sik MOUTH / LIP.

## 3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Yadu)

p<sup>h</sup>oŋ

vagina

DQ-QiangN:146

11

(79)

**\*siŋ** ≈ **\*sik****MOUTH / LIP**

This etymon is best attested in Himalayish, with some support also from Kamarupan and Luish, and perhaps Qiangic and/or WB. The reflexes have either simple sibilant or affricate initials. I presume the proto-initial to have been *\*s-*, in view of the natural tendency to develop secondary affrication before *-i-*.

It is very possible that this etymon belongs together with (78) **\*tsiŋ** ≈ **\*tsik** VAGINA (previous etymon), in a single word-family, in view of the similar semantic range of (77) **\*dzyuk** ≈ **\*tsyuk** MOUTH / LIP / VULVA.

A particularly interesting form is Newar **mhu tu si**, where **mhu tu** means ‘mouth’, and **si** means ‘corner (of the mouth)’. The basic meaning of **si** is ‘border, margin, bank’, as in **khu-si** ‘riverbank’, **mi-kha-pu-si** ‘eyebrow’ (K. P. Malla, p.c.). Thus Newar **si** has nothing to do with the present etymon.

## 1.1. North Assam

Milang

caŋ-**ci**  
**cip-pa**mouth  
beak / billAT-MPB  
AT-MPB

12

## 1.3. Naga

Rengma  
Rongmei  
Semameng **si**  
**ci**  
a ki **chi**lip  
lip  
mouthGEM-CNL  
GEM-CNL  
GEM-CNL

## 1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish

Garo  
Garo (Bangladesh)ku-**sik**  
ku'-**sik**mouth  
mouth; language;  
opening (e.g. of a  
pot)JAM-Ety  
RB-GB

Kokborok

k<sup>h</sup>oʔ-**či**

lip

PT-Kok

## 2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Central)

lep **chi**

lip

SER-HSL/T:32 14

## 2.1.4. Tamangic

Manang (Gyaru)  
Manang (Prakaa)suŋ<sup>2</sup> man<sup>2</sup> **ji**<sup>2</sup>  
<sup>2</sup>mā **ci**lip  
lipYN-Man:011  
HM-Prak:0010

## 2.3. Mahakiranti

\*Kiranti

\*cok **siŋ**  
\***siŋ** (?\*ciŋ)lip  
lipBM-PK7:108  
BM-PK7:107

13

<sup>11</sup>The final consonant in this form looks like the fused initial consonant of the second syllable of an original compound, descended from the current etymon. (Compare, e.g. the Bantawa, Hayu, and Tamang compounds.) Fusion of compounds into monosyllables is a striking characteristic of the Qiangic languages. See, e.g., Benedict 1983, “Qiang monosyllabization: a third phase in the cycle”, *LTBA* 7.2:113-4.

<sup>12</sup>The labial stop in the first syllable is evidently due to assimilation to the suffix.

<sup>13</sup>These Kiranti forms demonstrate the independence the present etymon from (77b) **\*tsyuk** MOUTH / LIP.

2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar			
Chepeng (Eastern)	səyk	beak / bill	RC-ChepQ:3.9.3
2.3.2. Kiranti			
Bahing	soe goe loe	mouth	BM-Bah
	sœ	mouth	BM-PK7:121
Bantawa	do si ja	lip	JAM-Ety
	Do si wa	lip	NKR-Bant
Dumi	kəm tsok si	lips (human); mouth (buccal cavity) and lips; beak, bill	SVD-Dum
	tsok si	lip	BM-PK7:108; SVD-Dum
Hayu	kum dzuŋ	lip	BM-Hay:84.244
	kum tshij	lip	JAM-Ety
	kum tsij	lip	BM-PK7:107,122
	tak sij	skin	BM-Hay:84.246
Limbu	si daŋ ba	mouth	BM-PK7:121
	wɔ se	lip	BM-Lim
Thulung	si	mouth; beak; edge (of basket); entry (of bridge)	BM-PK7:121; NJA-Thulung
	si kok te	lip	NJA-Thulung
	sī ko ka? te	lip	JAM-Ety
	si seom	moustache	NJA-Thulung
	si syom a	moustache	JAM-Ety
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu (Central)	sɿ <sup>55</sup> mpha <sup>55</sup> ndzo <sup>55</sup> pi <sup>55</sup>	lip	SHK-ErsCQ 14
Namuyi	sɿ <sup>55</sup> npha <sup>55</sup>	mouth	SHK-ErsCQ
	mi <sup>33</sup> mp <sup>h</sup> sɿ <sup>55</sup>	mouth	SHK-NamuQ:3.7
	mp <sup>h</sup> sɿ <sup>55</sup> fi <sup>33</sup> qu <sup>55</sup>	lip	SHK-NamuQ:3.9
4. Jingpho-Nung-Luish			
Sak	áng-sí	mouth	JAM-Ety
	ang-sy	mouth	JAM-Ety
Sak (Bawtala)	aŋ <sup>3</sup> sv <sup>3</sup>	mouth	GHL-PPB:K.54
6.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	nut-sî	beak / bill	JAM-Ety

## (80) \*tsyin VAGINA / CLITORIS / MOUTH / LIP

This etymon, with final dental nasal, seems so far to be relatively rare; yet its occurrence in widely separated languages like Jingpho, Meithei, and Chepeng require us to set it up for PTB. Like the previous three etyma, (77) \*dzyuk ≈ \*tsyuk MOUTH / LIP / VULVA, (79) \*sij ≈ \*sik MOUTH / LIP, (78) \*tsij ≈ \*tsik VAGINA, the semantic range of the present etymon includes both VAGINA and MOUTH/LIP; but all of these etyma, despite their phonosemantic similarity, may well be independent.

<sup>14</sup>sɿ<sup>55</sup> mpha<sup>55</sup> ‘mouth’ + ndzo<sup>55</sup> pi<sup>55</sup> ‘skin’.

## V. Vagina

### 1.4. Meithei

Meithei	<b>chim</b> ban	lip	GEM-CNL	15
	<b>chin</b>	mouth	GEM-CNL	
	<b>chin</b> bân	lip	JAM-Ety	
	<b>cin</b>	mouth	CYS-Meithei:3.7	
	<b>cin</b> ban	lip	CYS-Meithei:3.9	
	mə <b>cin</b>	beak / bill	CYS-Meithei:3.9.3	

### 2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar

Chepeng (Eastern)	<b>cin</b>	clitoris	RC-ChepQ:10.4.4
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### 4.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	<b>jìn</b>	vagina	JAM-Ety	
	<b>jìn</b> -bāw	nymphae clitoris	JAM-Ety	
	<b>jìn</b> -dì	vagina	JAM-Ety	
	<b>jìn</b> -hkū	vaginal canal	JAM-Ety	16
	<b>jìn</b> -hkyí	mucus of vagina	JAM-Ety	17
	<b>jìn</b> -kāu	orifice of vagina	JAM-Ety	
	<b>jìn</b> -mūn	female pubic hair	JAM-Ety	
	<b>jìn</b> -sìn	nymphae clitoris	JAM-Ety	18
	<b>jìn</b> -tī	labia pudenda	JAM-Ety	

(81)

**\*b(y)at**

**VAGINA**

This root is quite widely distributed in TB, appearing in Kamarupan, Himalayish, Lolo-Burmese (including Jinuo), and Bai. It was reconstructed as PLB **\*b(y)et** in Matisoff 1972a #5 and *HPTB* p. 375, but that has been revised here to **\*b(y)at** to accommodate those reflexes that have **-a-** vocalism (e.g. WB, Kokborok, Bunan). Bradley's (1979) PLB reconstruction without medial glide, **\*bat**, does not account for certain Loloish reflexes with front vowels (e.g. Lahu **cha-pèʔ**, since the regular Lahu reflex of **\*-at** is **-eʔ**). Bauer 1991 (*LTBA* 14.1) treats this etymon as part of a binome **\*dzu(k)-byet** (see (77a) **\*dzyuk** ≈ **\*tsyuk** VULVA for the first element), and adduces parallels in Hmong-Mien languages and Chinese. Benedict (1990) hypothesizes a "Proto-Austro-Kadai" binome **\*tu-pi** (for the first element see (76) **\*s-tu** ≈ **\*tsu** VAGINA). These freewheeling proposals remain to be evaluated by future generations. There does not seem to be any connection between this etymon and (85) **\*pu** VAGINA, which is confined mostly to Himalayish, and whose reflexes have back vowels.

The Bai forms listed below may well be loans from Chinese.

K. P. Malla suggests that the first syllable of Newar (Dolakhali) **pi-ci** 'vagina' really means 'breast' (see Kathmandu Newar **pi-si** 'breast' under (74) **\*pi** ≈ **\*bi** ROUNDED PART / NIPPLE / FOREHEAD / SHOULDER above), but can be used euphemistically to mean 'vagina'. In the other Himalayish forms cited here, however, this morpheme does definitely seem to mean 'vagina'.

<sup>15</sup>Note the optional assimilation of the final consonant of the first syllable to the initial consonant of the second.

<sup>16</sup>These Jingpho forms seem to reflect an open-syllable allofam **\*ku**.

<sup>17</sup>The second element means 'excrement'.

<sup>18</sup>Literally "heart of vulva".



## V. Vagina

Akha	a-beh L-LS a <sub>˩</sub> beh <sub>˩</sub>	vulva vulva (impolite child's term)	JAM-TSR:5 JAM-Ety
Bisu	tə pé	vulva	PB-Bisu:16
Gazhuo	pi <sup>21</sup> pi <sup>53</sup> mɛ <sup>33</sup>	genitalia / pudenda	DQ-Gazhuo:10.1
*Common Lahu	*peh <sub>˩</sub>	vulva	DB-PLolo:123
Lahu (Black)	cha(-pè?) pè?	vagina; vulva be horny, randy	JAM-Ety; JAM-TSR:5 JAM-DL:p. 856
Lipho	tu <sup>55</sup> bi <sup>21</sup>	vagina	CK-YiQ:10.4.1
Lisu	tu <sup>1</sup> -bi <sup>6</sup>	vagina; vulva	JAM-Ety; JAM-TSR:5
Lisu (Central)	tu <sup>1</sup> -bi <sup>6</sup>	vagina	JF-HLL
Lisu	tu <sup>1</sup> bi <sup>6</sup>	vulva	DB-PLolo:123
Lisu (Northern)	tə <sup>55</sup> bi <sup>21</sup>	pudenda	DB-Lisu
Lolopho	tv <sup>55</sup> bi <sup>31</sup>	vagina	DQ-Lolopho:10.4.1
Mpi	to <sup>2</sup> phe <sup>2</sup>	vagina	SD-MPD
Nasu	tʂo <sup>21</sup> pi <sup>21</sup>	vagina	CK-YiQ:10.4.1
Nesu	pi <sup>55</sup> pi <sup>55</sup> nu <sup>33</sup>	vagina female pubic hair	CK-YiQ:10.4.1 CK-YiQ:10.4.5
Noesu	pe <sup>33</sup> pe <sup>33</sup> ɬ <sup>33</sup>	vagina copulate	CK-YiQ:10.4.1 CK-YiQ:10.2
Sani [Nyi]	pæ <sup>55</sup>  pæ <sup>55</sup> no <sup>44</sup> pɛ <sup>55</sup>	vagina  female pubic hair vulva, female geni- tals	CK-YiQ:10.4.1; MXL-SaniQ:303.4 CK-YiQ:10.4.5 YHJC-Sani
Phunoi	pe <sup>55</sup> qhr <sup>33</sup>	copulate	YHJC-Sani
Yi (Southern)	pə̀ tò pi <sup>55</sup>	vulva vulva	JAM-Ety RSB-STV
6.4. Jinuo			
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	tso <sup>55</sup> pɛ <sup>55</sup>	vagina	DQ-JinA:146
8. Bai			
Bai	pi <sup>44</sup> pi <sup>44</sup> ma <sup>21</sup> pi <sup>44</sup> ma <sup>21</sup> tsɿ <sup>33</sup> pi <sup>44</sup> ɕi <sup>55</sup> tu <sup>21</sup> pi <sup>44</sup> ʔui <sup>33</sup>	vulva / labia female pubic hair female pubic hair clitoris vagina	ZYS-Bai:10.4.2 ZYS-Bai:10.4.5 ZYS-Bai:10.4.5 ZYS-Bai:10.4.4 ZYS-Bai:10.4.1

## Chinese comparandum

According to H. Stimson 1966,<sup>23</sup> the taboo word 屌 (Mand. **bī**) does not appear in dictionaries until the 17th century. Benedict 1988<sup>24</sup> posits OC \*b'iět, underlying such modern dialect forms as Hakka **piet**<sup>8</sup> and Min Kienyang **pie**<sup>7</sup>. This Chinese word may well be the source of the Baic and some of the Loloish forms listed above.

[JAM]

Chinese dialect forms of this word point to both open and closed-syllable ancestral forms, for example Schuessler 2007:161 notes Amoy (= Xiamen) **tsi**<sup>A1</sup>-**pai**<sup>A2</sup>. This sug-

<sup>23</sup>Hugh Stimson, "A taboo word in the Peking dialect" (*Language* 42.2:285-294). Cited in Bauer 1991:150.

<sup>24</sup>Untitled manuscript circulated as a handout at ICSTLL #21, Lund, Sweden.



gests early Chinese variants \*pe and \*pet, the latter of which corresponds well to PTB \*byat. (For the correspondence between OC \*e and PTB \*ya, cf. ‘eight’ 八 OC \*pret (Baxter), PTB \*b-ryat.) However Schuessler believes that this word is derived from ‘to open’ (PST \*pe), with the addition of \*-t marking “nouns of naturally occurring objects”. See Schuessler 2007:161, 414. This hypothesis could also explain the etymology of the PTB etymon under discussion here.

[ZJH]

## (82) \*hay ≈ \*kay VAGINA

This root is fairly well attested in Kamarupan, appearing in three sub-branches: Barish (Meche), Naga (Tangkhul), and Mru (Mruic), and apparently also in Himalayish. The alternation between h- and k- is paralleled in a number of other etyma, including STEAL \*hu ≈ \*r-ku, ROLL \*hil ≈ \*kil, HIDE \*hway ≈ \*kway, GAG/CHOKER \*hak ≈ \*kak, EARTH \*ha ≈ \*r-ka, (150) LOVE/COPULATE \*huŋ ≈ \*kuŋ. See Matisoff 1997<sup>25</sup> and *HPTB* p. 57.

## 1.3. Naga

Tangkhul	hai khur	vulva	JAM-Ety	
	hai ra	semen	JAM-Ety	26
	hay(-khur)	vulva	JAM-GSTC:184	

## 1.6. Mru

Mru	kai	vagina; vulva	JAM-Ety; JAM-GSTC:184	
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## 1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish

Meche	ki tu?	vagina	AW-TBT:62	
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## 2.3.2. Kiranti

Limbu	hi-rā	vulva	JAM-Ety; JAM-GSTC:184	27
	hi-rā-hong	vagina	JAM-Ety; JAM-GSTC:184	28
	hi-rā-mu-rik	female pubic hair	JAM-Ety	
	hi ra	vagina	BM-Lim	

## (83) \*tsya VAGINA / COPULATE

This etymon is so far sparsely attested, with the best putative cognates occurring in Loloish (Lahu, Jinuo), Chin (Lakher), and perhaps West Himalayish (Pattani).

## 1.2. Kuki-Chin

Lakher [Mara]	cha nô-tao	copulate	JAM-Ety	
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<sup>25</sup>“Primary and secondary laryngeal initials in Tibeto-Burman.”

<sup>26</sup>This certainly looks like a case of “genital flipflop”, i.e. semen is viewed as “vagina-semen”, since that is its destination. See (157) \*ra ≈ \*wa SEMEN.

<sup>27</sup>The first syllable hi- is a lookalike of the vulgar Siamese word hīi.

<sup>28</sup>The last syllable means ‘hole’ (see (92) \*hoŋ VAGINA / RECTUM / HOLE, below). See G. van Driem, *A Grammar of Limbu* (1987), p. 426.

## V. Vagina

	<b>cha</b> -ku	copulate	JAM-Ety	
2.1.1. Western Himalayish				
Pattani [Manchati]	tsek <b>tsa</b>	clitoris	STP-ManQ:10.4.4	29
2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepang-Sunwar				
Kham	<b>ca</b> kə	vagina	DNW-KhamQ	30
6.2. Loloish				
Lahu (Black)	<b>cha</b> pàʔ ve	copulate with a woman	JAM-DL:517,814	
	<b>cha</b> thû	feel sexual desire (woman); lubricate	JAM-DL:681	
	<b>cha</b> (-pèʔ)	vagina; vulva	JAM-Ety; JAM-TSR:5	
	<b>cha</b> -cú-ni	clitoris	JAM-DL:517	31
	<b>cha</b> -mu	female pubic hair	JAM-Ety	
	<b>cha</b> -mê	labia	JAM-Ety	32
	<b>cha</b> -yì	vaginal secretion	JAM-Ety	
6.4. Jinuo				
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	<b>tso</b> <sup>55</sup> pɛ <sup>55</sup>	vagina	DQ-JinA:146	

(84)

**\*li-n**

**VAGINA**

This root is confined mostly to Karenic, with possible cognates in Kamarupan and Himalayish. The Lotha form with nasal prefix makes this root look very much like (114a) **\*m-ley** ≈ **\*m-li** PENIS, suggesting that this might be yet another example of “genital flipflop” (see Benedict 1979, *LTBA* 5.1). For the moment, I regard the final nasal in some Karenic forms as suffixal.

### 1.3. Naga

Lotha Naga	<b>Nre</b>	vagina	VN-LothQ:10.4.1
	<b>Nre</b> hum	female pubic hair	VN-LothQ:10.4.5

### 2.1.5. Dhimal

Dhimal	<b>li</b>	vagina	JK-Dh
	<b>li</b> muĩ	woman's pubic hair	JK-Dh

### 2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepang-Sunwar

Kham	pə <b>re:</b>	vagina	DNW-KhamQ
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### 2.3.2. Kiranti

Bantawa	phu <b>ri</b>	vagina	NKR-Bant
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### 7. Karenic

*Karen (Pho)	* <b>lén'</b>	vagina	RBJ-KLS:17
*Karen (Sgaw)	* <b>li</b>	vagina	RBJ-KLS:17

<sup>29</sup>The second syllable bears a resemblance to (90) **\*tsaŋ** CLITORIS (below), but the usual Pattani reflex of **\*-aŋ** is **-aŋ** (e.g. **hraŋ** ‘horse’ < (H:267) **\*s-raŋ**; **maŋ-api** ‘dream’ < (H:268) **\*maŋ**).

<sup>30</sup>The analysis here is tentative.

<sup>31</sup>Literally “vagina-nipple”. The last syllable probably means ‘red’. Cf. also Lahu **ha-cú-ni** ‘uvula’ (lit. “tongue-nipple”).

<sup>32</sup>The second syllable means “lip”.

*Karen	*ljén'	vagina	RBJ-KLS:17
*Karen (TP)	*ljén'	vagina	RBJ-KLS:17
*Karen (Pho-Sgaw)	*ljì	vagina	RBJ-KLS:17
Bwe (Western)	li <sup>2</sup>	vagina	GHL-PPB:I.192
Geba	ɑ <sup>2</sup> li <sup>2</sup>	vagina	GHL-PPB:I.192
Pa-O	lín	vagina	JAM-Ety; RBJ-KLS:17
Pa-O (Northern)	lin <sup>2</sup>	vagina	GHL-PPB:I.192
Pho (Delta)	lē <sup>1</sup>	vagina	GHL-PPB:I.192
Pho (Tenasserim)	lē <sup>4</sup>	vagina	GHL-PPB:I.192
Pho (Bassein)	lén?	vagina	JAM-Ety; RBJ-KLS:17
Pho (Moulmein)	lén	vagina	JAM-Ety; RBJ-KLS:17
Paku	li <sup>3</sup>	vagina	GHL-PPB:I.192
Sgaw	li <sup>6</sup>	vagina	GHL-PPB:I.192
Sgaw (Bassein)	lì	vagina	JAM-Ety; RBJ-KLS:17
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	li <sup>33</sup>	vagina	DQ-KarenB:146
Sgaw (Moulmein)	lì	vagina	JAM-Ety; RBJ-KLS:17

## (85)

## \*pu

## VAGINA

This root appears mostly in Himalayish, with a possible cognate from Qiangic. The second syllable of Mikir **mak-phu** ‘mons Veneris’ seems unrelated. In view of the gloss it probably means something like ‘swelling; protuberance’. It bears a resemblance to other reflexes of the well-attested root **\*bwam** ≈ **\*pwam** PLUMP / SWOLLEN (*STC* #172; *HPTB* pp. 249, 252, 341, 518).

## 2.1.4. Tamangic

Chantyal	ku <b>pu</b>	vagina	NPB-ChanQ:10.4.1	33
	ku <b>pu</b> -ye gala	vulva / labia	NPB-ChanQ:10.4.2	

## 2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar

Kham	<b>pə</b> re:	vagina	DNW-KhamQ
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## 2.3.2. Kiranti

Bantawa	<b>phu</b> ci	vagina; vulva; vagina (baby talk)	NKR-Bant; WW-Bant:60
	<b>phu</b> ci dhü	vagina	WW-Bant:60
	<b>phu</b> ri	vagina	NKR-Bant
	Hayu	<b>pu</b> -tsing	vagina
	<b>pu</b> tshi	vagina	BM-Hay:84.189

## 3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Yadu)	<b>p<sup>h</sup>o</b> ʂ	vagina	DQ-QiangN:146	34
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## (86)

## \*mo

## VAGINA

This root is confined strictly to the Naga branch of Kamarupan with the meaning VAGINA. Several of the reflexes in this set resemble forms that have been assigned to (123)

<sup>33</sup>The last element means ‘cheek’; **-ye** is a genitive marker. The compound means “vagina’s cheeks”.

<sup>34</sup>The final consonant in this form looks like the fused initial consonant of the second syllable of an original compound. See (78) **\*tsinj** ≈ **\*tsik** VAGINA, above.

## V. Vagina

\***ma:k** PENIS / MALE / SON-IN-LAW; GENITALS / VAGINA [q.v.], a root which also has several reflexes that mean ‘vagina’.

### 1.2. Kuki-Chin

Liangmei	<b>ka-mo</b>	vagina	AW-TBT:474
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### 1.3. Naga

Angami Naga	<sup>5</sup> u <sup>2</sup> <b>mie</b>	vagina	AW-TBT:474	35
Angami (Kohima)	(u) <b>mie</b> <sup>31</sup>	vagina	VN-AngQ:10.4.1	
Khezha	<sup>1</sup> e <sup>2</sup> <b>mo</b>	vagina	AW-TBT:474	
Mao	<sup>2</sup> o <sup>5</sup> <b>mo</b>	vagina	AW-TBT:474	
Rengma (Southern)	<sup>5</sup> a <sup>1</sup> <b>mo</b>	vagina	AW-TBT:474	
Rongmei	<b>mæu</b>	vagina	AW-TBT:474	
Sema	<sup>1</sup> a <sup>1</sup> <b>mo</b>	vagina	AW-TBT:474	
Zeme	<sup>1</sup> pe <sup>5</sup> <b>mu</b>	vagina	AW-TBT:474	

(87)

\***tsyum**

VAGINA / COPULATE

This etymon has been found in a few Himalayish languages (Bantawa, Lepcha, Tamang, and perhaps Newar), as well as in Kamarupan. The basic meaning seems to be ‘come together’. There is a perfect fit between the Mikir and Lepcha forms. The analysis of the Mikir form is as follows: **i** ‘sleep’ + **rap** ‘befriend; be together’ (see (151) \***l(y)ap** ≈ \***l(y)am** ≈ \***rap** COPULATE / LOVE / GET TOGETHER) + **chom** ‘suffix indicating action performed together’ (Walker 1925:37).

### 1.3. Naga

Tangkhul	kha ŋa <b>shām</b>	copulate	JAM-Ety
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### 1.5. Mikir

Mikir	i rap- <b>chom</b>	copulate	JAM-Ety
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### 2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	<b>č’o</b>	harmonize; be congruous with	GBM-Lepcha:92	
	<b>č’o da</b>	lie together	GBM-Lepcha:92	36
	<b>č’om</b>	have carnal connection with women	GBM-Lepcha:92	

### 2.1.4. Tamangic

Tamang (Risiangku)	<sup>2</sup> tsjum ʈu	vagina, vulva	MM-TamRisQ:10.4.4
Tamang (Sahu)	<sup>2</sup> cjum-ʈu	vagina	JAM-Ety

### 2.2. Newar

Newar (Dolakhali)	<b>cũ</b>	vagina / breast / milk	CG-Dolak	37
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<sup>35</sup>The first syllable is a general body-part prefix in Angami. The vowel of <sup>2</sup>**mie** seems an unlikely reflex of \*-**o**; yet the alternative of assigning this form to (123) \***ma:k** PENIS / MALE / SON-IN-LAW; GENITALS / VAGINA seems no better, since the regular Angami reflex of \*-**ak** seems to be -**o** (e.g. WEAVE \***dak** > Ang. **do**; ANT \*-**rwak** > Ang. **cho**).

<sup>36</sup>The last element **da** is a reflexive morpheme; cf. Lahu **dà?** < PTB \***m-dak**. See *HPTB* pp. 318, 320.

<sup>37</sup>Although this Newar form resembles reflexes of (56) \***dz(y)əw** MILK / BREAST (q.v.), the nasalization of the vowel leads me to include it in the present set.

2.3.2. Kiranti			
Bantawa	sen com	vagina	NKR-Bant

## (88) \*wen VAGINA

This is a speculative root, occurring only in Mikir, Tangut, and Bai.

1.5. Mikir			
Mikir	ven-the wen the	vagina vagina	JAM-Ety KHG-Mikir:217
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	tu wə <sup>1</sup>	vagina?	MVS-Grin 38
8. Bai			
Bai	pɿ <sup>44</sup> ʔuɿ <sup>33</sup>	vagina	ZYS-Bai:10.4.1

## (89) \*seŋ VAGINA

This root, though so far sparsely attested, seems certainly to occur in three separate branches of TB: Kamarupan (Meithei), Himalayish (Bantawa), and Lolo-Burmese (Ugong), and perhaps in Baic as well.

1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	seŋ bi	clitoris	CYS-Meithei:10.4.4
2.3.2. Kiranti			
Bantawa	sen com	vagina	NKR-Bant
6.2. Loloish			
Ugong	seŋ kəŋ seŋ ʔa le	vagina clitoris	DB-Ugong:10.4.1 DB-Ugong:10.4.4
8. Bai			
Bai	pɿ <sup>44</sup> ʔɿ <sup>55</sup> tu <sup>21</sup>	clitoris	ZYS-Bai:10.4.4

## (90) \*tsaŋ CLITORIS

This root apparently occurs in three branches of TB: Kamarupan (Mikir), Himalayish (Limbu), and Lolo-Burmese (Bisu), with the consistent meaning of CLITORIS.

1.5. Mikir			
Mikir	ing chàŋ	clitoris	KHG-Mikir:19
2.3.2. Kiranti			
Limbu	nāp-coŋ nep caŋ	clitoris clitoris	JAM-Ety SVD-LimA:478

<sup>38</sup>According to M. V. Sofronov 1978, there is some doubt as to the exact meaning of the Tangut graph he reconstructs here.

	nEp tsəŋ	clitoris	BM-Lim	39
6.2. Loloish				
Bisu	tə tshìŋ	clitoris	PB-Bisu:13	

## (91) \*s-ti ≈ \*m-ti CLITORIS / VAGINA / NIPPLE

This root is quite well attested, appearing in Kamarupan, Himalayish, Jingpho, Qiangic, Bai, and Tujia, mostly with the meaning CLITORIS, sometimes VAGINA.

The Qiangic forms (Mawo, NW rGyalrong, and N. rGyalrong) point to Proto-Qiangic \*s/m-dzi-s/k, i.e. a prototype with affricated root-initial, either a sibilant or nasal prefix, and either a sibilant or velar suffix. Chantyal (Tamangic) **ti si** and Kham **ti si:** are borrowings from Nepali (M. Mazaudon, p.c. 2008).

1.1. North Assam				
Darang [Taraon]	a:-teb	vagina	JAM-Ety	40
1.5. Mikir				
Mikir	ven-the wen the	vagina vagina	JAM-Ety KHG-Mikir:217	
1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish				
Garo (Bangladesh)	ro'ng-ti pi'-sa sok-kit-ti	clitoris nipple	RB-GB RB-GB	41
Lalung	khin di	clitoris	MB-Lal:14	
2.3.2. Kiranti				
Limbu	ne:t ti	clitoris	SVD-LimA:p. 477	
3.1. Tangut				
Tangut [Xixia]	tɪ wə <sup>1</sup>	vagina?	MVS-Grin	42
3.2. Qiangic				
Qiang (Mawo)	khə sti k <sup>h</sup> æ sti	clitoris clitoris	JS-Mawo SHK-MawoQ:10.4.4	
3.3. rGyalrongic				
rGyalrong (NW)	tə mdzis	clitoris	SHK-rGNWQ:10.4.4	
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə mdzək	clitoris	SHK-rGNQ:10.4.4	
4.1. Jingpho				
Jingpho	jìn-dì jìn-tī	vagina labia pudenda	JAM-Ety JAM-Ety	
5. Tujia				
Tujia	t <sup>h</sup> e <sup>21</sup>	vagina	CK-TujBQ:10.4.1	

<sup>39</sup>PTB \*-aŋ seems to yield Limbu -o(:)ŋ in other cases, e.g. BORN (21) \*braŋ BORN / BIRTH > Lb. *po:ŋ-ma?*.

<sup>40</sup>The final labial stop is unexplained.

<sup>41</sup>According to Burling (1992), the literal meaning of this word is “small stone”; it can also refer to the smaller of the two grindstones in a ricemill.

<sup>42</sup>According to M. V. Sofronov 1978 there is some doubt as to the exact meaning of the Tangut graph he reconstructs here.

## (93) \*gʉŋ ≈ \*kuŋ HOLE / ORIFICE / ROUNDED PART

	t <sup>h</sup> e <sup>35</sup>	vagina	CK-TujMQ:10.4.1
8. Bai			
Bai	p <sup>i</sup> <sup>44</sup> ɕi <sup>55</sup> tu <sup>21</sup>	clitoris	ZYS-Bai:10.4.4

## (92) \*hoŋ VAGINA / RECTUM / HOLE

This root has so far been uncovered only in a few widely separated languages, which paradoxically seems to assure that it can be reconstructed for PTB. The basic meaning seems to be HOLE/ORIFICE, which is the gloss of the Limbu cognate syllable in isolation.

This root may be allofamically related to (93) \*gʉŋ ≈ \*kuŋ HOLE / ORIFICE / ROUNDED PART.

The Mikir form **ke hot** is not related to this root; the morpheme **hot** is glossed as ‘niche, groove’ in Walker 1925, p. 57. Cf. Lahu **nī-qhè?** ‘penis’, where the second syllable means ‘notch (as a stick); chip; break off a piece’. The semantic association lies evidently in the notched appearance of the glans.

## 2.3.2. Kiranti

Limbu	hi-rā-hong	vagina	JAM-Ety; JAM-GSTC:184
	le hoŋ	hole of penis; <i>meatus urinarius</i>	JAM-Ety
	ne bo hoŋ	nostril	JAM-Ety
	nE bu hoŋ	nostril	BM-Lim
Yakha	na bu? ka: ɔ hoŋ	nostril	TK-Yakha:3.5.2

## 3.2. Qiangic

Shixing	qha <sup>55</sup> huŋ <sup>33</sup>	anus / rectum	SHK-ShixQ
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## 6.2. Loloish

Bisu	tə hoŋ	vagina	PB-Bisu:16
Ugong	hoŋ-dŭŋ-yé	placenta	DB-Ugong

## (93) \*gʉŋ ≈ \*kuŋ HOLE / ORIFICE / ROUNDED PART

This widespread etymon is similar to (94) \*kwar ≈ \*kor CONCAVITY / HOLE / EAR / VAGINA (below), in that it typically occurs as the second morpheme in binomes referring to orifices of the body, especially EAR, NOSTRIL, and ANUS; occasionally it occurs in compounds for VAGINA.

This etymon is certainly allofamically related to \*s-koŋ ≈ \*s-kok HOLLOW OBJECT/HEAD, as in the last syllable of, e.g. Lahu **ó-qō** ‘head’ < PLB \*b<sup>w</sup>u<sup>2</sup>-?goŋ<sup>2</sup>.

It is also very possible that it is allofamically related to (92) \*hoŋ VAGINA / RECTUM / HOLE. For remarks on velar/laryngeal interchange in TB, see (82) \*hay ≈ \*kay VAGINA above.

There are excellent Chinese comparanda: 空 [GSR 1172h] \*k’ung ‘hollow, empty’ and 孔 [GSR 1174a-b] \*k’ung ‘very, greatly; empty’. Another likely Chinese relative is

## V. Vagina

肛 ‘anus’, Mand. **gāng** (not in *GSR* series 1172), though this might fit better with **\*kaŋ** HIPS / BUTTOCKS; and/or **\*k(l)oŋ** BACKSIDE / BUTTOCKS / HIPS / ANUS. See ZJH’s discussion, below.

See *HPTB* **\*guŋ** ≈ **\*kuŋ**, pp. 285, 310; *PLB* **\*guŋ**<sup>2</sup> ≈ **\*kuŋ**<sup>2</sup>, p. 285.

### 0. Sino-Tibetan

*Tibeto-Burman	<b>*na kuŋ</b>	nostril	WTF-PNN:527
1.1. North Assam			
Apatani	rù-kó	hole	JS-Tani
Bengni	uŋ-ko:	hole	JS-Tani
1.3. Naga			
Konyak (Tamlu)	<b>goŋ-ka</b>	anus	AW-TBT:1
Rongmei	<b>nu kong</b>	ear	GEM-CNL
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	<b>na kong</b>	ear	GEM-CNL
	<b>nâ kông</b>	ear	JAM-Ety
	<b>na koŋ</b> nəp thi	earwax	CYS-Meithei:3.6.6
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tashigang	<b>khi-gaŋ</b>	anus ("feces-hole")	AW-TBT:1
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	<b>k<sup>h</sup>oŋ-wə</b>	hole (small)	JS-Amdo:367
	<b>k<sup>h</sup>əŋ</b>	hole	JS-Amdo:366
Tibetan (Batang)	<b>na<sup>55</sup> khō<sup>55</sup></b>	ear canal	DQ-Batang:3.6.4
Tibetan (Written)	<b>khung</b>	hole	JS-Tib:366
	<b>khung.bu</b>	hole (small)	JS-Tib:367
	<b>kuŋ</b>	hole	JAM-II
	<b>mig-khuŋ</b>	eyehole / eye socket	JAM-Ety
	<b>rna-kuŋ</b>	earhole	JAM-Ety
2.1.4. Tamangic			
*Tamang	<b>*khuŋ</b> <sup>2</sup>	hole	MM-K78:26
Gurung (Ghachok)	<b>k<sup>h</sup>ũq</b>	hole	SIL-Gur:5.A.62
	<b><sup>2</sup>khũ</b>	hole	MM-K78:26
Tamang (Sahu)	<b>na.'k<sup>h</sup>uŋ</b>	eyeball	SIL-Sahu:2.22
	<b><sup>2</sup>khuŋ</b>	hole	MM-K78:26
Thakali (Marpha)	<b><sup>2</sup>khuŋ</b>	hole	MM-K78:26
Thakali (Syang)	<b><sup>h</sup>khũŋ</b>	hole	MM-K78:26
Thakali (Tukche)	<b>kho toŋ</b>	hole	MM-K78:26
	<b>k<sup>h</sup>o toŋ</b>	hole	SIL-Thak:5.A.62
2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar			
Chepeng	<b>g<sup>h</sup>aŋ</b>	hole	SIL-Chepeng:5.A.62
	<b>por-g<sup>h</sup>aŋ</b>	anus / rectum	AW-TBT:1
	<b>por? g<sup>h</sup>aŋ</b>	anus	JAM-Ety
	<b>por?-g<sup>h</sup>aŋ</b>	anus / rectum	SIL-Chepeng:2.A.46
Chepeng (Eastern)	<b>no g<sup>h</sup>aŋ</b>	ear canal	RC-ChepengQ:3.6.4
	<b>por g<sup>h</sup>aŋ</b>	anus / rectum	RC-ChepengQ:9.12
Kham	<b>'ki kũ:</b>	anus / rectum	DNW-KhamQ:2.A.46
	<b>ki ku</b>	anus	JAM-Ety
2.3.2. Kiranti			
Kulung	<b>khu lum_</b>	hole (in the ground)	RPHH-Kul



3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu (Central)	htʃɛ <sup>55</sup> ku <sup>55</sup> nɑ <sup>55</sup> ku <sup>55</sup>	anus / rectum ear	SHK-ErsCQ SHK-ErsCQ
Qiang (Mawo)	nə ku nə kuə nə kuə ts <sup>h</sup> æ nʂə nə ku nə ku staba nə ku tsha χʂ ŋi <sup>31</sup> kie <sup>33</sup> ŋu k	ear ear earwax ear earlobe earwax ear ear	JZ-Qiang SHK-MawoQ:3.6 SHK-MawoQ:3.6.6 JS-Mawo JS-Mawo JZ-Qiang JZ-Qiang DQ-QiangN:107
Qiang (Taoping)			
Qiang (Yadu)			43
3.3. rGyalrongic			
rGyalrong (NW)	tə stə ku	vagina	SHK-rGNWQ:10.4.1
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə ʃtu k <sup>h</sup> uŋ du	vagina	SHK-rGNQ:10.4.1
4.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	jìn-hkū lədī hkū nā ləshîng hkū <sup>1</sup> daŋ <sup>2</sup> kaŋ- <sup>2</sup> khū	vaginal canal nostril earhole anus	JAM-Ety JAM-Ety JAM-Ety AW-TBT:1
6. Lolo-Burmese			
*Lolo-Burmese	*kuŋ <sup>1</sup>	hole in ground / pit	JAM-MLBM:2
6.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	na <sup>31</sup> ku <sup>31</sup>	ear	JZ-Achang
Burmese (Written)	hna-khôn khôn-	nose to be hollow; trough; canoe	JAM-II PKB-WBRD
Lashi	ə-khôn ʔə k <sup>h</sup> ôn tʃhə <sup>55</sup> khuŋ <sup>55</sup> tuaŋ <sup>33</sup>	hollow, cavity hollow / cavity anus / rectum	PKB-WBRD JAM-MLBM:3 DQ-Lashi:9.12
6.2. Loloish			
Hani (Pijo)	khú ò khú	hole hole	ILH-PL:554 ILH-PL:554
Hani (Khatu)	à khú khú	hole hole	ILH-PL:554 ILH-PL:554
Lahu (Black)	nā-qhə-qhə qhê-qhə qhê-qhə-dì qhê-qhə-pì qhê-tù-qhə ɔ <sup>21</sup> qhə <sup>33</sup> ə-q <sup>h</sup> ə tɕ <sup>h</sup> i <sup>21</sup> k <sup>h</sup> u <sup>55</sup> ʔna <sup>55</sup> k <sup>h</sup> u <sup>33</sup> k <sup>h</sup> u <sup>55</sup> dɿ <sup>55</sup>	nostril anus; buttock buttock buttock anus hole hole in ground, pit anus, rectum nostril	JAM-Ety JAM-Ety JAM-Ety JAM-Ety JAM-Ety ZMYC:34.33 JAM-MLBM:2 CK-YiQ:9.12 CK-YiQ:3.5.2
Lalo			
Lisu	e <sup>55</sup> khū <sup>44</sup> hhi <sup>5</sup> -hku <sup>4</sup> na <sup>1</sup> -paw <sup>3</sup> hku <sup>4</sup>	hole anus earhole	ZMYC:34.27 JAM-Ety JAM-Ety

<sup>43</sup>Note the radical reduction of the second element in the compound.<sup>44</sup>These Jingpho forms seem to reflect an open-syllable allofam \*ku.

## V. Vagina

Lisu (Northern) Mpi	tɔ <sup>55</sup> kh <sup>u</sup> 33 ʔa <sup>2</sup> -k <sup>h</sup> uŋ <sup>2</sup>	vagina; orifice cavity / hollow (as in tree, rock)	DB-Lisu JAM-MLBM:3
Nasu Ugong	ʔa <sup>2</sup> -k <sup>h</sup> uŋ <sup>6</sup> ɦ <sup>33</sup> xo <sup>33</sup> du <sup>33</sup> ní kɔŋ seŋ kɔŋ ʔéŋ kɔŋ kh <sup>u</sup> 55 du <sup>55</sup>	hole in ground / pit anus / rectum penis hole vagina anus / rectum hole	JAM-MLBM:2 CK-YiQ:9.12 DB-Ugong DB-Ugong:10.4.1 DB-Ugong:9.12 ZMYYC:34.23
Yi (Nanjian)			
6.3. Naxi Naxi (Lijiang)	kho <sup>33</sup> lo <sup>33</sup>	hole	ZMYYC:34.28
6.4. Jinuo Jinuo Jinuo (Baya/Banai) Jinuo (Baka) Jinuo (Youle)	na <sup>33</sup> kh <sup>o</sup> 55 na <sup>44</sup> k <sup>h</sup> o <sup>55</sup> ŋa <sup>44</sup> k <sup>h</sup> u <sup>55</sup> ŋa <sup>33</sup> k <sup>h</sup> o <sup>55</sup>	ear ear ear ear	ZMYYC:241.34 DQ-JinA:107 DQ-JinB:107 JZ-Jinuo
7. Karenic Bwe Bwe (Western)  Bwe Geba Pho (Tenasserim)	nɛ-kú nɛ <sup>2</sup> ku <sup>1</sup>  nè-kú ñĩ <sup>2</sup> gu <sup>2</sup> nɑ <sup>4</sup> [ku <sup>5</sup> ]	ear ear  ear ear ear	EJAH-BKD AW-TBT:931; GHL-PPB:G.45 AW-TBT:931 GHL-PPB:G.45 GHL-PPB:G.45
9. Sinitic Chinese (Mandarin)  Chinese (Old/Mid)	ěr-kǒng kǒng kuung duhg shaa <sup>u</sup> kuung k'ung/k'ung k'ung/k'ung:	earhole hole hole hole (small) hollow; empty very, greatly; empty	JAM-II JAM-II JS-Ch:366 JS-Ch:367 GSR:1172h GSR:1174a

## Chinese comparanda

空 kōng ‘hollow, empty’

GSR: 1172h      Karlgren: \*k'ung      Li: \*khung      Baxter: \*khong (p. 771)

孔 kǒng ‘very, greatly; empty’

GSR: 1174a      Karlgren: \*k'ung      Li: \*khungx      Baxter: \*khong?

This OC-PTB comparison is long-recognized. See for example Simon 1929, Gong 1995 set 75, Coblin 1986:71.

The Chinese forms are a perfect match for the TB reconstruction. For another example of this final correspondence, cf. (44a) \*t/duŋ NAVELE. On the aspiration mismatch in the initial correspondence, see the discussion under (1b) \*pu EGG.

The two Chinese forms are clearly etymological doublets. Schuessler (2007:335) speculates that 孔 kǒng may be an ‘endoactive’ derivation meaning ‘hole’, from 空 kōng ‘hollow, empty’, lit. ‘that which is hollow, empty’.

肛 **gāng** ‘lower intestines / anus’

GSR: not in 1172

This word is not attested until the Middle Chinese period. The Old Chinese reconstruction would be \***krung** (Li)/\***krong** (Baxter) if we assume membership in GSR 1172; however, it is possible that the Old Chinese source is \***krong** (Li)/\***krung** (Baxter), and that the phonetic element of the character was chosen after the merger of these two OC finals. (The Mandarin pronunciation is irregular; we would expect *jiāng*.)

Schuessler (2007:251) suggests a comparison with WT **gźaŋ** ‘anus’; however, the vowel correspondence is not good (unless a late borrowing is involved). It is certainly possible that this word is in the same family as 空 and 孔, although the function of \*-r- is not clear.

[ZJH]

(94) \*kwar ≈ \*kor CONCAVITY / HOLE / EAR / VAGINA

STC makes an artificial distinction between two groups of forms, one reconstructed \***kor** ‘valley; pit; cave’ (#349) and the other \***kwar** ‘hole’ (#350), here combined into a single etymon. This etymon is widely distributed in Kamarupan, with scattered cognates elsewhere (Himalayish, Qiangic, Nungish, Bai). It appears as the last syllable in compounds referring to orifices of the body, especially EAR, NOSTRIL, ANUS, and VAGINA; occasionally also in compounds for EYE.

Sometimes, however, a similar morpheme appears as a monosyllable or as the first syllable in a compound; these cases I refer to a separate (but perhaps allofamically related) etymon \***kon/r** EAR, with the specific meaning EAR. A key form here is Kom Rem **kōr khur** ‘ear canal’, with the structure \***kon/r** EAR + \***kor**.

While I occasionally reconstruct \***kwar** ≈ \***kor** for the second syllables of compounds meaning EYE (e.g. Wancho **mək-ər**), there is a group of Bodo-Garo forms meaning EYE where I set up a separate (but again perhaps allofamic) etymon \***gon** EYE, with the specific meaning EYE. Compare Bodo **ha-khor** ‘hole, valley’ vs. **me-gon** ‘eye’; Garo **ging-kol** ‘nostril’ vs. **mik-on** ‘eye’. There is also some evidence from Monpa Tsangla for the independence of this etymon and \***gon** EYE: **miŋ-khor** ‘eye’ vs. **miŋ-khoŋ-(taŋ)** ‘eye’ (< (H:324) \***s-mik** EYE + \***gon** EYE).

See HPTB \***kor** ≈ \***kwar**, pp. 395, 401.

0. Sino-Tibetan

*Tibeto-Burman	* <b>kor</b>	pit, valley, cave	STC:349
	* <b>kwar</b>	hole, cavity	STC:350

1.2. Kuki-Chin

Kom Rem	<b>kōr k<sup>h</sup>ur</b>	ear canal	T-KomRQ:3.6.4	45
	<b>nar k<sup>h</sup>ur</b>	nostril	T-KomRQ:3.5.2	
Lailenpi	<b>mǎ nɑ<sup>4</sup> kuɑ<sup>1</sup></b>	ear	GHL-PPB:N.2	

<sup>45</sup>This form constitutes good evidence for the independence of etyma (94) \***kwar** ≈ \***kor** CONCAVITY / HOLE / EAR / VAGINA and \***kon/r** EAR.

## V. Vagina

Lakher [Mara]	chhu- <b>khao</b> hna-pasu- <b>khao</b> na-cha- <b>kao</b> na- <b>khao</b> sisi- <b>khor</b> <sup>1</sup> nə <sup>2</sup> <b>ko</b>	vulva nostril ear earhole armpit ("tickle-hole") ear; earhole	JAM-Ety JAM-Ety JAM-Ety JAM-Ety STC:265 AW-TBT:108,162
Liangmei	cha <b>kun</b> ka- <b>kūan</b>	ear ear	GEM-CNL AW-TBT:162
Lothvo (Hiranpi) Lushai [Mizo]	na <sup>1</sup> <b>küe</b> <sup>3</sup> hnâr- <b>kua</b> <b>khuar</b> ≈ <b>khur</b> <b>kor</b> <b>kua</b>	ear nostril hole, cavity small valley, ravine hole / inside of abdomen	GHL-PPB:N.2 JAM-Ety STC:350 STC:349 AW-TBT:431
Zotung	mong- <b>kua</b> nä <sup>4</sup> <b>kua</b> <sup>4</sup>	anus ear	JAM-Ety GHL-PPB:N.2
1.3. Naga			
*Northern Naga Chang Lotha Naga Nocte	* <b>gor</b> kuŋ <b>kan</b> kheno <b>kvu</b> kho <b>kan</b> k <sup>h</sup> o <b>kan</b> loŋ <b>kan</b> na <b>kan</b>	hole / cave nostril nostril nostril nostril cave earhole	WTF-PNN:504 WTF-PNN:527 VN-LothQ:3.5.2 WTF-PNN:504 WTF-PNN:527 WTF-PNN:504 WTF-PNN:504
Ntenyi Rongmei Sangtam	a <b>khwe</b> la nu- <b>kúan</b> nang <b>khi</b> <sup>1</sup> naŋ <sup>1</sup> <b>ki</b>	ear ear; earhole ear ear	GEM-CNL AW-TBT:162,162 GEM-CNL AW-TBT:162
Tangkhuł	hai <b>khur</b> hay(- <b>khur</b> ) khanā <b>khur</b> kharəŋ <b>khur</b> ləŋ <b>khor</b>	vulva vulva earhole anus anus	JAM-Ety JAM-GSTC:184 JAM-Ety JAM-Ety JAM-Ety
Wancho	ha <b>kon</b> <b>kan</b> yet ko <b>kan</b> kuŋ <b>kan</b> mək-ə <b>r</b> na- <b>kor</b>	cave den doorway, gate nostril eye ear	WTF-PNN:504 WTF-PNN:504 WTF-PNN:504 WTF-PNN:504 JAM-Ety JAM-Ety
Yimchungrü	<sup>2</sup> nu <sup>2</sup> <b>gu</b> <sup>2</sup> nu <sup>2</sup> <b>kun</b> nü <b>khün</b>	ear ear; earhole ear	AW-TBT:108,162 AW-TBT:162,162 GEM-CNL
Zeme	mi <b>kun</b> <sup>3</sup> mi <sup>3</sup> <b>kən</b> <sup>3</sup> mi <sup>3</sup> <b>kən</b>	ear ear ear	GEM-CNL AW-TBT:162 AW-TBT:162
Mzieme	pe <b>kün</b>	ear	GEM-CNL
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	na-gi mə <b>khun</b> na ton mə <b>khun</b> thi <b>gun</b>	ear canal nostril anus / rectum	CYS-Meithei:3.6.4 CYS-Meithei:3.5.2 CYS-Meithei:9.12

<sup>46</sup>Contrast the last syllables of Meithei **thi-gun** ‘anus’ (< \***kləy** SHIT + \***kor**) and **nâ-kông** ‘ear’

## (94) \*kwar ≈ \*kor CONCAVITY / HOLE / EAR / VAGINA

Moyon	<sup>2</sup> ma <sup>2</sup> gu nar khùr ~ nàr khùr nà b̀l kòwrl sòw khùr ~ sowr khùr	hole nostril ear canal vulva / labia	AW-TBT:431 DK-Moyon:3.5.2 DK-Moyon:3.6.4 DK-Moyon:10.4.2
1.5. Mikir			
Mikir	kàn-chêng no kan nò kàn no kan ang lhor no ku	nose bridge nose; nostril nose; nostril nostril ear	KHG-Mikir:40 GEM-CNL; JAM-Ety KHG-Mikir:115,115 JAM-Ety JAM-Ety
1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish			
Atong	na-kur	ear	JAM-Ety
Bodo	ha-khor	hole, valley	STC:349
Dimasa	ha-khor	cave	STC:349
Garo	a-khol	cave	STC:349
Garo (Bangladesh)	ging a'-kil-ok ging-kil-ok ging-kol na'-chil a'-kil-ok na-chil a'-kil-ok na-chil a'-kol na-chil-ni a'-kil-ok na-kol	nostril nostril nostril earhole earhole earhole earhole earhole	RB-GB RB-GB RB-GB RB-GB RB-GB RB-GB RB-GB RB-GB
Khamngan	nou <sup>2</sup> kan <sup>2</sup> nou <sup>2</sup> kan <sup>2</sup> nou kan <sup>2</sup> nou- <sup>2</sup> kan	ear ear earhole ear	AW-TBT:350 AW-TBT:162 AW-TBT:162 AW-TBT:162
Kokborok	k <sup>h</sup> i-kor	anus	PT-Kok
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	miŋ k <sup>h</sup> or miŋ k <sup>h</sup> u	eye eye	SLZO-MLD SLZO-MLD
Tibetan (Written)	kor	round, circular; hollow in the ground, pit	STC:349
2.1.4. Tamangic			
Manang (Gyaru)	kun <sup>2</sup>	hole	YN-Man:324
Tamang (Risiangku)	<sup>1</sup> na kal	nostril	MM-TamRisQ:3.5.2
2.3.2. Kiranti			
Hayu	no gu no gu-ha	ear	BM-Hay:[72.1.78],
Limbu	nek kho? ba nek ko? ba	ear ear	AW-TBT:162 BM-PK7:50
Thulung	no ka phlā	ear	JAM-Ety
3.2. Qiangic			
Qiang (Mawo)	nə kuə zu	ear canal	SHK-MawoQ:3.6.4
3.3. rGyalrongic			
rGyalrong	ta sop k <sup>h</sup> oi jdu	anus / rectum	DQ-Jiarong:9.12

(< \*r/g-na EAR / HEAR / LISTEN + (93) \*guŋ ≈ \*kuŋ HOLE / ORIFICE / ROUNDED PART).

## V. Vagina

	tə ɲa k <sup>h</sup> oi jdu	ear canal	DQ-Jiarong:3.6.4	
	tə ɕna k <sup>h</sup> oi jdu	nostril	DQ-Jiarong:3.5.2	
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə ʃna k <sup>h</sup> ɛ jdu	nostril	SHK-rGEQ:3.5.2	
4.2. Nungic				
Anong	duŋ-khr	hole	STC:169,350	47
8. Bai				
Bai	jũ <sup>33</sup> tɥ <sup>21</sup> kuã <sup>55</sup>	earwax	ZYS-Bai:3.6.6	
	ʃ <sup>33</sup>			
	jũ <sup>33</sup> tɥ <sup>21</sup> kuã <sup>55</sup>	eardrum	ZYS-Bai:3.6.5	
	tɕi <sup>33</sup> ne <sup>21</sup>			
	jũ <sup>33</sup> tɥ <sup>21</sup> kuã <sup>55</sup>	earlobe	ZYS-Bai:3.6.1	
	tɕi <sup>55</sup> ne <sup>21</sup>			
	jũ <sup>33</sup> tɥ <sup>21</sup> kuã <sup>55</sup>	ear canal	ZYS-Bai:3.6.4	
	ʔuĩ <sup>33</sup> xu <sup>31</sup>			
Bai (Jianchuan)	jũ <sup>33</sup> tɥ <sup>21</sup> kuã <sup>55</sup>	ear	JZ-Bai	

(95)

**\*rik**

**PUBIC HAIR**

This curious etymon has so far been found only in a couple of Kiranti languages, Limbu and Hayu. The meaning seems to be specifically PUBIC HAIR (of either sex). It seems to bear no relationship to any etymon reconstructed with the general meaning BODY HAIR. It is included in this section for convenience, since Limbu **hi-rā-mu-rik** contains VAGINA as its first element.

### 2.3.2. Kiranti

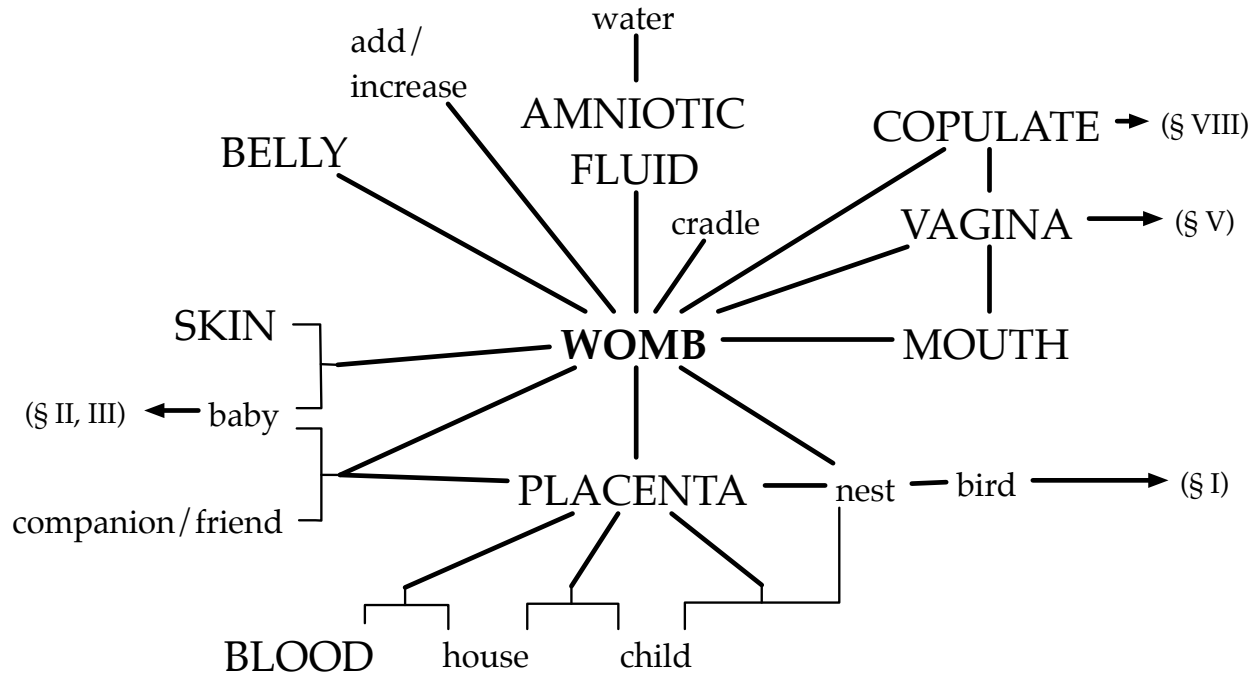
Hayu	<b>rik</b>	pubic hair	BM-Hay:84.249
Limbu	hi-rā-mu-rik	female pubic hair	JAM-Ety
	le mu rik	hair (pubic)	JAM-Ety

\* \* \*

We are not including roots for FEMALE/WOMAN in this volume, since they seem quite independent of etyma for the “female organs”. (Apparent exceptions are a few forms from rGyalrong, e.g. NW rGyalrong **tə stə** ‘female’ < (76) **\*s-tu** ≈ **\*tsu** VAGINA; but these may be misglossed.) On the other hand, words for MALE do frequently interchange with words for the male genitals; some of these etyma are accordingly discussed in Chapter VII below.

<sup>47</sup>The first syllable is from PTB **\*dwanj** (STC #169; HPTB p. 269). Cf. WT **doŋ**, WB **twânj** ‘hole’, **re-twânj** ‘well’; Lahu **yì-tû** ‘well’; Tiddim Chin **wa:ŋ** ‘hole; make a hole’. The second syllable is analyzed as **khər** in STC.

## VI. Womb



Words for WOMB or PLACENTA are frequently associated with notions of NEST, HOUSE, or BELLY. A slightly different metaphor is exemplified by Kanauri **chaṅ khül**, lit. “child skin”, with the second element < PTB \*gul ≈ \*gil ≈ (H:58) \*ʔul SKIN.

(96)

**\*s-b-rum**

**WOMB / PLACENTA**

This etymon is not reconstructed in *STC*, but appears in *VSTB* pp. 225-6 and Matisoff 1983<sup>1</sup> #52.

This root occurs in Kamarupan, Himalayish, and perhaps Lolo-Burmese (Ugong). There is a possible Chinese comparandum (below). WT shows variation between **-r-** and **-l-**. The **b-** has been treated as a prefix and dropped everywhere but in WT and Chinese. For a similar doubly prefixed form set up for PTB, cf. **\*s-b-rul** SNAKE. WT **hlums** reflects an alternant **\*s-lum**. This **\*s-** prefix seems to have preempted the initial consonant in Tsangla **shum**, **wak tsa çum** ‘placenta’.

I now consider this etymon to be independent of **\*s-lam** (next etymon), even though I treated them as allofams in *VSTB* and *TIL*.

<sup>1</sup>“Translucent insights: a look at Proto-Sino-Tibetan through Gordon H. Luce’s *Comparative Wordlist*.” *BSOAS* 46.3:462-76.

## VI. Womb

1.3. Naga			
Tangkhol	<b>rəm</b>	afterbirth; placenta	Bhat-TNV:84; JAM-Ety; JAM-VSTB
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Central)	<b>shum</b>	placenta	SER-HSL/T:35 16
Tsangla (Motuo)	wak tsa <b>ɕum</b>	placenta	SLZO-MLD
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	<b>rəm</b>	hatch	ZMYYC:786.4
Tibetan (Written)	<b>hlums</b>	womb (resp.)	JAM-TIL:52
	<b>lhums</b>	womb	GHL-PPB:X.213; JAM-Ety; JAM-VSTB
	<b>rum</b>	womb	GHL-PPB:X.213; JAM-Ety; JAM-TIL:52; JAM-VSTB
	<b>sbrum-pa</b>	pregnant	JAM-VSTB; GEM-CNL 2
6.2. Loloish			
Ugong	<b>lөŋ yéʔ</b>	placenta	DB-Ugong:10.4.11
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Old)	<b>b'jwǎm</b>	mould, matrix	JAM-TIL:52 3

### Chinese comparandum

妊 **rèn** 'pregnant'

GSR: 667i

Karlgren: \***ńjəm**

Li: \***njəmh**

Baxter: \***njims**

Gong (1995 set 368) proposed that this Chinese word was cognate to WT **sbrum** < \***smrum**. However, the vowel and initial correspondences are not regular, and the comparison is not found in Gong's later publications. Schuessler (2007:441) treats 妊 **rèn** 'pregnant' as an internal Chinese derivation from 任 **rén** 'carry on the shoulder, to load'.

[ZJH]

(97)

\***s-lam**

**WOMB / PLACENTA**

I now consider this to be a separate etymon from the phonologically similar root (96) \***s-b-rum** WOMB / PLACENTA. The Chinese comparandum 範 (see below) fits better with \***s-lam** with respect to the vowel, but there is no evidence within TB for a \***b-** prefix. See *VSTB* pp. 224-227; *HPTB* p. 250.

This etymon \***s-lam** may well be allofamically related to a group of roots with the same proto-rhyme, (98) \***p<sup>w</sup>am** WOMB / PLACENTA / NEST / BELLY (next etymon).

See *HPTB* \***s-lam**, p. 250.

1.2. Kuki-Chin

Lushai [Mizo]

**hlam**

placenta

JAM-Ety; JAM-VSTB

<sup>2</sup>The word-family relationship between WT **rum** 'womb' and **sbrum-pa** 'pregnant' was already recognized by W. Simon (1975:250).

<sup>3</sup>The credit for recognizing the cognacy of this Chinese word with forms in Tibetan belongs to G.H. Luce (1981). See Matisoff 1983 #52. The labial initial is paralleled in WT **sbrum-pa** 'pregnant'.



Tiddim	lam `lam	placenta placenta	JAM-VSTB JAM-Ety	
6.2. Loloish				
Lahu	ə-lò	womb	JAM-VSTB	
Lahu (Black)	ə-lò	womb; placenta	JAM-Ety; JAM-MLBM:89	4
Mpi	loʔ <sup>6</sup>	womb / placenta	JAM-MLBM:89	
6.4. Jinuo				
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	a <sup>33</sup> lo <sup>44</sup>	placenta	DQ-JinA:147	
7. Karenic				
*Karen (Pho)	*də̀n' lán'	womb	RBJ-KLS:442	
*Karen (Pho-Sgaw)	*də̀ hlò	womb	RBJ-KLS:442	
*Karen (Sgaw)	*də̀ lò	womb	RBJ-KLS:442	
Palaychi	də̀q-lò	womb	JAM-VSTB; JAM-Ety; RBJ-KLS:442	
Pho (Bassein)	də̀n-lánʔ	womb	JAM-VSTB; JAM-Ety; RBJ-KLS:442	
Pho (Moulmein)	də̀n-lán	womb	JAM-VSTB; JAM-Ety; RBJ-KLS:442	
Karen (Sgaw)	də̀ lò	womb	JAM-VSTB	
Sgaw (Bassein)	də̀ lò	womb	JAM-Ety; RBJ-KLS:442	
Sgaw (Moulmein)	də̀ lò	womb	JAM-Ety; RBJ-KLS:442	

## Chinese comparandum

範 fàn 'mould; rule, law'

GSR: 626d      Karlgren: \*b'iwǎm      Li: \*bjamx      Baxter: \*bjamʔ / \*b(r)jomʔ

Baxter does not reconstruct this word. There are several possible reconstructions in his system, as indicated above. The Chinese word may be related to 凡 fán 'general rule, pattern' and 法 fǎ 'law, model', reconstructed \*b(r)jom and \*pjap respectively by Baxter, but this does not clarify the Old Chinese vocalism.

Although the semantics can be explained<sup>5</sup>, the comparison with the PTB root is difficult to justify because of the mismatch of initial consonants.

[ZJH]

## (98) \*p<sup>w</sup>am WOMB / PLACENTA / NEST / BELLY

Like (1) \*p<sup>w</sup>u EGG / BIRD / ROUND OBJECT above, some of the reflexes of \*p<sup>w</sup>am have initial w- (98a), while others have an initial labial stop or derivative thereof (98b). All these forms meaning 'womb / placenta / nest / belly' clearly represent the same etymon as \*p-wam BELLY, presented separately as (98c). A further group of forms with nasal initials (98d) may also be brought into this word family. Finally,

<sup>4</sup>Lahu -o is the regular reflex of PTB and PLB \*-am.

<sup>5</sup>For the semantic connection, cf. Latin and English *matrix* 'womb; a situation or surrounding substance in which something originates', ult. < *mater* 'mother'. [JAM]

## VI. Womb

there is a strong likelihood that (97) \*s-lam WOMB / PLACENTA is also allofamically related.

Some languages (e.g. Jingpho, Lashi, Zaiwa) show internal variation between stop and semivowel. The semantic association between WOMB and BELLY is too obvious to belabor. *Belly* was used frequently in early Mod. Eng. to mean WOMB: “As yet my wife hath not laid her belly” (*Plumpton Correspondence* 1549-50); “My belly did not blab, so I was still a Mayde” (William Warner, *Albion’s England*, 1592); “Why, she may plead her belly at worst” (John Gay, *The Beggar’s Opera*, 1728).<sup>6</sup>

See *HPTB* \*p<sup>w</sup>am, pp. 47, 61; *PLB* \*p-wam<sup>2</sup>, pp. 46, 253.

(98a)	*wam		PLACENTA / WOMB
2.3. Mahakiranti			
*BSDTK	*wam	placenta	BM-PK7:139
2.3.2. Kiranti			
Bahing	wam	placenta	BM-PK7:139; JAM-Ety; JAM-VSTB
Khaling	wamt- wām	placenta placenta	BM-Bah BM-PK7:139
Limbu	a-wam	placenta	JAM-Ety
Thulung	wam wām wam	placenta placenta placenta	BM-PK7:139 JAM-Ety; JAM-VSTB NJA-Thulung
6.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	wam wam <sup>4</sup>	womb / belly womb	JAM-TIL:52 GHL-PPB:X.213
(98b)	*pam		WOMB / PLACENTA / NEST
1.3. Naga			
Tangkhul	nao-pam	womb	JAM-Ety
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	naw phəm	placenta	CYS-Meithei:10.4.11
1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish			
Lalung	pum ba	womb	MB-Lal:56
2.3.2. Kiranti			
Hayu	tsā: pim	womb	BM-Hay:84.23,35
6.2. Loloish			
Sangkong	pam <sup>31</sup>	nest	LYS-Sangkong

<sup>6</sup>In former times, a pregnant female criminal condemned to death was allowed to bring the baby to term before being executed. This practice was known as “pleading one’s belly”. See *OED* 1971:789.

(98c) \*p<sup>w</sup>am BELLY

Several languages have compounds for BELLY where the first element is from \*wam and the second apparently from (1c) \*pu BALL / EGG / ROUND OBJECT: Hani (Caiyuan) ɕ<sup>31</sup> p<sup>h</sup>u<sup>31</sup>, Jinuo (Baya/Banai) vu<sup>55</sup> p<sup>h</sup>u<sup>44</sup>, Jinuo (Youle) ɣo<sup>55</sup> p<sup>h</sup>u<sup>44</sup>, and Karen u<sup>55</sup> p<sup>h</sup>ɣ<sup>55</sup>.

See the long discussion of this etymon in *VSTB* pp. 124-7.

## 0. Sino-Tibetan

*Tibeto-Burman	*pam *wam	belly; stomach belly; stomach	JAM-VSTB:4a JAM-VSTB:4b	
1.1. North Assam				
Milang	mak-pap	abdomen	AT-MPB	7
1.2. Kuki-Chin				
*Kuki-Naga-Chin Lushai [Mizo]	*pum pum pùm~ pùŋ	belly abdomen / belly belly	AW-TBT:857 JAM-Ety JAM-VSTB	
1.3. Naga				
Konyak (Tamlu) Tangkhul	hwum ā phur ā phām ā phur ā pham	belly abdomen / belly belly	JAM-VSTB:4b JAM-Ety JAM-VSTB:4a	
3.1. Tangut				
Tangut [Xixia]	(ɣɔfi) tefi ʔo ʔo tī	navel belly / abdomen navel	NT-SGK:191 DQ-Xixia:5.7 DQ-Xixia:5.7.1	
3.2. Qiangic				
Ergong (Northern)	vəu <sup>53</sup>	belly / abdomen (outer bulge)	SHK-ErgNQ:5.7	
Ergong (Danba)	vəu	belly / abdomen	SHK-ErgDQ:5.7	
Ergong (Daofu)	vau	belly / abdomen	DQ-Daofu:5.7	
Muya [Minyak]	vu <sup>35</sup> lø <sup>53</sup>	belly / abdomen	SHK-MuyaQ:5.7	
4.1. Jingpho				
Jingpho	pù-hpam wàm-pùm wun-bu	stomach stomach complaint navel	JAM-Ety JAM-TJLB:247 JAM-Ety	
6.1. Burmish				
Achang (Lianghe)	oŋ <sup>31</sup> tɕa <sup>31</sup>	full, satiated	JZ-Achang	
Achang (Longchuan)	ɕm <sup>31</sup> tau <sup>31</sup>	belly	JZ-Achang	
Achang (Luxi)	ɕm <sup>51</sup> tau <sup>51</sup>	belly	JZ-Achang	
	ɕm <sup>51</sup> tsa <sup>51</sup>	full, satiated	JZ-Achang	
Bola	vɛ <sup>31</sup> tau <sup>31</sup> vɛ <sup>31</sup> pɔt <sup>55</sup>	belly pregnant	DQ-Bola:119 DQ-Bola:1912	
Burmese (Written)	wām	abdomen; belly	JAM-Ety; JAM-TJLB:247; JAM-VSTB:4b; PKB-WBRD	

<sup>7</sup>The stop final in this compound may be due to assimilation to the initial p-.

## VI. Womb

Lashi	wâm-pân khjei <sup>55</sup> pham <sup>55</sup> wəm <sup>33</sup> pu:t <sup>31</sup> wəm <sup>33</sup> tou <sup>33</sup>	abdomen / belly stomach pregnant belly / abdomen	JAM-Ety DQ-Lashi:9.10 DQ-Lashi:10.4.14 DQ-Lashi:5.7
Maru [Langsu]	vẽ <sup>35</sup> pat <sup>55</sup> vẽ <sup>35</sup> tuk <sup>31</sup> wen wen-tok	pregnant belly / abdomen belly abdomen, stomach	DQ-Langsu:10.4.14 DQ-Langsu:5.7 JAM-VSTB:4b JAM-VSTB:4b
Atsi [Zaiwa]	khji <sup>21</sup> pham <sup>21</sup> vàm vam <sup>21</sup>	stomach belly belly	JZ-Zaiwa JAM-VSTB:4b JZ-Zaiwa
6.2. Loloish			
*Loloish	*wam <sup>2</sup>	belly	DB-PLolo:133
Akha	ù-má? u_ má^ u <sup>31</sup> de <sup>31</sup>	abdomen abdomen / belly belly	JAM-VSTB JAM-Ety JZ-Hani
Hani (Dazhai)	ɔ <sup>31</sup> p <sup>h</sup> u <sup>31</sup>	belly	JZ-Hani
Hani (Caiyuan)	u <sup>31</sup> ma <sup>33</sup>	belly	JZ-Hani
Hani (Gelanghe)	ɣu <sup>31</sup> mɔ <sup>33</sup>	belly	JZ-Hani
Hani (Shuikui)	g'aw <sup>˘</sup> tu: shi_	navel	DB-Lahu:120
Lahu (Nyi)	*g'o <sup>˘</sup>	belly	DB-PLolo:133
*Common Lahu	g'u <sup>˘</sup> tu: shi_	navel	DB-Lahu:120
Lahu (Bakeo)	g'u_ tu:	navel	DB-Lahu:120
Lahu (Shehle)	gô-pè	belly	JAM-VSTB:4b
Lahu	u <sup>˘</sup> tu: shi_	navel	DB-Lahu:120
Lahu (Banlan)	gô-	belly	JAM-TJLB:247
Lahu (Black)	gû(~ gô)-tu-câ?	umbilical cord	JAM-DL:1138
	gû(~ gô)-tu-ši	navel	JAM-DL:1138
	ɣô-pè~ ɣû-pè	abdomen / belly	JAM-Ety
	ɣû-tu-ši-câ?	umbilical cord	JAM-DL:1129
	ɣu <sup>53</sup> pe <sup>31</sup>	belly	JZ-Lahu
	ɣu <sup>53</sup> ty <sup>33</sup> si <sup>11</sup>	navel	JZ-Lahu
Lahu (Yellow)	?u <sup>55</sup> pi? <sup>21</sup>	belly	JZ-Lahu
	?u <sup>55</sup> tu <sup>33</sup> ci? <sup>21</sup>	navel	JZ-Lahu
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	va <sup>31</sup> lɔ <sup>53</sup>	belly	DQ-NusuA:119.
Nusu (Central)	va <sup>31</sup> lɔ <sup>53</sup>	belly	DQ-NusuB:119.
Nusu (Northern)	vɔ <sup>35</sup>	belly	JZ-Nusu
Nusu (Central)	va <sup>31</sup> lɔ <sup>53</sup>	belly	JZ-Nusu
Nusu (Southern)	ye <sup>31</sup> dzɔ <sup>55</sup>	full, satiated	JZ-Nusu
Yi (Dafang)	ɣɔ <sup>13</sup> mo <sup>55</sup>	belly	JZ-Yi
Yi (Xide)	vu <sup>55</sup> -dɛi <sup>21</sup> ko <sup>33</sup> vu <sup>55</sup> -ni <sup>33</sup>	belly pregnant	CSL-YIzd CSL-YIzd
6.4. Jinuo			
Jinuo (Buyuan)	vu <sup>42</sup> mɔ <sup>44</sup>	belly	JZ-Jinuo
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	vu <sup>55</sup> pø <sup>33</sup> vu <sup>55</sup> p <sup>h</sup> u <sup>44</sup>	pregnant belly	DQ-JinA:1981 DQ-JinA:122
Jinuo (Youle)	ɣo <sup>55</sup> pø <sup>44</sup> ɣo <sup>55</sup> prɣ <sup>33</sup> ɣo <sup>55</sup> p <sup>h</sup> u <sup>44</sup>	pregnant full, satiated belly	JZ-Jinuo JZ-Jinuo JZ-Jinuo
7. Karenic			
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	u <sup>55</sup> p <sup>h</sup> ɣ <sup>55</sup>	belly	DQ-KarenB:122

## (98d) \*mam WOMB / PLACENTA / NEST

This etymon probably also stands in an allofamic relationship with (98) \*p<sup>w</sup>am WOMB / PLACENTA / NEST / BELLY, in view of the identical rhymes that they share. Perhaps these forms with initial **m-** descend from fusions with the bodypart prefix \*mi- (< \*mi-n ‘person’) (H:449) \*r-mi(y) PERSON / MAN, i.e. \*mi-wam or \*mi-pam.

## 1.1. North Assam

*Tani	*mam	placenta	JS-HCST:295
Padam [Abor]	a-mam	placenta	JS-HCST
Padam-Mising [Abor-Miri]	a mam	placenta	JAM-Ety
	mam-ruk	womb	JAM-Ety
Bengni	nur-mam	placenta	JS-HCST
Bokar	nə-mam	placenta; womb	JS-HCST; JS-Tani
Bokar Lhoba	nə mam	placenta	SLZO-MLD

## 2.1.2. Bodic

Tshona (Mama)	nam <sup>13</sup> naŋ <sup>55</sup>	placenta	SLZO-MLD
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## 2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar

Magar	mim	nest	AH-CSDPN:03a.013
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## 2.3.2. Kiranti

Bantawa	mon	placenta	JAM-Ety	8
Hayu	tsat-nom-ri	placenta; womb	JAM-Ety	9

## (99) \*ba(:)y ≈ \*pa(:)y WOMB / PLACENTA / PREGNANT

This root has been identified in Kamarupan and Himalayish. The reconstructed rhyme \*-ay is directly reflected by the Mru, Tiddim, Mizo, and Chepeng reflexes, and indirectly by Written Tibetan and Mikir -e, which are also the regular reflexes of \*-ay. See Matisoff 1985a #140 and *HPTB* pp. 206-219 for many corroborative cognate sets. I am also tentatively including the Lakher (Mara) word for ‘add; increase’ in this set, since the same association between WOMB/PLACENTA and ADD/INCREASE is found in the etymon ((101) \*tsat WOMB / PLACENTA / NEST, below).

See *HPTB* \*pa:y, p. 210.

## 1.2. Kuki-Chin

Lakher [Mara]	bai	add to	JAM-GSTC:107
Lushai [Mizo]	păi	conceive / pregnant	JAM-GSTC:140
Tiddim	ʼpai	conceive / pregnant	JAM-GSTC:140
Tiddim Chin	ʼpai/pai	conceive / pregnant / carry a child	EJAH-TC
Tiddim	̀pai	conceive / pregnant	JAM-GSTC:140

## 1.5. Mikir

Mikir	o so-a pe	placenta	JAM-Ety
	pe	womb	JAM-Ety

<sup>8</sup>This form apparently shows dissimilation of the second nasal.

<sup>9</sup>This form, on the other hand, seems to show dissimilation of the first nasal, as does the Tshona (Mama) form below.

## VI. Womb

1.6. Mru				
Mru	a <sup>4</sup> <b>bai</b> <sup>2</sup>	placenta, afterbirth	GHL-PPB:Q.73	
1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish				
Bodo	<b>pi</b> sá kó	womb	JAM-Ety	
Garo (Bangladesh)	<b>bi</b> -bil	womb	RB-GB	
2.1.2. Bodic				
Tibetan (Batang)	<b>bi</b> <sup>13</sup> khō <sup>55</sup>	womb	DQ-Batang:10.4.8	10
	<b>bi</b> <sup>13</sup> tsho <sup>53</sup>	amniotic fluid	DQ-Batang:10.4.10	
Tibetan (Written)	<b>be</b> -snabs	vaginal mucus at childbirth	JAM-Ety	11
2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar				
Chepeng (Eastern)	<b>pay?</b>	placenta	RC-ChepQ:10.4.11	
2.3.2. Kiranti				
Limbu	sāi <b>be</b> -rā	placenta	JAM-Ety	
	sara <b>phe</b>	womb	BM-Lim	

### (100) \* $\frac{m}{l}$ -ŋal WOMB / PLACENTA

This etymon is well-represented in Himalayish (with the \***m**- prefix in WT) and in Qiangic (with a lateral prefix in Ergong and rGyalrong). The root-initial \***ŋ**- has become **n**- in several languages.

The first syllables of Meithei **naw phəm** ‘placenta’ and Tangkhul **nao-pam** ‘womb’ are apparently not cognate, since \*-**al** > Meithei **-al** or **-an** (cf. \***m**-kal ≈ \***s**-gal SMALL OF BACK > Meithei **nam-gal** ~ **nam-gan**) and > Tangkhul **-ay** (cf. \***ba:l** FILTH / EXCREMENT > Tangkhul **páy**). S. Imoba 2004 (*Manipuri to English Dictionary*, p. 202) records **-naw** ‘small, little’, **naw-wà** ‘baby’, **nawsum** ‘cradle’, and **nawpu-bə** ‘gestation, pregnancy’.

2.1.1. Western Himalayish				
Bunan	<b>ŋal</b>	womb	SBN-BunQ:10.4.8	
2.1.2. Bodic				
Tibetan (Written)	<b>mñal</b>	womb	JAM-Ety	
2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar				
Chepeng (Eastern)	so <b>nal?</b>	womb	RC-ChepQ:10.4.8	12
2.3.2. Kiranti				
Limbu	siŋ <b>nā</b>	womb	JAM-Ety	
Thulung	<b>ŋe</b> le	womb	NJA-Thulung	
3.2. Qiangic				
Ergong (Northern)	<b>lŋa</b> <sup>53</sup> jo <sup>13</sup>	womb	SHK-ErgNQ:10.4.8	
	<b>lŋa</b> <sup>53</sup> ɕip <sup>53</sup>	amniotic sac / bag of waters	SHK-ErgNQ:10.4.9	

<sup>10</sup>The second syllable probably means ‘house’ (cf. WT **khaŋ-pa**).

<sup>11</sup>The second element means ‘snot; nasal mucus’.

<sup>12</sup>The first syllable means ‘child’.

Ergong (Daofu)	ɪŋa t̚cho	pregnant	DQ-Daofu:10.4.14
3.3. rGyalrongic rGyalrong (NW)	tə ɪŋa kt̚ʰim	amniotic sac / bag of waters	SHK-rGNWQ:10.4.9
	tə ɪŋa sa s̚çe	womb	SHK-rGNWQ:10.4.8

## (101) \*tsat WOMB / PLACENTA / NEST

This root is well distributed among the subgroups of TB, with strong (though rather scattered) cognates in Kamarupan, Himalayish, Lolo-Burmese, Jingpho, and Karenic. The basic meaning of this etymon may be ‘add, increase; breed, bear young’, since that is the meaning of the free Jingpho verb *jàt* (Hanson, p. 206; Dai Qingxia et al., 1983:345), as well as of the Thulung form.

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
Tha'oa	tat <sup>1</sup> tat <sup>4</sup>	womb womb	GHL-PPB:O.13 GHL-PPB:O.13
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	a yeñ čot	placenta	JAM-Ety
2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar			
Chepeng	chyut c <sup>h</sup> yut	nest nest	AH-CSDPN:03a.013 SIL-Chep:3.A.13
2.3.2. Kiranti			
Hayu	tsat-nom-ri	placenta; womb	JAM-Ety
Thulung	cat-	add, put on top	NJA-Thulung
4.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	jàt	add, increase, aug- ment; breed, bear young, multiply (of beasts)	OH-DKL:206
	pù-jàt	womb	JAM-Ety
	pū-jàt	snake's nest	JCD:673
	pəjàt	womb	JAM-Ety
6.1. Burmish			
Achang (Xiandao)	t̚ʰɔʔ <sup>55</sup>	placenta	DQ-Xiandao:144
Bola	t̚ʰauʔ <sup>31</sup> tui <sup>55</sup>	womb	DQ-Bola:146
Lashi	tso <sup>33</sup> s̚t <sup>55</sup>	womb	DQ-Lashi:10.4.8
Maru [Langsu]	ts̚ <sup>35</sup> sat <sup>55</sup>	womb	DQ-Langsu:10.4.8
6.2. Loloish			
Ahi	i <sup>33</sup> t̚e <sup>33</sup> i <sup>33</sup> t̚he <sup>33</sup>	placenta placenta	LMZ-AhiQ:10.4.11 CK-YiQ:10.4.11
Bisu	aŋ-jàt-ja-húm	womb	PB-Bisu:16
7. Karenic			
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	l̚a <sup>55</sup> t̚a <sup>31</sup>	placenta	DQ-KarenB:147

<sup>13</sup>Cf. Jingpho *pū* ~ *l̚əpū* ‘snake’.

<sup>14</sup>Lashi *tso*<sup>33</sup> and Maru *ts̚*<sup>35</sup> mean ‘child’.

## (102) \*r-bu ≈ \*pru NEST / WOMB / PLACENTA

This etymon is quite widely distributed, appearing in Kamarupan, Lolo-Burmese, Jingpho-Nung, Qiangic, and Karenic, with a key Himalayish cognate in Written Tibetan.

There is a good Chinese comparandum, 胞 *GSR* 1113b (see below).

The root shows metathetic variants, with the \*r- treated either as a prefix (\*r-bu; cf. the Aimol, Kom Rem, and Moyon reflexes) or as a post-initial glide (\*pru; cf. the WT reflex). This is similar to (104) \*r-ku ≈ \*kru NEST / UTERUS / AMNIOTIC SAC, below. It also shows variation in the voicing of the initial consonant, both in TB and in Chinese (*GSR* gives two OC readings, \*pôg and \*p'ôg).

In passing, *STC* (p. 102) gives a few forms meaning NEST from Kuki-Chin languages, without offering any reconstruction. See also (113) \*bu CHILD, quite distinct from the present etymon.

See *HPTB* \*pru(w), p. 199.

## 0. Sino-Tibetan

*Sino-Tibetan	*prəyw/phrəyw	womb	WSC-SH:161	
1.1. North Assam				
Padam-Mising [Abor-Miri]	mi-bu mib-bo mib-bu	placenta placenta placenta	JAM-Ety JAM-Ety JAM-Ety	15
Apatani	paro pu-wa paro pu-a	nest (hen's) nest (hen's)	JS-Tani JS-Tani	
Damu	bu-la pu-ra	placenta placenta	JS-Tani JS-Tani	
Darang [Taraon]	ɑ <sup>55</sup> po <sup>55</sup>	placenta	SLZO-MLD	
Kaman [Miju]	mphǎu <sup>53</sup>	nest	ZMYYC:368.48	
Milang	ta-pyu-ap	nest	AT-MPB	
1.2. Kuki-Chin				
Aimol	rəbu	nest	STC:p.102	
Ashö [Sho]	ə bü	nest	STC:p.102	
Khami	tə bu	nest	STC:p.102	
Awa Khumi	ǎ tə bu? <sup>2</sup>	womb / placenta	GHL-PPB:O.13	
Kom Rem	nəi rəbu	placenta; womb	T-KomRQ:10.4.11,10.4.8	
Lai (Hakha)	bu·θ ə bu	build a nest nest	STC:p.102 STC:p.102	16
Lushai [Mizo]	bu	nest	GEM-CNL; STC:p.102	
Thado	ā bú	nest	THI1972:59	
1.3. Naga				
Rongmei	bou	nest	GEM-CNL	
1.4. Meithei				
Moyon	nə rubów	womb	DK-Moyon:10.4.8	

<sup>15</sup>The first syllable probably means 'person' (see (H:449) \*r-mi(y) PERSON / MAN), i.e. PLACENTA = PERSON + NEST.

<sup>16</sup>The last consonant is from suffixal \*-t (see *STC* pp. 102-3).



## 1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish

Dimasa	<b>bu</b> thup	nest	GEM-CNL
Kokborok	<b>bə</b> -t <sup>h</sup> ɔ	nest	PT-Kok

## 2.1.2. Bodic

Tibetan (Written)	<b>(h)phru</b> -ba <b>(h)p'ru</b> -ma	uterus; placenta womb of animals	WSC-SH:161 JAM-Ety	17
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## 3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	<b>mbu</b> <sup>1</sup>	womb	MVS-Grin
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## 3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Mawo)	wuk nə: <sup>1</sup> <b>bu</b>	nest	ZMYYC:368.8
Qiang (Taoping)	i <sup>31</sup> tshie <sup>55</sup> - <b>χbu</b> <sup>241</sup>	nest	ZMYYC:368.9

## 3.3. rGyalrongic

rGyalrong	ta <b>pu</b> ktɕəm	womb	DQ-Jiarong:10.4.8
rGyalrong (Northern)	ta <b>po</b> tso fkəm ta <b>po</b> tso ɾq <sup>h</sup> u	womb amniotic sac / bag of waters	SHK-rGNQ:10.4.8 SHK-rGNQ:10.4.9
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ta <b>pu</b> wan dzɿ ta <b>pu</b> kəstʃiwutʃitətʃi ta <b>p'</b> sta  ta <b>p'</b> tʃ <sup>h</sup> em	placenta amniotic fluid amniotic sac / bag of waters womb	SHK-rGEQ:10.4.11 SHK-rGEQ:10.4.10 SHK-rGEQ:10.4.9 SHK-rGEQ:10.4.8

## 4.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	<b>pù</b> -jàt <b>pə</b> jət	womb womb	JAM-Ety JAM-Ety
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## 4.2. Nungic

Trung [Dulong]	<b>pu</b> <sup>31</sup> tɕi <sup>7</sup> dǎŋ <sup>53</sup>	nest	ZMYYC:368.46
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## 6.2. Loloish

Bisu	ʔaŋ <b>p<sup>h</sup>ò</b>	nest	DB-Bisu
Gazhuo	<b>pao</b> <sup>33</sup>	placenta	DQ-Gazhuo:10.4.11
Hani (Dazhai)	<b>bu</b> <sup>31</sup>	nest	ZMYYC:368.31
Lipho	<b>po</b> <sup>55</sup> lo <sup>33</sup>	placenta	CK-YiQ:10.4.11
Nasu	<b>bɣ</b> <sup>33</sup>	placenta	CK-YiQ:10.4.11

## 7. Karenic

Pa-O	<b>pò</b> khròŋ	uterus	DBS-PaO
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## 8. Bai

Bai	ji <sup>55</sup> <b>pao</b> <sup>55</sup>	placenta / afterbirth	ZYS-Bai:10.4.11	19
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## 9. Sinitic

Chinese (Mandarin)	<b>pao</b> <b>p'ao</b>	womb womb	GSR:1113b GSR:1113b
Chinese (Middle)	<b>pau</b> <b>phau</b>	womb womb	WSC-SH:161 WSC-SH:161

<sup>17</sup>Quite distinct etymologically is WT **bu-snod** 'womb', where the first syllable is a morpheme meaning 'child' (113) \***bu** CHILD and the second syllable is from (111) \***s-nut** ≈ \***s-not** MOUTH / VESSEL / WOMB, below.

<sup>18</sup>This is evidently a loan from Chinese 胞 (see below).

<sup>19</sup>This Bai forms looks like a loan from Chinese (cf. Mandarin 胞 **bāo**).

## VI. Womb

Chinese (Old)	<b>phrəgw</b>	womb	WSC-SH:161
	<b>prəgw</b>	womb	WSC-SH:161
Chinese (Old/Mid)	<b>pôg/pau</b>	womb	GSR:1113b
	<b>p'ôg/p'au</b>	womb	GSR:1113b

### Chinese comparandum

胞 **bāo** ‘womb’

GSR: 1113b                      Karlgren: \***pôg**                      Li: \***prəgw**                      Baxter: \***pru**

This cognate set is in Bodman 1980:142 set 310, Coblin 1986:161, Gong 1995 set 61, and Schuessler 2007:157.

The regular correspondence between OC final \*-əgw (Li), \*-u (Baxter) and TB \*-əw (or \*-u) is well-attested. Examples include ‘nine’ TB \***d-kəw**, OC \***kjəgw** (Li)/\***k<sup>w</sup>ju?** (Baxter); ‘dove/pigeon’ TB \***khəw**, OC \***kjəgw**/\***k(r)ju** (Baxter); and (1b) \***pu** EGG (elsewhere in this volume).

The TB final also corresponds to OC \*-ug (Li)/\*-o (Baxter), as seen in (53a) \***s-nəw** BREAST / MILK / SUCK.

[ZJH]

### (103)                      \***tsaŋ**                      NEST / WOMB / PLACENTA

This root seems solidly established for Himalayish, where it means mostly NEST, but sometimes CRADLE, CAGE, or WOMB. However, many of these forms may be loans from Tibetan. The etymon also clearly appears in Lolo-Burmese, where it means WOMB / PLACENTA, and in at least one Qiangic language (Queyu), where it means NEST.

#### 2.1.2. Bodic

Kaike	<b>chāng</b>	nest	AH-CSDPN:03a.013
Tshona (Mama)	<b>tshaŋ</b> <sup>55</sup>	nest	ZMYC:368.6
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	<b>tshaŋ</b>	nest	ZMYC:368.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	<b>tshaŋ</b>	nest	ZMYC:368.5
	<b>tʂ<sup>h</sup>aŋ</b>	nest	JS-Amdo:635
Tibetan (Jirel)	<b>chāngq</b>	nest; cradle	AH-CSDPN:03a.013,06a.38
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	<b>tshaŋ</b> <sup>53</sup>	nest	ZMYC:368.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	<b>tshaŋ</b> <sup>55</sup>	nest	ZMYC:368.2
Tibetan (Sherpa)	<b>čhāng</b>	nest	AH-CSDPN:03a.013
	<b>chāng</b>	cradle	AH-CSDPN:06a.38
Tibetan (Written)	<b>tshaŋ</b>	nest	GEM-CNL
	<b>tshang</b>	nest	JS-Tib:635
	<b>tshaŋ</b>	nest	ZMYC:368.1
	<b>tshaŋ-ŋu</b>	cradle	HAI-TED:444

#### 2.1.4. Tamangic

*Tamang	* <b>dzaŋ</b> <sup>3</sup>	nest	MM-K78:43
	* <sup>A</sup> <b>dzaŋ</b>	nest	MM-Thesis:348
Gurung (Ghachok)	<b>cōh</b>	nest	SIL-Gur:3.A.13
Gurung	<b>cōh</b>	nest	AH-CSDPN:03a.013
Gurung (Ghachok)	<sup>3</sup> <b>cō</b>	nest	MM-K78:43

## (104) \*r-ku ≈ \*kru NEST / UTERUS / AMNIOTIC SAC

Gurung	<sup>3</sup> tsõ = tsõh	nest	MM-Thesis:348
Manang (Gyaru)	dzaŋ <sup>2</sup>	nest	YN-Man:318
Manang (Ngawal)	<sup>3</sup> tsaŋ	nest	MM-K78:43
Manang (Prakaa)	<sup>2</sup> tsaŋ	nest	HM-Prak:0066
	<sup>3</sup> tsaŋ	nest	MM-Thesis:348
Tamang (Risiangku)	<sup>3</sup> tsaŋ	nest	MM-K78:43; MM-Thesis:348
Tamang (Sahu)	cāhng	nest	AH-CSDPN:03a.013
	<sup>3</sup> caŋ	nest	MM-K78:43
	<sup>3</sup> tsaŋ	nest	MM-Thesis:348
Tamang (Taglung)	tsaŋ	nest	MM-Thesis:348
	<sup>3</sup> tsaŋ	nest	MM-K78:43; MM-Thesis:348
Thakali	<sup>1</sup> neme cāhng	nest	AH-CSDPN:03a.013
Thakali (Marpha)	<sup>3</sup> tsaŋ	nest	MM-K78:43
	<sup>11</sup> dzaŋ	nest	MM-Thesis:348
Thakali (Syang)	<sup>3</sup> tsaŋ	nest	MM-K78:43
	<sup>31</sup> tsaŋ, <sup>31</sup> tsa <sup>h</sup> ŋ	nest	MM-Thesis:348
Thakali (Tukche)	<sup>1</sup> neme caŋŋ	nest; cage	SIL-Thak:3.A.13,6.A.12
	<sup>3</sup> caŋ	nest	MM-K78:43
	<sup>1</sup> neme <sup>3</sup> tsaŋ	nest	MM-Thesis:348
2.3.2. Kiranti			
Hayu	tsā: pim	womb	BM-Hay:84.23,35
3.2. Qiangic			
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	tshā <sup>53</sup>	nest	ZMYC:368.16
6.1. Burmish			
Bola	ŋji <sup>55</sup> tʃ <sup>h</sup> ʃ <sup>35</sup>	placenta	DQ-Bola:144
Burmese (Written)	chaŋ-ʔim	womb	JAM-Ety
6.2. Loloish			
Bisu	tʃhàŋ tʃhàŋ	placenta	PB-Bisu:15

## (104) \*r-ku ≈ \*kru NEST / UTERUS / AMNIOTIC SAC

This root is set up on slender but rather convincing evidence, if we are willing to admit relationship via metathesis between Angami forms with **kr-**, and Qiangic forms with **ɹaq-**. (For another etymon that shows a similar metathesis of prefixal and medial **-r-**, cf. (102) \*r-bu ≈ \*pru NEST / WOMB / PLACENTA, above. The semantic scope of the Qiangic forms extends to AMNIOTIC SAC. In many TB languages, as in English, the amniotic fluid is referred to simply by the word for WATER (cf. Eng. “Her water broke”), e.g. Maru ɣək<sup>31</sup> ‘water; amniotic fluid’ (< (164) \*rəy WATER / LIQUID, below), Baima juε<sup>35</sup> ‘amniotic fluid’ (< Chinese; cf. Mand. 水 shuǐ ‘water’).

## 1.3. Naga

Angami (Khonoma)	pera kru	nest	GEM-CNL
Angami (Kohima)	kru	nest	GEM-CNL

## 3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Mawo)	tʃə ɹaqu	amniotic sac / bag of waters	SHK-MawoQ:10.4.9
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## VI. Womb

	tʂə.ɹaɸu	womb	JS-Mawo
3.3. rGyalrongic			
rGyalrong (Northern)	ta po tso ɹq <sup>h</sup> u	amniotic sac / bag of waters	SHK-rGNQ:10.4.9

### (105) \*tsyul ≈ \*tsywal WOMB / PLACENTA / UMBILICAL CORD

Some reflexes of this etymon have simple sibilant initials (e.g. Paangkhua **sùul**, Kham **sal**), while some have dental or palatal affricates, others have dental stops (e.g. Matupi and Maru) or even prefixed affricates (e.g. Pumi **stʂua**<sup>55</sup>). The vocalism of the reflexes ranges from **-u-** to **-wa-** to **-o-** to **-a-**. Semantically, this etymon varies in meaning from WOMB/PLACENTA to NEST and UMBILICAL CORD. This etymon is found throughout Chin and sporadically elsewhere in Kamarupan (Mru), and is also solidly attested in Qiangic. Several resemblant forms in TB languages of Nepal are loans from Nepali: Chantyal **sal** ‘placenta’, Thakali **sāl** ‘umbilical cord’, Kham **'sāl** ‘id.’, Limbu **sāi be-rā** ‘placenta’ (M. Mazaudon, p.c. 2008). Pattani (Western Himalayish) **šwal** ‘placenta, umbilical cord’ may also be a borrowing from Indo-Aryan.

#### 1.2. Kuki-Chin

Hwalngau	s'u:l <sup>4</sup>	womb	GHL-PPB:O.13	
Khualsim	s'u:l <sup>4</sup>	womb	GHL-PPB:O.13	
Lai (Hakha)	s'ul <sup>2</sup>	womb	GHL-PPB:O.13	20
Lailenpi	mə'c'uʔ <sup>4</sup>	womb	GHL-PPB:O.13	
Lakher [Mara]	chhi < tshuul ²tshi	womb	LL-PRPL AW-TBT:487	21
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	tsə <sup>4</sup> ts'ɣ <sup>4</sup>	womb	GHL-PPB:O.13 GHL-PPB:O.13	
Lushai [Mizo]	chhûl chul ch'u:l <sup>4</sup> tshùul	womb; placenta womb womb womb	JAM-Ety JAM-Ety; JAM-VSTB GHL-PPB:O.13 AW-TBT:487; LL-PRPL	
Matupi	t'ul <sup>2</sup>	womb	GHL-PPB:O.13	
Mera	ǎ ts'iʔ <sup>1</sup> ǎ ts'iʔ <sup>5</sup>	womb	GHL-PPB:O.13 GHL-PPB:O.13	
Paangkhua	ma sùul sùul-ìn	womb	LL-PRPL LL-PRPL	
Thanphum	ǎ t'u:n <sup>1</sup>	womb	GHL-PPB:O.13	
Tiddim	s'ul <sup>4</sup>	womb	GHL-PPB:O.13	
Zotung	s'we <sup>5</sup>	womb	GHL-PPB:O.13	22
1.6. Mru				
Mru	thua	womb	JAM-Ety; JAM-VSTB	23

<sup>20</sup>It is not clear what phonetic feature Luce was attempting to transcribe with his symbol “s” (e.g. in Hakha, Hwalngau, Khualsim, Tiddim, and Zotung); a Hakha consultant in Berkeley pronounces this word with what sounds like an ordinary [s]. In general, PTB \*s- > Proto-Chin \*(h)-, while PTB \*ts- > Proto-Chin \*s-.

<sup>21</sup>Contra Löffler 1966, I do not assign the Lushai and Mru forms to (76) \*s-tu ≈ \*tsu VAGINA.

<sup>22</sup>Luce gives another Zotung form ʃu<sup>1</sup> for WOMB that I include under (107) \*(t)sip ≈ \*(t)sup NEST / WOMB / SCROTUM, below.

<sup>23</sup>Contra Löffler 1966, I do not assign the Lushai and Mru forms to (76) \*s-tu ≈ \*tsu VAGINA.

2.1.2. Bodic				
Tibetan (Written)	<b>śa</b> -ma	placenta, afterbirth	HAJ-TED:556	24
2.1.3. Lepcha				
Lepcha	a yeñ <b>tyól</b>	placenta	JAM-Ety	
	bam- <b>tyól</b> mat	copulate	JAM-Ety	25
	küp- <b>t'or</b>	womb	JAM-Ety	26
	tă-a'yü <b>tyól</b>	menses	JAM-Ety	27
2.2. Newar				
Newar	<b>swa</b> / <b>swa</b> -	nest	AH-CSDPN:03a.013	
3.2. Qiangic				
Ergong (Danba)	<b>mdzo</b>	nest	ZMYYC:368.14	28
Ergong (Northern)	tɕ <sup>h</sup> ə <sup>53</sup>	placenta	SHK-ErgNQ:10.4.11	
Ersu	xuai <sup>55</sup> ntʂhe <sup>55</sup>	nest	ZMYYC:368.18	
Pumi (Jinghua)	stʃua <sup>55</sup>	nest	ZMYYC:368.11	
	tsy <sup>55</sup> tsuã <sup>55</sup>	placenta	JZ-Pumi	
Pumi (Taoba)	ɕua <sup>53</sup>	nest	ZMYYC:368.10	
Qiang (Mawo)	tsa	amniotic fluid	SHK-MawoQ:10.4.10	
Qiang (Taoping)	i <sup>31</sup> tshie <sup>55</sup> χbu <sup>241</sup>	nest	ZMYYC:368.9	
Shixing	dzye <sup>33</sup> khue <sup>55</sup>	nest	ZMYYC:368.20	
3.3. rGyalrongic				
rGyalrong	ta lja	placenta	DQ-Jiarong:10.4.11	

## (106)

## \*toŋ

## NEST / WOMB

This sparsely attested and speculative etymon rests on the Jingpho-Nung and Tujia forms. Apparently distinct is Bahing **dzok**- ‘nest’. The WB form “**thok**” cited in ZMYYC #368 appears to be spurious.

4.1. Jingpho				
Jingpho	hkri <b>tung</b>	womb; abdomen	JAM-Ety	
4.2. Nungic				
Anong	tɕha <sup>55</sup> ɕaŋ <sup>31</sup>	nest	ZMYYC:368.44	
Trung [Dulong]	puw <sup>31</sup> tɕi <sup>55</sup> dǎŋ <sup>53</sup>	nest	ZMYYC:368.46	
5. Tujia				
Tujia (Northern)	thũ <sup>55</sup>	nest	JZ-Tujia	
Tujia	ɲie <sup>35</sup> pi <sup>55</sup> thoŋ <sup>55</sup>	nest	ZMYYC:368.38	29
Tujia (Southern)	ʔa <sup>33</sup> tu <sup>33</sup>	nest	JZ-Tujia	

<sup>24</sup>The cognacy of this WT form is not certain, since WT does preserve final \*-l. The first syllable is homophonous with **śa** (< (H:448) \*sya FLESH / MEAT / GAME ANIMAL), though Jäschke (p.556) does not include it under that lemma, evidently considering it to be a separate morpheme. The Newar form **sa**: ‘placenta’ apparently means ‘house’, but Newar **swa** ‘nest’ seems to be a genuine reflex of \*tsywal.

<sup>25</sup>The first word **bam-tyól** means ‘concubine’ (Mainwaring p. 255).

<sup>26</sup>This Lepcha syllable **-t'or** may in fact descend from a separate etymon than Lepcha **-tyól** (cf. Mikir **tar** ‘nest’).

<sup>27</sup>The first three syllables **tă-a'yü** mean ‘female’.

<sup>28</sup>Qiangic shows evidence both for a nasal prefix (Ergong **mdzo**, Ersu **xuai<sup>55</sup>ntʂhe<sup>55</sup>**) and prefixal \*s- (Pumi Jinghua).

<sup>29</sup>The first two syllables mean ‘bird’.

(107) **\*(t)sip** ≈ **\*(t)sup** **NEST / WOMB / SCROTUM**

This etymon displays the most pervasive variational pattern in TB vowels, between **\*-u-** and **\*-i-** (see Wolfenden 1929:114-5, *STC* pp. 80-4, *VSTB* pp. 41-2, *HPTB* pp. 493-505).<sup>30</sup> It is well distributed, occurring widely in Kamarupan (but not in Chin), with convincing cognates in Himalayish, Jingpho, and Qiangic. The Burmish cognates point to different final consonants: WB has **-k**, while Achang and Zaiwa have **-t**. W.T. French (1983:526) suggests an etymology (which appears fanciful), deriving this root from a compound **\*sa-yip** ANIMAL + SLEEP (< (H:448) **\*sya** FLESH / MEAT / GAME ANIMAL and (H:354) **\*s-yip** ≈ **\*s-yup** SLEEP).

## 1.1. North Assam

*Tani	<b>*sup</b>	nest / lair	JS-HCST:271
Padam-Mising [Abor-Miri]	<b>a-sup</b>	nest / lair	JS-HCST
Apatani	<b>a-si?</b>	nest / lair	JS-HCST
	<b>à-su</b>	nest	JS-Tani
	<b>puṭa a-si?</b>	nest (bird's)	JS-Tani
Bengni	<b>a-sup</b>	nest, den	JS-Tani
	<b>ta:šup</b>	nest / lair	JS-HCST
Bokar	<b>a-šup</b>	nest / lair	JS-HCST
	<b>a-sup</b>	nest	JS-Tani
Damu	<b>?a-ɕup</b>	nest	JS-Tani
Darang [Taraon]	<b>ɑ<sup>31</sup>ju<sup>55</sup></b>	nest	ZMYYC:368.49
Gallong	<b>ɸṛta-a sup</b>	nest	KDG-IGL
Kaman [Miju]	<b>sq<sup>55</sup> sap<sup>55</sup></b>	placenta	SLZO-MLD
Idu	<b>su<sup>55</sup></b>	nest	ZMYYC:368.50
Milang	<b>ta-pyu-ap</b>	nest	AT-MPB
Tagin	<b>ta sep</b>	nest	KDG-Tag

## 1.2. Kuki-Chin

Liangmei	<b>pa sib</b>	nest	GEM-CNL
Zotung	<b>ʃu<sup>1</sup></b>	womb	GHL-PPB:O.13

## 1.3. Naga

*Northern Naga	<b>*siup</b>	nest	WTF-PNN:526
Ao (Chungli)	<b>te sep</b>	nest	GEM-CNL
Ao (Mongsen)	<b>tü sep</b>	nest	GEM-CNL
Chang	<b>hap</b>	nest	GEM-CNL
Konyak	<b>ü lep</b>	nest	GEM-CNL
Lotha Naga	<b>o shab</b>	nest	GEM-CNL
Nocte	<b>a rup</b>	nest	GEM-CNL
Phom	<b>jep</b>	nest	GEM-CNL
Rengma	<b>a se</b>	nest	GEM-CNL
Sangtam	<b>a süp</b>	nest	GEM-CNL
Sema	<b>pü sü</b>	nest	GEM-CNL
Tangkhul	<b>a thip</b>	nest	GEM-CNL
Wancho	<b>ao zap</b>	nest	GEM-CNL
Yimchungrü	<b>sap</b>	nest	GEM-CNL
Zeme	<b>chip</b>	nest	GEM-CNL
Mzieme	<b>tsip</b>	nest	GEM-CNL

<sup>30</sup>For other etyma with similar variation, see e.g. (55) **\*m-dzup** ≈ **\*m-dzip** SUCK / SUCKLE / MILK / KISS, (112) **\*k-yim** ≈ **\*k-yum** HOUSE / WOMB, (H:354) **\*s-yip** ≈ **\*s-yup** SLEEP.

## 1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish

Dimasa	bu <b>thup</b>	nest	GEM-CNL
Garo (Bangladesh)	bi- <b>tip</b>	nest	RB-LMMG:24
	ri- <b>sip</b> -il	testicles	RB-GB
	sa'- <b>tip</b>	womb, uterus	RB-GB
Kokborok	bə-t <sup>h</sup> ɔ	nest	PT-Kok

## 2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepang-Sunwar

Kham	' <b>sip</b>	nest	AH-CSDPN:03a.013
	'za <b>sip</b>	womb	DNW-KhamQ

## 2.3.2. Kiranti

Limbu	<b>hap</b>	nest	BM-Lim
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## 3.2. Qiangic

Ergong (Northern)	lɲa <sup>53</sup> <b>ɕip</b> <sup>53</sup>	amniotic sac / bag of waters	SHK-ErgNQ:10.4.9
	lɛo <sup>33</sup> <b>ɕip</b> <sup>53</sup>	scrotum	SHK-ErgNQ:10.3.4

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## 4.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	<b>tsip</b>	nest	GEM-CNL
	u <sup>31</sup> <b>tsip</b> <sup>55</sup>	nest	ZMYYC:368.47

## 6.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	ɑ <sup>31</sup> <b>sut</b> <sup>31</sup>	nest	JZ-Achang
Achang (Longchuan)	<b>sut</b> <sup>55</sup>	nest	ZMYYC:368.41
Achang (Luxi)	<b>sut</b> <sup>55</sup>	nest	JZ-Achang
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	tθai <sup>44</sup>	nest	ZMYYC:368.40
Burmese (Written)	a <b>suik</b>	nest	GEM-CNL
	ə- <b>suik</b>	nest ( of bird or beast )	PKB-WBRD
Atsi [Zaiwa]	ŋǝ <sup>55</sup> <b>sut</b> <sup>55</sup>	nest	ZMYYC:368.42

## 6.2. Loloish

Hani (Shuikui)	ɔ <sup>55</sup> <b>ʒu</b> <sup>55</sup>	nest	ZMYYC:368.32
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## 6.4. Jinuo

Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	jo <sup>44</sup> <b>su</b> <sup>55</sup>	womb	DQ-JinA:149
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(108) \*k<sup>w</sup>əy NEST / WOMB / PLACENTA

Besides Lolo-Burmese, where it is widely attested (even in Jinuo), this etymon has solid reflexes in Qiangic (Shixing) and Bai. The suggested Kamarupan cognate (in Mao) is uncertain; this form might better be assigned to (104) \*r-ku ≈ \*kru NEST / UTERUS / AMNIOTIC SAC (above), like Angami **kru**. This root was reconstructed for PLB in Matisoff 1978b:6; cf. also Matisoff 1988a:917-8. This is a good example of the development of \*labiovelar initials into Lahu labials, as also in DOG (PTB \*k<sup>w</sup>əy > Lahu **phî**); see also *STC* n. 83 (p. 26). Note the doublets in Hani (Khatu) and Naxi (Lijiang); the Naxi forms clearly show alternative labial and velar reflexes of the complex \*labiovelar initial. Compounds for WOMB/PLACENTA typically have the structure CHILD + NEST. Compounds for SCROTUM have the structure TESTICLE + NEST.

<sup>31</sup>Literally, TESTICLE + NEST.

## VI. Womb

See *HPTB* \*k<sup>w</sup>əy, p. 196; *PLB* \*k<sup>w</sup>əy<sup>1</sup>, p. 25.

1.3. Naga			
Mao	o kre	nest	GEM-CNL
3.2. Qiangic			
Shixing	dzye <sup>33</sup> khue <sup>55</sup>	nest	ZMYYC:368.20
6. Lolo-Burmese			
*Lolo-Burmese	*k <sup>w</sup> iy <sup>1</sup>	nest	JAM-MLBM:7
6.2. Loloish			
Akha	gý	nest	ILH-PL:303
Hani (Khatu)	khý/tjhí	nest	ILH-PL:303
Lahu (Black)	nī-sī-phi	scrotum	JAM-Ety
	phur <sup>33</sup>	nest	ZMYYC:368.33
	yâ-phi(-tɛ)	placenta ("child-nest")	JAM-Ety
	zɑ <sup>53</sup> phur <sup>33</sup>	placenta	JZ-Lahu
	ð-p <sup>hi</sup>	nest	JAM-MLBM:7
Lisu (Northern)	a <sup>55</sup> næ <sup>55</sup> khv <sup>33</sup>	nest of crow	DB-Lisu
Lisu	khur <sup>33</sup>	nest	ZMYYC:368.27
Lisu (Northern)	khv <sup>33</sup>	nest; brood	DB-Lisu
Lisu (Central)	nyá <sup>2</sup> -hkrgh <sup>5</sup>	nest (bird's)	JF-HLL
Lisu	ra <sup>5</sup> hkrgh <sup>5</sup>	womb	JAM-Ety
Lisu (Central)	ra <sup>5</sup> hkrgh <sup>5</sup>	womb	JF-HLL
Lisu (Northern)	za <sup>21</sup> khur <sup>33</sup>	womb	DB-Lisu
Mpi	khur <sup>6</sup>	nest	ILH-PL:303
	ʔɑ <sup>2</sup> -k <sup>hu</sup> <sup>6</sup>	nest	JAM-MLBM:7
Yi (Dafang)	ŋa <sup>33</sup> tɕhy <sup>33</sup>	nest	ZMYYC:368.22
Yi (Mile)	(xe <sup>33</sup> zo <sup>21</sup> )i <sup>33</sup> tɕhi <sup>33</sup>	nest	ZMYYC:368.25
Yi (Nanhua)	ŋA <sup>33</sup> tɕhi <sup>33</sup>	nest	ZMYYC:368.24
Yi (Nanjian)	khur <sup>55</sup> ty <sup>55</sup>	nest	ZMYYC:368.23
Yi (Xide)	he <sup>33</sup> ts̄ <sup>1</sup> khur <sup>44</sup> khur <sup>33</sup>	nest	ZMYYC:368.21
6.3. Naxi			
Naxi (Yongning)	khv <sup>13</sup>	nest	ZMYYC:368.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	khur <sup>31</sup> ; phy <sup>31</sup>	nest	ZMYYC:368.28
6.4. Jinuo			
Jinuo	a <sup>33</sup> khur <sup>33</sup>	nest	ZMYYC:368.34
8. Bai			
Bai (Dali)	tso <sup>44</sup> khv <sup>31</sup>	nest	ZMYYC:368.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	khv <sup>31</sup>	nest	ZMYYC:368.36

<sup>32</sup>The last element occurs in many other Lahu compounds, including **á-thə-phi** 'scabbard; sheath' ('knife-nest'), **ú-gê-phi** 'pillow-case', **khá-cè-phi** 'quiver for arrows', **yì?-phi** 'bed' ('sleep-nest'), **li?-phi** 'envelope', etc.

<sup>33</sup>Note the alternation between velar and labial initials, not surprising in view of the proto-labiovelar \*k<sup>w</sup>- reconstructed for this root.



## Chinese comparandum

窠 *kē* ‘burrow, nest’

GSR: not in 351

Karlgren: --

Li: \**khwar*

Baxter: \**k<sup>w</sup>haj*

This character is not in GSR and is not reconstructed by either Li or Baxter. Based on its phonetic element and its Middle Chinese reading, however, its OC reconstruction is not in doubt. The word occurs in the *Shuowen Jiezi*, attesting to its existence in the first century AD. The *Shuowen* entry reads 空也。從穴。果聲。一曰鳥巢也。在樹曰巢。在穴曰窠。 “Empty. [The character is formed] from [semantic element] 穴 and 果 is the phonetic. Another meaning is bird’s nest. When in a tree it is called *cháo*, in a cave it is called *kē*.”) The element 果 depicts an object in a tree and is part of the pictograph in 巢 *cháo* ‘nest’. In 窠 it may be serving as a semantic as well as a phonetic element.

The connection with PTB was proposed by Handel (1998). It establishes a correspondence between PTB labiovelar initials and Chinese labiovelar initials. The vowel correspondence, however, is problematic, since PTB final \**əy* usually corresponds to OC \**-id* (Li)/\**-əj* (Baxter); see the examples under the discussion for (2a) \**d(w)əy* EGG / TESTICLE.

[ZJH]

(109)

\*k-yaŋ

PLACENTA / NEST

This etymon is firmly reconstructible for PTB on the basis of the excellent fit between the Himalayish and Lolo-Burmese cognates. The velar prefix is reconstructed to accommodate the WB and Pa-O forms, as well as a group of Himalayish forms that mean CRADLE. For a similar association with CRADLE see (103) \**tsaŋ* NEST / WOMB / PLACENTA, below.

### 2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	a <i>yeñ</i> čot a <i>yeñ</i> tyól	placenta placenta	JAM-Ety JAM-Ety
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### 2.1.4. Tamangic

Tamang (Sahu)	<i>kohyong</i> <i>k<sup>h</sup>yaŋ</i>	cradle cradle	AH-CSDPN:06a.38 SIL-Sahu:6.33
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### 2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar

Chepeng	<i>khoyong</i> <i>k<sup>h</sup>oyoŋ</i>	cradle cradle	AH-CSDPN:06a.38 SIL-Chep:6.A.38
Magar	<i>koyo</i>	cradle	AH-CSDPN:06a.38

### 2.3.2. Kiranti

Chamling	<i>yON</i>	nest	WW-Cham:40,63
Khaling	<i>yāng</i>	nest	AH-CSDPN:03a.013
Kulung	<i>yoŋ_</i>	nest	RPHH-Kul
Yakha	pica: <i>yaŋ</i> dɔŋ	placenta	TK-Yakha:10.4.11

34

<sup>34</sup>The last syllable *-dɔŋ* of the Yakha form matches well with the middle syllable *-düŋ-* of one of the Uogong forms in this set [q.v.], though there is still insufficient data to etymologize them.

## VI. Womb

6.1. Burmish				
Burmese (Written)	ə- <b>khyân</b> ʔə <b>khyâng</b>	afterbirth placenta	PKB-WBRD JAM-Ety	35
6.2. Loloish				
Ugong	həŋ-dũŋ-yé lǝŋ yéʔ	placenta placenta	DB-Ugong DB-Ugong:10.4.11	
7. Karenic				
Pa-O	pò <b>khòŋ</b>	uterus	DBS-PaO	

### (110) \***(d)zyi** PLACENTA / NEST

This etymon is tentatively set up for PTB on rather shaky evidence: several forms from Loloish, and a single putative cognate from Qiangic (rGyalrong).

3.3. rGyalrongic				
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ta pu wan <b>dzi</b>	placenta	SHK-rGEQ:10.4.11	
6.2. Loloish				
Hani (Pijo)	<b>sjhí</b>	nest	ILH-PL:303	
Lalo	<b>zi</b> <sup>33</sup>	placenta	CK-YiQ:10.4.11	
Nosu	pha <sup>55</sup> <b>zi</b> <sup>33</sup>	placenta	CK-YiQ:10.4.11	
Yi (Xide)	p <sup>h</sup> a <sup>55</sup> - <b>ci</b> <sup>33</sup>	placenta, afterbirth	CSL-Ylzd	

### (111) \***s-nut** ≈ \***s-not** MOUTH / VESSEL / WOMB

This etymon is widely distributed with the meaning MOUTH in Burmish and Karenic, with good-looking cognates in Qiangic (Pumi) and Bai. The Tibetan cognate gives a clue to its more general meaning of VESSEL; the expression **snod drug** ‘the six vessels’ refers in traditional Tibetan anatomy to the gall-bladder, stomach, small and large intestines, urinary bladder, and uterus (in females) or spermatic vessels (in males).<sup>36</sup> The Tibetan compound **bu-snod**, literally “child-vessel”, refers specifically to the womb. See *STC* (pp. 144, 145, 150) for references to the Burmese, Karen, and Tibetan cognates.

See *HPTB* \***s-not** ≈ \***s-nut**, p. 381.

2.1.2. Bodic				
Spiti	pui <b>net</b>	womb	CB-SpitiQ:10.4.8	
Tibetan (Written)	bu- <b>snod</b> <b>snod</b>	womb vessel	JAM-Ety HAJ-TED:319	
3.2. Qiangic				
Pumi (Taoba)	ŋe <sup>35</sup> pu <sup>35</sup> la <sup>53</sup>	lip	JZ-Pumi	
6.1. Burmish				
Achang (Lianghe)	<b>nut</b> <sup>55</sup> u <sup>55</sup>	lip	JZ-Achang	

<sup>35</sup>There is a homophonous WB word ʔə**khyân** ‘one who is connected with another’, cognate to Lahu ʔ-**châ** ‘friend’ (*HPTB* p. 265). it is possible that there is a genuine semantic association between these two WB words, with the placenta conceived of as the “child’s friend”.

<sup>36</sup>See Jäschke 1881/1958, p. 319.

	<b>n̥ut</b> <sup>55</sup>	mouth	JZ-Achang	
	<b>n̥ut</b> <sup>55</sup> tshaŋ <sup>55</sup>	tongue	JZ-Achang	
Achang (Longchuan)	<b>n̥ot</b> <sup>55</sup>	mouth	JZ-Achang	
	<b>n̥ot</b> <sup>55</sup> mui <sup>31</sup>	beard	JZ-Achang	
	<b>n̥ot</b> <sup>55</sup> tuŋ <sup>55</sup>	lip	JZ-Achang	
Achang (Luxi)	<b>nut</b> <sup>55</sup>	mouth	JZ-Achang	
	<b>nut</b> <sup>55</sup> tɔŋ <sup>51</sup>	lip	JZ-Achang	
Achang (Xiandao)	<b>n̥ut</b> <sup>55</sup>	mouth	DQ-Xiandao:107	
	<b>n̥ut</b> <sup>55</sup> mui <sup>31</sup>	beard	DQ-Xiandao:109	
	<b>n̥ut</b> <sup>55</sup> zɿ <sup>55</sup>	lip	DQ-Xiandao:108	
	<b>n̥ot</b> <sup>55</sup> mui <sup>31</sup>	beard	DQ-Xiandao:109.1	
Bola	<b>n̥ot</b> <sup>55</sup>	mouth	DQ-Bola:107	
	<b>n̥ot</b> <sup>55</sup> kau?	lip	DQ-Bola:108	
	<b>n̥ot</b> <sup>55</sup> mɔ <sup>31</sup>	beard; whiskers	DQ-Bola:109,110	
Burmese (Modern)	<b>nhut</b>	mouth, snout	GHL-PPB:V.109	
Burmese (Written)	<b>hnut</b>	mouth; womb	JAM-Ety; PKB-WBRD	
	<b>hnut-khâm</b>	lip, brim; upper edge of vessel	JAM-Ety; JAM-TJLB:185	
	<b>hnut-khâm</b>	lip	STC:329	
	<b>nhut</b>	mouth, snout	GHL-PPB:V.109	
	<b>nhut kham:</b>	lip	GEM-CNL	
	<b>nut-sî</b>	beak / bill	JAM-Ety	
Lashi	<b>nuat</b> <sup>55</sup>	beak; bill; mouth	DQ-Lashi:3.7,3.9.3	37
	<b>nuat</b> <sup>55</sup> kuŋ <sup>55</sup>	lip	DQ-Lashi:3.9	
	<b>nuat</b> <sup>55</sup> mou <sup>55</sup>	moustache; whiskers (of animal)	DQ-Lashi:8.1.2.3,8.1.7	
	<b>nuat</b> <sup>55</sup> mɔ <sup>33</sup>	beard	DQ-Lashi:8.1.2.1	
	vuŋ <sup>31</sup> <b>nɔ</b> <sup>33</sup>	snout (pig)	DQ-Lashi:3.5.5	
Maru [Langsu]	<b>nat</b> <sup>55</sup>	beak; bill; mouth	DQ-Langsu:3.7,3.9.3	
	<b>nat</b> <sup>55</sup> kauk <sup>55</sup>	lip	DQ-Langsu:3.9	
	<b>nat</b> <sup>55</sup> muk <sup>55</sup>	whiskers (of cat)	DQ-Langsu:8.1.7	
	<b>nat</b> <sup>55</sup> mɔi <sup>31</sup>	beard; moustache	DQ-Langsu:8.1.2.1,8.1.2.3	
	vɔŋ <sup>31</sup> <b>nɔ</b> <sup>31</sup>	snout (pig)	DQ-Langsu:3.5.5	
	ɔ <sup>31</sup> <b>nat</b> <sup>55</sup> kauk <sup>55</sup>	lower lip	DQ-Langsu:3.9.2	
Atsi [Zaiwa]	<b>nut</b> <sup>55</sup>	mouth	JZ-Zaiwa	
	<b>nut</b> <sup>55</sup> kuŋ <sup>55</sup>	lip	JZ-Zaiwa	
	<b>nut</b> <sup>55</sup> mui <sup>21</sup>	beard	JZ-Zaiwa	
6.2. Loloish				
Lisu (Putao)	<b>muw<sup>5</sup>nuw<sup>2</sup></b>	mouth, snout	GHL-PPB:V.109	
7. Karenic				
*Karen (Pho)	<b>*nò?</b>	beak; bill; mouth	RBJ-KLS:668,691	
*Karen (Sgaw)	<b>*nɔ?</b>	mouth	RBJ-KLS:668	
	<b>*nò?</b>	beak / bill	RBJ-KLS:691	
Pho (Bassein)	<b>nò?</b>	beak; bill; mouth	JAM-Ety; RBJ-KLS:668,691	
	<b>nò'</b>	beak / bill	JAM-Ety	

<sup>37</sup>These Lashi forms bear a strong surface resemblance to Siamese **nùat** (< Proto-Tai \***hn-**) 'beard'. This word is not widely distributed in Tai. "Except Tay (a Central Tai dialect) **nuôt D1L** this word seems restricted to the SW dialects" (Li Fang Kuei 1977:116). The Northern and Central Tai dialects generally have forms descending from Proto-Tai \***mum** (*HCT* pp. 72-73). It seems possible that this is a loan from Burmish into SW Tai.

## VI. Womb

Pho (Moulmein)	<b>noʔ</b>	beak; bill; mouth	JAM-Ety; RBJ-KLS:668,691
Sgaw (Bassein)	<b>nɔʔ</b>	mouth	JAM-Ety; RBJ-KLS:668
	<b>nɔ̃ʔ</b>	beak / bill	JAM-Ety; RBJ-KLS:691
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	<b>nɔ<sup>33</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>u<sup>31</sup></b>	beard	DQ-KarenB:112
Sgaw (Moulmein)	<b>nɔʔ</b>	mouth	JAM-Ety; RBJ-KLS:668
	<b>nɔ̃ʔ</b>	beak / bill	JAM-Ety; RBJ-KLS:691
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	<b>nɔʔ<sup>55</sup> p<sup>h</sup>oʔ<sup>55</sup></b>	lip	DQ-KarenA:111
	<b>nɔʔ<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>u<sup>31</sup></b>	beard	DQ-KarenA:112
8. Bai			
Bai	<b>ne<sup>21</sup></b>	mouth	ZYS-Bai:3.7

(112)

**\*k-yim** ≈ **\*k-yum**

**HOUSE / WOMB**

This etymon is extremely widespread in TB with the meaning HOUSE (see *STC* #53). In the present set I am including only those compounds (typically of the structure CHILD + HOUSE) that mean WOMB/PLACENTA. This root shows vocalic variation between **\*-u-** and **\*-i-**. Some languages have reflexes with initial velar stop, but others (e.g. Lushai, WB) point to a variant beginning with **y-** or **i-**; that is, some languages have treated the velar as a prefix.

See *HPTB* **\*k-yim** ≈ **\*k-yum**, pp. 21, 35, 273, 498, 504, 531, 533.

### 0. Sino-Tibetan

*Tibeto-Burman	<b>*kim</b>	house	STC:53
1.1. North Assam			
Mising [Miri]	<b>əkum</b>	house	STC:53
1.2. Kuki-Chin			
Chinbok	<b>im</b>	house	STC:53
Lushai [Mizo]	<b>in</b>	house	STC:142n384
Paangkhua	<b>sùul-in</b>	womb	LL-PRPL
1.3. Naga			
Nocte	<b>hum</b>	house	STC:53
Tangsa (Moshang)	<b>yim</b> ≈ <b>yüm</b>	house	STC:53
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	<b>yum</b>	house	STC:53
1.5. Mikir			
Mikir	<b>arlo a hem</b> <b>hem</b>	womb womb; house	JAM-Ety 38 JAM-Ety; JAM-VSTB; 39 STC:53
	<b>o sô a-hêm</b> <b>o so-a hem</b>	placenta / afterbirth placenta	KHG-Mikir:36 JAM-Ety; JAM-VSTB
1.6. Mru			
Mru	<b>kim</b>	house	STC:53

<sup>38</sup>Compare to **oso ahem** ‘placenta’ (“child house”).

<sup>39</sup>This Mikir form has nothing to do with (96) **\*s-b-rum** WOMB / PLACENTA above, contra *VSTB*, pp. 226-7.

1.8. Chairel				
Chairel	<b>him</b>	house	STC:53	
2.1.2. Bodic				
Tibetan (Written)	<b>khyim</b>	house	STC:53	
2.1.3. Lepcha				
Lepcha	<b>khyŭm</b>	house	STC:25n82	
2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar				
Chepeng	<b>kyim</b> × <b>tim</b>	house	STC:53	
Magar	<b>im</b> × <b>yum</b>	house	STC:53	
2.3.2. Kiranti				
Bahing	<b>khyim</b> × <b>khim</b>	house	STC:53	
Dumi	<b>mori-ki:m</b>	womb, uterus	SVD-Dum	
Hayu	<b>kim</b> × <b>kem</b>	house	STC:53	
Limbu	<b>him</b>	house	STC:53	
3.3. rGyalrongic				
rGyalrong	ta pu <b>ktɕem</b>	womb	DQ-Jiarong:10.4.8	
rGyalrong (Northern)	ta po tso <b>fkəm</b>	womb	SHK-rGNQ:10.4.8	
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ta p <sup>i</sup> <b>tʃ<sup>h</sup>em</b>	womb	SHK-rGEQ:10.4.8	
rGyalrong (NW)	tə lɲa <b>ktɕ<sup>h</sup>im</b>	amniotic sac / bag of waters	SHK-rGNWQ:10.4.9	
4. Jingpho-Nung-Luish				
Andro	<b>kem</b>	house	STC:53	
Kadu	<b>tyem</b>	house	STC:53	
4.2. Nungic				
Anong	<b>kyim</b> × <b>tśim</b> × <b>tśum</b>	house	STC:53	
6.1. Burmish				
Burmese (Written)	chañ-ʔ <b>im</b> <b>im</b> swê-ʔ <b>im</b>	womb house placenta	JAM-Ety STC:53 JAM-Ety	40
6.2. Loloish				
Bisu	aŋ-jàt-ja- <b>húm</b>	womb	PB-Bisu:16	
Lahu	<b>yè</b>	house	STC:53	

## (113)

**\*bu****CHILD**

This etymon means CHILD. It is included here because of the important WT form **bu-snod** ‘womb’ (“child-vessel”). Care is required to distinguish this etymon from reflexes of (102) \*r-bu × \*pru NEST / WOMB / PLACENTA, above. Coblin (1986:164) suggests the Chinese comparandum 僕 (below).

## 0. Sino-Tibetan

\*Sino-Tibetan                      **\*bu?**                      boy / servant                      WSC-SH:47

## 2.1.2. Bodic

Spiti                                      **pui** net                      womb                      CB-SpitiQ:10.4.8

<sup>40</sup>Literally BLOOD + HOUSE. See \*s-hwiŋ ~ \*s-hyŋwəy-t BLOOD.

## VI. Womb

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Tibetan (Written)	<b>bu-snod</b>	womb	JAM-Ety	41
9. Sinitic				
Chinese (Old)	<b>buk</b>	servant, male slave	WSC-SH:164	42

### Chinese comparandum

僕 **pú** ‘servant, groom, male slave’

GSR: 1211b      Karlgren: **\*b’uk** / **\*b’òk**      Li: **\*buk**      Baxter: **\*bok**

The vowel correspondence is regular, as OC **\*-uk** (Li)/**\*-ok** (Baxter) normally corresponds to PTB **\*-uk**, as in ‘bend /crooked’ PTB **\*guk**~ **\*kuk**, OC 曲 **\*khjuk** (Li)/**\*kh(r)jok** (Baxter). However, the presence of coda **\*-k** in the Chinese form is unexplained.

Peiros and Starostin (1996.1:57 set 203) relate this Chinese word to Tibetan **phrug** ‘child’ and Burmese **pauk** ‘young of animals’.

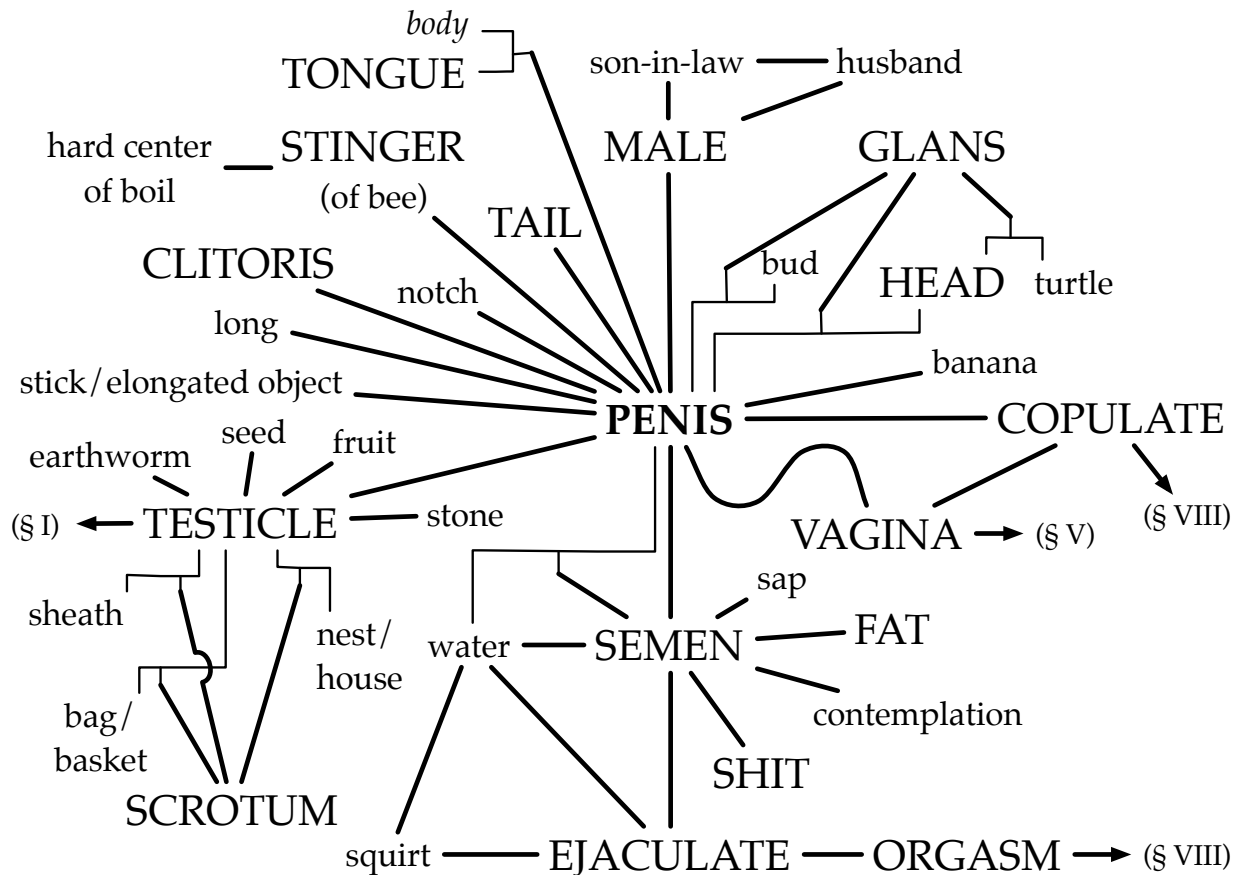
[ZJH]

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<sup>41</sup>For the second element, see (111) **\*s-nut** ≈ **\*s-not** MOUTH / VESSEL / WOMB, above.

<sup>42</sup>Chinese 僕.

## VII. Penis



The various components of the male genitalia show semantic associations with a number of other bodyparts, as well as with a wide range of objects in other semantic fields. Some of these associations are widespread or universal in the world's languages; others seem more idiosyncratic to ST or the SEA'n linguistic area.

Among the universal semantic associations we may list the following:

(1) PENIS  $\longleftrightarrow$  TAIL: The English word *penis* itself is from Lat. *pēnis* 'tail' (cf. also Fr. *queue* < Lat. *cauda* 'tail'), among countless other examples. The widespread TB etymon for TAIL (H:216) \**may*  $\approx$  \**mey*  $\approx$  \**mi* (cf. also Chinese 尾 OC \**mijwər*) has similar associations, e.g. Jingpho *mài*, *ṇ-mài* 'tail; a euphemistic name for the male private parts' (Hanson 1906/1954, p. 400).

(2) PENIS  $\longleftrightarrow$  BANANA: This connection is made explicitly in Kokborok *t<sup>h</sup>a-li* (see (114a) \**m-ley*  $\approx$  \**m-li* PENIS below) and in Newar *mwā-e* 'banana; penis'.

(3) GLANS PENIS  $\longleftrightarrow$  PENIS + HEAD: This is a universal association (cf. WT *mje-mgo*; Lahu *nī-ó-qō*; Lisu (Northern) ɔ<sup>55</sup>dy<sup>33</sup> 'head', hɔ̃<sup>21</sup>ɔ<sup>55</sup>dy<sup>33</sup> 'penis'; Yakha *tu khərūk*

‘head’, **li: go: u tu kərək** ‘glans’; Qiang (Mawo) **qə pəts̚** ‘head’, **li qə pəts̚** ‘glans’; Eng. *dick-head*).

(4) TESTICLE ↔ EGG: This is also a universal association (cf. e.g. Russian *jajtsy* ‘eggs; testicles’, Hebrew *beytsim* ‘id.’). The same etymon may have some reflexes meaning EGG and others meaning TESTICLE. Several TB etyma showing this association have been treated above under EGG (Chapter I); others will be treated below in this chapter. Alternatively a language may have a compound word for TESTICLE of the structure PENIS + EGG.

(5) TESTICLE ↔ FRUIT / BALL / ROUNDED OBJECT: TB compounds for TESTICLE frequently take the form PENIS + FRUIT/ROUND OBJECT, e.g. Lahu **nī-šī** ‘testicle’ (2nd syll. < (H:206) \*sey FRUIT / ROUND OBJECT).<sup>1</sup>

Cf. also Newar **kwaa-si** ‘testicles’ (lit. “hot-fruit”), reminiscent of the vulgar English simile “hot as balls”.

(6) TESTICLE ↔ STONE: Also a widespread association in the world’s languages, including archaic English slang. In TB, cf. formations like Monpa **khong-lung** ‘testicle’ (**lung** ‘stone’).

(7) SCROTUM ↔ BASKET / BAG / POUCH / NEST: This obvious association occurs in Lat. *scrōtum* < *scrautum* ‘leather pouch for arrows’, and is also found in TB, e.g. Lahu **nī-sī-phi** ‘scrotum’, **phi** ‘nest; receptacle’ < (108) \*k<sup>w</sup>əy NEST / WOMB / PLACENTA. Cf. also (131) \*s-blŋ SCROTUM / POUCH, (136) \*ʔip ≈ \*ʔi:t BAG / SCROTUM.

(8) SEMEN ↔ PENIS + LIQUID: Cf. Nesu **leɹ<sup>33</sup> ʔ<sup>21</sup>** and Noesu **ʔu<sup>55</sup> ʔi<sup>21</sup>**, where the second element < (164) \*rəy WATER / LIQUID, and WB **lī-rañ**.

Semantic associations that seem more peculiar to the SEA’n linguistic area include the following:

(9) PENIS ↔ VAGINA: Many etyma have some reflexes which refer to the male organ, but others which refer to the female counterpart, a phenomenon that has been dubbed ‘genital flipflop’ (see chapter note under VAGINA). Etyma like this should perhaps be assigned the gender-neutral gloss GENITALS at the proto-level. Several have been treated under VAGINA (Chapter V, above); others will be treated below in this chapter.

(10) PENIS ↔ BODY + TONGUE: Cf. Garo **maŋ-sre** ‘penis’ < (H:265) \*s-maŋ BODY / CORPSE + (H:215) \*s-lyə TONGUE. This form was cited in Benedict 1979:24.

(11) TESTICLE ↔ SEED: Cf. WB **lī-ce**, lit. “penis-seed”.

(12) GLANS ↔ NOTCH: Cf. WB **lī-thac** ‘corona glandis’, lit. “penis-notch”, and Lahu **nī-qhèʔ** ‘penis’, where the second syllable means ‘notch (as a stick); chip; break off a piece’.

<sup>1</sup>Note that TESTICLE ↔ NUT is not characteristic of SEA, since languages in this region generally lack a word for NUT distinct from FRUIT. Cf. Chinese 果 (Mand. **guǒ**), used equally well for FRUIT (more specifically 水果 Mand. **shuǐguǒ** “water-fruit”) and NUT, e.g. 開心果 Mand. **kāixīnguǒ** ‘pistachio’ (lit. “open-heart-fruit”).



(13) GLANS ↔ BUD: Cf. WB *lî-ŋum* ‘glans’, lit. “penis-bud”.

(14) GLANS ↔ TURTLE: While Latin *glāns* means ‘acorn’, Mandarin *guī-tóu* ‘glans penis’ means literally “turtle-head”. (For obvious reasons, this formation is especially appropriate for the uncircumcised organ.) The data is so far insufficient to establish whether this same metaphor occurs in TB languages.

(15) SEMEN ↔ SHIT: A few languages associate semen with SHIT / BODY DIRT / EXCRETION. Cf. Lahu *nī-qhê* “penis-shit”, Chepang *təyŋ-kli?* ‘id.’, and Bantawa *lū-khü-wa* (*khü* ‘stool, excreta’). In Jingpho *ne<sup>31</sup>khji<sup>55</sup>*, however, this combination of morphemes means SMEGMA.

(16) SEMEN ↔ FAT: Cf. Lahu *nī-chu* ‘semen’ (lit. “penis-fat”).

Few monomorphemic etyma are reconstructible for SEMEN, with three possibilities offered below: (157) \*ra ≈ \*wa SEMEN, (158) \*ŋya SEMEN, and (159) \*bo SEMEN.

Words for FORESKIN/PREPUCE, naturally enough, are compounds of PENIS + SKIN, and are beyond the scope of this volume.

Expressions for COPULATE frequently involve PENIS plus a verb. See Chapter VIII.

(114) **\*m-ley ≈ \*m-li ≈ \*m-ney** **PENIS**

This is by far the most widely attested etymon for PENIS in TB, occurring in Kamarupan, Himalayish, Lolo-Burmese (including Jinuo), and Qiangic. (See *STC* #262, which cites reflexes from the first three of these groups.) The nasal prefix is well-established, appearing e.g. in WT and other Himalayish languages. This prefix has caused nasalization of the root-initial lateral in several languages (e.g. Meithei and Jingpho), or even driven out or “preempted” the root-initial entirely (as in Chang Naga or Lahu). Those forms which have developed a secondary nasal root-initial are presented separately below as set (114b) \*m-ney PENIS. A couple of Loloish languages (Lalo, Lisu) have reflexes in *h-*. It is possible that these point to an alternant with sibilant prefix, \*s-ley (as is reflected more directly in Phunoi *hle<sup>11</sup>* and Lepcha *sāli*). Several Loloish languages (Lalo, Liphó, Lolophó, Nesu, Sani/Nyi) have words for PENIS and TESTICLE with initial *d-*. Since it is true that there is much interplay between *l-* and *d-* in ST,<sup>2</sup> and it is also the case that palatalized labial initials are sometimes dentalized in Loloish languages like Sani,<sup>3</sup> it might seem reasonable to assign these reflexes in *d-* to \*m-ley if we posit an intermediate palatalized prototype like \*myey. However, Lalo has forms with both *d-* and *h-* (*de<sup>33</sup>se<sup>21</sup>* ‘testicle’, *he<sup>21</sup>* ‘penis’), which suggests that two separate etyma are involved. I am therefore assigning the reflexes in *d-* to (117) \*ti-k PENIS, below.

Several languages have forms that resemble reflexes of this etymon, but which are really loans from Indo-Aryan (cf. Skt. *lingam*): WB *lin-khu* ‘scrotum’, Kanauri *liñ* ‘penis (polite)’.

<sup>2</sup>See the note under (40) \*m/s-la(:)y ≈ \*s-tay NAVEL, above.

<sup>3</sup>E.g. PTB/PLB \*my- > Sani *n-* (e.g. (H:324) \*s-myak ≈ \*s-mik EYE > Sa. *ne<sup>44</sup>*); \*by- > Sani *dl-* (e.g. (H:171) \*bya BEE > Sa. *dlā-ma*); \*py- > Sa. *tl-* (e.g. (H:532) \*pyam ≈ \*byam FLY (v.) > Sa. *tlō*); see *STC*, n. 93, p. 29.

(114a) **\*m-ley** ≈ **\*m-li** **PENIS**

There is apparently a slight variation in the rhyme of this etymon between **\*-ey** and **\*-i**, although the reflexes of these two rhymes are not distinguishable for many TB languages at present. *STC* (#262 and note 197) recognizes “vowel gradation” in this root, assigning Kanauri **kut-li**, Bahing **bli**, WB **lî**, Garo **ri-gaŋ**, and Dimasa **li** to PTB **\*li**, but WT **mdže** to **\*m-ley**. For convenience, we are grouping all the reflexes of this etymon with lateral initials together in (114a), regardless of the precise proto-rhyme to which they may eventually be assigned.

See also *HPTB* **\*m-ley** ≈ **\*m-li**, pp. 47, 49, 153, 219, 509.

## 0. Sino-Tibetan

*Tibeto-Burman	<b>*li</b>	penis	STC:262	
	<b>*li ~ *m-ley</b>	penis	BM-PK7:138	
	<b>*m-ley</b>	penis	AW-TBT:142	
	<b>*m-ley</b> ≈ <b>*li</b>	penis	JAM-GSTC:049	
	<b>*mlye</b>	penis	AW-TBT:142	
1.4. Meithei				
Meithei	bu ri khaw	testicle	CYS-Meithei:10.3.5	
1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish				
Dimasa	<b>li</b>	penis	JAM-Ety; JAM-GSTC:049; STC:262	
Garo	<b>ri</b> <b>ri-gaŋ</b>	penis penis	AW-TBT:142 JAM-Ety; JAM-GSTC:049; STC:262	
Garo (Bangladesh)	<b>ri-gong</b> <b>ri-ku-chil</b> <b>ri-sim-ang</b> <b>ri-sip-il</b>	penis foreskin male pubic hair testicles	RB-GB RB-GB RB-GB RB-GB	
Kokborok	<b>bələy</b> <b>t<sup>h</sup>a-li</b>	penis banana	PT-Kok PT-Kok	4
2.1.1. Western Himalayish				
Kanauri	<b>kut-li</b>	penis	JAM-GSTC:049; STC:262	
	<b>kut li</b> <b>les</b>	penis (less polite) penis	JAM-Ety DS-Kan:27	5
2.1.2. Bodic				
Baima	<b>kha</b> <sup>13</sup> <b>ndzɿ</b> <sup>53</sup> <b>li</b> <sup>53</sup> <b>dɛ</b> <sup>341</sup>	penis testicle	SHK-BaimaQ:10.3.1 SHK-BaimaQ:10.3.5	
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	<b>ndze</b> <b>ndze ŋo</b>	penis glans penis	JS-Amdo:743 JS-Amdo:304	
Tibetan (Balti)	<b>že</b>	penis	RAN1975:74	
Tibetan (Batang)	<b>dze</b> <sup>55</sup> <b>ba</b> ? <sup>53</sup> <b>dze</b> <sup>55</sup> <b>ngo</b> <sup>53</sup>	foreskin glans penis	DQ-Batang:10.3.3 DQ-Batang:10.3.2	

<sup>4</sup>Literally “penis-fruit” (p.c., Prashanta Tripura, 1987).

<sup>5</sup>The suffixal **-s** in this form is unexplained.

Tibetan (Written)	gsaṅ-mje mdže mje  mje mgo mje mje-mgo mje-rlig	penis (respectful) penis penis  glans penis penis glans penis penis and testicles	JAM-Ety JAM-GSTC:049 GHL-PPB:X.35; JS-Tib:743 JS-Tib:304 JAM-Ety JAM-Ety JAM-Ety	6
2.1.3. Lepcha				
Lepcha	sāli krik	penis	JAM-Ety	7
2.1.4. Tamangic				
*Tamang	* <sup>A</sup> mlai * <sup>A</sup> mle:	penis penis	MM-Thesis:768 MM-Thesis:768	
Chantyal	mfi <sup>o</sup> le	penis	NPB-ChanQ:10.3.1	
Gurung (Ghachok)	mrī la baq mrī lā bāq	copulate copulate	SIL-Gur:2.B.2.13 JAM-Ety	
Manang (Gyaru)	mlē <sup>1</sup>	penis	YN-Man:042-07	
Manang (Prakaa)	<sup>2</sup> mle <sup>3</sup> mle	penis penis	HM-Prak:0510 MM-Thesis:768	
Tamang	mle <sup>h</sup> -ka	penis	AW-TBT:631	
Tamang (Risiangku)	<sup>3</sup> mlē ka	penis	MM-TamRisQ:10.3.1	
Tamang (Sahu)	mlē-ka	penis	JAM-Ety	
Thakali (Syang)	<sup>51</sup> mle = <sup>51</sup> mle <sup>h</sup>	penis	MM-Thesis:768	
Thakali (Tukche)	mleh-cham mleh-c <sup>h</sup> om <sup>3</sup> mle <sup>3</sup> mle- <sup>H</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> əm	hair (pubic) hair (pubic, male) penis pubic hair (male)	JAM-Ety SIL-Thak:2.A.10.1 MM-Thesis:768 MM-Thesis:768	
2.3. Mahakiranti				
*BSDTK	*bli	penis	BM-PK7:138	
*Kul-Cham-Ban	*li	penis	BM-PK7:138	
Athpare (Rai)	le wa d̪in	testicle	AW-TBT:617b	
2.3.2. Kiranti				
Bahing	bli	penis	BM-PK7:138; STC:262	
Bantawa	li	penis	BM-PK7:138; JAM-Ety; NKR-Bant; WW-Bant:45	
	li-wa-din	testicle	WW-Bant:46	8
	lü-khü-wa	semen	WW-Bant:47	
	lU khU wa	semen	NKR-Bant	
	lUa Din	testicle	NKR-Bant	
Belhare	li	penis	BB-Belhare	
Dumi	li:	penis	BM-PK7:138; SVD-Dum	
Hayu	bi mli	genitals	BM-PK7:138; JAM-Ety	9
Khaling	'li swām li	hair (pubic) penis	JAM-Ety BM-PK7:138	

<sup>6</sup>First syllable means 'secret thing; hidden thing'.

<sup>7</sup>This form reflects an alternate prototype with sibilant prefix, \*s-ley. Cf. also Bisu hlè, where the voiceless lateral also points to \*s- instead of \*m-.

<sup>8</sup>Literally "penis + bird + egg". Cf. also the Athpare form.

<sup>9</sup>This is an antonymic compound meaning literally "vagina-penis". See (81) \*b(y)at VAGINA above.

## VII. Penis

Limbu	<b>le</b>	penis; top of penis	BM-Lim; BM-PK7:138; JAM-Ety	10	
	<b>le hoŋ</b>	hole of penis; <i>meatus urinarius</i>	JAM-Ety		
	<b>le:</b>	penis	AW-TBT:142		
	<b>le bong</b>	testicle	JAM-Ety		
	<b>lE dwa</b>	glans penis	BM-Lim		
	<b>le hek</b>	top of penis	JAM-Ety		
	<b>lE khaŋ</b>	glans penis	BM-Lim		
	<b>le mu rik</b>	hair (pubic)	JAM-Ety		
	<b>lE nt-</b>	glans penis	BM-Lim		
	<b>lE suŋ</b>	male genitals	BM-Lim		
	<b>le thim ba</b>	testicle	BM-Lim		
	<b>le wā</b>	semen	JAM-Ety		
	<b>le dhi:m ba</b>	testicle ("penis-egg")	AW-TBT:142,617b		
	Thulung	<b>ble</b>	penis		BM-PK7:138; NJA-Thulung
Yakha	<b>le-</b>	copulate	NJA-Thulung		
	<b>le koak ti</b>	testicle	NJA-Thulung		
	<b>li:</b>	penis	TK-Yakha:10.3.1		
	<b>li: geŋ</b>	testicle	TK-Yakha:10.3.5		
	<b>li: go: u muŋ</b>	male pubic hair	TK-Yakha:10.3.6		
3.1. Tangut	<b>li: go: u tu kəruk</b>	glans penis	TK-Yakha:10.3.2	11	
	<b>li: gəu: wə ha rik</b>	foreskin	TK-Yakha:10.3.3		
	Tangut [Xixia]	<b>be le</b>	penis		DQ-Xixia:10.3.1
		<b>l dai<sup>1</sup></b>	testicle		MVS-Grin
	3.2. Qiangic				
Qiang (Mawo)	<b>liq</b>	penis	JS-Mawo	13	
	<b>li hᵛ</b>	pubic hair (male)	JS-Mawo		
	<b>li hᵛŋ</b>	male pubic hair	SHK-MawoQ:10.3.6		
	<b>li qə pətsɿ</b>	glans penis	SHK-MawoQ:10.3.2		
Qiang (Yadu)	<b>læq</b>	penis	DQ-QiangN:144		
6. Lolo-Burmese					
*Lolo-Burmese	<b>*(n)-li<sup>2</sup></b>	penis	AW-TBT:142		
6.1. Burmish					
Achang (Xiandao)	<b>li<sup>55</sup> tsi<sup>31</sup></b>	testicles	DQ-Xiandao:142		
	<b>lî</b>	penis; penis (vulgar)	JAM-Ety; JAM-GSTC:049; JAM-TJLB:260; PKB-WBRD		
Burmese (Written)	<b>lì</b>	penis	STC:262	14	
	<b>lî khyôŋ</b>	glans penis	JAM-Ety		
	<b>lî-ce'</b>	testicle	JAM-Ety		
	<b>lî-chan</b>	testicle	JAM-Ety		

<sup>10</sup>For the second syllable, see (92) \*hoŋ VAGINA / RECTUM / HOLE.

<sup>11</sup>tu kəruk means 'head'.

<sup>12</sup>The first element l- 'penis' appears in reduced form in this "crypto-compound".

<sup>13</sup>Second element qə pətsɿ means "head".

<sup>14</sup>Second element means 'seed' < (133) \*dzəy SEED / TESTICLE / ROUND OBJECT, below.

	lî-rañ	semen	JAM-Ety	
	lî-thac	corona glandis	JAM-Ety	
	lî-ŋum	glans penis	JAM-Ety	15
	li <sup>4</sup>	penis	GHL-PPB:X.35	
	ləʔu	scrotum	JAM-Ety	16
6.2. Loloish				
*Loloish	*(n)-li <sup>2</sup>	penis	AW-TBT:294; DB-PLolo:122	
Akha	beu <sup>ˆ</sup> leu <sup>ˆ</sup>	penis (polite)	PL-AETD	17
Bisu	hlè	penis	DB-PLolo	18
	hləʔu <sup>33</sup>	testicles	DB-PLolo	19
	lè the	penis	PB-Bisu:15	
	lè ʔu	testicles	PB-Bisu:15	20
Lalo	hè	penis	SB-Lalo	
	he <sup>21</sup>	penis	CK-YiQ:10.3.1	
Lisu	h'aw <sup>5</sup>	penis	DB-PLolo:122; JAM-GSTC:049	
Lisu (Northern)	hɔ̃ <sup>21</sup> ɔ̃ <sup>55</sup> dy <sup>33</sup>	glans penis	DB-Lisu	
Lisu (Central)	h'aw <sup>5</sup>	penis	JF-HLL	
Lisu (Northern)	la <sup>55</sup> fu <sup>33</sup>	testicle	DB-Lisu	21
Mpi	tɕha <sup>2</sup> la <sup>2</sup> <sup>4</sup>	penis	DB-PLolo	22
Nesu	le <sup>33</sup> ʔ <sup>21</sup>	semen	CK-YiQ:10.3.7	23
Noesu	tu <sup>55</sup> zi <sup>21</sup>	semen	CK-YiQ:10.3.7	
6.4. Jinuo				
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	li <sup>55</sup> tsɿ <sup>33</sup>	testicles	DQ-JinA:145	

## (114b)

## \*m-ney

## PENIS

This etymon is obviously an allofam of (114a) \*m-ley ≈ \*m-li PENIS. The reflexes in this set arose through assimilation of the lateral root-initial to the nasal prefix. In some cases (e.g. Jingpho, Meithei) the prefix still co-occurs with the secondary nasal root-initial. In other languages (e.g. Lahu) the prefix has disappeared as such, after supplanting the original root-initial (“prefix preemption”).<sup>24</sup> This allofam occurs in Jingpho, and is widely attested in Lolo-Burmese; there are also a few scattered reflexes in Kamarupan languages (Chang, Meithei, Mru).

<sup>15</sup>The second syllable means ‘flower bud’.

<sup>16</sup>The first syllable is reduced to schwa in this compound. This atonic syllable is a reduction of lî ‘penis’, and is not to be identified with the first syllable of WB *lin-khu* ‘scrotum’, which is ultimately from Skt. *lingam*.

<sup>17</sup>The stopped tone in the second syllable is unexplained. Note, however, the final -q in some Qiang forms. Akha *a\_loe\_* has been tentatively assigned to (144) \*ləw-k COPULATE, below.

<sup>18</sup>The voiceless lateral reflects an \*s- prefix. Cf. also Lepcha *sāli*.

<sup>19</sup>Literally “penis + egg”.

<sup>20</sup>Literally “penis + egg”.

<sup>21</sup>Lit. “penis + egg”.

<sup>22</sup>According to Bradley (1978:304-5), this form is apparently a doublet of Mpi *ne<sup>2</sup>*; see (114b).

<sup>23</sup>The second element in the Nesu and Noesu compounds < (164) \*rəy WATER / LIQUID.

<sup>24</sup>For the first use of the term “prefix preemption” see Matisoff 1972b, “Tangkhu Naga and comparative TB”.

## VII. Penis

1.3. Naga				
Chang	nè	penis	AW-TBT:294	
1.4. Meithei				
Meithei	mənu	penis	CYS-Meithei:10.3.1	
1.6. Mru				
Mru	nia- nia <sup>1</sup> nia <sup>4</sup>	penis penis penis	JAM-Ety GHL-PPB:Q.51 GHL-PPB:Q.51	
4.1. Jingpho				
Jingpho	mənē	penis	JAM-Ety; JAM-TJLB:260	
	mənè~ məné?	penis	JAM-GSTC:049	
	nē	penis	JAM-Ety	
	ne-di	testicle	JAM-Ety	
	ne-rú-rú	masturbation	JAM-Ety	
	ne-um	foreskin / prepuce	JAM-Ety	
	ne-zu	semen	JAM-Ety	
	ne <sup>31</sup> kha? <sup>55</sup>	corona glandis	JCD	
	ne <sup>31</sup> khji <sup>55</sup>	smegma	JCD	25
	ne <sup>31</sup> kjō <sup>31</sup>	sexually dysfunction- tional male	JCD	
	ne <sup>31</sup> laj <sup>33</sup>	penis	JCD	
	ne <sup>31</sup> mun <sup>33</sup>	male pubic hair	JCD	
	ne <sup>31</sup> phji? <sup>31</sup>	foreskin / prepuce	JCD	
	ne <sup>31</sup> pot <sup>31</sup>	penis shaft	JCD	
	ne <sup>31</sup> si <sup>33</sup>	impotence	JCD	
	ne <sup>31</sup> tan <sup>31</sup>	large penis	JCD	
	ne <sup>31</sup> than <sup>33</sup>	glans penis	JCD	
	ne <sup>31</sup> ti <sup>31</sup>	scrotum	JCD	
	ne <sup>31</sup> tsu <sup>33</sup>	semen	JCD	
	ne <sup>31</sup> tum <sup>33</sup>	testicles	JCD	
	ne <sup>31</sup> tʃin <sup>31</sup>	circumcised penis	JCD	
	ne <sup>31</sup> up <sup>55</sup>	uncircumcised penis	JCD	
	ne <sup>31</sup> ʒaŋ <sup>33</sup>	sexually potent male	JCD	26
	ne <sup>31</sup> ʒu? <sup>55</sup>	masturbation	JCD	
	nè?-ūm	foreskin / prepuce	JAM-TJLB:126	
	<sup>1</sup> mə <sup>1</sup> nye	penis	AW-TBT:294	
6.1. Burmish				
Achang (Xiandao)	ŋi <sup>31</sup>	penis	DQ-Xiandao:141	
Bola	ŋji <sup>35</sup>	penis	DQ-Bola:141	
	ŋji <sup>35</sup> tʃi <sup>35</sup>	testicles	DQ-Bola:142	
Lashi	ŋji <sup>55</sup> mou <sup>55</sup>	male pubic hair	DQ-Lashi:10.3.6	
	ŋji <sup>55</sup> tʃei <sup>55</sup>	testicle	DQ-Lashi:10.3.5	
Maru [Langsu]	nʔyi	penis	AW-TBT:294; JAM-GSTC:049	
	ŋji <sup>35</sup> muk <sup>55</sup>	male pubic hair	DQ-Langsu:10.3.6	
	ŋji <sup>35</sup> tʃik <sup>55</sup>	testicle	DQ-Langsu:10.3.5	

<sup>25</sup>Lit. “penis-shit”.

<sup>26</sup>For the second syllable, see (115) \*N-yaŋ PENIS / TESTICLE / STINGER (of bee).

## (115) \*N-yaŋ PENIS / TESTICLE / STINGER (of bee)

Atsi [Zaiwa]	nʔyi	penis	AW-TBT:294; JAM-GSTC:049	
6.2. Loloish				
Lahu (Banlan)	ni_	penis	DB-Lahu:122	
*Common Lahu	*ni_	penis	DB-PLolo:122	
Lahu (Shehleh)	ni_ hk'eh_	penis	DB-Lahu:122	
Lahu (Bakeo)	ni_ hk'eh_	penis	DB-Lahu:122	
Lahu (Nyi)	nyi_ hk'eh_	penis	DB-Lahu:122	
Lahu (Black)	nī thū	have an erection; be aroused	JAM-DL:681,769	
	nī(-qhè?)	penis	JAM-Ety	
	nī-chu	semen	JAM-TJLB:83	27
	nī-mu	male pubic hair	JAM-DL:769	
	nī-ó-qō	glans penis	JAM-Ety	28
	nī-qhè?	penis	JAM-GSTC:049; JAM-TJLB:260	29
	nī-qhê	smegma; semen	JAM-Ety	30
	nī-šī	testicle	JAM-Ety	
	nī-sī-phi	scrotum	JAM-Ety	31
	nī-sī-u	testicle	JAM-Ety	
	nī-u-té	testicle	JAM-Ety	
Mpi	ne <sup>2</sup>	penis	DB-PLolo	32
Phunoi	nè	penis	DB-PLolo	
Ugong	ní	penis	DB-Ugong:10.3.1	
	ní khû	testicle	DB-Ugong:10.3.5	
	ní kəŋ	penis hole	DB-Ugong	
	ní məŋ	male pubic hair	DB-Ugong:10.3.6	
	ní wũŋ	semen	DB-Ugong:10.3.7	

## (115) \*N-yaŋ PENIS / TESTICLE / STINGER (of bee)

This etymon has so far been uncovered almost exclusively in Kamarupan, where it is widely attested. The Lailenpi and Lotha forms point to a prototype with nasal prefix, \*N-yaŋ. Many of the daughter languages have developed initial *z-* in this etymon. In several languages, the meaning of this word extends to ‘stinger of bee’, which perhaps is the original meaning. For the stinging semantics, cf. vulgar English *prick*.

An excellent extra-Kamarupan candidate for cognacy is Jingpho *rāŋ* ‘to be concupiscent; to be driven by sexual desires; to burn with lust’ (Hanson 1906/1954:564), recorded as *ʒaŋ*<sup>33</sup> in Dai, et al. 1983:684, where it is glossed 性冲动 ‘sexual impulse’.

<sup>27</sup>Second element means ‘fat; grease’.

<sup>28</sup>Literally ‘penis-head’. The last syllable is from Proto-Loloish \*ʔguŋ<sup>2</sup> ‘hollow object; head’.

<sup>29</sup>Lahu *qhè?* means ‘to be notched’; probably so called because of the notched appearance of the *corona glandis*.

<sup>30</sup>The second element means ‘shit; body waste’.

<sup>31</sup>The last element means ‘nest; receptacle’. See (108) \*k<sup>w</sup>əy NEST / WOMB / PLACENTA, Chapter VI. It occurs in many other Lahu compounds, including *yâ-phi* ‘placenta’ (‘child-nest’), *á-thə-phi* ‘scabbard; sheath’ (‘knife-nest’), *ú-gê-phi* ‘pillow-case’, *khá-cè-phi* ‘quiver for arrows’, *yì-phi* ‘bed’ (‘sleep-nest’), *li?-phi* ‘envelope’, etc.

<sup>32</sup>According to Bradley (1978:304-5), this form is apparently a doublet of Mpi *tçha<sup>2</sup>la<sup>2</sup>*?; see (114a).

## VII. Penis

See the compound **ne**<sup>31</sup> **ɜaŋ**<sup>33</sup> ‘sexually potent male’, under (114b) \***m-ne**y PENIS, above.

### 1.1. North Assam

Darang [Taraon]	<b>sā:</b> brā <b>sha:</b> brē	scrotum scrotum	JAM-Ety JAM-Ety	
Milang	<b>ɲaŋ</b> -ke	male	AT-MPB	33

### 1.2. Kuki-Chin

*Chin	* <b>yaŋ</b>	penis / stinger (of bee)	KVB-PKC:1224	
Ashö [Sho] (Sandoway)	ǎ` <b>yaŋ</b> 2	penis	GHL-PPB:P.20	
Cho (Mindat)	<b>yang</b>	penis	KVB-PKC:1224	
Khualsim	<b>zaŋ</b> <sup>2</sup>	penis	GHL-PPB:P.20	
Awa Khumi	ǎ` <b>yā</b> <sup>2</sup>	penis	GHL-PPB:P.20	
Khumi	<b>jaang</b>	penis; stinger (of bee)	KVB-PKC:1224	
Khumi (Bangladesh)	<b>yaang</b> kduy	male genitals ("penis + testicles")	DAP-Chm	
Awa Khumi	<b>yā</b> <sup>3</sup> dü <sup>2</sup>	testicles	GHL-PPB:P.13	
Khumi (Ahraing)	<b>yā</b> <sup>1</sup>	penis	GHL-PPB:P.20	
Kom Rem	<b>ǰəŋ</b> <b>ǰəŋ</b> kəti mu <b>ǰəŋ</b> mih <b>ǰəŋ</b> mət <sup>h</sup> er <b>ǰəŋ</b> vun	penis testicle male pubic hair glans penis foreskin ("penis- skin")	T-KomRQ:10.3.1 T-KomRQ:10.3.5 T-KomRQ:10.3.6 T-KomRQ:10.3.2 T-KomRQ:10.3.3	
Lai (Hakha)	<b>zāŋ</b>	penis; stinger (of bee)	KVB-Lai	
Lai (Falam)	<b>záŋ</b>	penis; stinger (of bee)	KVB-PKC:1224	
Lai (Hakha)	<b>zaŋ</b> <sup>5</sup>	penis	GHL-PPB:P.20	
Lailenpi	mə` <b>yə</b> <sup>1</sup>	penis	GHL-PPB:P.20	
Lakher [Mara]	<b>zá</b> <b>za</b> -vo	penis foreskin ("penis- skin")	KVB-PKC:1224 JAM-Ety	
	<b>za</b> -vo-tai	circumcision	JAM-Ety	
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	<b>yuə</b> <sup>3</sup> <b>zuə</b> <sup>3</sup>	penis penis	GHL-PPB:P.20 GHL-PPB:P.20	
Lushai [Mizo]	<b>zang</b> <b>zang</b> tan <b>zǎŋ</b>	penis circumcise penis; stinger (of bee)	JAM-Ety JAM-Ety KVB-PKC:1224	
	<b>zaŋ</b> <sup>3</sup>	penis	GHL-PPB:P.20	
Matupi	<b>yaŋ</b> <sup>4</sup>	penis	GHL-PPB:P.20	
Mera	<b>za</b> <sup>1</sup>	penis	GHL-PPB:P.20	
Sizang	<b>zang</b>	penis	KVB-PKC:1224	
Tha'oa	<b>yaŋ</b> <sup>2</sup>	penis	GHL-PPB:P.20	
Thado	<b>záŋ</b>	penis	KVB-PKC:1224	
Thanphum	<b>ɜaŋ</b> <sup>5</sup>	penis	GHL-PPB:P.20	
Tiddim	<b>zang</b> <sup>1</sup> <b>zaŋ</b> <sup>3</sup>	penis penis	KVB-PKC:1224 GHL-PPB:P.20	

<sup>33</sup>The initial **ɲ**- looks like a fusion of the nasal prefix plus the root-initial **y**-.



Womatu	yak <sup>1</sup> tui <sup>4</sup>	testicles	GHL-PPB:P.13	34
	yaŋ <sup>1</sup>	penis	GHL-PPB:P.20	
Xongsai	zaŋ <sup>2</sup>	penis	GHL-PPB:P.20	
	ʒaŋ <sup>2</sup>	penis	GHL-PPB:P.20	
Zotung	zã <sup>5</sup>	penis	GHL-PPB:P.20	
1.3. Naga				
Lotha Naga	Njo	penis	VN-LothQ:10.3.1	
	Njo hum	male pubic hair	VN-LothQ:10.3.6	
	njo tsung	testicle	VN-LothQ:10.3.5	
Phom	daŋ <sup>33</sup>	penis	JAM-II	
Tangkhuł	shaŋ hon	ring on the penis; <i>corona glandis</i>	JAM-Ety	
	shaŋ khā	testicle	JAM-Ety	
	shaŋ kui	penis	JAM-Ety	35
1.4. Meithei				
Moyon	jɬŋ	penis	DK-Moyon:10.3.1	
	jɬŋ bów	semen	DK-Moyon:10.3.7	
	jɬŋ bów isòw?	ejaculate (v.)	DK-Moyon:10.3.8	
	jɬŋ brí	glans penis	DK-Moyon:10.3.2	
	jɬŋ brí khùm	foreskin	DK-Moyon:10.3.3	
	jɬŋ mówr	male pubic hair	DK-Moyon:10.3.6	
4.1. Jingpho				
Jingpho	ne <sup>31</sup> ʒaŋ <sup>33</sup>	sexually potent male	JCD	

## (116a)

## \*k-tu-k

## PENIS

This root, which has alloforms both with and without a final velar stop, is found in several different subgroups of TB: Kamarupan, Himalayish, Luish (Sak), Qiangic (including Xixia), and Baic. It has so far not been discovered in Lolo-Burmese or Karenic.

This root resembles (116b) \*tsu PENIS. The possibility that these two etyma might be one and the same is reinforced by the natural tendency of /t/ to become affricated before /u/, as witnessed by Japanese, where /tu/ is realized as [tsu].

This etymon also bears a perhaps accidental resemblance to (76) \*s-tu ≈ \*tsu VAGINA.

An apparently prefixal k- is attested in Kham and Spiti. Cf. also the Tangut binome **khǎu thu**.

## 1.1. North Assam

Damu	mak-tuk	penis	JS-Tani
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## 1.3. Naga

Angami (Kohima)	(u) tho <sup>55</sup>	penis	VN-AngQ:10.3.1
Chokri	thü <sup>31</sup> la <sup>31</sup>	penis	VN-ChkQ:10.3.1
Chakrü	<sup>2</sup> u <sup>2</sup> tho <sup>2</sup> la	penis	AW-TBT:142

<sup>34</sup>Note the denasalization of the final consonant of the first syllable before the voiceless stop onset of the second syllable. For the second syllable, see (2a) \*d(w)əy EGG / TESTICLE, above.

<sup>35</sup>The second syllable is homophonous with Tangkhuł **kui** 'head', though this seems to be fortuitous, since the form does not mean 'glans'. It assigned below to (127) \*s-kyu MALE / PENIS.

## VII. Penis

1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish				
Lalung	<b>tu dar</b> <b>tu khi sha la</b> <b>tu ki ku thi</b>	penis scrotum testicle	MB-Lal:78 MB-Lal:78 MB-Lal:78	36
2.1.2. Bodic				
Spiti	<b>koto</b>	penis	CB-SpitiQ:10.3.1	
2.1.5. Dhimal				
Dhimal	<b>tau</b> <b>ta muĩ</b> <b>ta tui</b>	penis man's pubic hair penis	JK-Dh JK-Dh JK-Dh	
2.2. Newar				
Newar (Dolakhali)	<b>tuk la</b>	penis	CG-Dolak	
2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar				
Kham	<b>katu</b>	penis; penis (child's)	DNW-KhamQ	
3.1. Tangut				
Tangut [Xixia]	<b>khĩu thu</b> <b>thu<sup>2</sup></b> <b>Tu</b>	penis penis penis	DQ-Xixia:10.3.1 MVS-Grin NT-SGK:269-052	
3.3. rGyalrongic				
rGyalrong (Northern)	<b>tə sk<sup>h</sup>ər dok</b>	testicle	SHK-rGNQ:10.3.5	
8. Bai				
Bai	<b>tu<sup>33</sup></b> <b>tu<sup>33</sup> tu<sup>21</sup> po<sup>21</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>33</sup></b>	penis glans penis	ZYS-Bai:10.3.1 ZYS-Bai:10.3.2	37

(116b)

**\*tsu**

**PENIS**

This allofam is only shakily attested. The Spiti and Ergong forms look parallel, and it is possible that the latter is a borrowing from a western Tibetan dialect (no similar form has been uncovered in Written Tibetan). The fit between the Hayu form and the others is excellent.

1.3. Naga			
Ao Naga	<sup>2</sup> ta <sup>3</sup> <b>tsu</b> <sup>3</sup> tšəŋ	testicle	AW-TBT:617a
2.1.2. Bodic			
Spiti	<b>bu tsu</b>	penis	CB-SpitiQ:10.3.1
2.3.2. Kiranti			
Hayu	<b>tsu</b>	penis	BM-Hay:72.1.109,
3.2. Qiangic			
Ergong (Daofu)	<b>pə tsə</b>	penis	DQ-Daofu:10.3.1

<sup>36</sup>A Lalung subtlety should be noted: the first elements of **tu-dar** ‘penis’ and **tu ki ku-thi** ‘testicle’ are to be assigned to (116a) **\*k-tu-k** PENIS; on the other hand, the first element of Lalung **tu-di** ‘egg’ is from (H:226-7) **\*daw** BIRD ‘bird’. This is somewhat confusing, since (2a) **\*d(w)əy** EGG / TESTICLE (see above, Chapter I) sometimes means ‘testicle’ rather than ‘egg’.

<sup>37</sup>Cf. Bai **tu<sup>21</sup> po<sup>21</sup>** ‘head’.

## (117) \*ti-k PENIS

This etymon is well-attested in Karenic and apparently also in Lolo-Burmese (see note above under (114a) \*m-ley ≈ \*m-li PENIS), with scattered but good-looking cognates in Kamarupan (Meithei), Himalayish, and Luish (Jingpho-Nungish-Luish).

In Chart L (Sak-Luish Group) of Luce 1996, under the confusing gloss “Penis/Testicles”, two forms are given from Bawtala Sak, one from Dodem Sak, two from Ganan, and two from Kadu (Kantu). Where two forms are given from the same language, separated by a semicolon, I have assumed that the first one means ‘penis’ and the second one ‘testicles’, and have reglossed them accordingly. Under this interpretation, some syllables are assigned to the present root; while others, phonologically quite similar, are taken to mean ‘testicle’, and are assigned to (2a) \*d(w)əy EGG / TESTICLE, above [q.v.].

Rather arbitrarily, I assign reflexes with stop initials to this root and those with fricated or palatalized initials to (118) \*dzi PENIS.

Like the previous etymology (116a) \*k-tu-k PENIS, some reflexes of this root have a final -k.

The resemblance to English *dick* appears entirely accidental.

## 1.4. Meithei

Meithei	ti	penis	CYS-Meithei:10.3.1
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## 2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	tig pa	testicle	SBN-BunQ:10.3.5
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## 2.1.2. Bodic

Tibetan (Written)	t'ig-le	<i>semen virile</i> ; contem- plation	JAM-Ety	38
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## 2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	t'ik-ñak	glans penis	GBM-Lepcha:151
	t'ik-uñ	<i>sperma genitale</i> ; semen	GBM-Lepcha:151
	t'ik	penis	JAM-Ety

## 6.2. Loloish

Bisu	lè the	penis	PB-Bisu:15	
Lalo	de-fu	testicle	SB-Lalo	
	de <sup>33</sup> tç <sup>hy</sup> <sup>55</sup>	male pubic hair	CK-YiQ:10.3.6	
Lipho	de <sup>33</sup> se <sup>21</sup>	testicle	CK-YiQ:10.3.5	39
	de <sup>33</sup>	penis	CK-YiQ:10.3.1	
	de <sup>33</sup> fu <sup>33</sup>	testicle	CK-YiQ:10.3.5	

<sup>38</sup>This curious form receives four glosses in Jäschke, p. 231: (1) ‘spot (as on a leopard)’; (2) ‘zero, naught’; (3) ‘*semen virile*’; (4) ‘contemplation’. Jäschke remarks that the last two senses are “mystically connected with each other” in Buddhist thought. (The sense of ‘naught’ seems like a recent extension of ‘spot’, since a small zero looks like a dot.) On *a priori* semantic grounds, another WT word, **t'igs-pa** ‘drop (of liquid)’ also looks like it might be related; but in other Himalayish languages similar forms have no liquid associations, e.g. Bunan **tig-pa** ‘testicle’ and Lepcha **t'ik** ‘penis’. It looks as if ‘spot/zero’ and ‘semen/contemplation’ are mere homophones.

<sup>39</sup>The second syllable means ‘round object’ < (H:206) \*sey FRUIT / ROUND OBJECT.

## VII. Penis

	<b>dɛ<sup>33</sup>vi<sup>33</sup></b>	semen	CK-YiQ:10.3.7	40
Lolopho	<b>dæ<sup>33</sup>mur<sup>33</sup></b>	male pubic hair	DQ-Lolopho:10.3.6	
	<b>dæ<sup>33</sup>sæ<sup>31</sup></b>	testicle	DQ-Lolopho:10.3.5	41
	<b>dæ<sup>33</sup>vi<sup>33</sup></b>	semen	DQ-Lolopho:10.3.7	42
	<b>dæ<sup>33</sup>ɸ<sup>55</sup>du<sup>33</sup></b>	glans penis	DQ-Lolopho:10.3.2	43
	<b>dæ<sup>33</sup>zɔ<sup>31</sup></b>	penis	DQ-Lolopho:10.3.1	
Nesu	<b>der<sup>21</sup>fu<sup>21</sup></b>	testicle	CK-YiQ:10.3.5	
Sani [Nyi]	<b>dæ<sup>33</sup></b>	penis	YHJC-Sani:78.1	
	<b>dæ<sup>33</sup>ɬa<sup>33</sup>ŋ<sup>44</sup>ma<sup>33</sup></b>	testicles	YHJC-Sani:78.2	
	<b>dɛ<sup>33</sup></b>	penis	CK-YiQ	
	<b>dɛ<sup>33</sup>ɬɔ<sup>33</sup>ni<sup>33</sup>mo<sup>33</sup></b>	testicles	YHJC-Sani	
	<b>tæ<sup>33</sup>ɬa<sup>33</sup>ma<sup>33</sup></b>	penis	MXL-SaniQ:314.5	
	<b>tæ<sup>33</sup>ɬa<sup>33</sup>ŋ<sup>44</sup></b>	testicles	MXL-SaniQ:314.6	
	<b>tæ<sup>33</sup>ɬa<sup>33</sup>ma<sup>33</sup></b>	penis	CK-YiQ:10.3.1	
	<b>tæ<sup>33</sup>ɬa<sup>33</sup>ma<sup>33</sup>no<sup>44</sup></b>	male pubic hair	CK-YiQ:10.3.6	
	<b>tæ<sup>33</sup>ɬa<sup>33</sup>ŋ<sup>44</sup></b>	testicle	CK-YiQ:10.3.5	
7. Karenic				
*Karen (Pho)	<b>*théq</b>	penis	RBJ-KLS:531	
*Karen (Sgaw)	<b>*thé?</b>	penis	RBJ-KLS:531	
Bwe (Western)	<b>c'ɪ<sup>2</sup></b>	penis	GHL-PPB:J.220	
Geba	<b>ǎt'i<sup>2</sup></b>	penis	GHL-PPB:J.220	
Pa-O	<b>tê</b>	penis	JAM-Ety; RBJ-KLS:531	
Pa-O (Northern)	<b>te<sup>1</sup></b>	penis	GHL-PPB:J.220	
Pho (Tenasserim)	<b>t'e<sup>1</sup></b>	penis	GHL-PPB:J.220	
Pho (Delta)	<b>t'e<sup>4</sup></b>	penis	GHL-PPB:J.220	
Pho (Bassein)	<b>thè</b>	penis	JAM-Ety; RBJ-KLS:531	
Pho (Moulmein)	<b>thé?</b>	penis	JAM-Ety; RBJ-KLS:531	
Paku	<b>t'e<sup>3</sup></b>	penis	GHL-PPB:J.220	
Sgaw	<b>t'e<sup>4</sup></b>	penis	GHL-PPB:J.220	
Sgaw (Bassein)	<b>thè</b>	penis	JAM-Ety; RBJ-KLS:531	
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	<b>t<sup>h</sup>e<sup>31</sup></b>	penis	DQ-KarenB:144	
Sgaw (Moulmein)	<b>thé?</b>	penis	JAM-Ety; RBJ-KLS:531	

(118)

**\*dzi**

**PENIS**

This etymon seems solid enough, though it has a rather strange distribution, occurring in scattered languages of the Himalayish, Lolo-Burmese (including Jinuo), and Jingpho-Nungish groups, as well as in the unclassified Tujia. There is not yet enough evidence to decide whether to reconstruct a \*voiced or \*voiceless initial, or both \*voiced and \*voiceless allofams.

This root looks as if it might stand in an allofamic relationship with (117) \*ti-k PENIS. Note, however, that the reflexes of (117) and the present root are quite different in Nesu and Sani.

<sup>40</sup>Literally “penis-water”.

<sup>41</sup>The second syllable means ‘round object’ < (H:206) \*sey FRUIT / ROUND OBJECT.

<sup>42</sup>Literally “penis-water”.

<sup>43</sup>The second element ɸ<sup>55</sup> du<sup>33</sup> means ‘head’.

2.3.2. Kiranti			
Hayu	tsɿ: pɿ	penis	BM-Hay:72.1.109,
4. Jingpho-Nung-Luish			
Kadu (Kantu)	ti <sup>1</sup>	penis	GHL-PPB:L.149
Sak (Bawtala)	ǎ tji <sup>2</sup>	penis	GHL-PPB:L.149
	ǎ tji <sup>2</sup> tu <sup>4</sup>	testicles	GHL-PPB:L.149
Sak (Dodem)	ǎ tji <sup>4</sup>	penis	GHL-PPB:L149
5. Tujia			
Tujia	zi <sup>21</sup>	penis	CK-TujBQ:10.3.1
	zi <sup>35</sup>	penis	CK-TujMQ:10.3.1
6.2. Loloish			
Ahi	a <sup>55</sup> ci <sup>21</sup>	penis	CK-YiQ:10.3.1
	a <sup>55</sup> ci <sup>21</sup> nu <sup>33</sup>	male pubic hair	CK-YiQ:10.3.6
	dzi <sup>33</sup>	penis	LMZ-AhiQ:10.3.1
	dzi <sup>33</sup> nu <sup>33</sup>	male pubic hair	LMZ-AhiQ:10.3.6
Nasu	dzi <sup>21</sup>	penis	CK-YiQ:10.3.1
Nesu	dzi <sup>21</sup>	penis	CK-YiQ:10.3.1
	dzi <sup>31</sup> nu <sup>33</sup>	male pubic hair	CK-YiQ:10.3.6
Nosu	dze <sup>21</sup> ne <sup>33</sup>	male pubic hair	CK-YiQ:10.3.6
Sani [Nyi]	dzi <sup>33</sup>	penis	YHJC-Sani
	dzi <sup>33</sup>	penis	MXL-SaniQ:351.5
6.4. Jinuo			
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	tʃ <sup>h</sup> ɣ <sup>55</sup> lɣ <sup>31</sup>	penis	DQ-JinA:144

## (119)

## \*m-be

## PENIS

On the basis of the data so far available, this etymon has a fairly wide though scattered distribution, with reflexes in a single Himalayish language (Hayu), a few closely related Loloish languages (Noesu, Nosu, Nusu), and a couple of Qiangic languages (rGyalrong and Xixia). It is noteworthy that the nasal prefix is overtly attested in Hayu, rGyalrong, and Xixia, so that it may confidently be set up for PTB. This etymon is quite distinct from the most widely attested root for PENIS with nasal prefix, (114a) \*m-ley ≈ \*m-li PENIS above, as proven e.g. by the Hayu reflexes: \*m-ley > Hayu mli, \*m-be > Hayu **-(m)be**.

## 2.3.2. Kiranti

Hayu	khõ: be	penis	JAM-Ety
	kho mbe	penis	BM-PK7:138
	tsɿ: pɿ	penis	BM-Hay:72.1.109,

44

## 3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	mbefi	penis	NT-SGK:211-112
	mbm <sup>2</sup>	penis	MVS-Grin

## 3.3. rGyalrongic

rGyalrong (NW)	tə mbi	penis	SHK-rGNWQ:10.3.1
	tə mbi ku	glans penis	SHK-rGNWQ:10.3.2
	tə mbi ɾ <sup>h</sup> ə	semen	SHK-rGNWQ:10.3.7

<sup>44</sup>The relationship between the apparent Hayu doublets, -pɿ and **-(m)be**, is not clear.

## VII. Penis

	tə <b>mbi</b> r̥t <sup>h</sup> ə kətə	ejaculate	SHK-rGNWQ:10.3.8
	tə <b>mbi</b> t̥ç <sup>h</sup> im	foreskin	SHK-rGNWQ:10.3.3
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə <b>mbu</b> ndzom	glans penis	SHK-rGNQ:10.3.2
	tə <b>mbu</b> r̥q <sup>h</sup> u	foreskin	SHK-rGNQ:10.3.3
	tə <b>mbu</b> t̥çi	semen	SHK-rGNQ:10.3.7
6.2. Loloish			
Noesu	<b>be</b> <sup>33</sup>	penis	CK-YiQ:10.3.1
	<b>be</b> <sup>33</sup> mi <sup>21</sup>	male pubic hair	CK-YiQ:10.3.6
Nosu	<b>be</b> <sup>33</sup>	penis	CK-YiQ:10.3.1
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	<b>bu</b> <sup>55</sup>	penis	DQ-NusuA:141.

### (120) **\*pot** **PENIS**

This etymon is of very restricted distribution, occurring only in the Jingpho-Luish group. It appears unrelated to the equally restricted etymon **\*pok**, below (121). A Lepcha form **tālam-pót** ‘testicles’ is not to be brought in here, since the last element (**pót**, **a-pót**) means ‘fruit; ball’, and recurs in other bodypart compounds like **nyen-pót** ‘woman’s breast; cow’s udder’ and **anyor-pót** ‘dewlap’.

4. Jingpho-Nung-Luish			
Ganan	<b>kăp</b> <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>1</sup>	testicles	GHL-PPB:L.149
	<b>kăp</b> <sup>1</sup> <b>p</b> <sup>2</sup> kr̥ʔ <sup>4</sup>	penis	GHL-PPB:L.149
Kadu (Kantu)	<b>kăp</b> <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>1</sup>	testicles	GHL-PPB:L.149
4.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	ne <sup>31</sup> <b>pot</b> <sup>31</sup>	penis shaft	JCD

### (121) **\*pok** **SCROTUM**

This root has only been found in a few languages, two Himalayish (Dumi, Tamang) and one Qiangic (rGyalrong), though the phonological and semantic fit among them is excellent.

There is a probably fortuitous resemblance between this root and (120) **\*pot** PENIS.

2.1.4. Tamangic			
Tamang (Risiangku)	<sup>4</sup> <b>pak</b> si	testicle	MM-TamRisQ:10.3.5
2.3.2. Kiranti			
Dumi	<b>phok</b> si	scrotum	SVD-Dum
3.3. rGyalrongic			
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə r̥go <b>pok</b> c̥ço	scrotum	SHK-rGEQ:10.3.4

<sup>45</sup>For the last syllable of the Ganan and Kadu forms, see (2a) **\*d(w)əy** EGG / TESTICLE, above.

<sup>46</sup>The second syllables of the Dumi and Tamang (Risiangku) forms are < (H:206) **\*sey** FRUIT / ROUND OBJECT.

<sup>47</sup>rGyalrong **tə r̥go** means ‘testicle’; see (7) **\*s/r-go-ŋ** EGG / TESTICLE, above.

## (122) \*teŋ PENIS / CLITORIS / LONG

This etymon has been discovered in Himalayish (Chepang and Lepcha) and Kamarupan (Mikir). A pair of superficially resemblant forms must be banished from this etymon:

Garo **go'l-teng** ‘penis’ is analyzed by Burling as STICK + LONG. The gloss of **go'l** or **gol dik** as ‘stick’ is confirmed in K. W. Momin’s *English-Achikku Dictionary* (n.d.:227). I have no independent evidence that **teng** means ‘long’ in Garo, although several other Kamarupan languages have similar forms with that meaning: Khoirao **ka tang ba**, Liangmei **ka-theŋ-bu**, Maram **tang**, Mikir **ke ding**, Rengma **ka thong**, Tangkhul **ka sang**, etc.

Lepcha **tālam t'yeñ** ‘testicle’ must also be rejected. According to Mainwaring/Grünwedel (1898:164), the second element **t'yeñ** actually means ‘the chief or most precious part’, as in **sā-būr t'yeñ** ‘the musk bag or gland of the musk-deer’. The true Lepcha cognate is probably the first syllable of **čeñ pā-tiñ**.

## 1.5. Mikir

Mikir	ing <b>teng</b>	clitoris	JAM-Ety
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## 2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	<b>čeñ pā-tiñ</b>	penis	JAM-Ety	48
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## 2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepang-Sunwar

Chepang	<b>təiŋ</b>	penis	AW-TBT:617a	
Chepang (Eastern)	<b>təyŋ</b>	genitalia; pudenda (male); penis	RC-ChepQ:10.1,10.3.1	
	<b>təyŋ kli?</b>	semen	RC-ChepQ:10.3.7	49
	<b>təyŋ ta laŋ</b>	glans penis	RC-ChepQ:10.3.2	
	<b>təyŋ thyo reŋ</b>	foreskin	RC-ChepQ:10.3.3	
	<b>təŋ</b>	penis	RC-ChepQ:10.3.1	

## (123) \*ma:k PENIS / MALE / SON-IN-LAW; GENITALS / VAGINA

This etymon seems basically to belong in masculine semantic space, since most TB reflexes mean PENIS. The likely Chinese comparandum 牡 means MALE (of certain birds and animals; see below), and this sense also occurs in TB (see Taraon **mau-a**, below), implying that MALE is the more original meaning.

Benedict 1979<sup>50</sup> suggests a connection with PTB \*ma:k (better \*s-ma:k) ‘son-in-law’ [STC #324; HPTB p. 325]: cf. WT **mag-pa**, Lepcha **myok**, Dhimal **hma-wa**, Miri **mak-bo** ~ **mag-bo**, Jingpho **dà-má?**, WB **səmak**, Lahu **ḍ-má-pā**, Lushai [Mizo] **ma:k-pa**. The long vowel is supported by the Mizo form, and the \*s- prefix is evidenced indirectly by Lepcha (where -y- < \*s-), and directly by Dhimal and WB. This \*s- prefix is in turn undoubtedly a reduction of PTB \*za SON / CHILD.

Nevertheless, this root has undergone an enantiotropic shift or “genital flipflop” to

<sup>48</sup>The last morpheme, **pā-tiñ**, seems to mean ‘small stick, switch’ (Mainwaring, pp. 127-8).

<sup>49</sup>Literally “penis-shit”.

<sup>50</sup>“A note on Karen genital flipflop”, *LTBA* 5.1:22-23, n. 36.

## VII. Penis

mean VAGINA in both Mikir and (probably) Newar (neither of these forms was cited in Benedict 1979), so that it was evidently reinterpreted in some areas as ‘genitals (of either sex)’. This makes one wonder whether the root **(86) \*mo** VAGINA presented above on the basis of forms from Naga languages might also be somehow related to the present etymon.

### 1.1. North Assam

Padam [Abor]	<b>ma:g-re:k</b>	man's girdle or belt	JHL-AM	
Padam-Mising [Abor-Miri]	<b>e mâk</b>	penis	JAM-Ety	
	<b>mait</b>	penis	JAM-Ety	
	<b>mâk-pop</b>	male pubes	JAM-Ety	
	<b>mâk-shik</b>	foreskin; skin; to hide, shelter	JAM-Ety:84	
	<b>mâng-mî</b>	semen	JAM-Ety	51
	<b>mâng-muit</b>	male pubic hair	JAM-Ety	
	<b>ə-mak</b>	penis	JS-HCST	
Bokar	<b>mok</b>	penis	JS-HCST:131	
Damu	<b>mak-tuk</b>	penis	JS-Tani	
Gallong	<b>ʔmak</b>	penis	AW-TBT:631	
Mising [Miri]	<b>ma:k-bo ~ ma:g-bo</b>	cousin; son-in-law; brother-in-law	JHL-AM	52
Darang [Taraon]	<b>mau-a:</b>	male (human)	NEFA-Taraon	
1.3. Naga				
Ao Naga	<b><sup>3</sup>ta<sup>3</sup>mi?</b>	penis	AW-TBT:142	
1.5. Mikir				
Mikir	<b>mak</b>	<i>os Veneris</i> (female pubic bone)	GDW-DML:98	
	<b>mák</b>	vulva; labia; vagina	KHG-Mikir:160,160	
	<b>mak-phu</b>	<i>mons Veneris</i>	JAM-Ety	53
2.1.4. Tamangic				
Chantyal	<b>mfiø le</b>	penis	NPB-ChanQ:10.3.1	
2.2. Newar				
Newar (Kathmandu)	<b>maa si</b>	vagina / breast / milk	CG-Kath	
Newar	<b>ma si</b>	vulva; labia; vagina	SH-KNw:10.4.1,10.4.2	
3.3. rGyalrongic				
rGyalrong	<b>mo</b>	penis	DQ-Jiarong:10.3.1	

## Chinese comparandum

A likely Chinese comparandum has been suggested by Benedict 1979, pp. 22-23 and n. 36: 牡 OC **môg**/MC **məu** [irreg.] ‘male’.

[JAM]

<sup>51</sup>The final nasals in the first syllables of Abor-Miri ‘semen’ and ‘male pubic hair’ have evidently arisen via assimilation to the initial of the following syllables.

<sup>52</sup>A cousin is a prospective brother-in-law in cross-cousin marriages.

<sup>53</sup>In view of the gloss, the last syllable might mean something like ‘swelling; protuberance’; it bears a resemblance to other reflexes of the well-attested root **(H:252) \*bwam** PLUMP/SWOLLEN.



牡 mǔ ‘male (quadruped)’

GSR: 1063a

Karlgren: \*môg

Li: \*məgwɤ

Baxter: \*m(r)ju?

The Middle Chinese reflex of this word has irregular vocalism. This accounts for the discrepancy between Baxter’s reconstruction (with medial \*-j-) and Li’s (without medial \*-j-). The presence of \*-j- in Baxter’s form accounts regularly for vocalic development, but the medial itself must then be assumed to drop irregularly in Middle Chinese.

The proposed connection to PTB \*ma:k presents some difficulties. The Chinese vocalism would normally correspond to a rounded PTB vowel. (See examples in Gong 1995 sets 61-69.) Although those open syllables in OC reconstructed with \*-g by Karlgren and Li sometimes correspond to syllables with coda \*-k in PTB, more generally we find OC \*-k corresponding to PTB \*-k and open syllables corresponding to open syllables.

Schuessler (2007:391) argues that the Chinese word is related to Austroasiatic forms meaning ‘male animal’.

[ZJH]

(124) \*s-nyak ≈ \*s-nik PENIS / COPULATE

This root seems basically to mean PENIS, with extensions into the meaning COPULATE. Some reflexes resemble those of (114b) \*m-ney PENIS, although Jingpho has distinct reflexes of both: mənè ~ mənyè ‘penis’ vs. nè? ~ nyè? ‘copulate’. Evidence for the \*s- prefix is to be found in Lakher, Kom Rem, and Moyon.

Some likely reflexes have initial laterals, rather than nasals. Most of the Tani forms cited in J. Sun 1993:131 have labial rather than dental nasal clusters, but it seems more plausible to assign them to this etymon than to any other.

In GSTC #172, I compared the Lakher and Jingpho forms, but offered no reconstruction.

1.1. North Assam

*Tani	*mrak	penis	JS-HCST:289
Apatani	à-mja	penis	JS-Tani
	<sup>1</sup> a <sup>2</sup> mrja	penis	AW-TBT:631
Bengni	ñak	penis	JS-HCST
Tagin	(a-)mlak	penis	JS-HCST:131
Bangru	mə <sup>33</sup> lɔʔ <sup>53</sup>	penis	JS-HCST:334
Sherdukpen	lak	penis	JS-HCST:334
Sulung	a <sup>33</sup> laʔ <sup>53</sup>	penis	JS-HCST:334
Yano	mlak	penis	JS-HCST:131

1.2. Kuki-Chin

Kom Rem	ə nho	copulate	T-KomRQ:10.2
Lakher [Mara]	hnei	copulate	JAM-GSTC:172

1.3. Naga

Angami Naga	<sup>4</sup> na	copulate	AW-TBT:155
Angami (Kohima)	ke <sup>31</sup> na <sup>33</sup>	copulate	VN-AngQ:10.2
Ao Naga	<sup>3</sup> ni <sup>3</sup> twp	copulate	AW-TBT:155
Chokri	kü <sup>31</sup> na <sup>55</sup>	copulate	VN-ChkQ:10.2

## VII. Penis

Yimchungrü	<sup>1</sup> ne	copulate	AW-TBT:155	
1.4. Meithei				
Meithei	na nə bə	copulate	CYS-Meithei:10.2	
Moyon	ŋho?	copulate	DK-Moyon:10.2	
2.1.3. Lepcha				
Lepcha	a- <b>ñak</b> gar- <b>nek</b> t'ik- <b>ñak</b>	penis penis glans penis	JAM-Ety JAM-Ety GBM-Lepcha:151	54
2.2. Newar				
Newar (Kathmandu)	na ku	penis	CG-Kath	
Newar	na ku na ku gwara	penis glans penis	SH-KNw:10.3.1 SH-KNw:10.3.2	55
2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar				
Chepeng (Eastern)	lu? na?	copulate	RC-ChepQ:10.2	
Kham	ne:h-nya ne:h-nyā ne: <sup>h</sup> -nyā	copulate copulate copulate	DNW-KhamQ:2.B.2.13 JAM-Ety AW-TBT:155	
2.3.2. Kiranti				
Khaling	le-ne	copulate	JAM-Ety	
Limbu	nik-t(u) nik ma nik t-	copulate copulate copulate with	AW-TBT:155 AW-TBT:155 BM-Lim	
4.1. Jingpho				
Jingpho	nè? ~ nyè?	copulate	JAM-Ety; JAM-GSTC:172	56

(125) \*  $\begin{matrix} \mathbf{b} \\ \mathbf{m} \end{matrix}$  -laŋ **PENIS / MALE / HUSBAND**

This etymon has been identified in Himalayish, Jingpho, and Qiangic, though more support from the latter group would be welcome. The PTB root initial is taken to have been a \*lateral, with both a labial nasal and a labial stop prefix attested.

According to K. P. Malla, the second syllable of Newar **mij̃** ‘male’ is from Skt. *jana* ‘man’, not from the present root. The first syllable is from the widespread TB morpheme (H:449) \*r-mi(y) PERSON / MAN.

J. Sun 1993:131 reconstructs Proto-Tani \*mrak, but the forms he cites are better assigned to (124) \*s-nyak ≈ \*s-nik PENIS / COPULATE, above.

This root seems distinct from (137) \*la MALE.

<sup>54</sup>The first syllable of this form resembles the second syllable of Kham **or-kal** ‘penis’. However, according to Mainwaring/Grünwedel 1898:53, the morpheme **gar** actually means ‘curved, crooked at one end, bent’.

<sup>55</sup>According to K. P. Malla (p.c. 2007), **-ku** serves as a classifier for “a piece with some magnitude in girth or depth”.

<sup>56</sup>The *Jingpho-Chinese Dictionary* (Dai, et al. 1983:566) cites the form **ne**<sup>31</sup> ‘性交 [have sexual congress]’ with no final glottal stop, making it look identical to the word for ‘penis’.

Also to be brought into this etymon is WB **lâŋ**, which (as suggested in Matisoff 1995:52-3) is to be compared with Chinese 郎 (Mand. **láng**) [WHB \*C-rāŋ], now meaning ‘young man; bridegroom; clf. for sons’. This word is glossed only as ‘place name (Tso); double roof, one roof above the other’ in *GSR* #735r. However, it would be rash to infer that the synchronic meaning did not exist at all in spoken OC.

See the remarks by Handel, below.

#### 1.1. North Assam

Darang [Taraon]	<b>mlō</b>	penis	JAM-Ety	
Mising [Miri]	<b>mil-bong</b>	husband	PKB-KSEA:129	57
Padam [Abor]	<b>mi-long</b>	husband; masculine suffix	PKB-KSEA:129	58

#### 1.2. Kuki-Chin

Liangmei	<b>ka-lē</b>	penis	AW-TBT:142	
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#### 2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla	<b>long</b>	penis	KDG-ICM:67	
Tsangla (Central)	<b>long</b>	penis	SER-HSL/T:34 3	

#### 2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	tyang-mo <b>long</b>	male elephant	PKB-KSEA:137	
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#### 2.1.4. Tamangic

Manang (Gyaru)	<b>byuŋ</b> <sup>2</sup>	male	YN-Man:147	
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#### 3.2. Qiangic

Muya [Minyak]	<b>ko</b> <sup>35</sup>	male	SHK-MuyaQ:10.3	
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#### 3.3. rGyalrongic

rGyalrong (NW)	tə <b>ɣza</b>	male	SHK-rGNWQ:10.3	
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#### 4.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	ne <sup>31</sup> <b>laŋ</b> <sup>33</sup>	penis	JCD	
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#### 6.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	<b>lâŋ</b>	husband	PKB-WBRD	
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## Chinese comparandum

郎 **láng** ‘husband, young man’

*GSR*: 735r                      Karlgren: \***lâng**                      Li: \***lang**                      Baxter: \***C-rang**

The meaning ‘husband, young man’ is not attested until quite late. It appears to be derived from the basic sense ‘veranda or corridor (of a palace or mansion)’ via ‘official (doing duty there)’, making it an improbable cognate to PTB roots meaning ‘male’. (See Schuessler 2007:344.)<sup>59</sup> Furthermore, nearly all scholars are now in agreement that Middle Chinese **l-** derives from earlier \***r-**, and does not normally correspond to PTB \***l-**. [ZJH]

<sup>57</sup>Benedict 1941/2008:129 observes that this form “appears to be metathesized”, implying an earlier form **mi-b-long**.

<sup>58</sup>The first syllable means ‘person’ < (H:449) \***r-mi(y)** PERSON / MAN.

<sup>59</sup>Schuessler suggests that WB **laŋ** ‘husband’ is actually a loan from Chinese, though this seems unlikely in view of the paucity of Chinese loanwords in Burmese. [JAM]

(126) **\*gaŋ** **PENIS / MALE**

This etymon has solid reflexes in Kamarupan (Garo, Mikir) and Himalayish (Lepcha, Manchati). Several Chinese comparanda suggest themselves: 雄 OC **\*gǔŋg** ‘male’ [GSR 887-L] and/or 牯 OC **\*kâŋg** ‘bull’ [GSR 697f-g]. A less plausible comparison is with 公 **\*kung** ‘father; prince’ (although Karlgren notes that ‘some of these forms seem to suggest a phallic interpretation’) [GSR 1173a-f]. *STC* (n. 488, p. 190) suggests comparing this last Chinese morpheme to TB forms like Rawang **əkhaŋ** ‘grandfather’; WB **pha’-khaŋ** ‘father’, **mi’-khaŋ** ‘mother’, **khaŋ-pwân** ‘spouse’, and **khaŋ-bhya** ‘sir; madam’. It seems unlikely, however, that this group of forms has anything specifically to do with maleness; it seems rather to have been an honorific appellation for an elder or respected relative of either sex.

## 1.5. Mikir

Mikir	chò-kàng	penis	KHG-Mikir:69
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## 1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish

Garo	ri-gaŋ	penis	JAM-Ety; JAM-GSTC:049; STC:262
Garo (Bangladesh)	ri-gong	penis	RB-GB

## 2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Pattani [Manchati]	gàŋ mì	male	STP-ManQ:10.3
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## 2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	suŋ-gaŋ	penis	JAM-Ety
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## 9. Sinitic

Chinese (Old)	wjŋg	male of birds and small animals	WHB-OC:1348
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**Chinese comparanda**

雄 **xióng** ‘male’

GSR: 8871      Karlgren: **\*gǔŋg**      Li: **\*gwjəŋg**      Baxter: **\*wjŋg** (1348)

This proposed cognate is doubtful. The OC labialized initial plus schwa vocalism would normally correspond to a rounded vowel in PTB.

牯 **gāng** ‘bull’

GSR: 697f-g      Karlgren: **\*kâŋg**      Li: **\*kang**      Baxter: **\*kang**

The proposed cognacy works phonetically, but one must also note a competing etymology with equally persuasive semantics that relates this Chinese word to WT **glang** ‘cow, elephant’. (Gong 1995 and 2001 instead relate WT **glang** to OC ‘elephant’ 象 **\*gljaŋg** > **\*ljaŋg**.)

Schuessler (2007:251) suggests that 牯 may come from earlier **\*klaŋ**, and posits a relationship with Mru **klaŋ** ‘male’ and Lushai **taŋ** ‘male’, as well as with WT **glang**. He

proposes a PTB root \*laŋ with animal prefix \*s- or \*k-.<sup>60</sup>

Note the parallel etymology with a homophonous member of the same phonetic series 岡 ‘ridge’, which has been compared to WT **sgang** ‘hill, spur’ and WB **khang** ‘strip of high ground’ (see for example Coblin 1986:94-2).<sup>61</sup>

[ZJH]

(127) \*s-kyu MALE / PENIS

This etymon is represented by convincing cognates in Himalayish (Bunan, Kanauri) and Qiangic (rGyalrong, Xixia), though it is so far sparsely represented in TB as a whole.

1.3. Naga					
Tangkhol	shaŋ <b>kui</b>	penis	JAM-Ety		62
2.1.1. Western Himalayish					
Bunan	<b>khyua</b>	male	SBN-BunQ:10.3		
Kanauri	<b>skyo</b>	male	DS-Kan:37,41		
2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar					
Chepeng (Eastern)	<b>goy?</b> co?	male	RC-ChepQ:10.3		
3.1. Tangut					
Tangut [Xixia]	<b>khīu</b> thu	penis	DQ-Xixia:10.3.1		
	<b>khīu</b> <sup>2</sup>	penis	MVS-Grin		
	<b>kīufi</b>	penis	NT-SGK:269-052		
3.3. rGyalrongic					
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə <b>sku</b>	penis	SHK-rGNQ:10.3.1		

(128) \*səw-t TESTICLES / PENIS / VIRILITY / SEMEN

This etymon is firmly established in Lolo-Burmese (Burmese itself has reflexes of both the stopped and non-stopped allofams) and Jingpho. The first syllable of Kham **zuh-ri:** ‘testicle’ is probably to be assigned to (4) \*dz(y)u EGG rather than to the present root, in view of the 2nd syllable of the compound 'ba-zu-ri: ‘(non-human) egg’, where the first syllable means ‘bird’. Palaychi (Karenic) **shóq** ‘penis’ seems unrelated.

The semantic center of the root seems to be VIRILITY. It occurs especially in compounds for intact (as opposed to castrated) male animals, with extensions into SEMEN, TESTICLES, and PENIS. This root was reconstructed for PLB in Matisoff 1988a:1225.

See *HPTB* PLB \*səw<sup>1/2</sup>, p. 182.

1.3. Naga				
Khezha	’è sò	penis	SY-KhözhaQ:10.3.1	
4.1. Jingpho				
Jingpho	ne-zu	semen	JAM-Ety	

<sup>60</sup>See the previous etymon (125) \*b/m-laŋ PENIS / MALE / HUSBAND.

<sup>61</sup>See also *HPTB*:266, 303. [JAM]

<sup>62</sup>The second syllable is homophonous with Tangkhol **kui** ‘head’, though this seems to be fortuitous, since the form does not mean ‘glans’.

## VII. Penis

	ne <sup>31</sup> tsu <sup>33</sup> zū ə zu	semen semen semen	JCD JAM-Ety; JAM-TJLB:83 JAM-Ety	
6.1. Burmish				
Burmese (Written)	sui  sut ʔə sūi	penis; penis ( of animals )  semen testicle	JAM-Ety; PKB-WBRD  JAM-Ety; PKB-WBRD JAM-Ety	63
6.2. Loloish				
Lahu (Black)	gãʔ-phu-š̄5 í-mû-š̄5 nû-š̄5 nû-ʔ-pā-š̄5 vəʔ-š̄5 ʔ-pā-š̄5 ʔ-phu-š̄5 ʔ-š̄5-t̄5	uncastrated cock stallion bull bull uncastrated boar intact male animal intact male castrated animal	JAM-DL:1225 JAM-DL:1225 JAM-DL:1225 JAM-Ety JAM-DL:1225 JAM-DL:1225 JAM-Ety JAM-Ety	

### (129) \*r-lik TESTICLE / EGG / PENIS

This etymon was already set up in Matisoff 1972a #170 as PLB \*r-lek, on the basis of a single Loloish form (Akha) and WT rlig-pa. It is solidly attested in Himalayish, with possible cognates in Xixia and Kamarupan (esp. Mikir).

See *HPTB* \*r-lik, pp. 344, 374.

1.5. Mikir				
Mikir	che lèk	glans penis; penis	KHG-Mikir:64,64	
2.1.1. Western Himalayish				
Kanauri	lik pā liṭ liṭ(h) liṭ	penis (polite) egg egg egg	JAM-Ety DS-Kan:28 JAM-Ety DS-Kan:29	64
Pattani [Manchati]	Tig lhig ṭig l <sup>h</sup> ig	egg (of animal) egg, boil (sore)	STP-ManQ:10.4.16 DS-Patt	
2.1.2. Bodic				
Spiti Tibetan (Written)	lik pa gsaŋ-rlig mje-rlig rlig-bu rlig-pa rlig-šubs	testicle testicle (hon.) penis and testicles scrotum testicle scrotum	CB-SpitiQ:10.3.5 JAM-Ety JAM-Ety JAM-Ety JAM-Ety JAM-Ety	65
2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar				
Kham	zuh ri:	testicles	DNW-KhamQ	66

<sup>63</sup>This form goes back to PLB Tone \*1. It is the allofam sūi (< PLB Tone \*2) which is directly cognate to Lahu š̄5.

<sup>64</sup>The relationship of this Kanauri form for EGG to Kanauri lik-pa 'penis' is uncertain.

<sup>65</sup>Last syllable means 'case, covering, sheath'.

<sup>66</sup>For the first syllable, see (4) \*dz(y)u EGG, above.

2.3.2. Kiranti				
Belhare	la lik	semen, sperm	BB-Belhare	67
3.1. Tangut				
Tangut [Xixia]	le Le	testicle testicle	DQ-Xixia:10.3.5 NT-SGK:269-111	
6. Lolo-Burmese				
*Lolo-Burmese	*(r-)lek	testicle	JAM-TSR:170	
6.2. Loloish				
Akha	leh LS leh <sub>h</sub> u <sup>^</sup> leh <sub>h</sub> u <sup>^</sup> leh <sub>h</sub> si <sub>v</sub>	testicle scrotum scrotum	JAM-TSR:170 JAM-Ety PL-AETD	68
Nasu	ɬo <sup>21</sup>	testicle	CK-YiQ:10.3.5	

## (130) \*sen TESTICLE / EGG

This etymon is still not well established, with only scattered reflexes in Himalayish, Lolo-Burmese, Karenic, and Baic. The final nasal is reconstructed on the basis of the vowel nasalization in some Bai dialects.

2.1.5. Dhimal				
Dhimal	syeq, syeq guli	testicle	JK-Dh	
2.3.2. Kiranti				
Hayu	se: thoŋ	testicle	JAM-Ety	69
6.2. Loloish				
Nosu	sɿ <sup>21</sup> pa <sup>33</sup>	testicle	CK-YiQ:10.3.5	
Phunoi	shè <sup>?</sup> u s <sup>h</sup> e <sup>11</sup> ʔu <sup>33</sup>	testicle testicles	JAM-Ety DB-Phunoi	
7. Karenic				
Pho (Tenasserim)	s <sup>ʔ</sup> ǎ <sup>4</sup> ɗi <sup>1</sup>	egg, tuber, testicles	GHL-PPB:G.80	
Pho (Delta)	s <sup>ʔ</sup> ǎ <sup>4</sup>	egg, tuber, testicles	GHL-PPB:G.80	
8. Bai				
Bai	sẽ <sup>42</sup>	egg (of animal)	ZYS-Bai:10.4.16	
Bai (Bijiang)	sẽ <sup>42</sup> sẽ <sup>42</sup>	egg egg	JZ-Bai ZMYYC:170.37	
Bai (Dali)	sẽ <sup>42</sup> se <sup>42</sup> se <sup>42</sup>	egg egg egg	JZ-Bai ZMYYC:170.35	
Bai (Jianchuan)	se <sup>5</sup> sẽ <sup>42</sup> sẽ <sup>42</sup>	egg egg egg	FD-Bai:pp.150-169 JZ-Bai ZMYYC:170.36	

<sup>67</sup>For the first syllable, see (157) \*ra ≈ \*wa SEMEN.

<sup>68</sup>Last syllable < (H:206) \*sey FRUIT / ROUND OBJECT.

<sup>69</sup>It is possible that the first syllable of this Hayu form is rather < (H:206) \*sey FRUIT / ROUND OBJECT.

(131) **\*s-bloŋ** **SCROTUM / POUCH**

This root has only been identified in three languages (Darang, Lepcha, and Bai), though the semantic and phonological fit is good among them. The basic meaning of the etymon is ‘purse, small pouch’ (cf. French *la bourse* ‘purse; stock market’, *les bourses* ‘testicles’). The resemblance to (125) **\*b/m-laŋ** PENIS / MALE / HUSBAND is due to chance.

## 1.1. North Assam

Darang [Taraon]	sā: <b>brã</b>	scrotum	JAM-Ety
	sha: <b>brẽ</b>	scrotum	JAM-Ety

## 2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	tă- <b>blyoŋ</b>	purse, pouch	JAM-Ety
	tălam sã <b>tăblyoŋ</b>	scrotum	JAM-Ety

## 8. Bai

Bai	kuã <sup>33</sup> <b>lõ</b> <sup>21</sup>	scrotum	ZYS-Bai:10.3.4
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(132) **\*s-mu** **SEED / TESTICLE / ROUND OBJECT**

This etymon appears to be confined to Kamarupan and Monpa (Mama Tshona), with the basic meaning ‘ball; round object’, appearing in such transparent compounds as Lushai **mit-mu** ‘eyeball’ and **til-mu** ‘testicle’. There is perhaps a cognate in Bisu.

## 1.2. Kuki-Chin

Anal	wð- <b>hmú</b>	seed	AW-TBT:299
Kom Rem	ǰəŋ kəti <b>mu</b>	testicle	T-KomRQ:10.3.5
Lakher [Mara]	mo <b>hmô</b>	eyeball	JAM-Ety
	ti <b>hmô</b>	scrotum	JAM-Ety
	<sup>2</sup> ə <sup>3</sup> <b>hmou</b>	seed	AW-TBT:299
Lushai [Mizo]	mit- <b>mu</b>	eyeball	JAM-Ety
	<b>mû</b>	seed	AW-TBT:299
	<b>mu</b>	seed	GEM-CNL
	til- <b>mu</b>	testicle	JAM-Ety

## 1.5. Mikir

Mikir	a <b>mū</b> (?)	seed	AW-TBT:299
	mék a- <b>mū</b>	eyeball	KHG-Mikir:167
	mék a <b>mu</b>	eyeball	JAM-Ety
	<b>mu</b>	seed	GEM-CNL

## 1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish

Dimasa	bu <b>mu</b>	seed	GEM-CNL
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## 2.1.2. Bodic

Tshona (Mama)	sir <sup>55</sup> sir <sup>55</sup> <b>mo</b> <sup>53</sup>	egg	SLZO-MLD
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## 6.2. Loloish

Bisu	ʔaŋ <b>hnuu</b>	seed	DB-Bisu
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<sup>70</sup>The first element is from (2b) **\*dil** × **\*dul** EGG / TESTICLE.

<sup>71</sup>The first element is from (2b) **\*dil** × **\*dul** EGG / TESTICLE.



## (133) \*dzəy SEED / TESTICLE / ROUND OBJECT

The basic meaning of this etymon seems to be SEED, with extensions into SMALL ROUND OBJECT, and thence to TESTICLE.

See *HPTB* \*dzəy, pp. 31, 190.

## 1.2. Kuki-Chin

Lakher [Mara]	<sup>2</sup> ə <sup>3</sup> tsi	seed	AW-TBT:148b
Lushai [Mizo]	chi	seed	GEM-CNL
	tsi	seed	AW-TBT:148b
Tiddim	tsi	seed	AW-TBT:148b

## 1.3. Naga

Angami (Khonoma)	tsa	seed	GEM-CNL
Angami (Kohima)	tsie	seed	GEM-CNL
Ao (Chungli)	me tsü	seed	GEM-CNL
Chokri	tsa	seed	GEM-CNL
Phom	šei-li	seed	JAM-GSTC:114
	shei li	seed	GEM-CNL

## 2.1.2. Bodic

Tshona (Mama)	tɕu <sup>13</sup>	seed	ZMYYC:220.6
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## 3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Mianchi)	zuì	pit, stone; bullet	JAM-II
	zuì zuí	testicles	JAM-II

## 6.1. Burmish

Achang (Xiandao)	li <sup>55</sup> tsi <sup>31</sup>	testicles	DQ-Xiandao:142
	ɲɔʔ <sup>55</sup> tsi <sup>31</sup>	eyeball	DQ-Xiandao:101.3
Bola	ɲji <sup>35</sup> tʃi <sup>35</sup>	testicles	DQ-Bola:142
Burmese (Written)	a ce'	seed	GEM-CNL
	hwê-ce' ~ gwê-ce'	testicles	JAM-Ety
	hwê-ce'-ʔit	scrotum	JAM-Ety
	lí-ce'	testicle	JAM-Ety
	mjo <sup>3</sup> se <sup>1</sup>	seed	ZMYYC:220.39
	myui:ce'	seed	GEM-CNL
	ə-ce'	a seed	PKB-WBRD
Lashi	ɲji <sup>55</sup> tʃei <sup>55</sup>	testicle	DQ-Lashi:10.3.5
Maru [Langsu]	ɲji <sup>35</sup> tʃik <sup>55</sup>	testicle	DQ-Langsu:10.3.5

## 6.2. Loloish

Hani (Pijo)	à tzy	seed	ILH-PL:368
Hani (Caiyuan)	a <sup>31</sup> tsɿ <sup>33</sup>	seed	ZMYYC:220.30
Hani (Wordlist)	al ssyuq	seed	ILH-PL:368
Hani (Khatu)	à tzy	seed	ILH-PL:368

## 6.4. Jinuo

Jinuo	a <sup>33</sup> tsi <sup>44</sup>	seed	ZMYYC:220.34
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	li <sup>55</sup> tsɿ <sup>33</sup>	testicles	DQ-JinA:145
Jinuo (Youle)	tʃv <sup>35</sup>	seed	JZ-Jinuo
Jinuo (Buyuan)	ɑ <sup>44</sup> tsi <sup>33</sup>	seed	JZ-Jinuo

## 8. Bai

Bai (Dali)	tsv <sup>33</sup>	seed	ZMYYC:220.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	tsv̄ <sup>33</sup>	seed	ZMYYC:220.36

(134) **\*ka** **BALL / TESTICLE / EGG**

This root seems basically to have meant ‘ball’, with natural extensions to EGG and TESTICLE. A number of Himalayish compounds meaning PENIS have similar-looking morphemes (e.g. Baima *kha*<sup>13</sup> *ndzɿ*<sup>53</sup>, Bunan/Manchati *kha-ɬa*, Tamang *mlě-ka*) though the semantic development BALL → TESTICLE → PENIS is improbable, and these syllables must be assumed to reflect a separate etymon.

The Newar form *kwaa-si* does not belong in this set. According to K. P. Malla, it means literally “hot-fruits” (*si* < (H:206) *\*sey* FRUIT / ROUND OBJECT). The true Newar cognate is represented by the second syllable of *mi-kha* ‘eyeball’, below.

## 1.2. Kuki-Chin

Liangmei mai-tij-**kha** testicle AW-TBT:617a

## 1.3. Naga

Tangkhuł shaŋ **khā** testicle JAM-Ety

## 2.1.2. Bodic

Kaike **kā** pum egg JAM-Ety  
 Tsangla (Central) ming **khu** pupil SER-HSL/T:32 4  
 Tshona (Wenlang) **k<sup>h</sup>ɑ<sup>55</sup>** lum<sup>55</sup> egg JZ-CNMenba 72  
 Tshona (Mama) **khAʔ<sup>53</sup>** lum<sup>53</sup> egg ZMYC:170.6  
**k<sup>h</sup>Aʔ<sup>53</sup>** lum<sup>53</sup> egg SLZO-MLD

## 2.2. Newar

Newar mi-**kha** eyeball KPM-pc

## 2.3.2. Kiranti

Thulung mi **ka** si eye JAM-Ety  
 Yakha miʔ **ka:** makurna iris TK-Yakha:3.4.2.1

## 3.2. Qiangic

Muya [Minyak] mi<sup>55</sup> **kuw<sup>33</sup>** lɔ<sup>35</sup> eyeball SHK-MuyaQ:3.4.2

## 4.1. Jingpho

Jingpho myiʔ **hka** eye-socket; eye-lid JAM-Ety

## 4.2. Nungic

Trung [Dulong] **ka<sup>55</sup>** lūm<sup>53</sup> egg ZMYC:170.46 73  
 Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe) **ka<sup>55</sup>** lūm<sup>53</sup> egg JZ-Dulong  
 Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang) **k<sup>h</sup>ɑ<sup>31</sup>** lūm<sup>53</sup> egg JZ-Dulong

## 6.2. Loloish

Lahu (Black) mɛʔ-**qha**-lê eyeball JAM-Ety:DL 1022  
 mɛʔ-**qha**-phu eyeball JAM-Ety:DL 1022

## 7. Karenic

Bwe mù-**ká** ə-phlú-θe eyeball EJAH-BKD

## 8. Bai

Bai ŋui<sup>33</sup> **kæ<sup>55</sup>** ɕi<sup>55</sup> eyeball ZYS-Bai:3.4.2  
**k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>33</sup>**

<sup>72</sup>For the second syllable, see (5) *\*rum* ≈ *\*lum* EGG, above.

<sup>73</sup>For the second syllable, see (5) *\*rum* ≈ *\*lum* EGG, above.

## (135) \*kuk POUCH / BASKET / SCROTUM

This root was reconstructed as meaning ‘bag; basket; receptacle’ in *STC* #393. It seems to refer often to a pannier, or hanging basket for transporting goods on an animal’s back.

See *HPTB* \*kuk, pp. 356, 359, 361.

0. Sino-Tibetan			
*Tibeto-Burman	*kuk	pouch, little bag	STC:393
1.2. Kuki-Chin			
Kom Rem	kəti kok	scrotum	T-KomRQ:10.3.4 74
1.3. Naga			
*Northern Naga Konyak	*C <sub>VD</sub> -k <sup>h</sup> uk ni khok	bag bag	WTF-PNN:454 GEM-CNL; WTF-PNN:454
Nocte Tangsa (Moshang)	chi khok ya khak	small basket bag	WTF-PNN:454 GEM-CNL
1.5. Mikir			
Mikir	hok	small hanging basket	STC:393
1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish			
Dimasa	baiŋ-kho	basket carried on a load	STC:393
Garó	bo kho khok	receptacle basket	STC:393 RJL-DPTB:3; STC:393
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku) Tibetan (Written)	k <sup>h</sup> əg mə khug-ma	bag (small) pouch; little bag	JS-Amdo:39 RJL-DPTB:3; STC:393; JS-Tib:39
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	kóm ba-guk kóm ba-gŭk	purse purse	RJL-DPTB:3 STC:393 75

## (136) \*ʔip ≈ \*ʔi:t BAG / SCROTUM

This etymon is firmly attested in Kamarupan and Burmese, and may be confidently set up for PTB. The basic meaning seems to be ‘bag, pouch’. The final **-p** (instead of **-t**) in the Lushai form is unexplained.

See *HPTB* \*ʔip ≈ \*ʔi:t, p. 533.

1.1. North Assam			
Padam-Mising [Abor-Miri] Gallong	'et-tum ^ut-tum `a pʁ	testes and scrotum testicle	JAM-Ety AW-TBT:617a
1.2. Kuki-Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	ip	bag	GEM-CNL

<sup>74</sup>For the first element, see (2b) \*dil ≈ \*dul EGG / TESTICLE.

<sup>75</sup>The first element means ‘silver; money’.

## VII. Penis

### 6.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	hwê-ce'-ʔit	scrotum	JAM-Ety
	it	bag	GEM-CNL; PKB-WBRD
	kap-pay-ʔit	scrotum	JAM-Ety

(137)

**\*la**

**MALE**

This etymon is very well attested in Kamarupan, Lolo-Burmese, and Jingpho, with possible cognates also in Himalayish. *STC* (p. 96) recognizes a ‘masculine suffix’ **\*-la**, “used with words for animals (in Tsangla, Digaro, Nung, Kachin, Burmese-Lolo, Konyak, Garo-Bodo, Mikir, and Meithei)”.

#### 1.1. North Assam

Nishi [Dafla]	nyě-lo	husband	PKB-KSEA:135
Tagen	nyo-lě	husband	PKB-KSEA:135
Tagin	nyi lo	male	KDG-Tag

#### 1.3. Naga

*Northern Naga	<b>*la[A]</b>	male (of animals)	WTF-PNN:520
Chang	kei lo	male dog	WTF-PNN:520
	ok lo šou	domestic boar	WTF-PNN:520
Chokri	thü <sup>31</sup> la <sup>31</sup>	penis	VN-ChkQ:10.3.1
Chakrü	<sup>2</sup> u <sup>2</sup> tho <sup>2</sup> la	penis	AW-TBT:142
Khezha	<sup>1</sup> e <sup>2</sup> lu	male	AW-TBT:288
Konyak (Tamlu)	la	male	AW-TBT:288
Mao	<sup>1</sup> lo	male	AW-TBT:288
Nocte	da la	male	WTF-PNN:531
	vak la	male pig	WTF-PNN:520
	<sup>2</sup> la(?)	male	AW-TBT:288
	<sup>1</sup> d <sup>1</sup> la	male	AW-TBT:288
Nocte (Namsang)	de-la	husband	PKB-KSEA:243
Rengma (Southern)	<sup>2</sup> lo	male	AW-TBT:288
Rongmei	ka-lû	male	AW-TBT:288
Sema	<sup>2</sup> a <sup>2</sup> li	male	AW-TBT:288
Tableng	kui-la	male dog	PKB-KSEA:243
Tangsa	<sup>1</sup> la(?)	male	AW-TBT:288
Tangsa (Moshang)	gui-hě la	male dog	PKB-KSEA:243
	gui hen la	male dog	WTF-PNN:520
Wancho	vak la	boar	WTF-PNN:520

#### 1.4. Meithei

Meithei	la bə	male	AAAM-SSM
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#### 1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish

Bodo	jɣ la	male	AW-TBT:288
Khamngan	<sup>2</sup> mɛ <sup>1</sup> lo	male	AW-TBT:288
Kokborok	čə-la	male	PT-Kok
	la	male suffix	PT-Kok
	šəy-la	male dog	PT-Kok

#### 2.2. Newar

Newar (Dolakhali)	tuk la	penis	CG-Dolak
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4. Jingpho-Nung-Luish			
Ganan	-la <sup>1</sup>	male of animals	GHL-PPB:K.39
Kadu (Kantu)	-la <sup>1</sup>	male of animals	GHL-PPB:K.39
Sak (Bawtala)	ǎ la <sup>3</sup>	male of animals	GHL-PPB:K.39
4.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	là	male	JAM-TJLB:249
	<sup>2</sup> la	male	AW-TBT:288
	ʔə là	male	JAM-TJLB:249
4.2. Nungic			
Nung (Rawang)	nang-la	husband; male	PKB-KSEA:166
6.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	là	male	AW-TBT:288
	ə-lâ	not castrated	PKB-WBRD
	ʔə lâ	not castrated	JAM-TJLB:249
Lashi	lo <sup>33</sup>	male	DQ-Lashi:10.3
Maru [Langsu]	lo <sup>35</sup>	male	DQ-Langsu:10.3
Atsi [Zaiwa]	à lò	male	AW-TBT:288
6.2. Loloish			
Lisu	la <sup>5</sup> htsaw <sup>4</sup>	man	DB-PLolo:161
6.4. Jinuo			
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	tʃ <sup>h</sup> ɣ <sup>55</sup> lɣ <sup>31</sup>	penis	DQ-JinA:144

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## (138) \*m-tun ≈ \*m-dun FOREPART / FORESKIN

This root has the general meaning of FOREPART. In combination with etyma for TOOTH it means FRONT TOOTH/INCISOR. In combination with SKIN it can mean FORESKIN (cf. WT **mdun-lpags**). The Lepcha form requires special comment (see note).

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
Kom Rem	kətu hə	tooth (incisor)	T-KomRQ:3.10.1
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	du suà	tooth (incisor)	SBN-BunQ:3.10.1
2.1.2. Bodic			
Spiti	dun sò	tooth (incisor)	CB-SpitiQ:3.10.1
Tibetan (Written)	mdun	before; at; to; front	GEM-CNL; ZMYYC:51.1
	mdun-lpags	foreskin (vulg.)	JAM-Ety
	mdun-ños	front of body	JAM-Ety
	mdun-so	tooth (front)	JAM-Ety
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	a t'un	foreskin	JAM-Ety
2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar			
Chepeng (Eastern)	junʔ səyk	tooth (incisor)	RC-ChepQ:3.10.1

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<sup>76</sup>This word is not to be found in the dictionaries of Judson 1893/1953/1966 or Bernot 1978-92.

<sup>77</sup>The Lepcha morpheme t'un means 'skin; hide' in isolation (GBM-Lepcha p. 154), though the prefixed form a-t'un is glossed either 'skin' (pp. 154, 532) or 'foreskin' (p. 491).

## VII. Penis

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### 3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Mawo)

ʂəzdu

tooth (incisor)

SHK-MawoQ:3.10.1

(139)

**\*tsyaŋ**

**TESTICLE**

This root has so far only been found in a few Naga and Kuki-Chin languages.

### 1.2. Kuki-Chin

Thado

tɪl cáŋ

testicle

THI1972:30

### 1.3. Naga

Ao Naga

<sup>2</sup>ta<sup>3</sup>tsu<sup>3</sup>tšaŋ

testicle

AW-TBT:617a

Lotha Naga

njo tsung

testicle

VN-LothQ:10.3.5

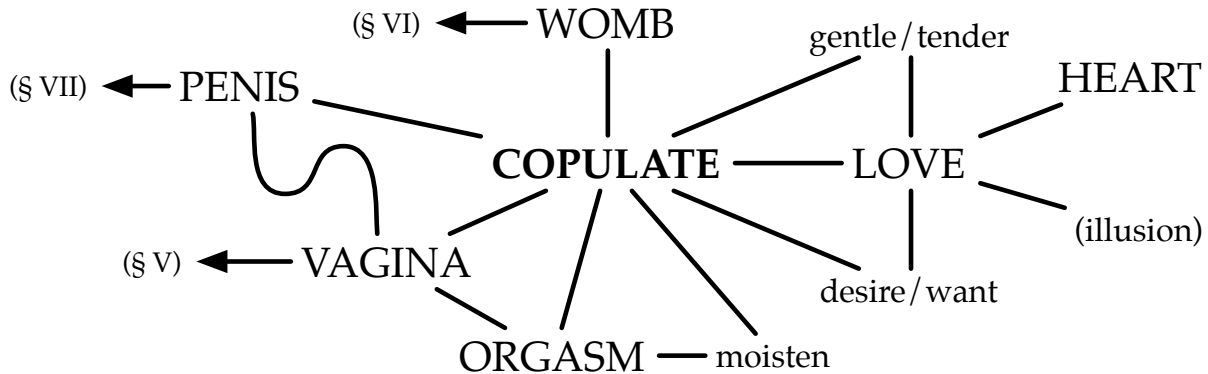
Nocte

<sup>1</sup>tšʌŋ

testicles; testicle

AW-TBT:16,617a

## VIII. Copulate



It should come as no surprise that verbs meaning COPULATE are closely associated with notions of LOVE and DESIRE. Most etyma in this section have a semantic range which encompasses both the physical act of love and its emotional concomitant. At least one root makes an overt connection between COPULATE and PENIS (cf. (124) \*s-nyak ≈ \*s-nik PENIS / COPULATE, above). Innumerable euphemisms for the act of sexual congress occur, but most of these are best treated in a separate study devoted to verbs. Typical verbs extended to a sexual sense include: PUSH (Mikir *dōy* ‘push’, *che-dōy* ‘copulate’); DO (Jingpho *dī* ‘do, make, form, fashion; be guilty of illicit intercourse’); MEET (Jingpho *khṛúm* ‘meet, converge; have sexual intercourse’), etc.

### (140) \*ŋ-(w)a:y COPULATE / MAKE LOVE / LOVE / GENTLE

This root is well-attested in TB, occurring in Kamarupan, Lolo-Burmese, Jingpho-Nung, Karenic, and Baic. There is an excellent Chinese comparandum, 愛 ‘love’ [GSR 508a]. *STC* (pp. 150, 192) compares Proto-Karen \*ʔai to the Chinese word, but does not cite any other TB forms. In Matisoff 1985a (*GSTC*) #126, I reconstructed PTB \*ŋ-(w)ay, on the basis of forms from Jingpho, Tiddim, Lushai, and Tangkhul. Another set of forms, reconstructed separately in *STC* #315 as \*ŋoy, with the gloss GENTLE / QUIET / MODERATE, I believe to be allofamically related to the present etymon (see *GSTC* #92). Also to be brought in here are Northern Naga forms meaning EASY and SOFT (French 1983:481, 554).

There is a look-alike in Proto-Tai: \*ŋaay<sup>B2</sup> ‘easy’ (*HCT*:204) > Siamese *ŋāay*.

See *HPTB* \*ŋ-(w)a:y, pp. 210, 217, 220.

#### 0. Sino-Tibetan

*Tibeto-Burman	*ŋ-(w)ay	love; make love	JAM-GSTC:126; RJL-DPTB:206
	*ŋoy	gentle / quiet / moderate	STC:315

## VIII. Copulate

### 1.1. North Assam

Padam-Mising [Abor-Miri]	<b>ngi</b>	comfort, soothe, cheer, console, pacify (as a child)	JAM-GSTC:092
Idu	<b>we<sup>55</sup>thu<sup>55</sup></b> <b>wu t<sup>h</sup>u wu ga</b>	love love	ZMYC:719.50 JP-Idu
1.2. Kuki-Chin			
Bawm Lushai [Mizo]	<b>ngàai</b> <b>hma ngaih</b> <b>in uai</b>	love love clasp one another and be reluctant to leave	LL-PRPL GEM-CNL JAM-GSTC:126
	<b>in uai lung-leng</b>	make love to one another	JAM-GSTC:126
	<b>in-ngai</b>	copulate; long for one another	JAM-Ety
	<b>ngáai/ngài?</b> <b>ngai</b> <b>ngāi</b>	love copulate long for, miss, feel earnest desire for; copulate	LL-PRPL JAM-Ety JAM-GSTC:126
	<b>uai</b>	pull, drag (as badly balanced load); hang onto; make love	JAM-GSTC:126,126; RJL-DPTB:206
	<b>noi</b> <b>nuai</b> <b>noi</b> <b>ra ngáai</b>	quiet, silent listless, quiet, silent downhearted, sad love	STC:315 STC:315 STC:315 LL-PRPL
Paangkhu Tiddim	<b>-nai</b> <b>-nai?</b> <b>-nai</b> <b>nai<sup>2</sup>/nai<sup>3</sup></b> <b>'nei</b>	love love; fall in love love; fall in love love; listen tenderly	RJL-DPTB:206 JAM-GSTC:126 JAM-GSTC:126 PB-TCV JAM-GSTC:126
1.3. Naga			
*Northern Naga	<b>*C-nuay</b> <b>*C<sub>VL</sub>-nuay</b> <b>*ñay</b> <b>*nay</b>	easy easy soft soft	JAM-GSTC:092 WTF-PNN:481 JAM-GSTC:061 WTF-PNN:554
Tangkhu	<b>khə náy</b>	desire	JAM-GSTC:126; RJL-DPTB:206
	<b>ngai lon</b> <b>sa-ngai kachi</b> <b>sa-nai kachi</b>	gentle desire that which one likes to do	JAM-GSTC:126 JAM-GSTC:126 RJL-DPTB:206
4.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	<b>ńwái</b> <b>ñwi</b> <b>ə ñwi-sá</b> ≠ <b>ə noi-sá</b>	respect, love; love gentle, mild, peace- ful, quiet gently, peacefully, moderately	JAM-GSTC:126; RJL-DPTB:206 STC:315 STC:315



(140) \***ŋ-(w)aiy** COPULATE / MAKE LOVE / LOVE / GENTLE

6.1. Burmish			
Achang (Luxi)	<b>ai</b> <sup>35</sup>	love	JZ-Achang
Burmese (Written)	<b>ŋwé</b>	appear in small measure; gentle, moderate	STC:315
Hpun (Northern)	<b>ŋwe?</b>	copulate	EJAH-Hpun
6.2. Loloish			
Sani [Nyi]	<b>vi</b> <sup>44</sup> <b>mo</b> <sup>55</sup>	copulate	CK-YiQ:10.2
6.4. Jinuo			
Jinuo	<b>mo</b> <sup>44</sup> <b>e</b> <sup>33</sup>	love	ZMYYC:719.34
7. Karenic			
*Karen (Sgaw)	<b>*wé?</b>	copulate	RBJ-KLS:474
*Karen	<b>*?ai</b>	love; make love	JAM-GSTC:126; STC:192n491
*Karen (TP)	<b>*?áiq</b>	love	RBJ-KLS:72
*Karen	<b>*?áiq</b>	love	RBJ-KLS:72
*Karen (Pho-Sgaw)	<b>*?wèq</b>	copulate	RBJ-KLS:474
	<b>*?èq</b>	love	RBJ-KLS:72
*Karen (Pho)	<b>*?éq</b>	love	RBJ-KLS:72
*Karen (Sgaw)	<b>*?é?</b>	love	RBJ-KLS:72
Karen	<b>?ai</b>	love	ACST:508a
Pa-O	<b>?ái</b>	love	RBJ-KLS:72
	<b>?e</b>	love	STC:149n409
	<b>?we</b>	copulate	JAM-Ety; RBJ-KLS:474
Palaychi	<b>?wèq</b>	copulate	JAM-Ety; RBJ-KLS:474
	<b>?ə</b>	love	STC:149n409
	<b>?èq</b>	love	RBJ-KLS:72
Pho	<b>ai</b>	love / make love	JAM-GSTC:126
Pho (Bassein)	<b>?ài</b>	love	RBJ-KLS:72
	<b>?wè</b>	copulate	JAM-Ety; RBJ-KLS:474
Pho (Moulmein)	<b>?wé?</b>	copulate	JAM-Ety; RBJ-KLS:474
	<b>?é?</b>	love	RBJ-KLS:72
Sgaw	<b>ε</b>	love / make love	JAM-GSTC:126
Sgaw (Bassein)	<b>wè</b>	copulate	JAM-Ety; RBJ-KLS:474
	<b>?è</b>	love	RBJ-KLS:72
Sgaw (Moulmein)	<b>wé?</b>	copulate	JAM-Ety; RBJ-KLS:474
	<b>?é?</b>	love	RBJ-KLS:72
8. Bai			
Bai (Dali)	<b>e</b> <sup>44</sup>	love	ZMYYC:719.35
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Old)	<b>âi</b>	love	JAM-GSTC:126
	<b>əd</b>	love	JAM-GSTC:126
	<b>?its</b>	love / grudge	WHB-OC:1160,337
Chinese (Old/Mid)	<b>əd/âi</b>	love	ACST:508a

**Chinese comparandum**愛 **ài** 'love'

GSR: 508a

Karlgren: \***əd**Li: \***əd<sub>h</sub>**Baxter: \***?its** (337)The Chinese form most closely resembles the Karen form **?ai**. Because we expect OC \***?-**

## VIII. Copulate

to correspond to PTB \*Ø- and OC \*ŋ- to correspond to PTB \*ŋ-, the Chinese form must be assumed to relate to a PTB allofam lacking initial \*ŋ-.

Baxter reconstructs \*ʔits, but a reconstruction of \*ʔijs is also possible, as rhyming evidence does not definitively indicate the presence of a stop coda.

The correspondence between TB final \*-ay and OC final \*-əd (Li), \*-ij (Baxter) is attested, for example in the word for ‘tail’, TB \*r-may, OC \*mjədɣ (Li), \*mjijʔ (Baxter). Elsewhere in this volume, (40b) \*s-tay NAVEL / ABDOMEN / CENTER / SELF offers additional support for this correspondence.

[ZJH]

### (141) \*r-ga ≈ \*N-ga ≈ \*d-ga ≈ \*s-ga COPULATE / LOVE / WANT

This etymon is extremely well attested, occurring in Kamarupan, Himalayish, Lolo-Burmese, Nungish, Qiangic, and probably Baic. Its range of meanings extends from WANT/DESIRE to LOVE to COPULATE. This root is notable for the large number of prefixes that it has acquired in various branches of TB: \*r- (in Qiangic [rGyalrong, Ergong] and Amdo Tibetan); \*N- (in Loloish and perhaps Meluri); \*d- (in Written Tibetan), and \*s- (in Qiangic [Pumi]).

This etymon has been grammaticalized in Lahu, where it now functions as a desiderative particle, e.g. **qay gâ** ‘want to go’, **dò gâ** ‘want to drink’, etc. See Matisoff 1988a:399-400.

See *HPTB* PLB \*m-ga<sup>2</sup>, p. 163.

#### 1.1. North Assam

Idu	hɑ <sup>31</sup> kaʉ <sup>55</sup>	like	ZMYYC:720.50
	wu t <sup>h</sup> u wu ga	love	JP-Idu

#### 1.2. Kuki-Chin

Meluri	ngü	want	GEM-CNL
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#### 1.3. Naga

Tangkhul	kha ma kha	copulate	JAM-Ety
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#### 1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish

Kokborok	ga	copulate	PT-Kok
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#### 2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	go shi	copulate	JAM-Ety
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#### 2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Tilang)	gra	love	JZ-CLMenba
Tshona (Wenlang)	do <sup>35</sup> go <sup>55</sup>	want	JZ-CNMenba
Tshona (Mama)	do <sup>13</sup> go <sup>53</sup>	want	ZMYYC:674.6
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	hga	like	ZMYYC:720.4
	ko kə	want	ZMYYC:674.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	rga	love; like	ZMYYC:719.5,720.5
	rgo	want	ZMYYC:674.5
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	ga <sup>31</sup>	love; like	ZMYYC:719.3,720.3
	gø <sup>55</sup>	want	ZMYYC:674.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	koʔ <sup>13</sup>	want	ZMYYC:674.2

Tibetan (Written)	<b>dga</b>	like	JS-Tib:586	
	<b>dga.ba</b>	happy	JS-Tib:343	
	<b>dgafi</b>	love; like	ZMYYC:719.1,720.1	1
	<b>dgafi po</b>	glad	ZMYYC:908.1	
	<b>dga ba</b>	glad	GEM-CNL	
	<b>dgos</b>	want	GEM-CNL;	2
			ZMYYC:674.1	
	<b>dgos pa</b>	necessary	GEM-CNL	
3.2. Qiangic				
Ergong (Northern)	<b>rgə</b> <sup>33</sup>	copulate	SHK-ErgNQ:10.2	
Ergong (Danba)	<b>zgia</b> zɛ	love	ZMYYC:719.14	
Ersu	<b>ga</b> <sup>55</sup>	love	ZMYYC:719.18	
	<b>ja</b> <sup>33</sup> <b>ga</b> <sup>55</sup>	like	ZMYYC:720.18	
Guiqiong	<b>tʂha</b> <sup>55</sup> <b>gi</b> <sup>33</sup>	like	ZMYYC:720.17	
Muya [Minyak]	<b>ŋguu</b> <sup>53</sup>	like	ZMYYC:720.15	
Pumi (Jinghua)	<b>giuu</b> <sup>13</sup>	like	ZMYYC:720.11	
	<b>sgia</b> <sup>55</sup>	love	ZMYYC:719.11	
Pumi (Taoba)	<b>giu</b> <sup>35</sup>	like	ZMYYC:720.10	
	<b>ɣie</b> <sup>35</sup>	love	ZMYYC:719.10	
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	<b>ga</b> <sup>35</sup>	love	ZMYYC:719.16	
3.3. rGyalrongic				
rGyalrong	<b>ka rga</b>	like	ZMYYC:720.12	
4.2. Nungic				
Trung [Dulong]	<b>gu</b> <sup>55</sup>	want	ZMYYC:674.46	
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	<b>gu</b> <sup>55</sup>	want	JZ-Dulong	
6.2. Loloish				
*Loloish	<b>*m-ga</b> <sup>2</sup>	want	DB-PLolo:827A	
Hani (Dazhai)	<b>ga</b> <sup>31</sup>	love	ZMYYC:719.31	
Hani (Gelanghe)	<b>gɣ</b> <sup>31</sup>	want	JZ-Hani	
Lahu (Black)	<b>gâ</b>	desiderative particle; want to V	JAM-DL:399-400	
Nusu (Bijiang)	<b>gu</b> <sup>35</sup> <b>a</b> <sup>55</sup>	like	ZMYYC:720.45	
Yi (Dafang)	<b>gu</b> <sup>21</sup>	like	ZMYYC:720.22	
Yi (Mojiang)	<b>gu</b> <sup>21</sup> <b>se</b> <sup>21</sup>	like	ZMYYC:720.26	
Yi (Nanhua)	<b>gu</b> <sup>33</sup> <b>go</b> <sup>33</sup>	like	ZMYYC:720.24	
Yi (Xide)	<b>ŋgu</b> <sup>33</sup>	love	ZMYYC:719.21	
8. Bai				
Bai (Bijiang)	<b>ko</b> <sup>21</sup>	love	ZMYYC:719.37	
Bai (Jianchuan)	<b>ko</b> <sup>21</sup>	love	ZMYYC:719.36	

(142)

**\*m-dza-k****LOVE**

This etymon was reconstructed as PTB **\*m-dza** in *STC* #67, on the basis of forms from Written Tibetan, Jingpho, and Written Burmese (with a note that the Jingpho form actually ends in glottal stop, so that it “may be distinct”). There is in fact ample rea-

<sup>1</sup>This form is glossed by Jäschke (pp. 82-3) as ‘rejoice; like, be willing; intend, wish’.

<sup>2</sup>Although this Tibetan form implies ‘necessity as well as want’ (Jäschke p. 87), it looks like an allofam of **dgafi** ‘rejoice; like, be willing’ [q.v.].

## VIII. Copulate

son to set up both open-syllabled and stop-finalled allofams for this root: **\*m-dza** ≈ **\*m-dzak**. The latter allofam is attested not only in Jingpho, but in Yi Nanhua (note the constricted vowel), and directly in NW rGyalrong (Qiangic group). The nasal prefix is directly reflected in WT, Yi (Dafang), and Jingpho.

0. Sino-Tibetan			
*Tibeto-Burman	<b>*m-dza</b>	love	STC:67
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	<b>xha tsha</b>	love	ZMYYC:719.4
Tibetan (Written)	<b>mdza-ba</b>	love	STC:67
2.3.2. Kiranti			
Hayu	<b>tsha niŋ-kuq li</b>	love	BM-Hay:84.57,58,2
3.2. Qiangic			
Guiqiong	<b>tsha</b> <sup>55</sup> <b>gi</b> <sup>33</sup>	love	ZMYYC:719.17
Namuyi	<b>dza</b> <sup>55</sup>	love	ZMYYC:719.19
Qiang (Mawo)	<b>χtci</b>	love	ZMYYC:719.8
Shixing	<b>tshi</b> <sup>55</sup>	love	ZMYYC:719.20
3.3. rGyalrongic			
rGyalrong (NW)	<b>ndot tɕ<sup>h</sup>ak</b>	copulate	SHK-rGNWQ:10.2
4.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	<b>ndža</b>	show love; affection-ate	STC:67
	<b>ndžá?</b>	love	STC:28n89
6.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	<b>ca</b>	have tender regard for	PKB-WBRD
	<b>tša</b>	have tender regard for another	STC:67
6.2. Loloish			
Yi (Dafang)	<b>ndzu</b> <sup>33</sup>	love	ZMYYC:719.22
Yi (Nanhua)	<b>ne</b> <sup>33</sup> <b>dza</b> <sup>33</sup>	love	ZMYYC:719.24

(143)

**\*krik** ≈ **\*kriŋ**

**LOVE / COPULATE**

This root is well attested in Kamarupan and Burmish, with an excellent cognate in Written Tibetan. The correspondence of WT **-ig** to WB **-ac** is perfectly regular. (Cf. *HPTB* pp. 343-348). The Maring form points to an allofam with final nasal.

1.1. North Assam			
Apatani	<b>kì</b>	love	JS-Tani
1.2. Kuki-Chin			
Maring	<b>karing</b>	love	GEM-CNL
1.3. Naga			
Angami (Khonoma)	<b>khre</b>	love	GEM-CNL
Angami (Kohima)	<b>khrie</b>	love	GEM-CNL
Chokri	<b>khriü</b>	love	GEM-CNL
Mao	<b>khro</b>	love	GEM-CNL

## 2.1.2. Bodic

Tibetan (Written)	ḥk'rig-pa	copulate	JAM-Ety	3
6.1. Burmish				
Achang (Lianghe)	kɛ <sup>55</sup> kik <sup>55</sup>	love	JZ-Achang	
Arakanese	hcat	love	JO-PB	
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	tɕhi? <sup>44</sup>	love	ZMYYC:719.40	
Burmese (Written)	khjas	love	ZMYYC:719.39	
	khyac	love; to love	GEM-CNL; JO-PB; PKB-WBRD	
Burmese (Inscriptional)	khyat	love	JO-PB	
Burmese (Written)	ə-khyac	love, affection	PKB-WBRD	
Intha	hyi'	love	JO-PB	
Maru [Langsu]	c'it	love	JO-PB	
Tavoyan	hyi'	love	JO-PB	
Atsi [Zaiwa]	tʃit <sup>55</sup>	love	ZMYYC:719.42	

(144)

\*ləw-k

COPULATE

This etymon is fairly well attested in TB as a whole, especially in Himalayish and Chin, but also in Lolo-Burmese (Burmese), and Qiangic (rGyalrong). Judging from the Burmese gloss in Judson 1893/1966, it seems to be connected with the notion of piercing or penetrating.

The allofam with final **-k** is attested not only in the Form-II of verbs in several Chin languages, but also in Chepang. The Form-I of Chin verbs, as well as the Kiranti and Burmese forms, reflect the open-syllable allofam.

## 1.2. Kuki-Chin

*Chin	*luu ≈ luuk	copulate	KVB-PKC:1003
Cho (Mindat)	luk ~ luuk	penetrate sexually, possess a woman	KVB-PKC:1003
Khumi	liiw	have intercourse with	KVB-PKC:1003
Lakher [Mara]	lu	copulate	JAM-Ety
	lū	copulate	KVB-PKC:1003
Lushai [Mizo]	in-lu-khung	copulate	JAM-Ety
	lu	copulate	JAM-Ety
	lūu ~ lūuk	copulate	KVB-PKC:1003
Thado	lūu ~ lū?	copulate	KVB-PKC:1003
Tiddim	lu: <sup>1</sup> ~ lu:k <sup>1</sup>	copulate	KVB-PKC:1003

## 2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Pattani [Manchati]	lhù ʃi	copulate	STP-ManQ:10.2
	lui	copulate	DS-Patt

## 2.3. Mahakiranti

*Dum-Thu-Kha	*le-	copulate	BM-PK7:37
*Kiranti	*lu-	copulate	BM-PK7:37

<sup>3</sup>Jäschke (p. 61) notes that this word is “the usual, not exactly obscene, yet not euphemistic term for it”. It also has the non-sexual meanings ‘cohere, stick together’ and ‘be cloudy, overcast (of the sky)’.

## VIII. Copulate

### 2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar

Chepeng	<b>lu?</b> -sa	copulate	SIL-Chep:2.B.2.13
	<b>lu?</b> .sā	copulate	JAM-Ety
Chepeng (Eastern)	<b>lu?</b> na?	copulate	RC-ChepQ:10.2
Sunwar	<b>lu:</b> -	copulate	BM-PK7:37
	<b>lu:</b> -cā	copulate	JAM-Ety

### 2.3.2. Kiranti

Bahing	<b>lu-</b>	copulate	BM-PK7:37
Bantawa	<b>li-</b>	copulate	BM-PK7:37
	<b>li</b> ma	copulate	WW-Bant:47
Khaling	<b>le-</b>	copulate	BM-PK7:37
	<b>le-</b> ne	copulate	JAM-Ety
Thulung	<b>le-</b>	copulate	BM-PK7:37

### 3.3. rGyalrongic

rGyalrong	ta <b>lu</b> ka pa	copulate	DQ-Jiarong:10.2
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ta <b>lu</b> ka pa	copulate	SHK-rGEQ:10.2

### 6. Lolo-Burmese

*Lolo-Burmese	<b>*ləw</b> <sup>2</sup>	copulate / penis	JAM-II
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#### 6.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	<b>lūi</b>	pierce in coitus (vulg.)	PKB-WBRD
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#### 6.2. Loloish

Akha	a <sub>˩</sub> loe <sub>˩</sub>	penis	JAM-Ety
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## (145) **\*duk** ≈ **\*tu** **LOVE / DESIRE / WANT**

This etymon is well-attested in Kamarupan, with good-looking cognates in Himalayish and Loloish. Two allofams should be reconstructed, one with and one without final **\*-k**. The Idu and Loloish forms point to an allofam with **\*voiceless initial**, while the Moyon form reflects an evidently secondary nasal prefix.

#### 1.1. North Assam

Idu	we <sup>55</sup> <b>thu</b> <sup>55</sup>	love	ZMYYC:719.50
	wu t <sup>h</sup> <b>u</b> wu ga	love	JP-Idu

#### 1.2. Kuki-Chin

*Chin	<b>*dʉ?</b>	want, crave, lack	KVB-PKC:116
Cho (Mindat)	<b>du</b>	be destitute, in want, needy	KVB-PKC:116
Lai (Hakha)	<b>du?</b>	want; desire; crave; like; lack	KVB-Lai
Lai (Falam)	<b>dù?</b>	want, crave, like	KVB-PKC:116

<sup>4</sup>Khaling has **-e** where other Kiranti languages have **-u** in at least two other roots: COME/BRING DOWN Hayu **ju(t)-**, Bahing **ju(t)-**, Kulung **yuw-**, **yutt-**; but Khaling **ye(n)-**. STEAL Hayu **khu(t)-**, Bahing **ku(s)-**, Thulung **khu-**, Kulung **kuss-**; but Khaling **khe-**. See Michailovsky 1991, *Proto-Kiranti*, pp. 15, 34.

<sup>5</sup>This Akha reflex is to be referred to the present etymon, rather than to (114a) **\*m-ley** ≈ **\*m-li** PENIS, since Akha **-oe** is the regular reflex of PTB **\*-əw** (e.g. STEAL **\*r-kəw** > Ak. **k'oe**<sub>˩</sub>; WEEP **\*ŋəw** > Ak. **ngoe**<sup>˩</sup>). For the Akha reflex of PLB **\*r-lik** 'testicle', see **leh**<sub>˩</sub>, above (129). See also the note on Akha **beu**<sup>˩</sup> **leu**<sup>˩</sup> 'penis (polite)', above (114a).

Lakher [Mara]	<b>dū</b>	love (by grand-mother)	KVB-PKC:116
Lushai [Mizo]	<b>duh</b> <b>dùh</b>	love want, wish; need, require; desire, like	GEM-CNL KVB-Lai:116
Paite Tiddim	<b>duk</b> <b>duh</b> <b>du?</b> <sup>3</sup>	desire crave, like desire food	GEM-CNL KVB-PKC:116 PB-TCV
1.4. Meithei Moyon	<b>ntu</b>	copulate	DK-Moyon:10.2
2.1.2. Bodic Tshona (Wenlang) Tshona (Mama)	<b>do</b> <sup>35</sup> go <sup>55</sup> <b>do</b> <sup>13</sup> go <sup>53</sup>	want want	JZ-CNMenba ZMYYC:674.6
2.1.4. Tamangic Tamang (Sahu)	<b>tu:h</b> 'ti-pa	love	SIL-Sahu:21.A.52
2.3.2. Kiranti Hayu	<b>dak</b>	desire, need	BM-Hay:84.34
6.2. Loloish Lahu (Black)	<b>cha thû</b>  <b>nī thû</b>  <b>thû</b>	feel sexual desire (woman); lubricate have an erection; be aroused feel sexual desire; be horny (man or woman)	JAM-DL:681 JAM-DL:681,769 JAM-Ety
Yi (Nanjian)	<b>thu</b> <sup>21</sup>	love	ZMYYC:719.23

## (146) \*yo COPULATE

This root was reconstructed for Proto-Tani by J. Sun (1993), but seems to have a wider distribution, both elsewhere in Kamarupan (Konyak) and in Himalayish. The Konyak, Baima, and Spiti compounds look like they all have the same morphemic structure, with (147) \*yaŋ LOVE / DESIRE / COPULATE [see below] as their second element.

## 1.1. North Assam

*Tani	<b>*jo</b>	copulate	JS-HCST:81
Padam-Mising [Abor-Miri]	<b>jo</b> <b>yo</b> <b>yo-shu</b>	copulate copulate copulate	JS-HCST JAM-Ety JAM-Ety
Apatani	<b>í</b>	copulate	JS-Tani
Bengni	<b>ju</b>	copulate	JS-HCST
Bokar	<b>jo</b>	copulate	JS-HCST
Gallong	<b>a ya-nam</b>	love	KDG-IGL

## 1.3. Naga

Konyak	<b>ya yiang</b>	love	GEM-CNL
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<sup>6</sup>Abor-Miri **shu** is a reflexive morpheme.

## VIII. Copulate

### 2.1.2. Bodic

Baima	ʒɔ <sup>13</sup> iɔ <sup>13</sup>	copulate	SHK-BaimaQ:10.2	7
Spiti	joje	copulate	CB-SpitiQ:10.2	

## (147) \*yaŋ LOVE / DESIRE / COPULATE

This etymon is fairly well established, occurring in Kamarupan, Baic, and Himalayish. This root is independent of (146) \*yo COPULATE above, with which it occurs in binomes (Konyak, Baima, Spiti). There is a longshot Chinese comparandum, 癢 ‘itch’, OC **ziang** [GSR #732r], Mand. **yǎn**, though the semantic association is doubtful.

### 1. Kamarupan

Miji	luŋ-ʒaŋ	love; be kind to	IMS-Miji
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### 1.1. North Assam

Bokar	a-jaŋ	love	JS-Tani
Milang	a-yan-ma	love	AT-MPB

### 1.2. Kuki-Chin

Khoirao	nri ye	love	GEM-CNL
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### 1.3. Naga

Konyak	ya yiang	love	GEM-CNL
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### 2.1.2. Bodic

Baima	ʒɔ <sup>13</sup> iɔ <sup>13</sup>	copulate	SHK-BaimaQ:10.2	8
Tsangla (Motuo)	jaŋ	want	ZMYC:674.7	
Tshona (Wenlang)	ziŋ <sup>35</sup>	love	JZ-CNMenba	
Spiti	joje	copulate	CB-SpitiQ:10.2	

### 8. Bai

Bai	jæ <sup>44</sup>	copulate	ZYS-Bai:10.2
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## Chinese comparandum

癢 **yǎng** ‘itch’ ≈ 痒 **yáng** ‘disease’

GSR: 732i,732r      Karlgren: \*ziang      Li: \*rang(x)      Baxter: \*(l)jang(?)

Setting aside the question of semantics, this is a plausible comparison.

For other members of this phonetic series, Baxter reconstructs \*z(l)ang, \*k(l)ang and \*kh(l)ang. The presence of medial \*-l- ties the pronunciation of these words together; but the medial is given in parentheses because it does not affect subsequent development and Baxter is probably doubtful about its presence. Li’s initial \*r- has been revised to \*l- by most scholars. Handel 1998 and Schuessler 2007 both reconstruct initial \*j- in this situation.

<sup>7</sup>It would not be clear *a priori* which of these phonologically similar Baima syllables should be referred to the present etymon, though the Spiti and Konyak binomial cognates suggest it is the first syllable that belongs here, while the second descends rather from (147) \*yaŋ LOVE / DESIRE / COPULATE, below.

<sup>8</sup>The Spiti and Konyak cognates suggest it is the second syllable that belongs here, while the first descends rather from (146) \*yo COPULATE, above.



This proposal parallels the comparison of Chinese ‘sheep’ 羊 \*jang (Mand. yáng) with PTB \*g-yaŋ.

[ZJH]

## (148) \*m-brel COPULATE / CONNECT

The basic meaning of this etymon seems to be ‘hang together; cohere; be connected; come together; meet, join’ (see the range of meanings in WT, Jäschke p. 402). It is attested chiefly in Himalayish, with apparently excellent Qiangic cognates. The nasal prefix is reflected by the WT a-chung (ḥ-), and directly by the Northern rGyalrong form. It is of course quite possible that the rGyalrong and Ergong forms are borrowings from Tibetan.

## 2.1.2. Bodic

Tibetan (Written)	ḥbrel-ba	copulate / join / be connected	JAM-Ety	
2.1.4. Tamangic				
Chantyal	pfie-wa	copulate	NPB-ChanQ:10.2	
Gurung (Ghachok)	mehq bral diba	copulate (animals), have sexual intercourse (cows)	SIL-Gur	
	preh ba	copulate (animals), have sexual intercourse (animals)	SIL-Gur	
Tamang (Risiangku)	prxe-ba <sup>4</sup> pja	copulate copulate; copulate (of males)	JAM-Ety MM-TamRisQ:10.2; MM-Thesis:702	9
Tamang (Sahu)	pyāh pā	copulate	JAM-Ety	
Thakali (Tukche)	peh-la peh-lɔ	copulate copulate	JAM-Ety SIL-Thak:2.B.2.13	
3.2. Qiangic				
Ergong (Daofu)	?phə phə	copulate	DQ-Daofu:10.2	
3.3. rGyalrongic				
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə ka mbrə mbro	copulate	SHK-rGNQ:10.2	

## (149) \*m-bak ≈ \*m-baŋ COPULATE / LOVE / WOMB

This etymon, which seems to cover quite an unusual semantic range, including COPULATE, LOVE, and WOMB/NEST, is fairly broadly distributed, with likely reflexes in Kamarupan, Himalayish, Loloish, and Tangut (Xixia). Allofams with final velar stop and final velar nasal both occur. The nasal prefix is directly attested in Moyon, Bisu, and Tangut.

## 1.1. North Assam

Bengni	pak	love	JS-Tani
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<sup>9</sup>This Gurung form is cited in Noonan’s (1999) *Chantyal Dictionary and Texts* under ‘have sex’.

## VIII. Copulate

Sulung Tagin	a <sup>33</sup> <b>pak</b> <sup>11</sup> <b>pak-nam</b>	love love	ZMYYC:719.52 KDG-Tag
1.4. Meithei Moyon	<b>mpúʔ</b>	copulate	DK-Moyon:10.2
2.1.1. Western Himalayish Pattani [Manchati]	<b>bàŋ</b> <b>baŋg</b>	womb nest	STP-ManQ:10.4.8 DS-Patt
2.1.3. Lepcha Lepcha	<b>tă-băk</b>	womb	JAM-Ety
3.1. Tangut Tangut [Xixia]	<b>mbâ<sup>2</sup></b>	copulate	MVS-Grin
6.2. Loloish Bisu Lahu (Black)	aŋ ləp ʔ <b>mbă</b> cha <b>pàʔ</b> ve	genitals copulate with a woman	PB-Bisu:14 JAM-DL:517,814
Mpi	<b>pàʔ</b> <b>poʔ<sup>4</sup></b> <b>poʔ<sup>4</sup></b> muŋʔ <sup>1</sup>	copulate womb womb	JAM-Ety SD-MPD SD-MPD

(150)

**\*kuŋ** ≈ **\*huŋ**

**LOVE / COPULATE**

This root has been found only in Kamarupan, where it shows variation between initial **k-** and **h-**. (This variation is paralleled in a number of other etyma, including (82) **\*hay** ≈ **\*kay** VAGINA; see the note under that reconstruction, Chapter V above.) The final **-n** in the Konyak and Bodo forms is unexplained.<sup>10</sup>

### 1.2. Kuki-Chin

Liangmei	<b>kung</b>	love	GEM-CNL
Puiron	<b>kung</b>	love	GEM-CNL

### 1.3. Naga

Konyak	<b>kün</b>	love	GEM-CNL
Zeme	<b>hung</b>	love	GEM-CNL
Mzieme	<b>hung</b>	love	GEM-CNL

### 1.5. Mikir

Mikir	<b>kang hon</b>	love	GEM-CNL
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### 1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish

Bodo	<b>kón</b>	copulate	JAM-Ety
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(151) **\*l(y)ap** ≈ **\*l(y)am** ≈ **\*rap** **COPULATE / LOVE / GET TOGETHER**

This etymon is attested in Kamarupan and Himalayish, with a possible cognate in Loloish (Bisu). The initial shows variation between **l-** and **r-**. This root seems to be quite distinct from (154) **\*la** COPULATE / LOVE, below. The final **-t** in the Tangkhul forms is unexplained.

<sup>10</sup>It is remotely possible that these two forms are related to the second Mikir syllable **hon**, from a separate root **\*kon** ≈ **\*hon**.

1.1. North Assam				
Darang [Taraon]	lyeb-ga:	copulate	JAM-Ety	
1.3. Naga				
Lotha Naga	lam	love	GEM-CNL	
Tangkhum	khaŋa rāt	copulate	JAM-Ety	
	rat	copulate	Bhat-TNV:86	
1.5. Mikir				
Mikir	do rap rap	copulate	JAM-Ety	11
	i rap-chom	copulate	JAM-Ety	
	i rap-rap	copulate	JAM-Ety	
2.1.1. Western Himalayish				
Pattani [Manchati]	sem lep i	love	DS-Patt	
2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar				
Chepeng	rāp-sā	love	AH-CSDPN:10b1.52	
	rap-sa	love	SIL-Chep:10.B.1.52	
Magar	ro-ke	love	AH-CSDPN:10a.01,10b1.52	
6.2. Loloish				
Bisu	aŋ ləp ʔmbā	genitals	PB-Bisu:14	

## (152) \*(t)si COPULATE / LOVE

This root has scattered but good-looking reflexes in Kamarupan (Maram, Meithei), Himalayish (Kanauri, Manchati), Loloish (Ahi, Nesu), Nungish (Dulong), Qiangic (Muya), and Tujia. Most reflexes have a simple sibilant fricative initial, but the Loloish and Tujia forms have affricates. There does not seem to be any connection with (117) \*ti-k PENIS or (118) \*dzi PENIS, above.

1.2. Kuki-Chin				
Maram	a lung si	love	GEM-CNL	12
1.4. Meithei				
Meithei	nung si	love	GEM-CNL	
2.1.1. Western Himalayish				
Kanauri	go <u>sh</u> i	copulate	JAM-Ety	
	tsük <u>sh</u> i	copulate	JAM-Ety	
Pattani [Manchati]	lhù <u>sh</u> i	copulate	STP-ManQ:10.2	
3.2. Qiangic				
Muya [Minyak]	si <sup>33</sup> si <sup>55</sup>	love	ZMYYC:719.15	
4.2. Nungic				
Trung [Dulong]	ŋi <sup>55</sup> ci <sup>31</sup>	love	ZMYYC:719.46	
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	ŋi <sup>55</sup> si <sup>31</sup>	love	RJL-DPTB:206	

<sup>11</sup>The basic meaning of Mikir **rap** is ‘to befriend; to be together’. It occurs as an auxiliary after other verbs (e.g. **do** ‘be; exist’, **i** ‘sleep’), meaning ‘to V together’.

<sup>12</sup>The second syllable of the Maram form, as well as the first syllable of the Meithei form mean ‘heart’ < (H:141) \*m-luŋ HEART.

## VIII. Copulate

Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	ńi <sup>55</sup> śi <sup>31</sup>	love	RJL-DPTB:206
5. Tujia			
Tujia (Northern)	a <sup>35</sup> tshi <sup>55</sup>	love	JZ-Tujia
Tujia	a <sup>35</sup> tshi <sup>55</sup>	love	ZMYYC:719.38
Tujia (Southern)	?a <sup>21</sup> tshi <sup>21</sup>	love	JZ-Tujia
6.2. Loloish			
Ahi	tʃhe <sup>33</sup>	copulate	CK-YiQ:10.2
Nesu	tɕi <sup>33</sup>	copulate	CK-YiQ:10.2

### (153) \*pam ≈ \*bam LOVE / DESIRE / COPULATE

This root is solidly attested in Kamarupan (Chin [Lai], Naga [Lotha, Phom] and Meithei), but so far it has not been discovered anywhere else.

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	pom	copulate, make love	JAM-Ety:D.Van Bik
1.3. Naga			
Lotha Naga	chi pon	love	GEM-CNL
Phom	bam	love	GEM-CNL
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	pam	love; desire	GEM-CNL

### (154) \*la COPULATE / LOVE

This putative etymon is sparsely attested, appearing only in Himalayish, with a good-looking cognate in Kamarupan (Tangkhul). It seems to be quite independent from the homophonous root (137) \*la MALE, Chapter VII above. A Jingpho form meaning ‘love, like, esteem’, transcribed variously as **ra** [Hanson p.563; Marrison 1967:157], **rà?** [JAM-Ety], and **ʒa**<sup>31</sup> [ZMYYC #719] does not fit in here, due to the final -ʔ (< \*-k). This may be a loan into Jingpho from Tai (cf. Siamese **rák**, Shan **hak** [Cushing 1914:630]).<sup>13</sup> There is another unrelated Jingpho morpheme of similar shape (in the low falling tone, without final glottal stop), meaning ‘want’ in the sense of ‘lack; be in need’, transcribed variously as **ra** (Hanson 1906/1954:563 [separate entry from preceding]), **rà** (JAM-Ety), and **ʒa**<sup>31</sup> (ZMYYC #674; Dai et al. 1983:681). This form is certainly cognate to rGyalrong **ra** (ZMYYC #674) < PTB \*ra.

This root seems quite distinct from (151) \*l(y)ap ≈ \*l(y)am ≈ \*rap COPULATE / LOVE / GET TOGETHER.

1.3. Naga			
Tangkhul	kha lā	copulate	JAM-Ety
2.1.4. Tamangic			
Gurung (Ghachok)	mr̥i la baq	copulate	SIL-Gur:2.B.2.13
	mr̥i lā bāq	copulate	JAM-Ety
Tamang (Sahu)	'he la la pa	love	SIL-Sahu:10.1

<sup>13</sup>This Tai etymon is, however, not reconstructed in *HCT*.

Thakali (Tukche)	peh- <b>la</b> peh- <b>lɔ</b>	copulate copulate	JAM-Ety SIL-Thak:2.B.2.13
2.3.2. Kiranti Dumi	<b>la li kha</b>	love	SVD-Dum

(155) **\*saw** LOVE

This promising root, of limited distribution, has been found in Kamarupan, with an apparent cognate in Himalayish (Chepang). Some reflexes have **-a**, others have a back vowel (**-u** or **-o**); the rhyme is reconstructed as **\*-aw** on the testimony of Dimasa.

1.1. North Assam Apatani	hen- <b>sú</b>	love	JS-Tani	
1.2. Kuki-Chin Liangmei	lung <b>sa</b>	love	GEM-CNL	14
1.3. Naga Chang	<b>sa nou</b>	love	GEM-CNL	
Rengma	<b>so</b>	love	GEM-CNL	
1.5. Mikir Mikir	jin <b>so</b>	love	GEM-CNL	
1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish Dimasa	kha <b>sao</b>	love	GEM-CNL	
2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepang-Sunwar Chepang	rāp- <b>sā</b> rap- <b>sa</b>	love love	AH-CSDPN:10b1.52 SIL-Chep:10.B.1.52	

(156) **\*ʔin ≈ \*ʔit** LOVE

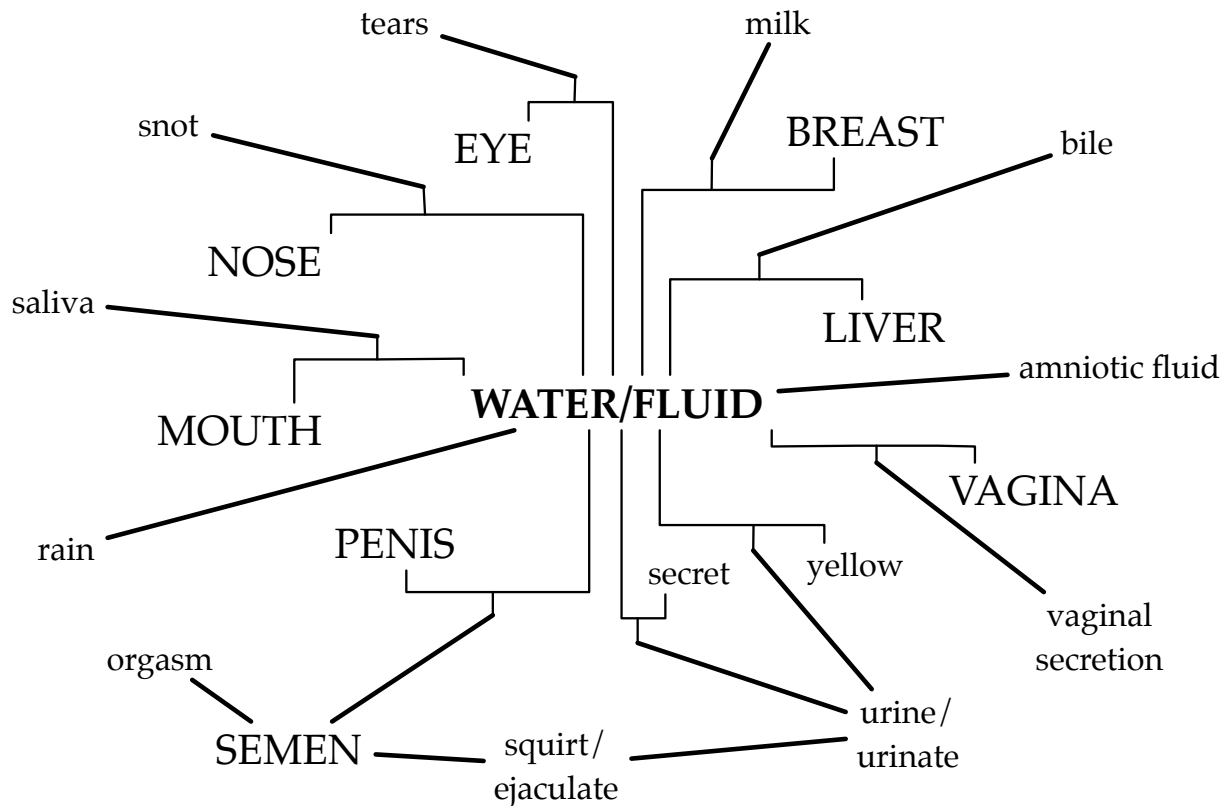
This rootlet has so far only been found in three Kamarupan languages, and even these three putative cognates show variation in their rhymes. Lushai has final **-n**, while Tiddim has the homorganic stop **-t**; the final **-m** in Ao Chungli is perhaps due to assimilation to the labial nasal prefix in that language.

1.2. Kuki-Chin Lushai [Mizo]	<b>in uai</b>	clasp one another and be reluctant to leave	JAM-GSTC:126
Tiddim	<b>it</b> <sup>1</sup>	love deeply	PB-TCV
1.3. Naga Ao (Chungli)	me <b>im</b>	love	GEM-CNL

<sup>14</sup>The first syllable means 'heart'. Cf. the Maram and Meithei forms under (152) \*(t)si COPULATE / LOVE, above.



## IX. Body Fluids



In Sino-Tibetan languages, the words for the various liquids produced by or contained in the body tend to be transparent compounds where the last element is a morpheme meaning ‘water; liquid’.<sup>1</sup> Of the many body fluids,<sup>2</sup> only a few relate directly to the reproductive system (AMNIOTIC FLUID, MILK, SEMEN, VAGINAL SECRETIONS). In this section, however, in order to illustrate the scope of the various ST roots for WATER, I include a generous sampling of compounds referring to non-reproductive body fluids.<sup>3</sup>

(157)

**\*ra** ≈ **\*wa**

**SEMEN**

There is no single widespread root for SEMEN to be reconstructed for PTB, though several promising local candidates are attested here and there. Many forms for this

<sup>1</sup>Exceptions are BLOOD, URINE, SWEAT, and sometimes BILE, which are usually monosyllabic words.

<sup>2</sup>That is, AMNIOTIC FLUID, BILE, BLOOD, MILK, PHLEGM, PUS, SALIVA, SEMEN, SNOT, SWEAT, TEARS, VAGINAL SECRETIONS.

<sup>3</sup>The numerous roots for water (over ten at last count) in the STEDT database merit a separate study. Words for WATER seldom seem to be used by themselves in ST languages to mean URINE, unlike e.g. English, where *make water* is a common euphemism for ‘urinate’; for an exception see the WT form č‘u below.

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concept are euphemistic (e.g. words that otherwise simply mean ‘water’); many others are compounds of the structure PENIS + WATER (e.g. Tangkhul **shaŋ-ra**). Other “semantic” associations include SEMEN ↔ SAP (Akha **ạ̣ ḍzi** means both [Lewis p.35]); SEMEN ↔ SHIT (Lahu **nī-qhê**); SEMEN ↔ FAT (Lahu **nī-chu**); SEMEN ↔ CONTEMPLATION (WT **t’ig-le** [Jäschke p. 231]). The present root appears in Kamarupan, Himalayish, and Qiangic.

### 1.3. Naga

Tangkhul	hai <b>ra</b>	semen	JAM-Ety	4
	pha <b>ra</b>	semen	JAM-Ety	
	shaŋ <b>ra</b>	semen	JAM-Ety	

### 1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish

Bodo	pe <b>da</b>	semen	JAM-Ety	5
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### 2.3.2. Kiranti

Bantawa	lü-khü- <b>wa</b>	semen	WW-Bant:47	
	lU khU <b>wa</b>	semen	NKR-Bant	
Belhare	la lik	semen, sperm	BB-Belhare	
Dumi	ro: <b>ri</b>	semen, sperm, seed	SVD-Dum	6
Limbu	le <b>wā</b>	semen	JAM-Ety	
Thulung	la sa	semen	NJA-Thulung	

### 3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	r̥ar <b>r̥e</b>	semen	DQ-Xixia:10.3.7	7
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### 3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Mawo)	ɣliə <sup>†</sup>	semen	JS-Mawo	
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(158)

**\*ŋya**

**SEMEN**

This root has so far been found only in a few Himalayish languages.

### 2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Pattani [Manchati]	ñya ri	semen	STP-ManQ:10.3.7
	ñya ri hut si	ejaculate (v.)	STP-ManQ:10.3.8

### 2.1.4. Tamangic

Tamang (Risiangku)	<sup>1</sup> ŋja	semen	MM-TamRisQ:10.3.7
Tamang (Sahu)	<sup>1</sup> ŋja	semen	JAM-Ety

### 2.3.2. Kiranti

Limbu	yā rimbā	semen	JAM-Ety
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<sup>4</sup>For the first syllable, see (82) **\*hay** ≈ **\*kay** VAGINA, above. This certainly looks like a case of “genital flipflop”, i.e. semen is viewed as “vagina-semen”, since that is its destination.

<sup>5</sup>The **-d-** in this form is a plausible Bodo intervocalic reflex of **\*-r-**. The name of this language itself is often transcribed as “Boro”. See Bhat 1968.

<sup>6</sup>This form looks exactly parallel to Tangut **r̥ar r̥e**.

<sup>7</sup>This compound looks exactly parallel to Dumi **ro: ri**.



## (159) \*bo SEMEN

This etymon has so far been found only in a few Kuki-Chin languages.

## 1.2. Kuki-Chin

Kom Rem	ə bo	semen	T-KomRQ:10.3.7
Lushai [Mizo]	baw	semen	JAM-Ety

## 1.4. Meithei

Moyon	jΔŋ bów	semen	DK-Moyon:10.3.7
	jΔŋ bów isòw?	ejaculate (v.)	DK-Moyon:10.3.8

## (160) \*ʔ-bik SQUIRT / EJACULATE

This is only one of a large number of verbs than can be used to mean EJACULATE.<sup>8</sup> This particular root has so far been identified only in a couple of Loloish languages. In Ahi it means specifically ‘eject semen’, while the Lahu cognate is used to mean ‘squirt urine’. Although this etymon had a \*stopped final in Proto-Loloish (as indicated by the Ahi constriction and the Lahu high-rising tone), it was not reconstructed in Matisoff 1972a.

## 6.2. Loloish

Ahi	pi <sup>55</sup>	ejaculate	LMZ-AhiQ:10.3.8
Gazhuo	pi <sup>35</sup>	urinate	DQ-Gazhuo:9.7.2
Lahu (Black)	ji pi ve	urinate	JAM-DL:p. 582
	ji pi	urinate ("squirt urine")	JAM-DL:818
Lolopho	pi	spurt; squirt out	JAM-DL:818
	zi <sup>31</sup> pi <sup>55</sup> ʂo <sup>31</sup>	urinate	DQ-Lolopho:9.7.2

## (161) \*tsyu WATER / BODY FLUID

## 1.3. Naga

Angami (Kohima)	mhi <sup>31</sup> dzü <sup>55</sup>	tears	VN-AngQ:3.4.6
Chokri	mhü <sup>31</sup> dzü <sup>33</sup>	tears	VN-ChkQ:3.4.6
Lotha Naga	e sü tchhü	tears (weeping)	GEM-CNL
	E su tsu	tears	VN-LothQ:3.4.6
	shi ro tchhü	milk	GEM-CNL
	Sho ro tchu	milk	VN-LothQ:5.4.3
Mao	o chü rü	rain	GEM-CNL

## 2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	khu cu	semen	SBN-BunQ:10.3.7
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## 2.1.2. Bodic

Baima	ni <sup>53</sup> tfu <sup>53</sup>	sweat / perspiration	SHK-BaimaQ:8.2.1
Kaika	kha jyu	spittle / saliva	JAM-Ety
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	hɲək tɕhə	tear (n.)	ZMYYC:239.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	ɣɲək tɕhə	tear (n.)	ZMYYC:239.5

<sup>8</sup>Another such verb is \*m-tis ‘be wet’. See below, (162) \*m-t(w)əy ≈ \*m-ti WATER / FLUID / LIQUID / SOAK.

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Tibetan (Batang)	kha <sup>55</sup> t̥cho <sup>53</sup> miʔ <sup>55</sup> t̥cho <sup>53</sup>	saliva tears	DQ-Batang:3.7.5 DQ-Batang:3.4.6	
Tibetan (Jirel)	kho jyuq mik cyukq	spittle / saliva tears	JAM-Ety JAM-Ety	
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	ŋi <sup>55</sup> t̥chu <sup>53</sup>	tear (n.)	ZMYYC:239.3	
Tibetan (Lhasa)	mik <sup>53</sup> t̥chu <sup>53</sup>	tear (n.)	ZMYYC:239.2	
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	mē zhū	tears	B-ShrpaHQ:3.4.6	
Sherpa	mik cur	tears	JAM-Ety	
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	ŋōl chu	sweat / perspiration	B-ShrpaHQ:8.2.1	
Tibetan (Written)	č'u	water; water in the body; euph. for urine	JAM-Ety	9
	č'u-ser	pus	JAM-Ety	10
	k'a-č'ú	spittle / saliva	JAM-Ety	
	mig t̥chu	tear (n.)	ZMYYC:239.1	
	mig-č'u	tears	JAM-Ety	
	mig-t̥hu	tears	ZLS-Tib:62	
2.1.4. Tamangic				
Tamang (Sahu)	khā cyo	spittle / saliva	JAM-Ety	
Thakali (Tukche)	'mi-kju	tears	SIL-Thak:2.A.65	
	'mi-kyu	tears	JAM-Ety	
	chap-kyu	sweat	JAM-Ety	
	c <sup>h</sup> ɔp-kju	sweat	SIL-Thak:2.A.74	
3.2. Qiangic				
Muya [Minyak]	mi <sup>53</sup> t̥cu <sup>53</sup>	tears	SHK-MuyaQ:3.4.6	

### (162) \*m-t(w)əy ≈ \*m-ti WATER / FLUID / LIQUID / SOAK

This is a rather complex word family in which all three dental suffixes /-t, -s, -n/ are attested. Reflexes include Kanauri **this** ‘wet’, Jingpho **məd̥it** ‘moisten sth; wet, damp’, Lalo **tíq** ‘steep, soak’, Kanauri **ti** ‘water’, Jingpho **məd̥i** ‘moist, damp, wet’, Lahu **d̥i** ‘moisten due to sexual excitement (of a woman), ejaculate (of a man)’. The nasal prefix is reflected directly in Jingpho, and indirectly by the voiced Lahu initial.

Note the Kanauri form **thiss**, where the -s perhaps reflects the source of the -t to be found in other languages.

As noted above, there is sometimes confusion between this root and (2a) \*d(w)əy EGG / TESTICLE, as in compounds of BIRD + WATER > EGG. Note the Kom Rem forms **mit yətui** ‘eyeball’ and **nəi tui** ‘amniotic fluid’, where the second element definitely means ‘egg’ in the former, but ‘liquid’ in the latter.

To make the phonosemantic variation in this root more plausible, compare the various English words derived from Proto-Indo-European \*wod ≈ \*wēd ≈ \*we-n-d etc.:

<sup>9</sup>See also WT **gsañ-č'ab** ‘urine (resp.)’, lit. “secret-water”. **č'ab** is the respectful form for **č'u** ‘water’.

<sup>10</sup>Literally “yellow water”.

Inherited Germanic material:

1. \*wod-ōr [suffixed o-grade] > pGmc \*watar > OE wætar > water
2. \*wēd-o- [suffixed lengthened grade] > pGmc \*wēd- > OE wǣt, wēt > wet
3. \*wod- [o-grade] > pGmc \*wat-skan > OE wæscan, wacsan > wash
4. \*we-n-d- [with nasal infix] > pGmc \*wintruz ‘wet season’ > OE winter > winter
5. \*ud-ro-, \*ud-rā [suffixed zero-grade] ‘water animal’, in pGmc \*otraz > OE otor > otter

Borrowings from other Indo-European languages:

6. \*ud-ōr [suffixed zero-grade] > Greek hudōr ‘water’ > HYDRO- (incl. clepsydra, dropsy)
7. \*u-n-d-ā [suffixed nasalized zero-grade] > Latin unda ‘wave’ > undulate, inundate, abound, redundant, surround
8. \*ud-skio [suffixed zero-grade] > Scot. and Ir. Gaelic uisge ‘water’ > uisquebaugh, whiskey
9. \*wod-ā- [suffixed o-grade] > Russ. voda ‘water’, with -ka ‘diminutive’ > vodka

See Matisoff 1994a:52-53.

See STC #55 and Matisoff 1988a p. 705. STC #55, #167, and #168 should be combined as one root.

See HPTB \*twəy, p. 194; \*twəy ≈ \*dwəy, p. 195; \*twəy-n, p. 451; \*ti(y), pp. 193, 194, 471; \*m-ti-s, pp. 434, 351.

There are several likely Chinese comparanda, the best of which is probably 涕 OC t'iar ‘weep, tears’ GSR 591m. Cf. also 水 OC śiwər ‘water’ GSR 576a-e, and 川 ‘river’, the latter pointing to an allofam with a nasal final \*m-twəy-n.

#### 0. Sino-Tibetan

*Tibeto-Burman	*(sna-)ti(y)A *ti(y)	snot water	ACST:551f STC:55
1.1. North Assam			
Darang [Taraon]	nye <b>cei</b>	breast milk	JAM-Ety
Idu	nye ma: <b>cei</b> te <sup>55</sup> tɕ <sup>h</sup> i <sup>55</sup> ti <b>ci</b> ti <b>ci</b> brõ ga	breast milk sweat / perspiration sweat sweat	JAM-Ety SHK-Idu:8.2.1 JP-Idu; NEFA-PBI JP-Idu
1.2. Kuki-Chin			
Khoirao	a tu <b>thui</b>	milk	GEM-CNL
Kom Rem	mit <b>rət<sup>h</sup>i</b> mit <b>ɣətui</b> nəi <b>tui</b> <b>tui</b> suh	tears eyeball ("eye-egg") amniotic fluid amniotic sac / bag of waters	T-KomRQ:3.4.6 T-KomRQ:3.4.2 T-KomRQ:10.4.10 T-KomRQ:10.4.9
Lakher [Mara]	sa-pi- <b>ti</b> <b>ti</b>	breast milk water, egg	JAM-Ety JAM-Ety
Liangmei	n <b>dui</b> , bui na <b>dui</b>	milk	GEM-CNL
Lushai [Mizo]	hnu te <b>tui</b> mit- <b>tui</b>	milk tears	GEM-CNL JAM-Ety
Maram	ta na <b>dui</b>	milk	GEM-CNL
Puiron	se nu <b>tui</b>	milk	GEM-CNL

<sup>11</sup>Properly speaking, this compound really belongs under (2a) \*d(w)əy EGG / TESTICLE above, but is included here to point out the contrast with nəi tui ‘amniotic fluid’ (see section note).

## IX. Body Fluids

### 1.3. Naga

Chang	san <b>tei</b>	milk	GEM-CNL
Rongmei	nau <b>dui</b>	milk	GEM-CNL
	talân- <b>dui</b>	sweat	AW-TBT:471
	tülün <b>dui</b>	sweat	GEM-CNL
Wancho	cham <b>ti</b>	milk	GEM-CNL
	hu- <b>ci</b>	spittle / saliva	JAM-Ety
	tsam <b>ti</b>	milk	WTF-PNN:462
	tzam <b>ti</b>	milk	WTF-PNN:462
Yacham-Tengsa	mam <b>tü</b>	milk	GEM-CNL
Zeme	tung <b>dui</b>	milk	GEM-CNL

### 1.7. Bodo-Garo = Barish

Atong	ku- <b>däi</b>	spittle / saliva	JAM-Ety
Bodo	bun <b>däy</b>	breast milk	JAM-Ety
	ga ga <b>däy</b>	phlegm / sputum / saliva / mucus	JAM-Ety
	ga lam <b>doi</b>	sweat	STC:381
	gu zu <b>däy</b>	phlegm / sputum / saliva / mucus	JAM-Ety
	gə ləm <b>däy</b>	sweat	JAM-Ety
	gɽ lɽm- <b>dɽi</b>	sweat	AW-TBT:363
	ha gá <b>dɽi?</b>	phlegm	AW-TBT:641
	mə <b>dóy</b> ~ mi <b>dáy</b>	tears	JAM-Ety
Dimasa	<b>di</b>	water	GEM-CNL
	<b>di</b> khau	draw water	STC:336
	gi lim <b>di</b> ≈ gu lum <b>di</b>	sweat	STC:381
Garó	ku- <b>ci</b>	spittle / saliva	JAM-Ety
	<b>tši</b>	water	STC:45n149
Garó (Bangladesh)	sok-bit- <b>chi</b>	breast milk; mother's milk	RB-GB
Kokborok	kləŋ- <b>təy</b>	sweat	PT-Kok
	məʔ- <b>təy</b>	tears	PT-Kok
	wa- <b>təy</b>	rain	PT-Kok
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	mik <b>ti</b>	tears	SBN-BunQ:3.4.6
	<b>thi</b>	wet	STC:55
Kanauri	dūs- <b>tī</b>	sweat	JAM-Ety
	dus <b>ti</b>	sweat	DS-Kan:39,60
	mig <b>sti</b>	tears	DS-Kan:60
	mīt <b>tī</b>	tears	JAM-Ety
	<b>thi</b> -ss	wet	STC:16n59
	<b>ti</b>	water	STC:55
Pattani [Manchatī]	mig <b>ti</b>	tears	DS-Patt
	mik <b>ti</b>	tears	STP-ManQ:3.4.6
	<b>ti</b>	water	STC:55
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tibetan (Written)	<b>mchi</b> -ma	tears	WSC-SH:147
2.1.5. Dhimal			
Dhimal	hi <b>ti</b>	blood	JK-Dh
	hna- <b>thi</b>	snot	STC:168n449

## (162) \*m-t(w)əy ≈ \*m-ti WATER / FLUID / LIQUID / SOAK

	<b>hna-thi</b>	snot	ACST:551f
2.2. Newar			
Newar	<b>wā</b>	rain	CG-NewariQ3
2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar			
Chepeng	<b>ti?</b>	water	AH-CSDPN:01.075; AW-TBT:93; SIL-Chep:1.75
Chepeng (Eastern)	<b>hləp rə ti?</b> <b>mik ti?</b>	sweat / perspiration tears	RC-ChepQ:8.2.1 RC-ChepQ:3.4.6
Magar	<b>?oh (lay) ti?</b> <b>di</b> <b>mik Di</b>	milk water tears	RC-ChepQ:5.4.3 STC:55 JAM-Ety
2.3.2. Kiranti			
Bahing	<b>plik ti</b>	tears	BM-PK7:178
Hayu	<b>pe ku ti</b> <b>ti</b>	tears water	BM-PK7:178; JAM-Ety STC:55
3.2. Qiangic			
Guiqiong	<b>fu<sup>55</sup> tʃɿ<sup>33</sup></b>	sweat	SHK-GuiqQ
Qiang (Taoping)	<b>ny<sup>55</sup> ny<sup>55</sup> tsuə<sup>33</sup></b>	milk	JZ-Qiang
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	<b>nu<sup>53</sup> tɕ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>53</sup></b> <b>nu<sup>53</sup> tɕhi<sup>53</sup></b>	milk milk	SHK-ZhabQ:5.4.3 ZMYC:281.16
4.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	<b>mədi</b> <b>mədi</b> <b>mədit</b>	moist moist, damp, wet wet, dampen; wet, damp, moist	JAM-TJLB:337 STC:55 STC:55
4.2. Nungic			
Anong	<b>thi</b> <b>tshɿ<sup>31</sup> dzaŋ<sup>55</sup></b> <b>tshɿ<sup>55</sup></b>	water rain (v.) rain	STC:55 ZMYC:750.44 ZMYC:8.44
5. Tujia			
Tujia	<b>a<sup>21</sup> la<sup>55</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>e<sup>35</sup></b>	tears	CK-TujMQ:3.4.6
Tujia (Northern)	<b>lo<sup>35</sup> pu<sup>35</sup> pie<sup>55</sup></b> <b>ts<sup>h</sup>e<sup>21</sup></b>	tears	JZ-Tujia
Tujia	<b>lo<sup>35</sup> pu<sup>55</sup> pue<sup>55</sup></b> <b>ts<sup>h</sup>e<sup>21</sup></b> <b>man<sup>21</sup> tshie<sup>21</sup></b> <b>mā<sup>21</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>e<sup>21</sup></b> <b>mā<sup>55</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>e<sup>35</sup></b>	tears milk milk milk	CK-TujBQ:3.4.6 ZMYC:281.38 CK-TujBQ:5.4.3 CK-TujMQ:5.4.3
Tujia (Southern)	<b>?a<sup>21</sup> la<sup>55</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>e<sup>35</sup></b>	tears	JZ-Tujia
6.1. Burmish			
Achang	<b>ti</b>	water	STC:55
Lashi (Lachhe')	<b>pɔ̄<sup>4</sup>-tjwi<sup>2</sup></b>	sweat	GHL-PPB:T.25
6.2. Loloish			
Gazhuo	<b>kɿ<sup>55</sup> tie<sup>55</sup></b> <b>na<sup>53</sup> ji<sup>323</sup> tie<sup>24</sup></b>	perspiration tears	DHFRL DLF-Gazhuo; DHFRL

## IX. Body Fluids

Lahu (Black)	<b>dì</b>	have an orgasm (man or woman); ejaculate (man)	JAM-DL:705; JAM-TSR:109(a)	
	<b>tí?</b>	soak	JAM-TSR:109(b)	
Lisu	<b>tí<sup>2</sup></b>	immerse	JAM-TSR:109(b)	
Nasu	<b>na<sup>33</sup> nd<sup>h</sup>u<sup>33</sup></b>	tears	CK-YiQ:3.4.6	
Ugong	<b>thi</b>	water	STC:55	
Yi (Dafang)	<b>na<sup>33</sup> ŋdie<sup>33</sup></b>	tears	JZ-Yi	
Yi (Nanjian)	<b>mi<sup>33</sup> dzi<sup>55</sup> yu<sup>55</sup></b>	tears	JZ-Yi	
Yi (Xide)	<b>m(u)<sup>33</sup> ha<sup>33</sup> dzi<sup>21</sup></b>	rain (v.)	ZMYYC:750.21	
6.3. Naxi				
Naxi (Yongning)	<b>dzi<sup>33</sup></b>	rain (v.)	ZMYYC:750.29	
7. Karenic				
Bwe				
	<b>dɛ nu chi</b>	milk	EJAH-BKD	
	<b>mo chí</b>	tears	EJAH-BKD	
	<b>nu-chi</b>	milk	EJAH-BKD	
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)				
	<b>a<sup>31</sup> ny<sup>31</sup> t<sup>h</sup>i<sup>55</sup></b>	milk (cow's)	DQ-KarenB:328.1	
	<b>da<sup>31</sup> ny<sup>31</sup> t<sup>h</sup>i<sup>55</sup></b>	milk; milk (cow's)	DQ-KarenB:161,328.2	
	<b>glɔ<sup>31</sup> ny<sup>31</sup> t<sup>h</sup>i<sup>55</sup></b>	milk (cow's)	DQ-KarenB:328	
	<b>mi<sup>33</sup> t<sup>h</sup>i<sup>55</sup></b>	tears	DQ-KarenB:194	
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)				
	<b>mɛʔ<sup>31</sup> t<sup>h</sup>i<sup>55</sup></b>	tears	DQ-KarenA:194	
	<b>ta<sup>31</sup> nu<sup>31</sup> t<sup>h</sup>i<sup>55</sup></b>	milk	DQ-KarenA:161	
8. Bai				
Bai (Dali)				
	<b>pɑ<sup>42</sup> tsi<sup>44</sup></b>	milk	JZ-Bai	12
	<b>pɑ<sup>42</sup> tsi<sup>44</sup></b>	milk	ZMYYC:281.35	
Bai (Jianchuan)				
	<b>pɑ<sup>42</sup> tse<sup>44</sup></b>	milk	JZ-Bai	
	<b>pɑ<sup>42</sup> tse<sup>44</sup></b>	milk	ZMYYC:281.36	
9. Sinitic				
Chinese (Mandarin)	<b>bí tì</b>	snot	JAM-Ety	
Chinese (Middle)	<b>thiei:</b>	tears, snot (especially that which flows during weeping)	WSC-SH:146	

## Chinese comparanda

涕 **tì** 'weep, tears'

GSR: 591m

Karlgren: \***t'iar**

Li: \***thidx**

Baxter: \***thij?** (p. 792)

The Middle Chinese reading would permit an Old Chinese reconstruction in either the OC 脂 Zhī rhyme group (\*-id (Li)/\*-ij (Baxter)) or the OC 微 Wēi rhyme group (\*-əd (Li)/\*-ij (Baxter)). Li does not reconstruct this word, but he assigns other words in GSR 591 to the 脂 Zhī group. Words in GSR 591 are reconstructed some with one vowel, some with the other by Baxter (see 1992:457ff for an explanation), but 涕 is reconstructed with \*-ij because it rhymes unambiguously with a number of 脂 Zhī group words in *Shījīng* #203. Still, it is possible that in Baxter's system the word goes back to

<sup>12</sup>The second syllable of the Bai (Bijiang) form **vī<sup>33</sup> cui<sup>33</sup>** is an obvious loan from Chinese (cf. Mand. **shuī**), although the other Bai forms listed seem to reflect the present etymon.

earlier \***thij**?, with vowel fronting occurring early in the dialect on which the *Shijing* poem was based. Baxter proposes just such a development for other words in the phonetic series.

If the OC vowel is reconstructed as \***i**, the vowel correspondence with the proposed TB cognate is regular (see (2a) \***d(w)əy** EGG / TESTICLE for examples). A 微 Wēi group reconstruction of \*-**əd** (Li)/\*-**ij** (Baxter) does not jeopardize the comparison, but this Chinese rhyme seems to correspond to TB \*-**ay** more often than to TB \*-**əy**. It may be that the correspondence with \*-**ay** is regular while that with \*-**əy** is irregular but not uncommon. See (40b) \***s-tay** NAVEL / ABDOMEN / CENTER / SELF and (140) \***ŋ-(w)ary** COPULATE / MAKE LOVE / LOVE / GENTLE, but note also ‘hungry’ OC 飢 \***krjij** (Baxter), TB \***b-kri-(n/s)**.

On the aspiration mismatch in the initials, see the discussion under (1b) \***pu** EGG.

[ZJH]

水 **shuǐ** ‘water, river’

GSR 576a-e                      Karlgren: \***šiwər**                      Li: --                      Baxter: \***h[l]juj?** (1239)

Gong 1995 set 133 reconstructs \***hljədx** and compares to WT **chu** ‘water, brook, river’, presumably assuming that the latter derives from an earlier form with a lateral initial. The comparison is, however, not tenable given the reconstruction of the PTB root in this volume ((161) \***tsyu** WATER / BODY FLUID).

This Chinese word is most likely related to PTB \***lwi(y)** ‘flow, stream’ (see *STC* #210), as proposed by Coblin (1986:158) and discussed in Handel (1998). A relationship with (162) \***m-t(w)əy** ≈ \***m-ti** WATER / FLUID / LIQUID / SOAK seems unlikely because of the mismatch of initial consonants.

[ZJH]

川 **chuān** ‘river’

GSR: 462a                      Karlgren: \***tʰiwən**                      Li: \***thjiən** (?)                      Baxter: \***KHju/on** (1126)

The reconstruction of this Chinese word is problematic. As Karlgren (*GSR* 462a) notes, the Middle Chinese form is probably irregular. The Old Chinese rhyme group is uncertain, which is why Baxter gives two possibilities for the vowel. Baxter’s capital \***KH** indicates a velar initial that palatalized irregularly in the development of Middle Chinese. Handel (1998) reconstructs \***khlun** and Schuessler (2007:195) \***k-hlun**, because *GSR* 462 looks like a lateral series. Schuessler further suggests that the Chinese word is related to PTB \***klun** ‘river / valley’, which has areal connections with Austroasiatic and Tai. However, this does not explain the \*-**n** coda in Chinese.

The proposed PTB comparison in this volume depends on an Old Chinese reconstruction like Li’s with a dental initial, which in Baxter’s system would look like \***thjun**. However, the vowel correspondence is still irregular, and the comparison further requires positing an \*-**n** suffix not found in Tibeto-Burman.

[ZJH]

IX. Body Fluids

(163)	<b>*ku</b>	<b>SEMEN / WATER / BODY FLUID</b>	
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	<b>khu</b> cu	semen	SBN-BunQ:10.3.7
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tibetan (Written)	<b>k'u</b> -ba <b>k'u</b> -k'rag	<i>semen virile</i> semen and uterine blood	JAM-Ety JAM-Ety
2.3.1. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwar			
Sunwar	prek <b>ku</b>	tears	BM-PK7:178; JAM-Ety
2.3.2. Kiranti			
Bantawa	lü- <b>khü</b> -wa lU <b>khU</b> wa	semen semen	WW-Bant:47 NKR-Bant
Hayu	pē: <b>ku</b> pe <b>ku</b> ti	tears tears	BM-Hay:84.98 BM-PK7:178; JAM-Ety
Thulung	bri <b>ko</b>	tears	BM-PK7:178; NJA-Thulung

(164)	<b>*rəy</b>	<b>WATER / LIQUID</b>	
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See *HPTB* \*rəy, p. 250; *PLB* \*rəy<sup>1</sup>, pp. 42, 43, 189, 213.

1.2. Kuki-Chin				
Maring	chu chu <b>yui</b> wa <b>yui</b> <b>yui</b>	milk egg water	GEM-CNL GEM-CNL GEM-CNL	
1.3. Naga				
Sema	a ke chi <b>zü</b>	milk	GEM-CNL	
Tangkhu	<sup>2</sup> sai <sup>3</sup> lən- <sup>2</sup> <b>rə</b>	sweat	AW-TBT:471	
1.4. Meithei				
Moyon	mik <b>rà</b> tsə	tears	DK-Moyon:3.4.6	
2.1.1. Western Himalayish				
Pattani [Manchati]	ñya <b>ri</b> ñya <b>ri</b> hut si	semen ejaculate (v.)	STP-ManQ:10.3.7 STP-ManQ:10.3.8	
2.1.2. Bodic				
Tsangla (Central)	ming- <b>ri</b>	tears	SER-HSL/T:36 12	
Tsangla (Motuo)	miŋ <sup>13</sup> <b>ri</b> <sup>13</sup> miŋ <b>ri</b>	tears tears; tear (n.)	JZ-CLMenba SLZO-MLD; ZMYYC:239.7	
	<b>ri</b> <sup>13</sup> naŋ <sup>13</sup> sop <sup>55</sup> <b>ri</b> naŋ sop	thirsty thirsty; thirsty (V)	JZ-CLMenba SLZO-MLD; ZMYYC:898.7	
3.2. Qiangic				
Muya [Minyak]	<b>zɯ</b> <sup>53</sup>	amniotic sac / bag of waters	SHK-MuyaQ:10.4.9	13
Namuyi	miɛ <sup>55</sup> <b>fiɛ</b> <sup>133</sup>	tears	SHK-NamuQ:3.4.6	
Qiang (Taoping)	ma <sup>31</sup> <b>zi</b> <sup>55</sup>	rain	ZMYYC:8.9	

<sup>13</sup>Cf. also Muya **tɕu**<sup>53</sup> 'water' (*ZMYYC* #10), assigned to (161) \***tsyu** WATER / BODY FLUID, above.



Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	mi <sup>55</sup> ʁo <sup>33</sup> tɕ <sup>h</sup> u <sup>55</sup> ʒi <sup>55</sup> nɛ <sup>55</sup> ʒi <sup>53</sup>	tears sweat / perspiration tears	JZ-Qiang SHK-ZhabQ:8.2.1 SHK-ZhabQ:3.4.6
6.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	re ɲat	thirst for water	JAM-GSTC:034
Hpun (Northern)	ǎ nù raíŋ	milk ('breast liquid')	EJAH-Hpun
Maru [Langsu]	nuk <sup>55</sup> ɣək <sup>31</sup> ɣək <sup>31</sup>	milk amniotic fluid; water	DQ-Langsu:5.4.3 DQ-Langsu:10.4.10; ZMYYC:10.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	ɣək <sup>31</sup> lɔ̃ <sup>31</sup> vui <sup>51</sup> ʃit <sup>55</sup>	river thirsty	ZMYYC:18.43 JZ-Zaiwa
6.2. Loloish			
Ahi	lɑ̃ <sup>33</sup> ʒi <sup>22</sup> lɑ̃ <sup>33</sup> ʒi <sup>22</sup> nɛ <sup>33</sup> ʒi <sup>22</sup> ni <sup>21</sup> ʒi <sup>22</sup>	semen semen tears saliva	CK-YiQ:10.3.7 LMZ-AhiQ:10.3.7 LMZ-AhiQ:3.4.6 LMZ-AhiQ:3.7.5
Gazhuo	ji <sup>31</sup> tɕa <sup>53</sup> ʃɿ <sup>35</sup> nɑ <sup>53</sup> ʒi <sup>24</sup> nɑ <sup>53</sup> ʒi <sup>323</sup> nɑ <sup>53</sup> ʒi <sup>323</sup> tiɛ <sup>24</sup>	thirsty tears tears tears	DQ-Gazhuo:3.7.8 DLF-Gazhuo DQ-Gazhuo:3.4.6 DLF-Gazhuo; DHFRL
Hani (Lüchun)	mja ʔ	tears	ILH-PL:129
Hani (Dazhai)	ze <sup>55</sup> ɔ <sup>31</sup> ze <sup>55</sup>	rain (v.) rain	ZMYYC:750.31 ZMYYC:8.31
Hani (Shuikui)	je <sup>55</sup> (yʉ <sup>31</sup> je <sup>55</sup> ) u <sup>31</sup> je <sup>55</sup>	rain (v.) rain	ZMYYC:750.32 ZMYYC:8.32
Lahu (Banlan)	a ke_ g'i_ cu: g'i_	sweat milk	DB-Lahu:151 DB-Lahu:155
Lahu (Black)	cha-yi mɛʔ <sup>54</sup> yu <sup>31</sup> mɛʔ-yi tsu <sup>35</sup> yu <sup>31</sup> tsy <sup>35</sup> yu <sup>31</sup> mɛʔ <sup>54</sup> yu <sup>31</sup> tsy <sup>35</sup> yu <sup>31</sup>	vaginal secretion tears tears milk milk tears milk	JAM-Ety JZ-Lahu JAM-Ety ZMYYC:281.33 JZ-Lahu JZ-Lahu JZ-Lahu
Lahu (Yellow)	mɛʔ <sup>54</sup> yu <sup>31</sup> tsy <sup>35</sup> yu <sup>31</sup>	tears milk	JZ-Lahu JZ-Lahu
Lalo	zjə̀q-ʔə́ zɑ <sup>21</sup> yu <sup>55</sup> ʔmɿ <sup>33</sup> yu <sup>55</sup>	semen semen tears	SB-Lalo CK-YiQ:10.3.7 CK-YiQ:3.4.6
Lipho	dɛ <sup>33</sup> vi <sup>33</sup> pa <sup>21</sup> dɕɿ <sup>33</sup> vi <sup>33</sup> hɔ̃ <sup>21</sup> ʒɿ <sup>33</sup>	semen milk semen	CK-YiQ:10.3.7 CK-YiQ:5.4.3 DB-Lisu
Lisu (Northern)	mrgh <sup>5</sup> -rghe <sup>4</sup>	spittle / saliva	JAM-Ety
Lisu (Nujiang)	mu <sup>31</sup> yu <sup>33</sup> tʃi <sup>55</sup> ʒi <sup>33</sup>	saliva sweat	JZ-Lisu JZ-Lisu
Lisu	tʃi <sup>55</sup> ʒi <sup>33</sup>	sweat	ZMYYC:277.27
Lisu (Northern)	tɕi <sup>55</sup> ʒi <sup>33</sup>	sweat	DB-Lisu
Lolopho	dæ <sup>33</sup> vi <sup>33</sup>	semen	DQ-Lolopho:10.3.7
Mpi	m <sup>4</sup> poʔ <sup>4</sup> ʔu <sup>6</sup>	milk	DB-PLolo
Nasu	a <sup>55</sup> pa <sup>21</sup> ʒi <sup>21</sup> tɕ <sup>h</sup> a <sup>55</sup> ʒi <sup>21</sup>	milk semen	CK-YiQ:5.4.3 CK-YiQ:10.3.7
Nesu	lɛ <sup>33</sup> ʒɿ <sup>21</sup>	semen	CK-YiQ:10.3.7

<sup>14</sup>See the note under (53a) \*s-nəw BREAST / MILK / SUCK above for discussion of this form.

## IX. Body Fluids

Noesu	ŋi <sup>33</sup> ʔi <sup>33</sup>	tears	CK-YiQ:3.4.6
Nosu	tu <sup>55</sup> zi <sup>21</sup>	semen	CK-YiQ:10.3.7
Nusu (Northern)	bɿ <sup>21</sup> zi <sup>33</sup>	semen	CK-YiQ:10.3.7
Nusu (Southern)	nə <sup>31</sup> nə <sup>55</sup> .ɿu <sup>35</sup> a <sup>55</sup>	milk	JZ-Nusu
Sani [Nyi]	nu <sup>55</sup> nu <sup>31</sup> .ɿə <sup>55</sup>	milk	JZ-Nusu
	lA <sup>33</sup> zi <sup>33</sup>	semen	YHJC-Sani
	la <sup>44</sup> zi <sup>33</sup>	semen	CK-YiQ:10.3.7
	ne <sup>33</sup> zi <sup>33</sup>	tears	YHJC-Sani
	ne <sup>44</sup> zu <sup>33</sup>	tears	MXL-SaniQ:320.5
	tɕæ <sup>55</sup> ʔi <sup>33</sup>	sweat	YHJC-Sani:227.4
	tɕe <sup>55</sup> zi <sup>33</sup>	sweat	YHJC-Sani
	zu <sup>33</sup> sɿ <sup>22</sup>	thirsty	MXL-SaniQ:355.1
Yi (Dafang)	tsɒ <sup>13</sup> zi <sup>21</sup>	milk	JZ-Yi; ZMYYC:281.22
Yi (Mile)	tʂA <sup>55</sup> zi <sup>33</sup>	sweat	ZMYYC:277.25
Yi (Mojiang)	A <sup>55</sup> ne <sup>21</sup> zi <sup>21</sup>	milk	ZMYYC:281.26
Yi (Nanhua)	bɿ <sup>33</sup> dzi <sup>33</sup> zi <sup>33</sup>	milk	ZMYYC:281.24
Yi (Nanjian)	mi <sup>33</sup> dzi <sup>55</sup> yu <sup>55</sup>	tears	JZ-Yi
	tɕe <sup>21</sup> yu <sup>55</sup>	sweat	ZMYYC:277.23
Yi (Xide)	ʔi <sup>33</sup> sɿ <sup>55</sup>	thirsty	JZ-Yi; CSL-YIzd
6.4. Jinuo			
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	mja <sup>31</sup> ji <sup>31</sup>	tears	DQ-JinA:194
Jinuo (Baka)	mja <sup>31</sup> ji <sup>31</sup>	tears	DQ-JinB:194
Jinuo (Youle)	mja <sup>42</sup> e <sup>42</sup>	tears	JZ-Jinuo
	mɛ <sup>33</sup> e <sup>44</sup>	milk	JZ-Jinuo
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	mɛ <sup>44</sup> po <sup>31</sup> a <sup>33</sup> ji <sup>44</sup>	milk	DQ-JinA:161
Jinuo	mɛ <sup>44</sup> ji <sup>33</sup>	milk	ZMYYC:281.34
8. Bai			
Bai (Dali)	mi <sup>42</sup> ji <sup>42</sup>	tears	JZ-Bai

(165)

\*lanj

WATER / FLUID / RIVER / VALLEY

See *HPTB* PLB \*lanj<sup>1</sup>, p. 266.

### 1.1. North Assam

Padam-Mising [Abor-Miri]	a-pi a lang	bile	JAM-Ety:JHL-AM p.255
	ap-pio a lang	bile	JAM-Ety:JHL-AM p.255
	pui-ing a lang	bile	JAM-Ety:JHL-AM p.255
Apatani	mi <sup>1</sup> -la	tears	JS-Tani
	mi <sup>?</sup> -la	tears	JS-Tani
Bengni	ñik-la:	tears	JS-Tani
Bokar	mik-lanj	tears	JS-Tani
Gallong	jig la	tears	KDG-IGL
Miri, Hill	jik-la	tears	IMS-HMLG

### 1.3. Naga

Chang	lang	rain	GEM-CNL
Tangkhul	hup kha-lanj	sweat	JAM-Ety

### 1.4. Meithei

Meithei	pi ranj	tears	CYS-Meithei:3.4.6
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### 1.5. Mikir

Mikir	a mut a lang	bile	JAM-Ety; JAM-VSTB:(3)
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	bùm a-lāŋ bum a <b>laŋ</b>	semen semen ("penis- water")	KHG-Mikir:159 JAM-Ety	
	chū-lāŋ mók-lāŋ mok <b>laŋ</b>	milk milk milk; breast milk	KHG-Mikir:74 KHG-Mikir:172 GEM-CNL; JAM-Ety	
2.3.2. Kiranti Thulung	u ba <b>la?</b>	bile	JAM-Ety	
6.1. Burmish Maru [Langsu]	ɣək <sup>31</sup> lɔ̃ <sup>31</sup>	river	ZMYYC:18.43	
6.2. Loloish Bisu	khàn <b>laŋ</b> <b>láŋ</b> bɛ lɔŋ pet <b>láŋ</b> pɛ khà <b>laŋ</b> pɛ k <sup>hà</sup> ( <b>làŋ</b> )	saliva thirsty milk gall bile	PB-Bisu:15 PB-Bisu:27 PB-Bisu:15 PB-Bisu:14 DB-Bisu	15
Lahu (Black)	<b>lò</b> <b>lò-qá</b> <b>lò-qhò?</b>	river; valley river, stream valley; dry riverbed	JAM-DL:1401-2 JAM-DL:1402 JAM-DL:1402	
Phunoi	<b>lã</b> <sup>55</sup> bat <sup>11</sup> de <sup>33</sup> mõ <sup>31</sup> hut <b>lã</b> <sup>55</sup>	thirsty sweat / perspiration	DB-Phunoi MF-PhnQ:8.2.1	
Ugong	nù <b>lá</b> nù <b>wũŋ</b>	milk milk	DB-PLolo DB-Ugong:5.4.3	

<sup>15</sup>The first two syllables mean 'liver'; cf. Garo **bi-ka** 'liver'.



# Appendix: Source Abbreviations

AAAM-SSM	Abbi, Anvita and Awadhesh K. Mishra. 1985. "Consonant clusters and syllable structure of Meitei." <i>LTBA</i> 8.2:81-92.
ACST	Chou Fa-kao 周法高. 1972. "Archaic Chinese and Sino-Tibetan." <i>Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong</i> 5.1:159-237.
AH-CSDPN	Hale, Austin. 1973. <i>Clause, Sentence, and Discourse Patterns in Selected Languages of Nepal IV: Word Lists</i> . Summer Institute of Linguistics Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields 40. Kathmandu: SIL and Tribhuvan University Press.
AT-MPB	Tayeng, Aduk. 1976. <i>Milang phrase book</i> . Shillong: The Director of Information and Public Relations, Government of Arunachal Pradesh.
AW-TBT	Weidert, Alfons K. 1987. <i>Tibeto-Burman Tonology: a comparative account</i> . <i>Current Issues in Linguistic Theory</i> , Vol. 54. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
B-ShrpaHQ	Bishop, Naomi. 1989. Body Parts Questionnaire (Sherpa Helambu).
BB-Belhare	Bickel, Balthasar. 1995. "The possessive of experience in Belhare." In David Bradley, ed., <i>Tibeto-Burman Languages of the Himalayas</i> . Canberra: Pacific Linguistics (A-86), pp. 135-55.
Bhat-Boro	Bhat, D. N. Shankara. 1968. <i>Boro Vocabulary, with a grammatical sketch</i> . Deccan College Building Centenary and Silver Jubilee Series #59. Poona: Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute.
Bhat-TNV	Bhat, D. N. Shankara. 1969. <i>Tankhur Naga Vocabulary</i> . Deccan College Building Centenary and Silver Jubilee Series #67. Poona: Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute.
BM-Bah	Michailovsky, Boyd. 1989. "Bahing." Electronic ms.
BM-Hay	Michailovsky, Boyd. 1989. "Hayu." Electronic ms.
BM-Lim	Michailovsky, Boyd. 1989. "Limbu." Electronic ms.
BM-PK7	Michailovsky, Boyd. 1991. "Proto-Kiranti forms." Unpublished ms.
CB-SpitiQ	Bodh, Sri Chhimed. 1991. Body Parts Questionnaire (Spiti).
CG-Dolak	Genetti, Carol. ca. 1990. Dolakhali (Newari) word list.
CG-Kath	Genetti, Carol. ca. 1990. Kathmandu Newari word list.
CG-NewariQ3	Genetti, Carol. 1990. Natural Objects Questionnaire.
CK-TujBQ	Chen Kang 陈康. 1986. Body Parts Questionnaire (Tujia, Bizika dialect).
CK-TujMQ	Chen Kang 陈康. 1986. Body Parts Questionnaire (Tujia, Mondzi dialect).
CK-YiQ	Chen Kang 陈康. 1986. Body Parts Questionnaire (8 Yi dialects).
CSL-YIzd	Chen Shilin 陈士林, Li Min 李民, et al., eds. 1979. <i>彝汉字典 Yí-Hàn zìdiǎn [Yi-Chinese dictionary]</i> . Chengdu: Yi Language Work Unit, People's Committee of Sichuan.
CYS-Meithei	Singh, Chungkham Yashawanta. 1991. Body Parts Questionnaire (Meithei).
DAP-Chm	Peterson, David A. 2008. "Bangladesh Khumi verbal classifiers and Kuki-Chin 'chiming'." <i>LTBA</i> , to appear.
DB-Bisu	Bradley, David. ca. 1993. Bisu vocabulary, extracted from DB-PLolo.

## Appendix: Source Abbreviations

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DB-Lahu	Bradley, David. 1979. <i>Lahu Dialects</i> . Oriental Monograph Series, #23. Canberra: Australian National University.
DB-Lisu	Bradley, David. 1994. <i>A Dictionary of the Northern Dialect of Lisu (China and Southeast Asia)</i> . Pacific Linguistics Series C-126. Canberra: Australian National University.
DB-Phunoi	Bradley, David. ca. 1993. Phunoi vocabulary, extracted from DB-PLolo.
DB-PLolo	Bradley, David. 1979. <i>Proto-Loloish</i> . Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series, #39. London and Malmö: Curzon Press.
DB-Ugong	Bradley, David. 1993. Body Parts Questionnaire (Ugong).
DBS-PaO	Solnit, David. 1989. Pa-O word list. Electronic ms.
Deuri	Anonymous. n.d. Deuri body part terms.
DHFRL	Dai Qingxia 戴庆厦 et al., eds. 1991. 藏缅语十五种 <i>Zàngmiǎnyǔ shíwǔzhǒng [Fifteen Tibeto-Burman languages]</i> . Beijing: 燕山出版社 Yānshān Chūbǎnshè.
DK-Moyon	Kosha, Donald. 1990. Body Parts Questionnaire (Moyon).
DLF-Gazhuo	Dai Qingxia 戴庆厦, Liu Juhuang 刘菊黄, and Fu Ailan 傅爱兰. 1987. 云南蒙古族嘎卓语研究 “On the Gazhuo language of the Mongolian people of Yunnan Province.” 语言研究 <i>Yǔyán Yánjiū</i> , No. 1.
DNW-KhamQ	Watters, David and Nancy Watters. 1989. Body Parts Questionnaire (Kham). unpublished computer file.
DQ-Batang	Dai Qingxia 戴庆厦. 1989. Body Parts Questionnaire (Batang).
DQ-Bola	Dai Qingxia 戴庆厦. 1989. Field Notebook on Bola.
DQ-Daofu	Dai Qingxia 戴庆厦. 1989. Body Parts Questionnaire (Daofu).
DQ-Gazhuo	Dai Qingxia 戴庆厦. 1989. Body Parts Questionnaire (Gazhuo).
DQ-Jiarong	Dai Qingxia 戴庆厦. 1989. Body Parts Questionnaire (rGyalrong).
DQ-JinA	Dai Qingxia 戴庆厦. 1989. Field Notebook on Jinuo A.
DQ-JinB	Dai Qingxia 戴庆厦. 1989. Field Notebook on Jinuo B.
DQ-KarenA	Dai Qingxia 戴庆厦. 1989. Field Notebook on Karen A.
DQ-KarenB	Dai Qingxia 戴庆厦. 1989. Field Notebook on Karen B.
DQ-Langsu	Dai Qingxia 戴庆厦. 1989. Field Notebook on Langsu [Maru].
DQ-Lashi	Dai Qingxia 戴庆厦. 1989. Field Notebook on Leqi [Lashi].
DQ-Lolopho	Dai Qingxia 戴庆厦. 1989. Field Notebook on Lolopho.
DQ-NusuA	Dai Qingxia 戴庆厦. 1989. Field Notebook on Nusu A.
DQ-NusuB	Dai Qingxia 戴庆厦. 1989. Field Notebook on Nusu B.
DQ-QiangN	Dai Qingxia 戴庆厦. 1989. Field Notebook on Northern Qiang.
DQ-Xiandao	Dai Qingxia 戴庆厦. 1989. Field Notebook on Achang (Xiandao).
DQ-Xixia	Dai Qingxia 戴庆厦. 1989. Body Parts Questionnaire (Xixia = Tangut).
DS-Kan	Sharma, D.D. 1988. <i>A Descriptive Grammar of Kinnauri</i> . Delhi: Mittal Publications (Studies in Tibeto-Himalayan Languages #1).
DS-Patt	Sharma, D.D. 1982. <i>Studies in Tibeto-Himalayan Linguistics: a descriptive analysis of Patani (a dialect of Lahaul)</i> . Hoshiarpur: Vishveshvaranand Vishva Bandhu Institute of Sanskrit and Indological Studies, Panjab University.
EA-Tsh	Andvik, Eric. 1993. “Tshangla verb inflections.” <i>LTBA</i> 16.1:75-136.
EJAH-BKD	Henderson, Eugénie J. A. 1997. <i>Bwe Karen Dictionary</i> . School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

## Appendix: Source Abbreviations

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EJAH-Hpun	Henderson, Eugénie J. A. 1986. "Some hitherto unpublished material on Northern (Megyaw) Hpun." In John McCoy and Timothy Light, eds., <i>Contributions to Sino-Tibetan Studies</i> , pp. 101-34. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
EJAH-TC	Henderson, Eugénie J. A. 1965. <i>Tiddim Chin: a descriptive analysis of two texts</i> . London Oriental Series #15. London and New York: Oxford University Press.
FD-Bai	Dell, François. 1981. <i>La langue Bai: phonologie et lexicque</i> . Paris: Centre de Recherches Linguistiques sur l'Asie Orientale de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales.
GBM-Lepcha	Mainwaring, G.B. 1898. <i>Dictionary of the Lepcha Language</i> . Revised and completed by Albert Grünwedel. Berlin: Unger Brothers.
GDW-DML	Walker, George David. 1925. <i>A Dictionary of the Mikir language, Mikir-English and English-Mikir</i> . Shillong: Assam Government Press.
GEM-CNL	Marrison, G.E. 1967. <i>The Classification of the Naga Languages of Northeast India</i> . Ph.D. dissertation, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. 2 vols.
GHL-PPB	Luce, G. H. 1986. <i>Phases of Pre-Pagán Burma: languages and history</i> . Vol. 2. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
GSR	Karlgren, Bernhard. 1957. <i>Grammata Serica Recensa</i> . Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Publication 29.
HAJ-TED	Jäschke, Heinrich August. 1881/1958. <i>A Tibetan-English Dictionary, with special reference to the prevailing dialects</i> . London. Reprinted (1958) by Routledge and Kegan Paul.
HM-Prak	Hoshi Michiyo. 1984. <i>A Prakaa Vocabulary: a dialect of the Manang language</i> . Anthropological and Linguistic Studies of the Gandaki Area in Nepal II. ( <i>Monumenta Serindica</i> #12.) Tokyo: ILCAA.
ILH-PL	Hansson, Inga-Lill. 1989. "A comparison of Akha, Hani, Khatu, and Pijo." <i>LTBA</i> 12.1:1-91.
IMS-HMLG	Simon, Ivan Martin. 1976. <i>Hill Miri Language Guide</i> . Shillong: Philological Section, Research Dept., Government of Arunachal Pradesh.
IMS-Miji	Simon, Ivan Martin. 1979. "Miji language guide." Shillong: Directorate of Research (Philological Section) Government of Arunachal Pradesh.
JAM-DL	Matisoff, James A. 1988. <i>The Dictionary of Lahu</i> . UCPL #111. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.
JAM-Ety	Matisoff, James A. 1987. Body part card file.
JAM-GSTC	Matisoff, James A. 1985. "God and the Sino-Tibetan copula, with some good news concerning selected Tibeto-Burman rhymes." <i>Journal of Asian and African Studies</i> (Tokyo) 29:1-81.
JAM-II	Matisoff, James A. 1993. Personal communications from JAM, more recent than the Body Part Card File.
JAM-MLBM	Matisoff, James A. 1978. "Mpi and Lolo-Burmese microlinguistics." <i>Monumenta Serindica</i> (ILCAA, Tokyo) 4:1-36.
JAM-Rong	Matisoff, James A. 1994. Rongmei elicitation.
JAM-TIL	Matisoff, James A. 1983. "Translucent insights: a look at Proto-Sino-Tibetan through Gordon H. Luce's comparative word-list." <i>BSOAS</i> 46.3:462-76.
JAM-TJLB	Matisoff, James A. 1974. "The tones of Jinghpaw and Lolo-Burmese: common origin vs. independent development." <i>Acta Linguistica Hafniensia</i> (Copenhagen) 15.2, 153-212.
JAM-TSR	Matisoff, James A. 1972. <i>The Loloish Tonal Split Revisited</i> . Research Monograph #7. Berkeley: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley.

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## Appendix: Source Abbreviations

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- JAM-VSTB Matisoff, James A. 1978. *Variational Semantics in Tibeto-Burman: the ‘organic’ approach to linguistic comparison*. OPWSTBL #6. Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues.
- JCD Dai Qingxia 戴庆厦, Xu Xijian 徐悉艰, et al. 1983. 景汉辞典 *Jing-Han cidian – Jinghpo Miwa ga ginsi chyum – Jinghpo-Chinese dictionary*. Kunming: Yunnan Nationalities Press.
- JF-HLL Fraser, James Outram. 1922. *Handbook of the Lisu (Yawyin) Language*. Rangoon: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing.
- JHL-AM Lorrain, J. Herbert. 1907. *A Dictionary of the Abor-Miri Language, with illustrative sentences and notes*. Shillong: Eastern Bengal and Assam Secretariat Printing Office.
- JHL-Lu Lorrain, J. Herbert. 1940. *Dictionary of the Lushai Language*. Bibliotheca Indica 261. Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- JK-Dh King, John. 1994. Dhimal body parts. Personal communication.
- JO-PB Okell, John. 1971. “K- clusters in Proto-Burmese.” Paper presented at ICSTLL #4, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN.
- JP-Idu Pulu, Jatan. 1978. *Idu Phrase Book*. Shillong: The Director of Information and Public Relations, Arunachal Pradesh.
- JS-Amdo Sun, Jackson 孫天心. 1985. *Aspects of the Phonology of Amdo Tibetan*. M.A. thesis, Institute of English, National Normal University, Taipei. Published 1986, Monumenta Serindica No. 16, Tokyo: ILCAA.
- JS-Ch Sun, Jackson 孫天心. 1985. Chinese glosses, excerpted from JS-Amdo.
- JS-HCST Sun, Jackson 孫天心. 1993. *A Historical-Comparative Study of the Tani (Mirish) Branch in Tibeto-Burman*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.
- JS-Mawo Sun, Jackson 孫天心. ca. 1986. Qiang Mawo body part word list. Unpublished ms.
- JS-Tani Sun, Jackson 孫天心. 1993. “Tani synonym sets.” Electronic ms.
- JS-Tib Sun, Jackson 孫天心. 1985. Tibetan glosses, excerpted from JS-Amdo.
- JZ-Achang Dai Qingxia 戴庆厦 and Cui Zhichao 崔志超, eds. 1985. 阿昌语简志 *Āchāngyǔ jiǎnzhì [Brief description of the Achang language]*. Beijing: 民族出版社 Nationalities Press.
- JZ-Bai Xu Lin 徐琳 and Zhao Yansun 赵衍荪, eds. 1984. 白语简志 *Báiyǔ jiǎnzhì [Brief description of the Bai language]*. Beijing: 民族出版社 Nationalities Press.
- JZ-CLMenba Zhang Jichuan 张济川, ed. 1986. 仓洛门巴语简志 *Cāngluò Ménbāyǔ jiǎnzhì [Brief description of the Cangluo Menba language]*. Beijing: 民族出版社 Nationalities Press.
- JZ-CNMenba Lu Shaozun 陆绍尊, ed. 1986. 错那门巴语简志 *Cuònà Ménbāyǔ jiǎnzhì [Brief description of the Cuona Menba language]*. Beijing: 民族出版社 Nationalities Press.
- JZ-Dulong Sun Hongkai 孙宏开, ed. 1982. 独龙语简志 *Dúlóngyǔ jiǎnzhì [Brief description of the Dulong language]*. Beijing: 民族出版社 Nationalities Press.
- JZ-Hani Li Yongsui 李永燧 and Wang Ersong 王尔松, eds. 1986. 哈尼语简志 *Hānyǔ jiǎnzhì [Brief description of the Hani language]*. Beijing: 民族出版社 Nationalities Press.
- JZ-Jingpo Liu Lu 刘璐, ed. 1984. 景颇族语言简志 (景颇语) *Jǐngpōzú yǔyán jiǎnzhì (Jǐngpōyǔ) [Brief description of the Jingpo language of the Jingpo people]*. Beijing: 民族出版社 Nationalities Press.
- JZ-Jinuo Gai Xingzhi 盖兴之, ed. 1986. 基诺语简志 *Jīnuòyǔ jiǎnzhì [Brief description of the Jinuo language]*. Beijing: 民族出版社 Nationalities Press.
- JZ-Lahu Chang Hong'en 常竑恩 et al., eds. 1986. 拉祜语简志 *Lāhùyǔ jiǎnzhì [Brief description of the Lahu language]*. Beijing: 民族出版社 Nationalities Press.



## Appendix: Source Abbreviations

JZ-Lisu	Xu Lin 徐琳, Mu Yuzhang 木玉璋, Gai Xingzhi 盖兴之, eds. 1986. 傈僳语简志 <i>Lìsùyǔ jiǎnzhì</i> [Brief description of the Lisu language]. Beijing: 民族出版社 Nationalities Press.
JZ-Naxi	He Jiren 和即仁 and Jiang Zhuyi 姜竹仪, eds. 1985. 纳西语简志 <i>Nàxīyǔ jiǎnzhì</i> [Brief description of the Naxi language]. Beijing: 民族出版社 Nationalities Press.
JZ-Nusu	Sun Hongkai 孙宏开 and Liu Lu 刘璐, eds. 1986. 怒族语言简志 (怒苏语) <i>Nùzú yǔyán jiǎnzhì (Nùsūyǔ)</i> [Brief description of the Nusu language of the Nu people]. Beijing: 民族出版社 Nationalities Press.
JZ-Pumi	Lu Shaozun 陆绍尊, ed. 1983. 普米语简志 <i>Pǔmǐyǔ jiǎnzhì</i> [Brief description of the Pumi language]. Beijing: 民族出版社 Nationalities Press.
JZ-Qiang	Sun Hongkai 孙宏开, ed. 1981. 羌语简志 <i>Qiāngyǔ jiǎnzhì</i> [Brief description of the Qiang language]. Beijing: 民族出版社 Nationalities Press.
JZ-Tujia	Tian Desheng 田德生, He Tianzhen 何天贞 et al., eds. 1986. 土家语简志 <i>Tǔjiāyǔ jiǎnzhì</i> [Brief description of the Tujia language]. Beijing: 民族出版社 Nationalities Press.
JZ-Yi	Chen Shilin 陈士林, Bian Shiming 边仕明, Li Xiuqing 李秀清, eds. 1985. 彝语简志 <i>Yíyǔ jiǎnzhì</i> [Brief description of the Yi language]. Beijing: 民族出版社 Nationalities Press.
JZ-Zaiwa	Xu Xijian 徐悉艰 and Xu Guizhen 徐桂珍, eds. 1984. 景颇族语言简志 (载瓦语) <i>Jǐngpōzú yǔyán jiǎnzhì (Zàiwǎyǔ)</i> [Brief description of the Zaiwa language of the Jingpo people]. Beijing: 民族出版社 Nationalities Press.
KDG-ICM	Das Gupta, K. 1968. <i>An Introduction to Central Monpa</i> . Shillong: Philology Section, Research Department, North-East Frontier Agency.
KDG-IGL	Das Gupta, K. 1963. <i>An Introduction to the Gallong Language</i> . Shillong: Philological Section, Research Department, North-East Frontier Agency.
KDG-Tag	Das Gupta, K. 1983. <i>An Outline on Tagin Language</i> . Directorate of Research, Government of Arunachal Pradesh.
KHG-Mikir	Grüssner, Karl-Heinz. 1978. <i>Arleng Alam, die Sprache der Mikir: Grammatik und Texte</i> . Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.
KPM-pc	Malla, Kamal P. 2007. Personal communications.
KVB-Lai	Van Bik, Kenneth. 1995-. Personal communications.
KVB-PKC	Van Bik, Kenneth. 2007. <i>Proto-Kuki-Chin</i> . Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.
LL-PRPL	Löffler, Lorenz G. 1985. "A preliminary report on the Paangkhua language." In Graham Thurgood, et al., eds., <i>Linguistics of the Sino-Tibetan area: the state of the art</i> , pp. 279-286. (Pacific Linguistics Series C, No. 87). Canberra: Australian National University.
LMZ-AhiQ	Luo Meizhen. ca. 1990. Body Parts Questionnaire (Yi: Ahi).
LYS-Sangkong	Li Yongsui 李永燧. 1991. 缅彝语言调查的新收获: 桑孔语 "Mian-Yi yuyan diaocha de xin shouhuo: Sangkongyu [A new harvest from research into Burmese-Yi: the Sangkong language]." Presented at the Fifth International Yi-Burmese Conference. Xichang, Sichuan. Beijing: Institute of Nationality Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.
MB-Lal	Balawan, M. 1965. <i>A First Lalung Dictionary, with the corresponding words in English and Khasi</i> . Shillong.
MF-PhnQ	Ferlus, Michel. 1991. Body Parts Questionnaire (Phunoi).
MM-K78	Mazaudon, Martine. 1978. "Consonantal mutation and tonal split in the Tamang sub-family of Tibeto-Burman." <i>Kailash</i> 6.3:157-79.
MM-TamRisQ	Mazaudon, Martine. 1991. Body Parts Questionnaire (Tamang: Risiangku).

## Appendix: Source Abbreviations

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- MM-Thesis Mazaudon, Martine. 1994. *Problèmes de comparatisme et de reconstruction dans quelques langues de la famille tibéto-birmane*. Thèse d'État, Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, Paris.
- MVS-Grin Sofronov, M.V. ca. 1978. "Annotations to Grinstead 1972." Reconstructions of Tangut body part terms, personally entered into the glossary of Grinstead 1972.
- MXL-Lolo Ma Xueliang 马学良. 1948. 傣文作祭獻藥供牲經譯注 *Luǒwén Zuòjì, xiànyào, gōng-shēngjīng yìzhù* [Annotated Translation of The Lolo Classic of Rites, Cures, and Sacrifices]. *AS/BIHP* 20:577-666.
- MXL-SaniQ Ma Xueliang 马学良. ca. 1989. Field Notebook.
- NEFA-PBI Anonymous. 1962. *A Phrase Book in Idu*. Shillong: Philological Section, Research Department, North-East Frontier Agency.
- NEFA-Taraon Anonymous. n.d. *Taraon*. Shillong: Philological Section, Research Department, North-East Frontier Agency.
- NJA-Thulung Allen, N.J. 1975. *Sketch of Thulung Grammar*. East Asian Papers #6. Ithaca: China-Japan Program, Cornell University.
- NKR-Bant Rai, Novel Kishore. 1985. *A Descriptive Study of Bantawa*. Poona: Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute.
- NPB-ChanQ Noonan, Michael, W. Pagliuca, and R. Bhulanja. 1992. Body Parts Questionnaire (Chantyal).
- NT-SGK Nishida Tatsuo 西田龍雄. 1964, 1966. 西夏語の研究 *Seikago no kenkyū* [A Study of the Hsi-Hsia Language: reconstruction of the Hsi-Hsia language and decipherment of the Hsi-Hsia script]. Tokyo: 座右宝刊行会 Zauhō Kankōkai. 2 vols. Vol. I (1964), Vol. II (1966).
- OH-DKL Hanson, Ola. 1906. *A Dictionary of the Kachin Language*. Rangoon. Reprinted (1954, 1966), Rangoon: Baptist Board of Publications.
- PB-Bisu Beaudouin, Patrick. 1988. *Glossary English-French-Bisu; Bisu-English-French*. Nice, France: Section de Linguistique. U.E.R. Lettres, Université de Nice.
- PB-CLDB Bhaskararao, Peri. 1996. "A computerized lexical database of Tiddim Chin and Lushai." In Nara, Tsuyoshi and Machida, Kazuhiko (eds.), *A Computer-Assisted Study of South-Asian Languages*, pp. 27-143. Report #6. Tokyo: ILCAA.
- PB-TCV Bhaskararao, Peri. 1994. "Tiddim Chin verbs and their alternants." *Journal of Asian and African Studies*. Nos. 46-47.
- PKB-KSEA Benedict, Paul K. 1941/2008. *Kinship in Southeastern Asia*. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Harvard University (1941). To be published as STEDT Monograph #6, 2008.
- PKB-WBRD Benedict, Paul K. 1976. *Rhyming Dictionary of Written Burmese*. *LTBA* 3.1:1-93.
- PL-AED Lewis, Paul. 1968. *Akha-English Dictionary*. Data Paper #70, Linguistics Series III. Ithaca: Cornell University, Southeast Asia Program.
- PL-AETD Lewis, Paul. 1989. *Akha-English-Thai Dictionary*. Chiang Rai, Thailand: Development & Agricultural Project for Akha.
- PT-Kok Tripuri, Prashanta and Dan Jurafsky. 1988. *Kokborok Word List*. Unpublished ms.
- Qbp-KC Thien Haokip. 1998. Body Parts Questionnaire (Kuki-Chin).
- RAN1975 Rangan, K. 1975. *Balti Phonetic Reader*. Phonetic Reader Series, #17. Mysore: CIIL.
- RB-GB Burling, Robbins. 1992. *Garo (Bangladesh dialect) Semantic Dictionary*.
- RB-LMMG Burling, Robbins. 2003. *The Language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo)*. Vol. III: Glossary. Ann Arbor, Michigan.

## Appendix: Source Abbreviations

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RBJ-KLS	Jones, Robert B., Jr. 1961. <i>Karen Linguistic Studies: description, comparison, and texts</i> . UCPL #25. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
RC-ChepQ	Caughley, Ross. 1990. Body Parts Questionnaire (Chepang).
RJL-DPTB	LaPolla, Randy J. 1987. "Dulong and Proto-Tibeto-Burman." <i>LTBA</i> 10.1:1-43.
RPHH-Kul	Rai, Krishna Prasad, Anna Holzhausen, and Andreas Holzhausen. 1975. "Kulung body part index from <i>Kulung-Nepali-English Glossary</i> ." Kathmandu: SIL and Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University.
RSB-STV	Bauer, Robert S. 1991. "Sino-Tibetan *vulva." <i>LTBA</i> 14.1:147-72.
SB-Lalo	Björverud, Susanna. 1994. "The phonology of Lalo." Paper presented at ICSTLL #27, Sèvres/Paris.
SBN-BunQ	Sharma, S.R. 1991. Body Parts Questionnaire (Bunan).
SD-MPD	Srinuan Duanghom. 1976. <i>An Mpi dictionary</i> . Ed. by Woranoot Pantupong. Bangkok: Working Papers in Phonetics and Phonology #1, Indigenous Languages of Thailand Research Project, Central Institute of English Language.
SER-HSL/T	Egli-Toduner, Susanna. n.d. <i>Handbook of the Sharchhokpa-Lo/Tsangla (language of the people of eastern Bhutan)</i> . Thimphu, Bhutan: Helvetas.
SH-KNw	Shakya, Daya Ratna and David Hargreaves. 1989. Body Parts Questionnaire (Newari).
SHK-Anong	Sun Hongkai 孙宏开. 1988. "Notes on Anong, a new language." <i>LTBA</i> 11.1:27-63.
SHK-BaimaQ	Sun Hongkai 孙宏开. 1991. Body Parts Questionnaire (Baima).
SHK-ErgDQ	Sun Hongkai 孙宏开. 1991. Body Parts Questionnaire (Ergong: Danba).
SHK-ErgNQ	Sun Hongkai 孙宏开. 1991. Body Parts Questionnaire (Ergong: Northern).
SHK-ErsCQ	Sun Hongkai 孙宏开. 1991. Body Parts Questionnaire (Ersu).
SHK-GuiqQ	Sun Hongkai 孙宏开. 1991. Body Parts Questionnaire (Guiqiong).
SHK-Idu	Sun Hongkai 孙宏开. 1991. Body Parts Questionnaire (Idu).
SHK-MawoQ	Sun Hongkai 孙宏开. 1991. Body Parts Questionnaire (Mawo).
SHK-MuyaQ	Sun Hongkai 孙宏开. 1991. Body Parts Questionnaire (Muya).
SHK-NamuQ	Sun Hongkai 孙宏开. 1991. Body Parts Questionnaire (Namyui).
SHK-rGEQ	Sun Hongkai 孙宏开. 1991. Body Parts Questionnaire (rGyalrong: Eastern).
SHK-rGNQ	Sun Hongkai 孙宏开. 1991. Body Parts Questionnaire (rGyalrong: Northern).
SHK-rGNWQ	Sun Hongkai 孙宏开. 1991. Body Parts Questionnaire (rGyalrong: Northwest).
SHK-ShixQ	Sun Hongkai 孙宏开. 1991. Body Parts Questionnaire (Shixing).
SHK-Sulung	Sun Hongkai 孙宏开. 1993. Body Parts Questionnaire (Sulong).
SHK-ZhabQ	Sun Hongkai 孙宏开. 1991. Body Parts Questionnaire (Zhaba).
SIL-Chep	Caughley, Ross. 1972. <i>A Vocabulary of the Chepang Language</i> . Kirtipur, Kathmandu: SIL, Tribhuvan University.
SIL-Gur	Glover, Warren W. 1972. <i>A Vocabulary of the Gurung Language</i> . Kirtipur, Kathmandu: SIL, Tribhuvan University.
SIL-Sahu	Taylor, Doreen, Fay Everitt, and Karna Bahadur Tamang. 1972. <i>A Vocabulary of the Tamang Language</i> . Kirtipur, Kathmandu: SIL, Tribhuvan University.
SIL-Thak	Hari, Maria. 1971. <i>A Vocabulary of the Thakali Language</i> . Kirtipur, Kathmandu: SIL, Tribhuvan University.

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## Appendix: Source Abbreviations

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- SLZO-MLD Sun Hongkai 孙宏开, Lu Shaozun 陆绍尊, Zhang Jichuan 张济川, and Ouyang Jueya 欧阳觉亚, eds. 1980. 门巴、珞巴、僜人的语言 *Menba, Luoba, Dengren de yuyan [The languages of the Monpa, Lhoba, and Deng peoples]*. Beijing: Social Sciences Press.
- STC Benedict, Paul K. 1972. *Sino-Tibetan: a Conspectus*. James A. Matisoff, contributing editor. Princeton-Cambridge Series in Chinese Linguistics, #2. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- STP-ManQ Sharma, S.R. 1991. Body Parts Questionnaire (Manchati).
- SVD-Dum Driem, George van. 1993. *A Grammar of Dumi*. Mouton Grammar Library #10. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- SVD-LimA Driem, George van. 1987. *A Grammar of Limbu*. Mouton Grammar Library #4. Berlin, New York, Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter.
- SY-KhözhaQ Yabu, Shiro. 1994. Body Parts Questionnaire (Khözha).
- T-KomRQ Toba, Sueyoshi and Allen Kom. 1991. Body Parts Questionnaire (Kom Rem).
- TBL Dai Qingxia 戴庆厦, et al., eds. 1992. 藏缅语族语言词汇 *A Tibeto-Burman Lexicon*. Beijing: Central Institute of Minorities.
- THI1972 Thirumalai, M.S. 1972. *Thaadou Phonetic Reader*. Phonetic Reader Series #6. Mysore: CIIL.
- TK-Yakha Kohn, Tamara. ca. 1990. Body Parts Questionnaire (Yakha).
- VN-AngQ Nienu, Vikuosa. 1990. Body Parts Questionnaire (Angami Naga).
- VN-ChkQ Nienu, Vikuosa. 1990. Body Parts Questionnaire (Chokri).
- VN-LothQ Nienu, Vikuosa. 1990. Body Parts Questionnaire (Lotha).
- WBB-Deuri Brown, W.B. 1895. *An Outline Grammar of the Deori Chutiya Language Spoken in Upper Assam, with an introduction, illustrative sentences, and short vocabulary*. Shillong: Assam Secretariat Printing Office.
- WHB-OC Baxter, William. 1992. *A Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- WSC-SH Coblin, Weldon South. 1986. *A Sinologist's Handlist of Sino-Tibetan Lexical Comparisons*. Monumenta Serica Monograph Series, Vol. 18. Nettetal: Steyler Verlag.
- WTF-PNN French, Walter T. 1983. *Northern Naga: a Tibeto-Burman Mesolanguage*. Ph.D. dissertation, City University of New York.
- WW-Bant Rai, Novel Kishore, Tikka Ram Rai, and Werner Winter. 1984. *A Tentative Bantawa Dictionary*. Unpublished ms.
- WW-Cham Winter, Werner. 1985. *Materials Towards a Dictionary of Chamling: I. Chamling-English; II. English-Chamling*. Based on data collected by Dhan Prasad Rai. Preliminary Version. Kiel: Linguistic Survey of Nepal.
- YHJC-Sani Wu Zili 武自立, Ang Zhiling 昂智灵, Huang Jianmin 黄健民. 1984. 彝汉简明词典 *Yí-Hàn jiǎnmíng cídiǎn [A Concise Yi-Chinese dictionary]*. Yunnan Nationalities Press.
- YN-Man Nagano, Yasuhiko. 1984. *A Manang Glossary*. Anthropological and Linguistic Studies of the Gandaki Area in Nepal II. (*Monumenta Serindica* #12.) Tokyo: ILCAA.
- ZLS-Tib Zhang Liansheng 张连生. 1988. *A Handbook of Chinese, Tibetan and English Words*. Unpublished ms.
- ZMYYC Sun Hongkai 孙宏开, et al., eds. 1991. 藏缅语语音和词汇 *Zàngmiǎnyǔ yǔyīn hé cíhuì [Tibeto-Burman Phonology and Lexicon]*. Beijing: Chinese Social Sciences Press.
- ZYS-Bai Zhao Yansun 赵衍荪. 1990. Body Parts Questionnaire (Bai).

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