PST interrogative *ga(nɡ)ː ~ *ka

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The Chinese and Tibetan evidence for PST\(^1\) interrogative *ga(nɡ)ː ~ *ka was presented at Sino-Tibetan Conference IX (Copenhagen 1976), accompanied by the comment, 'Cognates elsewhere in TB appear to be scarce', with mention only of Jg. sentence-final interrogative/emphatic kha. Since that time, however, many additional cognates have turned up, as shown in the following table:

Notes on below Table:

AC reconstructions after the scheme in STAL, modified in ACI; glosses and numbering as in GSR (those only in loan use marked with *). Interrogatives attested only for the earlier (Archaic - to ca. 750 B.C.) period are from the Shi-jing (except for one Yi-jing form); the later forms, from the Old Chinese (OC) period (of the general 'Classical' texts), are so designated. It is probably significant that the (secondarily) palatalized forms are, with one exception, from

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1 Abbreviations: AC Archaic Chinese; ACI (Benedict forthcoming); BL Burmese-Lolo; CL Central Loloish; CT Chang-Tangs (SIC: Konyak group); GL (Matisoff 1973); GSR (Karlgren 1957); Jg. Jinghpaw; KN Kuki-Naga; Lu. Lushai; MC Middle Chinese; Mk. Mikir; Mt. Meitei; OC Old Chinese; P Proto-; PL Proto-Loloish; PL (Bradley 1979); PT Proto-Tamang; ST Sino-Tibetan; PST Proto-Sino-Tibetan; STAL (Benedict 1976); SIC (Benedict 1972); II (Benedict 1983); WB Written Burmese; WH West Himalayish; WT Written Tibetan.
the OC period. There is clear evidence for a tonal 'form
class' here: all < *A except g'io:, - < *B (  sandhi tone);
note that on the TB side the PBL cognates also point to tone
*A. The GSR glosses are greatly simplified; see Dobson 1962:
141 ff. for the complex details.

| AC 55a | 胡 | g'o 'final part. of exclam. and interr.'
| AC *49a | 何 | g'o 'how, why, what'.
| AC 95p | 何 | g'io:,- 'how, num' (OC)
| AC *1f | 何 | g'a 'which, what, how, why'; also (OC) 'where'

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AC *33h | 瑕 | g'io 'how, why' (OC)
AC *33j | 瑕 | g'i 'what, how'.
AC *89b .sgio 'final intern. part.' (OC)
AC 89e .sgio 'final intern. part.' (OC)
AC *47a .sgio 'inter. part.' (Yi-jing)
AC *1185x sgjung 'how' (OC)
AC *876d g'ieg 'why, what' (OC)
AC 313d g'ât 'what, where, when, how, why'
AC *146a s-kân 'how; also (OC) 'where, what'
AC *200a s-kian 'how' (also 'final part."

WI gang 'who, which' (dial. also 'what'); gang-na ~ ga-na 'where';
gang-la ~ ga-la 'whither'; gang-du ~ ga-ru 'whither, where'; ga-tsam 'how
(many, much, long)'; ga-tshod 'how much'; ga-zug 'how'; ga-re 'where is'
(= re < PTB *ray 'to be').

Jg. ga- (often ka- in Hanson) is general interrogative.

Mk. ko- < *ga- (regular shifts: STC: 21, 58) is also a gen. intern.

KN (forms from Harrison 1967): Tangkhul ka- and Yimchungdrā ka- (<ka-)
in 'when', 'where' and 'why'; Khoirao ka- in 'how'; Lotha ko- (<ka-) in
'how', 'when'; Meitei ka- is gen. intern.; all probably from an earlier
*ga- but phonology not yet established.

PL *[sg]a: Atsi (Tsaiwa) khâ (<A) 'which, what' with final -a (rather
than the regular -o) for PBL/PTB -*a (cf. ngâ 'I' ~ nga 'my'); Lahu (GL:
50-51) qa (K *A) 'which one', qa-thâ 'when', qa-qhe 'how, what kind
of'; Mpi kho²-mong⁴ (kho² < A) 'when', kho⁶-lo⁴ (kho⁶ < B) 'how much'; Nyi
Lolo kha- is gen. intern.; Jino (CL) kho³ so³ (kho³ < A) 'who'. The Lahu
form is on the unanticipated tone \_\_\_, regularly associated with (re-
constructed) plain or voiced initial (GL:23), neither yielding an aspirated
stop. Mpi has a contrast between aspirated and unaspirated stops which
appears to reflect an earlier *?g- vs. *s-g- or *sg-, etc. (PL:139), and
the aspirated stop in kho²- ~ kho⁶- here points to PL *s-gA or *sgA
(\_\_\_B in Mpi). This would also serve to explain the Lahu qa with its
'wrong' tone as well as the Atsi, Nyi Lolo and Jino forms, yet an allofamic
PL *kaA can scarcely be excluded.

PL *[sg]ang: Lahu has qa as an allofam of qa: qa 'which one,
where', qa-qhe 'where, how, what kind of', on the same 'wrong' tone. Lahu
final -a regularly represents PL -*ang or -*aw (GL:14), suggesting PL
*[sg]ang here. WB has the nominal affix -kau: (<B) 'where, what of',

W.
-4-
hence an alternative PBL *(s-)<gaw> is a possibility here, perhaps from
an earlier fused *(s-)<ga-u>.

WH *kha: Bunan kha 'what', kha-lak 'why'; Thebor kha 'who'; Rangkas
kha 'what', kha-lei 'why'; Darmiya kha 'what', kha-mi 'who'; Byangsi
kha-mi, id.; Chaudangsi kha-car 'why'.

PT *kha-: Gurung khaba ~ khab, Thulung khala 'who'.

PL *?a < *s-ka: /a/ (variable tone) in all interrogatives in Akha and
Lisu and in some Phunoi and Bisu; Lahu has qa ~ qhè (above) as well as
à– in à–thà (cited above) ~ à–thò? 'what', a– in a–su 'who' (see below);
WB has ?a-su 'who', considered an abbreviated form of ?a-bhaisu (see
below for bhai–); the loss of initial */k/ after prefixed (not cluster) *s–
is regular: cf. WB ?ap < *s-kap 'needle'; WT khab; WB ?im < *s-k[y]im
'house'; WT khyim (Benedict 1981).

WH *kha-i: Byangsi and Chaudangsi khai 'what'.

Limbu á-khé(n) 'how [state, manner, quantity]', from *a-ka-i(-n).

It would seem that at the PST level of reconstruction *ga is to be
rated as 'certain' (as things linguistic go), *ka as 'probable' or even
'very probable' and *ga(*)ng as 'possible': **ga ~ **ka ~ *ga(*)ng. A
fourth allofam, *gâ, is attested only by Chinese, in contrast to the
situation for the deictics (see II), where both TB and Chinese supply
evidence for PST *ga ~ *gâ. The Min form here (hô) indicates that PC had
*gâ rather than *gâ-–y < *gâ-–i (with regular loss of *-i in AC/MC after
long /a/), thus differing from the pronominal 我 ngâ/ngâ: '1st p. prn.' <
*ngâ-–i (see analysis in II). The palatalized forms of Chinese, a
trademark of the language, hardly require the setting up of distinct early
allofams but the labialized forms (final -ɔ < *-wa; see STC: fn. 487) are
not so readily explained; cf. here PST *k(w)a 'crow/raven': PTB mainly /ka/
forms (STC: fn. 284) but WT kha-ta ~ khwa-ta; Mt. kwak < *kwa/k[wa]; AC/MC
鳥 (61a) s-ko/ ?uo < *s-ka and 鳥 (37h) s-ko/ ?a < *s-kwa, also
(palatalized with secondary voicing) 鳥 (89k) sgio/iwo < *s-ga (from
same GSR-89 series as the above-cited interrogative 與 ~ 聞 (89b,e)
sgio/iwo).

The *ga(*)ng allofam probably represents an earlier reduplicated
*ga/ga with secondary nasalization (the AC/MC form also reflects vocalic
length, associated with the reduplication), as indicated by the unique
union of two of the Chinese interrogatives in a passage from Zhuang-zi (OC