

**Tibeto-Burman "split cognates"**

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The characteristic "split cognates" of Austro-Tai (ATLC:152) are the product of contrasting modes of canonical reduction [CR]: Miao-Yao on-the-right (CRR) vs. Kadai on-the-left (CRL):

	PAT *mapra 'eye' (> PAN *maCa)	
CRL		CRR
PKD *(m)pra <sup>Δ</sup>		PMY *may <sup>C</sup>
↓		
pra (Saek)		via *maya
pya (Liuzhou)		< *mapya

Japanese regularly displays CRR: me 'eye', Old Japanese mē < \*mai (Benedict 1990). The monosyllabic roots of Sino-Tibetan hardly lend themselves to "splitting" of this kind, however, even though the actual forms tend to be disyllabic through prefixation.<sup>1</sup> This follows from the fact that the prefixes involved are weakly stressed, typically with schwa vocalism, hence can scarcely be expected to furnish a basis for a CRR "split" product of MY/Japanese style. It would appear that only a deviant ST language would behave in so unseemly a fashion and indeed this has proved to be the case.

Tujia is a TB language of some 770,000 speakers in west-central China (Hubei, Hunan, Sichuan, Guizhou), first reported (Hunan: Xiangxi dialect) in 1982 (Tian Desheng), with a later *jianzhi* on two other dialects ("Northern" and "Southern") by Tian, et al. (1986). It is a three-tone language that has undergone phonological erosion (vocalic and -n finals only) along with widespread relexification, the limited TB lexical correspondences pointing to a basic kinship with Burmese-Yipho. The CRR development is found in two forms (Xiangxi dialect) representing prefixed roots, with a contrast furnished by a third form from an unprefixated root:

	"typical" CRL shift		PTB	Tujia CRR shift
'1'	*ŋa > /ŋa/		*ŋa <sup>Δ</sup>	ŋa <sup>13</sup>
'five'	*a-ŋa > /ŋa/		*-ŋa <sup>B</sup>	on <sup>55</sup> < *əŋ <sup>55</sup>
'fish'	*s-ŋa > /hŋ(y)a/		*(s-)ŋya <sup>B</sup>	son <sup>13</sup> < *səŋ <sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Still, one of the "bulgingly monosyllabic" reconstructions in STC (\**tsywap* #239 LUNGS) should actually be "split" into two separate etyma, \**tsi* 'lung' and \**wap* 'spongy'. See Matisoff 1978:113-23. [Ed.]

Prefixed \*a- in TB 'five' appears to be later than either \*r/l- or \*b- (STC:31); note also (contra STC:fn.435) that prefixed \*s- can now be reconstructed for this numeral in Proto-Chinese (see Benedict 1988:15); for the /13/ tone for 'fish', cf. the PST tone \*B > \*A shift after s- found in Chinese (STC:fn.494).

A parallel to the "split cognate" for "five", similarly created through (late) \*a- prefixation, is furnished by Dafla a1 'foot' <PTB \*(s-)(g-)la 'foot/leg' (cf. STC:fn.108/

The Tujia /on/ and /son/ developments are weird by TB/ST standards but of conventional type for MY. The Tujia-speakers are scattered throughout the Miao homeland, hence substratal influences have perhaps played a role here.

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