Etymological Speculations on some Chin Words*

F. K. Lehman, University of Illinois

0. Below, I shall examine the etymologies of two Chin words. Of the two proposed etymological derivations, one has some possibly interesting consequences for the reconstruction of proto-Tibeto-Burman phonology. The other merely establishes a presumptive cognate and corrects a previously accepted misapprehension.

1. Let me take the trivial etymology first. Many specialists know that the word Chin as used for the T-B speaking peoples of the western Hills of Burma is supposed to be of purely Burmese derivation and to have no connection with any word these people use for or amongst themselves. Long ago, Professor Gordon H. Luce traced the word (written Burmese: khyan:) back to early lithic inscriptions, where it was used in reference to presumptively savage people in and round about the middle Chindwin valley, next to the present Chin Hills, before it came to be occupied or ruled by the Burmans. Reasoning largely from the inscriptions themselves, he construed the word, in Old Burmese, something like 'comrade' or 'ally' and the like, viz., an especially recognised alien folk. In my (1963) book on the Chin, I accepted this derivation without any question. Subsequent work has led me to revise my views.

When I came to learn q-men ('Southern') Chin, later on, I encountered the word khyan. This word means 'a people' of this or that village, region, country or language. So, the people speaking this language are n-met khyan, the Chin people in general are khxou khxan, (where khxou us cognate with the better-known designation, zou), Americans are melikan khnar and so forth.

With the letter x being just contextually devoiced γ, which is the reflex of *r, both in Southern Chin and, again, in the Northern dialects of Tiddim, khyan seems to reconstruct, internally, as *khyaγ. This is not, of course, superficially identical with the Burmese spelling of the word in question, khyan:, but, on the one hand, it is clear (Nishi 1977), that there has been a long history of confusion in the writing of Burmese between medial -γ- and medial -r- and, on the other, reflexes in Chin of presumptively reconstructed initial clusters *khy- are notoriously hard to find (Benedict 1972: 51, for instance). Indeed,
there is apparent internal evidence within Chin that they may have fallen together, in some cases, precisely with certain khr- clusters. For instance, in the dialect of n-men recorded by Father Jordan (1969), that of the Yawdwin, to the east of the one I worked with, khr- is ch-, the word for 'people' is chag. In this dialect, the reflex of the proto-initial *c(h)- is also ch-, but to the west it is kh-. Nor is the word I am examining the only one embodying these sound equivalences. For example, n-men khxag or chag (Yawdwin) is the caq of Haka Chin [run-rul-caq-cei], a collective term for creeping and flying things, more specifically, insects, and cognate with Burmese (WB) khrang, 'mosquito.' This indicates perhaps that reconstructed T-B *khr- or khy- is khx- in n-men and a palatal affricate in Haka and related Central Chin languages as in the Yawdwin dialect of n-men, itself.

Of course then, the khxag or chag of n-men, meaning 'people' is a perfect cognate for Burmese khyang, which is Spoken Modern Burmese Chin. It follows, that we cannot after all be too confident in Luce's proposed etymology. It makes more sense to suppose that the Burmese were writing, in the inscriptions, about a neople who called themselves *chag, 'people.' And even if Old Burmese had, as Luce asserts, a cognate word having roughly the meaning he assigns it, of 'ally,' it is surely a cognate of the Chin word, its specialized meaning derived from the more generalized Chin one.

2. But this is a rather minor affair and I have introduced it not only for its own sake but also because it allows me to raise additional considerations.

In the first place, Benedict (1972: 38ff.) makes it clear, that T-B *Cr- has Chin-Lushai reflexes of t- quite uniformly whilst *Cl- is preserved as such, C- being any stop, aspirated or not. It must therefore be, that both 'people' and 'insect' are to be reconstructed as an initial *khy- cluster; clearly, at least on the whole, n-men khx-, insofar as it goes back to true cluster initials of T-B, represents *khy-, even though otherwise x represents *r and event though initial *r- prefixed by k- also produces n-men khx-, as in khxuk, khxit, khxet. These three are the numbers six, seven and eight, where it is perfectly certain that the velar is a prefix and the numeral roots are reconstructed in Kuki-Naga (Benedict 1972: 94-95, for six and eight) as *ruk and *ryat. It is thus not 'people' but 'insect' that seems to have got misspelt in Burmese, with medial -r- for medial -y-. Of true clusters, only *khy- gives n-men khx- and cognate Central Chin ç (Benedict 1972:45 shows inaspirate *ky- gives Central Chin and Lushai s-).

2.1 In the second place, this has forced me to consider the n-men kh-initials. We have seen that at least some n-men (Yawdwin) words with palatal affricate initials are derived from ones with original *khy- and *khr-, by palatalization. It is instructive to observe how this series relates to what happens to T-B palatal initials, so-called, in Chin languages, viz., *c(h)- and *ç(h)-. Benedict (1972: 53) shows that *k- also gives c-, here. At the same pane (footnote 178), he notes that *f- gives Lushai ch-, whilst elsewhere (17, footnote 63) he points out that in general Lushai (and Haka Chin) ch- comes from *t-.
However, c- of Lushai, for instance, has some cognates in n-men with kh-, in the western dialect. Thus Lushai cem, 'knife,' is Yawdwin n-men chim but western n-men khim. This has to go back to *ɛ-, because if it were from *khy-, it would be kʰx- in the latter dialect. At any rate, we now have a basis for deriving some n-men kh- from T-B palatal initials.

Now, not all n-men kh- initials are derived from palatals. Many of them come originally from *k- (in Benedict's reconstruction -- alternatively *kh-, if his proto-sonant initials were in fact plain surds). For example, we have khua, which as in other Chin languages means, variously, 'village', 'weather', and the like. It is nevertheless of interest, that some n-men kh- words reconstruct with palatal proto-initials and hence should have Burmese cognates, if any, with Written Burmese palatal initials (conflating T-B true palatal and alveolar affricates), Modern Spoken Burmese s(h)-.

3. This observation gives me a foundation for examining a n-men verb that used to puzzle me very much. The verb 'to speak' in this language is kh iw, where the final segment represents a lightly articulated voiced, bilabial fricative. It is a rare final in this language, although in some Chin languages all syllable-final high glides and vowels are realised as buzzing sounds of this kind. Jordan writes this word as khi, but he is simply in error. What is the source of this final?

It is useful to start by looking at the initial, again. Obviously, it might come from original *k(h)- or from some sort of palatal initial. But no imaginable cognates turn up for it outside Kuki-Chin on this assumption, whereas on the assumption of a palatal initial, it has an obvious cognate in Burmese hsou (HB chui), 'to say' or 'to convey a meaning.' After all, the Burmese aspirated palatals correspond in part to Benedict's proto-T-B palatal surd ɛ with or without (1972:22) aspirate-type prefixes (h-ɛ). That they can also go back to non-palatal alveolar affricates is beside the point; we are looking for a possible cognate relationship between n-men kh- and something with other than a *kh-source. Such kh- in n-men correspond to Lushai c-, which in turn corresponds to *ɛ- but not *k-. But now it becomes necessary to look further into the status of the vowel and final of kh iw. This will have consequences for the reconstruction of the proto-T-B vowel system.

3.1 Assume kh iw is in fact cognate with Burmese hsou. Then -iw has to be systematically related to Burmese -ou, HB -ui in Benedict's transcription. Now Benedict vacillates between taking this back to a proto-T-B *-uu or a proto-T-B *-uw. That is, he reconstructs the source as either a long vowel or an homorganic diaphong. But clearly this can provide no support for the suggested etymology, because in general the reflex, in Chin-Lushai, of *-uu (cal! it) is -u(u). Thus, Burmese (HB) ɛaui 'bone' (*ru(s)), is Lushai ru?; HB (mi-)hkuui, 'smoke' (*kuw) is Lushai (mi-ε-)khu, and so on (Benedict 1972:57-61).

However, the interpretation of '-ui' is far from transparent. The vowel is in fact written in Burmese with a combination of the sign for '-i' and that for '-u,' a combination one is in fact always taught to read, from top to bottom, as '-iu.' Furthermore, in Shan and in the Mon
alphabet from which both the others are adapted, this sign combination stands for a high back, unrounded (sometimes mid-back, unrounded) vowel (u, a). Indeed, there is some evidence (from the Loloish branch of T-B) taken by various scholars to favour reconstruction of 'ui' not as *-uw but as *-u or *-w (see Nishida 1976).3

I take the view that, in Burmese at any rate, the proper reading of this digraph is -iu. Inscriptive evidence bears this view out, since there was frequently the practice to add after it a final -w. On this view it is supposed that the digraph began as a sort of phonetic transcription of a phonemic -ou, with a degree of dissipilatory unrounding and fronting of the first element. Some speakers of Burmese today do the same kind of thing. In turn, this suggests something more.

Suppose the vowel in khiw comes, as appears on face value, from a hitherto unsuspected T-B *-iw. It would surely be likely to fall together, in Burmese cognates, with reflexes of *-uw; its Burmese pronunciation would be something rather like [-iu] or [-iь]. I strongly suspect that this is the right analysis.

However, there is also a perfectly obvious Lushai cognate for n-men khiw, namely, kheu?, 'to tell,' 'to admonish.' This suggests two conclusions. First, that, if the Burmese correspondence is right, the kh- initial, here, has to go back to T-B *h-c; for all other sources that might produce Burmese hs- (Hb hc-) are precluded. *c- gives Lushai c- (see 'knife,' above) and *c(h)- is Lushai s-. There is no Lushai palatal reflex for h-prefixed T-B palatals.

Second, it suggests that *-eu, which Benedict finds somewhat problematical (1972:68) ought to be reconstructed to parallel *-iw. In turn, this helps us choose between Benedict's alternative reconstructions, *-uw, which he indeed prefers, and *-uu (his third alternative, *-aw, 1972:57, seems, on the present view, a sort of phonetically motivated compromise for transcribing the dissimilation of the vowel from the final glide). Again, I suggest that this is correct.

Finally, there is some independent reason to relate in some way what Benedict reconstructs as *-oy and *-wiy reflexes in both Chin-Lushai and Burmese. Not only do these fall together in Burmese Cwei (C being any initial consonant), but in addition, in Chin languages, the word for 'dog,' which reconstructs as *kwiy or *kuay and is hkwew in Burmese, is *wy. That is, it follows the rule that initial ? does not form clusters with medial glides. It definitely has its syllabic peak on the vowel -u-.