

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

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This paper is a quick look at three interesting word families, each with its own story. All three require the reconstruction of variant prototypes (allofams). The first, SET (of the sun), is entirely new. The second, PHEASANT/PEACOCK, takes off from an established etymology and demonstrates that it is broader in semantic scope than previously recognized, so that many more cognate forms may be identified. (For good measure we include a couple of unrelated new roots in this semantic area). The third word family, SCATTER/POUR, represented in Chinese as well as Tibeto-Burman (TB), is a combination of two previously proposed etymologies.

1.0 Set (of the sun)

This etymology began to take shape when I had the pleasure of going through Boyd Michailovsky's (still unpublished) manuscript *Proto-Kiranti* at STEDT back around 1989.¹ Further supporting data was found in the two chief compendia of TB lexical items published in China, Sun Hongkai et al. 1986 ("ZMYYC") and Dai Qingxia et al. 1992 ("TBL").

1.1 *Forms that point to PTB simple velar initials: PTB *gim ꜜ *gum*

Michailovsky reconstructed Proto-Kiranti *gim 'set (of the sun)' on the basis of two forms: Dumi gi:m; Thulung gam.

This immediately rang a bell for me, since the Lahu word is qè, used for the setting of several heavenly bodies: (mû-ni qè

ve 'sun sets', **mû-ni qè phô** 'the west'), 'moon sets' (**ha-pa qè ve**), 'morning star sets' (**pā-tô? qè ve**).² The initial correspondence between the Proto-Kiranti and Lahu forms is perfect, since PTB/PLB ***g-** regularly > Lahu **q-** (cf. 'nine' PTB ***d-gəw** > PLB ***gəw**² > Lahu **qô**; 'crooked' PTB ***guk** > PLB ***gok**^L > Lahu **qô?**). As for the rhyme correspondence, Lahu **-ε** is the reflex of both ***-im** and ***-um**, which have largely merged in Lolo-Burmese.

The variation between **-i- ∅ -u-** in closed syllables is in fact very common in TB word families, especially when one of the neighboring consonants is labial.³ Among many examples which could be cited:⁴

'sleep' * yip ∅ * yip	'beat/strike' * dup ∅ * dip
'house' * k-yim ∅ * k-yum	'sink' * nup ∅ * nip ⁵
'wrap' * tip ∅ * tup	'tear/rip' * džit ∅ * džut
'dusk/darkness' * rum ∅ * rim	'wipe' * sut ∅ * sit
'warm' * lum ∅ * lim	'body hair' * g-mul ∅ * g-mil

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

<i>ZMYYC</i> :	Nanjian Yi ɣu ⁵⁵ , Lisu go ³³ ʒe ⁴⁴ , Naxi (Lijiang and Yongning) gv ^{31,7} , Hani Caiyuan (Biyue) kɔ ³³ , Hani Shuikui (Haoni) kɔ ³³ ji ⁵⁵
<i>TBL</i> :	Lisu go ³³ , Naxi Lijiang gy ²¹

These Loloish reflexes are rather similar, but by no means identical to those of PLB ***sum**² 'three', an indubitable word with the rhyme ***-um** (cf. Written Burmese **sûm**): Lahu **šē**, Nanjian **sa**³³, Lisu **sɔ**³³, Naxi **sɿ**²¹ (see below 1.2), Hani Caiyuan **se**⁵⁵, Haoni Shuikui **su**⁵⁵. Neither do they seem particularly parallel to those of PLB ***s-dim**¹ 'cloud', a word to be reconstructed with the indubitable rhyme ***-im**⁸ (cf. Written Burmese (WB) **tim**):

- ZMYYC: Yi Dafang **tie**³³, Yi Nanjian **ɑ**⁵⁵**mu**²¹**ti**⁵⁵,
 Yi Mile (Axi) **tɛ**³³, Yi Mojiang **tɛ**⁵⁵,
 Naxi Lijiang **tɕi**³³, Caiyuan Hani **ni**³¹**tshi**³¹, Hani
 Shuikui **u**³¹**tu**⁵⁵, Jinuo **mu**³³**tjɛ**³³
 TBL: Yi Xide **mu**³³**ti**³³ (**mu**³³ 'sky'),
 Yi Weishan **ɑ**⁵⁵**m**²¹**ti**⁵⁵, Yi Nanhua **ti**³³ **tʂho**³³,
 Yi Wuding **tɔ**³³, Sani **tæ**⁴⁴,
 Jinuo **m**³³**tɛ**³³, Gazhuo **ty**²⁴.

So on balance, perhaps we should reconstruct the basic Proto-Loloish allofam with a back vowel: ***gum**.

Further support for this etymology is to be found in Qiangic and Baic. The Qiangic forms point to a *front vowel:

- ZMYYC: Qiang (Mawo) **a qe**, Shixing **miɛ**³³**γi**⁵⁵
 TBL: Shixing **gi**, Namuyi **mi**³³**qæ**⁵³ (cf. **ɲi**⁵⁵**mi**⁵⁵ 'sun'),
 Qiang (Mawo) **a qa**

The root for 'cloud', with front-vowel vocalism, is also well-attested in Qiangic languages:

- ZMYYC: Qiang (Mawo) **zdɤm**, Qiang Taoping **χde**³³,
 Pumi Taoba **zə**⁵⁵**rɛ**⁵⁵,
 Pumi Jinghua **sdɿ**⁵⁵, rGyalrong **zɛm**,
 Ergong **zdo-mɛ**, Muya **ndu**³³**zɛ**³⁵
 TBL: Qiang (Mawo) **zdam**, rGyalrong **zɛm**, Daofu **zdo**,
 Queyu **ɕtie**⁵⁵, Zhaba **ʂtei**¹³, Pumi (Lanping) **zdɿ**⁵⁵,
 Pumi (Jiulong) **dɛ**³⁵, Muya **nda**³³**re**⁵⁵,
 Shixing **tɿ**⁵⁵ **rɔ**³³.

Note the identical rhyme reflexes in the Shixing forms for 'set' and 'cloud'.

On the other hand, Baic forms have back vowels:

- ZMYYC: Bai (Jianchuan) **yo**⁴², Bai (Dali) **o**⁴²
 TBL: Bai (Jianchuan) **yu**²¹

So far then we may provisionally reconstruct PTB ***gim** \approx ***gum**. But further complications soon arise.

1.2 *Forms with affricates or clusters that might point to an earlier *cluster:* PTB **glim* \approx **glum*

Strong support for a medial glide in this etymon is provided by Nungish forms (cited identically in ZMYYC and TBL): Anong Nu *dzim*⁵⁵, Dulong *glom*⁵³, implying Proto-Nungish **glim* \approx **glum*.

Several other Loloish forms to be found in ZMYYC and TBL have fricative, affricate, or cluster initials which suggest a PLB form with medial glide, perhaps **glum* or **gyum*:

ZMYYC: Jinuo *kɿa*³⁵

TBL: Yi Weishan *ʒɛ*⁵⁵, Yi Nanhua *dzo*³³,
Yi Wuding *ɖɿ*¹¹, Sani *ɬɿ*³³,
Jinuo *krɔ*³³

While these reflexes look quite different from those of 'cloud' (above 1.1), they look more similar to 'three':

Yi Nanhua *so*³³, Sani *sy*⁵⁵ (at least the Nanhua and Sani reflexes are the same!), Yi Xide *sɔ*³³,
Yi Weishan *sa*³³, Yi Wuding *sɔ*³³

Similarly with 'warm' (PTB **lum* \approx **lim* [STC #381]; TB: #1065): Yi Xide *tsha*³⁴*ɬo*³³, Yi Weishan *xɔ*⁵⁵*ly*⁵⁵ *mu*²¹, Yi Nanhua *lu*³³ *mə*²¹, Yi Wuding *ɿ*¹¹ *mɿ*²³ Note the identical Wuding rhyme reflex in '(sun) sets' and 'warm').

Qiangic also has a number of resemblant forms for '(sun) sets' with affricated or fricative initials:

TBL: Daofu (Ergong) *nə* *ndzo*,
Queyu *pu*⁵⁵*tʃa*¹³, Lusu *ne*³³*tʃu*⁵³

Note that the Daofu rhyme reflex is identical to 'cloud' < **-im* (Daofu *zdo*), but unlike that in Daofu *xsu* 'three' (< **-um*).

ZMYYC: Pumi (Taoba) *nə*³⁵ *dzɛ*³⁵,
Pumi (Jinghua) *nə*¹³*dzie*⁵⁵, Ersu *tcho*⁵⁵