

## More 'things' in Burmese-Lolo

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Thanks to the recent work of Wu (1994) in providing data on Kasu, a hitherto undescribed Yi Group language in Yunnan, a revision and expansion of an existing etymon for 'thing' is necessary. Furthermore, Kasu provides additional confirmation of the status of medial \*-l- in Burmese-Lolo which it preserves in this and other etyma.

In Bradley (1979b), an etymon for 'thing' (424A) was reconstructed as \*(C)myu<sup>2/3</sup> on the basis of comparing Burmese /ʔəhmu/ 'deed, matter' (< PBL Tone \*3) and Akha /myɔ<sup>31</sup>/ 'thing' (< PBL Tone \*2). However, additional data, including the Kasu form from Wu (1994), suggests a revised reconstruction of \*mlaŋ<sup>2</sup> based on a different Burmese form and a number of forms representing all other major subgroups of Burmese-Lolo.

The medial \*-l- is further supported by the Pahi Akha form /mlɔ<sup>31</sup>/ from Hansson (1988) and in the Burmese inscriptional form mlaŋ. The Burmese cognate, as is usual in inscriptions for \*Tone 2, lacks the indication of tone; but otherwise the tonal correspondence is regular, as are the initial and rhyme correspondences. The Yellow Lahu versus Black Lahu rhyme difference reflects the medial. The Northern Loloish shift of initial \*-l- plus medial to retroflex and subsequently to alveolar seen in Nasu and Sani is also regular.

The basic meaning of the etymon appears to be 'things/property/goods'. There are semantic shifts in the Burmese, Lisu and Gong cognates, but the forms are clearly related. The Burmese shift is 'things/property/goods' > 'count/calculate (things/property/goods)'. In Lisu the shift is to 'work (which produces things/property/goods)'. In Gong the change is a further generalisation and grammaticalisation to a third person pronoun.

In some languages, there are alternative forms with a second syllable. One two-syllable combination can tentatively be reconstructed as \*mlaŋ<sup>2</sup> nji<sup>2</sup>; this is seen in Hani, Yellow Lahu, Lipo, and Sani. Another, less widely distributed two syllable form reconstructs as \*mlaŋ<sup>2</sup> goŋ<sup>2</sup>, which occurs in Akha and Sani. The second etymon also occurs alone or with another syllable in some other languages which do not have a reflex of the etymon \*mlaŋ<sup>2</sup>; for example Bisu, Nosu, Lalaw, and Gong. There is a further etymon, \*dziŋ<sup>2</sup> or \*dzik<sup>1</sup>, seen in various Burmish languages as well as Nosu, Lisu and Phunoi. The \*goŋ<sup>2</sup> etymon and the \*dziŋ<sup>2</sup> or \*dzik<sup>1</sup> etymon are sometimes fully or

partly blended with the Southwestern Thai words reflected in Thai /khɔŋ<sup>35</sup>/ 'thing' and / chya<sup>55</sup>/ 'race, group'. Sometimes these Thai words are also borrowed as such, sometimes with semantic shift as in Lahu (from Shan /cɛ<sup>31</sup>/, not Thai) where the meaning of the Shan word is also generalized.

### FORMS

The forms given here have been retranscribed for notational consistency. Further data on Kasu is required to determine securely which subgroup of Loloish it fits into.

Kasu	/mlʌ <sup>31</sup> /	Wu (Wu 1994)
<b>Southern Loloish</b>		
Akha	/myɔ <sup>31</sup> gɔ̃ <sup>31</sup> /	Lewis (1989)
Pahi Akha	/mlɔ <sup>31</sup> /	Hansson (1988)
Hani	/mur <sup>31</sup> ɲi <sup>31</sup> /	Dai (1992)
Bisu	/kəŋ <sup>33</sup> / or /khəŋ <sup>33</sup> /	Bradley field notes
Phunoi	/siŋ <sup>33</sup> /	Bradley field notes
<b>Central Loloish</b>		
Lahu	/mɔ <sup>53</sup> / 'goods' /ɔ <sup>21</sup> cə <sup>21</sup> / 'thing'	Matisoff (1988) Matisoff (1988)
Yellow Lahu	/mɛ <sup>55</sup> ŋɛ <sup>55</sup> /, /ɔ <sup>53</sup> cə <sup>53</sup> /	Bradley field notes
Lisu (N, C)	/mi <sup>31</sup> /, /myø <sup>31</sup> /	Bradley (1994) 'work (N)'
Lisu (N)	/tɕɛ <sup>21</sup> tsu <sup>33</sup> /	Bradley (1994) 'thing'
Lipo	/myɑ <sup>31</sup> ni <sup>31</sup> /~ /mɑ <sup>31</sup> ni <sup>31</sup> /	Metcalf (1938)
Lolopo	/tɕo <sup>55</sup> mæ <sup>33</sup> /	Dai (1992) - 2nd syllable
Lalaw	/dzɿ <sup>21</sup> dzɿ <sup>55</sup> ku <sup>55</sup> /	Dai (1992)
<b>Northern Loloish</b>		
Sani	/no <sup>55</sup> ŋi <sup>11</sup> /~ /no <sup>55</sup> ɣo <sup>31</sup> /	Jin (1984)
Yunnan Nasu	/nɔ <sup>55</sup> ɲe <sup>33</sup> /	Dai (1992)
Guizhou Nasu	/nɔ <sup>55</sup> /~ /nu <sup>55</sup> /~ /no <sup>55</sup> /	Ma (1991)
Sichuan Nosu	/dzu <sup>33</sup> gu <sup>33</sup> /, /tʂhe <sup>21</sup> ze <sup>55</sup> /	Dai (1992)
Gong	/mɔ <sup>33</sup> /	Bradley field notes '3rd person Pro'
	/khəŋ <sup>35</sup> /	Bradley field notes 'thing'
<b>Burmese</b>		
(inscriptions)	/mlaŋ/	Luce (1981) #1906 'count/calculate'

## Burmish

Tsaiwa	/a <sup>21</sup> tsaij <sup>55</sup> /	Dai (1992)
Langsu	/a <sup>21</sup> tsaij <sup>55</sup> /	Dai (1992)
Pola	/a <sup>31</sup> tsaij <sup>55</sup> /	Dai (1992)
Lashi	/a <sup>31</sup> tsəiŋ <sup>55</sup> /	Dai (1992)

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