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This etymology began to take shape when I had the pleasure of going through Boyd Michailovsky's (still unpublished) manuscript *Proto-Kiranti* at STEDT back around 1989.[1] Further supporting data was found in the two chief compendia of TB lexical items published in China,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 ⪥ *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 qὲ phɔ̂** 'the west'), 'moon sets' (**ha-pa qὲ ve**), 'morning star sets' (**pɜ̄-tɔ̂ʔ qὲ 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 qɔ̂; 'crooked' PTB *guk > PLB *gok[L] > Lahu qɔ̂ʔ). As for the rhyme correspondence, Lahu -ɛ 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 **qὲ** to be found in *ZMYYC* #752 "*luòxià (tàiyáng)*" and *TBL* #1512 "*luò (tàiyáng)*"[6] all have back vowels:

ZMYYC:　　Nanjian Yi ɣu⁵⁵, Lisu *go³³ ʒe⁴⁴*,
　　　　　　Naxi (Lijiang and Yongning) gv³¹,[7]
　　　　　　Hani Caiyuan (Biyue) kɔ³³,
　　　　　　Hani Shuikui (Haoni) kɔ³³ ji⁵⁵
TBL :　　Lisu go³³, Naxi Lijiang gɣ²¹

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 **šɛ̄**, Nanjian **sɑ³³**, Lisu **sɒ³³**, Naxi **sɿ²¹** (see below 1.2), Hani Caiyuan **se⁵⁵**, Haoni Shuikui **su⁵⁵**. 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 tie³³, Yi Nanjian ɑ⁵⁵mu²¹ti⁵⁵,
          Yi Mile (Axi) tɛ³³, Yi Mojiang tɛ⁵⁵,
          Naxi Lijiang tɕi³³, Caiyuan Hani ni̱³¹tshi³¹, Hani
          Shuikui u³¹tu⁵⁵, Jinuo mɯ³³tjɐ³³

TBL: Yi Xide mu³³ti³³ (mu³³ 'sky'),
          Yi Weishan ɑ⁵⁵m̩²¹ti⁵⁵, Yi Nanhua ti³³ tʂho³³,
          Yi Wuding tɔ³³, Sani tæ⁴⁴,
          Jinuo m̩³³tɛ³³, Gazhuo tɣ²⁴.

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 **miɛ³³ɣĩ⁵⁵**
TBL: Shixing **gĩ**, Namuyi **mi³³qæ⁵³** (cf. **n̠i⁵⁵mi⁵⁵** 'sun'),
          Qiang (Mawo) **ɑ qɑ**

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

ZMYYC: Qiang (Mawo) **zdɤm**, Qiang Taoping **χde³³**,
          Pumi Taoba **zə⁵⁵rẽ⁵⁵**,
          Pumi Jinghua **sdĩ⁵⁵**, rGyalrong **zdɛm**,
          Ergong **zdo-mɛ**, Muya **ndɯ³³z̩e³⁵**

TBL: Qiang (Mawo) **zdɑm**, rGyalrong **zdɛm**, Daofu **zdo**,
          Queyu **ɕtie⁵⁵**, Zhaba **ʂtei¹³**, Pumi (Lanping) **zdĩ⁵⁵**,
          Pumi (Jiulong) **dẽ³⁵**, Muya **ndə³³re⁵⁵**,
          Shixing **tĩ⁵⁵rõ³³**.

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) **ɣo⁴²**, Bai (Dali) **o⁴²**
TBL: Bai (Jianchuan) **ɣu̱²¹**

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

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

Strong support for a medial glide in this etymon is provided by Nungish forms (cited identically in *ZMYYC* and *TBL*): Anong Nu **dʑim⁵⁵**, Dulong **glɔm⁵³**, implying Proto-Nungish ***glim ✕ *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 **kʑa³⁵**
TBL: Yi Weishan **ʐɛ⁵⁵**, Yi Nanhua **dʑo³³**,
Yi Wuding **dɤ¹¹**, Sani **tɬɤ³³**,
Jinuo **krɔ³³**

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

Yi Nanhua **so³³**, Sani **sɤ⁵⁵** (at least the Nanhua and
Sani reflexes are the same!), Yi Xide **sɔ³³**,
Yi Weishan **sɑ³³**, Yi Wuding **sɒ³³**

Similarly with *'warm'* (PTB ***lum ✕ *lim** [STC #381]; TB: #1065]):   Yi Xide **tsha³⁴ɬo³³**, Yi Weishan **xɑ⁵⁵ly⁵⁵ mu²¹**, Yi Nanhua *lu³³ mə²¹*, Yi Wuding *lɤ¹¹ mɤ²³*   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 ndʑo**,
Queyu **pu⁵⁵tɕha¹³**, Lusu **ne³³tɕu⁵³**

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

ZMYYC: Pumi (Taoba) **nə³⁵ dʐɛ³⁵**,
Pumi (Jinghua) **nə¹³dzie⁵⁵**, Ersu **tɕho⁵⁵**

The Daofu, Lusu, and Pumi first syllables mean 'sun' (< PTB *nəy).

The Ergong (= Daofu) form cited in *ZMYYC* is **dza**, very close to Amdo Tibetan **ndʑa**. Curiously the several ways of expressing '(sun) sets' in Lhasa Tibetan all involve other roots: **nub-pa** ('sink'), **bʑud-pa** ('go away'), **skyod-pa** ('move; go; elapse'). Especially hard to evaluate in the present state of our knowledge is Alike Tibetan **nɟjəp** '(sun) sets' , which simultaneously resembles Lhasa **nub-pa**, Amdo **ndʑa** and Daofu *nə ndʑo* .

The relationship of these affricated forms for '(sun) sets' to those with simple velars remains highly speculative, but for now let us set up this word-family as PTB ***g(l)im ⪥ *g(l)um**.

Even more speculative are several possible comparisons with Chinese:

淹   OC ***ʔi̯am**/MC ʔi̯äm [GSR 614c] > Mand. **yān** 'flood; submerge', **yānsǐ** ' drown'

唵   OC ***ʔi̯am**/MC ʔi̯äm: [GSR 614e] 'dark'

涵   OC ***ɣâm** 'submerge; vast, capacious; magnanimous' [AD 63].

2.0   Pheasant/peacock

The root PTB ***doŋ** 'peacock' is set up in STC #341[9] on the basis of WT **mdoŋs** 'eye in peacock's feather', Jingpho **u-doŋ** 'peacock', WB **ʔuʾ-dâuŋ** 'id.' (the first element in the Jingpho (Jg.) and Burmese forms means 'bird' (< PTB ***wa ⪥ *wu** 'bird; wing; feather'), and appears in many other Jg. bird-names. The voiced initial in the Jg. form cited in *STC* appears to be inaccurate. It is transcribed as **u-tawng** in Hanson 1906/1954:52, and as **u³¹toŋ³³** in TBL:857. The voiced **d-** in the WB form is quite genuine, however.[10] WB voiced obstruents are rare, since they are secondary developments that reflect

earlier prefixal elements.[11] (The original PTB *voiced series was devoiced in Burmese at an early date.) In Lahu (Loloish group), as in Burmese, the original *voiced series has been devoiced, but there is a robust series of secondary voiced obstruents /b d j g/ that clearly descend from earlier *prenasalized initials, i.e. initials preceded by the PTB nasal prefix *m-. It seems likely therefore that the anomalous voiced initial in Burmese reflects in this case the same nasal prefix to be found in the WT form. Hence we may set the root up as *m-doŋ on the PTB level, as Benedict hesitantly did in the Indexes.

So far so good. The search for further cognates with the meaning 'peacock' is quickly stymied by the fact that most dictionaries and wordlists of TB languages lack any such gloss. What set me off on the expansion of this etymology was finding the Kanauri form daṅ, glossed "pheasant" (STEDT database #337169). I vaguely remembered that there was a bird in Thailand called the *peacock pheasant*.[12] A quick consultation of a couple of bird-books (Lekagul and Cronin, Eve & Guigue) confirms that what we call peacocks are merely a subclass of the pheasants, which in turn are members of a larger order of birds called the *Phasianidae*, which also includes the quails and partridges. So now anything glossed "partridge" or "pheasant" was fair game, as it were.

Lekagul (p. 45) describes the Phasianidae as follows:

Plump bodies, strong unfeathered legs, and strong bills. Terrestrial, feed on seeds, berries, worms, insects, etc. In most, sexes differ, with the male more brightly colored...form three distinct groups in Thailand: small Quails, medium Partridges, and large Pheasants.

The *American Heritage Dictionary* defines 'peafowl' as:

either of two large pheasants, Pavo cristatus, of India and Ceylon, or P. muticus, of Southeast Asia.

The WB bird-name **mâŋ-dâuŋ** clinches the matter, as can be seen from the sketch in Bernot's dictionary (reproduced here as Figure 3), where the bird is identified (with no French gloss) as *Argusianus argus*. This bird is called the 'great argus

pheasant' in Lekagul & Cronin, p. 51-2.[13] The first syllable mâŋ- undoubtedly means 'kingly, royal' in this compound, as in another compound illustrated on the same page of Bernot, mâŋ-thuiŋ ("king-sit") 'area on the back of an elephant where the king sits'.

Besides Kanauri daṅ, other Himalayish cognates include Limbu sam-daŋ-wa (wa 'bird') 'pheasant'; Sherpa dāngan (Hale 1973; it is not clear whether this form is to be syllabified as d⁻aŋ-an or as dān-gan).

Similar forms are to be found in many languages spoken in Burma belonging to the Burmish, Chin, and Karen groups, though some of them look as if they are loanwords from Burmese ʔuʼ-dâuŋ:[14] (Chin) Tiddim u¹tong² 'peacock', Lai ʔootoo 'id.'; (Burmish) Leqi wo³³toŋ³³, Zaiwa u⁵⁵toŋ⁵⁵, Hpun ú-tòŋ; (Karenic) Pa-o (Taungthu) wâ tɔ̄ŋ

Several Loloish forms look like genuine cognates to (not loans from) Burmese: Hani (Luchun) so⁵⁵dø³¹ 'peacock'; Hani (Mojiang) ʃu⁵⁵ti³¹ ; Akha shín dǿ (for the first syllables, see below 2.1). Bradley (forthcoming) cites a Northern Lisu form ɲa³⁵dɔʔ²¹ 'pheasant' (first syllable 'bird' < PLB *s-ŋak), with a stopped final that suggests a Pre-Lisu allofam *dok.

Solid cognates are also found in Nungish:

Dulong pɯ³¹daŋ⁵³ 'pheasant', Bijiang Nu dɔ̄⁵⁵ 'id' (TBL #340)

Possibly related is a group of Mirish forms with final vowel:

Darang Deng oŋ⁵⁵diu⁵⁵ 'peacock', xɑ³¹tui⁵³ 'pheasant'; Geman Deng u⁵⁵ diu⁵⁵; Idu jaŋ⁵⁵dai⁵³ 'pheasant' (Darang oŋ⁵⁵ is certainly cognate to Idu jaŋ⁵⁵, whatever these syllables might mean!)

How to reconstruct this etymon? The rhyme is reconstructed as *-oŋ in STC #341 on the basis of the correspondence of WT and Jingpho -oŋ to WB -auŋ (= -oŋ).

Several cognates in other languages have rhymes with -a-vocalism (e.g. Kanauri daṅ, Limbu sam-daŋ-wa, Dulong pɯ³¹daŋ⁵³), which might reflect a prototype like *dwaŋ. The PTB rhymes *-oŋ and *-waŋ have in fact merged to -oŋ in both WT and Jingpho, but they have been kept apart in WB, i.e. if the proto-rhyme had been *-waŋ, we would expect WB -waŋ as well. Perhaps then we should set up proto-variation in this root, something like PTB *m-d(w)aŋ-s, or *d(w)aŋ ✕ *doŋ.[15]

2.1 A distinct 'pheasant' etymology: PTB *saŋ

Loloish:
PLB *saŋ² > Lahu šɔ̄ 'Siamese fireback pheasant' *(Lophura diardi)* DL 1222; Yi Xide ʂu³³ 'short-tailed pheasant', Yi Weishan a⁵⁵ ʂu²¹ ; Yi Nanhua ʂu⁵⁵, Yi Wuding ʂy¹¹ py³³; Sani ʂʐ̩⁵⁵. Perhaps also Naxi fy³³ and Gazhuo ɣa⁵³ zɿ³¹ (all 'pheasant').

The first syllables of these Southern Loloish compounds are also cognate: Hani (Luchun) sɔ⁵⁵ dø³¹ 'peacock'; Hani (Mojiang) ʃu⁵⁵ ti³¹ 'id.'; Akha shín dœ. (The second syllables have been discussed above, 2.0.)

Qiangic:
Pumi (Jiulong) ʃū⁵⁵ 'pheasant', Shixing dzū³³ ra⁵⁵

2.2 Another interesting 'peacock' etymology: PTB *s-ŋow-n

The color term *ŋ o w 'white; green; yellow' is reconstructed in STC #296 on the basis of WT sŋo 'blue, green' and a number of forms from Kuki-Chin languages: Lushai ŋou 'white', Thado ŋou 'clean', Sho nau 'green', Bete əŋoi 'yellow'. Two of the WT compounds for 'peacock' include this morpheme: mgul-sŋon, mgrin-sŋon, literally "blue-necked" (mgul, mgrin 'neck'), the latter form glossed also as 'mahadeva', or 'blue-necked, an epithet of gods' (Jäschke 32).[16] The final -n in -sŋon looks like an derivational suffix. This is undoubtedly cognate to the hitherto mysterious Lahu form a-ŋō-ma 'peacock' (probably literally "the blue one"), where the very-low tone of

the syllable -ŋō- reflects a PLB *ʔ- prefix, which in turn derives from PTB *s- (attested directly in the WT form).

The peacock is also associated with the color blue/green in Chinese, as in the compounds **kǒngque-lyù** 'peacock green' and **kǒngque-shí** 'malachite' ("peacock-stone": a dark green mineral carbonate of copper).

2.3 *s-rik ⪥ *s-ryak*

Still another root for 'pheasant' is reconstructed in STC #403 with *-ik ⪥ *-yak variation (like 'eye'): *s-rik ⪥ *s-ryak. STC (p. 172) compares this etymon to Chinese 翟 (OC *d'i̯ok : GSR 1124a-b > Mandarin dí): "ST and TB *ry- apparently shifted to *ly- (perhaps because of the prefix)".[17]

Lahu **ğɔʔ** 'silver pheasant *[Lophura nycthemera]*; bartailed pheasant/Hume's pheasant *[Syrmaticus humiae]*' descends from an allofam with medial -w- rather than -y-: *rwak (not directly cognate to WB **rac** < PLB *rik). See JAM 1988 (DL) p. 1141.

3.0 Scatter/pour

George van Driem, in his attempt to demonstrate a special relationship between Chinese and the Kiranti languages, attached special significance to the following valid and impressive-looking Chinese/Limbu comparison:

OC 散 *sân [GSR 156a] (Mand. **sàn**) 'disperse' ⪥ 撒 *sât [AD 767] (Mand. **sǎ**) 'scatter, disperse; spread, distribute; let loose' / Limbu -sɛr- ⪥ -sɛt- 'scatter, be spilt, go in separate directions', sɛnd- ⪥ sɛn- 'split up, disperse, break up', -sɛs- ⪥ -sɛ- 'scatter, spill, sow'

The only trouble is, the very same allofamic alternation is exemplified in a pair of indubitable cognates from Lolo-Burmese, PLB *šan ⪥ *šat[18]:

*šat >   Lahu **šêʔ** 'pour, spill'; Akha sjɛq (Hansson) / shehˆ (Lewis 1989:416-7); Sani **xɤ⁴⁴**; Bisu **šèt**

*šan >   Lahu **šē**; Akha **seh** 'sow seeds' (Lewis:398), **sheh**
'pour' (Lewis:416); Sangkong **san**[31]; Mpi **se**[1] 'sow
broadcast (as mustard seeds), scatter seed' (all <
PLB Tone *2); Achang **san**[35] 'scatter', Naxi **sɑ**[21]
('id.': TBL #1235)[19]; Written Burmese **swân** (<
Tone *2) 'pour upon, cast out by pouring' � swan
(< Tone *1) 'pour out, spill, shed'

These correspondences/reflexes are perfectly regular (initials,
rhymes, tones).[20] There is, however, much more to say about
this particular etymology. While this final stop/nasal variation
both in Chinese and Lolo-Burmese is valid as far as it goes, all
these forms are in fact to be subsumed under an even more
widespread root ***šwar** 'flow; pour', reconstructed in STC #241
on the basis of WB **swan** and **swân** (cited above[21]), along with
WT **ḫtśhor**-ba (perf. **śor**) 'escape, flow out, run over', Lepcha
tśhor 'pouring of water', Garo **sol**-aŋ 'flow, Jingpho **śon** 'flow as
tears or sweat'.[22] Fitting perfectly with this forms is the rhotic
allofam just cited from Limbu: -**sɛr**-. Can we guess that the
Chinese and Lolo-Burmese variation between final dental nasal
and dental stop might be evidence for PST final ***-r** (which is
only preserved directly in certain Himalayish, Nungish, and
Kamarupan languages)?[23] Can we find other examples?

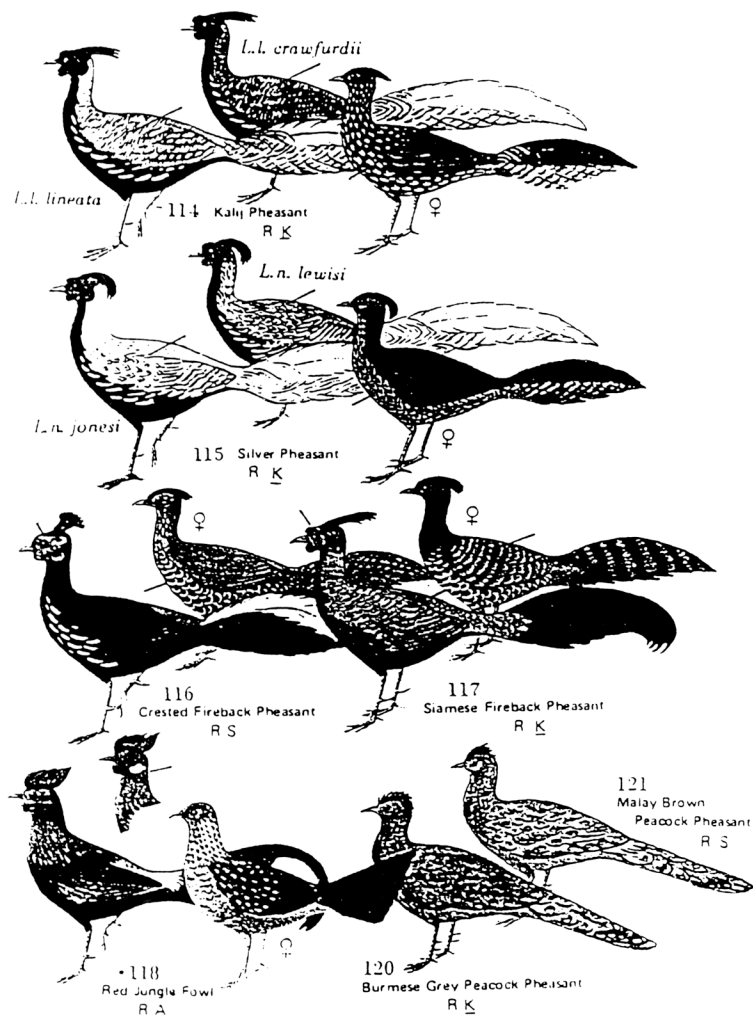# Figure 1
Pheasants II (Pheasants, Fireback Pheasants)

l.l. crawfurdii

l.l. lineata

114 Kalij Pheasant
R K

♀

L.n. lewisi

L.n. jonesi

115 Silver Pheasant
R K

♀

♀

♀

116
Crested Fireback Pheasant
R S

117
Siamese Fireback Pheasant
R K

121
Malay Brown
Peacock Pheasant
R S

118
Red Jungle Fowl
R A

♀

120
Burmese Grey Peacock Pheasant
R K

Lekagul & Cronin 1974, 49 [Plate 24]

Figure 2
Pheasants III (Pheasants, Peafowl)

119 Hume's Pheasant
R K

122 Great Argus Pheasant
R S

123 Green Peafowl
R A
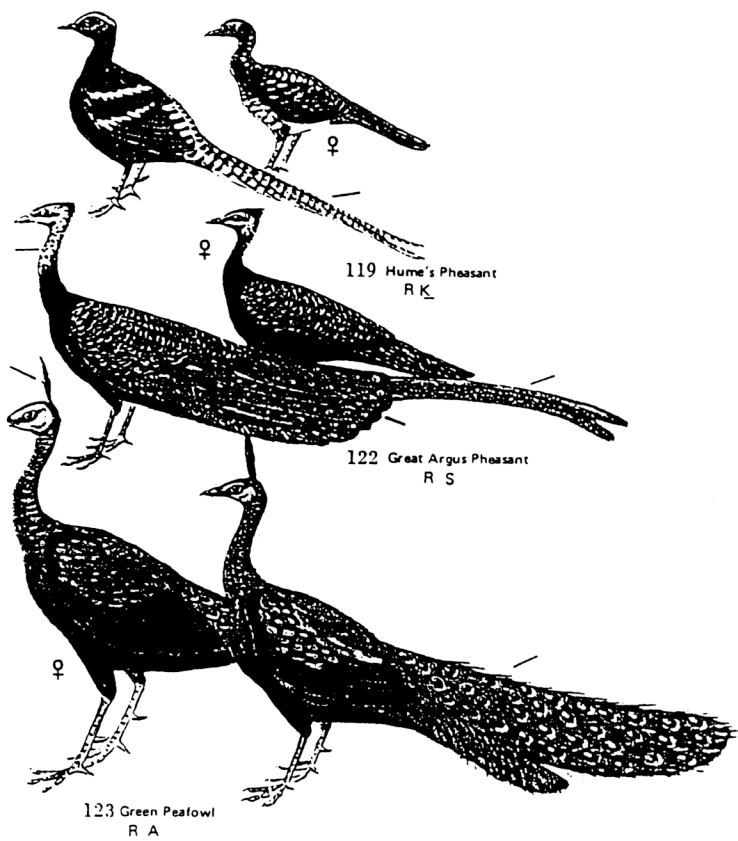
Figure 3
Argusianus argus

barre du verrou, *cl.* _ ว .

ᴗ ɛ: ℒ: /ˋmiN ˋTHi/ *n.* fondateur
d'un royaume indé-
pendant, après re-
jet de la souverai-
neté d'un autre
roi, prince
ayant fait
sécession et devenu
souverain indépen-
dant, *cl.* _ ว: .

ᴗ ɛ: ဓိၵိ ၛ္: ဘ ၌ /ˋmiN THaiʔ ˋso
TaN/ *n. adv. du
temps des rois,* en
vivant selon son rang,
conformément à son rang.

ᴗ ɛ: ဓိ ၉ /ˋmiN THaiN/ *n. littéral.* "(là où) le roi s'assoit", partie du dos
de l'éléphant.

ᴗ ɛ: ၼ ɛ: /ˋmiN ˋTɔN/ *n. ornith.*
Argusianus Argus.

ᴗ ɛ: ဘၵ /ˋmiN TaN/ *n. bir. p.*
châtiment royal, *cl.* _ ၅ ၆ .

ᴗ ɛ: ဘၵဘ ɛ_ /ˋmiN TaN θiNˊ-/ *v.*
être condamné par le roi.

ᴗ ɛ: ၼ ၁: ၔၵ_ /ˋmiN ˋNa pɔʔ-/
v. littéral. "s'infiltrer dans
l'oreille du roi", parvenir aux
oreilles du roi, *ex.* ဓိ ɛ:ၿၼ်ၵၔ ɛ: ᴗၰၵᴗ ၿၼ်ၽၥ်ၛု ၁ : ကိ ᴗ ɛ:
ၼ ၁: ၔၵ ၜ ၁ ɛ ဓိ ɛၮ ၁: ၛ ᴗ ၌" "nous devons faire rapport sur
ceux qui agissent mal, dans le royaume, afin que le roi soit
informé".

ᴗ ɛ: ၪ: ၿ: � ɛ /ˋmiN ˋPa ˋso KHuiN/ *n.* aire où s'exerce le pouvoir, *ex.* ᴗ ɛ:
ၪ: ၿ: ၉ ɛ ၀ ɛ ၼ ၉ ɛ ၜ ၁ ɛ ၜ ၜ ၿၵ်ကၛ ၌: ကၪ်ၵ ၈ : ၛ ၁: ၛ ၁: ၜ ၛ ၁
ၪ" "pour avoir accès aux cercles du pouvoir, étudiez beaucoup
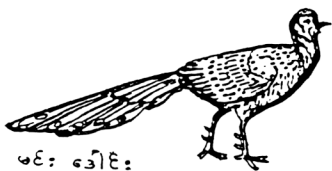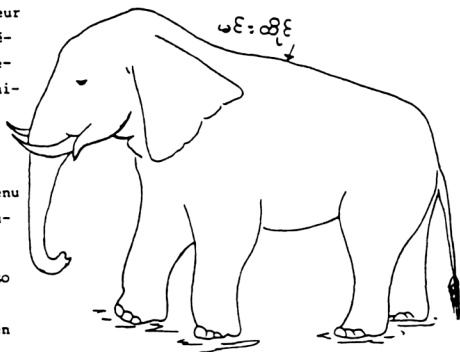
NOTES

[1]Kiranti (=Rai) refers to a highly pronominalized group of closely related languages spoken in Eastern Nepal, which constitute a well defined nucleus within the "Himalayan" branch of TB.

[2]No etymology for this word is given in Matisoff 1988:247–8.

[3]This was recognized as far back as Wolfenden 1929:114–5. See also Benedict 1971:80–4 and Matisoff 1988:41–2.

[4]Reconstructions are based on Benedict 1972 *(STC)* and/or Matisoff 1972 *(TSR)*.

[5]Interestingly enough this verb is used for the sun's setting in several languages, notably Written Tibentan **nub-pa**.

[6]The transcriptions in these two sources frequently differ, sometimes considerably. The data in both sources seems in fact to be under-phonemicized, especially as far as vowels are concerned, which makes it tricky to use it for comparative purposes.

[7]This rhyme reflex is identical to that in 'warm' (Naxi **1ɤ²¹**), though this root itself shows ***-i- ⋈ *-u-** variation. The Lahu reflex **lɛ̀** could descend from either proto-vowel. Lisu *le³³* **mi³¹** also has a front vowel.

[8]Although the rarer rhyme ***-em** is also a possibility: ***s-dem**.

[9]The reconstruction is given somewhat differently in the Indexes to STC (pp. 200, 217): "***doŋ = (m-)doŋ**".

[10]This WB form is cited right after the Jg. cognate in STC #341, and it is possible that the **d-** in the Jingpho was a simple anticipatory typo that went undetected in the editing process. The voiced series of obstruents in Jingpho remains something of a diachronic mystery in any case.

[11]See *STC* p. 21, including n. 75.

[12]In Thai, these are called **nókwɛ̂ɛn**, represented in Thailand by the Burmese Grey Peacock Pheasant *(Polyplectron bicalcaratum;* Thai **nókwɛ̂nsǐithaw**) and the Brown Peacock Pheasant *(Polyplectron malacense;* Thai **nókwɛ̂nsǐinàmtaan**) (Lekagul pp. 49–50, E. & G. 163). The Green Peafowl *(Pavo muticus)* (Lekagul p. 51–2, Eve & Guigue p. 163) is called **nókjuuŋ** in Thai. See Figures 1 and 2.

[13]In Greek mythology, Argos or Argus was a monster with a hundred eyes, eventually slain by Hermes who had lulled all hundred eyes to sleep with his lyre. Hera then put the eyes of the fallen monster into the tail of the peacock, a bird sacred to her.

[14]Many of the forms cited in this section are from TBL #340 'pheasant' (Mand. **yěji̅**, lit. "wild chicken"), and *345 'peacock' (Mand. **kǒngque**).

[15]This *-waŋ ✕ *-oŋ variation would then be quite parallel to the variation between *-yak and *-ik that is attested in several roots, including EYE (PTB *myak ✕ *mik) and – coincidentally – another root for PHEASANT (PTB *s-ryak ✕ *s-rik) [see below].

[16]*There is a semantically parallel compound in Sanskrit, **nīlakaṇṭa**.*

[17]This word is glossed as "Tartar pheasant; plumage, feather trimming" in Mathews, p. 902.

[18]I have discussed this etymon and the parallel allofamy it displays with Chinese in at least five places: JAM 1972 ("TSR") #114; "God and the ST copula" (1985, set #40); "Regularity and variation in ST" (1994a, p. 53); "Sangkong of Yunnan" (1994b, p. 606); "On 'Sino-Bodic'" (1999:#10a,b,c and §IV). Both Chinese allofams have been borrowed into Siamese: **sâan-sen** 'be scattered', **sàat** 'scatter'.

[19]Yi Weishan **dɛ²¹ san⁵⁵**, Jinuo **tur⁴⁴ se³⁵**, and Bai **tã³³ sɑ̃²¹** (also in TBL #1235) all seem to be loans from Chinese **dǎ sàn**.

[20]The regular Lahu reflexes of *-an and *-at are -e and -eʔ, respectively, e.g.: 'slave' PLB *gywan¹ > Lh. **cè**, 'hawk' PLB *jwan¹ > Lh. **á-cè**; 'vomit' PLB *C-patᴸ > Lh. **phèʔ**, 'leech' PLB *k-r-watᴸ > Lh. **vèʔ**.

[21]Note that our previous reconstruction *šat ✕ *šan had not accounted for the medial -w- in the Burmese forms.

[22]To these we may add Lai Chin **sur** 'pour' (pers. comm., Kenneth VanBik). An open-syllable allofam *šwa is reflected by WT **gʃo-ba ~ bʃo-ba** 'pour out' and Jingpho **dʒo ~ tʃyo** 'pour out, cast, enamel, dye'. Also perhaps related are Northern Qiang **sɣi**, Southern Qiang **siɛ³³**.

[23]Although Benedict observed (STC n. 460, p. 172) that "it now appears that ST *-r was generally replaced by -n in Chinese, with some -r ~ -n doublet formation", but he never noticed the Chinese and Loloish cognates to the forms he assembled in STC #241.

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