Voiceless Sonorant Initials in Hmong-Mien Sino-Tibetan Correspondences

Martha Ratliff
Wayne State University

Voiceless sonorant initials (l-, m-, n-, etc.) must be reconstructed for Proto-Hmong-Mien (PHmM), since there are a number of native etyma which have voiceless sonorant reflexes in the daughter languages and which have tones which are correlated with ancient voiceless initial consonants (belonging to the "upper register" tonal categories). The following are merely representative of this group:

- bamboo PHmM *ŋo 3 (215/206) hlov
- big, grow PHmM *ŋu 1 (287/225) hlob
- tooth PHmM *ŋjgin 3 (32.2/7) hniav
- to hear, feel PHmM *ŋɔm 3 (212.1/193) hnov
- cooked rice PHmM *ŋaŋ 5 (260/101) hno

Preglottalized sonorant initials (ʔl-, ʔm-, ʔn-, etc.) must also be reconstructed for the protolanguage, and words with these initials also have reflexes with upper register tones. In the absence of voiceless sonorant reflexes in the modern languages, these sets can often still be distinguished on the basis of languages such as Mun which have undergone a secondary tone split based on aspiration. In these languages, the *ʔC- set will pattern with the unaspirated initials and the *Ç- set will pattern with the aspirated initials:

- pain, hurt PHmM *ʔmɔn 1 (7/195) mob
  Mun mun 1a
  (where * unaspirated initial > 1a,
   *aspirated initial > 1b)

- animal fat PM *ŋeि 1 (8.1/37)
  Mun mei 1b

However, not all words of this type are native Hmong-Mien. This paper is a consideration of voiceless sonorant initial etyma which have clear correspondences with etyma in Sino-Tibetan languages. My working assumption is that almost all of these words have been borrowed by Hmong-Mien speakers from Tibeto-Burman languages and from Chinese, some at a very early date. This research is part of my on-going work on a reconstruction of Proto-Hmong-Mien which attempts to separate
the huge body of loanwords from the native material, in order to arrive at a clearer picture of the native HmM sound system and lexicon. This work will reveal features of the donor languages and will contribute to an understanding of the nature of early contact (Ratliff 1998). And it is clear that only after sorting the data in this way will it be possible to address the question of the wider genetic affiliation of the HmM languages.

1. Tibeto-Burman correspondences

A very old group of such borrowings come from Tibeto-Burman. One would think, because of their antiquity, that these borrowings would be hard to discern and hard to explain. However, due to the better preservation of morphology on this side of the family, the identification and analysis of these loans is much more straightforward than the identification and analysis of the loans from Chinese, to which I will turn in the second half of this paper. All of these words seem to involve a correspondence between the TB *s- prefix and voiceless sonorants in HmM. According to Benedict, "[p]refixed *s- is the work-horse of the TB/Karen prefixial apparatus, generally directive/causative/intensive with verbal roots and playing the role of 'animal prefix' or 'body-part prefix' (< *sə 'animal, flesh') with nominal roots but appearing frequently elsewhere." (Benedict 1987b: 44).

Benedict (1987a) identified a group of Tibeto-Burman loans in Hmong-Mien, some of which fall into clear semantic sets. He attempted to give a cultural explanation for these: the numerals (four through ten), kin terms (daughter-in-law, son-in-law), and heavenly bodies (sun, moon). The sun and moon words demonstrate a clear connection between TB *s-C- and HmM *C-:

1. moon/month
   PHmM *la 5 (215/92) hli
   TB *(s-)(g-)la 'moon/month'

2. sun/day
   PHmM *nwɔ:i 1 (224/188) hnub
   TB *nɔy 'sun'; *s-nɔy 'day'

I have found one more equally old correspondence which fits into this semantic and phonological set:
3. dark/night  PHmM *ryption 5 (20/140) hmo
    TB *s-mu-ŋ 'cloudy, dark'
    cf. Burmese hmuiŋ 'very dark' (Benedict 1972:78); OC *muŋ 'darkened'

Next, three verb correspondences seem to reflect the reconstructed verbal meaning "directive/causative/intensive" for the *s- prefix:

4. to slice  PHmM *læk 7 (215/91) hlais
    TB *s-lep 'to slice'

5. to extend tongue PHmM *lia 3/5 (not in WM) hlev
    TB *s-lya:w 'to lick'

6. to sniff at  PHmM *mjæ:m 5 (32.2/135) hnia
    TB *s-nam (tr.)/*m-nam (intr.) 'to smell'

All three are transitive verbs, and 'to extend tongue' and 'to sniff at' both seem particularly "directive" and "intensive" ('to smell' is a different word in HmM, which means more generally 'to perceive passively with any of the senses'). To this group, we may also add a noun in HmM which derives from a "directive" TB verb:

7. track, footprint  PHmM *mjæ:n 3 (32.2/247) hnev
    TB *s-naŋ 'to follow; with'
    *mə-naŋ 'companion'
    cf. Lai ne?-hnoŋ 'footprint'
    (Kenneth Van Bik, p.c.)

Note the phonological correspondence between 'to sniff at' and 'track'. The root initial in TB in both cases is a coronal nasal, but both may be prefixed within that family with either *s- or *m-. What seems to have happened is that HmM borrowed a doubly prefixed form in each case. I had thought to explain the coronal nasals that appear in West Hmongic reflexes as the natural development of *mj-, but they may actually preserve the TB root initial. In this light, Wang and Mao's reconstruction of *mԧ- for initial correspondence 32.2 may be closer to the mark.

The following word has two or three source candidates in TB considering the meaning for the Mien word ᵉŋu 3 given in Lombard 1968: 'heart; mind; center of personality;
(physiologically conceived) the canal running from the mouth through the throat and intestines to the anus'. The body-part prefix *s- would have been involved here.

8. intestines; heart, mind
   PHmM *ŋau 3 (404/153) hnyuv
   TB *s-niŋ 'heart and mind'
   TB *g/n-yuŋ (STEDT #2117) 'large intestine'
   (or possibly TB *s-nuk 'brain', OC *nuu? ~ naaw? 'brain')

There seems to be a complex of bodypart terms and intellectual/emotional properties that cluster in the same way in the two families, with similar phonological realizations. It will be very difficult to disentangle them. Wang and Mao's reconstruction does not include a final nasal, which nonetheless does appear in six of the twenty-three Hmongic dialects in their data, providing an even better fit with the TB forms.

Finally, the following four words also seem to show a connection to TB of the same type, although it is not possible to compare protolanguages at the highest level here as in the cases above, and there are competing source possibilities in two cases.

9. bridge
   PHm *tø 1 (215/168)
   TB *s-lay, s-ley 'bridge, ladder'
   (STEDT #3582)

10. put forth
    leaves,
    shoots;
    germinate
    White Hmong ła 3 hlav, Xuyong lāŋ 5, Shimen łaü 3
    TB *(s-)la(p) 'leaf'
    OC *lap 'leaf'

This may also be from 秀 OC *s-hlus (1095a) xiù 'come into flower'.

11. spirit, ghost
    PM *mwejan 3 (44/42)
    Old Tibetan *sman
    'female spirit' (Coblin 1987:167)
This may also be from OC *mlin (385j) shén 'spirit'. Benedict (1976:242) also reconstructs a Proto-Kam-Sui form *hmaŋ 'spirit/demon/ghost' on the basis of Mak.

12. powder, flour
White Hmong ṭəŋ 3 hmoov
Written Burmese ṭ-ḥmun
Loloish *s-mun 1 'powder' (STEDT)

2. Chinese correspondences

2.1. Voiceless prefixes in Chinese

In a few cases voiceless prefixes in Chinese also seem to be responsible for voiceless sonorant initials in Hmong-Mien. That the development of *C(ə-)-C- into *C- is a natural one for this family is evidenced by the family-internal development of lateral initials in the East Hmongic ("Hmu") dialect Yanghao. This dialect has a three-way contrast in laterals: ㄴ-, ㅈ- and ㅎ- (Wang and Mao initial sets 216, 649, and 215, respectively). The aspirated voiceless lateral is the reflex of *ㄴ-, whereas the unaspirated voiceless lateral is the reflex of *ㄴ- preceded by a voiceless consonant.⁶

| PHmM          | Yanghao
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bamboo</td>
<td>*ḷo 3 (215/206)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moon, month</td>
<td>*ḷa 5 (215/92)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rope</td>
<td>*ḷa 5 (215/149)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white</td>
<td>*qḷəu 1 (649/263)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>*qḷau 3 (649/115)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hawk</td>
<td>*qḷaŋ 3 (649/120)</td>
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Two of these cases involve an *s- prefix, but only in the case of 'year' below does this prefix seem to be cognate to the TB *s- prefix.

13. year
PHm  *çaŋ 5 (443/102) xyoob
PM  *ŋaŋ 5 (404/102)
OC *niin(−ŋ) (364a) nián
(TB *(<s-)ni·ŋ)
Compare 'seven', with no devoicing:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{PHmM}^* & \text{dzj} \eta \eta \text{ŋ} \text{ŋ} 5 \ (339/180) \ xya \\
\text{PM} & \ % \ \eta \eta j 5 \ (573/18) \\
\text{TB} & * \text{snis}
\end{align*}
\]

(七 OC *s-hnit (400a) qǐ)

Both Benedict and Sagart believe 'year' is more likely to have been borrowed from Chinese than TB. Benedict (1987a:16) attempts to account for both the Hmongic and Mienic forms, and reconstructs an OC source *s-ni-ŋ. Sagart (1999:52) considers only the nasal initial Mienic forms which more closely resemble Chinese. He reconstructs *s-nin, but believes Mienic borrowed a non-standard Chinese form with a velar final. Benedict's choice of a donor language with an *s- prefix seems the best explanation both for the voiceless nasals of Mienic and for the apparently cognate Hmongic forms which share the Mienic final and tone, but in which the prefix seems to have supplanted the nasal initial. This unusual pattern (coronal fricatives and affricates in Hmongic corresponding to nasals in Mienic), undoubtedly due to loans at different times and from different sources in the two branches of the family, is found in the borrowed word for 'seven' as well, which has been reconstructed with an initial *s in both TB and Chinese, although in this case the nasal initials in Mienic did not devoice, perhaps due to different outcomes for *s-n- as opposed to *sn- (see Benedict 1987a:13).

14. box, case  Mien leaflet 7

盒 OC *guup hé  Cantonese hap

This word has a lateral initial only in Mien; in other Mienic languages and in Hmongic it has an h- initial and a low register tone, both reflecting the voiced initial of Middle Chinese ɣap (Pulleyblank): another Mien form ɦɔːp 8, Biao Min ʰən 8, Yanghao ho 8, Xuyong ho 8, and Jiwei ɕɔ 8. If 'box' as 'a container with joined sides' is related to 'join' hé 合, which Sagart (1999:56) reconstructs as *Nk-lip (with a root *lip meaning 'be together'), an explanation for the Mien voiceless lateral (and the high register tone) could come from the devoicing effect of the k- prefix, here unaffected by the preceding nasal. This could also tie in the Shimen word for 'box', which is qhoej 7.
15. ink  
Biao Min mə 8
墨 OC *mək (904c) mə

This word is the Chinese word for 'ink' that is found widely across Southeast Asia. Sagart (1999:213-14) reconstructs an iambic prefix *sa- to account for Proto-Tai *(h)mək and the voiceless initial of the spoken Burmese loan. This would explain the Biao Min form as well, which must be a late borrowing because the nasal clearly devoiced after the tone split (in the rest of the family the loanword has a regular voiced m-, as in White Hmong mem).

Finally, I have found three words where voiceless laterals in HmM correspond to *(C-)r- in Baxter's reconstruction of OC. The unknown pre-initial could have devoiced the r- either in Chinese or in HmM after the words were borrowed. The different correspondences (to *l̥-, *l̥j- or *l̥-) could be explained by differences in the donor dialect and the time of the loan ('to burn', which reflects the retroflex place of articulation of OC *r-, is early whereas 'plum', which is attested primarily in Mienic, is late).7 But Baxter (1992: 200) speculates that this pre-initial was probably voiced on the basis of those few he has been able to identify, which poses a problem for this account. Moreover, since he holds that all modern lateral initials come from OC *(C-)r-, we only have the logic of his reconstruction to lean on here.

16. burn (tr.)  
PHm *lau B (287/263) hlawv
燎 OC *(C-)rəw(ʔ) (1151e)liáo, liǎo

The prototypical object for this verb given in Wang and Mao 1995 is 'mountain', presumably because 'to burn the mountain' is the customary way of preparing a field for planting. This word can be used in the same way in Chinese: liáo yuán 燎原 'set the prairie ablaze'.

17. rope  
PHm *lə 5 (215/149) hlua
镣 OC *(C-)reews liào 'fetters'

18. plum  
PM *ljan 3 (239/159)
李 OC *(C-)rəʔ (980a) lǐ
This is one of a set of words in which OC *-ə corresponds to HmM *-ŋ (Downer 1973:21).

2.2. Voiceless sonorants initials in Chinese

All recent reconstructions of OC (Starostin 1989, Baxter 1992, Sagart 1999) include voiceless sonorant initials which are not simply the descendants of plain voiced sonorants with an *s-prefix. As Sagart explains:

"It is possible that the voiceless sonorants of Old Chinese ultimately go back to s- prefixed sonorants (or sonorants with other voiceless prefixes) at a very early date; however, in the Old Chinese period, both s-prefixed sonorants and voiceless sonorants are needed." (Sagart 1999:29)

Some of the loans to HmM can be traced back to these voiceless sonorant initials in OC. As the TB loans presented above, these are also very old loans, both because they can be reconstructed for the Hmong-Mien protolanguage and because their source is OC rather than Middle Chinese (by MC, these voiceless sonorants had become quite different, as can be glimpsed in their modern day reflexes as represented by Mandarin below).

19. iron PHmM *jok 7 (311/224) hlau 鐵 OC *hliit ~ -k (1256b) tiè⁸

This word is pan-SEAsian (cf. Proto-Tai *hlek), and could have entered HmM either directly from Chinese, or indirectly from another language that had borrowed it earlier.

20. to take off PHmM *lu 7 (not in WM) hle peel, shed 脫 OC *hloot(s) (324m) tuō

This is another widespread SEAsian etymon, which was the subject of a paper by Robert Bauer (1989).

21. to scald (louse) PHm *lën 1 (215/45) hlab 湯 OC *hlaŋ (720z) tāng

Although Wang and Mao only give Hmongic forms for this word, it exists in Mienic as well with the meaning 'to clean/dress a fowl; to scald a fowl in order to remove
feathers'. In Chinese, the modern descendant means 'hot liquid; soup' but it used to mean 'to scald' as well (Sagart, p.c.), and as Baxter (p.c.) has observed, Mandarin tàng 'to scald' is probably related.

22. marrow, PHm *ḷu l (59/8) hlw (Wang 1994)
brains 髓 OC *s-hloj? (11h)suí
TB *sla, hla 'brain/marrow'
(STEDT #464)

The rounded vowel in Hmongic suggests a loan from Chinese rather than TB in this case.

I take it as accidental that the only good examples of this type of correspondence found so far, those given above, involve voiceless laterals. However, it may turn out that those Hmong-Mien words reconstructed with voiceless nasals which have counterparts in Chinese reflect a different conditioning feature, such as a voiceless prefix (see section 2.1 above).

2.3. Unexpected upper register tones in Chinese sonorant-initial words

Scholars of Chinese have long been aware that sonorant initial words with upper register tones pose a historical problem. In a number of cases, Starostin (1989) has reconstructed voiceless sonorant initials for OC on the basis of tonal patterning alone — either on the basis of attested upper register tonal reflexes, or on the basis of attested lower register tonal reflexes which correspond to unattested upper register tonal reflexes. McCoy (1980) has published a useful list of nasal and lateral initial words with unexpected upper register tones in Cantonese. Although there are a few words like this in Mandarin, these initial/tone "mismatches" are more widely encountered in southern dialects, especially in the Min and Yue branches.

Some words from this group correspond to Hmong-Mien words with voiceless sonorant initials. The majority of these correspondences are to Mienic languages, which have a higher proportion of Chinese loans than Hmongic languages. Whether voiceless sonorant initials should be reconstructed for these words in Chinese, as Starostin has done, or an older initial voiceless element was responsible for both the Mienic voiceless sonorants and the Chinese upper register tones (see Sagart
1999:27) is ultimately for sinologists to decide. But the Hmong-Mien correspondences are certainly relevant to the study of this problem.

A representative list of these correspondences follows, in order of depth of penetration into the HmM family. The Biao Min words with tone 4/6/8 represent the shallowest layer in HmM, since their voiceless initials do not correspond to the lower register tone category:

23. crossbow PHmM ɲak 3/7 (212.1/129) hneev
弩 OC *naaʔ (94z) nǚ
(Xiamen 6, Jian'ou 8)

This is yet another widespread SEAsian etymon: Proto-Tai *hn[a] 3 'bow'; Proto-Mnong *səna, Khmer snaa 'crossbow'.

24. shelled rice PM *mœi 3 (8.1/170)
米 OC *miiʔ (598a) mǐ
(Jian’ou tone 8)

25. face PM *mijːn 1 (32.1/6)
面 OC *mens (223a) miàn
(Fuzhou tone 5)
TB *s-myal STEDT #1188

26. to dredge up White Hmong lä 1 hlîb, Bunu lâu 1', Mien laːu 1, ū 7
捞 Man lão, Cant. lou 1 'to make profit'

27. to lift, carry PM *niŋ 5 (212.1/9)
撓 Cant. nǐŋ 1

28. to think of, miss PM *ŋəm 3 (212.2/174)
念 Cant. nèm–lém 3

29. to burn, brand PM *lʊk 7 (215/241)
Cant. lok 7

30. sock Biao Min mun 4/6/8
襪 wà (Hakka tone 7)
31. tree, wood  Biao Min 木 4/6/8
   (Hakka tone 7)

32. to scrape off  Mien 𠲑 7
   Cant. lət 7

33. to rage, foam  Mien 𠲑 7 'to foam at mouth'
   Cant. mut 7 'foam'

34. to nod,  Mien 𠲑 7, 𠲑 7
   lift head  Cant. 𠵜 7 'raise the head'

35. to rinse  Mien 𠵚 3
   Cant. 𠵚 3

2.4. Voiced sonorant initials in Chinese

Finally, I list below a merely suggestive collection of correspondences between voiceless sonorants in Hmong-Mien and plain voiced sonorants in Chinese, with no segmental or tonal features in Chinese to echo the voicelessness on the HmM side. The possibility always exists that some of these words were borrowed by Chinese from HmM or another neighboring language at a time when a foreign-sounding voiceless sonorant would have been reinterpreted as a voiced sonorant.

36. head of grain,  PHmM *𠵚 1 (236/45) 𠵚
    bag, pocket  囊  OC *naaŋ (730l) 𠵚 'bag'

This is an especially good candidate for a loan from HmM to Chinese since it is only the metaphorical extension ('bag, sack, sheath') of the family-wide and basic meaning of the word ('head, ear of grain') that is found in Chinese.

37. vine  PHmM *𠵝 1 (8.2/170) 𠵝
   蔓  OC *mans (266d) 𠵝, 𠵝 'creeping vine'

38. wolf  PHm *𠵝[a] 5 𠵝
   OC *mroon (1201a) 𠵝 'shaggy dog'
Because it is not early, Baxter (p.c.) has suggested that this may be a loanword in Chinese. See also Proto-Tai *hma A 'dog'.

39. mud, earth  PM *ȵi 1 (212.1/1)
               泥  OC *niij (563d) nǐ, Cant. ่นี 2

40. grass      PM *ŋnwja 3 (44/130)
               茅  OC *mruu (1109c) máo
               'cogonggrass'

41. wheat      Biao Min ㄆ 4/6/8
               麦  OC *mɔːk (932a) mài, mò

42. fortune, fate White Hmong 么 3 hmoov
                     命  OC *m-ring (762a) mìng
                     'fate'

43. spear      White Hmong 么 3 hmuv
               矛  OC *m(r)ju (1109a) máo
               'lance, spear'

Notes

1 This paper is substantially changed from the version I gave at the SEALS IX meeting, due to invaluable help I received from Jim Matisoff (and the STEDT project) at the conference and from Bill Baxter and Laurent Sagart after the conference. I am especially indebted to Baxter, who has spent many hours working with me on the project as part of a larger effort to identify Chinese borrowings in HmM. And I could not have accomplished the revision without the impressive new book by Sagart, The Roots of Old Chinese (1999), which takes evidence from Chinese loans to Hmong-Mien fully into account. I hope I am now somewhat nearer the truth, but I expect that the paper still contains errors of fact and/or analysis, for which I claim full responsibility.

2 The upper register tones (< *voiceless initials) 1, 3, 5, 7 are paired with the lower register tones (< *voiced initials) 2, 4, 6, 8. Tones 1-2, 3-4 and 5-6 were realized on open syllables or syllables with nasal codas, whereas tone 7-8 was realized on syllables closed with a stop consonant.
Data are given in the following form, unless otherwise noted:

1) meaning of the word in Hmong-Mien;

2) level of the reconstruction, reconstruction from Wang and Mao 1995, initial/final correspondence set numbers from Wang and Mao 1995, and the White Hmong reflex, if any, in the RPA orthography;

3) for section 1, Tibeto-Burman (TB) reconstruction from Benedict 1972 or 1987a, unless a STEDT number is given (Sino-Tibetan Etymological Dictionary and Thesaurus project, University of California, Berkeley);

4) for section 2, the character, Old Chinese (OC) from William Baxter, p.c. (reflecting recent changes he has made in his 1992 reconstruction), the number of the character in Karlsgren 1957, and the Mandarin reflex in pinyin orthography or the Cantonese reflex, with its meaning if different from HmM.

This form must have either a final -p (corresponding to the TB form) or a final -t, because if it were a -k, the tone would be regularly 5 rather than 7. In light of the Hainan Mun form meaning 'petal, scale slice' liep 7 (a semantic development for 'slice' evidenced elsewhere in the family), it more likely to be -p.

I am grateful to Jim Matisoff for drawing my attention to TB resemblances for 'bridge; ladder' and 'spirit'.

Many of these clusters in Hmong-Mien will have to be reconstructed as disyllabic forms — cf. the Pa-hng word for 'dog' which is ta- or ka-lj3 7 (Niederer 1997:126).

North Hmongic Jiwei ɔi 3 'plum' is an even more recent loan.

See also Jiwe ʂha 5 'tin' presumably from OC *s-(h)leek 'tin'.

Chinese words on this list come initially from Starostin 1989, McCoy 1980, and a list of sonorant initial Mandarin words with tone 1 from Baxter. Notes on tonal reflexes in various Chinese dialects which led Starostin to reconstruct voiceless sonorant initials are given in parentheses. Cantonese forms are from McCoy 1980. The various HmM dialect forms are from the Central Institute Glossary 1987 (Biao Min), Lombard 1968 (Mien), and Heimbach 1979 (White Hmong).

References

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Metaphorically Speaking in White Hmong

Elizabeth M. Riddle
Ball State University

1. Introduction

There is only one known piece of research devoted to metaphor in White Hmong (henceforth “Hmong”), Jaisser’s (1990) study of psycho-collocations with siab ‘liver’ and other body parts, although Matisoff (1992) includes a brief mention of Hmong in his discussion of the widespread use of ‘mother’ as a morpheme indicating ‘origin’ or ‘source’. Indeed, beyond the pioneering work of Matisoff (e.g. 1978, 1986, 1992), little research has focused on metaphor in the lexicon within Southeast Asian languages generally. The few exceptions include work on psycho-collocations in Malay by Oey (1990) and in Lai by Van-Bik (1998), and Diller’s (1991) analysis of metaphors of linguistic action in Bahasa Indonesia.

Given the paucity of research on the role of metaphor within the lexicon in Hmong and other Southeast Asian languages, this paper is intended to provide an introductory overview of several sets of metaphors in White Hmong from two angles: a semantic field approach looking at the metaphorical uses to which related sets of words such as body parts, colors, and physical sensations are put, and a “metaphors the Hmong live by” approach (following Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) in which a coherent metaphor such as ‘life is a string’ is realized by varied lexical means. Along the latter lines, metaphors illustrating Hmong folk theories of life and death, beauty, moral rectitude, and several natural phenomena will be sketched.

The discussion does not distinguish between live and dead metaphors. No claim that present-day Hmong speakers consciously recognize all cases as metaphors is intended; rather the goal is to explore possible underlying conceptual relationships in the lexicon, either synchronic or historical.

Finally, for some of the examples examined here, it was not immediately obvious that one meaning was the more basic and another the more metaphorical, especially where historical information is unavailable. In these situations I have taken into account such properties as markedness, generality of application of the word, and abstractness, as well as the existence of similar associations in a variety of languages.