ABC Etymological Dictionary
of Old Chinese
ABC CHINESE DICTIONARY SERIES

Victor H. Mair, General Editor

The ABC Chinese Dictionary Series aims to provide a complete set of convenient and reliable reference tools for all those who need to deal with Chinese words and characters. A unique feature of the series is the adoption of a strict alphabetical order, the fastest and most user-friendly way to look up words in a Chinese dictionary. Most volumes contain graphically oriented indices to assist in finding characters whose pronunciation is not known. The ABC dictionaries and compilations rely on the best expertise available in China and North America and are based on the application of radically new strategies for the study of Sinitic languages and the Chinese writing system, including the first clear distinction between the etymology of the words, on the one hand, and the evolution of shapes, sounds, and meanings of characters, on the other. While aiming for conciseness and accuracy, series volumes also strive to apply the highest standards of lexicography in all respects, including compatibility with computer technology for information processing.

Other titles in the series

*ABC Chinese-English Dictionary* (desk reference and pocket editions)
Edited by John DeFrancis

*ABC Dictionary of Chinese Proverbs*
Edited by John S. Rohsenow

*ABC Chinese-English Comprehensive Dictionary*
Edited by John DeFrancis

*A Handbook of *Phags-pa* Chinese*
W. South Goblin
CONTENTS

PREFACE .................................................................................. xi
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ................................................................. xiii
ARRANGEMENT OF THE DICTIONARY .......................................... xv
SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS .................................................... xvii

1 OLD CHINESE AND ETYMOLOGY ................................................ 1
  1.1 Chinese ............................................................................. 1
  1.1.1 Sources of Old Chinese .................................................. 1
  1.2 Old Chinese and its linguistic neighbors .................................. 1
  1.2.1 Chinese and sino-tibetan .............................................. 2
  1.2.2 Tibeto-burman languages ............................................. 3
  1.2.3 Miao-yao ................................................................. 3
  1.2.4 Tai-kadai, kam-tai ...................................................... 4
  1.2.5 Austroasiatic ............................................................. 4
  1.2.6 Vietnamese ............................................................... 4
  1.2.7 "Northern" Austroasiatic .............................................. 5
  1.2.8 Summary ..................................................................... 5
  1.3 Old Chinese dialects .......................................................... 6
     1.3.1 Rural dialects .......................................................... 7
  1.4 The study of Old Chinese etymology .................................... 7
     1.4.1 Approaches to word families and cognates ................... 8
     1.4.2 Approaches to etymology through the graph ................. 9
     1.4.3 Identification of cognates ......................................... 9
     1.4.4 The present approach ............................................. 10

2 MORPHOLOGY AND WORD DERIVATION ..................................... 12
  2.1 Grammatical relations in Old Chinese .................................. 12
  2.1.1 Word order .................................................................. 12
  2.1.2 Word class .................................................................... 12
  2.1.3 Derivation and word class ........................................... 14
  2.2 Types of derivations and alloforms ..................................... 14
  2.3 Sino-tibetan morphology .................................................. 15
     2.3.1 The nature of Sino-tibetan affixation .......................... 15
     2.3.2 Sino-tibetan morphemes .......................................... 16
  2.4 Morphemes in Old Chinese ................................................. 17
  2.4.1 Historical layers of morphemes in Old Chinese ............... 17
  2.4.2 Suffixes in Old Chinese ............................................... 17
  2.4.3 Sino-tibetan prefixes in Old Chinese ............................. 18
  2.4.4 Inflection ................................................................. 19
  2.5 Parallel roots and stems .................................................... 20
  2.5.1 Parallel stems of 'swell' ............................................... 20
  2.6 Austroasiatic morphology in Old Chinese ............................ 22
  2.6.1 Austroasiatic infixes in Old Chinese ............................. 22
  2.6.2 Austroasiatic word families in Old Chinese ................. 23
  2.7 Expressives, reduplication ............................................... 24
  2.8 Non-morphological word formation .................................... 25
This etymological dictionary attempts to provide information on the origin of Old Chinese words, including possible word family relationships within Chinese and outside contacts. When traditional Chinese scholars discuss “etymology” (cǐyuán 詞源), they tend to debate the history and uses of Chinese characters and perhaps variant reading pronunciations, but not words. The present endeavor is an etymological dictionary which is concerned with the actual words of Old Chinese (OC), not with their graphic representations.

Pulleyblank (1991: 20) remarked that the compilation of a “proper etymological dictionary” of Chinese still lies in the future. In this sense, the future has not yet arrived and, for that matter, may never arrive, because many morphological mechanisms and morphemes are not understood. It is usually difficult to identify even the root or stem of a word, although this crucial question has been addressed by Sagart (1999). Often the best we can do is group words into word families (wf[s]) on the basis of phonological and semantic similarity.

A glance at any etymological dictionary for a well-studied and reasonably well-understood Indo-European language shows that even there, many, perhaps a majority, of the entries state outright that the etymology is “unknown” or “obscure” or the entry is qualified by such terms as “probably,” “perhaps,” “possibly,” or “hardly.” The history of Old Chinese is much less understood. Nevertheless, over the past decades our knowledge of Chinese and related Tibeto-Burman (TB) languages has progressed far enough that for many OC words some historical insights can be suggested. Frequently, different scholars have proposed competing etymologies; this work mentions some of these alternatives as long as they seem to hold some plausibility. As we gain more insights, one or another etymological suggestion may be confirmed or turned out to be untenable.

Of competing possible or plausible etymologies, the ones in this dictionary are justified by the phonological and morphological patterns and parameters set forth in the introductory chapters. Given the many open questions and multiple interpretations, fellow investigators will probably not find their favorite etymologies in these pages, as these are, of course, based on their particular reconstructions of Old Chinese and its etymological frameworks. To elucidate the history of a word, one looks for possible connections and relationships with other items. However, just as often, similar-looking words are not related. Sino-Tibetan (ST) proto-forms are generally not reconstructed because of many uncertainties. For example, it is obvious and virtually certain that duǒ 魔 *tōr ‘hanging tuft of hair’ is cognate to Written Burmese (WB) twai9 ‘be pendant, hang’, but we cannot tell if the ST source might have been *toi, *twai, *tol, *twal, or something else.

This work has been written also with the non-specialist, someone who is not familiar with Chinese linguistics, in mind. Therefore, conventional Chinese linguistic terms have on occasion been replaced with ones that are more easily interpreted by non-experts. For instance, the tones pīngshēng, shàngshēng, qūshēng, and rǒngshēng are identified by the letter symbols with which they are often marked in transcriptions, thus tone A, B, C, and D.

The lexical material on which this work is based is attested in Old Chinese texts from the Shang dynasty oracle bone inscriptions (ca. 1250–1050 BC) down through the Han period (ca.
200 BC–AD 200). In the compilation of this work, later items as well as modern dialect forms have been noted on occasion, and have been left in as gratuitous material; the reader who wishes for thematic purity can cross them out. Words for which there is no etymological information or hypothesis are generally not cited, as are, unfortunately, items overlooked or not recognized by this compiler. Occasionally tonal derivations are also ignored because they are often quite transparent, requiring no comment.

The present work has relied heavily on, and quotes accordingly, comprehensive works on languages of the area, including: Benedict 1972, Sino-Tibetan Consonants (STC); N. C. Bodman 1980, Chinese and Sino-Tibetan; W. S. Coblin 1986, A Sinologist’s Handlist of Sino-Tibetan (HST); I. Peiros and S. Starostin 1996, A Comparative Vocabulary of Five Sino-Tibetan Languages (CVST); J. A. Matisoff 2003, Handbook of Proto-Tibeto-Burman; R. Schaefer 1974, Introduction to Sino-Tibetan (IST); Shi Xiāngdōng 2000, Hǎnyǔ hé Zāngyǔ; U. Unger, Hào-kǔ; Wáng Li 1982, Tōngyuǎn zìdìān; Jenner and Pou 1980–1981, A Lexicon of Khmer Morphology; G. Diffloth 1984, Dvaravati Old Mon; and more detailed studies by many others. It is these informative sources which are quoted; reference is not systematically made to the scholar or work which should be credited with an etymology’s origin, as these sources can be looked up in Jeon Kwang-jie 1996, Etymological Studies of Sino-Tibetan Cognate Words. This work has anticipated many an etymological proposal which, at the time unbeknownst to me, had already been made by others; may they claim credit who are entitled to it (I encountered many such in works by Gong Hwang-cherng and the dissertation of Barbara Geilich). A wealth of linguistic data from languages in Assam, SE Asia, and SW China has become available in recent years (e.g., Huáng Būfàn 1992, A Tibeto-Burman Lexicon). However, until these raw data are analyzed and protoforms or morphemic transcriptions developed, they are difficult to evaluate. They are therefore rarely quoted in this work.

Reference is made not only to formal publications, but also to conference papers and personal communications, because these have provided many insightful or interesting suggestions relevant to the present endeavor.

A note on rhyme ~ rime. In the literature on Chinese linguistics, one often encounters the spelling ‘rime’ instead of ‘rhyme’ in reference to Chinese rime categories, rime tables, and the like. (A recent book is on Rime Tables, not Rhyme Tables.) This practice, started by Chao Yuen Ren in 1943, is followed here.

A note on the paragraphs starting with [E] etymological connections. Is the connection with Sino-Tibetan or Tibet-Burman languages, the relationship is genetic. With any other language family, we have to assume a loan relationship (also substrate or adstrate), the direction of borrowing is often not clear, although more material has apparently been absorbed by Proto-Chinese and Old Chinese than is customarily admitted.

The index of English glosses (‘English Index’) is hoped to be useful as a starting point for inquiries. But such an index has its limitations, because only a few words are selected, and because many vague definitions like ‘ample’ or ‘brilliant’ are not very instructive. Also, the index does not distinguish between homophones like wind vb. and wind n.
ARRANGEMENT OF THE DICTIONARY

This etymological dictionary groups related words into word families (wf[s]), which are listed either under the most common member or under what appears to be the shortest and most basic word from which the others are thought to derive or to which they may be related. The head of a wf is not necessarily a common or well-known word. The reason for this arrangement is dictated by the etymological purpose of this work. Large wfs or somewhat speculative ones are broken up into smaller groups with cross-references.

The sections of the Introduction are not intended as a coherent narrative, but as a brief reference manual for the purpose of explaining and justifying the etymological groupings (word families, cognate sets) in the dictionary. The introduction presents morphological and phonological correspondence patterns so that readers may judge for themselves the degree of the plausibility of suggested etymological connections. Phonology and morphology are discussed together under the particular phoneme in question.

Dictionary entries make reference to these sections of the Introduction, preceded by the symbol § (e.g., “see §12.1”).

Sample entry:

shuí 水 (swi^[B]) LH shuí^[B], S tsui^[B], OCM *[hui]?, OCB *[l]ui? ?
‘Water, river’ [OB, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR shúj, ʂ (ʂ]), PR ší, LR şu; MGZY shue ([sae]); ONW shú
[D] PMín *tsui^[B]

FIRST LINE

pinyin transcription of Mandarin, followed by the Chinese character(s) zi 字.
When no character exists (as is often the case with colloquial dialect forms) an empty box □ takes its place.

(…) Middle Chinese (MC) or Qièyün system (QYS), ca. AD 600. See §12.1.

LH Later Han Chinese (also LHan) of the 1st and 2nd century AD. See §12.1.1.
In the text, LHan is usually placed in brackets, thus [ka] = LHan ka unless otherwise identified.

S alternate Old South form of LHan, as revealed by later southern, usually Mín, dialects.

OCM Minimal Old Chinese form (starred items). See §12.1.2. For comparison, Baxter’s OC (OCB) is occasionally also supplied.

SECOND LINE

Gloss not a complete definition of a word. Glosses are mostly taken from, or are based on, Karlågen’s GSR, Schuessler’s DEZ, Guădái Hányú cídiăn 古代漢語詞典, edited by Chén Fáhuá 陳復華 (Beijing 1999), and the Zhòngwén dàcìdiăn 中文大辭典.

[...] in brackets, the text in which the CH word is first attested, e.g., [Shi] = occurs first in the text Shijing, which implies that the word existed already by 600 BC or earlier. For abbreviations, see p. xvii ff.
THIRD LINE and subsequent lines

shows the morphological derivation from its simplex.

Chinese dialect forms; col. = colloquial form (bai 北), lit. = literary or reading form (wén 文). Dialects (actually Sinitic languages) are identified by location. See §12.1.3. Since many of them are not well known, the dialect affiliation is prefixed to the name of the location. These abbreviations are:

G = Gän, K = Kējiā (Hakka), M = Mín, W = Wú, X = Xiāng, Y = Yuē (Cantonese), Mandarin = Mandarin, P- = Proto-, as in PMín = Proto-Mín, also CMín = Common Mín.

comments on etymology, especially foreign connections. When flush with the preceding gloss, it relates only to the preceding word; when flush with subentries (≠ allofams), it relates to the whole word and its stem / root.

introduces further notes or comments.

transcriptions of the Chinese word; these are occasionally provided to show a word’s later development (see §12.1):

Sin Sukchu or Sin S. (EMing = Early Ming period Chinese); SR ‘standard reading,’ PR ‘popular reading,’ LR ‘left reading.’

Mong = Mênggù zìyùn (‘Phags-pa) of the Yuan (Mongol) period (1270–1308).

ONW = Old Northwest Chinese from about AD 400, as interpreted by Coblin 1994. Occasionally Suí-Tang Chang’an (Coblin’s STCA, ca. AD 640) and MTang (Middle Tang, ca. AD 775) forms are also added.

(…) the scholarly source, literature.

the source of a foreign word without reference to etymological connection with Chinese. In the sample entry above, [STC…] indicates that the TB items are taken from Benedict’s work, but he has not identified CH shuí as the cognate.

‘cognate (to)’ or ‘allofam’ (fellow member in a word family).

‘related, cognate to’ other languages, including ones from other language families, genetically or by loan; the direction of borrowing is not certain.

developed into, becomes.

‘derives from an earlier form / an earlier stage of a language’.

cross-reference to other dictionary entries. Less common pronunciations of a character can easily be located under a better-known cognate: thus sì 海 is not separately entered in the dictionary with a reference to sì 海 because sì 海 can be found under its better-known simplex sì 海.

‘loaned to’.

‘borrowed from’.

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

□ no Chinese graph exists (for a dialect word)

* cognate, allofam, members of a word within a language
cognate(s), or loans between languages in either direction; separates forms cited from different language families
= s. w. as = same word as
≠ variant develops into
< derives from
< introduces a morphological derivation, a derivative from borrowed from
- → loaned into
- cross-reference
§ section / paragraph of the Introduction

a. and
AAA Austronesian (languages)
AAS Association for Asian Studies
abbr. abbreviation(s)
acc. to according to
AM Asia Major
aux. auxiliary (e.g., verb)
Bēid 西藏 玩氨音 atut 汉语方言词汇
AN Austronesian (languages)
BFEQ Bulletin de l’Ecole Française d’Extrême Orient
BI bronze inscriptions
BIHP Bulletin de l’Institut de History and Philology (Academia Sinica, Taiwan)
BMFEA Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm
BLS Bulletin de la societé linguistique de Paris
BTD Han Buddhist Transcriptional Dialect (W. S. Coblin. ms)
BV Bahn–Vayu languages (= Kiranti languages; Tibeto-Burman)
[C] Computational Analysis of Asian and African Languages
CH Chinese
CDC Common Dialectal Chinese (J. Norman’s reconstruction)
CLAO Cahiers de Linguistique Asie Orientale
cogn.
[D] introduces Chinese dialect forms
DEZ A. Schuessler, A Dictionary of Early Zhou Chinese
ditr. ditransitive
E east(ern); early
[E] introduces etymological comments
EAC Dobson, Early Archaic Chinese
EOC Early Old Chinese, Shang and early Western Zhou
f. (ff.) following page(s)
FY (1) Fáng yán 方言 by Yáng Xióng 揚雄; (2) the modern journal Fáng yán 方言
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GSR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GYSX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hau-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HCT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIAS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOCP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HPTB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICSTLL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JACL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JCLTA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JDWS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JGWZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JIES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JWGL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LB-M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ig. (lgs.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LH, LHan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LTBA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lush.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mxx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MCZY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MK</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Mc, MMon                    | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| MS                          | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| MSOS                       | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| MY                          | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| MZYW                     | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| [N]                        | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| n.                         | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| Oxx                       | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| QB                         | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| OC                         | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| OCB                       | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| OCM                       | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| OE                         | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| OL                         | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| OM                         | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| ONW(C)                    | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| P                          | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| p. c.                      | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| PCH                       | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| PIA                       | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| PLB                      | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| PMin                    | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| PPai                    | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| PTib                   | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| PVM                   | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| PWA                   | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| PWMA                 | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| QY                         | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| QY(S)                     | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| S                          | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| Siam.                    | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| Skt.                      | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| Sora                      | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| SSYP                     | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| ST                        | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| STC                       | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| SV                        | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| SVS                      | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| SW                       | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| SWIZGL                   | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| s. w. as                  | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| [T]                      | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| TB                        | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| TSR                      | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| Tib.                      | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| tr.                      | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| verb                     | Mon-Khmer Studies |
| noun                     | Mon-Khmer Studies |
OLD CHINESE AND ETYMOLOGY

1.1 Chinese

Old Chinese (OC = 'archaic Chinese', Shàngqǔ Hányǔ 上古漢語) is the language of texts and documents from the beginning of writing, around 1250 BC, to the Shang period. See §12.1.2 for the characteristics of the OC language as well as for its subsequent stages: Later Han Chinese (LH, LHan), ca. 2nd–3rd cent. AD; Old Northwest Chinese (ONW) of ca. AD 400; Middle Chinese (MC = 'ancient Chinese', Zhōngguó Hányǔ 中古漢語) of about AD 600, which is widely quoted as a reference for historical phonological categories; and later transcriptions of Chinese. The different stages of written Chinese probably represent koines which are not necessarily descended from one another in a straight line (§1.3). Modern dialects (more properly Sinitic languages), including Mandarin, have evolved over centuries and millennia. The most archaic group of these languages is the Min dialects, which had split off from the mainstream during the Qin and Han dynasties (§12.1.3).

1.1.1 Sources of Old Chinese

The earliest records of the Chinese language are the oracle bone inscriptions (OB) of the Shang dynasty from c. 1250–1050 BC. From the subsequent Western Zhou period (1050–770 BC) have survived not only hundreds of inscribed bronze vessels (BI), but also the older parts of the Shijing 詩經 (Book of Songs), parts of the Shuojing 書經 (Book of Documents), the old parts of the Yi经 易经 or Zhoutian 周易 (Book of Changes), and the Yi Zhoushu 逸周書. Literary records gradually increase in volume and variety after the end of Western Zhou with the beginning of the Spring and Autumn period (Chou 春秋 722–481 BC), the Warring States period (Zhan Guo 戰國 403–221 BC), Qin 秦 (221–206 BC) and Han 漢 (206 BC–AD 220) dynasties. The literary sources are abbreviated as in Karlsgren's GSR (see Appendix C). Complete information on all the early Chinese texts is conveniently available in Michael Loewe, ed. 1993.

1.2 Old Chinese and its linguistic neighbors

The eastern half of the China of today's political maps, including the provinces Yunnan, Sichuan, and Gansu, is, and has been, rich in linguistic diversity with several language families: Sino-Tibetan (ST) with its Sinitic (Chinese = CH) and Tibeto-Burman (TB) branches, Kam-Tai (KT), Miao-Yao (MY = Hmong-Mien), and Austroasiatic (AA). In adjacent areas are spoken Austroasiatic (AN) and Altaic languages; at one time the Indo-European (IE) Tocharians were China's western neighbors (Pulleyblank 1983; Norman 1983: 6ff).

No language lives in a hermetically sealed sphere. "Whatever their genetic affiliation, the languages of the East and SE Asia area have undergone massive convergence in all areas of their structure — phonological, grammatical, and semantic" (Matisoff HPTB: 7). Throughout the millennia, prehistoric and early historic "Chinese" had interacted with speakers of other languages. An expanding and magnetic state and civilization attracts and absorbs other populations and their languages; compare, for instance, the situation in early China with that of ancient Italy where Latin absorbed words and features from Central Italian IE languages. Thus
Latin has two words for ‘red’: rufus and ruber. The latter reflects the regular Latin development from IE, while rufus was absorbed from another Italic language.

Outside influences on the Chinese language have long been noted. M. Hashimoto (1976; 1984) draws attention to foreign substrate influence in the syllable structure and tone systems of modern Chinese dialects which agree with Tai and Miào-Yào languages in the south, while words become more polysyllabic and tones fewer in number as one moves northward in the direction of China’s polysyllabic, atonal Altaic neighbors. The modern Yùe dialects have been shown to include a Tai substratum (Yue-Hashimoto 1976; R. Bauer 1987). Mín dialects an Austroasiatic (AA) one (Norman / Mei 1976; Norman 1983; Mei 1980). Mei Tsu-llin and J. Norman have collected AA loan words found in Old Chinese literature, while other items have long been thought to be of Miào-Yào and Tai origin (Bodman 1980). Therefore it should be no surprise that the vocabulary which we encounter in the earliest Old Chinese writing, the oracle bone and bronze inscriptions, includes many non-ST words.

Over the years, proposals have been made to connect Chinese genetically with other language families in the area, particularly (Kam-)Tai, Miào-Yào (Hmong-Mien), and even as far removed as Austronesian and Indo-European. Genetic relationship to language groups other than TB have, for the purposes of the present work, not yet been convincingly demonstrated, or are so remote and controversial as to be of little practical value for the understanding of Old Chinese. Shared linguistic features and vocabulary with languages other than TB are therefore treated here as borrowings in one direction or the other. Relationships and contacts with other languages will be treated briefly below.

1.2.1 Chinese and Sino-Tibetan

Chinese and Tibeto-Burman (TB) languages are descended from a hypothetical Sino-Tibetan (ST) proto-language (Benedict STC; Thurgood / LaPolla, eds. 2003; Matsioff HPTB; and others). TB proto-forms are reconstructed on the basis of languages which extend from Tibet in the west to Burma and SE China in the east. Among these, Tibetan and Burmese play a prominent role because they have long written traditions and are well documented; they are therefore extensively cited in the literature and convey, rightly or wrongly, the impression of particularly close historical ties to OC. (For a list of Chinese dialects and classification of TB and other languages, see Appendices A and B.)

ST languages agree in fundamental ways in their phonology, lexicon, and morphology. This dictionary includes numerous examples of the shared OC–TB (i.e., ST) lexical stock. OC and TB phonology and morphology will be compared and discussed throughout this introduction (§2–§12). The reader will get the impression that OC (at least as reconstructed within Baxter’s framework) does not look very different from TB reconstructions and shares much of its morphology (prefixes, suffixes, etc.). Syntax is, however, quite varied among ST languages; thus in Chinese, the qualifier is placed before the qualified element whereas Written Tibetan, for example, reverses the order, e.g., OC dà (‘great’) wàng (‘king’) ‘great king’ vs. WT gyal- po, *ten-po (‘king’ / great’). WT agrees in this regard with many other East Asian languages. Nevertheless, given the agreement in the remaining three areas of phonology, lexicon, and morphology, this does not disprove a genetic relationship.

The cleavage of ST into a Sinitic and TB branch rests on a hypothetical ST vowel *a which has been retained in OC, but has merged with ST *a in TB. There are occasional hints, however, that the TB proto-language might also have made this distinction (STC p. 183, n. 482). Innovations unique to CH do not establish a fundamental split in the ST family, they only distinguish the Sinitic branch from other TB branches and from languages like Lolo-Burmese or Tibetan. Such Sinitic diagnostic items include the split of syllables into high vs. low tones (later reflected in the Qièyín system’s [MC] division III vs. I/IV; see §12.1); this looks like the split into lax vs. tense register in MK languages (Ferlus 1998). To some words which end in an open syllable in TB, and elsewhere, a final *k is added, thus TB (b)rya vs. bái 百 OCM *brak ‘100’. Universal PTB *(s)mrul ~ *(s)brul (CH hui 虫胞 (xjw)lm) *hm(r)ul (< *hmrl?) already has been replaced on the OB by shè 蛇 (dzja) *m-lai as the common word for this creature.

1.2.2 Tibeto-Burman languages

TB languages are found today in some isolated pockets in SW China; the speakers are referred as tǔ-jìu 土家 ‘locals’. This shows that TB speakers lived in ancient times in the vicinity of the Xià and Shàng states. Especially the Qiǎng 羌 neighbors of Shàng China to the west have probably been TB, as well as the Róng 瞿 in Shaanxi (Pulleyblank 1983: 416f). Since Chinese absorbed loans from KT, MY, and MK languages, we can expect loans from TB also. These are difficult to detect, though, because they would probably look like ST cognates. A likely TB loan is the word for ‘tea’, chá 茶 (da) *d-la; it likely goes back to the Loloish word *a ‘leaf’, unless the CH word was directly borrowed from an AA language, ultimately the source of the Loloish word.

1.2.3 Miào-Yào

Miào-Yào (苗瑶 MY = Hmong-Mien) languages form, for our purposes, their own language family, unrelated to Chinese and ST. The vocabulary of MY languages includes a large number of Chinese words, borrowed at different periods and from different dialects (notably Yùe), but also loans from TB (Benedict 1987) and AA (Forrest 1948; Haudricourt 1966).

Today, MY settlements are scattered over wide areas of southern China and Southeast Asia. It is suspected that the people in the ancient state of Chu spoke MY languages (Pulleyblank 1983: 423f), among others, because words of MY origin show up in the text Chu ci 兼 (Songs from the Chu area) of the Han period (Schuessler 2004).

A MY loan, for example, is xiāng 香 (jiā/n C/B) *nhan2/h ‘bring food to’ (workers in the field), ‘to eat’, from MY: Anc. Miào qì* (‘cooked rice, food’), Yao: Biao Min niàn1, Miên (Chiang Rai dial.) pha*n, Dzao Men náø:.

1.2.4 Tai-Kadai, Kam-Tai

Kam-Tai languages (KT) are not related to Chinese and ST (Dài Qingxià 1991). Massive lexical exchanges in both directions between Chinese and Tai, from OC to more recent dialects, have led some investigators to conclude otherwise. In the distant past, people speaking these languages likely lived in areas far north as the Yangtze River basin. For example, the ruling family of the ancient state of Chú 楚 had the clan name xiāng 熊 ‘bear’, but in the Chu language the name was mi* 羊, which is the KT word for ‘bear’. Today, though, KT people live farther to the south in Guǎngxī, Guízhōu, and southern Húnán (Pulleyblank 1983: 429f).

There have been significant exchanges of vocabulary in both directions between MK (including Viet-Muong) and Tai languages; Lào especially has many loan words from its Vietnamese neighbor. Tai languages also have relatively recent Khmer loans, an earlier layer of loans from Mon, and loans from an even older Northern AA language that today is represented by Khmu and that the Tai must have overlain at some early date (Ferlus 1978:
have come from "northern" AA instead (see §1.2.7); Han period scholars merely noted the similarity with the Yüe words of which they happened to be aware. Unlike the later Mín dialects, OC does not include many words that compel us to conclude that the source was specifically Viet-Yüe.

### 1.2.7 "Northern" Austroasiatic

An AA substrate ("AA-OC") contributed a significant number of AA words as well as fragments of AA morphology to prehistoric and subsequent CH (§2.6; §5.10). MK words gradually trickled from a substrate into mainstream ST-based OC over hundreds or thousands of years, so that layers and various MK sources can be discerned. The earliest, prehistoric layer of AA items is already encountered in the language of the first written records, the OB (1250–1050 BC); OC borrowings from this remote past occasionally do not agree very closely with MK phonologically (though in a regular fashion). For example, chu 蹴 *tsho 'hay' vs. PMonc *ksoy (cf. below), hù 虎 *h trustworthy' vs. PMonc *kho "..

More "recent" items (found in BI, Shijing, and then later texts) agree more closely with AA forms, e.g., cuò, 輒 *tsiū 'hay' vs. PMonc *ksoy (cf. above), jiāng 江 *kroŋ 'river' vs. PMonc *kroŋ. Many such OC words appear to be very similar to Khmer. This does not mean that the MK substrate was Khmer, but only that Khmer happens to have preserved (and/or scholars happen to have found) data that provide suggestive comparisons with OC, just as the great number of Tibetan – OC comparative sets reflect more on the availability of Tibetan data, but not necessarily on a close historic relationship.

### 1.2.8 Summary

The OC lexicon has many sources (Schuessler 2003). A few sample ST vs. non-ST words follow, to provide an impression (for details and explanations consult the dictionary entries):

#### Animals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>PMonc</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ox</td>
<td>yán 騎</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>quān 犬</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rhinoceros</td>
<td>xí犀</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>horse</td>
<td>mǎ 馬</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bowl</td>
<td>yǎn 餐 (quail)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutton</td>
<td>jī 羔</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elephant</td>
<td>xiàng 象</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>gǒu 狗</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buffalo</td>
<td>ē 水</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chicken</td>
<td>ji 雞</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiger</td>
<td>hǔ 虎</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pig</td>
<td>tún 豬</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pig</td>
<td>shí 豪</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small deer</td>
<td>zhī 鹿</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Body parts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>PMonc</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>head</td>
<td>yuán 元</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head</td>
<td>shǒu 首</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>mǔ 目</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hair</td>
<td>shān 毛</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem. breast</td>
<td>rú 乳</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bitter</td>
<td>liè 利</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liver</td>
<td>xī 血</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forehead</td>
<td>ē 额</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blood</td>
<td>xuè 血</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Non-ST

- gall: dǎn 膽
- forehead: sāng 頜
- blood: huáng 黃

#### Others

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>PMonc</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>root</td>
<td>běn 本</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forest</td>
<td>lín 林</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>firewood</td>
<td>xīn 薪</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>jīa 家</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temple</td>
<td>zōng 宗</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>day</td>
<td>rì 日</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>year</td>
<td>nián 年</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breath</td>
<td>xī 息</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
- eat | cān 食 |

#### Numeral and grammatical generally are ST:

- two | er 二 |
- copula | wéi 惟 |
- behind | hòu 後 |

#### Of uncertain provenance:

- Wood | mù 木 |
- mountain | shān 山 |
- flower | huā 花 |
1.3 Old Chinese and Etymology

Languages which are spread over large areas and mountainous terrain naturally develop regional varieties; stratified societies also exhibit differences in speech among class lines. The OC language of the Shang and Zhou period and subsequent Classical Chinese was a standardized written language without noticeable regional variations. The Chinese script would have hidden differences in pronunciation that might have existed, just as today 日 ‘day’ is read ri in Mandarin, jin in Cantonese.

Yet one catches a few glimpses of language variation within OC when comparing the Shijing 詩經, the phonetic series and the later Middle Chinese (MC) as reflected in the Qiēyün 切韻 dictionary (AD 601) as well as modern dialects.

First, in the Qiēyün and modern dialects, as well as in the OC phonetic series there are certain words with the OC analogue rimes *-en such as ming 名 ‘name’ which had in the Shijing the rime *-in. The ST rimes *-en / *-ik became either *-en / *-ek or *-in / *-it in OC; which way a word went depended presumably on the dialect. Thus we find for ST *-en / *-ik the OC rime *-en / *-ek: ming 名 ‘name’, míng 門 ‘to sound’, míng 命 ‘order’, shēng 生 ‘live’; but xīn 新 ‘firewood’, ji 建 ‘tsit ‘masonry’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1-1</th>
<th>ST</th>
<th>Later South</th>
<th>QYS / MC</th>
<th>Shijing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>not</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>*bo &gt; bú 不</td>
<td>*bo &gt; bú 不</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not</td>
<td>*ma</td>
<td>*ma</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not have</td>
<td>*ma &gt; wú 無</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name</td>
<td>*ménɡ</td>
<td>*mian</td>
<td>*mín &gt; míng 名</td>
<td>*mín 名</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dark</td>
<td>*mín</td>
<td>*mín &gt; míng 名</td>
<td>*mín &gt; míng 名</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night (MK maŋ)</td>
<td>*maŋ</td>
<td>*mén &gt; míng 名</td>
<td>*mén &gt; míng 名</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>green</td>
<td>*C-seq</td>
<td>*tšaŋ</td>
<td>*tshén &gt; qínɡ 青</td>
<td>*tshén &gt; qínɡ 青</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>green</td>
<td>*mo</td>
<td>*mō &gt; mú 母</td>
<td>*mō &gt; mú 母</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go-between MK</td>
<td>*ma &gt; méi 媒</td>
<td>*ma &gt; méi 媒</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Secondly, OC labial-initial syllables of the type *Po and *Po merged into *Po in the Shijing dialect(s) and the phonetic series, but remained distinct in the Qiēyün and modern dialects (Baxter 1992); for example, we have the Mandarin readings méi 每 ‘each’ vs. mǔ 母 ‘mother’ (same phonetic, same Shijing rime). Finally, a strain of OC must have retained ST *ma in the meaning ‘not’ because it is preserved in modern southern dialects, but does not exist in Shang and Western Zhou texts, apart from an occasional occurrence in classical texts. Table 1-1 illustrates these and additional differences within OC.

Choice of words in individual texts often shows particular preferences that may be due to dialects. For example, in the Zuòzhōu 左傳 we find the interrogative xi 吳 ‘*gé ‘how’ instead of hé 何 ‘*gāi. In some chapters of the Shijing 詩經 the words for ‘you’ and ‘your’ are rā 汝 and nāi 乃 respectively; in others, the word for both ‘you’ and ‘your’ is īr 餘. Later texts replace words common in earlier ones, e.g., the OB, BI, and some parts of the Shijing and Shūjīng have the word wāng 同亡 *marj for ‘not there, is not’; only near the end of the Western Zhou period is it replaced by the familiar wā 無 *ma.

These and similar phenomena suggest a language that is far from uniform, but we cannot tell whether these are individual preferences, or class or regional distinctions, nor if the latter, from which regions.

1.3.1 Rural dialects

Additional phonological oddities in OC may also be the result of dialectal differences. MC and, by backward projection, OC, has multiple phonological correspondences for what one surmises ought to be a single OC phonological configuration. Words with rare and unusual features typically have meanings with a rustic or vulgar flavor. We will, therefore, for now call this strain (or strains) ‘Rural’ as opposed to ‘Standard’, i.e., literary OC.

The following phonological peculiarities may be identified as Rural:

(1) OC voiceless initials *r-, *l-, and *n- are normally reflected in MC coronal tʰ, sʰ, and, in the case of *r- in MC tʰ, sʰ (§5.1). However, in a few words such a voiceless continuant has yielded MC x- or xj- and its equivalents in modern dialects. This unexpected development to a guttural initial is found in words that relate to ordinary, especially rural, life; they include words for: beard, to face / toward, ribs (of a horse), to know, to vomit, to rear animals, stupid, to roar, tiger, pig (§5.6). To differentiate the two developments of voiceless initials, we will write OC *l̥-, *n̥-; *r̥- for MC tʰ-, sʰ-, etc., but OCM *hn̥-, *hl̥-, *hr̥- when it is the aspiration that survives as MC x-. Of course, voiceless *hp̥-, *hm̥-, and *hw̥- regularly yield MC x-; thus any voiceless initial that shows up as x- in MC is written in OCM with the *h- preceding the sonorant.

(2) Standard OC and foreign initial *l- (> MC jì), or *l- in the initial, have in some words merged with *r- (> MC l-). This might be another Rural feature; examples in §7.3 include: salt, turtle, grain / to sow, bamboo. The *l- = Rural OC *r- equation is often encountered in loans from non-ST languages, e.g., eel, splint hat, barrier / bolt, descend, frost; or the confusion of laterals may be due to the late date of borrowing in either direction.

(3) Some non-ST words with initial *kl- have MC initial t- which may have been *tl- in OC. Such words include:

Carry dān 擔 [tom] ‘to carry on the shoulder’

> AA: Khmu klām ‘carry on the shoulder’

For more examples and comments, see §§2.1.

(4) MC initial ji- and ji- stand in a few correspondence sets for a foreign initial r, or r in combination with labial or velar consonants (§7.1.4). The semantic range of such items conjures up a rural sphere: farm, pheasant, old man, to fall, bamboo, sickle, wrist, etc.

(5) Some modern southern dialects have in their colloquial layers the vowel a for standard e. This trend seems to be foreshadowed in some OC words which have the vowel a also for foreign e or i; see Table 1-1 above, and §11.1.3.

1.4 The Study of Old Chinese etymology

A Chinese word may have one of several origins: (1) It can be inherited from the hypothetical Sino-Tibetan proto-language when it has cognates among the related Tibet-Burmese languages. (2) It can be a loan from another language, or can have survived from an earlier substrate (Mián-Yáo, Kam-Tai, Austroasiatic / Mon-Khmer). (3) It can be the result of
internal innovation, i.e., word derivation by morphology, internal borrowing from dialects, or phonological change.

A word is usually assumed to be genetically related to another because of transparent or impressionistic phonological and semantic similarity. The range of sound alternations within an OC word will be suggested throughout the introductory sections. Members of a word, i.e., *alloforms* (Matisoff's term, alias *cogeners*) typically differ in tone, initial voicing (e.g., *kʰən* 'to see' vs. *gən* 'appear'), and/or the Middle Chinese division (taiyin, etc., i.e., vocalism, e.g., MC *kʰaw, *kjaŋ*; see §9.1). Occasionally, they also differ in the vowel, in initial consonant(s) or final consonant. Since much concerning ST and Chinese morphology is still not well understood, the terms *wên* and *alloform* are often fuzzy but conventional catch-all categories. For example, it seems obvious that the words jiänt (*krâms* 'look at') and lân (*râm?* 'to see') are related, but what the difference in later tones and the presence/absence of an initial *k* might have entailed is so far a matter of speculation. On the other hand, we can confidently state that zhî (*tak* or *tak*, literally 'something that has been woven') is a regular exospective derivation from zhî (*tak* 'to weave'). We consider both jiänt and lân, and zhî and zhi as alloforms in their respective word families.

### 1.4.1 Approaches to word families and cognates

Investigators have differed significantly over the range of sound alternations within a word family. Karlson (1933) allows for a broad range: a word family could have a final of the type -K, -T, or -P, etc. In conjunction with the initial consonant type -K, -T, -N, or -P, etc. where -T includes any acute initial consonant, i.e., which is not a guttural or labial. For instance, his wï with items 242–262 (1933: 69) has a root T-K and includes the following words (Karlson's *archaic Chinese*, i.e., OC; in parentheses OCM):

- yâng 陽 *dian* (*lan*) 'light'; zhîo 章 *tjôg* (*tou*) 'bright'; zhîò 周 *tiøjg* (*trukh*) 'day-time' *xing 星 *sien* (*sêng*) 'star'

In this proposed wï, the OC initials, as understood today (Baxter), are -*l*, -*t*, -*s*; the vowels are -*a*, -*au* (OCB *aw*), -*e*, -*u*; the finals are -*ê*, -*k*, -*V* (vowel). The TB cognate for yâng is *lan* (e.g., WB *lan* be 'bright'). Zhôu is clearly cognate to WT *gudg* (< *gudu-s* 'midday, noon'). These two TB items are certainly not related. Therefore, Karlson's phonological parameters are much too broad.

Cognates usually share the same rime and initial consonant type. However, in many instances an obvious cognate has a different final or rime, or initial variation outside the normal spectrum. LePoole (see §6) has dedicated a study to ST rimes and finals. In order not to go off in all directions, investigators prefer to keep to a given rime and allow the initials to vary, or keep to one category of initials and then allow for variations in finals. Wâng Li (1958: 542–545) provides examples for both approaches: same initial but different rimes (such as the negatives with initial -*m*), and same rime but different initials (such as rime -*an* 'bright'). Or note a wï proposed by Pyle (1973: 121) the traditional MC forms in parentheses: rôu 柔 (*ñjau*) ≠ ruân 柔 (*ñjâwâ*) ≠ ruô 弱 (*ñjâjak*), all meaning 'soft', but he has not included rên 任 (*ñjâm* 'soft'). Wâng Li (1982) splits this particular group into one with a tendency toward final velars, and one with final dentals. Thus the set rôu 柔 (*ñjâwâ*) ≠ ruân 柔 (*ñjâwâ*) ≠ rôu 弱 (*ñjâjak*) ≠ rôu 肉 (*ñjûk* 'meat, flesh' (p. 236). As long as we do not know more about OC morphology, we cannot tell if distinctions in this wï are due to morphological derivation, dialect interference, or to convergence in which the initial *n* would be associated with 'soft', just as with initial *gl*—typically suggest something 'gliding, glossy' in English (§2.9).

### 1.4.2 Approaches to etymology through the graph

The above approaches start with the OC word while the graph that writes it is of secondary concern. However, approaching etymology from the other end by emphatic reliance on the graph is fraught with the danger of misinterpretation or overinterpretation. This leads occasionally to "strained explanations of loanlog meanings as semantic extensions" (Qiu Xigu 2000: 287); it has been suggested, for example, that lâi 来 'wheat' and lâi 來 'to come' are the same word (*wheat* is the cereal that 'came' from abroad), but the two are unrelated. Boedberg (1937: 339–341) went so far as to suggest that even graphic elements that are nearly universally recognized as semantic and not phonetic play a phonological and etymological role; for example, he believes that graphs written with the element zi 子 derive from a root *BDzîi* - *BSI: zi* 自 'self', bî 母 'nose', xî 息 'breathe'.

The traditional source for the interpretation of ancient graphs is Xû Shên's *Shuâiwên jîzî* (SW) of ca. AD 150. But this is explicitly a dictionary of graphs, not words; it often describes a graph, which is not the same as an etymological explanation. For example, the SW (and also GSR 1166) explains jîào 假 [kau#] 'burn on a pyre of crossed logs' as cognate to jîâo [kau] 'to cross'. But the definition 'burn on crossed logs' could well have been suggested by the graphic element 'to cross'; the word may have had just the meaning 'to burn' and be related to relevant TB items, but not to 'to cross'. Xû Shên also was unaware of the earlier forms of graphs as they are known today from the OB inscriptions; he inadvertently misled by the graphic forms available at his time. Thus he explains the left element in the graph for shê 射 'to shoot' as shên 申 'body'; the shên element, however, goes back to the OB image of a bow with an arrow (Qiu Xigu 2000: 55).

We study the phonetic series and composition of graphs with interest because they often offer etymological clues, but two words are not a priori assumed to be etymologically related just because they share a phonetic element. In the end, every one of the above approaches contributes to interesting discoveries.

### 1.4.3 Identification of cognates

Besides morphological patterns which are discussed throughout the introduction, the following considerations also help in the identification of etymological connections (see also §2.10). Matisoff's *Conclusion* to his *HPTB* (pp. 535–542) could be quoted here in full as well.

**Semantic parallels** strengthen the case for the identification of etymological relations. For example, since jîng 穫 'capital city' also means 'mound, hill', it is likely that jîî 丘, village, town' is also the same word as the homophone jîî 'mound, hill'. Settlements are often built on higher ground.

Cognates from related TB languages sometimes help identify connections within Chinese. For example, 'naked' luó 裸 *roir*; and chêng 程 *der* are probably cognate to such forms as PTB *gro* > WT *sgre-ba*, and WT *sgren-mo* 'naked', Lushai *tên* 'bare', respectively. As the TB items derived from the same root, Chinese forms may have as well (chêng from PCh *d-ro-î*?)

On the other hand, the correct identification of cognates is sometimes impeded by one or another type of interference or obstacle, as follows.

Etymological investigation is hampered or helped by the investigator's native language and
culture. A native speaker of Chinese would with little hesitation, and probably correctly, equate yá 叶 ‘sprout’ with yá 牙 ‘tooth’, while this connection might not be self-evident to speakers of European languages.

The composition of a Chinese character interferes occasionally with the semantic understanding of the word behind it (see also §1.4.2). Yá 餐 ‘leftover, rest’ is usually thought to mean originally ‘food leftovers’ because it is written with the radical shì ‘to eat’. Yet the radical may have been chosen because concrete food leftovers were easier to represent graphically than the abstraction ‘remainder, rest’. Thus ‘food leftovers’ is merely one semantic extension of the word.

The Chinese writing system is not alphabetic, although a phonetic element in the majority of graphs provides some clue for a word’s OC sound. But there is disagreement on some details of OC reconstruction, especially about the initial consonants. Depending on whose OC system one follows, one may arrive at startlingly different etymologies; for example, wēi 微 (MC jiwi) ‘to be’ is reconstructed *rad by Li Fang Kuei who relates this then to WT red-pa ‘to be’, but reconstructed *wijd by Baxter, which turns out to be related to PTB *way ‘to be’. Our investigations are based on Baxter (1992), many uncertain details notwithstanding.

Variant forms are common occurrences in dialects, i.e., bāi 白 ‘colloquial’ vs. wén 文 ‘literary’ forms, such as Mandarin col. tā 他 ‘he, she, it’ vs. lit. tuō ‘other’. These are lexically different terms but historically one and the same etymon, no ablaut morphology derived one from the other. This phenomenon is so ubiquitous in China that one might expect this to have occurred already in ancient and archaic times.

Subjective judgment slips into etymological consideration easily because of the monosyllabic nature of the words (countless words have the syllable structure CV) and the often diffuse and fuzzy field of meanings that Chinese words and graphs have accumulated over millennia. Even when the meaning is specific or when the syllable structure is complex, it is occasionally difficult to decide what is related to what. Two illustrations:

1. Tūs 頭 *dō ‘head’ agrees exactly with TB-PL *du ‘head’ (PLB *u = PTB, ST *o). But it agrees equally well with a MK etymon: note Khmer doul/ ‘head’; a MK final consonant is often lost in OC after a long vowel, hence the equation is also perfect. Which is related to Chinese? Are both CH and PL descended from MK?

2. Chǎn 産 *srān or *srēn ‘to produce’ strikes one as the obvious cognate of WT srel-ba ‘to raise, bring up’. The Chinese word even has a counterpart with initial *m-in the word mīn 咖 ‘give birth’, thus forming a well-known ST pair *s- (transitive / causative) – *m- (intr.). But then Khmer has a word /siraal/ (i.e., *s-m-raal) ‘to give birth’, derived from rāla /rifal/ ‘to increase, ... distribute, propagate’. On the one hand, Chinese is closely related to Tibeto-Burman; on the other, Mon-Khmer provides a possible etymology for both OC words, i.e., a root from which the items in question could be derived, while there is no TB counterpart to mīn. Is the Chinese if ST or AA? Or do both Chinese and WT go back to the same area etymon?

1.4.4 The present approach

The present approach to OC etymology tends to diverge from most others in two respects.

First, linguistic given tend to override graphic representations and their phonological implications when the choice of a phonetic element in a graph is unusual in light of MC and other data. Phonological patterns and changes do normally follow their own immutable rules; but why over 3000 years ago a certain graphic element was chosen to write a certain word was up to the whim of a writer (see more in §12.1.2). Thus zhū 住 OCM *tui (GSR 575; OCB *tju) ‘a bird’ was selected to write ‘to be’ which could have been due to all kinds of mental processes and associations. MC jiwi points to OC *wi ‘to be’; PTB *way (or *wi?) ‘to be’ confirms this. Thus the comparative method as well as MC point to OC *wi and nothing else, notwithstanding the initial *t- in the phonetic element.

Second, phonological identity, or variation supported by well-documented correspondence patterns (hence the introductory chapters), tend to override the expectation for identical meanings in comparative sets, as long as the semantic disparity has a plausible explanation. Thus jī 基 *dzit ‘be sick’ is the same word as jī 基 *dzit ‘detest; burn, torch’; both belong to a ST etymon *tsik (apparently ‘to smolder’) with the semantic range ‘burn (in a smoldering fashion), angry, detest, be in rut, feverish, sick’. Conversely, Chinese kōu 口 *khō ‘mouth’ is not cognate to PTB *m-ka = WT k’a ‘mouth’ because the vowel correspondence is highly unusual.

Our reliance on phonological correspondence patterns occasionally leads to the conclusion that words are related even though they look superficially quite different. Zhi 之 MC di 身 *dri ‘peasant’ is the direct and regular cognate of PTB *rik ‘peasant’, because OC *-i is one regular equivalent of PTB *k. and MC d- (OC *dr-) for foreign *r- also has compelling parallels.

We usually follow sinological traditions in setting up certain OCM forms. ‘Dog’ quān 犬 MC kliwen 犬 is thus OCM *khvān? (similar to Karlgren). However, there is no old rime which might have indicated the exact OC vowel, but TB *kwi (not *kwa or the like) and the fact that MC -ien can just as well derive from OC *-in makes it almost certain that the word was really OCM *khvān?.
MORPHOLOGY AND WORD DERIVATION

Comments and discussions on morphology and morphemes are divided between this chapter, which provides a broad overview, and later chapters and sections, which deal with specific phonemes and morphemes.

2.1 Grammatical relations in Old Chinese
OC has no inflectional morphology; all morphology serves the purpose of deriving new words from stems or other words (Beard 1998: 44ff; Aronoff and Anshen 1998: 239). A word’s grammatical role is determined (1) by its position and use in a sentence and (2) by its inherent word class.

2.1.1 Word order
OC word order is SVO (subject — verb — indirect object — direct object); the few exceptions have no bearing on etymology and do not concern us; the modifier stands before the modified element, as in English (‘green grass’, ‘incredibly bright’). In OC and all Sinitic languages, as well as others in the area, any part of speech can be placed in front of the sentence as its topic. Thus the context (be it textual or cultural) requires that in the sentence 仍飲之 (sun / eat / it), for example, 仍‘sun’ is not the subject but the topic so that the sentence means ‘as the sun, (something) ate it’ (i.e., there was a solar eclipse).

2.1.2 Word class
OC word classes are morphologically unmarked. Their definition and demarcation has occasioned much debate because the categories have fuzzy edges. What may appear to be a noun can often behave like a verb, etc. However, some broad categories are generally recognized; they are determined by a word’s meaning and typical place in a sentence. “Typical” usage is predictable by the word class — or vice versa. The word ‘to see’ is a transitive verb because it typically occupies the verbal position in a sentence followed by an object. Without an object, it has an intransitive or passive meaning given its implicit transitive nature. There are other ways of looking at classification. Thus Cikoski (CAAL 8, 1978: 17ff; CAAL 9, 1978: 133 ff) divides verbs into “ergative” and “neutral” (or “direct”) which by and large seem to overlap with the conventional categories “transitive” and “intransitive” respectively.

The meaning of a word, even as reflected in the English gloss, usually implies its inherent word class, and therefore the latter is not explicitly remarked upon in this dictionary.

Here follow the broad word class categories:

**Noun (n.)**
— ‘dog’ is an obvious noun because it refers to a thing and typically functions as subject or object in a sentence. Abstract nouns form a subcategory; they frequently behave like verbs.

When a noun functions as an intr. verb (ex. 1: jān ‘lord’), it means “to behave in a way that a noun typically behaves or is expected to behave”; a noun as a tr. verb (ex. 2: hān ‘drought’) means “to treat the object like that noun” (Boltz, JASS 119.1, 1999: 222).

(1) ēn Líng gòng bù jūn 詩羅公不君 (Jin / Ling / duke / not / ruler n.) ‘Duke Ling of Jin does not behave like a ruler’ (i.e., is expected to) [Zuo: Xuan 2, 4].

**MORPHOLOGY 2.1.2**

(2) dī wèi hǎn wǒ 帝隹頑我 (god / to be / drought n. / us) ‘God is the one who causes us drought’ [OB, Hayashi 1.25.13].

**Ditransitive verb (ditr.)**
— Verbs for give, receive, tell, show typically have an indirect and / or a direct object, as their meanings imply. The word order is subj. — verb — indirect obj. — direct obj. (ex. 3: yō ‘to give’); ofen, the order is subj. — verb — direct obj. — yō ‘preposition’ + indirect obj. (ex. 4: wēn ‘to ask about’).

(3) gōng yú zhī yì 公與之邑 (duke / give / him [ind. obj.] / town [dir. obj.]) ‘The Duke gave him towns’ [Zuo: Xiang 27: 5].

(4) wéi Kǒng zǐ yī Zīlú 未孔子於子路 (ask about / Confucius [dir. obj.] / prepos. / Zīlú) ‘he asked Zīlú about Confucius’ [Lunyu 7, 19].

**Transitive verb (tr.)**
— is followed by an object (exs. 5, 7). In a sentence without an obj., the latter is either implied, or the verb is used intransitively (ex. 8: tīng ‘listen’), or the verb is passive when followed by the agent in a prepositional phrase (ex. 6: jiān ‘see, visit’).

(5) Māng-zī jiān Liáng Hui wāng 孟子見梁惠王 (Mengzi / see, visit / Liang / Hui / king) ‘Mengzi (saw) paid a visit to King Hui of Liang’ [Meng 1A, 1].

(6) tō nì jiān yú wāng 他日見於王 (other / day / see / prep. / king) ‘Another day, he was (seen) received by the king’ [Meng 2B, 4].

(7) tīng mīng 聽命 (listen / to / order) ‘They (listened to) received an order’ [Zuo: Xiang 8, 4].

(8) shì zhé jiān, bù tīng 待者請不聽 (attendants / part. / remonstrate / not / listen) ‘His attendants remonstrated (with him); he did not listen’ [Zuo: Xiang 7, 10].

Causative and putative uses are rare with a transitive verb. The tr. vb. yī 衣 ‘to wear’ (ex. 9) is used as causative in ex. 10:

(9) yī yī / *zōu yī 衣衣 (wear / clothes) ‘They wore clothes’ [Yi: Zouhua 37, 9].

(10) zài yī zhī tī 裝衣之謢 (then / to dress / them [ind. obj.] / wrappers [dir. obj.]) ‘Then they dressed them [the babies] in wrappers’ [Shi 189, 9].

**Intransitive verb (intr.)**
— fills a verbal position without an object (ex. 14: sī ‘to die’ intr., and zhāng intr. used as an adjective). But intransitive verbs can take oblique objects such as ‘the place to/at’, for example (some examples are taken from Gabelenz):

(11) sī zhī 死之 ‘to die for’ (the city) [Zuo: Xuan 13, 5].

(12) sī fǔ rón suò 死夫所 ‘to die in the palace of the princess’ [Hanfei 4, 14b].

(13) rò dà shí 入大室 ‘enter the main hall’ (frequently found in BI].

When an intr. verb is followed by a direct object, the meaning is causative (ex. 15: zhāng or putative (ex. 17):

(14) zhāng zì sī yān 長子死焉 (grow intr. / son / to die intr. / there) ‘My eldest son died there’ [Meng 1A, 5].

(15) zhāng wǒ yò wǒ 長我與我 (grow intr. / me / raise tr. / me) ‘(My mother) let me grow up and raised me’ [Shi 202, 4].

**Stative verb (sv.)**
— functions like an intr. verb (ex. 16: chāng), or modifies a noun (zhāng in ex. 14). These often correspond to English adjectives and numerals. When a sv. is followed by an obj., the
meaning is usually either caus. (ex. 15) or put. (ex. 17 yuán); however, the verb can also behave like a regular infl. or tr. verb: Gabelentz (p. 333) lists verbs that include hóu 背 ‘be after, behind’ > tr.vb.; ‘to follow behind’, > caus. (factive) ‘to place behind’.

(16) dào zú ér cháng 通阻而长 (road / be difficult / part. / be long s.v.) ‘the road is difficult and long’ [Shi 129, 1].
(17) bù yǒu qiān lǐ ér lǐ bú 不逾千里而来 (not / be far sv. / thousand / miles / part. / come) ‘You have not considered a thousand miles too far to come’ [Meng 1A, 1].

Copula
or link verb
- ‘to be’, ‘to be not’, ‘be like’, etc. The word order is A - vb. - B.
(18) yù wéi xiǎo zǐ 于惟小子 (I / be to / small / child) ‘I am a young person’ [Shu 27, 9].
(19) dì wéi hán wò 帝位候我 (god / to be / drought n. / us) ‘God is (the one) who causes us drought’ [OB, Hayashi 125, 13].
(20) bái mā fēi mā 白馬非馬 (white / horse / to be not / horse) ‘A white horse is not a horse’ [Gongzun Longzi 2].

Particle (part.)
- ‘not’ (see bù ‘not’ in examples above), interrogative particle ma 嗎, etc.

2.1.3 Derivation and word class
A word can belong to up to four different grammatical / lexical layers. Let us consider the sv. cháng 長 ‘be long’ in this sentence:

(1) ... yí cháng wǒ wàng guó ... 以長我國 (thereby / be long / I, my / king / state)
‘... thereby (make long, lengthen) perpetuate my, the king’s, state’ [Shujing 39, 24].

(a) Syntactically, cháng fills the position of a transitive verb, i.e., it is followed by an object.
(b) Grammatically, cháng’s function is causative because it is an intr. sv. with an object.
(c) Lexically, the word cháng ‘be long’ belongs to the static verb class (sv.).
(d) Etymologically, cháng is an endopassive derivation from zhǎng 張 ‘to stretch’ (see §4.11.2–2 for definitions).

The usages and properties (a) to (c) are usually unmarked in OC, whereas morphology applies only to word derivation (d). However, these different levels often coalesce and are irrelevant in practice. In §2.1.2 ex. 5, jiàn 见 tr. ‘to see, visit’ is a transitive verb on all levels; since it is not a derivation, the etymological level does not apply. Xiàn 現 with a MC voiced initial is said to be the intransitive of jiàn; however, xiàn is not the grammatical intr. as in ‘the eyes are seeing’ (which would be expressed by word order as in mù jiàn 目見), but it is a new endopassive word ‘to appear’ (§4.6) as in

(2) zhòu mò xiān 朝暮見 (morning / evening / to appear intr.) ‘the official’ appeared mornings and evenings’ [Mengzi 2B, 6].

In IE languages, where derivation usually affects a change in word class or grammatical properties, we find also instances where word class has no connection with its derivational morpheme. The English word ‘to a painting’ belongs to the word class noun, although it is etymologically an inflectional verb form as in ‘be painting’ (Beard 1998: 60).

2.2 Types of derivations and allomorphs
The morphemic and / or phonemic distinctions within a wf can have several types of explanations in ST languages:

(1) Distinction based on identifiable, meaningful morphemes or morphological processes, e.g., zhí 筑 *tock < *taks ‘what is woven’ is derived from zhí < *tak ‘to weave’ with a passive-forming suffix *-s (tone C); or WT skor-ba ‘to surround’ < *klor-ba ‘to turn round’ with the transitive s-prefix; or endopassive voicing of the initial in xián 現 ‘gêns ‘to appear’ < jìan 見, *kêns ‘to see’ (§4.6). Here we may include the fusion of two known words, e.g., fà 非 *pô ‘it is not’ < bù 不 *po ‘not’ + wèi ‘wi ‘to be’; or WT sbul ‘snake’ < sâ ‘flesh’ + PTB *tobr (but s- is already a prefix for all practical purposes).

(2) Distinction due to morphophonemic change whose function is (so far) not understood, such as the final *k in zhî 畚 *tek ‘single’ n zhî 只 *te ‘only’; or WT kâ ‘bitter’ n kag ‘difficult’; or ‘hundred’ bâi 百 *prâk vs. PTB *brya; or the b- in WT bse ‘rhinoceroses’.

(3) The cause for the differentiation in wfs may lie outside of CH and belong to the parent language; in unrelated languages, they have been introduced from the outside with the loan / substrate word. For example, xiàng 業 snn ‘belt, sash’ < MK: Khmer cnŷg ‘rope, belt’ derives from Khmer caŋ ‘to bind, tie’. Here the n in the OC initial represents a MK nominalizing infix which is unknown in ST and OC; the initial *s- in xiàng is not an OC / ST prefix, even though it looks like one.

(4) Distinction due to dialectal divergences, including that between colloquial vs. literary styles. Thus (colloquial) Mandarin tã 他 ‘he, she, it’ is the same etymon as the literary word tuo ‘the other’.

(5) The reasons for the distinctions are as yet unknown; allomorphic relationships can be due to any and all the above, plus others, for example (MC after the graph):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qiáng 强</td>
<td>be strong</td>
<td>qiáng 强</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qiăng 强</td>
<td>make an effort, compel</td>
<td>qiăng 强</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qing 勤</td>
<td>strong, powerful</td>
<td>qing 勤</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jing 勝</td>
<td>strong</td>
<td>jing 勝</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hang 行</td>
<td>strong, vigorous</td>
<td>hang 行</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geng 惟</td>
<td>strong</td>
<td>geng 惟</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Additional kinds of changes which are often encountered in wfs are alternations in the MC divisions, especially div. III vs. others (§9); and ‘vowel change’, sometimes called ‘Ablaut’ (§11.1.2).

Since OC morphological processes have so far been difficult to understand, word family relationships have been the best one could offer (Karlgren, Wáng Lì). The present work will attempt to bring more precision to the study of etymology by suggesting, when possible, morphological explanations for allomorphs. This is the purpose of this and the subsequent introductory chapters.

2.3 Sino-Tibetan morphology

2.3.1 The nature of Sino-Tibetan affixation
Affixes in TB languages and OC are prefixes, or pre-initials, and suffixes. There are no infixes in the Austroasiatic or Austronesian sense, but for possible exceptions, see §2.7 and §7.5.

Affixes are attached to a root or a stem, which is often another word. We assume here that a ST / OC root can have a shape ranging from a simple CV (even V?) to a complex CCVC (*thu, *stâ, *sri, *kru) (Sagart 1999 has a simpler theory). The difference between stem and root is often not obvious or is nonexistent, thus *tun may look like a root in CH, but comparisons with
TB may show it to be a stem belonging to *tu. Since every root can serve as a stem, we will generally use this latter term.

Most of the affixes in OC also have counterparts in TB languages; they are therefore of ST heritage. Most are unproductive in OC.

The term ‘pre-initial’ is used for ‘prefix’ by some when the morpheme has no discernible meaning, even though it may have a function. Thus WT s- is a transitive prefix; the meaning of the WT prefix or ‘pre-initial’ g- in gsum ‘three’ is not clear, but it still has a function in word derivation (gsum vs. sum): the b- in WT bse ‘rhinoceros’ has no discernible function, although it is phonologically treated as a prefix. We will use the term ‘prefix’ because many a ‘pre-initial’ may well be an as yet unidentified ‘prefix’ in the stricter sense; after all, ‘prefix’ literally means something (anything) ‘attached in front’ of a word (Yves Duhoux, *JIES* 26, 1998: 5). At least some prefixes in area languages may have started as full words in compounds, but have over time been simplified. Thus the TB ‘animal prefix’ s- derives from *sa ‘flesh’, and m- from mi ‘human being’; or note MK: Khmu *kipa*’resin’, where the prefix kl- is short for the word kl- ‘tree’.

TB prefixes tend to fall away in compounds, e.g., WT gsum ‘three’ and bse ‘ten’, but sum-ču ‘thirty’, sňiş ‘heart’, but sňiş-ku ‘heart, spirit’; or Mikir p̪i-p̪jo (*p̪-ja) ‘bee’, but jō-hāj ‘wasp’ (Grüßner 1978: 36; for many examples from Jingpo [JP], see Dai Qingxia / Wu Hede 1995). Since these pre-initials are removable, they may vary from language to language and branch to branch, thus ‘five’ is *ṭi-ṛa in WT, but *ḅ-ṛa in other branches of TB. We should not expect a given prefix to have existed in every branch of ST. In this work we assume that they were not present in OC unless there is evidence to the contrary within Chinese. For example, in PTB *m-si ‘liver’; we cannot tell if there ever was a pre-initial in the CH cognate xin *sin ‘bitter’, and therefore we must assume that there was none; the meaning ‘bitter’ would, in fact, speak against the ‘human’ m-prefix.

### 2.3.2 Sino-Tibetan morphemes

Most OC morphemes are ST because they also occur in TB languages. Unger (*Hao-ku* 20–21, 1983) has identified over 200 OC items with MC tone C (final *s-/h) which show similarity with the PTB suffix *ς (§4.2.1). A few examples may illustrate the survival of ST morphological distinctions in OC by providing two or three parallel cognate forms from OC, WT, WB, or Lushai. In Tables 2-1 to 2-5 we note a ST suffix *ς (OC *ς / *ς) with a past / passive meaning (ex. 2-1; §4.4); the same suffix in 2-5 (there OC *ς, Lushai *ʔ / *ʔ) with a transitive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2-3</th>
<th>Form 1</th>
<th>Form 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OC</td>
<td>ką̃ *khaʔ ‘bitter, difficult’</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>kʰa ‘bitter’</td>
<td>kʰag ‘difficult’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td>kʰaʔ ‘bitter’</td>
<td>kʰak ‘difficult’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2-4</th>
<th>Form 1</th>
<th>Form 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OC</td>
<td>shi 食 *m-lak ‘eat’</td>
<td>sì 食 *s-lak ‘caus. to feed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TB</td>
<td>*m-ljak ‘to lock, eat’</td>
<td>*s-ljak ‘caus. to feed’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2-5</th>
<th>Form 1</th>
<th>Form 2</th>
<th>Form 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OC</td>
<td>cì 慈 *dza ‘loving’</td>
<td>zi 子 *dzoh ‘breed’</td>
<td>zi 子 *tsaʔ ‘child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>mdza-’ba ‘to love’</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>ts’a-bo &lt; *tsa ‘grandchild’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td>caA ‘have tender regard for’</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>saB ‘son, offspring’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lush.</td>
<td>*faʔ/h ‘feed baby’</td>
<td>*faʔ ‘child’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

connotation (§4.3); a ST final *k of unknown function (ex. 2-2, 2-3); a ST causative s-prefix, and perhaps also an m-prefix (ex. 2-4; §5.2; 8.1.3); and a morphological role of voicing of initial consonants (ex. 2-5; §4.6).

### 2.4 Morphemes in Old Chinese

#### 2.4.1 Historical layers of morphemes in Old Chinese

Derivational morphemes or their traces in OC and MC belong to one of three identifiable historical layers:

1. The oldest, and unproductive, morphemes have survived in words inherited from the ST parent language; these morphemes are typically part of words that have direct TB cognates, e.g., prefixes such as introvert *m- and extrovert *ς (§8.1.4; Table 2-4 above).
2. A middle layer belongs to Proto-Chinese (PCH); it is represented by segmental morphemes of ST origin, which were, however, not any more productive in OC. Since this layer has hardly any TB cognate words with these ST morphemes, the OC words in question cannot have been inherited from ST; they must have been produced between ST and OC, i.e., PCH.
3. The youngest layer was still productive or at least transparent in OC; the source of its morphological features (later reflected in MC tones and voicing) was also ST. This system requires a more detailed discussion (see Chapter §4).

#### 2.4.2 Suffixes in Old Chinese

Segmental suffixes, that is, those which can still be identified as MC phonemes, are indistinguishable from final consonants which belong to a stem; they can be identified only on etymological grounds. These suffixes were productive no longer in OC; they belong to the PCH or ST layer. For more details, see §6. Here we will draw attention to a few of them to illustrate their survival in OC.
### 2.4.3 MORPHOLOGY

**Suffix -n**
marks nouns, either as derivation from another word, or redundantly attached to a noun. E.g., *jīn* 津 ‘a ford’ is a noun derived from *jī* 濟 ‘to ford’. The ST root *kwi* (> PTB *kwi* ‘dog’) is obviously nominal, yet Chinese adds this nominal -n, thus *quàn* 犬. *Suffix -n* is a ST inheritance because it is also found sporadically in TB languages, e.g., WT *rku* ‘thief’ < *rku* ‘to steal’. However, this ST suffix must have been productive only during some phase of Proto-Chinese because there are hardly any OC – TB cognate sets with this suffix: OC has no final -n counterpart to WT *rku*; conversely, *quàn* occurs only in CH, i.e., there are no final -n forms in TB. Furthermore, *suffix -n* in *jīn* has been attached to an AA stem ([§6.4.3]).

**Suffix -ŋ**
stands for the third person pronoun after certain auxiliary verbs (prepositions), thus *yān* 燕 ‘at it’ < *yū* 雨 ‘at’. *yān zǐ* 燕子 ‘at it’ is ungrammatical and does not occur in OC. This suffix is a PCH innovation, perhaps the result of a fusion of the preposition with a pronoun with initial *n*. Several non-ST languages in the area have such pronouns, and one occurs also in Mandarin (*nà* 那), though not in OC ([§6.4.5]).

**Suffix -t**
derives a terminative word from a simplex. This is a ST / PCH morpheme, e.g., *wǎng* 向 *maŋ* ‘to lose’ (< *get to not have’) < *wǔ* 無 *ma* ‘not have’ ([§6.5.1]).

**Suffix -t**
is a ST morpheme, productive in Proto-Chinese, which typically marks natural objects; it is often found redundantly attached to nouns, e.g., *xué* 血 *hw:t* ‘blood’, *yuè* 月 *spot* ‘moon’ ([§6.2.1]).

**Suffix -k**
forms distributives, a Proto-Chinese innovation: *mò* 莫 *māk* ‘none, no one’ < *wǔ* 無 *ma* ‘there is no’ ([§6.1.2]).

### 2.4.3 Sino-Tibetan prefixes in Old Chinese

The most conspicuous among ST prefixes in OC are *s*- and *m*. The ST and PCH s-prefix is reflected in MC in several ways, including these three (for additional details, see §5).

(a) MC s- < OC *s-*, MC *s- < *s-* from a PCH s-prefix or preinitial, it occurs before OC sonorant initials, most typically *n-, *ŋ-, and *r- (as MC *s-*) ([§5.2.1]).
(b) MC *ji*- before OC *l-, *j-, and *w- ([§8.1.2]).
(c) MC voiceless consonants from OC voiceless sonorants (see §5)

Three functions of the ST s-prefix can be identified:

**Prefix s- (1)**
creates causatives ([§4.3.1]; [§8.1.2]):

Feed

*si* 食 (*ziō*<sup>s</sup>) *s-làkh* ‘to feed’ < caus. of *shí* 食 (*džjək*) *m-làk* ‘to eat’

**Prefix s- (2)**
forms iteratives ([§5.2.3]):

Seven

*qí* 七 *tshit* < *sṇhit* ‘seven’, lit. ‘two again’

< PTB *snis* ‘seven’ < ST *nis* ‘two’

### 2.4.4 Inflection

**ST**
and **TB** had no inflexion. An exception may be **OC** medial *r* which derives causative verbs ([§7.5]), e.g., *chú* 切 *ču* ‘to cut’ < *chú* 出 *ču* ‘to come out’. It is not certain whether this *r* was an inflexion or prefix. If the source was **ST**, it may be related to the r-prefix as found in **WT**; alternatively, some **MK** languages have a causative r-infix. Since *chú* was prob.
2.5 Parallel roots and stems

A difficulty in TB and ST historical linguistics and reconstruction is the frequent occurrence of two or more stems or words with similar meaning and similar phonological shape (examples below). They are difficult to reconcile by known phonological or morphological processes, even though they look like members of a word. This is also the case in other language families in the area, including those of which Shorto (1973: 375) observes: “... it is noticeable that within the general range of meanings encountered in each of the three series [i.e., word families that he discusses] there is only limited agreement between the specific meanings assigned to a given variant or derivate in different languages. This implies a marked tendency to semantic shift in phono-aesthetic series, a tendency which would itself help to explain the retention of variants as distinct lexemes in individual languages.”

Pendling further insights, we will assume parallel roots and stems for ST (Shorto’s variants and derives) and individual branches and languages to account for the occurrence of not one homophonous stems which are distributed rather erratically over CH and TB languages (Matteis 1978, esp. p. 21). Since CH has often inherited these paralelisms from the ST parent language, their etymology cannot be uncovered within OC. As in OC, ST, parallel stems often differ in vowels (a ~ e), in the presence or absence of medial *r, or both. Examples include (also in §11.1.3-4; throughout Matteis 1978):

| ST | *rin<‘live’ (-shêng 生) | ~ ST *sin ‘alive, green’ (+qîng 青) | ~ ST *siq ‘alive, green’ (+câng 蒼) |
| ST *san ‘clear’ (WT *saq) | ~ ST *seq ‘clear’ (+qîng 清) |
| OC tân ‘dark’ | ~ OC yân, ēn 燕, ēn ‘be at ease’ |
| ST *(r)wa ‘rain’ (-yû 雨) | ~ ST *(r)we ‘rain’ (-yû 雨, 不雨) |
| ST *ka ‘solid’ (-gû 厚) | ~ ST *kar ‘solid’ (-gû 厚) |
| ST *qian ‘stretch’ (-zhûn 張) | ~ WT *qian ‘stretch’ |
| WB *kru ‘meet with’ | ~ WT *kùn pa ~ kûng pa ‘to find, get’ |
| JP kur 555 < kru 555 ‘to meet’ | ~ JP *kùn 555 < kûn 555 ‘id.’ |
| JP kru 555 < kru 555 ‘to catch’ | ~ kòu 貓 ‘kôh 555 ‘chick’ (+gô 555) |
| OC chû, 五 ‘huk, *huk ‘nourish’ | ~ jú 薅 ‘kô 555 ‘nourish’ |
| OC chû, 魚 ‘fish, *huk ‘nourish’ | ~ jû 薅 ‘kô 555 ‘nourish’ |
| ST *(l)ap ‘foliation, generation’ (-yû 雨) | ~ WT rabs ‘lineage’ |
| ST *(l)am ‘blaze’ (-yàn 炎) | ~ WT *am ‘blaze’ (-yàn 炎) |

These variants cannot be the result of early ST dialectal evolution, because they do not correspond in a systematic way to later branches of ST; also, on occasion, both are found in the same language, frequently CH. We may speculate that ST*/rin<‘live’ (-shêng 生) might have been responsible, thus ST *sin ‘alive, green’ (+qîng 青) vs. *sin ‘alive, green’ (+câng 蒼) or ST *lwam ‘> *lam ~ *wam. Eventually, simple explanations may be found.

2.5.1 Parallel stems of ‘swell’

Parallel stems can be quite numerous and present a picture of meaning / stem distributions that looks rather boundless and chaotic. However, considering the overall semantic field of a parallel stem (related or not) can sometimes clarify CH and ST etymologies and even uncover connections that would not be obvious if one attempted to study a putative ST root in isolation, or study the lexicon of only a single language. For illustration, let us consider the complex of stems ‘swell’ in some detail (Tables 2-6, 2-7; see also >chô, 魚 for additional illustration and considerations). We will not complicate the picture with too many AA data, like Khmer/book/‘swelling mass’, pora/baaor/‘swell up, rise, bulge’, /puru/‘to swell up, overflow’, /pûr ‘to swell’, /pûr ‘mass, heap, pile’, /pûr ‘mass, mound, group’, etc.

Representative data about ‘swell’ in the two tables list distinct ST stems or roots in the columns, while the rows represent similar meanings. The latter are randomly distributed over similar-looking roots and stems (labial stop initial, vowels o or u, without or with final nasal or *): bo, bu, bur, bun (‘Swell’ Table 2-6), pô, pûn, pom, pun (‘Swell’ Table 2-7). (This list is not exhaustive.) Each of the eight stems (four in each table) are found in one language, to swell, swollen, or in an abstract, semantic derivative of ‘swell’ (‘bubble’, ‘thigh’). The overall stem / meaning distribution shows, for example, that JP *bôn 555 ‘hill’, JP *bôm 555 ‘swell’, and CH पूं ‘bôm ‘luxuriant’ belong to the same stem and are genetically related in spite of their rather different meanings, whereas JP *bôn 555 ‘lie down’ is outside the semantic range and unrelated. Conversely, CH पूं ‘big hill’ probably is not cognate JP *bôn ‘hill’, etc., across the table in another column. Looking at this distribution from another angle: for ‘hill’ CH used the stems *pôn and *bu, JP *pûn; ‘protrude’: JP *pôn, Lushai and WB *po, WT and WB *bur ~ *pru; ‘assembly, amass’: JP *pôn, Lushai *pûn, WB *pûn, OCM *bo.
### 2.6 Austroasiatic morphology in Old Chinese

Austroasiatic (AA), or rather Mon-Khmer languages (MK), have contributed to PCH linguistic development by providing a substrate (or rather "adstrate") vocabulary and with it fragments of MK morphology. These phonemes / morphemes have no identifiable meaning within the OC / ST frame of reference, but a MK connection can occasionally provide an explanation for the bewildering and odd array of sound variations within the OC word family.

#### 2.6.1 Austroasiatic infixes in Old Chinese

The nominalizing m-infix (or -mn-) is common in MK languages. Several words which in OC had an initial *n*, or an initial cluster with *n*, are such MK nominal derivatives where the OC nasal represents the original MK infix. Such words include:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Peg</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>脣 (ťîwâj)</td>
<td>rën 稔 (nâjâm)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **AA**: Khmer *tnote* /tnaat/ 'impaling pole, skewer, spit' < ʔota /daaot/ 'to impale, run into...'
- **MK**: Khmer *tnote* /tnaat/ 'impaling pole, skewer, spit' < 年 'year'

#### 2.6.2 Austroasiatic word families in Old Chinese

Besides OC words with nasal initials, there are many other unanalyzable words in OC, some of which can be explained as fragments of MK word families. An example would serve: derivations from the AA root that occurs in Khmer as ន (C-mu-) 'male' (animal: steer, etc.)

- **MK**: Khmer *jmuol* /cmphol/ 'male of animals' is derived from a root meaning 'to hollow out, groove, perforate' > 'to plant' (with a planting stick with which one pokes into the soil).

- **OC**: बेद (muu) 'm* marriage go-between, match-maker'

- **MK**: Khmer *dhhmâya* /tmiiaj/ 'agent, representative' > बेद (muu) 'marriage go-between' from a root 'to support, represent'

### 2.6.2.2 Mon-Khmer morphology

**Familiarity**

- **MK**: Khmer *janph* /cmnpt/ (i.e., etymologically j-mn-it) 'nearness, closeness, familiarity, with intimacy' < म बत 'to be near to, to be close' + जी, जी 'to approach'

- **Belt**

- **Wedge**

- **Oar, rudder**

- **A MK agentic m-infix survives in these OC words**

- **Male animal**

- **Go-between**

#### 2.6.2.2 Austroasiatic *m-infix* survives in these OC words:

- **A MK agentic m-infix survives in these OC words:**

- **Male animal**

- **Go-between**

---

22
2.7 MORPHOLOGY

Expressives, reduplication

Expressives "are sentence descriptors that describe noises, colors, light patterns, shapes, movements, sensations, emotions, aesthetic feelings and so on" (Diffloth Encyclopedia Britannica, 5th ed. 1974–97, vol. 22: 701). Expressives are based on sound symbolism or "synaesthesia" (Shorto, Diffloth) and are therefore phonologically unstable with irregular developments. In Kam-Tai languages and sporadically in Chinese, animal names and other nouns can also take on an expressive shape (see 2c and 2b below).

Expressives are frequently encountered in the Early OC text Shijing with its popular songs. They can take these types of phonological shapes:

1. (The ST s-prefix forms intensives / iteratives (§5.2.3).

2. Reduplication (examples are taken from Baxter / Sagart 1998: 640f):
   a. complete reduplication as in guăn-guăn 當當 OCM *krōn-krōn 'cry of the ospreys';
   b. partial reduplication involving the finals only (diēyān 雷霆, riming), e.g., yào-tiào 跳跳 *[tɕʰei̯-tɕʰei̯] *tɕʰi̯-tɕʰi̯ 'elegant, beautiful'; this example belongs to a specialized version of this type (next item c);
   c. Repetition of the rhyme with initial *r > MC J (Sagart 1999: 111–120 'infix'), or *I >
      MC jī- or d-, e.g., Mand. zhōng-lāng 站長 'cockroach', kān-tàn 咳喚 *[kʰam-tʰam] *kʰam-tʰam? *pît',
      hán-dăn 蛤殼 *[gʰam-tʰam] *gʰam-tʰam? 'kind of waterlily';
   d. partial reduplication, involving only the initial (shuāngshēng 雙聲, alliteration), e.g., cěncī 参差 *[sʰam-sʰa] *sʰam-sʰa 'uneven, irregular';
   e. partial reduplication involving only the vowels as in a chiming expression; the alternations are typically between e / o or i / a, e.g., zhānzhuān 鼇轉 *trena-tron?'
      'toss and turn', or xǐshuài 汗搓 *sirt-srut 'cricket'.

Type (c) is also common in Tai; Li Fang Kuei (1977: 93) quotes Siamese ma-lai 'damage, destroy'; because this word is probably borrowed from a Chinese form (note → hut, 蝦蟄 *hmai 'destroy') the /I/ is here an 'infix'. Historically, such forms probably originated as a type of reduplication where the first syllable is reduced to a vowel, and the rime is repeated with an initial J-. Siamese words like meeg = ma-leeg 'insect', and met = let = ma-leet 'grain' are ambiguous because the first syllable is also an animal / plant prefix. Aslian (AA)

2.8 Non-morphological word formation

2.8.1 Re-analysis

Sinitic languages (commonly "dialects") sometimes have word forms that are not the phonological analogues of standard Mandarin or MC forms. These near homophones are not the result of phonological change, but of re-etymologizing, either occasioned by taboo considerations or by folk etymology. For example:

Cantonese ji12-tua453-Hu31 熟頭 'sun' is re-etymologized as 'the hot one' < MC hâjî 太 'hot' instead of MC hâjî 太 'sun';

Mîn, e.g., Xiâmîn tui44 油 'earth' = MC duo32 'plaster, mud' is re-etymologizing of the analogue of Mand. tū 陶 = MC tâo41 'earth';

gûshi 故事 'story' has in southern dialects been re-analyzed as the Mand. equivalent of gûshi 古事 'old affair', e.g., M–Fûhû ku3144 jo-lkâ22;

qîn鉛 'lead' n. < kʰ for MC jiên ān has been re-etymologized in most Mand. and Wû dialects as connected with 'hard, strong' qîn 鉛 = MC kʰân;

qînbí 鉛筆 'pencil' is called in some dialects, such as Wûhán and Jiān'ān, the Mand. equivalent of yângbí 洋筆 'western / foreign pen', which may perhaps be an apt re-etymologizing of the original MC jiên ān 'lead' (as in K–Mêxiān ián11-pit11);

jîng 鏡 MC kîngc 'mirror' (< 'the bright one') is perhaps a late OC derivation from liâng 光 'light' n., re-etymologizing of the original jiên ān 銅 'mirror';

nîô 鳥 'bird' < MC tui6: the initial may have been changed to n/ because of Kam-Tai substrate forms for 'bird' like nok02S. In fact, nîô agrees with regular correspondence patterns in Kam-Tai.

An example from OC / PCH is the following:

Thumb mû mû [mo] *mō 'thumb, big toe' => PL *C-ma 'thumb'

The OC counterpart to PTB *a should be *s or *s: the CH cognate should have been mîi [mû] *mâi. Due to paronomastic attraction to mîi 'mother', the CH word had become a homophone of the latter. Perhaps the PL form and PTB *ma 'mother' are related ('mother of fingers/toes').

2.8.2 Backformation, re-cutting

A phoneme can be subtracted or lost due to back formation or re-cutting. This is also the result of re-analysis of the word (H. H. Hock 1986: 200f). Examples of morphological re-analysis...
2.8.3 – 2.8.4 MORPHOLOGY

occur sporadically in many languages, for instance, English 'an adder' is a mis-analyzed 'a nadder'. Illustrative TB examples are the words for 'dog' and 'eight': 'dog' PTB *kwi, but Lushai *k'kwi 'dog' where the initial k-seems to have dropped as an assumed prefix. The segments of ST *prjat ~ *pret (or *b instead of *p), including later epenthetic ones, are treated variously as part of the root or as a prefix in the different languages:

*prjat ~ *pret > TGTM *prat
          > OC *pret ~ *prjat /\ > MC pät > Mand. bā \b
*p-hret > WB hrac
*b-ret > Kanauri re, Lushai riat
*br-jat > WT bgyad > Tib. dialects > *gjet > jet

A few OC words may be the result of such re-cutting, the best examples of which are the tone A derivations (§3.1).

Re-analysis may possibly occur in the difference in initials between t'í *rei'í *hrêt or *hrêt 'body, form, shape' and shêng 生 [sen] *srên 'to be alive, be born'. Both words probably belong to ST *sri 'to be'. In shêng, the initial *s- was understood as the causative prefix, although it happens to belong to the ST stem; in t'í, no causative meaning was apparent, hence it developed regularly by devoicing from what was taken to be the root initial *t- (§5.2). But for an alternative explanation, see — t'í 體.

2.8.3 Metathesis

In a few items, ST words with initial consonant clusters underwent a metathesis of the post-initial consonant and the following vowel (CCV > CVC). Benedict (LTBA 16:2, 1993: 121) calls these 'split cognates'. This is the result of a sesquisyllabic form (Matissoff’s term) with a vowel between prefix and initial consonant which subsequently became the main vowel with loss of the final vowel (CCV = CVC > CVC). A case in point is

Five PTB *b-na? ‘five’ (variant of *l-na) > Lushai paga > poy.

Here the intermediate sesquisyllabic stage of a form is attested. Such a form is not found in the few other cases; they all involve a putative ST *r- or *m- pre-initial:

To steal PTB *r-ku, WT rku-ba ‘to steal’, WB k'uiR vs. Lushai ruk (or variant of ruk ?)

Sell PTB *r-ja ‘to sell’ vs. WB roqR ‘to sell’

Control ST *m-na? ‘to drive, control’, WT mpa-'ba 'might, dominion', yōb 郵 *nah 'drive a chariot, direct' vs. WB moyR 'threaten, drive away' vs a-moyR 'driving'

Smell ST *m-nam ?, PTB *m-nam ‘to smell’, WT mnam-pa 'smell of’ vs. vén 耳 *man ‘to smell’; in this stem the final dental nasal -n also could have been the result of labial dissimilation.

Some of the words with medial OC *r may also be the result of this process (§6.1; §7.7.3).

2.8.4 Convergence

Occasionally two etymology have coalesced in OC into one word or word family. This can even involve items from different language families (CH has attached the final *k):

sè 色 (t'ók) [tīk, S shaky] *srak (< sar-k)
          (1) ‘color, color of face, appearance, countenance’ < ST: Lushai saarH < saar
            ‘prismatic colors’ ~ saarR / sarR ‘healthy looking, rosy, ruddy’
          (2) ‘good looks / charms of women, sexual pleasures’
              < AA: Khmer /srek/ ‘thirst or lust after’ < /srek/ ‘enjoy oneself’

Convergence is often the result of a semantic shift from one word to another. E.g., rên 稲 [nâm] *nam? ‘year’ < AA ‘year’ (no implication of ‘harvest’) has eventually also acquired the meaning ‘harvest’ under the influence of the nearly homophonous nián 年 [nen] *nn̂ ‘harvest’ > ‘year’ of ST origin.

2.9 Meaning and sound

Occasionally, certain meanings are associated with certain sounds. These are phonesthetic (or ‘phonaesthetic’) phenomena, e.g. English sl- is suggestive in words like slide, slip, slim, etc. Similar groups of OC words make the superficial, but often erroneous, impression of being somehow genetically related. Words that signify movement with an abrupt endpoint often end in *k (§6.1). Words with the meaning ‘shutting, closing’, which also implies an endpoint, tend to end in *p. Words that imply ‘keeping in a closed mouth’ tend to end in a final *-m, such as ‘keeping in the mouth’ > ‘resent’ etc., savoring something in the mouth such as ‘drink, sweet, salty, insipid’; ‘keeping closed’ extends to notions of ‘hidden, dark, black’. The same and similar notions — ‘dark, black, covered, blind, stupid’ — tend to start with the stem initial *m-. Roots and stems meaning ‘round, turn, return’ have an initial *w-not only in Chinese, but generally in the languages of the area, including MK (Short 1973): such words do, of course, not end abruptly in a stop consonant, but trail off in a final nasal or lateral, hence such meanings are expressed with roots like *win, *wal, and *war + variants with other vowels (see the dictionary under the letters H, W, Y).

Anything to do with the tongue tends to have initial *l-, such as ‘tongue, lick, sweet’; anything involving breathness tends to have an aspirated initial consonant, as do notions of ‘hollow, empty’ (§8.5 to §8.6). Guttural sounds as in ‘mute, strange’ and the like tend to start with glottal stop *?-(examples can be gleaned from letters E and Y in the dictionary). Words for ‘soft, subtle, flexible’, including ‘flesh; female breast’ start with *n- (§1.4.1; dictionary N, R).

Some animal names or sounds are onomatopoeic: ‘chicken’ *ki (Pkr) ~ ji 雞 *kö (OCM) ~ *r}ka (PWM); ‘chicken’ in some TB languages, e.g., Lushai *nar; or *crow’ wē-yā 鳥鸦 *t; māo 貓 ‘cat’ is universal; niú 牛 *nuw ‘cow’; fēi 飛 < ST *baus ‘to bark’.

2.10 Semantic extension

The unknown is metaphorically expressed by something known; the abstract is usually derived from the concrete: ‘shake’ > ‘fear’; ‘keep in the mouth’ > ‘dissatisfied, resentment’; ‘rise’ > ‘anger’; ‘cold’ > ‘grieved’; ‘thick’ > ‘generous’; ‘white’ > ‘understand’; ‘black’ > ‘evil’; ‘get the better of’ > ‘be able’; ‘carry, bear’ > ‘endure’; ‘heart’ > ‘mind’; ‘gall’ > ‘courage’; ‘sun’ > ‘day’. Metaphors become new words. Chinese shares many metaphors with other languages, including English.

Occasionally, the semantic leap of a suspected extension is difficult to follow; note the ST notion ‘hear’ > ‘ask’. A few verbs with the meanings ‘to think, to say’ or other abstractions are apparently semantic extensions of verbs ‘to be, to do, to act, to go’. Something similar is observed in many languages, such as Eng. the saying went like this: ‘...’, or he went on and on. In TB languages: WT byed-pa, byas ‘to make, fabricate, do’ > žes byas-pa ‘thus said, so
MORPHOLOGY

3
MIDDLE CHINESE TONES
AND THEIR OLD CHINESE EQUIVALENTS

MC and LHAn had three tones: tone A (píngshēng 平聲 = 'even’ or ‘level’ tone), tone B (shǎngshēng 上聲 = ‘rising’ tone), and tone C (qǐngshēng 去聲 = ‘falling’ or ‘departing’ tone), and, according to traditional Chinese phonological analysis, tone D (rùshēng 入聲 = ‘entering’ tone) for words which end in a stop consonant (p, t, k), i.e., this short-stopped syllable type was toneless. These tonal categories are projected back to OC where tone A is thought to have been an open syllable or one ending in a nasal, tone B marked a syllable with a glottal stop in the final (or a glottalized syllable), and tone C a syllable with final *-s/*-h. Tones A and D are usually left unmarked as this causes no ambiguity; OC probably had no “tones” in the later sense but instead segmental phonemes. Nevertheless, we will here apply the term ‘tone’ also to OC in the sense of “later tonal category” for the sake of clarity and to sidestep arguments about their OC phonetic nature. Because MC tones are projected back to identical ones in LHAn, subsequently examples will often be cited in simpler LHAn forms.

All three tones can belong either to a root or stem, or play some morphological role. The most common morphological tones are B shǎngshēng and C qǐngshēng, which together with initial voicing form a derivational system which marks direction and diathesis (§4). The contrast between alloforms in the three different tones is exemplified by the following paradigm, where the form in tone A is the simplex, the derivation in tone B is endoactive (§4.5), and the derivation in tone C is exoactive (§4.4) (LHAn after the graph):

zhī 之 tō, *to
zhí 止 tō, *to
zhì 志 tō, *to
‘to go, proceed’
‘foot’ (< ‘that which is being done the going’)
‘goal, purpose’ (< ‘what is being proceeded to’)

3.1 Middle Chinese tone A (píngshēng 平聲)
Tone A (‘even’ or ‘level’ tone) reflects OC open syllables or ones with a nasal codas; they are assumed to be the basic unmarked type and usually go back to basic ET forms, e.g., qiū 山 [kʰu̯], khwa ‘village’ ∗Lushai kʰu̯a < kʰua. However, individual languages, including CH, frequently have attached final consonants to open ST stems, e.g., bāi 百 [pak] *prák ‘hundred’ vs. WT bgya, WB ɾ-ra ∗. A

The rare tone A ‘derivations’ are nouns from stems that have an inherent tone B, tone C, or a final stop consonant. The original mechanism may have been re-analysis (§2.8).

Rain yǔ 雨 [wʊ] ‘rain’ > yü 雨 [wʊ] ‘sacrifice with prayer for rain’
‘Rain’ yǔ is a widely attested ST word; it can be set up as ST *wʊ? (with final glottal stop) on the strength of Kuki-Chin and Chepang forms in addition to MC. This rules out the possibility that ‘rain’ is a tone B derivation from ‘sacrifice for rain’, which would also be semantically implausible. However, elsewhere tone B can be a morpheme which creates or marks endoactive verbs or words (§4.5); ‘to rain’ fits this pattern, so that tone B may have been felt to be this morpheme rather than part of the root. ‘Sacrifice for rain’ was then created as a back formation by removal of the alleged suffix tone B.
3.2.1 TONES

Additional tone A derivations include the following items (LH forms after the character):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Slave</th>
<th>xí 竃</th>
<th>ge&lt;sup&gt;C&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>‘to be bond’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xì 基</td>
<td>ge</td>
<td>‘slave, captive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wine-master</td>
<td>jǔ 酒</td>
<td>tsiu&lt;sup&gt;B&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>‘wine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>quí 酡</td>
<td>dzu&lt;sup&gt;u&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>‘wine-master’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing slip</td>
<td>biǎn 扁</td>
<td>pian&lt;sup&gt;B&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>‘narrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>piān 篇</td>
<td>p'ian</td>
<td>‘writing slip’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tally</td>
<td>fù 附</td>
<td>buo&lt;sup&gt;C&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>‘to adjoin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fú 符</td>
<td>buo</td>
<td>‘a tally’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Side by side</td>
<td>bīng 并</td>
<td>beng&lt;sup&gt;B&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>‘side by side’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pián 面</td>
<td>ben</td>
<td>‘two (horses) side by side’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corpse</td>
<td>shī 矢</td>
<td>shí&lt;sup&gt;B&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>‘to display’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shí 戸</td>
<td>shí</td>
<td>‘corpse, personator of a dead’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In ‘Corpse’ the derivation process could also have been the reverse. In a few cognate sets, tone A may be the result of loss of a final consonant, as in:

- Bones

*He* is a ST etymon: WT <i>tāng</i> ‘fruit stone, bead’, Mirkl <i>rak</i> ‘fruit stone’; therefore he was the original form from which hǎi was derived.

### 3.2 Middle Chinese Tone B (shāng-shēng 上声): phonology

MC tone B probably derives from an OC *?-?. In some modern dialects tone B ends with glottal constriction (Branner 2000: 119) — note Min-Sōngyāng <i>pup</i> (<i>‘measure for books’</i> bēn 本; Branner 2000: 344). Glottal stop after nasal codas is also shown by variants like xi<sup>/ši/</sup> [sei<sup>B</sup> ~ sen<sup>B</sup>] ‘to wash’, as well as <i>Shījīng</i> rimes such as *-an? / *-an? (Shi 301). *-un? / *-un? (Shi 264,7); some rimes confirm that the phoneme in question was a stop consonant: *-ap / *-am? (Shi 265,3) and *-et / *-en? (Shi 265,5). The glottal feature can, however, appear elsewhere, e.g., in the middle of a syllable (Sagart 1999: 132, n. 1: Xiàojì dialect in Shānxi).

Tone B seems to be a weakened variant of final -k in some words (§3.2.2).

### 3.2.1 Tone B from Sino-Tibetan *?-?

Tone B can be part of the root. In some words it goes back to the ST level because some OC open syllable words with tone B correspond to Kuki-Chin and Cheo languages, which are also reconstructible with a final glottal stop (Cheo still has final -?. The first several items in the list below are taken from Ostapirat (<i>LTBA</i> 21:1, 1998: 238) with WB and LH-an forms added. The agreement in final *?-? is particularly persuasive because the first seven items have been selected without Chinese in mind. Tiddim and Lushai tones sometimes split according to vowel length or timbre (hence Lushai tones F(alling), R(ising), L(ow) < *?-?), the corresponding Tiddim Chin tone is 1; LH-an forms follow the graph:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Tiddim</th>
<th>Lushai</th>
<th>Cheopang</th>
<th>LH-an</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bird</td>
<td>va&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>va&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>wa?</td>
<td>yǔ 羽 wo&lt;sup&gt;B&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child</td>
<td>ta&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>fa&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt; &lt; faa?</td>
<td>co?</td>
<td>zi 子 tsi&lt;sup&gt;B&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>tu&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>tu&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>tī?</td>
<td>tī 滅 t'ei&lt;sup&gt;B/C&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some Chinese tone B words correspond not to TB *?-?, but to TB final *-k. There is clearly a system, although it is not yet understood (LH readings):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tones</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Tiddim</th>
<th>Lushai</th>
<th>Cheo</th>
<th>LH-an</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drip, leak</td>
<td>WB ca</td>
<td>WT 'dzag</td>
<td>jū 汲 dzia&lt;sup&gt;B&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speak</td>
<td>WB ha</td>
<td>WT 'nag</td>
<td>yū 言 n&lt;sup&gt;B&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War</td>
<td>WB ma</td>
<td>WT 'mag</td>
<td>wǔ 武 mua&lt;sup&gt;B&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under</td>
<td>WB ok</td>
<td>WT 'og</td>
<td>hòu 後 go&lt;sup&gt;B&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turbid</td>
<td>WB no</td>
<td>WT 'nok</td>
<td>nǎo 脳 nou&lt;sup&gt;B&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brain</td>
<td>WB hno</td>
<td>WT 'hnok</td>
<td>nǎo 脳 nou&lt;sup&gt;B&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warm</td>
<td>WB uik</td>
<td>yǔ 嬷 7&lt;sup&gt;60&lt;/sup&gt;B/C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pheasant</td>
<td>WB rac</td>
<td>WT 'reg-pa</td>
<td>zhi 厚 qi&lt;sup&gt;B&lt;/sup&gt; &lt; *dri?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2.3 - 3.2.4 TONES

Pig
PMonic *cli[k] 'pig'
štī [še] *te? 'pig'

Down, below
Khmer gra'ka/grak' 'to be low'
xiâ b[ga] *grâ? 'down, below'

Drip
Khmer sra'ka/srak' 'drip'
xû [ya(]) *sra? 'to drip'

However, TB final *-k for a Chinese open syllable does also occur, an often cited example, though of debatable etymology, is 'pig': bâ [pə] < *pra? *PTB *pak, but see §6.9.

3.2.3 ST *-? in closed syllables

TB final *-? and *-? in closed syllables (i.e., those ending in a nasal or lateral) have no systematic tonal correspondence in Chinese. The following cognate sets are typical:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Tiddim</th>
<th>Chepang</th>
<th>LHan &lt; OCM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To steal</td>
<td>gu?</td>
<td>kû</td>
<td>kû kö&lt; &lt; *khôōh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thin</td>
<td>pa?</td>
<td>bô</td>
<td>bô bô&lt; *bûk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Give</td>
<td>bay?</td>
<td>bi</td>
<td>bi  pis&lt; *pis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go around</td>
<td>Lush. *vel?</td>
<td>wéi</td>
<td>wui&lt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Where tone B does occur in OC *n? (appearing identical with ST *-n?, *-r?, and *-l?), it is perhaps a CH innovation, as in 'gums' where tone B marks body parts (§3.3.1).

Gums Lush. *-hni? *PTB *nil shên 筋 sin<

WB has a final stop in some words which elsewhere end in a nasal. Chepang and Kuki-Chin languages suggest that the reason may be a TB final *-N7. CH, which has tone A, has eliminated the suspected ST final glottal stop, as expected (KC = Kuki-Chin; Chepang; LHan). But it remains to be seen if there is really a system (Matisoff n. 12 in Ostirapat LTBA 21:1, 1998: 243; HPTB: 516–525).

Tree
WB sac
KC *sin?< Chem. sin?< xîn 蕉 sin<

Dream
WB mak
KC *man?< Chem. man?< mèng 梦 mun?<

New
WB sac
xîn 蕉 sin<

Year
WB hnać
niân 年 nen<

Heart
WB hnać
? rên 仁 nin<

Strife
WB sac
zhêng 恶 têng<

3.2.4 Tone B for foreign final -*η

In a few common words, Chinese has tone B for TB final -*η. (For the reverse phenomenon, see §6.5.2 This probably is related to the little understood incompatibility of tone B with OC finals *-on and *-un (i.e., OCM *-η)? is rare, has either dropped the final nasal or shifted to final -on< or -un<; *-un? does not occur at all; tone B occurs freely in rime *-on). Generally, the final consonants precluded the ST *-? (see above), but in a few common words *?- seems to have prevailed. Where we do find MC tone B for PTB *? with nasal finals, the CH nasals are innovations, as in ‘dog’ (§6.4.3), ‘itch’ (§6.5.1), and ‘far’ (§6.5.2), or they are exceptions that require further investigation; by a curious coincidence, WT has almost no cognates. (Chep. = Chepang; Tid. = KC-Tiddim Chin):

3.3 TONE B as morpheme

Tone B does not always belong to the root (§3.2.1–3), it is also a derivational morpheme. Tone B derivations are not as common as those in tone C. The most common morphological role of tone B is to derive endoactive words (i.e., introvert and active) from a stem or simplex (§4.5).

3.3.1 Tone B (1): terms for body parts and humans

Tone B is encountered frequently in names for body parts (Unger Hao-ku 36, 1990: 47fi; Zhengzhang Shangfang 1995: 280, in Sagart 1999: 134). It may have spread from endoactive derivatives like hân 駟 ‘jaw’, zhî 指 ‘finger’, and zhî 止 ‘foot’ (§4.5.1) to other body parts. Thus, shû 首 ‘head’, shû 手 ‘hand’, chî 切 ‘tooth’, shên 筋 ‘gums’, etc., may have been felt to be also ‘things that do’ something.

You
WB nàŋ< Chem. nàŋ
Tid. *nàŋ?

You
WB nàŋ< Chem. nàŋ

Horse
WB mìan< Chem. nîŋ ‘you’ pl.

To love
WB mān< WT< wū 慈 mu<

Contradict
WB pàŋ< WT< yû 彼 pi<

Post, column
WB tûn< WT< zhû 柱 dô<

To beat
WB ôŋ< WT< òu 殿 òô<

Grammatical words often develop irregularly in individual languages; ‘you’ is typical: Tiddim Chin and OC agree in a final *-η, while Chepang has a plain final.

Chinese has no final *-η, as we see in some comparative sets with Tai and Miao-Yao (Li Fang Kuei 1976):

Shore
pû 浦 [pə] *phâ ‘river bank’
⇐ PKS *pwan< ‘bank, shore’

Mend
bû 補 [pə] *pâ ‘to mend, repair, assist’
⇐ S. pûŋ< *p– ‘to protect, cover up’

Drum
gü 鼓 [ka] *kà? < *kla? ‘drum’ ⇐ PTai *kloŋ< ‘drum’

Stomach
dû 肚 [da] *dâ? ‘stomach’
⇐ PT *dûŋ< ‘stomach’; PKS (E, Y) *loŋ ‘a belly’

Handful
bà 把 [pa] *prâ? ‘a handful’
⇐ PKM *phwaŋ< ‘a handful’

Lady
fû 婦 [bu] *bo? ‘lady, daughter-in-law’
⇐ PKM *bwan< *N- ‘daughter-in-law’

One exceptional set has MC tone A, not B:

Wife and childen
nû 納 [na] *nà ‘wife and children’
⇐ Tai: S. nûŋ< *n- ‘younger sibling’, PKS *noŋ< ‘id.’, but note also Tai: S. nû< *n- ‘mother’s younger sibling’

33

Tone B in this category is the more striking, as words that refer to social status or profession are mostly in other tones: wàng 王 ‘king’, jūn 君 ‘lord’, hóu 候 ‘lord’, nán 男 ‘baron, male’, gōng 公 ‘duke, uncle’, jiàng 匠 ‘carpenter’, nóng 農 ‘farmer’.

3.3.2 Tone B (2): covers and particles

Tone B derives some covers from other verbs:

Not have mì 靜 [miə] *mai? ‘not have, there is no’
< wú 無 [muə] ‘ma ‘not, no’

Not have wàng 向 [muonə] *man? ‘there is no, not have’
< wàng 亡 [muonə] *man ‘disappear’

Able kē 可 [koıə] *kài? ‘to bear, can, be able’
< ? hē 何 [goiə] *gài ‘to carry’ (here tone B may belong to the stem)

Other covers in tone B are gān 敢 ‘dare’ (< PTB ‘hwan’, kēn 肯 ‘approve’, yǐ 以 ‘take, with’, perhaps also wàng 往 ‘go to’ < yú 于 ‘to go’. However, the tone probably belongs to the stem, in light of other grammatical words in other tones: yòng 用 ‘use, with’, wéi 为 ‘to do’, wéi 位 ‘to be’, yú 于 ‘in, at’.

Tone B in final particles may be prosodic: yǐ 者 sentence final particle serving as copula, yǐ 者 final particle, zhé 著 a phrase final particle.

3.3.3 Tone B (3): independent pronouns

Graham (1973) has sorted the many OC pronouns into ‘neutral’, ‘non-adjectival’, ‘adjectival-possessive’ and ‘demonstrative’, which we will call here ‘independent’ forms (Dobson LAC: 138: ‘pregnant’), Dobson: ‘determinant’ form, and ‘possessive’; the ‘demonstratives’ behave mostly like independent pronouns. In the following tabulation, the earliest attested forms [OB, BI, ShI] have LHAn forms shown in bold type (after the graph).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent form</th>
<th>Dependent form</th>
<th>Possessive form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rǔ 沙 [pə] ‘you’</td>
<td>ěr 耳 [pə] ‘you’</td>
<td>ěr 耳 [nə] ‘you, your’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shì 是 [pə] ‘this’</td>
<td>fú 夫 [pə] ‘that’</td>
<td>qí 其 [gə] ‘his, her’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Our terminology is borrowed from Pacific languages (AN) such as Lenak (Lynch 1998: 1036) where the independent form stands alone as the answer to a question just as in OC.

(“Who did it?” — “Wǒ 我 . , not “Wū 吾”), and is also the form used for the object pronoun; when used in other positions (e.g., subject, possessive) the independent pronoun is used only for emphasis, just as in OC. The dependent form, e.g., wú 吾 ‘I, my’ belongs to a following predicate as subject, or to a noun as a possessive. Wú cannot stand alone or at the end of a sentence, hence wū has to take over as object pronoun.

Independent forms are marked with tone B (*+?*), whose abrupt final glottal stop may have started out as a feature marking the end of a phrase or utterance. Some independent pronouns have in addition the diphthong *ai; some end in *e. Matoss (1995: 74) suggests that the final *i is a palatal suffix. In Tai languages interrogative / indefinite pronouns end in -ay (or -a) (Gedney 1976: 72); there may be a connection with OC forms in *-i.

The marked independent forms in *-i / *-? are the ones that have survived in modern dialects (wō, rū, ěr, bǐ, cǐ, shī, hē, shèi).

The other forms, and also the demonstratives, have tone A, i.e., open syllables probably with a long vowel which indicates incompleteness of the utterance and the expectation of a following element or answer (suggested earlier by Kennedy; see Graham 1973). In addition to this independent / determiner distinction, a few pronouns have a proclitic possessive form in tone A with the vowel ə. In the words rú ‘your’ and nǎi ‘your’, tone B belongs to the root.

Independent forms of interrogative pronouns have final *-i, but with tone A:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent form</th>
<th>Dependent form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

The demonstratives behave largely as independent pronouns: shì 时 [dəzi] ‘this’ (independent); zhi 之 [tsə] ‘obj. pr. him, her...’ (should be independent); zhi 之 [tsə] ‘possessive particle’; zǐ 仔 [tsi] ‘this’; in early literature also qì 其 ‘he, she, it’. Since the independent shì, cǐ, and bǐ occur later, they may be derivations from shì, zì, and fǔ respectively (cf. Pulleyblank 1995: 165).

There are more pronouns in addition to the ones cited. No text uses all the forms, most use only a small selection; different uses use the same pronoun in different ways (summary in Pulleyblank 1995: 76ff). The above system probably also combines forms from different periods and regions. Dependent pronouns are often implied and thus omitted.

Independent wò, rú, and ěr appear in the earliest texts and are of ST descent. Therefore the final *-i in wò, and *-? in rú and nǎi are not Chinese innovations, whereas most of the other independent pronouns, which occur for the most part in later texts, have no direct TB counterparts. We may speculate that in PCH or early OC *-i / *-?-i has spread from the old items to other pronouns and has thus eventually become a mark of “independent” status.

3.4 Middle Chinese tone C (qūshèng 去聲): phonology

Tone C (‘departing / falling tone’) from ST *-s is the most common derivational device in OC as well as in TB (HPTB: 466ff). It is believed to have once been a *-s suffix (discussion in Baxter 1992). Since some of the dental finals, which are usually reconstructed as OC *-s, seem to have had only a simple OC *-s, tone C must have been of a different nature after open vowels and velar finals than after dentals, so we write *-h after the former and *-s after the latter. These two are allophones:
3.5 TONES

-ah -akh -aŋh -aih -auh etc.
-as ats -ans -ams (PCH -aps had already merged with -ats in OC.)

We can speculate that the original difference between root final tone C ∈ *-s and derivational tone C goes back to morpheme juncture and vowel length, thus root final *-s is found in a closed and short syllable as in

dà 大 PCH *das > OCM *dâs (OCB *dats).

but where *-s has been attached as the morpheme to an open, long syllable, the development was possibly

bǔ 布 PCH *paas > *paas > OCM *påh (OCB *pas).

OC tone C often corresponds to a final stop consonant in other languages. This supports the assumption of an early final consonant cluster in the OC forms, but not necessarily in all instances:

Taste wèi 味 LH [mus] *mats <> PMonic *ʔmap ‘good tasting’
Dark mèi 暗 [mas] *mâts ‘dusk, be dark, blindly’ <> PKS *muut ‘blind’
To angle diào 釣 [teu6] *tiaukh ‘to angle, fish’ <> Tai: S. tok01 ‘to angle’

Occasionally, tone C is not a morpheme but seems to belong to the stem (Downer 1959: 263):

To see jiàn 見 [ken6] ‘to see, visit’ × xiàn 現見 [gen6] ‘to appear, show up’.

3.5 TONE C: later OC general purpose morpheme

Tone C has been prolific in word derivation in OC (*-s/*-h) (§4.2). For early OC, two tone C morphemes must be distinguished: one forms transitive / causative verbs and words (§4.3), the other forms passive words (§4.4). This system will be discussed in detail in §4. Because tone C marked both passive and transitive / causative in early OC (down to ca. 700 BC), it was well on its way to becoming a weakly marked general purpose derivational morpheme in EOC, but it became ubiquitous later. In EOC, tone C nouns were passive (*‘to mount’ > ‘what is mounted’ > ‘carriage’) (§4.4) or exoactive (§4.3). In later Zhou Chinese (by Chūnqí time and later), it also formed nouns that were endoactive (§4.5), e.g., cóng 從 [dzion] ‘to follow’ >-zóng 從 [dzion6] ‘follower’ [Shi 104] (i.e., the one who actively does the following, not the one who is passively followed, or makes someone else follow) (Downer 1959: 262). Thus tone C superseded tone B, the earlier marker of active voice, which ceased to be productive.

Not surprisingly, in early literature we already find derivations with tone C whose function and meaning are no longer obvious, as in:

To use yòng 用 [jouŋ] *loŋ ‘to use, employ, need’ [Shi, BI]
> yòng 用 [jouŋ] *loŋ ‘to use’ [OB, Shi]

The tone C form of this set is the one that has survived as the ordinary word for ‘to use’, and this trend toward tone C is common (Unger Hao-ku 20, 1983: 165). Eventually, lexic and commentaries record several sets of tone C / non-C words with identical meanings (Unger, ibid.: 157).

This universal morpheme can of course be divided into numerous subclasses (Downer 1959). A few subgroups of this general category with clearly identifiable semantic foci include:

Formation of adverbs (Downer 1959: 289), e.g., yǒu 有 ‘to have’ × yǒu 又 ‘moreover’; sān 三, ‘three’ × sān 三 ‘thrice’.

A late category (text examples are from Zhōu Shì, Liji and from texts shortly before Han) consists of nouns derived from “gradable adjectives” (Baxter and Sagart 1998: 55), e.g., chāng 長 [câŋ] ‘long’ > zhăng 長 [câŋ] ‘length’. Unger (Hao-ku 21, 1983: 177f), supplies WT parallels, e.g., WT zāb ‘deep’ > zāb ‘depth’. In these derivations, tone C had acquired the endoactive meaning which in EOC is expressed by tone B. Nouns in final *-s are common in TB (HPTB: 466f).

Tone C forms are occasionally used in compounds, as guān 觀 ‘to see’ × guān-tāi 觀臺 ‘observation tower’ (Downer 1959: 289).
TONES B, C, AND VOICING:
DIRECTION AND DIATHESIS

Because MC tones and phonemes at issue are projected back to identical ones in LHan, subsequently examples will often be cited in simpler LHan forms.

4.1 Direction and diathesis
A dichotomy in direction and causativity is well recognized in Chinese (e.g., Mei 1980; Takahashi 1996: 446) and also in Tibeto-Burman languages (STC: 105); note introvert – extrovert / causative pairs like ‘to hear’ – ‘to ask’ in both CH and TB languages (Matisoff D. of Lahu: 726f.; J. Sun LTBA 16.2, 1993: 152). These are therefore already Sino-Tibetan categories; furthermore, CH and TB languages share the two ST morphemes that mark this distinction: the s-prefix (Table 4-1) and the s-suffix (Table 4-2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4-1</th>
<th>m-prefix - introvert</th>
<th>s-prefix - extrovert-causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To eat, lick</td>
<td>OC *m-lak &gt; shí 食 ‘to eat’</td>
<td>PCH *s-lak-s &gt; shí 食 ‘to feed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TB *m-liyk ‘to lick’</td>
<td>TB *s-liyk ‘make / let lick, feed’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4-2</th>
<th>simplex - introvert</th>
<th>s-suffix - extrovert-causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Limbu</td>
<td>t’un- ‘to drink’</td>
<td>t’un-s ‘give to drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OC / PCH</td>
<td>*t’om &gt; yín 飲 ‘to drink’</td>
<td>*t’om-s &gt; yín 飲 ‘give to drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OC / PCH</td>
<td>*m-lak &gt; shí 食 *m-lak ‘to eat’</td>
<td>*s-lak-s &gt; shí 食 ‘give to eat, feed’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Historically, three phenomena have partially or completely coalesced in OC: (1) semantic introvert / extrovert; (2) grammatical transitivity distinctions; (3) grammatical active / passive distinctions. The result of these partial mergers is the intersecting pattern of endoactive / exoactive / endopassive / exopassive derivational categories (Table 4-3). These terms apply to morphologically marked derivational categories in new words; in the OC language, they are independent of grammatical / syntactic behavior and word class; see §2.1.3 (Beard 1998: 44f) This system constitutes the ‘youngest’ morphological layer which was still productive or at least transparent in OC.

Introvert and extrovert (endo- / exo-) are semantic categories that are readily apparent from a word’s meaning. In introvert words, the action is directed toward the subject, or happens to or within the subject (to buy, to watch, to grow); in extrovert words the action originates in or with the subject and is directed out and away to a necessarily external object (to sell, to show). Introvert verbs often tend to be intransitive, extrovert verbs transitive or causative. Transitive words like ‘to buy’ were originally perhaps purely introvert, while ‘to sell’ was purely extrovert. ‘To grow’ was intransitive or ‘middle voice’, whereas ‘to sow’ (derived from ‘seeds’ n.) was grammatically transitive / causative. The extrovert and valence increasing categories overlap to a large extent: ‘to sow’ is extrovert beside being transitive (‘sow seeds.’); and ‘to sell’ is ditransitive beside being extrovert; zhǎng 長 ‘to grow’ is introvert beside being intransitive.

These two concepts overlap completely in words that imply ‘giving’, as in ‘to drink’ (introvert, transitive) > ‘give someone something to drink’ (extrovert, ditransitive, i.e., valence increasing), see Table 4-2. Thus direction and transitivity have merged in OC.

Furthermore, the active / passive distinction has been added to the mix. Active and passive agree with familiar IE (incl. English, Latin) grammatical concepts. The agent of an active verb is its subject: he is growing’, ‘he is buying something’. In a sentence with a passive verb (form), the object of the active counterpart becomes the subject of the passive; the agent (tr. subject) is placed in a prepositional phrase (he heard this > passive ‘this was heard by him’).

The terms ‘endoactive’ (Japanese jidōshī 自動詞, also ‘intransitive’) and ‘exoactive’ (tadōshi 他動詞, also ‘transitive’) describe pairs of introvert / extrovert verbs in Japanese grammar (Lewin 1990: 118f.; Shibatani 1990: 115; also Takahashi 1996), for example:

| naru ‘to become’ intr. | nasu ‘to form’ tr. |
| yurumu ‘to become loose’ intr. | yurumeru ‘to loosen’ tr. |

Though nearly identical with the familiar ‘intransitive’ and ‘transitive’, the Japanese endoactive category includes verbs that can take an object, therefore the term ‘intransitive’ is not appropriate, e.g., kado-wo deru ‘walk out the door’ (‘door’ is the obj. in Japanese). The terms have already been used for Chinese (Sagart 1999: 133) where endoactive (introvert) verbs also can be tr. like māi ‘to buy (something)’. Exoactive verbs are the extrovert, transitive / causative counterparts (māi ‘sell something to someone’).

‘Endoactive’ is similar to the ‘middle voice’ of some IE languages: the action was conceived as operating in on or on the subject; in the exoactive, the verbal action was directed outward from the subject (L. R. Palmer, The Latin Language, 1987: 262). H. H. Hock (1986: 347) provides the example ‘to grow’ intr. for one of the specific uses of the IE middle voice; note CH zhāng 長 ‘to grow’ as illustration for endoactive derivational (§4.1.1).

In accordance with this system, we add the terms ‘endo passive’ and ‘exo passive’. In exo passive derivations, the agent (i.e., an external, ‘exo-‘ element) is still available as in a typical passive sentence: ‘it was heard by him’ < ‘he heard it’. Endo passive fits the definition of stative verbs: “… refer to a resultant state without any indication of an agent” (Sadler and Spencer 1998: 223); the endoactive verb cháng 長 ‘be long’ is a stative verb (‘be in a state of being stretched’ < ‘be stretched’).

We could have used the familiar labels ‘middle’ for ‘endoactive’, ‘active’ or ‘causative’ for ‘exoactive’, ‘passive’ for ‘exo passive’. However, the IE middle voice drifts toward the passive, whereas the CH category remains active. Furthermore, IE languages make no clearly marked introvert – extrovert distinction. In the end, the labels endo- / exo- active / passive describe quite well the nature of the CH categories. They also allow us to reserve the endo- / exo- terminology for word derivation, and continue to use ‘active’ and ‘passive’ for grammatical relationships.

These categories apply to derivations from a stem or other word, i.e., words fall into one of the four categories only when compared with their simplex. Many words have MC tone B, like zhǎng 長 (tāng 長) ‘to grow’ where the tone marks the word as endoactive because it contrasts with, and is derived from, the simplex zhǎng 张 (tāng ‘to stretch’. But huǒ 火 (xuán 火) ‘fire’ is underived; tone B marks nothing. Although underived words do not belong to such a category, one may occasionally feel that a word inherently does, as sī 死 ‘to die’ with its typical endoactive meaning (see §4.5). Or wén 間 ‘to hear (something)’ tr. could be seen as inherently
introvers. But these words are morphologically unmarked and their categorization would in many cases be arbitrary and add nothing to our understanding.

4.1.1 Direction and diathesis

The OC morphological changes which mark direction and diathesis have left traces in later MC tones and voicing of the initial consonant of a word; the tones, possibly also voicing, go back to some segmental affixes in OC or PCH. The morphemes are:

1. Tone C (1) (MC qùshēng 去聲 < *-s/-h) - exoactive: extrovert, often valence increasing ('to hear' tr. > 'ask someone about something' dtr.) (§4.3);
2. Tone C (2) (MC qùshēng 去聲 < *-s/-h) - expassive, i.e., passive of exoactive/transitive words, agent available ('be heard by someone') (§4.4);
3. Tone B (MC shāngshēng 上聲 < *?-) - endoactive: introvert, active, often valence decreasing ('to grow' intr. < 'to stretch' tr.) (§4.5);
4. Voicing of the initial consonant - endopassive: introvert, passive, often valence decreasing, no agent available ('be long' sv. < 'to stretch') (§4.6).

Table 4-3 provides a synopsis of this OC system (LHan forms follow the graphs). Discussions of the individual categories follow below (§4.2–4.6).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4-3</th>
<th>endo (introvert)</th>
<th>exo (extrovert)</th>
<th>- Tone C (§4.2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-active</td>
<td>endoactive - Tone B (§4.5)</td>
<td>exoactive - Tone C (§4.3)</td>
<td>- Tone C (§4.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mài 買 meB 'to buy' tr.</td>
<td>yín 餐 yìnA 'to drink' tr.</td>
<td>wén 門 munC 'to ask about' dtr.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhǎng 長 tonB 'to grow' intr.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>passive</td>
<td>endopassive - Voiced initial (§4.6)</td>
<td>exopassive - Tone C (§4.4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhǎng 長 dān 'be long' sv. xían 現 genC 'to appear' intr.</td>
<td>wén 門 munC 'be heard about, famous' intr.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simplex</td>
<td></td>
<td>wén 門 mun 'to hear about' tr.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sentence illustrations for most of the above words: zhǎng, chǎng §2.12 ex. 14–16; §2.13 ex. 1; §4.6; wén, wén §4.3; §4.4; jīn, xiān §2.12 ex. 5–6; §2.13 ex. 2; yīn §4.3.

In addition to the merger of categories, the system had further been obfuscated not only by the use of its morphemic devices (tones, voicing) outside this system (see huō 'fire' above), but also by the disconnect between original grammatical categories, the eventual derivational categories, and word classes (§2.1.3). For analytical and descriptive purposes, we here discuss diathesis and valence in traditional grammatical terms. Once the original morphology of a derived word has thus been identified, we can observe how it has developed a life of its own.

Tone C derives passive words (expassive) from active transitive words; but as already mentioned, the OC meanings and classifications do not always reveal the morphology involved. For example, from the verb zhǐ 織 'to weave' (tr.) is derived the word textiles zhǐ 織 *tokh < *taks; *tokh is here analyzed as an expassive derivation from *tok because it is literally 'something that has been woven by someone' (not active: 'something / someone that is doing the weaving'). The OC language had settled on this derivation as a noun and not as the passive verb of the simplex. Word classes like 'noun' are unmarked in CH, hence tone C does not make a noun out of a verb, as is often maintained. From liǎng 兩 *rānŋ? 'a pair' n. is derived liǎng 纔 *rānŋ 'carriage' n. which is a thing with two wheels that literally 'have been paired' (not active: 'are doing the pairing'). From wéi ˊ 'to scare, frighten' is derived the expassive tone C form wéi ˋ, as in 'I am scared by him'; however, this underlyingly passive wéi is actually a new active tr. verb in its own right, as in 'I fear him'; note that the meaning and word order are the same in both interpretations: 'I am scared by him' = 'I fear him'. (For sentence illustrations, see §4.1.1.) From děng 登 *tānŋ 'to rise, ascend' is derived the endoactive děng 等 *tānŋ 'step of stairs', which literally 'are the ones that are doing the ascending' (not passive: 'which have been ascended'). This present analysis reduces the functions of tone C to one or two (exoactive/expassive), whereas countless derivational categories need to be postulated if we try to understand tone C as changing word classification (nouns to verbs, verbs to nouns, intr. to tr. and so on; see Downer 1959).

Tense and aspect are not expressed morphologically in CH, but in expassive derivations a perfective aspect and / or past tense is often implied by the meaning: textiles are obviously things that have been woven, a work that has been completed in the past; same with 'carriage'. Endoactives usually are tense neutral (i.e., the tense is implied by the context, as in 'stairs' above). However, by convention the meaning of certain endoactive derivations can also be past and / or perfect. Thus zhǎng intr. 'to grow' can have any tense required by the context, but when used as an adjective or noun, it implies completed aspect, thus zhǎng 'grown-up, eldest, elder' (see §2.1.2 ex. 14 for illustration). From cù 匕 'dá 'to go away, pass away, die' is derived endoactive cù 匕 *tānŋ 'deceased grandfather, ancestor', lit. 'one who has passed away' (perfective, active, not passive).

4.2 Tone C (qùshēng 去聲): two morphological functions

For OC we must assume two distinct morphemes *s (here *-s/-h; see §3.4), both of ST provenance, both extrovert: (1) 'exoactive', i.e., extrovert and transitive, and (2) 'expassive'. Note, for example, the two meanings of wén and shān (text illustrations for wén are offered in §4.3; §4.4):

wén [mun] 時 'to hear about' tr. (simplex)
> wén [munC] (1) 'to ask about, inquire' tr. (expassive)
(2) 'be heard about, renowned' intr. (expassive)

shān [dzianB] 沙 'be good at' tr. (simplex)
> shān [dzianC] (1) 'repair, put in order' tr. (expassive)
(2) 'be (done well)' 'cooked food' n. (expassive)

Over time, the meanings of tone C had converged until by late Zhou it had become a general purpose device to derive any kind of word from another; see §3.5.

Theoretically, the two functions of tone C could derive from a single ST morpheme *s (Schuessler 1985). There are parallels for this double duty in other languages, e.g., the Korean suffix -ita added to pota 'to see' > poita (a passive 'to be seen', (b) caus. 'to show' (Dixon 2000: 31). Ho-Min Sohn (1999: 367) suggests that the Korean "passive suffixes have developed from causative suffixes via functional shift." This could also have been the Chinese development (note §4.1.1 'Fear' above). Also the Japanese suffix -eru serves a dual function: it makes exoactives out of endoactives (no suffix), and endoactives out of suffixless exoactives (Lewin 1990: 119; Shibatani 1990: 115), for example:
4.2.1 – 4.3 DIRECTION and DIATHESIS

yrumuru 'become loose' (endoactive) > yrumuru-eru 'to loosen' tr. (exoactive)
kak-eru 'to be missing' (endoactive) < kaku 'to miss, without' tr. (exoactive)

The same dual function is encountered in Ainu where the suffix -ke makes intr. verbs out of transitives and vice versa (Shibatani 1990: 44). Below, §4.4.1 provides a further comment in favor of a single origin.

4.2.1 The Sino-Tibetan sources of tone C

The exopassive morpheme MC tone C < PCH *s (OC *s / -h) is related to the TB s-suffix, which in WT forms the past tense, perhaps including the completed aspect of verbs (Beyer 1992: 261), often with a passive connotation in transitive verbs; these derivations can then become nouns; see §2.3.2 Table 2-1 for an example. In Lushai the second verb form (or "modification of the root") creates passives by adding a suffix -t < -h < s (J. H. Lorrain 1940: xii; HPTB: 468ff). The modification form is used also as a "subjunctive" (J. H. Lorrain 1940: xiii) which, as Gellich (1994: 169–170) points out, corresponds to the IE (Greek, Sanskrit) middle voice (do something for one’s own benefit); also in Dulong / Rawang, the suffix -shi is a reflexive / middle-marking (LaPolla 2000: 288; SC 98 'middle voice'; Michaelovsky 1985: 369). For additional functions of this suffix in TB languages, see Huang Bufan LTBA 19-1, 1996: 29–42; HPTB: 439ff (465ff).

The exoactive function of tone C is also inherited from ST. In some TB languages the second form (s-) forms transitives / causatives (HPTB: 472ff), for example, in Lushai (J. H. Lorrain 1940: xiii): punh* intr. 'to assemble' > puns < pun < pugs tr. 'to call together'; zaaμ* < jaal 'to lie down, recline' > zai2< < jaal+h 'lay on the back' (a similar function in Hakha Lai: David Peterson, in Thurgood and LaPolla 2003: 418). Other TB languages have a causative final -s (Qiang: Sun Hongkai MZYH 1998: 6: 3–4); we have cited above an example from Limbu: t̄puŋ 'to drink' > caus. t̄puns- 'give to drink' (§4.1, Table 4-2).

Although these two distinct functions may go back to a single ST morpheme, as in other languages (above §4.2), there is also the possibility that the final *s in OC, Lushai, and others had two sources, one a ‘past / passive -s, one a transitivizing -s, as found in the WT present tense final -d (note byed-pa < bya-i 'to do', fut. bya [Beyer 1992: 175; Michaelovsky 1985: 368f], t > s after final consonants as in 'deb- pa ( < dad- t), btab, gtap, t'ob 'to throw' (Coblin 1976). A final dental stop also occurs in Dulong / Rawang (LaPolla 2000: 308); in JP (Dai Qingxia / Xu Xijian 1992: 78), and in Himalayan languages.

Be that as it may, for practical purposes we assume two distinct functions for tone C.

4.3 Tone C (1): exoactive derivation

Exoactive (MC tone C [1] < *s/-h). The agent of an exoactive *s / *h verb is the subject whose action is directed outward toward an object that often affects an indirect object.

Exoactive appears to be the result of a partial coalescence of a suffix for extroversion (sell tr. < buy tr.; see §4.3.1), and one for increasing valence, i.e., noun > verb, verb intr. > tr.; verb intr. or tr. > ditransitive / causative / putative (to sow < seed; see §4.3.2); often the introvert counterpart has the endoactive tone B (§4.5). A paradigmatic example is ‘drink’ (LHan forms follow the graph):

Drink yin 飲 yinb tr. 'to drink something'
>yin 飲 yinc ditr. 'to give / offer someone something to drink'

Text illustrations for yin; often only the indirect object (person, animal) is mentioned:

4.3.1 Tone C: exoactive — extrovert, ditransitive

These derivations also tend to be causative. ‘To drink’ and ‘to feed’ have just been cited. See also yi 身 ‘to wear’ used as a ditransitive verb in §2.1.2 (ex. 9; 10). A few more examples:

Sell māi 買 meb 'to buy'
>māi 買 mc 'to sell' < to give someone something to buy

Give shōu 受 dzuB 'receive, accept'
>shōu 受 dzuC 'to give' ditr.

Show shī 見 giB 'to look at'
>shī 見 giC 'to show' ditr. < make someone look at

Teach xūé 學 g3k, *gruk 'to learn'
>xūé 學 gauC, *grukh 'to teach'

Ask wén 聞 mun 'to hear about' tr.
> wén 聞 munC 'to ask about something', 'ask someone' tr.

Wife qī 妻 ts'ei 'consort, wife'
>qī 妻 ts'eiC 'give a wife to', 'give as a wife' tr.

Often, the added argument of a ditransitive verb is an indirect object which typically is a beneficiary. This indirect object is the essence of tone C, while in many sentences a direct object is only implied, as in ’give someone to drink’ with no specification of the thing involved (direct object). In a way, tone C replaces a thing by a person. For example, (LHan after the graph):

Listen tīng 聽 t'en 'to listen'
> tīng 聽 t'enC 'to listen to, obey'

5.1 [addendum, etc.]
4.3.2 DIRECTION and DIATHESIS

Reply
dá 答 'respond to'
duí 對 'to' (to a person)

Tell
yǔ 語 'to speak'
yù 語 'to tell someone'

Overturn
fù 覆 'to overturn, overthrow' tr.
> fù 覆
pūuk, *phūk 'to overspread, provide cover for someone'

Aid
yòu 右 'right (side), be to the right'
yòu 右 'to aid, support, assist someone'

Before
xiǎn 先 'to go in front, ahead, before, former'
> xiǎn 先
sen 'to go in front, ahead, before, former' (1) tr. 'to walk before' (in order to protect) > 'take care of someone, attend'; (2) caus. 'to put first'

After
hòu 後 'be behind, after, to follow'
> hòu 後
GO or GO 'be behind, after, to follow'
GO or GO (1) tr. 'be behind someone, attend, support'; (2) caus. 'to put after'

Attend
shì 懋 'to depend on'
> shì 懋
dāz 叩 'to wait upon someone, attend'

Woman
nyú 女 'woman; wife' n.
> nyú 女
GA 'give (as a wife) tr.'

Take a wife
qù 取 'to take' tr.
> qù 取
KwB 'to take a wife'

In this last example, we might have expected that tone C makes the derivation qù extrovert, whereas it is still introvert ('take', not 'give'). However, the key was apparently the person as indir. object. After all, the meanings of derivations are by their very nature unpredictable.

4.3.2 Tone C: exoactive — transitive, causative / putative
When applied to nouns or stative verbs, Tone C effects an increase in transitivity (valence), while extroversion is more coincidental (L.Han after the graph):  

Sow
zhōng 種 'seeds, cereals' n.
> zhōng 種 'to sow' tr.

Hit center
zhōng 中 'be in the middle, middle, inside'
> zhōng 中 'hit the center, hit, attain'

Repair
shān 善 'good (at) tr. (intr.)'
> shān 善 'repair, put in order' tr.

Love
hào 好 'be good' sv.
> hào 好 'be good' sv. 

Hate
è 惡 'be evil' sv.
> wù 惡 'be evil' sv. 

Far
yuǎn 遠 'far away, distant' sv.
> yuǎn 遠 'far away, distant' sv. 

4.3.3 Residue
There remains the inevitable residue where the exact function of tone C is not obvious: perhaps 'Lose' follows the pattern of 'feed' (§2.3.2).

Below
xià 下 'to descend, down, below'
> xià 下 'to descend, down, below'

4.4 Tone C (2): exopassive derivation
Exopassive (MC tone C [2] < *-s-i-h) is the passive of a transitive or exoactive word. As in passives, incl. endopassive, the subject is the object of the exoactive / transitive counterpart; in contrast to introvert endopassive, exopassive is extrovert in the sense that there is an explicit or implied outside agent which acts on the subject. Usually, passive agrees in meaning with Western languages, although in OC we are dealing with word derivation, not grammar (ex. 2): an exopassive derivation is often a noun, literally meaning 'the thing that has been verb-ed' (as opposed to endoactive where the noun is 'the thing that is doing the verb-ing'). Exopassive is the counterpart to exoactive. Contrast the simplex ex. 1 with the exopassive ex. 2; the passive is still in the extrovert column because the former (outside) subject is still available in the prepositional yi phrase as agent, i.e., there is still 'the outside' which hears the sound.

(1) wǒ wèn qǐ shèng 我問其聲 (I hear / his / voice) 'I hear his voice' [Shi 199, 3].

(2) shèng wèn yú wài 声問于外 (sound / be heard [passive] / preposition / outside) 'The instruments' sound is heard outside' [Shi 229, 5].

In this sentence, the passive verb wèn looks like a grammatical form as if OC still had inflection. But an inflectional suffix *s should change other verbs in a predictable way as well, which is not the case in OC. Furthermore, in OC grammar, passives are regularly created from active verbs by word order alone (§2.1.2, ex. 6). However, example (2) does suggest an earlier inflectional origin of the morpheme. More passives:

Renowned
wén 娛 'to hear about' (simplex)
> wén 娛 'to hear about, renowned, fame'

Grasped
zhī 擘 'to hold, grasp'
> zhī 擘 'to be grasped, seized'

Exhausted
jìn 尽 'to exhaust' > jìn 尽 'be exhausted, destroyed'

Put down
xià 下 'to descend, below' [Shijing]
> xià 下 'to descend, below'

Back n.
bēi 北 'north'
> bēi 北 'north'

Measured
duó 度 'to measure, plan'
> duó 度 'to measure, plan'

Naturally, such an exopassive derivation can occasionally be a noun (see 'cloth' and 'carriage' in §4.1.1), for example:

Inside
nà 納 *nāp < *nāp 'to bring into'
> nēi 内 'what is entered inside'

Purpose
zhī 之 *to 'to go' > zhī 志 'what is gone to > goal, purpose'
4.4.1 Exopassive as a transitive verb

An exopassive can become a new active verb, for example:

Fear

畏威

畏威

ui ‘to overawe, terrorize’, i.e., ‘frighten someone’ tr.

>畏威

畏儀

uiC ‘to fear’ tr., ‘be afraid’ intr. ‘be made frightened’

Text illustrations:

(1) 因為畏威之 (not / then / frighten, overawe / them) ‘... if not, then one overawes them’ [Shu 5, 14].

(2) 願天畏威 (to fear / Heaven / - ‘s / frighten, scariness) ‘May we fear Heaven’s majesty’ [Shi 272].

The tr. verb畏威 ‘to scare’ turns passive with tone C畏儀 ‘I am scared [of Heaven]’; but畏儀 actually is a new transitive verb ‘to fear’, thus ‘I fear Heaven’. What remains of the passive is the switch in the direction of the action, i.e., the new subject is still the object of the simplex ‘to scare’. This is similar to what has been observed in Kuki-Chin languages. In Tiddim and Lushai the second verb form can itself become a new transitive verb (Geilich 1994: 170). An example from Lushai:

k’aŋ ‘< kaŋg ‘to lift up, raise’

kaŋ ‘< kaŋs 2nd form: subjunctive: ‘lift off oneself’; passive ‘be lifted off’

= kaŋ ‘< kaŋs tr. ‘to lift up, raise’

That the passive form of a verb can flip over into a new transitive verb could therefore be an old ST phenomenon; it also may speak in favor of a single origin of the two functions of tone C. Other examples (LHan after the graph):

Yield

ráng 撈

nop ‘to remove, steal something’

> ráng 識

nopC ‘to remove oneself’ ‘to yield to someone’

Leave

qū 去

k’ieB ‘put away, eliminate’

> qū 去

k’ie ‘to remove oneself’ ‘to leave’

Mirror

jiān 監

kam ‘to observe’

> jiān 監

kamC ‘to observe oneself: to mirror; a mirror’

4.5 Tone B (shǎngshēng 上聲): endoactive derivation

Endoactive (MC tone B < *-) is active, i.e., the agent is the subject as in an exoactive word; the derivation is also introvert, i.e., the action takes place in the subject or is directed toward the subject. Sometimes, valence is decreased, but introvert forms can also be tr. verbs (endoactive ‘to buy something’ tr.). Again, it seems that two earlier phenomena have coalesced, one valence decreasing, one introvert; both are the exoactive tone C (§4.3). An introvert meaning is obvious in ‘to buy / receive something’. In zhàng ‘to grow’ intr. (ex. 2), the action takes place in the subj., no outside agent acts on it; this contrasts with the tr. simplex zhàng ‘to stretch something’ (ex. 1) where the direction from the subj. outward affects the obj.:

(1) zhàng wǒ gōng 张我弓 (stretch / our / bows) ’we drew our bows’ [Shi 180, 4].

(2) shēng ér zhàng, zhàng ér dà 生而長長而大 (give birth / particle / to grow / to grow / part. / big) ‘(the living things)... are born and grow, they grow and become big...’ [Lushi chuqiu 3, 5].

The endoactive verb zhàng (intr.) can, of course, be used causatively (§2.1.2 ex. 15) and as an adjective (§2.1.2 ex. 14).

Grow

zhàng 張

ton C ‘stretch’

> zhàng 長

tonB ‘to grow tall’

Above

shàng 上

dǎoB ‘above’

> shàng 上

dǎoB ‘to rise’

Face

mián 面

miánC ‘the face’

> mián 面

miánB ‘to turn from’

High

ång 印

qin ‘be high’

> ång 印

qinB ‘look up’

Lift

yáng 揀

jı̂n ‘to lift, raise’

> yáng 揀

jı̂nB ‘nourish, raise, support’

Often the exoactive word has an introvert counterpart which in many pairs has tone B. This tone could be a CH innovation because of the inherent introvert meaning of the word, and in order to create morphologically marked introvert / extravert pairs (LHan after the graph):

Sell

mài 賣

meB ‘to buy’

> mài 賣

meC ‘to sell’ ‘to give someone something to buy’

Give

shòu 受

dzáB ‘receive, accept’

> shòu 攫

dzáC ‘to give’ ‘to give someone something’

Show

shì 見

giB ‘to look at’

> shì 見

giC ‘to show’ ‘to make someone look at something’

Good at

shàn 善

dzáB, *dan ‘be good (at)’ tr. (intr.)

> shàn 善

dzáC, *dans caus. (make good) repair, put in order’ tr.

Good

hào 好

houb ‘be good’ sv.

> hào 好

houbC ‘consider / treat someone as good’ ‘to love’ tr.

In addition, note ‘to drink’ in §4.3.

Tone B may have been added to some intr. verbs because of their implicit endoactive nature so that it came to mark change of state:

To die

sǐ 死

sí ‘to die’ <> PTB *s (not *sí) ‘to die’

Change

gài 改

kaB ‘to change’

Rise

qí 起

k’ı̂B ‘to rise’

Sit

zuò 坐

dzuoeB ‘to sit’

Dwell

chù 處

tı̂oB ‘to dwell’ <> PTB tı̂a

Many words remain in which the role of tone B is not clear, for example:

Expand

shí 施

sái ‘to expand, spread out, expose’

> shí 施

sáiB ‘to extend, spread’

Offer

zhèng 慕

tı̂n ‘to offer (gift, sacrifice)’

> zhèng 慕

tı̂nB ‘lift, save, help’

Tone B had ceased to be productive probably by the end of the Western Zhou period (ca. 770 BC); from that time on, tone C replaced it as the universal morpheme for marking any
4.5.1 Tone B: endoactive nouns

Many endoactive tone B derivates are nouns meaning "the thing / person which does the verb-ing." Some of the following items are not minimal pairs, but the key semantic aspect of tone B is apparent (LHans after the graph):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>Simplified</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Offspring</td>
<td>tsoā *tsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaw</td>
<td>gam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foot</td>
<td>tsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bottom</td>
<td>tei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stair</td>
<td>tōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>tōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother</td>
<td>dei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dry</td>
<td>kan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low ground</td>
<td>pie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A turn</td>
<td>tsō</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition, see zu 祖 'ancestor' in §4.1.1.

In the following sets, it is not apparent which word is derived from which:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>Simplified</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Way</td>
<td>dōu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ladle</td>
<td>tso</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.6 Voicing of the initial consonant: endoactive derivation

Endoactive (MC voicing). Voicing of the initial consonant derives an 'endoactive' word from a simplex. Endoactives are: (a) introvert (not extrovert); (b) passive in the sense that the subject of the endoactive word was the object of the simplex, whereas in endoactives, the subject is the same as that of the former simplex; (c) unlike exoactives, the hypothetical subject of the simplex is grammatically and semantically not available (§4.1.1). In fact, a definition of a stative verb agrees well with 'endoactive': "Stative verbs refer to a resultant state without any indication of an agent" (Sadler and Spencer 1998: 223). The difference between exoactive and endoactive is that in the former, the agent (subject of the active verb) is still available in a prepositional phrase or in context, whereas no former subject or agent is available or even implied in the latter. Thus in 'to be long' sv. an agent who might have done the stretching, the 'making long', never existed (ex. 2).

1) zhang 张 wō gōng 张弓 (stretch / our / bows) we drew our bows [Shi 180, 4].
   (2) dāo zǔ ér chāng 道阻且长 (road / difficult / part. / be long) 'the road is difficult and long' [Shi 129, 1].

A hypothetical endoactive of ex. 1 张弓 'draw the bows' might be gōng chāng 弓长 'the bows are (drawn) long'.

Morphological voicing of the initial consonant is a common ST phenomenon which is encountered in OC and many TB languages, e.g., WT 'degspa < N-deps, past btah, future gtah, imperative tsok to throw'. Voicing has the function of changing transitive to intransitive, or marking a verb as intr.; WT 'dzag-pa to trickle' $\rightarrow$ 'tsag-pa to cause to trickle' (Beyer 1992: 163; 258f). Thus there is not necessarily a connection between voicing, intransitivization, and the WT prefix a-chen which is transcribed as 'as in dzag; the letter was probably used as a diacritic to mark prenasalized consonants, as in modern Tibetan dialects it corresponds to a nasal (Coblin, LTB 25.2, 2002: 169–184). Pulleyblank (JCL 1, 1973: 114) holds an OC prefix *fi- (later amended to some kind of *fa-) responsible for intransitive voicing, Baxter and others a prefix *N-. We will leave the prefix question open and consider these initials to have been simple voiced ones in OC as in MC.

The first few examples are in fact sv. in OC (LHans after the graph):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>Simplified</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Long</td>
<td>zhang 张</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divide</td>
<td>bié 别</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between</td>
<td>jiá 夹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loosen</td>
<td>jiē 解</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In OC, sv. is a well-defined class whose members can freely function as adjectives. Many endoactive verbs are, however, intr. and even tr., but they still agree more or less with the above definition of a 'stative verb'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>Simplified</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>See</td>
<td>jiān 见</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go into water</td>
<td>jiān 喷</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mix</td>
<td>jiāo 交</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burn</td>
<td>jiāo 焦</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

48
4.6.1 DIRECTION and DIATHESIS

Attach zhū 属 tŏk ‘to attach, apply’
> shū 屬 džok ‘be connected, attached to’ (get to be attached)

Apply zhúó 著 tōk ‘to place, put, apply’
> zhúó 著 dēk ‘to come in contact with’ (be placed)

Set zhī 置 tŏc ‘to set, place’
> zhī 值 dōc ‘hold upright, a pole’ (got set and held)

Half bàn 半 panč ‘half’
> pān 畔 bonč ‘separate from, rebel’

The endpassive nature of the following two examples is not obvious. Yet ‘to imitate, follow an example’ and ‘to learn’ are introvert processes and can be felt to be passive. The choice of endpassive voicing may be due to the inappropriate extrovert flavor of the exopassive.

Set example jiāo 教 kauč ‘teach, set an example’
> xiāo 效 gauc ‘imitate, follow (an example)’

Get insight jué 覺 kək ‘to wake up’ intr., ‘get insight’
> xué 學 goč ‘to learn’

Two derivations behave exopassively because the subject of the simplex is presumably available:

Destroy bài 敗 pas ‘to ruin, destroy’
> bài 敗 bas ‘to go to ruin, be defeated’

Ruin huài 壞 kuec ‘to destroy, ruin’
> huài 壞 guec ‘to be ruined’

4.6.1 Residue

This residue may constitute a subclass of verbs that are derived from nouns (Baxter and Sagart 1998: 47 with additional examples). The meaning of some items implies introversion (LHan after the available):

Back bài 背 pač ‘the back’
> bài 背 boč ‘turn the back on’ (introvert)

Morning zhào 朝 tšu ‘morning’
> cháo 朝潮 dau ‘go to court, morning tide’ (introvert)

Shore bīn 濱 pin ‘shore, bank’
> pīn 頃 bin ‘river bank, be on the edge, close to’

Dike dī 邑 te ‘bank, dike’
> dī 邑 de ‘to raise, to take up’ (tr.)

Pole zhí, dê 棵 tšık ‘a pole’
> zhí 植 dʒık ‘to plant, raise, establish’ (tr.)

Finger zhǐ 指 kį ‘to point to, finger’
> shì 視 gič / gič ‘to see, look’ / ‘to show’

5 INITIAL CONSONANTS

Because MC initial consonants and other phonemes are projected back to (nearly) identical ones in LHan, subsequently examples will often be cited in simpler LHan forms.

Most of the OC - TB or foreign initial consonant equations are straightforward: m- = m-, p ~ pʰ ~ b = p' ~ pʰ ~ b, etc. For unusual correspondences with laterals and semivowels, see §7-§10. Voiced initials are discussed in other contexts:

- morphological voicing of the initial (endopassive), see §4.6;
- MC initial d- from OC *d- and *l-, see §8.1.1;
- MC initial jį- from OC *s-l- (§8.1.2), *s-j- (§9.4), and *s-w- (§10.1.2);
- MC initial dź-j- (LHan ژ), the rare initials, from OC *m-l-, see §8.1.3;
- MC initial ʃj- (LHan ʃ), the common initial from OC *d-, but also from *j- see §9.3; and on the initials in GSR 413 且, see §8.1.5.

5.1 Devoiced initials

Some voiceless initials are in connection with *r- (§7.1.2; 7.1.4) and OC *l- (§8.2.1). Devoicing of sonorants is common within ST ws and in OC. Many of the following MC initials reflect an earlier voiceless sonorant; examples can be found in §5.2.2 to §5.6.

- MC tʰ- from *lh- / *nh-, rarely from *rh-.
- MC şj- from *lh-, *nh-, *hj-; MC şj- never represents OC *sj-!
- MC x- from *hŋ- / *ɲŋ- / *hw, also *h-; rarely from acute initials (§1.1.3; §5.6).
- MC tʰ occasionally from *rh- / *rh; otherwise from *hr- (§7.1.2).
- MC tʃ- occasionally from *khl- (§5.9.3), otherwise from *tʰh-.

Other languages indicate the loss of MC voicelessness, by first devoicing the following sonorant, then disappearing. Devoiced initials co-occur in phonetic series with the voiced counterparts *l- / *n- / *r- / *m- / *ŋ-. Because they do not mix in phonetic series with other types of consonants like s-, k-, t-, we must assume devoiced sonorants already for pre-literate Chinese, i.e., at least 1250 BC; thus ‘fire’ → ɦũ ɦũ has never been anything but *hmši in OC (never *smši). The prefix / pre-initial which had caused voicelessness must have disappeared by that time.

Words from all sources, ST, KT, MY, and AA participated in this devoicing in PCH. Because several solid ST etymologies are in this list (including ɦũ ‘fire’), the items in this section represent the normal PCH / OC development from ST clusters and must reflect an early layer in PCH. Many of the words with OC voiceless continuants have foreign counterparts with discrete clusters. If Chinese was the donor of such words, then the exchange would have taken place at a very early age indeed. Less dramatic would be the assumption that PCH had absorbed foreign vocabulary during its expansion which then underwent the regular PCH process of cluster simplification.

5.1.1 Devoicing of ST initial *z- → MC s-

MC zj- reflects an original s-prefix in the combinations *s-l- (§8.1.2), *s-j- (§9.4), and *s-w- (§10.1.2). But the voiced ST root initial *z- is devoiced in OC to *s-, for example:
5.2.2 INITIAL CONSONANTS

Small

ST *zi: xi (siec) [scf] *səh or [scf] *səh ‘thin, small’ <> PTB *zi: > West Tib. zi ‘very small’; WB se ə ‘small, fine’; Kachin zi ‘small’

To act, do

ST *za: s[i] (ς[i]) *səo ‘be in charge, manage’ <> WT mədrad-pa (< m-[za]-i) ‘to do, act’ ≠ bzo ‘work, labor’

Sleep

ST *k-zim: qin 寝 [tsʰim] ‘sleep’ <> WT gzim-pa ‘sleep’ (§5.9.1)

5.2 Sino-Tibetan *s-prefix

The ST and PCH s-prefix is reflected in several MC initials:

(1) MC s- < OC *s-., and MC š- from *sr-, from a PCH s-prefix, it occurs mostly before the initials *r-, *n-, and *t-, occasionally also in front of others; see §5.2.1.

(2) MC žj- before OC *l-, *r-, and *w-; see §8.1.2.

(3) MC voiceless sonorants in OC; see §5.2.2-3; §5.6.

(4) Perhaps MC dental affricates ts-, etc. from earlier s + stop consonant; see §5.7.

The s-prefix is of ST origin. It survives in OC as a non-productive morpheme which once formed causatives (Mei 1985: 334-343; 1989; Baxter and Sagart 1998: 53) (§5.2.1 and §5.2.2), iteratives (§5.2.3), and common nouns (§5.2.4). See §4.2.3 for the history of this prefix.

5.2.1 Causative s-prefix > Middle Chinese s-

In some MC forms which have preserved *s-, the original causative / transitive function is still detectable (LHan after the graph):

Lose

sàn丧 sonç ‘to lose, destroy’
< wáng亡 [muon] *mən ‘to lose’

Revive

sǒ 蘇 so, *sə ‘to revive’ < wù悟 [goçi] *ŋåh ‘to awake’

Fear

sǒ 蘇 so, *sŋá ‘to tremble, fear’
< wù 逐 [goçi] *ŋåhk ‘unexpectedly come across’

Tremble

sǒ 索 sok, *snåk ‘tremble, fear’
< e 垜 [ŋok] *ŋåk ‘scared, tremble, fear’

Entice

xù 谗 sut, *sjut, ? ‘to entice’ is prob. a caus. of yǒu诱 ‘to entice’ (under > shu 诱)

Expel

xiăng 襲 siong, *snæ ‘to remove, expel’
< ràng 撲 [hon] *mən ‘to remove, steal’

5.2.2 Causative s-prefix > MC voiceless initial

As already suggested, the voiceless initial consonant represents an early layer in which a ST or PCH causative *s- has been lost after the following sonorant:

Neglect

huáng 荒 huonj, *hmən ‘neglect, reject’
< wáng亡 [muon] *mən ‘lose’

Let go

shī 失 šit, *shit tr. ‘to lose, fall, neglect, let go, err’
< yí亦 [jı] *lit intr. ‘to escape, retire’

Transport

shǔ 輪 sọ, *lo (or *hjo) ‘to transport, transmit’
< yù 運 [jı] *lo or *jọ ‘pass over’

5.2.3 Iterative s-prefix > MC s-, š, voiceless initial

PCH s- forms iteratives and intensives. While ‘intensive’ is often a subjective perception, iterative can readily be identified when it refers to repeated action or movement. Some examples of iteratives follow; the first item is particularly illuminating:

Flicker

shān 閃 [sám] *hmən? ‘(flicker)’ ‘to twinkle, time of a short glance, moment’. ‘Flicker’ is a repetitive phenomenon.
< derived from yán 燎 [jam] *lam ‘to flame, blaze, burn’

Drip

shān 滴 [sən] *srə[ŋ]? ‘be flowing (of tears)’
< liān 连 [liam] *ran or *ren? ‘to join, in a row, go one after another, be dripping or running’

Sprinkle

sǎ 晝 [sən] *sa ‘to sprinkle’

Count

shù 數 [so] *sro ‘to calculate, count’ involves repeated mental moves

Generation

shì [sə] *hats < *ps ‘generation, epoch’
< yè 葉 [jop] *lap ‘foliage’ ‘generation’ implies repetition

Instruct

huì 賢 [huçi] *hməh ‘to instruct’
< PL *s-məsi ‘to teach’, WB hma ‘give instructions, order’ — teaching involves repetition

Comb

shú 梳 [sou] *sra ‘comb’
< TB *hray ‘to comb’, KN-Lai hria ‘hria’ ‘to comb’, WT (g)šad-pa < *g-ryat ‘to comb’

Brush

shuā 刷 [suat] < *sot ‘scrape, clear, brush’

Lick

tiān 舌 [tʰem] *thım? ‘to lick’
< TB *(s)-lyam — licking involves a repetitive motion

Taste

tiē 咀 [tʰiep] *məh ‘to taste’
< WT sfab-pa ‘to taste, savor’ — tasting is similar to licking, implying repetitive motion

Snore

hōu 呼 [ho] *hν ‘to snore’
< WT gur-bal ‘to grunt’ ≠ spu-bal ‘to snore’ — ‘snore’ typically involves repetition as opposed to ‘grunt’

Annoy

xá 烦 [hsok] *hνok ‘disconcerted’
< WT sprog-pa, bsgogs ‘to vex, annoy’ — involves repeated instances
5.2.4 INITIAL CONSONANTS

Wash  帛[sh]i *hak 'to put into water, moisten, wash (rice)' — washing involves repetitive movements <> KS *s-lak 'to wash clothes'

Signal  虎[hir] *hai 'signal flag, to signal'

Wink  睛[hiyt] *ntmat or *ntmat 'to wink at, give signal with the eyes' <> WB himit 'to wink'

Headband  縛[sl] *rei 'band wound round the hair' <> Ii 繫 [lie] *re 'a rope'

Sieve  竹[shi] 篩 [sil], [sei] 'a sieve, sifter, strainer', post-Han

Strain  索 [sjo] *to strain (spirits) <> lu 漏[lio] 'to drip', post-Han

Suck  素 [spk] *srk or *C-srk 'suck, inhale'

In some words, the iterative *s- means repetition, 'again':

Seven  企 [qi] *tsh < *ntsh 'seven', lit. 'two again' <> TB *tns 'seven' <> ST *tsh 'two'

New moon  新 朔 [sjo] *sprak 'new moon', lit. 'go toward (the full moon) again' <> ni 逆 *ntak 'go to meet, go toward'

Year  岁 *swats 'year' <> perf. yu 越 *wat 'pass over', lit. 'pass over again' or 'start the circle again'

The following are perhaps intensive (no obvious repetition):

Blaze  闩 Lh [sian] *nhan 'blaze' <> rán 燃 'burn'

Black  漆 [hok] *hmok 'black' <> WT smag 'dark, darkness'

Evil  惡 [te] *nhék 'evil, wrong' <> WT nag 'black', gmag 'black, evil' <> snak 'ink'; LB *s(mak 'black' — extreme phenomena tend to be expressed with redundant intensives

Cut off  割 [t] *hek 'to cut off, cut to pieces'

Many words remain in which no obvious meaning is associated with the initial *s- or devoicing; some items have connections outside ST, and therefore the OC feature in question may reflect a foreign morphological process (note xiang 襲 'belt' in §5.12.3):

Bestow  舍 *[sa] *liah 'to let off, bestow, grant' <> MMon salah 'to give away, disburse', LMon 'give up, free' — causative?

To rest  舍 *[sa] *liah < *ihwa 'to rest in, stop' <> shui 誦 *[sas] <> sos *hot(t)is ( *ihwa(t)is?) 'rest over night' <> KS *s-lwa 'to rest'

5.2.4 Nouns with *s- > MC s-, voiceless initial

A ST *s- / devoicing is also conspicuous in nouns, but the function / meaning of the *s- is not clear. We may speculate that nouns with iterative meaning, such as 'Fire', 'Comb', 'Brush', 'Sieve' (in §5.2.3) served as a paradigm. Dai and Wu (1995: 99) include examples from JP, e.g., si33 'to die' <> tfa33,sil33 'a dead person' (LHan after the graph):

INITIAL CONSONANTS 5.3

Archery hall  箭 [sia] *s-lak 'archery hall' (initial as in §8.1.2)

Beard  畏 *s-lak 'beard' <> PTB *sno(w) ~ *sno(t) 'mouth, vessel'

Frost  霜 *soh 'hoarfrost' <> liang 凉 'soh 'cold'

Bean  豆 *suk, *nkuk 'bean' <> PLB-M *s-nok 'bean' <> WB nok

Fire  火 *hwa8, *hmii 'fire' <> PTB *ny, OTib. sny, PL *C-mi 'fire'

Louse  蠅 *sir < ST *sirk 'louse' <> PTB *sirk

Scorpion  蟲 *t*as, *rhats 'scorpion' <> Ii 毛 lias, *rats 'sharp'

In 'Louse' and 'Scorpion', the *s- looks like the common TB and SE Asian 'animal prefix.' However, it occurs rarely with animals in OC; furthermore an equivalent to the word PTB *sy 'animal, meat', the source of the *s-, does not exist in Chinese, therefore the initial in these creatures is probably also this ST nominal prefix.

5.3 Devoicing and PTB *r-

Voicelessness corresponds in some CH words to PTB *r- which can also show up as OC medial *r- (Shi Xiàndòng 2000: 208–210) (§7.4):

Grasp  搧 *nehp 'to grasp, gather up' <> WT râib-râib-pa 'to seize or snatch together'

Gums  殼 *nhih 'the gums' <> PTB *s-nil > WT râil ~ sâil 'gums'

Peaceful  舒 [too] *lhôi 'peaceful' <> WT rnal 'to rest' <> mnal 'to sleep'

In light of the frequent PTB (WT) *r- ~ *s- doubles, however, we suspect that the cause of OC devoicing was *s- as in other instances (not *r-):

Sky  落 [rmu] ~ smu ~ dmu

To desire  落 [rmak-pa] ~ skam-pa

Gums  落 ~ sâil

Excereent  落 [ryka-pa] ~ skya-pa

To pull / throw down  落 [râil-ba] ~ sâil-ba

Body hair  PTB *(r)-mul ~ *(s)-mul

Sleep  PTB *(r)-miy ~ *(s)-miy

The differentiation between pre-initial *r- and *s- is particularly common with nasal root initial words. The cognates below (‘Shame’, ‘Long-necked’) demonstrate, first, that this uncertainty is also found within Chinese, and second, that OC medial *r- often derives from an earlier prefix or pre-initial *r-, not from an ‘infixed’ *r- which is typologically unlike in TB languages and therefore probably also unlikely in OC (but see §7.5):

Shame  污 [siu] *snu 'shame' <> niu 恼 [nuk] *nruk < *r-nuk 'ashamed'

Long-necked  帛 [kên] <> kan *khôn ~ *kruk < *h-s-kun ~ *r-ken 'long-necked'

All things considered, OC medial *r- derives from earlier *r- even where TB cognates have initial s-; and OC aspiration / voicelessness / *s- derives from earlier-pre-initial *s-, even where TB cognates have pre-initial *r-.
When the initial consonant is a stop or affricate, pre-initial *r- and *s- show up as aspiration in MC; see §5.8 below.

5.4 ST and PCH *k-
Voicelessness in an OC initial can correspond to ST or foreign *k- (TB d-, g-) in the initial configuration. The TB prefixes d- and g- can also correspond to OC medial *r- (§7.4).

Hull vb.  chông 春 LH ʂong, *hong ‘to hull grain with a pestle’
<> S. *kloon ‘to hull rice’

Excrement  shǐ 尿 ŋʰ, *hiʔ ‘excrement, dung’
<> PBT *k-liy ‘excreta’, Kanauri klí, PL *k(l)ə, WB k’ye8

Swallow  tún 吞 tʰən ‘to swallow’
<> PT *klí: S. kliin ‘to swallow’, Ahom k(l)ən

Evil  tè ě 惡 tʰok, *hnək ‘evil, wrong’
<> WT nag ‘black’, gnag ‘black, wicket’ * snaq ‘ink’

Covet  tān 貪 tʰam, *θəm ‘be covetous’ * lán 贪 lam, *g-ram ‘covetous’
<> PBT *d-rum > WT ɗrum- ‘to desire’, WB krum ‘to pine’

House  shì 室 sɨt, ‘hut’ ‘house, hall’
<> WT gəzí ‘ground, residence, abode’ * gəzis ‘native place’

Shore  hū 汝 he8, *ŋəʔ ‘river bank’ <> WT dgo ‘shore, bank’

Sagart (Baxter and Sagart 1998: 47–51) has proposed that initial *k- functions in some words as a prefix for nouns; it also occurs with clan names. His examples include:

Potter’s wheel  jùn 舖 LH κwín ‘potter’s wheel’ * yún jun [win] ‘even, uniform’

Ghost  gui 鬼 kui8 ‘ghost’ * wéi ēi [hui] ‘overawe, terrorize’

Country  guó 國 kuok ‘country’ * yú 域 [wik] ‘boundary, region’

Additional examples may include → qiáo 突 ‘hut’; → qín 突 ‘a blanket’; → gōu 溝 ‘drain, irrigation canal’.

This morpheme is not ST. Perhaps AA was the source; note that Khmer has a prefix k- which forms nouns (Jenner and Pou 1982: xxxix-xl); or note PVM *k-vel ‘village’ <> *vel ‘to return’ (Peroe).

5.5 Other sources of devоicing
Other sources of devоicing involve non-ST words where the function, if any, is outside the OC system.

Pour  táo 洗 LH tʰuu, *hâu ‘to pour water, wash’
<> PMiao tʰuə2 ‘to pour’

Iron  tiè 鐵 tʰet, *liʔ or *liʔ ‘iron’
<> Tai: S. lekDIS ‘*l- ‘iron’, PKS *kʰiʔ

Food  xiàng 賣 səŋ(ŋ)/tʃ, *hnàŋ+h ‘bring food to’

Blood  huàng ㄏ uon, *hməŋ <> AA: e.g., Bahnam *maham ‘blood’ where h belongs to the root

Even among ST items, the reason for devоicing is not always clear (loss of *p-), as in

Straight  têŋ 挺 tʰəŋ, *tʰəŋ ‘straight’ <> PBT *bləŋ – *pləŋ ‘straight’

5.6 MC initial x- from voiceless initials
MC initial x- from voiceless initials in OCM *hr-, *hl-, *hn- is rare; it seems to have its origin in the popular / rural sphere; see §1.3.1.

In the standard dialect, voiceless *l- and *n- are reflected in MC coronal t-, s-, and, in the case of *r-, in MC t-, r- (§7.1.2). To differentiate the two types of voiceless initials, we will write OCM *lh-, *nh-, *hr- for MC t-, s-, etc., but OCM *hn-, *hl-, *hr- when it is the aspiration that survives as MC x-. Of course, voiceless *hm- and *hn- regularly yield Middle Chinese x-.

MC x- <> foreign *hm-

- Beard  huì 髭 LH hyəc, *huats ‘beard of chin’ <> Tai: S. nuaDIS ‘*hn- ‘beard’

Ribs, sides  xiē 背 LH ʂɨɛ, *hrap ‘sides of body, ribs’ (earliest occurrence in Shijiang with reference to horse’s trappings)
<> TB: JP ka-D-ep ‘rib’, Kanauri *hriip, WT rtɕʰi ‘thiip’

To rear  chú 射 tuk, huk, *hruk - *hruk ‘to rear’ (livestock)
<> chú 畜 [χu] ‘hruk – *hruk ‘domestic animal’

Scare  hè 吓 hak, haC, *hrak(h) ‘to scare’
<> PBT *krak – *grak ‘to fear’ > WT skraŋ-pə ‘fear’

Vomit  xué, hù 胃 xuə, hək ‘vomit’ <> PTAi *rɡək ‘vomit’

Know  xiāo 瞭 he8, *hiąu ‘clear, understand, know’
<> K: PTAi *ruoC ‘to know’, PKS *hrək ‘to know (how)’

Sound symbolic and deprecatory terms seem to belong to this vulgar stratum:

Babble  xiào-xiào 嘈嘈 [xau] *hru ‘magniloquent’ (i.e., talk big without knowing anything). The phonetic suggests an OC *t- in the initial.

Roar  xiàn 闇 [xam], and hán (xam) *hram? ‘roaring’ of a tiger. This is an area word which is also found in TB and AA as *gram, etc.

Stupid  zhùáng, hông 竜 [xʊŋ], *təŋ ‘*troŋ ‘stupid’. It is an AA substrate word — note PMon *troŋ ‘foolish, insane’.

MC x- <> OC / foreign *hl- / *C-l-

Tiger  hū 虎 [hə] *hlʔ ‘tiger’ <> PAA *kala?. The graph is phonetic in chu 虱 OC *k-hlaʔ ‘place’; a “Standard” form *lha(k) ‘tiger’ survived as a “dialect” variant

Pig  xi 猪 [hɨu] *həʔ ‘pig’ <> AA: PMonic *tliik
5.7 MC affricates from *s* + stop consonant

In some words, dental affricates are sometimes thought to have resulted through metathesis from OC or PCH s + stop consonant, as suggested by possible WT cognates (Bodman 1969):

**Soak**

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{jin} & \quad \text{浸} [\text{tsim}^\text{c}] \quad \text{tsams} \quad \text{‘to soak, overflow’} \\
\leftarrow & \quad \text{WT stim-pa, bstims} \quad \text{‘to enter, penetrate, be absorbed’} \quad * \text{caus.} \\
of & \quad \text{tsim-pa ‘disappear, being absorbed’} \quad \text{See also} \rightarrow \text{qūn 侵}
\end{align*} \]

**Grasp**

\[ \text{xìé 搽} [\text{tsep, kiep, kap}] \quad \text{‘grasp’, the reading tssep from PCH *sk} ? \]

In a few words with dental affricate initials, an original s + stop consonant cluster agrees with identified meanings of the s-prefix; the following words are iteratives (§5.2.3):

**Add**

\[ \begin{align*}
zēng & \quad \text{增} [\text{tsan}] \quad \text{tsan} \quad \text{‘to add’} \leftarrow > \text{‘to double, to rise high’} \quad \text{曾, ‘increase, numerous’} \quad \text{appears to be a derivation from} \\
dēng & \quad \text{登} [\text{tsan}] \quad \text{tsan} \quad \text{‘to rise, ascend, mount, raise’}
\end{align*} \]

**Twist**

\[ \begin{align*}
ji 绐 [\text{tsek}] \quad \text{tshek} \leftarrow < \text{ts-kek} \quad \text{‘to twist, spin’} \quad \text{appears to be a derivate from} \\
xī 係 [\text{ke}] \quad \text{kēh ‘to bind, tie up, attach’}
\end{align*} \]

This metathesis is rare, though. Several often cited examples have alternative explanations. ‘Carpenter’ \( \rightarrow \text{jiàng 匠} [\text{dzyio}^\text{c}] \) is supposed to be cognate to WT sbyog-pa, sbyps ‘to train, exercise, practice’, but the CH practice, however, is better etymology, q.v. The same goes for \text{còng 共} (under \( \rightarrow \text{zhōng} \) and the words written with the phonetic \( \rightarrow \text{zú 卓} \) (also under \( \rightarrow \text{zào 墟} \) which Bodman had associated with WT words with initial \text{st}, etc. (cited under \( \rightarrow \text{tún 屯} \)). This throws some doubt on the metathesis theory.

5.8 Aspirated initial consonants

Only one out of six MC words with velar and labial initials has an aspirated surd stop. Many other MC aspirated words probably had complex OC or ST initials which were not necessarily aspirated; others fall into certain semantic categories which OC apparently marked with aspiration. Therefore aspirated stops and affricates are not of ST origin, but are CH innovations.

Several different sources of MC aspirated initial consonants can be distinguished:

1. (Aspiration due to loss of pre-initial (§5.8.1))
2. (Initial MC \text{ts}^\text{h} from OC or PCH \*k-s- and \*s?- (§5.9.1–2))
3. (Initial MC \text{ts}^\text{h}- from OC \*k-hl- (§5.9.3))
4. (Sound-symbolic aspiration (§5.8.5–§5.8.6))
5. (For sources of MC initial \text{ts}^\text{h}, see §5.1)

As expected, there remains a residue where aspiration defies explanation; it includes common words like \( \rightarrow \text{kū 苦} [\text{kua}^\text{h}] \) ‘bitter’. In light of the secondary nature of most aspiration, words like \( \rightarrow \text{kū 苦} \) may perhaps go back to an original \text{C+h} cluster that is known from Mon-Khmer languages.

5.8.1 MC aspiration: loss of ST pre-initial

Some Middle Chinese aspirated words correspond to TB (and or WT) initials with \*s- or \*r-prefix, also to Lolo-Burmese \*r-. This is parallel to devoicing (§5.2–3), although it is only a trend (Sino-Tibetan prefixes are volatile and change from language to language).

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{Cliff} & \quad \text{kàn 觐} \quad \text{LH kowm}^\text{c}, \quad \text{*khōms ‘cliff, bank, step’} \leftarrow \text{PTB *r-ka-j} \text{m id.}
\end{align*} \]
5.8.4 Initial Consonants

Disperse pī 拆 phai "divide, disperse"
Break pò 破 pai "to break (into pieces)"
Brush off fú 拂 phut "to brush off, shake off (iterative)"
Pull off tiāo 梳 t'eu "pull leaves off branches" (iterative)
< tiāo 梳 [deu] "branch, to be extending (branches)"

5.8.4 MC aspiration: auxiliary verbs

Some auxiliary verbs are aspirated (LHan follows the graph):

Endure kān 勘 k'om, khōm 'to endure, equal to'
Breathe chōu 吹 t'eu 'sound of an ox breathing'
Sigh xī 息 his. k'o "sigh'
Breath qī 氣 k'is 'breath'
Anger fèn 愤 p'un 'anger, angry'
Stench chòu 臭 t'oe 'smell, stench'
Spit tǔ 吐 t'o 'spit out'
Cough ké 咳 k'o 'cough'
WEEP qī 泣 k'oep 'weep'
Weep kū 哭 k'ok 'weep, howl'

5.8.5 Aspiration: outward and / or forceful motion

Words that denote breathing, exhaling, an emphatic outward gesture or forceful motion such as 'spitting', 'ejecting', 'motion away', 'hewing', 'hitting', 'beating' tend to be aspirated. This is a sound-symbolic feature in CH although the origin may have been s-intensives:

Lungs fèi 肺 p'uus, phas (< *phos ?) 'lungs'

5.8.6 Aspiration: hollow, empty

Words that imply 'hollow, empty' are typically aspirated, again for sound-symbolic effect. The first example illustrates this meaning quite clearly where aspiration derives the word 'vault' from one which does not imply 'hollow':

Vault qiòng 坑 LH k'un 'vault' < gòng k'un 'bow'
Plate kán 坎 k'om 'pit'
Plug kēng 坑 k'ang 'a pit (hole)'
Empty kōng 空 k'ong 'hollow, empty'

5.8.7 Aspiration in foreign words

Some foreign words have aspirated initials in CH; perhaps OC perceived aspiration where phonemically the donor language had none. (The aspiration can also be due to loss of a foreign post-initial phoneme; see §5.9.4.)

Spear fish chuō 插 (ts'ak) [ts'ak] *sharok 'to spear (fish)'
Pick out chi ī (ts'ai, ts'ai) [ts'ai] (or [ts'e]) ?, *sharai? 'to pick (an animal) out of (a herd, etc.), select' <> AA: Khmer /sral/ 'to take the pick of, select'

5.9 Aspiration from PCH consonant clusters

5.9.1 MC tsʰ from *k-s- and *s-?

In some words, MC initial tsʰ corresponds to a ST cluster *k-s- (WT gs-) (LHan readings follow the graph):

Kill kān 参 k'om "to kill, execute"
Cut, chop kān 砍 k'om "to chop (wood, a tree), decapitate"
Cut, engrave kē 刻 k'ok "to cut, injure, engrave, intense"
Attack kōu 扣 k'u 'to strike, attack'
Stab kūf 封 k'ue "to stab, slaughter"

An extension of forceful action include the following words:

Clear qing 清 qs'eg < PCH *s'en 'clear' (water, sound) <> WT gseŋ-p 'clear' (sound) <s> gseŋ-po ~ bseŋ-p 'clear'
Granary cāng 倉 ts'ōŋ < PCH *s'an 'granary' <> WT gsaŋ-ba 'to hide'
Eat cân 餐 ts'ōn < ST *s-dzan 'eat' <> WT gzən-pa 'to eat'
5.9.2 - 5.9.3 INITIAL CONSONANTS

Sleep  qǐn 寝  tsʰimʰ < ST *k-zim?  ‘sleep’  <> WT gzi-pa  ‘sleep’

Hay  chú 麦  tsʰo < PCH *k-ro?  ‘hay, cut hay’  <> AA-PMon *k-soj ‘hay’, Wa *soh ‘cut grass’

Wife  qí 妻  tsʰei < PCH ‘k-sai ‘wife’  <> AA: Khmer *sai ‘wife’; PWMiao *ntsaiP ‘daughter, wife’

Additional cases may include cǎng 堆 (→ cáng 藏).
The phonetic series GSR 613 possibly still supports a cluster *k-s- for OC:
qǐn 寝  [tsʰim] *k-sai/em?  ‘all’ is phonetic in jīn檢 [kian] ‘accumulate’.

In a few words that start with MC tsʰ, the source might have been PCH *s+/-; see, for example,  → cǎn 觀,  → chà,  → qí,  etc.

5.9.2 MC tsʰ- from s + voiceless sonorant
A few words with MC initial tsʰ- probably had a PCH n-like initial: qi’七 [tsʰit] ‘seven’  <> PTB *snis, and qǐn 千 [tsʰen] ‘thousand’ (rén 人 [lin] is said to be phonetic). Perhaps the original pre-initial s- in *snis was lost in regular fashion after devolving the initial nasal, but then reattached in this common word, especially since the iterative meaning ‘again’ (§5.2.3) was still apparent (‘seven’  = ‘two again’).

In the following sets, a causative s-prefix was apparently put in front of OC *lh- which resulted in MC tsʰ-. (‘Expel’ has already been cited in §5.2.2 as ‘Let go!’):

Expel  cì 赤 [tsʰiak] *s-hak  ‘to expel’  < sī 言 [siak] *lh ‘put away, do away, let go’ (see → yīsī 言)

Hurt  qìng 病 [tsʰien] *s-han  ‘to hurt’  < lhan+s-prefix caus.

Additional cases may include → cǎng 堆 ‘cold’.

5.9.3 MC tsʰ- from OC clusters *k-hl-
A few MC tsʰ- words derive from the rare OC clusters *k-hl-. When these words were committed to writing, the initial still contained a velar *k-, because most of these words are found in phonetic series with velar initials beside evidence for OC *l-. Thus, MC tsʰ- in such words was not a variant of sj- (OC voiceless *lh-), but of a different nature. Except for the first item ‘carriage’, all are of ST stock, yet if Baxter and Sagart (1998) are correct, even ‘carriage’ would be a ST etymon which could allow us to generalize that this kind of cluster is restricted to ST items.

Carriage  chè 車 [tsʰa] ~ [kxo] *k-hla  ‘carriage’

Separate  chǐ 計 [tsʰiui] *k-hliai  ‘to separate’  <> PL *C-klayP/C ‘to separate’

Come out  chǔ 出 [tsʰu] *k-hlu  ‘to come out’  <> P’/lot31-lam33 ‘outlet’, Trung klut ‘come out’

Dwell  chú 處 [tsʰuP] *k-hla ‘to dwell’  → jū 居 [kxo] *ka ‘to dwell’  <> PTB *gla  ↔ WT gda-ba locative verb, ‘to be there’; TGTM *gla

River  chuān 川 [tsʰon] *k-hlu’n ‘river’  <> PTB *klun  ‘river’

5.9.4 MC aspiration from other types of PCH initial clusters
In a few words, aspiration seems to have been caused by loss of a post-initial consonant; note also ‘To polish’ and ‘Booty’ in §5.10.1.

Blanket  qín, 鍾 [tsʰim] *khm ‘blanket’  < *k- + *om ‘cover’ yǐn 隱 ‘cover’ (k- forms concrete nouns §5.4)

Slant  qǐn 傾 傾 [tsʰen] ‘to lean, be slanted’  <> AA-PMon *k’enj  ‘to lean, be slanted’


5.10 Reflexes of Mon-Khmer affricates in Chinese

MK languages have typically one set of affricate consonants which are transcribed c, j, ch, and jh following Indic conventions. Two sets, one sibilant (ts, dz), one perhaps palatal (tš, đz), can be reconstructed for PMK (Ferlus MKS 7, 1978: 1–38). This may explain the multiple correspondences with OC, but this issue requires further study. Since OC had only dental affricates, these had to be substituted for the foreign palatals.

5.10.1 MK c, j = MC affricates

To ford  jǐ 濟 [tsiC] *tsih or *tsiH ‘to ford, cross’  <> AA: Mon inscr. cnis [mns]  > cnih ‘a ghat, place of access to river…, landing place’  < cïs [cs] ‘to go down, descend’

To polish  cuō 磔 [ts’oi] *tsái ‘to rub, polish’  <> AA: Khmer /caj/ ‘to cut (gems), to polish’

Booty  jié 捷 [dziap] *dzap ‘victory, booty’  <> AA, Khmer /caja/ ‘slave woman, concubine’

About to  jiāng 將 [tsian] *tsan ‘be on the point of, about to, intend to, going to’  <> AA: OKhmer cansi/caj/ ‘Khmer caⁿa/caj/ ‘to want, desire, hope for, be willing to, about to, on the point of’

5.10.2 MK c, j = MC retroflex affricates

The reason for MC retroflexion (OC *r-) in some correspondence sets is not clear. The AA substrate language might have had a complex initial; or, what later had become a MC supralinear affricate was somehow acoustically close to what was most. Most of these words are late (i.e., mid to late Zhou, and Han).

Spear fish  chuō 揚 [ts’ok] *tshôk ‘to spear (fish)’  <> AA: Khmer cûka /côok/ ‘lift with tool…’

Dog  sōu 獵 (GY s’au) [sɯ]  <> AA: PVM ?a-c?
5.10.4 INITIAL CONSONANTS

Pestilence zhā 札 (tɕtɕ) ‘to die prematurely, pestilence’
< AA: PVMO *k-ct, PMK *kct ‘to die’

To dry shāi, shì 晒 (ɕɕ) [ɕɕ] *sre ‘to dry something in the sun’
< AA: PMOnic *cy ‘to spread in the sun to dry’

Cut off zhān 斩 (tsám) [tsám] *tsrē ‘? to cut off, cut down’
< AA: PVMO *cem ‘to chop’, Khmer cam or cram ‘to hack’

5.10.3 MK cr-.j- = MC retroflex affricates

A hoe chu 蝟 (dzjwau) *dzra ‘a hoe’ < AA: Khmer rā’ sa /roshi/ ‘to scrape, rake, hoe, harrow’ n OKhmer /crās/ ‘to scrape or brush against’
< AA: Khmer /crong/ ‘to raise up, re-establish...’ n crūna /cruŋŋ/ ‘be upright’

Thorns chu 楷 (tsjwau) *tshra ‘thorny bush / tree’
< AA: PMOnic *jrala ‘thorn, thorny bamboo’, Khmu [jorla]?, Semai [jarla]?

High chông 崇 (dzjwun) *dzrung ‘to pile on, pile high, high (of a mountain)’
< AA: Khmer /sral/ ‘to take the pick of, select’

Needle zān 针 (tsjaml) *tsram ‘hairpin’
< AN-PCham *jurn ‘needle’; AA-PNBahn. jārum; TB-Lepcha rāum

Select chái 凹 (tɕtai, tɕai) *tshrai ‘to pick out, select’
< AA: Khmer /sral/ ‘to take the pick of, select’

Tilt zē灰 (tsjik) *tsrak ‘be slanting’ ‘sun going down, afternoon’
< AA: OKhmer jre /créer/ ‘to tilt, slope, decline, (of sun) go down, set’ (for final *k, see §6.1.1)

Quiver zē 笛 (tɕtik) *tsræk ‘a quiver’
< AA: Khmer /créak/ ‘insert, introduce, shave into...’

5.10.4 MK c.j = MC tʂj-, tj-, etc. from OC *t(r)j-

These initial correspondences are rare and therefore uncertain, but they could be understood if the OC words had a medial *i (ُ), so that OC *ti-/ *tj- may have come close to the AA sound.

A post-initial palatal almost certainly was inherent in glasses with the element 周, and variants in ‘Look at’ suggest an original *iam ~ *em (rather than *am) (§11.3.2).

Look at zhàn 盯 (tsjâm) OCB *tjém, tjam, tjam ‘to look at’
< AA: OKhmer /cam/ ‘to watch over, watch for, keep in mind’

Aid zhōu 周 (tsjou) *tu or *tiu ‘to help, relieve, succor’
< AA: Khmer jwa /cúuas/ ‘to aid, help, succor, rescue, save’ (for loss of final -j, see §6.9)

Circle chōu 長 (dzjou) ‘drum’ ‘to be wrapped round, bind round, nightgown’ 襠
< AA: Khmer jwa /cúuas/ ‘to encircle or wrap (the head) in a length of cloth’; and / or Tai: S. diw²’s strips of rattan or bamboo bent in a circle to which ribs of a cage are fastened’

5.10.5 MK c.j = velar initials k, g

For reasons not yet understood, an AA affricate shows up as a velar in CH, but this is rare and therefore suspect. This is reminiscent of Viet-Muong where d- and gi- have merged, but much later (Maspero 1912: 69). This phenomenon may perhaps explain ‘Companion’ below.

Dog gōu 狗 (kau*) *kō < *klo ‘dog’
< ultimately AA: PMOnic *c lur, Mon *klo, WMOn cLUw, KLw [klw]

Bird qín 禽 (gjam) *gām ‘game bird, bird, fowl’
< AA: PVMO *cim ‘bird’, PMOn *ckipo ‘bird’

Companion chōu 際 (dzjou) *dru ‘mate, companion, category, equal’
< qiū 仇 (dzjou) ‘gu ‘mate, companion, antagonist’

5.11 MC?- from foreign kl-type clusters

A few comparanda show a MC glottal stop initial?- where Tai or other languages have initial l-, but the rimes and meanings agree so closely that usually a relationship is apparent. The nature of the hypothetical common initial remains uncertain; one could assume an OC configuration *l?- (an *i in the OC initial in wēng ‘jar’ is possible because its phonetic is *kloŋ).

Unger (Hao-ku 33, 1986) suggests an initial ?a-prefix forming nouns, as in:

Jar wēng 筒 LHZ ʔkč, *ʔŋŋ ‘jar’ < PL *ʔloŋ ‘pot’
< Tai: S. luŋ ʔkč < *ʔl- ‘vessel’

House wū 屋 ʔok, *ʔok ‘roof, house’ < Tai: Po’ai luŋ²ɔʔ ‘dl- ‘room’

Sprout yāŋ 秸 ʔŋŋ, ‘sprout, rice shoot’
< WT ʔjang-ba < *ly- ‘shoots, sprouts’

Waist yāo 腰 ʔiau, *ʔiau ‘waist’ < PMiao ʔluŋ ‘waist, lower back’

Eagle yīŋ 相 ʔŋŋ, ʔŋŋ ‘eagle’ ‘falcon’ < PMOnic *knleen ‘hawk’

Middle yāng 央 has, however, a Chinese etymology and is therefore unrelated to PTAI *klan⁷¹ ‘middle’.

5.12 Nasal initials

5.12.1 ŋ(w)- ~ nw-

Some words with initial nasals show *ŋ(w)- ~ *nw- variation already on the ST level. Perhaps an earlier *ŋw- had changed to *nw- in some languages, something that is observed also later, as in Sino-Tibetan *ŋgua ‘cow’ > WB nwa, OC *ŋu > Mandarin niü. Tables 5-1 and 5-2 illustrate parallel stems (§2.5) of ‘hungry’, ‘cow’, ‘lean’, and ‘to rest’ (in addition, see also → ruò 热 ‘hot’).
### 5.12.2 Initial Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OC</th>
<th>Hungry</th>
<th>Cow, buffalo</th>
<th>ST</th>
<th>Hungry</th>
<th>Cow, buffalo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| ꯧ (nù) | *
угл (mük) - nêi 碳 | *ɲàh - relu 饒 | 
*ɲwo - nù 牛 | 
*ɲwo |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>nga</th>
<th>nwa</th>
<th>JP</th>
<th>ɲö</th>
<th>ɲi31 &gt; wâ31</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lush</td>
<td>ɲheɪ̯</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>ɲg(ŋ)-pa</td>
<td>? nor</td>
<td></td>
<td>? ba &lt; ɲ-wa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 5.2 Lean over

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OC</th>
<th>Lean over</th>
<th>To rest, gentle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| ꯧ (nù) | *
угл (mük) - nêi 碳 | *ɲöi / *ɲâi - wâ 乳 |
| TB    | hnwai    | C-nwal /r       |
|       | ɲai      | ɲwal > ɲoi     |
| WB    | hnwaiB   | ɲaiC           |
|       | ɲwec     |                |
| LB, PL| ?nwe     |                |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>JP</th>
<th>ɲa31</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lush</td>
<td>ɲer / ɲer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>sñ-ẹ-à</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 5.12.2 Chinese m- for TB and foreign b-

- Fly (n.) 飞 (mê) [ma] *mran ‘gadfly’ vs. WT sbran (< *s-mran?) ‘a fly’
- Snake 蛇 (xwu) [hui] *hmui?
- To buy 買 (mê) [me] *mrê? ‘to buy’
- Ransom 同 (dzwok) [zâ] *m-lok ‘to ransom’
- Shaman 巫 (muj) [mu] ‘shaman, spirit medium, magician’
- Sort 物 (muat) [mut] *mat ‘class, sort, things’, PTB *mrıw

### 5.12.3 Austronesian nasal infix

An AA nominalizing n-infinit after affricates would result in an inadmissible OC cluster of the type *tsn- which is reduced to a canonical *sn-.

- Belt, sash 腰带 (sjan) [syan] *snan ‘belt, sash, horse’s belly-band’
- To cover, protect 奔 (campana) [campan] ‘to tie, knot, secure, attach by tying or knotting’

In such a MK initial consonant cluster, one element can be considered the root initial, the other a prefix or infix. Thus the Khmer root -sap / socp / ‘to cover, protect’ yields with n-infinit snapa / socp / ‘shroud’, but derived from this is napa / sco / ‘mat in which one wraps oneself for protection...’., as if the root initial were n-, and s- a prefix (Jenner and Pou 1982: 358). Like some AA languages, OC occasionally sheds the original root initial, leaving the nasal infix as the word initial. For examples, see §2.6.
FINAL CONSONANTS 6.1.1

Labor yi 役 [wek] *wek (< *wai-k) 'to labor, serve' < wéi 為 [wai] *wai 'make, do'

Diphthong levelling does not always take place, though; perhaps a PCH final *-l was the source of the OC *-i:

Cut trees zé 枝 [tsék] [tsék] *tsrāk 'clear away (trees)'
⊥ chá 筝 [dazh̥ə] [dzhā] *dżrāk 'cut trees'

The final *-r of a Sino-Tibetan root is metathesized in OC (sometimes resulting in open syllables; see §7.7.3):

White bái 白 [bak] *brák (< *bar-k) 'be white' < PTB *pwār
Vein mài 脈 [mek] *mērə < (*mar-k) 'vein' <- Lusahi marī < mar 'pulse'
Color sè 色 [sək] *srāk (< *sar-k) 'color, countenance'
⊥ Lushai saar < saar 'prismatic colors, ruddy, healthy looking'

Sometimes, foreign final *-r has no CH equivalent in div. III syllables:

Pierce ci 刺 [ts'ie] < ts'ie] *tshek(h) 'pierce, stab' < WT *gzer-'ba 'to bore into', *gzer 'nail'

Metathesis also occurs in TB: WT 'bar' 'interstice, intermediate space' ≈ WT *trṣag < *par-k 'intermediate space, interstice'; smaran 'to speak', pf. smaras smarad 'word' (Geilich 1994: 67); Lepcha mlem 'face' < mel-m, from PTB *mel 'face' with the common Lepcha m-suffix.

6.1 Final *-k

Some ST / PCH words in final *-in, *-ik have shifted to OC *-in, *-it, see §6.4.1.

Some words with final *-k have a variant in tone B (OC *-ʔ):

Arrive gě 格 [kak] *krāk 'arrive' >/ jia 假 [kaʔ] *krāi 'arrive'
Let go shí 释 [saq] *hlāk 'put away, let go'
⊥ shē 舍 [saʔ] *hlaʔ 'to let off, set aside, let go'
You ruò 若 [nak] *nak 'you' >/ rū 如 [nak] *nai 'you'

The form in *-ʔ is perhaps a weakened form in 'Arrive', 'Let go', and 'Lame' below (see §6.2 for parallels with *-l; Baxter and Sagart 1998: 60; for ST exc. see §3.2.2). Thus the final *-k would be part of the stem. On the other hand, in 'You' the final *-k must be secondary.

However, items like 'Shrivel' and 'Shame' (below) have an open vowel variant which suggests that final *-k is not only an OC addition in these words (k-extension § 6.1.1), but possibly also in 'Lame' ('let go' represents probably two different etyma). Occasionally, a final -k is also added to words in TB languages, as in WT kəqə, WB kəqəb 'bitter' ≈ WT kəqəg, WB kəqə 'difficult' (< HPTB: 479f). In some items, the phenomenon is reversed where CH has an open syllable for TB and foreign final -k or -t; see §6.9. A few examples:

Hundred bái 百 [pak], OCM *prāk 'hundred' < WT bṛgya < bṛja 'hundred'
Shrivel sù 腐 [suik] *suik 'shrink' ≈ xiū 修 [su] *siu 'shrink'
Shame niū 宁 [nuk] *nurk < *nuk 'ashamed' < xiū 差 [su] *siu 'shame'

When the base form ended in a diphthong, the latter was leveled before the final consonant, thus *-ai + *-k >> *-ek:

Change yi 役 [jek] *tek (< *lai-k) 'to change' < PTB *lay 'change'
Lame bì 跛 [pik] *pek (< *pái-k) 'to walk lame'
⊥ bō 跆 [pui] *pái < (*pái-k) 'to walk lame'
Oblique pi 偏 [p+i] *phek < pó 頑 [pai] *phāi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-V</th>
<th>-k</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zhā 彦 *trā (to open)</td>
<td>zhā 彦 *trāk 'rip open (victim)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chē 割 *thāi 'cleave'</td>
<td>chē 割 *thārk &lt; *thar(i)-k 'split'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pō 割 *phāi 'break'</td>
<td>pō 割 *phēk &lt; *phāi-k 'split'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.1 k-extension

So far, no perceptible function or meaning has been identified for this velar suffix (except for items in §6.12 below) which is also encountered in TB (HPTB: 479f). This addition may for the time being be referred to as 'k-extension'. Yet in some words the final k-sound seems to symbolize an abrupt end (as in notions 'stab', 'split', 'whack'), which implies a singular event. In Table 6-1 all the items in the second column (final -k) mean 'split, cleave' (something accomplished with a single blow, or a sequence of individual blows), whereas the non-k stems tend to have a more general meaning. One can rip open a victim or split a melon only once, but one can open a door many times. From this is perhaps derived the semantic narrowing that is often observed, as in cuo 銅 [tsək] *tsāk 'whetstone, grindstone' < cuo 銅 [tsəi] *tsāk 'rub, polish' (in general, not necessarily with a stone); WT kəqəg 'difficult' < kəqə 'bitter'. This morpheme might possibly be related to the WT suffix -kə as in ser-ka 'cleft' (Beyer 1992: 133). This narrowed or singular meaning may also explain the specific word zhī 齊 'single, one' < WT gēgh 'one', vs. the more general zhī 目 'the only' < PLB *tāy 'only'. The final -k in CH bái 百 'prāk 'hundred', vs. PTB *prya, possibly plays the same role
if the word is felt to refer to a single numerical unit, i.e., 'one hundred' 一百. However, occasionally there seems to be little difference in meaning, for example, JP と と 'break' ≠ で で 'break'. Other languages also have a final -k in this semantic range; Gedney (1976: 72) draws attention to words in Tai with final -ek which imply separation, for instance.

### 6.1.2 Suffix -k: distributive

A k-suffix forms distributives or partitives as Pulleyblank (1973: 122; 1995: 134f) calls them; they refer to one of a set. These words include → 皆 孜, → 輯 若, → 楙 則, and:

- **None**: 毋 莫 [mok] *mâk 'none, nothing' < wu 無 [mu] *ma 'there is no'
- **Someone**: 莫 [mu] *wâk 'someone' < you 有 [wu*] *wo 'there is'
- **Each**: 皆 各 [kok] *klâk 'each' < ju 槟 [kie*] *all'

This distributive suffix may possibly be the same "singular event" final -k (§6.1.1) hence 毋 莫 *mâk, lit. 'there is no single one', 'one by one', there is no, etc.

### 6.2 Final -t

Some ST / PCH words in final *-t, *-ik have shifted to OC *-in, *-it; see §6.4.1.

A final *-n, *-t, or *-s is sometimes added to open syllable words, also in TB (HPTB: 439ff; 457-465); however, it is not nearly as common as final *-k. The first two items suggest that occasionally final *?- (≥ tone B) is a weakened form of the final consonant, but the last set (Bend, no final *-t?) casts doubt on that (for a parallel, see §6.1.1 above):

- **C. square**: 區 桌 [kuot] *kwât or *kot 'carpenter’s square'
- **Filth**: 水 污 [kuat, guat] *kot 'dirt, to sully'
- **Bend**: 匹 屈 [kut] *khat 'to bend, subdue'
- **Discern**: 比 察 [tsat1] *tshrát 'to examine, discern'
- **Say, said**: 日 曰 [wot] *wat 'say(s) / said: "...", lit. 'he went: "..."'

### 6.2.1 Nouns with final -t

OC (MC) final *-t can be a suffix that creates or marks nouns (Benedict LTBA 14.2, 1991: 149ff; HPTB: 454ff), typically ones that refer to natural objects or conditions; excluded are human beings and living creatures in general (Unger Hao-ku 39, 1992). This restriction indicates an earlier morphological role for final *-t (probably also in 'Square' and 'Filth'

- **Moon**: 月 月 [gyat] *ywat 'moon' <> WT go(s) 'half moon'
6.2.3 Final -t = foreign final -s
In some words OC *-t corresponds to foreign final -s; in the word for ‘seven’ many TB languages also show this correspondence (HPTB: 441f; 477f). It is also possible that in these sets the finals derive from an original *-ts; a few examples follow.

Finish

Finish

SEVEN

Seven

Seven

Seven

Seven

Seven

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Knee

Kee
6.4.2 Final *-un from *-uj
Parallel to the above (§6.4.1), PCH rime *-uj has merged with OC *-un (*-an after labials); however, in a few words the rime has survived as OC *-un, especially in QYS div. III. Thus the distribution of OC *-un (冬 category) is limited; in later div. 1, there is no syllable with grave initial (K-, P-), only one syllable *tun 冬. We find, however, some etyma with *-un ~ *-on doubles, sporadically also after non-high vowels, including:

- Mosquito: wén 蚊 [mun] *mun < *mun ‘mosquito’
- Deceive: wáng 假 [munʼ] = màn 假 [maanʼ], mian
- Reckless: wáng 慣 [munʼ] = màn 慣 [maanʼ]
- Goose: yān 鴨 [zan] & WT pān ‘goose’, but see dictionary entries

Although OC has final *-n for TB final *-ŋ in some words with back vowels (Bodman 1980: 81–83), the problem remains that in some words WB / TB -ŋ may be secondary, CH final -n primary. Curiously, all these WB cognates have tone B (breathy):

- Stream: chuán 川 [kien] *k-ſuŋ’ ‘stream’
- Boat: chuán 船 [m-ſon] ‘boat’
- Change: biàn 變 [m-ſon] *pron ‘to change’
- Tumult: luàn 亂 [b-ſon] *tun ‘tumult’
- Soft: ruăn 軟 [m-șon] *nun ‘soft’
- Short: duăn 短 [m-șon] *tun ‘short’
- Shield: dún, shún 盾 [m-șon] ‘shield’
- Divide: fèn 分 [m-șon] *pon ‘divide’
- Flee: bēn 奔 [m-șon] *pon ‘to run, flee’
- Burn: fēn 焚 [m-șon] *pon ‘to burn’

6.4.3 Nominalizing suffix *-n
A ST suffix *-n has survived in some TB languages where it forms nouns (STC p. 99 ff; HPTB: 439ff; 443–453), most conspicuously in WT, e.g., rku-na ‘thief’ < rku-ba ‘to steal’, gčin ‘urine’ < gči-ba ‘urinate’ (Beyer 1992: 117; Geilich 1994: 26 ff); there are also traces of this suffix in other TB languages (Michalovsky 1985: 369). It occurs also in Chinese where it is often attached redundantly to nouns, but in some instances derives nouns from other words (as already suspected by Sagart 1999: 135f). The final *-n was once productive in PCH as there are no cognate sets that share this ST morpheme with TB (except ‘Chisel’ below); see also §2.4.2. Benedict (STC: n. 284, 428–429) believes it to form collectives; however, it seems to form or mark nouns in general.

- Ford: jīn 濟 [kien] OCM *tsin ‘a ford’ n. (< *tsai-n)
- Wrist: wān 挑 [kien] *ron or *twān ‘wrist’
- Speech: yān 言 [kien] *pon ‘to speak, speech’
- Guest: bīn 拜 [kien] *pin ‘a gift, present > to present a gift > guest’

6.4.4 Final *-n with verbs
The role of final *-n in verbs is not clear, but among the items are many stative or descriptive verbs; this is reminiscent of WT where verbs in *-n are typically adjectival (Geilich 1994: 40–50). In some wfs, the *-n ~ open final variation may indicate an earlier final *-l or *-r.

- Weak: ruăn 瞭 [kien] *nun ‘soft, weak’
- Lovely: wān 娜 [kien] *ron (< *rau-n?) ‘be lovely’
- Quarrel: nuăn 敗 [kien] *nun ‘to quarrel’
- Thick: dūn 敦 [kien] *tun ‘to be solid, thick’
- To drip: luăn 漏 [kien] *ron ‘dripping (of water)’

74

75
To wither  yuàn 死 [?yan²] *?on? ‘to wither’
< wēi 死 [?oi ~ ?oi] *?oi or *?uai ‘to wither’

6.4.5 Pronominal final -n
Suffixed to covers (prepositions), -n takes the place of the pronoun zhī 之 (him, her, it) which never follows a coverb (Pulleyblank 1995: 10; 56):

yān 貢 ‘in / at / it’ < yǔ ‘be in / at / it’
ruan 纔 ‘in / at / it’ < yǔ ‘be in / at / it’
ruan 纔 ‘like’ < rú ‘be like’

The source of this final -n is not certain. It could perhaps be of ST origin; note WT -na ‘locative suffix’, Lushai verbal suffix -na ‘the place where, with what, whom’. Alternatively it could have been reduced from a widespread AA 3rd person / demonstrative pronoun *na (see under 老).

6.5 Final -ŋ
The interrelationship between final -ŋ and tone B has been observed in §3.2.4; it also alternates with final -n in §6.4.1.

6.5.1 Final -ŋ as a morpheme: terminative
A ST suffix -ŋ long ago formed terminative verbs / words that imply an action with an endpoint, a goal. The term ‘terminative’ is borrowed from IE, e.g., Skt. gāḥati ‘he arrives’ (< *gā-n-sk-) from PIE *gam ‘to go’ (Lehmann 1993: 168f). This meaning is still obvious in the first two sets below: ‘there is no’ > terminative ‘disappear’; ‘above’ > ‘rise, raise’; and in the item ‘to go’ where yǔ is the general term, wǎng always means ‘go / come to a place’. ‘Live’ is a full verb with the terminative meaning ‘to give birth, live’ which is derived from a ST stem ‘to be’.

Disappear  wǎng 亡 LH [muon] OCM *maŋ ‘to disappear’
< wú 無 [muo] *ma ‘there is no’

Rise  yāng 揚 [jon] *jan ‘to rise, raise’
< WT: laŋ-ba ‘to rise, arise’ ≠ ląna-ba ‘get up’ < WT bla ‘above’

Become warm  xiōng 憑 (xjwong⁴) [hion⁴] *hion? ‘become warm’ (of the rising sun)
< xù 徑 (xyb⁴) [hioh⁴] *hioh ‘warm’ (with breath or air)

Go to  wǎng 往 [wan⁴] *wan? ‘to go to, gone, past’
< PTB *wan > WT *waŋ-ba ‘to come’; WB waŋ ‘to enter, go or come in’
< yǔ 于 [wa] *wa ‘go to, in, at, on’ < PTB *wa, *-wa ‘go, come’

Live  shēng 生 [sen] *śren ‘to live, be alive’ (> (cause to live) ‘give birth’
< PTB *śrīn ‘live, alive’ < PTB *śri ‘to be, exist’; but see → shēng, 生

Center  yāng 央 [jon] *jan ‘hit the center, reach the middle’ (< get to be in it)’
< yǔ 于 [jo] *ja ‘be in, at, on’

6.5.2 Final -ŋ and open syllables
Often, allofoms in *ŋ do not seem to be terminatives. In ST languages, open syllable words

alternate with some ending in a final consonant, including final -ŋ with or without semantic distinction. Perhaps tone B is associated with this feature (§3.2.4).

- Itch  yāng 營 [joŋ⁴] *jan? ‘to itch’ < WT g-ya-ba ‘to itch’, WB ya⁷ ‘itch’
- Far  jióng 領 [joŋ⁴] *wen⁴ ‘distant’ < PLB *wej > WB we⁷ ‘far’
- Meet  yóng 榮 [jon] *jan ‘to meet’ (< going against someone to meet him)
< yǔ 遊 [jo] *raj ‘to meet, receive’
< PTB *raj > WB ra⁷ ‘meet, encounter’
- Bend  wǎng 杉 [yan⁴] *wan⁴ ‘bent, crooked’
< yǔ 亓 [yo] *wa ‘to bend, deflect’
- Pool  wǎng 池 [yan⁴] *wan⁴ ‘pool’ ≠ wǔ 池 [Io] *wa ‘pool’
- Deceive  wǎng 瞑 [muon⁴] *maŋ ‘to deceive’ ≠ wǔ 訓 [muo] *ma ‘to deceive’
- Square  kuáng 篩 [kəŋ] *kwaŋ ‘square basket’
< jù 角 [kə] *kwa ‘carpenter’s square’

6.6 Final stop consonant - nasal
Final stop consonants occasionally alternate with nasals in Chinese as well as in TB wfs (HPTB: 516–526). The origin and meaning of this change has not yet been determined (Karlgren 1949: 92ff; Baxter and Sagart 1998: 60). Examples include:

- Wide  guǎng 广 [kwaŋ] ‘wide’ ≠ kuō 龚 kuk ‘large, extravagant’
- Watch  jiān 觥 [km] *krām ‘to see, look at, inspect’
< WT krap ‘superintendent, watch over and direct’
- Wood  xīn 新 [sin] ‘sin ‘firewood’
< PTB *sik ~ *sien ‘tree, wood’ > WB sac

6.7 Dissimilation with labial finals -p / -m
In CH and area languages, words that refer to a closing / closed mouth or opening, also the notion ‘full ~ round’, tend to end in a labial consonant. Rare instances of a final labial appearing as a possible morphological variation to a stem probably have their origin in this sound-symbolic tendency. For example, Geillich (1994: 70–73) draws attention to a few TB words where a final -m might have been an addition, including WT mnam-pa ‘to smell’ (something done with the mouth closed) ≠ sna ‘nose’, ‘bru-ma ‘swelling, tumor’ ≠ sbrum-pa ‘pregnant’; see also Table 2-7 under §2.5.1 for a possible CH relict. Yet in CH, cases of this type are rare and of ST heritage, for practical purposes, we will here not count labial finals among the morphemes.

Because of labial dissimilation, rimes -ap / -om, -up / -um are phonotactically impossible in MC and probably also in OC (hence no such forms in OCM), although Baxter reconstructs such finals in some words. The dissimilation affects the vowel (§11.10.2) so that rū 入 MC hájap ‘enter’ descends from ST *nap (WT nub) via nū > OC *nap; or sǎn 三 ‘three’ ST *sum (PTB *sum) > OC *sm in via sam.

Perhaps in a few instances, the earlier back vowel was preserved, but the final consonant has dissimilated instead. All these words have the ST vowel *u. There are very few sporadic suspects for this dissimilation, such as
6.9 Absence of final consonant after long vowel

A Chinese open syllable, often with tone A, for a foreign syllable ending in a final consonant, has several supporting examples. The reason might be loss of coda after a foreign long vowel, something also observed in other languages (Benedit LTBA 5.1, 1979: 6):

Ploughed fields   MPU  街 (Pjou) *dru < TAI: S. t'weaqD2 < duweuak
Hold, grasp  朧 (jou) *dro < TAI: S. t'weaq < dwaq
Boat  zhou 舟 *tu < AA: Khmer duk
Male animal  mū 牲 *mō? or *C-mū? 'male (animal)'
Each  mēi 每 *mō? 'each, every' < Khmer /mooj/; PMon mu'one
Helmet  mūu 梅 *mu 'helmet' < TB-TWT rmog 'helmet'
Branch  mēi 枝 *mō? 'branch' < AA: OKhmer mēk/mekk/ 'branch'
Sad  sāo 眠 *sū 'sad, worried, grief'
Pig  shi 独 *lığı? 'pig'

For contrast, compare items with MK short vowels:

Polish cuo 矢 (ts'ah) [tsh'oi] *tsa+h 'to rub, polish'
Tree trunk gēn 根 *kōn 'root, trunk' < AA: PVM *kal 'tree (trunk)' (short vowel), PMon *l[k]a? 'stump (to fight, mushroom, tooth)'  
Stop, block săi, sāi, sèi 塞 (sok) *sāk 'to stop up, block'
Shelter sū 餐 (sjuk) *suk 'pass the night' < AA: OKhmer sruk/ Proto-Khmer 'shelter, settlement, homeland' < Khmer jruka/cru/ 'shelter, refuge, asylum' < derivatives of ruk/ 'go down into, take shelter'

Occasionally, the coda was retained in OC even after a long vowel:

To speak fish  chuō 揚 (ts'ahk) *tshōk 'to speak (fish)'
Retention of a coda after a long vowel seems to indicate a late layer of borrowing; compare cuo, 矢 (ts'ahk) *tshōk 'hay, fodder', mid- to late Zhou word from AA *ksoyoo; MC ts'ah for foreign *ks- is common, especially in late words; vs;

Residue may include in bā 母 *pā? 'wild pig';  人民服务 'human skin'.
OLD CHINESE AND FOREIGN *R

Many different MC / LHan reflexes are believed to derive from OC *r*: initial *l-; retroflex consonants; QYS div. II and chóngniǔ div. III vocalism; final -n or -i; or no trace at all. Because MC initial and final consonants and other phonemes are projected back to (nearly) identical ones in LHan, subsequently examples will often be cited in simpler LHan forms.

7.1 OC *r* as reflected in MC initial consonants

7.1.1 MC initial *l-

MC / LHan initial *l- < OC *r- frequently alternates with velars, but with other initials also, in phonetic series as well as wfs. It typically corresponds to foreign *r- in the initial. However, the foreign equivalents usually have an initial cluster, therefore Baxter (1992: 200) suggests that MC *l- derives from a cluster *C-r-. Among the examples he cites are ‘Indigo’ and ‘Stand’ below. In the jod-less div. I/IV (§9.1.1), indications for a lost pre-initial are so frequent with MC *l- that this division’s vocalism may have been caused by this loss. We therefore tend to write OC *g-r- or *C-r- > MC *l- and so on when there is some indication of what has disappeared (LHan after the graph):

MC / LHan initial *l-:

| Stand   | li立 | lip, *g-rap ‘to stand’ <> PTB *krap ‘to stand’ |
| Indigo  | lán藍 | lam, *rám < *g-ram ‘indigo’ <> Thai khraam < PTai *gr- |
| Barrier | lián閘 | lon, *rán < *g-ran ‘barrier, to protect’ |
|         | xián閘 | gen, *g-rn ‘barrier, bar’ |
| Orchid | lián蘭 | lon, *rán < *g-ran ‘orchid’ |
|         | jián蘭 | kan, *krán ‘orchid’ |
| To train | lián操 | len⁶, *rén < *g-ren ‘to train’ |
|         | xián閘 | gen, *g-rn ‘to restrain, train’ |
| Refine  | lián練 | len⁶, *rén < *g-ren ‘to purify’ 錘 > ‘refine (metal)’ 錘 |
|         | xián閘 | gen⁶, *g-rn? ‘be beautiful, refined’ |
| Lotus fruit | lián蓮 | len, *rén < *g-ren ‘lotus fruit’ |
|         | jián閘 | ken, *krén ‘lotus fruit’ |
| Lazy    | lán懒 | lon⁸ ‘lazy’ |
|         | xián閘 | gen, *g-rn ‘leisure’ |
| Accumulate | lián斂 | liam⁶/Y, *rám?/is ‘gather, accumulate’ |
|         | jián检 | kom⁶, *kam? ‘accumulate’ |
| To see  | lán覽 | len⁸, *rám? < *g-ram? ‘to see’ |
|         | jián監 | kam, *krám ‘to see, look at, inspect’ |
| Overflow | lán溢 | len⁶, *rám? < *g-rams ‘overflow, put into water’ |
|         | hán溢 | góm⁶, *gáms ‘bathtub’ |

In some words, MC initial li- may reflect a ST pre-initial *r-; see §9.2.1; §10.1.3.

7.1.2 OC voiceless *r-

OC voiceless *r- is rare, is reflected in MC / LHan th- and th-. Cases include → tr 'body' and 'Sorpin' in §5.2.4.

MC / LHan initial *l- (< OC *r-) corresponds to s- in some northern Min dialect words, which points to an earlier voiceless initial (Mei, Tsu-lin, and J. Norman, 1971). How this voiceless lateral would be different from other voiceless laterals (> MC th- etc.) is not clear.

7.1.3 MC retroflex initials

MC / LHan retroflex initials (t⁶), ʂ, ʂ́, tʂ⁵, ʂj, s correspond to foreign ones with an r in the initial, for example:

| Extend | zhāng张 | [tʂʰ] ʈʂʰan ‘make long, stretch, extend, draw (a bow)’ |
|        |        | <> WT ‘dren-ba, draŋ(s)’ to draw’, PLB ʈʂʰan ‘draw, pull’ |
| Louse  | shī虱 | [ʂɪt] ʂɪt < ʂɪ ‘louse’ |
|        |        | <> PTB ʂɪ ‘> WT shriŋ < ʂɪ ‘louse’, Bunan shriŋ |
| Live   | shēng生 | [ʂɛŋ] ʂɛŋ <> PTB ʂɛŋ ‘live’ |

Often, retroflex initials correspond to WT / TB dental initials with a prefix g-. The OC phoneme sequence is unknown; Gong Hwang-cherng (2002, vol 2: 167–172) writes OC *r*- in such words. For the sake of consistency, OCM assumes only medial *r-* in such configurations.

| Unfold | zhān展 | [tʂʰ] ʈʂʰan ‘unfold, open’ |
|        |        | <> WT ral-ba, redal ‘to spread, unfold, extend over’ |

For MC / LHan retroflex initials in words with MK connections, see §5.10.2-3.

7.1.4 MC initial dj- and tj-

MC initial dj- and tj- (LHan ɖ- and ʈ-) stand in a few correspondence sets for a foreign initial r-, or r in a more complex initial where we would expect OC *r- or *kr-, *pr- (as in §7.2).

MC dj- = foreign *r:

| Pheasant | zhī雉 | [djʰ] ɖjʰ ‘pheasant’ |
|          |        | < ST: WB rac < ʈʂ ‘id.;’, WT sreg-pa ‘partridge’ |
| Old man  | zhāngצב | [dŋʰ] ɖŋ ‘old man’ |
|          |        | < ST: PTB ʈʂ ‘(or rather ʈʂŋ?) > WT ʔəŋ ‘chief, uncle’, WB ʈʂ-ʔŋ ‘master, lord’, Kuki ʈʂ ‘father’s sister’s husband’ |
| Ramie   | zhū苧 | [dŋʰ] ‘ramie, cloth / rope woven of ramie’ |
|          |        | ? < ST: WT ras ‘cotton cloth’ |
| To fall | zhui墮 | (dwi³) [gus] ɖus ‘to fall down’ |
|          |        | < MK: OKhmer ruŋ /ruŋ/ ‘to fall, drop’ ʈʂ ‘to fall, drop’ |

80
7.2.1 Foreign medial *r

MC div. II and certain chòngniù div. III ('3/3') vocalism (and LHAn equivalents) reflect an OC medial *-r; this is supported by foreign cognates and loans.

Add 寶 [k'ai] *krāi 'to add to, apply'

Shell 小甲 [kā] *krāp 'shell, nail, armor'

River 小江 [kōŋ] *krōŋ 'river' <> PMonic *kroon, Bahmar kroŋ 'river'

Horn 夹角 [kōŋ] *krōk 'horn' <> PTB *kr(u)w <> WB k'yui, k'rui 'horn'

Eight 八 [p] *pēt or *pēt 'eight'

Divide 毛斑 [pan] *prān 'divide, distribute'

Womb 胚 [p'ou] *p'rū 'womb' <> WT p'r'ua/-ba 'uterus'

Hungry 肥胖 [kī] *kri or *kro 'be hungry, starve' <> TB: BT bkres 'id.'

7.2.2 Div. II = archaisch

See §9.1.4 on div. II syllables which have resulted from a post-OC shift from div. III. In some syllables II vocalism may be due to retention of an earlier vocalic timbre, i.e., they represent an archaisch:

Afraid 怕 [p'ou] 'to be afraid' [(Tang) Han Yu]

Crow 鸦 [tā] *ta 'crow, raven' <> wū 鳥 [tā] *ta 'crow, raven'

In 'crow', the vocalism may instead (or also) be due to interference from the development of the OC rime *-ak (§9.1.4).

7.3 MC j- (OC *-) = foreign l

In a few words, foreign initial *l- (< MC j- / LHAn j-), or *l in the initial, shows a reflex of OC *r; this may be a Rural feature (§1.3.1).

To sow 花 [kā] *krāh 'grain, to sow' <> KT: PTai *klaći 'young rice plant'.

Salt 火 [kōŋ] *rā́ 'rock salt' <> PTB *s-la 'salt' <> Miiri alo, PKaren *hla

Bamboo 茎 [kōŋ] *rāh 'a kind of bamboo'

Turtle 龜 [liap] *tiap 'a kind of turtle'

82
Descend jiàng 降 [kɔŋ] *krɔŋ ‘to descend’
<> Tai: S. lopA2 < *dl- ‘to descend’; but see also §6.7.

In some of the above words, the correspondence may be due to the late date (Han >) of borrowing in either direction; note in addition:

Eel lái 尻 [lo > lai] *tɔ ‘a kind of eel’ [Han period EY] <> Tai: S. lagiA1 (WSiam hlaa) ‘id.’ Tai final -ai agrees with LIHan and later -oi, but not with OC *-ə.

Splint hat ǐ 笳 [lip] *rap ‘splint hat’
<> Tai: Wuming klopO2S < *kl- ‘bamboo hat’

Barrier guān 關 [kuan] *krɔn? ‘bar, barrier, frontier’
<> PTai *kloA1 ‘rater, latch on door’

Frost jiāo 膠 [kouB] *krɔ(?) ‘frost’ [Chuci] <> PVMiao *klau ‘ice, snow’. First appearance in Chuci points to late (Han period) loan.

7.4 OC medial *r- and TB prefixes

Some foreign, especially TB, items have pre-initial g-, d-, r-, s-, or no pre-initial / prefix, where a medial *r (MC division II) is postulated for OC. These same TB prefixes also seem to be responsible for devoicing in some OC words (§5.3). Here is no reason to assume anything other than ST or PCH pre-initial *r-, thus ST *d/-g > OC PCH *r-; for ST / TB *s- = OC *r-, see §5.3. We can be sure where in the OC syllable the *r- was; by default we must assume that it was a medial, indistinguishable from other medial *r-. Shi Xiângdông (2000: 208ff) has collected cognate sets which include some of the words referred to MC div. II or 3/3 and LIHan equivalents:

Scold mà 罪 [ma] *mrɔʔ ‘to scold’ <> WT dmod-pa ‘curse’ < root *ma ‘believe’

Crowd mèng 聞 [man] *mrɔŋ <> WT dman ‘common people, crowd’

Crab xiè 竜 [yai] *grɛʔ ‘crab’ <> PTB *d-kacy ‘id.’

Poor pín 救 [bɛn] *bran ‘be poor’ <> WT dbul ‘id.’

Day zhóu 端 [lu] *trukh ‘day time’ <> WT gdugs ‘midday, noon’

Latrine cê 座 [tʃʊri] *shrakh ‘?latrine’ <> WT gčid(p)-pa ‘to urinate’

Kill shâ 杀 [set] *srât ‘to kill’
<> PTB *g-sat ‘to kill’ > WT gsd-pa, bsad, PL *C-sat

Muntjac jǐ 畫 [ki] *krιt ‘muntjac’ <> PTB *d-kíy ‘barking deer’

Unfold zhàn 展 [tun] *tran ‘unfold, open’
<> WT rdal-ba, brdal ‘to spread, unfold, extend over’

Bamboo bā 竹 [ba, pa] ‘kind of bamboo’ <> WT spa ~ sha ‘cane’; Lushai rua55 (ro55) (< *r-wa) ‘a kind of bamboo’
<> bā (pa) ‘bamboo hedge or fence’ <> KN *rpa: Kom ra-pe, Tširu ra-pa

Disturb náo 捏 [pau] *nruʔ ‘to trouble, disturb’
<> WT sďo-g-pa ‘to trouble, rub; troubled, thick, turbid, dirty’

Stair jīe 階 [kɛi] *krɛi ‘steps, stairs, ladder’? <> WT skas-ka, skad ‘ladder’

7.5 OC medial *r- as a morpheme: causative

OC *r in the initial (> MC div. II, etc.) forms causatives (Pulleyblank 1962: 125; Sagart 1999: 111). As there is occasional vacillation between pre-initial *r and *s in TB and OC (§5.3), this *r may be a manifestation of the same morpheme which usually shows up as causative *s-. Originally it may have been a prefix as Pulleyblank points out (§2.4.4), and as a case in §5.3 suggests. On the other hand, MK languages like Khmer have an iterative / causative r-infix (Jenner and Pou 1982: xlii). This OC *r morpheme implies an out / away motion.

Transmit zhí 到 [tʃi] *tis ‘to arrive’ > caus. zhí 致 [ti] *tris ‘to transmit’

Expel chû 出 [tʃut] *thut ‘go out’ > caus. chû 殺 [tut] *thut ‘to expell’

Drive out bīng 冬 [bien] *benh ‘to eliminate’
>< caus. bīng 走 [pɛn] *prenh ‘to drive out’

Additional words include: chû 除 ‘eliminate’; bû 拔 ‘uproot’ (under → bâ友).

7.6 Residue

7.6.1 Foreign medial -r- = no trace in MC

Occasionally, foreign -r- leaves no trace in MC / LIHan (i.e., the word is not in div. II, but in div. I/IV or III), even though the medial belonged probably to the earlier root. One reason for this is the lack of chôngnûa doublets (< OC *r- vs. no *r-) in many MC rime categories. Baker writes such forms as *kr(rom) etc.

Prohibit jìn 禁 [kim] ‘to prohibit’ <> WT kʰrim ‘rule, right, law’

Orange jú 橘 [kuit] ‘orange’ <> Khmer kroč ‘citrus fruit’

Stable gû 牀 [kouk] ‘pen, stable’ <> PLB *krok ‘pen’

7.6.2 OC medial *r = no r in foreign word

The opposite also occurs: OC medial *r- (as suggested by MC divisions) corresponds to a simple foreign initial:

Decrease jîn 减 [kem] *krêm? ‘decrease, abridge, moderate’
<> Lushai kaam ‘to decrease’

Wild Pig bû 非 [pa] *pra ‘wild pig’? <> WT pʰag ‘pig’

Here, OC *r may reflect some earlier pre-initial which has not been preserved in related languages. Alternatively, these sets may be sporadic. At least ‘pig’ has an alternative etymology.

7.7 Foreign final -r in OC / MC

7.7.1 MC -r = foreign -r

CH -r for foreign -r is the most common and widely noted correspondence. This is parallel to foreign final -i (§8.3). Two examples may suffice here.

Separate pān 棕 [bon] *bâns ‘bank between fields, separate from’
<> WT bar ‘interstice, intermediate space’, NNâga pʰar ‘divide’

To fear dān 梨 [dan] *dâns ‘to fear, dislike’ <> WT dâr-ba ‘tremble’
7.7.2 MC div. II or 3/3 + n = final -r elsewhere

Some CH words have final -n in conjunction with div. II vocalism (< *-r-).

- Between jiān 間 [ken] *krên 'to be in the middle, interstice'
  <> Lushai in-kaar 'the space, interval'
- Board bàn 板 [panB] *prän? 'board, plank' <> WT p'uar 'small plank'
- Blossom bàn 雞 [benC] *bré/án 'petals of a flower'
  <> WT bar-ba 'to blossom'
- Fowl yàn 鶴 [fanC] *prâns 'a quail-like bird' <> Lushai ?aarH 'fowl'
- Strong jiān 健 (gjān 3) [gían] *gran 'strong' <> WT gar-ba 'strong'

7.7.3 MC div. II = final -r elsewhere (metathesis)

Some CH words have no final -n and only MC div. II / LHan equivalents (< OC *medial *r) as the result of a metathesis (metathesis with the addition of a consonant after final *-r; see §6.1).

- House jiā 家 [ka] *krâ 'house' <> WT mk'ar 'house, castle'
- Borrow jiā 假 [kaH] *krâ? 'to borrow' <> WT kar-skjin 'a loan'
- Price jià 賃 [kaC] *krâh 'price'
  <> Lushai k'uar 'to buy the whole, buy in large quantities'
- Wrap bāo 包 [pouH] *prâu 'to wrap, bundle'
  <> WT p'uar-ba 'to wrap up, envelop'
- Satiated bāo 飽 [pouH] *prâu 'to eat to the full, satisfied'
  <> Lushai puar 'having eaten enough'
- Step over kuà 跨 [kua'C] *khwrâg 'to step over, pass over'
  <> Lushai kaa?' 'to step, pace, stride', WT gar 'dance'

7.7.4 MC final - for foreign *-r

A few common words with TB final *-r have OC final *-i instead; this is parallel to foreign final -i (§8.3).

- To sow bō 撒 [pouC] *pâih 'to spread, sow, publish'
  <> PTB *b'ar > WT bor-ba 'to throw, cast'; Bahing war 'throw away',
  Chepang war 'sow', Mikir war 'throw'
- Exhausted duò, tò, tuò 瘋 [túc], t'aii *tâh 'exhausted, sick (of horses)'
  <> WT ldar-ba 'weary, tired, faint'
- To fly fēi 飛 [pui] *poi 'to fly' <> PTB *pur - *pir > WT p'ur-ba
- Ant yì 畫 [gjaiB] *pai? 'ant' <> KN-Lai hpe?r 'ant'

7.7.5 Foreign final r = open syllable

Open syllables in OC *-o (= LHan -o) may in some instances be the result of the metathesis of the kind observed in §7.7.3, because the final LHan o has no MC div. II equivalent which might otherwise indicate an earlier medial *r (Baxter writes such forms OCB *k(r)o, etc.). The vowel *i preempts, of course, a final *i (< *r), as does perhaps *e.
8

OLD CHINESE AND FOREIGN *

Middle Chinese initial ji- / LHan j- derives often from OC *l-, but also corresponds to OC *j- (§9) and OC *w- (§10). This initial MC ji- < OC *l- alternates in phonetic series with MC d-, tʰ-, š-, dj- as well as tʰj- (see §12.1.2 Table 12-1). In one type of initial consonant cluster, MC t- is also associated with *l- (§8.2.1). LHan initials are practically the same as in MC, therefore often the simpler LHan forms will be provided as illustrations. OC L-like initials are:

MC ji- < OC *l-; also *j-; *w- (in *wi and *we)
MC d- < OC *l-; div. I/IV (§8.1.1); also *d-; div. I/IV
MC dj- < OC *d-; - *l- (Baxter *r-); also *dr- (§12.1.2 Table 12-2)
MC dźj- < OC *m-l- (§8.1.3)
MC zj- < OC *s-l- (§8.1.2); also *s-j-; *s-w- (§9.4; §10.1.2)
MC šj- < OC *l-; div. I/IV (§5.2.2–3); also *hi-?
MC tʰj- < OC *l-; div. I/IV (§5.2.2–3); also *r-; *th-; div. I/IV
MC tʰźj- < OC *k-l- (§5.9.3); also *th-
MC tźj- < OC *s-r-; - *l-; also *r- (§12.1.2 Table 12-2)
MC t- < OC *s-; div. I/IV < *l- (?); also *r- (§8.2.1)

Since foreign initial consonant clusters with a medial l have numerous equivalents in MC and OC, the many examples in the various parts of this introduction should not lead to the erroneous conclusion that *l occurs particularly frequently in OC.

8.1 OC initial *l-

8.1.1 MC d- and dzj, t’dj- from OC L-series
MC d- has two OC sources: (1) OC *d- from T-like phonetic series; (2) OC *l- in later div. I/IV from an OC L-like initial or cluster with *l- (Bodman 1985: 163f); §12.1.2 Table 12-2 shows how the T-type and L-type phonetic series are distinguished. The L-type d corresponds usually to foreign clusters with l, such as gl-, bl-, kl-, etc. (Baxter 1992: 232f).

The < T-type has two distinct voiceless counterparts: the T-type yields MC / LHan t- < OC *l- (? < *kl-); also *r- (§8.2.1); and the voiceless sonorants tʰj- < *l- (§5.2.2–3). While the MC t- < T-type is restricted to non-ST words, initial MC d- < L-type comprises words from all sources, including ST. Therefore, this latter type represents the earliest layer in PCH.

TL-type words are found mostly in phonetic series with dental stop initials; therefore, the OC dental stop feature must have been more prominent than the latter. But the voiced d-< L-type category occurs only in OC L-series, which means that an L-like feature was the prominent one in this initial configuration. Examples of MC d- from OC L-like initials are:

- Wave 大水 [dɑːts] OCM *dā(t)s or *lā(t)s ‘wave’ <- WT rlabs ‘wave’
- Rice 大米 [dɑːm] *lāu ‘rice, paddy’ <- PMY *nblaū
- Lightning 闪电 [lɑːts] *lín ‘lightning’ <- PY *liāng ‘lightning’
- Stumble 大跌 [dət] *lē ‘to stumble’ <- TB: TGTGM *pleb; PKaren *pble2 ‘slippery’

MC dzj- and the rare initial t’dj- from OC L-series will for our purposes be symbolized by OCM *d-l- and *t’h-l-; as in chi池 (dʒi) (jiiol) ‘d’ai; pond’, chăng长 (tʰjɑŋ) (tiŋči) ‘t’h-ahŋ ‘spread out’; Baxter sets up OCB *r-t’l- or MC dzj. There is no MC dzj- from an L-series in rimes *ak-; in GSR 790 we find d- I instead (otherwise always from OC *dr-); as in zé泽 (dak) (jiiak) ‘d-lak? ‘marsh’. The unexpected vocalism (MC a, not jo) is parallel to the vowel in div. III in this rime where we find in the QYS shí /zjæk (dziak) ‘dzak ‘stone’ instead of the expected MC ĵak: Min dialects have preserved the expected vowel: PMin *dziak < LHan dzak (not dziak). This shows that MC dak can also come from an L-like series; and that the phenomenon is a Han period dialect feature.

8.1.2 MC dzj- from PCH *s- before initial *l, *j- w
MC dzj- / LHan zj- goes back to an OC cluster whose initial element was *s-, as we can see from association with both MC ji- and MC s- in phonetic series. This MC initial corresponds to the TB s-prefix and reflects the ST causative / iterative *s-. Other manifestations of the ST s-prefix are found under §5.2.2–3.

- Repeat xí習 [zǐ] *s-lap ‘to do repeatedly, repeat’ <- WT slo-b-pa, s labs ‘to learn, teach’ ≠ slob’s ‘exercise, practice’
- Feed 饭 [ziɛ] *s-lark ‘to give food to, feed’ <- PTB *s-lyak ‘to feed an animal’
- Warm up 着【ziɛn】*s-lam ‘to warm up’ <- PLB *s-lum > WB hłum ‘heat again, warm over’, JP ja31-lum31 ‘heat, warm (food)’; from ST *lum ‘warm’; WB lum ‘warm’
- Warm 着【ziɛn】*s-slam ‘to heat, warm’ ≠ yán 炎 [joɔ] ‘burn’ <- WT s-lam-pa ‘to parch’

8.1.3 MC dzj- (LHan ژ) from OC *ml-
Karlberg’s rare MC palatal initial dzj-; contrasts with the common ĵj- / LHan dż-. Some scholars have considered this QY distinction artificial, but it is confirmed by the early Tang commentator Yán Shíqǔ 頭師古 (581–645) who kept these two voiced palatals distinct in his language (Coblin 1991: 19–21). This rare palatal corresponds systematically to Norman’s PMin softened stop initial, whereas QYS initial ĵj- occurs with PMin softened as well as regular affricates. Norman believes that the softened stops reflect an earlier pre-nasal, and other languages support this (MC in parentheses); we will write OC *m-l- (also *m-d-) for this initial:

- Tongue 伸 (dʒjæt) [zɛt] *m-let ‘tongue’ <- PTB *byet, PM *nplementary; Proto-Western Min *nɔˈɭiɔt ‘tongue’
- Lick 伸 (dʒjæt) [zɛt] *m-le? ‘to lick’ <- PTB *m-lay ‘tongue’
has the puzzling MC reflex of OC *t for TB cognates in *l-, it is perhaps the initial *m- which some key words shared. ‘Leech’ shows that the voiceless *m-lh- configuration possibly yielded MC tši- (unsupirated):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TB</th>
<th>OC</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zhi 至</td>
<td>[tši-s]</td>
<td>*tits ‘to arrive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>WT mē-chi, mē-chis ‘to come, go, say’: from ST *m-ti(t)s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.2 Other initial clusters with l

For a possible ‘infix’ *l-, see §2.7.

8.2.1 MC *- from foreign clusters with l

With few exceptions, all Chinese words in this section belong to the “jod-less” QYS div. I/IV (§9.1), which suggests that one source of the QYS div. I/IV is loss of an OC medial *l. Hardly any of the foreign words are ST. These words may have been absorbed in PCh after the regular sound changes which had yielded voiceless sonorants (§§2.2.2-3) had run their course. The phonological change from *kl- to *l- may have come about in one of at least two different ways, one exemplified by KT: PTai *k’ln- > Sae kloam’l > trang’l ‘drum’, or PVM *k’l- > Viet. trèn ‘rise’: the other development as seen in MK: PNB *klám ‘liver’, but Wa-Lawai-Bulang *kotam. The initial *l- words might possibly have been filtered through an intermediary that affected this change, while those in section §8.2.2 have not. Some Tai and TB words seem to have run through the same filter. Foreign *Cl- = MC t- < OC *t- (?):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TB</th>
<th>OC</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dán 丹</td>
<td>[ton]</td>
<td>*tān &lt; *tān ‘be red, vermilion’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PKS *h-lanC ‘red’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carry</td>
<td>dán 携</td>
<td>*tám &lt; *t-lam ‘to carry on the shoulder’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>AA: Khmu? klám ‘carry on the shoulder’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gall</td>
<td>dán 擔</td>
<td>*tám &lt; *t-lam ‘gall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>AA: PNB *k-lam ‘liver’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fall down</td>
<td>dín 落</td>
<td>*tín &lt; *t-lín ‘fall down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Miao gli: ‘to fall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Many</td>
<td>dōu 多</td>
<td>*tāi &lt; *t-lai ‘many’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PTai *h-lai ‘many’, Hlai laai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rain</td>
<td>dōng 洞</td>
<td>*tóng &lt; *t-lóng ‘violent rain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PM *(?)nun (Downer 1982), PY *blü (Purnell) ‘rain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rainbow</td>
<td>dī-dòng 娇虹</td>
<td>*tóng &lt; *t-lóng ‘rainbow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hóng 虹 [gon] *gōn &lt; *gion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>jīng 虹 [kóp] *kèjú ‘rainbow’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

91


### 8.3 ST and foreign final -l in OC

In the majority of words ST final -l has become final -n in Chinese, but a significant number has final -i instead; see Table 8-1 on the next page. There we notice that in some TB languages like WB and Mikir, TB final -l has become -i (WB -e); in others, like JP, it has become -n. Perhaps two different strains of ST have converged in PCH—one close to SE Asian languages like Lushai, one closer to WT—because cognates of OC final -i are weighted toward Lushai, cognates in final -n toward WT. (Final OC *i: 60% of cognates are WT, 80% Lushai, 20% have only a WT cognate, 30% only a Lushai cognate; final OC *-n: 76% have WT cognates, 41% Lushai, a little over 50% have only WT cognates, only 18% have a Lushai connection.) Even the OC initial *m- in the word for ‘snake’ hui 索 is closer to WB mrwe than to WT sbrul (m- vs. b-; §5.12.2). Alternatively, the words in OC *-i tend to have an oblique tone, or a TB cognate with the corresponding final -i or *h closer to TB *hmel, while MC tone B in those with final -n may be Chinese innovations (shên 箕 [sin³] ‘gums’ as body part: -n a suffix in bêl 本 ‘root’, etc.). This needs further study.
INITIAL AND MEDIAL J

AND THE MIDDLE CHINESE DIVISIONS (等)

9.1 The MC divisions and medial j

The Song Dynasty rime tables, which interpret the Qièyùn, divide syllables within a traditional rime category into four “divisions” or “grades” (tèng 等). Karlgren’s MC div. III is characterized by a medial jod glide (j = Li Fang Kuei’s -j), div. I and IV are jod-less (IV has a vocalic medial i in Karlgren’s system), and II contrasts with I/IV in having a vowel of a more centered timbre which resulted from loss of OC medial *-r-. Thus the QYS divisions within a traditional MC set are:

I kâŋ (no MC medial) LH koŋ < OC *kâŋ
II kêŋ (no MC medial) LH kâŋ < OC *kâŋ
III kâŋ (MC medial-j) LH kioŋ < OC *kâŋ
IV kieŋ (MC medial-i) LH kẽŋ < OC *kẽŋ

With some initial consonants the distribution is restricted; e.g., MC t- occurs only in div. I/IV syllables, MC t̪- only in div. III syllables; div. II syllables permit only a retroflex t̪.

Some rime categories have two sets of MC div. III rimes after grave initials (velars and labials): one so-called chóngniǔ 聲紐, div. III (here labeled 3/3), and one chándiú 章都 div. IV (here 3/4) (Baxter 1992). For most 3/3-type syllables Baxter reconstructs also a medial *-r- similar to div. II. Since OCm does not project the medial j of div. III (including 3/3 and 3/4) back into OC, it marks the non-jod div. I/IV and II with a circumflex accent over the vowel, as seen in the illustrations. Thus the traditional rime category OCm *si = *-j can include all these “divisions” (Mand. after the graph; graphs in parentheses do not correspond completely with the hypothetical MC form):

Div. MC LH an OCM
I muǐi mai < *mũi 枚 méi
II pœi pei < *pũi (排 pái)
III mœi jœi < *mũi 慕 wěi
3/3 mût 3 mi < *mũi 摂 méi
3/4 pũi 4 pi < *ũi (匕ũi)
IV miei mei < *mũi 迷 mí

Some MC rime categories distinguish two rimes within div. III with slightly different vowel timbres, which begins to reflect the same distinction as that between div. III and 3/3 (Baxter). For example, the rimes in *-aŋ / *-en fall within the chándiú pattern:

I kâŋ < OC *kâŋ 柒 iang IV kieŋ < OC *kêŋ 京 jing
II kêŋ < OC *kêŋ 京 ieng II kêŋ < OC *kêŋ 京 ieng
III kâŋ < OC *kâŋ 柒 iang 3/4 kâŋ < OC *kâŋ 京 jing
3/3 kâŋ < OC *kâŋ 柒 iang 3/3 kâŋ < OC *kêŋ 京 jing

The MC homophones kieŋ / LH an kiaŋ are differentiated in OC (*kraŋ and *kəŋ) on the basis of phonetic series and rimes. (MC kiaŋ corresponds to LH an kiaŋ; MC kiaŋ = LH an kiaŋ.)

9.1.1 Sources of div. I/IV

Internal logic as well as comparative data suggest that OC never had Karlgren’s ubiquitous medial j in div. III words — it is unlikely that more than half of all words in an actual language had a medial palatal glide (Pulleyblank 1973; see Norman 1994 for a summary of the various theories). So far, there is no consensus on the OC sources of the MC divisions. We leave the question open, but follow Norman in assuming an OC plain syllable (without j-) for most later div. III, and mark the later div. I/IV syllables with a circumflex accent (Pulleyblank distinguishes them with grave and acute accents on the vowels).

We have already suspected two causes for the emergence of I/IV-type syllables:

(1) Loss of a (voiced?) pre-initial (see §7.1.1).
(2) Loss of a medial *-i- (see §8.2).
(3) Thirdly, an unmarked open syllable (in QYS div. III) becomes a div. I syllable when the distributive suffix *-k is attached (§6.1.2).
(4) Finally, some modern colloquial words gravitate toward the analogue of MC div. I/IV syllables, while the traditional, literary counterparts reflect div. III:

fū 弗 (phuat) div. III ‘not’ vs. Mand. bû 不 (put) not’
čê 眠 (ñeə) ‘you’ vs. Mand. mû 你 < ni ‘you’
xî 喝 (xop) ‘to drink’ vs. Mand. hê 喝 < xop ‘to drink’
zî 子 (tsção) ‘son, child’ vs. southern dialects zî 恩 < tsam eson, child’
éî 好 (ñiê) ‘< je ‘child’ vs. southern dialects yâ 你 < ña ‘child, boy’

9.1.2 Div. III vs. I/II in word families

Alternations MC div. I/IV ~ III are regularly encountered in wfs (e.g., Baxter and Sagart 1998: 61). No meaning has been convincingly identified for these distinctions. Examples:

Solid tûn 段 (tøn, div. I) [tøn] ‘be solid = earnest, generous’
× zhûn 撥 (tsûn, div. III) [tsûn ~ tûn] ‘sincere, diligent’
Inside nêi 内 (nøi I) [nøi] ‘inside’ × rû 入 (ñiê jø III) [ñiê] *øap ‘to enter’

9.1.3 “Pure” div. IV

In “pure” div. IV words (i.e., not chándiú div. 4/4) with back vowels, the medial i- must have been primary, i.e., part of the root, and not a secondary development from front vowels as in *kêŋ > MC kieŋ. However, Kam-Tai languages have occasionally no medial palatal where Chinese cognates have medial div. IV *i:

To fish diâo 做 (teų) *tiû ‘to angle, fish with hook and line’<=> Tai. S. tok*di ‘to angle, fish with hook and line’
Fade diâo 激 (teų) *tiû ‘to fade’<=> Tai. S. tok ‘become faded’ (color)

9.1.4 Sources of MC div. II

MC div. II vocalism (a, æ, å, ə in Karlgren’s system) is set up for LH an as a, e, o (contrasting with div. I, e, o). The OC source was medial *-r- and possibly also other configurations (§7.2). However, not all div. II syllables necessarily go back to OC medial *-r-; the cause could perhaps also have been archaisms (§7.2.2) or prefixes (§7.4).

In the OC rime categories *-ak, *-ek, *e, *-ok, and *-auk, the expected precursors of MC div. III have partially shifted to the later MC div. II after acute initials, and possibly also after
languages have the initial *ny. OC *ts- and PTB *ny-, which are in variation with MC *ji-, are highlighted in bold letters:

Wine じゅ 異 (tsją¹b⁸ [sju⁸b⁸] *tsiu⁷) ‘wine’;
> ST: PTB *yu(w) ‘wine’

phonetic is じゅ 異 (jiau⁸b) [jub⁸] *ju⁷?

To decay 依舊 舊 (jiau⁸b) [jub⁸] *ju⁷ ‘to rot, decay’
> ST *r-ju: PTB *ruw = *ryaw ‘to rot, decay, digest’, WT ‘ru-ba, bžus, bžu (≠ ju) ‘to digest, melt’

Footprint じ跡 (tsją¹k [tsiek] *tsiak ‘footprint, track’ ~ じ跡 (tsją¹k) [tsiek] *tsiek ‘footprint, track’
> ST *C-jak: Limbu yôk ‘track, trace’,

but Lushai nhsik¹ ‘footprint, hoof-mark’;

phonetic is じ亦 亦 (jiau⁸k [jaak] *jak ‘armpit’
> ST: TB-Mru yak ‘armpit’, Lushai zak¹ (≠ jak)

Night 夜夜 (ji¹c) [ja¹c] *jah, later jak¹) ‘night’
> ST *(-)jia: PTB *ya? ‘night’

but WB fa*c ‘evening’, JP na²⁵ < nak³⁵ ‘evening’;

phonetic is じ亦 亦 (jiau⁸k [jaak] *jak ‘armpit’
> ST: TB-Mru yak ‘armpit’, Lushai zak¹ (≠ jak)

Rodent 1 田鼠 (tsjuan⁵t[j]u⁵n) [tsu³n] *tsiu³ ‘hare, marmot’
> ST: PTB *yu(w) ~ *yun > JP yu³³ ~ yun³³ ‘rat, mouse’, WT yun ‘rabbit’;

phonetic is 田鼠 (jiu⁵n [ju³n]) *jum
> ST: PTB *yu > Chepang yu³ ‘animal, rodent’, Mru yu ‘weasel’

9.2.1 MC initial j- ~ l- from OC *rj-MC initial j- derives from OC *rj- where MC has initial l- ~ ji- doublets. Some of these MC ji-initial words have phonetic series or comparative contacts with *r- (Baxter 1992: 200f). The ST pre-initial *r- was lost before or during early OC, therefore MC *ji- is not a reflex of an OC initial *r, but only of a stem initial *j. Here r- was treated as a pre-initial in PCH and later lost, with occasional doublets in LC j-.

An interesting example for a lost pre-initial *r is Salt 田鼠 (jiu⁵n) ‘salt’ which is alone in a shìshèng series with initials like OC *r- > MC l- and *kr- > MC k- div. II. The WT cognate is rygam ‘salt’ < r-yam

(when in such configurations r- was felt to be a pre-initial, an epenthetic *g-emerged; otherwise *r > WT *ž).

The placement of yám in a (K)-series suggests that the pre-initial *r- was still there in early OC. If yám exemplifies the Chinese fate of ST *r-j, then further items are revealed by doublets and / or TB cognates:

Wander 田鼠 (jiu¹) *ju < *r-ju ‘to flow, roam about’

< WT ryu³n-ba < r-ya ‘to walk, move, wander, range’ ≈ ryun ‘the flow, current’; CH variant with survival of initial *r- is 田鼠 (liu¹) *lju ‘to flow, float’
9.3 ‘J’ and MC DIVISIONS

Beautiful ยันหยาด (jiâm) *jamh < *r-jamh ‘beautiful’ dehy S. riâm²² ‘beautiful’
Fluid ยืดหยุ่น (jiâk) *jak ‘fluid’ dehy PTB *rjak ‘grease, juice’
Pass over ยืดหยุ่น (jiâk) *jak ‘to leap or pass over, transgress’
< dehy WT ryud-pa < *r-yut ‘to pass over, traverse’
Sharp ยันหยาด (jiâm) *jamh < *r-jamh ‘sharp, pierce’
< dehy PTB *(s)-jamh ‘sharp’; Kuki-Chin *(s)-rjam: Lush hriam ‘sharp’
< dehy Mi liân ‘sharp, keen (of soldier/sickle)’
Rope ยืดหยุ่น (jiâk) *jut ‘well-robe’, also MC kjut
< dehy WT ryud < *r-yut ‘string, cord’; again, CH has a doublet that preserves
the initial r-
< dehy Mi liân (ljuet) *r(i)ut (the graph seems to represent a rope) ‘edge, border, leather strap, rope’
Follow ยืดหยุ่น (jiâk) *jut ‘following, then’
< dehy Mi liân (ljuet) *r(i)ut ‘follow a model’
Cure ยืดหยุ่น (jiâk) *jauk ‘to cure’
< dehy Mi liân (ljuet) *r(i)auk ‘to cure’
Drag ยืดหยุ่น (jiâk) *jo ‘to pull, drag’
< dehy Mi liân (ljuet) *r(i)o ‘to drag, trail’

A parallel loss of pre-initial *r- occurred before OC *w- (<10.1.3). A CH doublet with pre-
initial *s- before *s- may be ญืดหยุ่น [siâk] *s-jak ‘evening’ vs. ญืดหยุ่น [siâk] *s-jak ‘formerly, yesterday’.

9.3 MC žj- (LHan dz-) from ST initial *j-
MC initial žj- (normally from LHan dz- < OC *d-) is in some words a reflex of ST *j- (PTB *y-), perhaps via some kind of PCH *dzj- combination where the dental may be secondary. In the phonetic series, OCM *dzj- < *s-dj-; seems to have merged with OCM *dj- < *s-Cj-. These words are likely to have had OC initial *d-, or the like, not *d, but OC *d- and *dzj- (both MC žj-) are difficult to disentangle. Certain phonetic series include words with earlier *j-, among them GSR 31 ญืดหยุ่น, 725 ญืดหยุ่น, 726 ญืดหยุ่น, 1096 ญืดหยุ่น.

To sleep ญืดหยุ่น (žwë) [dzùai], [džoi] ‘sleep’
< dehy WT yur-ba ‘to slumber’
< dehy Mi yur ‘sleep’
Hang down ญืดหยุ่น (žwë) [dzùai ~ džoi] ‘to let hang down’
< dehy PTB *dzjwul > WT *dzjwul ‘to hang down’
< dehy PTB *dzjwul ‘curtain’
Ladle ญืดหยุ่น (žwë) [tsuuk, dzouk, jauk]
< dehy PTB *s-k’oyk ‘ladle’
< dehy WT skyogs-pa ‘scoop, ladle’, WB yok ‘ladle’
Above ญืดหยุ่น (žwë) [dżonj] ‘above’
< ST *ya ‘above’, WT ya
< dehy Mi shàng ‘(žwë) [dżonj] ‘upwards’
Garment ญืดหยุ่น (žwë) [dżonj] ‘lower garment’
< dehy WT yel ‘animal skin clothing’
Still ญืดหยุ่น (žwë) [dżonj] ‘perpetuate, still’
< dehy WT yel ‘again, still, once more’

9.4 ‘J’ and MC DIVISIONS

To taste ญืดหยุ่น (žwë) [dżonj] ‘to taste, try’
< dehy PTB *m-yan: Chepang yan-yà ‘to taste (sample food)’, WT myon-ba, myang / myen ‘to taste, enjoy’. However, WB mrañ ‘to taste, try taste’.
The initial is apparently devoiced (MC tsî-) in a few words (see also ‘Ladle’ above):
Locust ญืดหยุ่น (tsun) *t(i)unj < *C-ju?n < dehy WB: *kujûn ‘locust’
Multitude ญืดหยุ่น (tsujûn) *t(i)unj < *C-ju?n ‘numerous, all, the multitude’
< dehy WB yong ‘all, whole’ (incl. of people)

The difficulty in pinning down OC J-series is illustrated by ญืดหยุ่น and ญืดหยุ่น, both MC ญืดหยุ่น. The former is clearly an L-series, we suspect that the latter is a J-series. However, it includes the words ญืดหยุ่น ‘sleep’ and ญืดหยุ่น ‘to raise, nourish’ whose Tai counterparts are S. liam²²-phan ‘goat, antelope’ (related?) and S. liam²² ‘feed, nourish’ (almost certainly a loan) respectively. Tai has both l- and -i- in the initial.

9.4 MC žj- with OC *s-j-
MC žj- derives from OC *s-l- (<8.1.2), *s-j-, and *s-w- (<10.1.2). An example for *s-j-:
Evening ญืดหยุ่น (žjâk) [siz] *s-jak ‘evening’
< dehy PTB *s-ryk > Lep. ayak ‘day’ (i.e., 24 hrs.) JP ya?55 < yak55 ‘day’, Limbu
yak’t ‘to stay’ (especially overnight).

In at least two words, this initial seems to represent a foreign palatal as a PCH voiced (?)
dental sibilant + palatal glide; it may have been closest to the foreign sound.

< dehy PTB *Ja?n, MK-PMonic *ci:n, WB chaj, Lepcha tymg-mo ‘elephant’
Buffalo ญืดหยุ่น (ži) [zi?] *s-ja?n? or *sja?n? / *za?n? ‘wild water buffalo’
< dehy NTai *jia³ or *ja³ ‘buffalo’
INITIAL AND MEDIAL *w

10.1 Initial *w-
MC *jw- (div. III) goes back to LHan and OC *w- (Karlgren's *giw-, Li F. jw). ST *w- is preserved in many TB languages; in WT it has disappeared completely. Examples for the survival of ST *w- in CH are numerous (see dictionary part under W), for example:

To go yu 英 (jwo) [wa] *wa ‘to go’ <> PTB *wa ‘to go, come’
The high front vowel *i causes a MC div. IV ji-reflex:
To be wei 惟 (jiw IV), OCM *wi (and not *li or the like)
The ST initial *wj- survives as MC initial ji- < OC *j- (pre-initial *w- was apparently lost):
Also yi 彦 (jiak) *jak ‘also’ < *wiak ? <> Lushai vek⁸ < vek ‘again’

10.1.1 Loss of *w
An OC or PCH *w- has apparently been preempted by back vowels (there is no syllable with MC *jw- reconstructable as *wo, *wu, *wa). After the loss of *w- the high onset syllable (§12.1.1) can only result in MC initial ji- IV since there is no ji- III (except jiw-). Hence with back vowels, a syllable of the type MC jiu can derive from PCH *ju, *iu, as well as *wu. Cases of MC ji- IV from *w- are in GSR 1095; see > yu, 血, > xiù, 秀, yùu 秀 (under > yín, 色), also > yùu, 橫。

10.1.2 MC zw- < OC *s-w-
MC *zjw- goes back to OC *s-w-; this is parallel to §8.1.2 and §9.4.
Advance sui 徑 (zwic) [zu > zuis] *s-wis ‘to advance, accomplish, achieve’
<> “Kamarupan” *s-yuy ~ *m-yuy ‘to follow’, Kuki-Naga *jwi ‘follow’
Ear of grain sui 糧 (zwic) [zui] *s-wis ‘ear of grain’
<> Lushai vui³ /vui١ < vuis ‘to ear (of grain, grass)’, Kuki-Chin *vui

10.1.3 Loss of pre-initial r-
Foreign pre-initial r- was lost before OC *w-; this is parallel to *r-, see §9.2.1; an additional item is perh. > hui, 彙 and > hui, 彙.
Monkey wèi 個 [wi ~ lih] *wih ~ *rui? (<> *r-wi?) ‘monkey’
<> Wà-Lawa-Bulang *rsyol ‘white-handed gibbon’
A fly wèi 蝶 (jwi) *wuî? ‘gadfly’
<> AA: PAA *ruwaj > PVM *ruyʌ ‘a fly’

10.2 Medial *-w-

10.2.1 Loss of ST and foreign medial -w- in Chinese
ST and foreign medial *-w- (or -u-, -o-) has no counterpart in Chinese except after velar initials (*kw-, etc.; §10.2.3), and perhaps in OC rimes with final *-n, *-t, and *-i. This medial has

apparently not survived in WT (§12.9). Thus phonological correspondences between Chinese words without medial *w and foreign words with *w are regular.

Bear mī 貓 [mei] *mei ‘bear’
<> KT: PKS *muî⁵ ‘bear’, PTAi *hm-: S. mui⁴, Poai muui⁴ ‘a bear’

Female pin 婦 [bih, bin] ‘female of animals’ <> PTB *pi(1)w ‘female’

Laugh ēr 喏 [iel] *ne ‘forced laugh’ <> PTB *m-nyi(1)w ‘to laugh’

Easy yi 易 [ie] *lek ‘easy, at ease’ <> PTB *lay ‘easy’

Brother di 弟 [dei] OCB *dej? ‘(your) brother’
<> PTB *doy ‘(your) brother’

Tears tì 淚 [tei] ‘tears, mucus from nose’ <> PTB *ti or PTB *tû ‘water’

Mud ni 泥 [nei] *nî ‘mud, mire’ <> TB: KN-Lai nò ‘muddy (of water)’

To spit tû 吐 (tuob, tuoCipher) [th] *thâ ‘to spit out’
<> ST *twa > PTB *m-is-lwa ‘spit’

Measure dù 度 (duoCipher) dâ ‘a measure of length, rule’
<> ST *dwa / twa: WB twa ‘measure with a span’, WB twak ‘cipher, reckon’, Mru twak ‘consider’

To rest shè 舍 [sa] ‘to rest in, stop’ <> PKS *s-lwa ‘to rest’

Village li 里 [lih] ‘*ra ‘village’
<> PTB *ra > WB twa ‘town, village’ < ST *ra

10.2.2 Chinese doubles with and without medial *w
Medial *w or rounding was lost by MC or even OC, especially before front vowels, even in environments in which rounding is phonetically permissible:

yàn 燕 *tan ‘to wither’ > yuàn 莊 ‘to wither’
yō 菸 *ta ‘to wither’ > wî 莊 ‘tai. id.’
yí 着 *rai? ‘luxuriant leaves’ > wán 葉 ‘rai? ‘rich foliage, umbrageous’
qǐng 傳 [kîŋ ~ kwiŋ] ‘incline’
xi 相 [sin] > xiù 瞳 [suin] ‘true’ (<> *swin)
rè 熟 *net or *net ‘hot’ > rî 熟 / rû / rî ‘hot’

In one instance, a text (Huainanzi) writes rén 仁 [nin] for rûn 湘 [hun] ‘fin’ (ZWDCD).

10.2.3 ST *-wo in OC
ST *-wo has later merged with either *u or *a, except in reconstructed OC forms and sporadically in TB languages.

Village qiû 丘 [khu] *kw < village, district < ST *k(h)wo
<> TB-Phôn kawa, Lushai k’uwa ‘village’

<> Lushai kwa ~ kua?

Cow niu 牛 (or nju) *nwa ‘bovine, ox, cow’ < ST *nwa
<> TB *nwa > WB nwa ‘bull, cow’; Jp ga³, wa³; Nung nwa ~ ga ~ nwa
OLD CHINESE VOWELS
AND THEIR FOREIGN COUNTERPARTS

In this section examples for vocalic correspondences are arranged by OC vowels:

11.1 *a
11.7 Variations between *a ~ *i ~ *e
11.2 *o
11.8 OC and ST *a and *o
11.3 *e
11.9 *o
11.4 *-ai
11.10 *u
11.5 *i
11.11 *au, *auk
11.6 *-oi, *-ui

OC and TB phonemes agree rather closely, but consistent correspondence involving *e, *o, and
*i, and especially *o and *u within TB and ST, is often elusive. See §12 for the vowels of
individual TB languages.

Vowel alternations do occasionally occur within OC wfs. For this present work we shall
keep wfs and words with different vowels separate, unless we have some compelling cases such as
near-homonyms with minimal phonological contrast.

For the rare inversion of elements in a diphthong, see the comments under → nēi 餓
‘hungry’ and → shuài 斜 ‘diminish’.

Vowel length was not distinguished in OC as far as we can tell. Length distinctions in some
modern dialects are either a concomitant feature of tone, or have secondarily emerged as in
Cantonese; there vowel length correlates with MC segmental features and pro-bably
has emerged due to Tai substrate influence. Since CH dialects, OC rimes and phonetic series
have no unambiguous traces of length distinctions, we will not assume them for OC. Han
Buddhist transcriptions confirm this for the Han period, where any type of CH syllable
indiscriminately renders both Indic long or short vowels; the exception is the strict avoidance
of open tone-B syllables for Indic long vowels; hence these syllables were markedly shorter
(final glottal stop) than tone-A (and C?) syllables; this is still the case in some modern dialects.
But these are tone-related length distinctions. AA and Kam-Tai substrate words with
apparently long vowels lose the final consonant in OC, which indicates that PCH did not have
closed syllables with long vowels (§6.9).

11.1 OC *a

OC *a descends from ST *a = PTB *a (LHan forms in brackets):

Five
wǔ 五 [nu]a? *tā ‘five’ <> PTB *na? > WT līa; WB ga?

Not (have)
wú 無 [mu] *ma ‘not have’ <> PTB *ma > WT ma, WB ma *not

Concede
ràng 讓 [ hon]a *nān ‘concede, yield’
<> PTB *nān > WT gnaŋ, gnaŋ’s ‘to concede’; WB hnaŋ *‘to give’

11.1.1 WT o for PTB *a

ST = PTB *a = OC *a (as well as ST / OC *o = PTB *a) shows up occasionally as WT o (see
also §12.9 [3]):

Hair shān 形 [sam] *srām ‘long hair’
<> PTB *(C)-sam > WT taj-tsom ‘beard of the chin’, WB ts’am ‘head
hair’, PL ?t-tsam

To hear WT t’as <> Proto-Himalayish *t’as

11.1.2 OC *a ~ *e variations
With Baxter we assume six vowels for OCM. A wf is usually restricted to only one OC vowel.
Obvious cases of vowel alternations within a wf are not often encountered; therefore, a pair
like ‘speak’ below may represent non-morphological variants of some sort.

Speak tán 談 [dom] *dām ‘to speak’ <> WT gdam-pa ‘to advise, give council’
<> tân 談 [dom] *dām ‘to speak’

Islet zhù 湖 [tsu] ? *ta ‘islet’
<> zhù 湖 [tsu] *ts? Note also chī 沽 [di] ‘islet’ [Shi], and zhōu 洲 [tsu]
‘island in a river’

Lean on yī 頂 [tai] *tai ‘to lean against, pull aside, rely upon’
<> yī 頂 [tai] *tai ‘to lean on, rely on, depend on’

Ant yī 鱷 [tai] *tai ‘ant’
<> yī 鱷 [tai] *tai ‘ant’
<> KN-Lai hpe’t-rī ‘ant’ (‘bee is diminutive ‘small’)

Sinew jīn 筋 [kían] [kian] *kān
<> vs. jiān 筋 [kian] [gım] *kian, geom *kan, gans

11.1.3 OC *a alternating with *e / *i
In some cognate sets, *a alternates with *e / *i, both within OC and in sets with foreign items.
On one hand, this may reflect parallel stems (§2.5); on the other, it is reminiscent of later
dialect variation where some southern dialects occasionally have a for standard e. Examples of
a ~ e variations within CH:

Black lú 墜 [lao] ‘black and hard soil, black’ * lì 驤 [te] ‘black horse’

Beam lú 柵 [lie] ‘beam supporting rafters’ * lì 驤 [le] ‘a beam’

Son-in-law xù 婚 ‘son-in-law’:
(sjwo) Mand. xú (phonet. cyA), G-Nánchang cyA
<> (siec) Coll. Shazhou siei (si?), W.-Wénzhou seì, K-Méixiàn seì,
Y.-Guánzhōu faic, M.-Xiàmen col. sai, lit. seì

Good liáng 良 *ran ‘be good’ ~ lìng 冷 *ren ‘be good’

Cold liàng 冷 *ran ‘be good’ ~ lìng 冷 *ren?

Green qīng 青 [ts’en] *tshēn ‘green, blue’
<> câng 蔪 [ts’on] ‘green, azure’ <> PMin *ts’ə ‘raw’

Examples of a ~ e variations with outside connections:

Chicken jì 雞 [kel] ‘chicken’ <> MK-PVM *r-ka: ‘id.’
11.1.4 - 11.1.5 VOWELS

Rain lín lín [lín] *rín ~ *rín 'rain' <> TB-JP ᶠag:jə²⁷ 'violent rain'

Turtle liè liè [liə̯] *rap (or *riap ?) 'a kind of turtle'
<> PTB *iəp / *iəp 'turtle' > WB, Khami, Mrũ *toroise'

Ribs, sides xìe xìe [hiə̯] *hrap (or *hiap ?) 'sides of body, ribs'
<> TB: JP ᵏa:j¹⁷-rep³³ 'rib', Kanauri *trip, WT rtsib < rhip

Also yi 亦 [iə̯] *jak(or *[w]jak?) <> ST *wjak? > TB-Lushai veɕ < *veʔ/h 'also'
* vek² < vek 'again, over again'

In addition, ST wʃs with such variant forms include (all dictionary entries →) kênŋ 'leg', xiăng 香 'fragrance', shèng 生 'alive', qīng 清 'clear', gàng 剛 'hard', hé 漢 'dry up', yè 叶 'leaf, flat'.

Some words have OC *a for foreign *i (as in 'Ribs' above); this is especially the case involving MK, specifically PMonic items with *. Such a vocalic shift has parallels elsewhere, as, for example, in Angami Naga: PTB *g-ni 'two' > Angami kəŋa, *si 'die' > sə-, *mi 'man' > mə-, *ni 'sun' > nə-ki, ne-ki (Hutton 1921: 296).

Elephant xiāng 象 [ziə̯ŋ] *sjaŋ or ziə̯ŋ? 'elephant'
<> MK: PMonic *sćiŋ, PSemai *sciŋ, but other languages have *

To plow jì 笈 [diə̯] *dzak 'to cultivate, sacred field'
<> PMK *jiłk, OM jìk 'to harrow, break up for planting, to cultivate'; Khmer /clək/ 'to dig, dig over'

Fear pù 怖 [pə̯] 'fear' <> PMon *phiic 'be afraid'

Earth tū 土 [tə̯] *təʔ 'land, soil'
? <> MK:PMon *tiiʔ 'soil, earth', PWA *kateʔ — This etymology is not certain.

Rat shù 鼠 [soʔ] *səʔ 'rat, mouse'
? <> MK:PMon *kniʔ 'rat, mouse', PNBahmaric *kane 'rat' — But see dictionary for alternative etymologies.

11.1.4 Variants *a ~ *ai

Variants *a ~ *ai are rare, and they may be due to the Han period phonetic change of OC *ai to *a so that graphs which wrote OC *ai could now be used for LHan -a and vice versa:

Drip tā 溜 [leiʔ] *rah 'to drip', post-Han
* lá 溜 [liə̯i] *rai 'to droop, drip'

11.1.5 Variants *a ~ *o

This rare vocalic variation may simply be the result of a late graphic substitution when LHan a and o may have merged in some dialect:

Lay hands on fù 握 [pə̯] *phəʔ 'lay hands on'
~ fù 握 [pə̯] *phəʔ 'lay hands on'

To grasp jù 据 [kə̯] *kah 'to grasp'
~ jù 据 [kə̯] *ko 'to grasp'

11.2 OC *ə

OC *ə is projected back to ST; in TB it has merged with a. For additional examples, see §10.2.3.

Son zǐ 子 [tsiə̯] *tsəʔ 'child, son'
<> PTB *tsəʔ > WT ts˨˧-ə˨ 'grandchild'; PBurum. *tsəʔ 'child'

Ear ēr 耳 [hiə̯] *naʔ 'ear'
<> PTB *r-na > WT rna- 'ear', PL *(C-)naʔ 'ear'

Weave zhī 鋸 [tə̯k] *tok 'to weave' <> WT tʰəjə́ /-pa 'to weave'

Eat, lick shì 食 [tə̯k] *m-lak 'to eat'
<> PTB *m-lyək > PLB *m-lyək 'to lick'; WT fəjə < *lyək 'tongue'; JP ma:tsə,tə: LIB Lepeka lyək 'taste, try', WB lyək, Lushai liək / ləʔlə.

Forest lín 林 [lim] *ram 'forest'
<> ST *rom: TB-NNaga *C-ram 'forest', Lushai ram 'forest, jungle, country'

Stand li 立 [lip] *rap or *C-rap 'to stand'
<> ST *rap: PTB *g-rap > PLB *rep 'rap 'stand', WB rap, Mikir arjəp < ṭəp

Weep qí 泣 [kə̯p] *kəʔ 'to weep'
<> ST *krap: PTB *krap > WT kəbə:kəbə 'a weeper', Kanauri krap 'to weep', JP krap²¹

11.1.2 OC *ə in unstemmed syllables

In some unstemmed forms of grammatical words, the vowel is reduced to *ə (§3.3.3):

ér 而 (hiə̯) *naʔ 'like, -ly' < rũ 向 (hiə̯wə) *naʔ 'be like'

ér 而 (hiə̯) *naʔ 'your' < rũ 汝 (hiə̯wə) *naʔ 'you'

nǎi 乃 (nə̯) *nəʔ 'your' < rũ 汝 (hiə̯wə) *naʔ 'you'

yì 台 (jiə̯) *la 'I, we' < yũ 子余 (jɨwə) *la 'I, we'

qí 其 (giə̯) *ə 'this, his' < qũ 渠 (giə̯) *ə 'he'

11.2.2 OC *ə = PTB *i

In a few etyma, OC *ə (> MC div. III, LHan -ia) corresponds to PTB *i:

Latrine cè 蹲 [tsəʔ] *tshəʔ ? 'latrine'
<> PTB *tsɨj 'urinate' > WT ɡəʔ(ɨ)-pa

Yak li 羊 [liə̯] *ə 'yak' <> WT 'bri-mo' 'domesticated female yak'

Cut, write li 理 [liə̯] *rəʔ 'cut jade according to its veins'
<> PTB *rɨj > Lushai rɨj < rɨj 'boundary, frontier, limit, line of demarcation', WT 'bri-ba, bris' 'to draw, write' M *ris 'figure', WB re²⁴ 'write, delineate, paint', Mrũ pri 'to scratch'

Container guš 瓢 [kə̯ws] *səʔ, OCB *kəʔ 'name of a ritual vessel'
<> PLB *kəɁiɁ 'receptacle, container'

For additional variations between *ə, *i, and *e, see §11.7. For OC *ə = PTB *u, see §11.10.5.
11.3 OC *e
Usually, OC *e corresponds to TB and foreign *e(y):

Buy māi (meʰ) *mēʔ 'to buy'
< ST *mrey = *brey: PTB *b-rey, WT rye-ba (< -rye?) 'to barter', JP ma³¹,ri³¹ 'to buy'

Straight tīng (tʰ[iŋ]²) *hêŋ ʔ 'straight'
< PTB *plen 'straight' ≈ *plen 'straight'

Sleet xiàn 雪 (senC) *sêns 'sleet' < WT ser-ba 'hail', JP sin³³ 'hail'

Additional examples include (all entries -> xi 音 'to cleave', pîng 平 'level', biân 簡 'flat and thin', jiàn 見 'to see', shī 石 'to tick', ēr 耳 'near'.

Vowel breaking before dental finals has led to the new MC head vowel a / a/, thus MC jiōn < *en (in div. III and 3/4 from OC *en, not *ên which became later -i(jen). This is parallel to *o; see 11.9. It is a universal development in northern and written Chinese as in:

Face miàn 面 (mj[iŋ]⁴) [mianC] *mens 'face' < PTB *s-mel > Lushai hmeelH

Send qiān 送 (kʰ[iŋ]⁴) [kʰian⁴] *khen 'to send' < WT skyel-ba 'to send'

11.3.1 OC *e in open syllables

In open syllables, OC *e corresponds often to TB and foreign *-ay (*-aj, *-ai):

Only zhī 只 [tʃi]⁴ *teʔ 'only'
< PLB *day² Y 'only' > WB tʰi² 'single, alone', JP t'ai³³ 'single'

Child ĕr 兒 [ni] 'child' < JP tʰari³³ 'baby', Mrū nja 'child'

Young nǐ 妮 [nɛ] *nê 'young and weak' < WB nai 'small, little, inferior'

God dì 帝 [de]³ 'dê' 'god'
< WT te 'celestial gods', JP ma³¹-tai³³ 'god of the sky'

Spleen pî 脾 [bie]⁴ *be 'spleen, bile'
< PTB *r-pay: JP pâi, but Angami Naga ú-pri, Mikir pî-ha <-j

This shî 是 [də]³ *deʔ 'this is, this'
< PTB *day > WT de 'that'; JP n⁵⁵-də³³ 'this, there', Kachin dai

Deer zhî 狹 [də?] °*drey 'a kind of deer'
< WB dara 'hog deer' > MK: OMon draay 'hog deer'

Crab xîe 蟹 [ge]³ *grêʔ ? 'crab'
< PTB *d-kâi > Mikir kêhê 'crab', Lushai nî 'id.', Tangkhul kâi 'fish'

ST *-aj, *-ej, and *-aj have merged in many TB languages, including WT (-e). When only CH and WT forms are available, the original ST vowel or diphthong is impossible to recover, as in zhî 提 [tʃi] 'te peace, happiness' < WT bde-ba 'happy'.

11.3.2 OC *e = foreign ia / ja

In closed syllables, foreign -ia (*-ya, *-ia-) corresponds to monophthongized OC *e. This is similar to PTB *i ~ *ya variations (HPTB: 506-508).

11.3.3 OC *e from *ai

OC *e can be the result of leveling when a consonant is attached to *ai (§6.1):

Easy yî 易 [je]³ 'tek hacking, at ease'
< PTB *way 'easy' > WB ìwai 'easy, yielding'

Diphthong leveling may have been responsible for rare OC *e ~ *-ai variations:

Catch in net li 睡 [le] 'to get caught / fasten (fishes in a net), attach'
< li 睡 [lîo] 'to fasten in a net, get caught in a net (fishes), tangled'

Rope li 藤 [le] 'a rope' ≈ li 纖 [lîo] 'scarf'

11.3.4 OC *e for foreign *i

Some words with ST and foreign rimes *-iŋ / *-ik have merged with OC *-in, *-it; others with *eg, *ek; see §6.4.1. Also with non-vowel finals, we encounter items where foreign *i was lowered to *e in OC (due to the labial in the ST initial?):

Laugh er 嚐 [ne] 'forced laugh'
< PTB *m-nwi(y) 'to laugh' > Lushai nuiH / nuiL.
11.3.5 - 11.5 VOWELS

Hip

bì 髁 [bei³, pie¹] *bêj, *pež; 'thighbone'
<> WT dpyi 'hip, ribbone', Lushai p³ei¹ 'foot, leg'

Destroy

miè 蔭 [met] *mêt 'to destroy' (but see alternative etymology)
<> PTB *mit > Abor-Miri mit 'destroy', Lushai mit¹ / mit² 'to go out, die out, be extinguished'

11.3.5 OC *ə ~ *o

OC *ə ~ *o in reduplications of the 'ding dong' type have been discussed by Baxter (1992: 501f) (§2.7). Perhaps such alternations can occur also in wfs:

Ulcer

yōng 癌 [ronj] *ronj 'ulcer' ⇒ yīng 癌 [rîŋ] *rënj 'tumor'

11.4 OC *-ai

OC *-ai has several sources: (1) ST *-ai (but see 11.3.1.3), (2) ST *-al (§8.3), (3) other rare correspondences, including *ar (§7.7.4). See §11.4.4 for *a- ~ *ai variants.

Change

yi 移 [joi] *lai 'to change, alter'
<> PTB *lau 'change, exchange' > WB lai³

Necessary

yi 形 [joi¹] *pêi 'right, righteous, proper'
<> PTB *pêi > KN-Lushai pêi⁴ / pêi² < pêis 'necessary, customary'

Come

yi 形 [joi] *naí 'to come' <> TB: JP gai³ 'to come, arrive'

Lame

bō 摔 [p³ei³] *pêi 'to walk lame'
<> PTB *pêy > *bêy 'lame, limp, oblique' > WB p³ai 'go aside'

Winnow

bō 摶 [p³ei³] *pêi 'to winnow'
<> PTB *pêy > *pê 'chaff, scatter' > PL *pê³ 'chaff'

OC *-ai may also correspond to a different TB diphthong (note also *Ant' in §11.1.2):

Hungry

ê 饥 [gei³] *nêi 'hungry, starve'
<> Lushai gei³ 'to go without', WB gat 'thirsty, hungry'

11.5 OC *-i

ST *i can be assumed for words that have *i in both TB (*i, *-iy – HPTB: 185ff) and OC.

Where the word is placed in QC chángón̄gù div. 3/3, we may assume with Baxter an earlier medial *r. Some ST words in *r-i, *-ik have merged in OC with *-in, *-it; see §6.4.1.

Die

sī 死 [si³] *sî 'to die'
<> PTB *si³ 'to die' > WT čî-ba > nsi, si; PL *je⁴; WB se

This

yi 還 [jî] *ni 'this', CH dialects 'he'
<> TB-Lushai nî 'this, that', Chepang nî 'he'

Stool

jî 几机 [k³i] *kêj, *kêj 'stool, small table'
<> WT k³ri 'seat, chair, throne, couch'

Ear of grain

sui 穗 [su³i] *s-wis 'ear of grain'
<> Lushai vui² /vui² < vuis 'to ear (as grain, grass)'

11.5.1 ST *i ~ *u variations

In TB languages fluctuation between the high vowels i and u is common in closed syllables, especially when in contact with a labial consonant (HPTB: 493–505). For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>TB</th>
<th>OC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hair</td>
<td>PTB *mil ~ *mul</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knee</td>
<td>WT pis-mo ~ pus-mo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cane</td>
<td>WT smyi-gma ~ smyg-ma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To fly</td>
<td>PTB *pir ~ *pur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go down</td>
<td>PTB *nip ~ *nup</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sleep</td>
<td>PTB *yip ~ *yup</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wipe</td>
<td>PTB *sit ~ *sut</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelter</td>
<td>Lushai aup² &gt; WT skyiub &lt; *-uips</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is a ST phenomenon, because CH also has these variations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>TB</th>
<th>OC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Headrest</td>
<td>zhèn 枕 [tsen³] *kim? &lt;&gt; PTB *kum 'block, headrest'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Believe</td>
<td>xīn 信 [sin³] *sins 'believe, trust, need'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nùn 甸 [sun³] &gt; [sun³] 'sincere, believe'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This variation also occurs in other language families, e.g., AA-Mon kmun ~ kmìn 'ruler'.

In addition to phonological reasons, OC i/u vowel alternations occur in reduplications (Baxter and Sagart 1998) (§2.7).

11.5.2 OC *i for AA *a

In some words of AA origin, OC has the vowel *i for PAA *ja (cf. *e from §11.3.2):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>TB</th>
<th>OC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>rên 人 *nin &lt;&gt; ? PMK *nâh 'person, people'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glue</td>
<td>nî 壱 *nît &lt;&gt; ? MK: Khmu klpa² (i.e., kl-pa²) 'resin'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11.6 OC *-oi, *-ui

OC *-oi corresponds to PTB *-ey and *-ay (from ST *-aij). This distinction is preserved in Kuki-Naga languages. Occasionally, the OC counterpart is *-ai (note ‘Ant’ below) or *-e.

Fire
huō ㏁ (huong) *hmhīʔ ‘fire’

Tail
wēi ㏊ (milh) *moh ‘tail’

Ant
yī ㏀ (jioi) *nai ‘ant’ ~ yī ㏀ (jioi) *nai ‘ant’

Rhinoceros
Xi 麋 [sei] *sai ‘rhinoceros’

WT bse (< -ay ~ *-ay) ‘rhinoceros’ ? Kuki-Naga *k-say, Lushai saaiH ‘elephant’

OC *-ui (as opposed to *-wi) may go back to ST *-uj, *-ul, et al. (see §8.3). For variations between *-oi, *i, and *e, see §11.7.

11.7 Variations between *-oi ~ *i ~ *e

In OC and within ST wfs, the vowels *-oi ~ *i ~ *e fluctuate without an apparent system, especially with dental finals. For additional variations between *-oi and *i, see §11.2.2. These fluctuations are also known from TB (HPTB: 509–512).

11.7.1 OC *-oi ~ *i

OC rimes in *-oi and *-i have merged in LHan and MC, except after grave initials where they remained distinct, thus bī 比 [pi] < OC *pī (MC div. chōngníu 4/4) vs. fū 匠 [pui] < *pat (MC div. III). In his reconstructions, Baxter (following previous scholarship) distinguishes OCB *-j from OCB *-aj after acute initials according to Shijing rimes and phonetic series, yet many irregular and undetermined rimes remain; OCB *-oi rime predominates, and among the *-aj words are items which according to ST and AA relations should be expected to have OCB *-ij = OCM *-i. Within CH there are also doublets; see ‘hungry’ → jī 饥. Furthermore, div. IV and div. III syllables are segregated into their own phonetic series as if *-oi and *-i already began to converge and sort themselves out in OC on the basis of the feature which gave rise to the MC divisions. Thus, in div. IV OCB *-ij and *-aj (OCM *-i, *-oi) can both correspond to foreign *-i as well as foreign *-aj.

OC rime *-i has its regular counterpart in PTB *j (§11.5). However, occasionally WT e also corresponds to OC *i. The reason is unclear, but theoretically a ST diphthong like *ei (= Lushai *ei) might have been responsible; note ‘Know’ below.

Enjoy
shī 嘍 [gi] *gie ‘enjoy’ (food)

Hungry
jī 饥 (ki 3) [k] *kri ‘be hungry, starve, hunger, famine’

11.7.2 OC *-i, *i in closed syllables

The same variations pertain to syllables with dental finals. According to phonetic series and rimes, we find OC *-i ~ *-i ~ *-e variants which are homophones in MC div. III, e.g., zhi 疏 (tɕ) *trits ~ zhi 疏 (tɕ) ‘strits ‘slip / stumble’; or hé 和 (yek) *grēk ‘root of a feather’ ~ 麒 (yek) *grēk ‘wing, feather’; jié 界 (kai) *krēk (tɕ) ‘boundary, limit’ ~ jié 界 (kai) *krēk (tɕ) ‘to end up, arrive, end, limit’; shī 寅 *dok or *djok (?) ‘really’ < ST: PLB *dyak ‘truly, very’, Lushai takl ‘real, true’ vs. shí 寅 (djet) *m-dit (?) ‘really’. According to

11.1 TB, WT Chinese MC div. III OC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WT</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>MC div. III</th>
<th>OC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>srel ‘to rear’</td>
<td>chān 様 ‘produce’ (sān)</td>
<td>*sǎn?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lush</td>
<td>hmeel ‘face’</td>
<td>mān 面 ‘face’ (mjānY 4)</td>
<td>*mens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>skyel-ba ‘send’</td>
<td>qiān 悴 ‘send’ (kái 4)</td>
<td>*ken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lush</td>
<td>belF &lt; beel? ‘put on garment’</td>
<td>bēi 被 ‘put on clothes’ (bie 3)</td>
<td>*bai/h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>‘dred-pa ‘slip’</td>
<td>zhi 滑 ‘slip’ (tɕi)</td>
<td>*trits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>šes ‘know’</td>
<td>xī 想 ‘know’ (sjet)</td>
<td>*sot or *sot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>bden ‘true’</td>
<td>zhēn 真 ‘true’ (tɕen)</td>
<td>*tın</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>žed-pa &lt; *jet ‘fear’</td>
<td>jié 懼 ‘careful’ (jet)</td>
<td>*tìn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>mēlin ‘liver’</td>
<td>xīn 辛 ‘bitter’ (sjen)</td>
<td>*sìn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lush</td>
<td>kīrF &lt; *kērh ‘to tie’</td>
<td>jin 捆 ‘bind tight’ (kienY 4)</td>
<td>*kın</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TB</td>
<td>*t/sil ‘gums’</td>
<td>shën 沣 ‘gums’ (sjen)</td>
<td>*nhin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11.2 TB, WT Chinese MC div. IV, 3/4 OC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WT</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>MC div. IV, 3/4</th>
<th>OC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>m-ken ‘know’</td>
<td>jiūn 見 ‘see’ (kien)</td>
<td>*kèns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>ser ‘hail’ &lt; *swer</td>
<td>xiān 霞 ‘sleet’ (sien)</td>
<td>*sèns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TB</td>
<td>*per ‘flat’</td>
<td>biān 偏 ‘flat’ (pian)</td>
<td>*pèn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lush</td>
<td>beel ‘pot’</td>
<td>biān 偏 ‘food vessel’ (pian)</td>
<td>*pèn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>gser ‘gold’</td>
<td>xiān 彫 ‘glossy, polished metal’ (sien)</td>
<td>*sèns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TB</td>
<td>*myel ‘sleep’</td>
<td>miān 靜 ‘sleep’ (mien)</td>
<td>*mèn or *mèn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>bsel ‘escort’</td>
<td>xiān 先 ‘go in front’ (sien)</td>
<td>*sèn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TB</td>
<td>bisl ‘wash’</td>
<td>xī 洗 ‘wash’ (sien, sien)</td>
<td>*sān ~ *sèn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>mt’il ‘bottom’</td>
<td>dī 氏 ‘bottom’ (tie)</td>
<td>*tìf</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

GSR 457 Karlgren believed that mín 民 (mjén) ‘people’ had two readings: OCM *min and *man. This word, as well as xī 洗 *sān / *sèn ‘to wash’ and quān 犬 *kwān ‘dog’, have TB
11.8  **OC and ST *u and *o**

PTB *u and *o usually correspond to OC *u and *o, but not in a systematic way, so that either of the two can be expected to correspond "regularly" to any in other languages. For the situation in TB, see STC: 66; HPTB: 178ff. The rime *un is rare in OC, and it does not exist after grave initials (K-, P-) in MC div. I. The fate of this rime is parallel to PCH, *i-, as it may have converged with *o- or *un (§6.4.2). Within OC we also find doublets *u ~ *u:

- Bushy (hair): rông茸 [rõŋ] *nuŋ ~ rông茸 [rõŋ] *nuŋ
- To bend: quú [kuan] *kok ~ jú鞠 [kuk] *kuk << PTB *kuk
- To hatch: fú伏 [fõ] *pho 'to hatch'
- ~ fú伏 [bõ] *bok or *buk 'to hatch' << Tai: S. vakD2 'to hatch'
- Incubate: yú鷹 [kõ] ?'o? 'to sit on eggs, incubate' (of birds)
- ~ yú鷹 [û] 'to brood, hatch (eggs)' (old dialect word)

Where TB lgs. and OC have a simple vowel, Lushai occasionally has a diphthong -ua:

- Pop: bû [põ] *pok 'cracking'
- <> PLB *spuk ~ *spuk 'explode, pop', Lushai puak / puam- 'to explode, burst, pop'
- Satiated: bao báo [pauõ] *prüf 'eat to the full, satisfied'
- <> Lushai puar 'having eaten enough'
- Full grown: Lushai puam 'be full grown (but not ripe) of fruit, to swell' ~ puam- 'be filled out (as fruit)'

11.9  **OC *o**

PTB and foreign *o (and *-ow) typically corresponds to OC *o; a few samples:

- Stitch: zhuó 贴 [tõ] *tôt, tō [tõ] *tôt 'to sew, stitch, connect'
- <> WT gotd-pa, bdtd-pa 'tie up, stake' ~ riopd-pa 'to tether'
- Behind: hû 倒 [õ] *fôt ~ fôt 'behind, after'
- <> PTB *ok > WT *og (not ?ôg); PLB *ok > WB ok (i.e., ?ôg)
- Hull grain: chûng 种 [sõ] *kông 'to hull grain with a pestle'
- <> Tai: S. *koong 'hull rice'
- Move: sôu, sôu 搜 [sõ] *sô? 'to move'
- <> PTB *m-ow > Dimasa masau, Lushai tõk / tõk? / Lakher pot'eu, Khami ant'au, Ao Naga meso 'arise, awake'

Vowel breaking before dental finals has led to a new MC / LHan head vowel a, thus MC -uan ~ *uan; this is parallel to *e (§11.3) and *u (§11.10.3). This is a universal development in northern and written Chinese, although southern dialects seems to have preserved the original OC vowels. In syllables with labial initial consonants and with dental or labial finals, labial dissimilation has led to the loss of rounding or the rounded element, so that ST *o > OC / MC *a, e.g., ST *pom > *puam > OC *pam, or ST *poi > *puai > OC *pai; see Table 11-3. ‘3/3’ refers to the ch'ôngniú doublet in the rime tables, with Baxter's OCB medial *r.

### 11.9.1 OC *o corresponding to ST *-u > PTB *u

In many words, especially those with open syllables, PTB *u corresponds to OC *o. Furthermore, the distribution of OC *un is limited; among the relatively few syllables with that final, there is none in div. I. That starts with a velar; the final must have shifted elsewhere (see §6.4.2; §11.10.4 gông 'Bowel').

- Rob: kóu 親 [kõ] *khôf 'to rob, robber'
- <> PTB *r-kwu > WT rtu-ka 'to steal', Kachin Iku, NNaga C/V-kw, WB kwâk < C-kwâ
- Body: quá 驚 [kõ] *kho 'body, person'
- <> PTB *s-kw > WT sku, WB ku 'body (of an animal)'
- Cough: sôu 咳 [so] *sôh 'to cough'
- <> PTB *suw > Magari su, Garo, Dimasa gu-su, WT sud-pa 'cough'

Additional examples include: jû 舅 'cousin', quá 'to drive (animals), gallop', rû 乳 'nipple', shù 樹 'to plant, place upright', zhù 柱 'pillar'.

OC *-o in closed syllables has no systematic correspondence in other languages:

**Cage**
- lông 龍 [lõ] *ron? 'bird cage, basket'
- <> WB khruui 'cage for birds'

**Mound**
- fêng 封 [põ] *pon 'mound, tumulus, raise a mound'
- <> WT puy-po 'heaps' ~ spuig 'a heap', spuig-pa 'to heap', Rawang póig 'heap'

**Sharp point**
- fêng 鋒 [põ] *pon 'sharp point (of weapon, insect)
- <> WT bui-ba 'bee'

**Mound**
- zhông 眶塚 [tõ] *ron? 'a mound, peak'
- <> WT rdú 'small mound, hillock', WB to 'hill, mountain'

**Torch**
- zhû 燈 [tõ] *tok 'torch'
- <> PLB *dûk 'blazing' ~ *dûk 'kindle, set on fire' > WB to 'blaze, shine'; WT dugs-pa 'to light, kindle'; Lushai duk 'glowing with heat'
11.9.2 ~ 11.10 VOWELS

Custom
sū 俗 [ziok] *slok ‘rustic, vulgar, custom, popular usage’
<> WT lungs ‘custom, way, manner’

Inferior
liè 劃 [lyat] *rot ‘inferior’
<> PTB *ryut > JP yut‘i’ become worse (illness), WB yut < rot ‘inferior, mean’ n hrut ‘put down’

Vomit
yuè 喔 [lyat] ?wat or *rot ‘sount of vomiting’
<> TB-PLB *ut (not *utt) ‘to belch’

Additional examples with final *-ŋ include: → yōŋ 鱈 ‘ulcer’, → yōŋ 鏡 ‘city moat’, → gōng 丁功 ‘work’.

11.9.2 OC *-o ~ *-au
OC *-o ~ *-au variation is exceptional:

Scoop out
yú 拨 [jo, do] *lo ~ *lō ‘to scoop out (as a mortar)’
- yóu → yāo 齊 [ju, ja] *lu ~ *lāu ‘to scoop hulled grain from a mortar’

Monkey
yú 猴 [go] *nōh ‘monkey’
<> PTB: *nōw ‘ape’ > Lushai pauŋ ‘grey monkey’

11.9.3 OC *o / *u for foreign *o?
In a few common words, OC appears to have the vowel *o or *u for PTB or foreign *a. (§11.1.5 mentions possible instances within CH.) Such rare correspondences could be chance similarities. Thus yóu 竇 [jiu] *ju (?) ‘to laugh’ is probably unrelated to PTB *rya ‘to laugh’ > WT gāza ‘to sport, joke, play’ because the TB form agrees in a regular way with → chén, chiī ‘laugh’. CH kōu 口 *kōang ‘mouth’ is not related to TB *kha ‘id.’, etc. In the following, the ST root was perhaps *kwal with the medial *w lost in WT (?):

Pass over
guō 過 [kuoi ~ koi] *kōi ‘to pass, transgress’
<> WT gāla-ba, brgal ‘to pass over, travel through, ford’, Lushai kaiŋ / kai ‘to cross over’ n kal ‘walk, travel, pass by’, WB kaiŋ ‘exceed’

11.10 OC *u
OC *u usually corresponds to ST and foreign *-u; however, above, in §11.9.1, it has been noted that many OC words have *o for PTB *u. In some words, a suspected ST or foreign *-um has shifted to OCM *-un; see §6.4.2.

Day
zhōu 程 [yu] *truhk ‘time of daylight, day’ <> WT gdags ‘noon’

Womb
bāo 胚 [pou, p’ou] *pru, *phru ‘womb’
<> WT p’ru-ma ~ p’ru-ma-/ba ‘uterus, placenta’

Nine
jiǔ 九 [ku] OCB *kju ‘nine’
<> PTB *d-kwu > WT dgu; WB kuŋ; PL *goj; Lushai kua

Suck, swallow
shēn 咽 [zuŋ] *m-lun? ‘to suck’
<> PTB *miyuŋ > Kanauri *myūn ‘to swallow’

Grandchild
sūn 孫 [suŋ] *sūn ‘grandchild’
<> PTB *s(ung) > Mikir, Meithi, Dimasa, etc.; su, JP futs ‘grandchild’


11.10.1 OC *-u for PTB and foreign *-o
In some etyma, it may well be TB that changed *u to *o; WB does this regularly:

Awake
jue 觉 [kok] *krūk ‘to awake’
<> PTB *grok ~ *krok > WT dkrug-bal = skrog-bal ‘to stir, churn, rouse’;
PLB *krok ‘be afraid’ > WB kroŋ PLB *kroŋ ‘frighten’

Come out
chū 出 [t(ut) *k-hut ‘to come out’

Dig
kū 窿 [kut] *khut ‘dig in the ground, underground’
<> PTB *r-kot > WT rkok-bal ‘excavate, dig’ n rko-ba ‘to dig’

Sunrise
tūn 絕 [thom] *thun ‘the rising sun’
<> WT tōn-bal, tom ‘to come out, go out’, Monpa Cuona te[19]m33, Motuo tōng ‘to come out (sun),’ WB p–tōn > (come out, etc., the sun’

Temple
zōng 宗 [tsou] *tsūg ‘ancestral temple, ancestral, lineage’
<> WT rdzong(s) ‘castle, fortress’, WB (a-)eŋ ‘a building’

Bean
shū 蔗 [suk] *nhuk ‘bean’
<> PLB *s(j)-nok ‘bean’ > WB nok, JP no[23] ‘red bean’

Morning
sū 早 [siuk] *suk ‘early morning, early, soon’
<> PLB *c-sok ~ *v-sok ‘morning, morrow’

Six
liù 六 [liuk] *k-ruk ‘six’

11.10.2 Labial dissimilation
Labial dissimilation in PCH and OC is responsible for gaps in the system where we should expect *u, which must have dissimilated to *o. Labial dissimilation which affects the final consonant has been suggested in §6.7. See Table 11-4 for the uneven distribution of such syllables.

Several types of labial dissimilation had taken place in OC and later (as seen through MC), which have affected the vowels. With final *m / p / t the back vowels *o, *u were unrounded which resulted in *a (< *o via *ua; see §11.9) and *e (< *u via *ua). The

Three
sān 三 [som] *sān ‘three’
<> ST *sum; WT sum ‘three (in compositions);’ JP ma[19]~sum[19]; WB sum

Inhale
xī 吸 [hip] *hup ‘to inhale’
<> ST *chup; TB-WT rphu-bal, brpals ‘to draw in (air), breathe’

Sweet
gān 甘 [kam] *kam ‘sweet’
<> PTB *kluum ‘sweet’

However, in many OC words in final *-am / *-ap the vowel *o is original; see §11.2.
11.10.3 Labial dissimilation before dental finals

Between labial initial and dental final (including *-ui), earlier *u and *o had apparently merged — in div. I *pän merged with *pën, in div. III *pon merged with *pun, hence MC puon [pon] vs. pijua [pun]; we conservatively assume for OCM syllables *pon only (Table 11-4).

Root

bên 本 [ponb³] *bën ‘root, stem’
<> PTB *b³ul ~ *pul ‘root, beginning, cause, origin, source’

Burst forth

pō浮 [bot] *bó ‘burst forth as plants, fountain’
<> WT ‘bu-ba, ’bus ‘to open, unfold (flower)’

Poor

pín 貧 [bën] OCB *brjan ‘poor’ <> WT dbul ‘poor’

Tail

wěi 尾 (mjwe³) [mu³] *maiwerp <> PTB *rai

Branch

méi 枚 (mu³i) [məi] *məi <> AA: Khmer meek

11.10.4 Labial dissimilation with open / velar final syllables

The OC syllables of the type *po, *pok have merged with *pu, *puk in what corresponds to MC div. III; this is parallel to dental finals (above). In div. I, *pó and *pú were kept distinct, and *pók does not occur at all; see Table 11-4 (Sagart 1999: 59ff). The Shijing rimes distinguish between *po and *pu (div. III), but both become MC pu, and *pok and *puk (div. III) both become MC pu. Words with the phonetic as in 福 consistently rhyme with *-ok, words with the phonetic as in 復 consistently rhyme with *-uk. Likewise, 福 福 福 always rhyme with *-u, and 服 服 服 always with *-a. Thus Shijing rimes allow us to sort out these words for OC. The problem for ST comparisons is, however, that words with both 福 and 福 as phonetic derived from etyma with ST *-uk. Also ‘carry on the back’ in many languages the equivalent of OC *a, while PTB *bu suggests, of course, an *u for 福 contrary to its Shijing rhymes.

OC syllable type *pou does not occur at all (in none of the MC div. — apart from one or two doublets). As in rhymes *puk ~ *pok, MC div. III ɔjou resulted from *maŋ. In Shijing, ɔjou (kjuŋ) rimes consistently as ɔmou in spite of its ST origin kjuŋ which is a behavior parallel to 福 and 福. The issue remains unclear.

Lie down

fú 伏 [buk³] *bak ‘to lie down’
<> TB-Lushai bok³ / bo³k ‘to lie down, recline’

To hatch

fú 伏 [buk³] *bak ‘to hatch’
~ fú 存 [plu³] *pho ‘to hatch’ <> Tai: S. vak³ to ‘hatch’

Woman

fú 妇 [buk³] *baŋ ‘woman, wife’
<> Yao bwaang ‘nb. daughter-in-law’ <> Tai *baa³ ‘wife’

Back

běi 北 [bok³] *bók ‘north’
# běi 背 [bo³] *bák ‘to carry on the back’
<> PTB *b¹[k] > WT ‘ba-ba ‘to bring, carry’, JP ba³[k] (a bak) ‘carry (child on back)’, Lushai puaz / puak⁶ ‘carrying on the back as a child’
<> PTai *bap³: S. p³[a]a⁴²
<> MK-Bahn. *bəŋ ‘carry (on the back)’, PPala. *bo, Khmu bo, PWa *bo ‘carry child on back’

11.10.5 Exceptional correspondences

We have noted above that OC *a (> MC -i div. III) seems to correspond in a few words to WT and PTB *i; similarly, OC *a (> MC div. I -i) occasionally = WT u or o. Instances are rare, the reason for this irregularity is not clear, and these may even be chance similarities or a matter of borrowing:

Able

néng 能 [nəŋ] *nà ‘be capable, have ability, can’
<> WT nus-pa ‘be able’

Comments on Table 11-4: PCH are hypothetical syllables, with vowels based on TB cognates; the CH (LHan, MC) forms are those that theoretically could derive from PCH. Gaps in the distribution are left blank or indicated by hyphens (—); the CH characters exemplify only the rime — the initials do not necessarily agree with the hypothetical PCH.
11.11 VOWELS

Manner tái 桁 [tʰ̚ɛɪ] *ngh ‘apparition, bearing, manner’
<> WT mt’u (< m-nhu?) ‘ability, power’

Cup bēi 杯 [pʰɛi] *pʰ ‘cup’ <> WT pʰor-pa ‘bowl, dish, cup’ (late word)

Unusual variations o ~ u are encountered, also within MC:

Sincere kēn 恆 [kʰɛn] *kʰ ‘constant’
vs. kūn 恆 [kʰuŋ] *khūn?

To swallow tún 吞 [tʰɔn] Sin Sukchu PR t’ɔn; MGZY th’in (平) [tʰɔn]
vs. Sin Sukchu SR t’un (平)

11.11 OC *-au, *-auk

This rime corresponds to PTB and foreign *au; in languages without diphthongs it corresponds to o, as in WT:

Float piāo 飄 [pʰiau] *phiau ‘to float (in the air)’
<> PTB *pyaw > WT pʰya-ba ‘swim, soar, float’

Fat, grease sāo 膩 [sau] *sau ‘fat of swine or dog’
<> PTB *saw > Lushai t‘au ‘fat, grease’; JP sau

Sickle zhāo, jiāo ì鋼 [kuə, tʃau < kiau] *kiau ‘to cut’ 剔, ‘a big sickle’ 鋸
<> Tai: Lao kiau61 ‘to reap, sickle’, S. kiau61 ‘to cut with a sickle’

Additional examples include (all entries->) māo 毛 ‘hair, fur’, sāo 腥 ‘putrid smell’, yāo 搖 ‘to shake, be agitated’, nǎo 搖 ‘to trouble, disturb’.

The OC rime *-au has a closed syllable (rūshēng) counterpart. This goes counter to the system, which allows only short vowels in stopped syllables. But for now ‘music’, for example, will be written yùè 樂 [ŋɛk] *rāuk; perhaps it was phonetically leveled to *rāk, just as *-ia became *-ek.

12

TRANSLITERATIONS

OF FREQUENTLY QUOTED LANGUAGES

This chapter deals with frequently cited languages; they are, in alphabetical order: 12.1 Chinese, 12.2 Jingpo, 12.3 Lushai, 12.4 Mikir, 12.5 Tai, 12.6 Tibeto-Burman, 12.7 Tiddim Chin, 12.8 Written Burmese, 12.9 Written Tibetan.

This work draws mostly on languages that are reasonably well studied and understood, with extensive lexica and recorded tones, when applicable. TB languages which are cited in addition to the above include: Lepecha, Kanauri, Tamang-Gurung-Thakali-Manangba (TGTM), PTani (= Abor-Miri-Dafla), Chepang, as well as Proto-Lolo-Burmese (PPJB) and Northern Naga (NNaga). Furthermore, Austroasiatic (AA) / Mon-Khmer (MK) languages — Proto-Viet-Muong (PVM), Khmer, and Proto-Monic (PMon). Miao-Yao (MY = Hmong-Mien) is cited according to either Purnell or Wáng Fūshi. Kam-Tai (KT) languages that are often cited include Proto-Tai (PTai) and Kam-Sui (KS).

Forms are usually cited in the spelling of their source. Occasionally, graphic changes have been made: j or f for j to make sure it is not confused with IPA j; IPA a for y; c for c to rule out confusion with ts; aspiration as in kʰ- for k- or kh-.

Tones are noted in the numerical system (55 high level, 11 low level, etc.); in some cases, these numbers are placed in front of the syllable, not after it, for example, in TGTM and some CH dialects when also the tonal category is noted. In Sinitic (CH “dialects”), Tai and Miao-Yao, tone categories are assigned the letters ABCD. In some TB languages, tones are indicated by superscript letters: H = high tone, L = low tone, R = rising tone, F = falling tone, and M = mid tone.

12.1 Chinese (CH)

Mandarin, Middle Chinese (MC), Later Han Chinese (LHan or LH), and Minimal Old Chinese (OCM) are provided on the first line of every entry. After the symbol [T] follow early transcriptions of the word (see below); thereafter are [D] dialect forms (see §12.1.3). The [T] and [D] items are cited as sample illustrations for later (post-Han) developments. Varieties and reconstructions of Chinese are transcribed or written as follows:

Mandarin (Mand.) = pīnyīn 拼音

Middle Chinese (MC) from ca. AD 600 as reconstructed by Karlsgren (1957) and amended by Li Fang Kuei (1981), is placed in parentheses. MC is based on the rime dictionary Qièyǔn, hence it is also referred to as the Qièyǔn system (QYS). Often, the Mandarin word is phonologically not the direct descendent of the MC form. Tones are indicated in superscript letters: pǐngshēng 平 A (usually unmarked), shǎngshēng 上 B (= Karlsgren ‘x’), qìngshēng 去 C (= Karlsgren ‘x’), púshēng 入 D (usually unmarked). Thus the entries here write, for example, MC kieï, kieïɦ, kieïɛ, kiet. The letter scheme has been adopted from modern dialect studies.

The nature and validity of MC has been much debated (recently by Coblin and Norman 1995; Pulleyblank 1997). MC forms are widely quoted, even by critics, for reference and identification of traditional phonological categories. MC (= QYS) does not reflect a natural language, as many scholars emphasize; for example, MC has three medial palatal glides: j-,
12.1.1 TRANSCRIPTIONS

-fi, -iː; no known Sinitic language makes such distinctions. The LHan forms provide a transliteration which is probably closer to some actual language.

Later transcriptional forms follow the symbol [T], but only for illustration and when available.

Early Ming (Eming) and Yuan (Mongol) period Chinese has kindly been provided by S. Coblin. Early Ming has been recorded by the Korean Sin Sukchu (ca. AD 1475), SR = 'Standard reading', PR = 'Popular reading', LR = 'Left reading' (i.e., an additional pronunciation noted by a different author); the transcription of the source is provided, followed by the phonological interpretation in [IPA], as worked out by Coblin. Tones are indicated in CH characters: 平上去入 (ABCD). A word's different readings, recorded by the Koreans, reflect a split into a standard and a popular idiom.

Yuan (Mongol) period Chinese (1270–1308) is recorded in Phags-pa: MGZY (Mēnggū zǐyūn), followed by the phonological interpretation in [IPA], as worked out by Coblin. Tones are indicated in CH characters as above.

Old Northwest Chinese (ONW[C]) from about AD 400 as interpreted in Coblin 1994b. The transcriptions do not indicate tone. Occasionally Sui-Tang Chang'an (Coblin's 'STCA', ca. AD 640) and MTang (Middle Tang, ca. AD 775) forms are also provided.

12.1.1 Later Han Chinese

Later Han Chinese (LHan, LH) (Schuessler 2006) is suggested to reflect a language of the first and second centuries AD. It is based on modern dialect evidence (including Mǐn), Old Northwest Chinese (ONW, ONWC; Coblin 1991a; 1994b), Wei-Jin rimes (Ting 1975) and Buddhist transcriptional data form the Han period (Coblin 1982; 1993), as well as the Quèyùn. In this introduction, these forms are placed in brackets unless otherwise identified, thus [ku] = LH ko. Tones are marked as in MC. LHan is about 400 to 500 years older and is simpler than MC.

LHan follows the transcriptional conventions used for CH dialects; thereby it has shed the graphic complexities of MC; the components of diphthongs and triphones are represented by vowels, not semi-vowels (thus au, ai, iau). LHan has the following peculiarities:

(1) Like MC and CH dialects, it has no consonant clusters.
(2) Rimes which derive from those reconstructed earlier as OC *-d or *-ts with tone C still had a final *s in LHan (dà 大 LH dos).
(3) Universal vowel bending (or “warping”) has resulted from a distinction between high vocalic onset syllables vs. low vocalic onset syllables (Schuessler 2006). In high syllables, the later MC div. III, the vocalic onset of a vowel is bent up as in OCM *ka > kao > LHan kia 居; OCM *saŋ > saŋ > LH siang 相; OCM *ma > mo > LH mu 穆. In low syllables, the later MC div. IV types, the vocalic onset is bent down, thus OCM *si > LH sei (> MC siei 西; OCM *pu > LH pou (> MC pâu) 筒; OCM *mû > LH ma > mo > MC μū 窯. A high vowel in a high syllable cannot bend any higher, it remains unchanged: OCM *si > LH si, > MC si 死. OCM *ku > LH ku then later kiu 九, > MC kiu. Equally, the low vowel a cannot bend lower; it remains unchanged in LHan: OCM *ka > LH ko (> MC kuo 古.

Initial velar consonants eventually palatalized under the influence of the immediately following high vowel i, even a secondary one (perhaps phonetically j), thus OCM *ke > LH kie > MC tjie 支. For reasons that are not yet clear, this palatalization of velars did not occur in all rimes (e.g., jì 吉 MC jët < OCM *kit), nor with initial aspirated kʰ, nor with voiced g- in tone A (Did aspiration block palatalization?) (Schuessler JCL 24–2, 1996: 197–211).

The cause of this warping is a matter of speculation; see §12.1.2.
(4) LHan seems to have preserved, at least in open syllables, OC segmental features which later resulted in MC tones, thus LHan kaa, koi, koh; however, for the sake of consistency we will use the tone letters instead, hence LHan ko, koʰ, koamed.

Table 12-1 provides some LHan sample forms for OC rimes *a and *-ar. LHan syllable types are distributed over Quèyùn divisions (columns); the initials in the rows are LHan. The top row lists the rimes, L-a is a low-onset syllable with rime -a = QYS div. I, H-a a high onset syllable, etc. Shaded fields block out initial / final combinations that are phonotactically impossible.

12-1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>L-a</th>
<th>H-a</th>
<th>H-a</th>
<th>a II</th>
<th>L-on</th>
<th>L-on</th>
<th>H-on</th>
<th>H-on</th>
<th>H-an</th>
<th>H-an</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>土</td>
<td>tɔŋ 當</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>lo</td>
<td>魯</td>
<td>lɔŋ 浪</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>晝</td>
<td>sɔŋ 桑</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>處</td>
<td>tɔŋ 昌</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>so</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12.1.2 Minimal Old Chinese (OCM)

Transcription of Minimal Old Chinese (OCM) is based on Baxter 1992 (OBC), but it errs on the side of simplicity because we try to account, as far as possible, for features which enjoy broader agreement among investigators, thus OCM *t- which some now suggest *q- or the like. OCM seems to bring out etymological connections better than other systems. Two points need to be stressed: (1) OCM does not imply or preclude that other OC reconstructions are invalid; OCM restricts itself to those features which are knowable, as far as possible, without recourse to speculations and etymologizations. (2) The nature of the etymological relationship between many words remains unaffected by the MC system or OC reconstruction applied.

Crucial for the recovery of OC is the phonetic element with which a word is written, and its interpretation. Graphs with the same phonetic form in a phonetic series or xié-shēng 講聲 series. Karlsgren and Li Fang Kuei rigidly adhered to a "xié-shēng principle" of their strict
definition which advanced the understanding of OC in their time. But a graph whose phonological interpretation is difficult to reconcile with its phonetic element has led to rather complex reconstructions based on ingenious theories. Although such reconstructions may turn out to be correct, we will here take a step back and transcribe an OC form in a simple way which is compatible with MC and overall Chinese phonological structure, because phonological evolution is expected to be regular; but the reason for the selection of one phonetic element or graph over another can be at the whim of a writer (Qiū Xūgū 2000: 269, quoting Zhēng Xuān to that effect). The selection of graphic elements can be on a sliding scale from purely phonetic (as in ēu 居 *ka ‘dwell’, phonetic ōu 古 *kā ‘old’) to semantic (e.g., jiān 烏 ‘pointed’: graph for ‘small’ on top of ‘big’). Many graphic choices fall between these ends. The original graph for xiān 前 LH sian ‘an immortal’ has been replaced by the simplified 仙 with shān 山 LH 仙 ‘mountain’; though phonetically close, the simplified graph was probably created and attained currency because immortals were thought to live as recluses in the mountains. In the graph wèi 懊 MC jweic *w(ng)ts’ position, seat’, li 立 MC jiap *rap ‘to stand’ (<> PTB *krap ‘to stand’) is often believed to be phonetic, and hence cognate to wèi. Yet wèi would be a prime candidate for a semantic element in a graph for ‘position’; hence wèi and li, which are phonetically quite different anyway, are not likely to be related. Given these considerations, we will occasionally leave the phonological discrepancy of the phonetic elements an open question.

As far as possible, we will not base OCM forms on etymological considerations. For example, nēi 内 MC nuajic *inside is written with the phonetic element ō 入 MC nāpjopp ‘enter’; ō was apparently OCM *nup, while nēi was *nats. There is no time and other evidence to suggest that nēi had a labial final in OC (*nups). The phonetic ō for nēi is explained by the transparent etymological relationship beside some similarity in sound. Thus nēi was probably *nōups in PCH, but not in OCM. Similarly, we mechanically take MC div. 11 and reflexives initials back to OCM medial *r-, even when comparative data suggest that there was no medial. We may reconstitute a phoneme for OC using the comparative method even though CH writing has no trace of it, as in hū ‘fire’ and hui ‘snake’. We reconstitute an OC *hm- initial because (1) these words are certainly related to PTB *smey and *(s)-h/m-ru; (2) by default: the graphic elements are unique, they don’t belong to a phonetic series which could otherwise have indicated an *m-; and (3) in such cognate sets, every indication is that MC x- corresponds to a variable form of *sm-, *hm-, *km-, and the like. Therefore, OCM *hmaj ‘fire’ and *hmajj (<< *hmajj) ‘snake’.

OCM differs from Baxter’s (OCB) in some ways:

(1) For Baxter’s 1992 *we write *a, as he does in his recent work.

(2) It is widely believed now that Karlgren’s MC div. III yods (medial -j-) did not exist in OC (Baxter, Pulleyblank, J. Norman, and others); see §9.1.

(3) For the later tone C (qūshēng) Baxter and most investigators add a final *-s to the OC syllable, where Li Fang Kuei used the symbol *-h. We suspect that some words in final OCB *-s actually had only *-s (see §3.4); consequently *-s cannot be used for tone C with open syllables, therefore we use the symbol *-h, also after velar finals. Thus, OCB *njis, here *nis or *n(t)s; OCB *njis, here *nh; OCB *tks, here *tokh.

(4) We will ignore the finer, more debatable points of Baxter’s and others’ systems; thus we will retain final *an where Baxter and Starostin suggest *-ar (though they may well be right).

(5) As in dialect descriptions, all elements in diphthongs are written as vowels, thus -ai,
Notes for Tables 12.2 and 12.3:

- These tables list relevant MC initials in the left column. Karlgen’s GSR system for OC in the second, in the rest OC initial types as reflected in phonetic series (exceptional combinations in parentheses).
- The circumflexes after an OC initial indicates later MC div. I/IV vocalism (no j).
- A hyphen distinguishes a pre-initial (or prefix) from an otherwise identical one; e.g., some MC dj- are consistently found in L-series (*d*-), others in T-series (*d*-), hence the ones in L-series cannot have been very prominent dental stops; indeed, the element may have been something quite different, such as a *g*, hence perhaps PCH *g* > *j*.

### 12.3 (for item 6)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MC</th>
<th>GSR OC</th>
<th>*W-series</th>
<th>*NG-series</th>
<th>*M-series</th>
<th>*N-series</th>
<th>*L-series</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N I</td>
<td></td>
<td>ŋ’ 五</td>
<td>m’ 莫</td>
<td>n’ 娘</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nj III</td>
<td>s / sw</td>
<td>s’ 歪</td>
<td>m 無</td>
<td>n 如</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s / sw</td>
<td></td>
<td>s’ 歪</td>
<td>m 無</td>
<td>n 如</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sj / sjw</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>sj / sjw</td>
<td>sw 信</td>
<td>sn 証</td>
<td>sl 設</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sj / sjw</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>sj / sjw</td>
<td>sw 信</td>
<td>sn 証</td>
<td>sl 設</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zj / zjw</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>zj / zjw</td>
<td>s-w 腹</td>
<td>s-l 腹</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yw I</td>
<td>gw</td>
<td>w 潭</td>
<td>huy 血</td>
<td>hm 荒</td>
<td>hn 警</td>
<td>hl 虎</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jw III</td>
<td>gw</td>
<td>w 潭</td>
<td>huy 血</td>
<td>hm 荒</td>
<td>hn 警</td>
<td>hl 虎</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x / xw</td>
<td>hw</td>
<td>x / xw</td>
<td>hw 信</td>
<td>hm 警</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x / xw</td>
<td>hw</td>
<td>x / xw</td>
<td>hw 信</td>
<td>hm 警</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xj / xjw</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>xj / xjw</td>
<td>hw 信</td>
<td>hm 警</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xj / xjw</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>xj / xjw</td>
<td>hw 信</td>
<td>hm 警</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(6) OCM consonants and consonant clusters agree with what is conservatively assumed within Baxter’s overall framework. Many MC dental and related initials, as well as x-, have several OC sources (Yakhontov, Pulleyblank, Li Fang Kuei, Baxter), depending on the OC phonetic series. The different types of phonetic series are presented and compared in Tables 12-2 and 12-3. The distinction between a possible OC J-series and L-series is somewhat elusive, but the tables include suspected MC equivalents.

(7) OC B sets up six vowels: a, o, e, i, u, plus diphthongs aw, aj, etc., which correspond roughly to Karlgen’s a/o, e/o, u, ò, og/k, ar/â.

(8) OCM rimes are as below (OCB writes *aw for *au, *aj for *ai, etc.; for tone C see item 3 above); a tone-C form is added in the first row for illustration:

| a | a(k)h | ak | aŋ | an | ap | am | am’ |
| o | o(k)h | o | on | an | ap | am | am’ |
| e | e(k) | e | en | ep | em |  |
| i | i (i) | i | in | ip | im |  |
| u | u(k) | o | ou | on | op | om |  |
| au | auk |  |  |  |  |  |  |

(9) The following list compares Karlgen’s OC in GSR with OCM final consonants and rimes; div. I/IV syllables are cited for each rime category:

**OCM Transcriptions**

- GSR *-ak, *-ŋ = OCM *-ak, *-ŋ
- GSR *-u, *-ug = OCM *-u, except some *-ug in MC tone C
- GSR *-uk, *-ŋ = OCM *-uk, *-ŋ
- GSR *-ŋ = OCM *-u, except some *-ʊ with MC tone C
- GSR *-ok, *-ŋ = OCM *-uk (Baxter *-oks), i.e. MC tone C
- GSR *-uk, *-ŋ = OCM *-uk (Baxter *-uks), i.e. MC tone C
- GSR *-ok, *-ŋ = OCM *-uk (Baxter *-uks)
- GSR *-og = OCM *-og (Baxter *-aw); except some *-eg with MC tone C
- GSR *-ok = OCM *-ok (Baxter *-awks), i.e. MC tone C
- GSR *-eg = OCM *-eg (Baxter *-eks), i.e. MC tone C
- GSR *-ek, *-ŋ = OCM *-ek, *-ŋ
- GSR *-ã, *-â = OCM *-ai
- GSR *-uã, *-uâ = OCM *-oi, except after gutturals also *Kwai; not after labials
- GSR *-ât, *-âd, *-án = OCM *-at, *-ad, *-án (Baxter *-ats, and similarly passim), *-an
- GSR *-uât, *-uâd, *-uân = OCM *-ut, *-ot, *-on, except after gutturals also *Kwai etc.; not after labials
- GSR *-iat, *-ian = OCM *-et, *-en
- GSR *-at, *-od, *-on = OCM *-ot, *-ot, *-on, also after gutturals *Kwai etc.
- GSR *-uot, *-uod, *-uon = OCM *-ut, *-ot, *-on, after gutturals also *Kwai etc.; not after labials
- GSR *-or = OCM *-oi or *-i
- GSR *-uor = OCM *-oi; rarely after gutturals also *Kwai; not after labials
- GSR *-et, *-en = OCM *-et, *-en
- GSR *-âp, *-âm = OCM *-ap, *-am
- GSR *-iap, *-iam = OCM *-ep, *-em
- GSR *-op, *-om = OCM *-ep or *-em
- GSR *-iap, *-iam = OCM *-ep, *-em

### 12.1.3 Chinese dialects (= Sinitic languages)

Forms from modern Chinese dialects, or “Sinitic languages,” are occasionally provided to illustrate later developments of a word; they are cited following their sources. Dialect forms are referred to by their location (town, village, county); they are here prefixed with a letter that indicates the major group to which a dialect belongs: G = Gân 貴 (including the cities Nánchāng 南昌; K = Kējiâ 客家(Hakka, incl. Měixiān 梅縣); M = Min 米 (incl. Xiàmén 夏門 = Amoy, Fūzhōu 福州; Mand. = Mandarin; W = Wú 與 (incl. Shānghǎi 上海, Sīzhōu 西州); X = Xiāng 湘 (incl. Chāngshā 長沙); Y = Yúè 粵 (Cantonese, incl. Canton = Guǎngzhōu 廣州). Min dialects are of particular interest because of forms which are not the analogues of the QYS of MC. Min dialects apparently split off from the rest of the language, starting with the Qin and Han dynasties (second, even third centuries BC). PMín = Proto-Mín = CMín = Common Mín are Norman’s earlier reconstructions, sometimes with slight amendments, notably: Norman’s “softened initials” are marked with a breve, thus ĝ or ď; his voiceless
12.3 Transcriptions

PTB *s- and *z- have become t- in Lushai and related languages, also as s-prefixes: Udhrul thārik ‘plesant’ < s-rāk, Mikir the-rāk ‘shy’ < s-rāk, hence Lushai *tāla ‘moon’ < s-lā or kāla. In some words, Lushai has apparently unspirated t for PTB *z-, occasionally also for *s-.

Weidert (1987: 286) cites Lushai (L.) tu’i ‘to plant’ for Tamang su’. Also:

L. tejë/ teetë ‘to be small’: ST ‘zì: sì: [sìjë] [siçë] (or sekë)’, *sìh or *sèh ‘thin, small’:

PTB *ziy > West Tib. zi ‘very small’; WB seb ‘small, fine’; Kachin zi ‘small’.

L. teelë < tees ‘myself, thyself’; ST ‘sì: *zì: [sìjë] [siçë] [sìp] *si ‘private, egotistic’

L. tu: ‘who’? PTB *su: ‘WT su’ ‘who’

L. tu: ‘grandchild’; ST *su? PTB *su(w) ‘grandchild’

L. tuukë ‘early morning’: sà [sikut] suk ‘early morning’; PLB *C-sok ~ *V sok ‘morning, morrow’

L. tinë ‘nail, claw’: WT sen-mo ‘finger- or toe-nail’

In a few common words, PTB *i corresponds to ST (when preceded by a prefix? See also HPTB: 523). ST jinget ‘to shoot’ (< sm-heitek) ~ WT bgiya ‘to b-jata’;

L. tu: ‘who’? PTB *su: ‘WT su’ ‘who’

L. tu: ‘grandchild’; ST *su? PTB *su(w) ‘grandchild’

L. tuukë ‘early morning’: sà [sikut] suk ‘early morning’; PLB *C-sok ~ *V sok ‘morning, morrow’

L. tinë ‘nail, claw’: WT sen-mo ‘finger- or toe-nail’

In a few common words, PTB *i corresponds to ST (when preceded by a prefix? See also HPTB: 523). ST jinget ‘to shoot’ (< sm-heitek) ~ WT bgiya ‘to b-jata’;

L. tu: ‘who’? PTB *su: ‘WT su’ ‘who’

L. tu: ‘grandchild’; ST *su? PTB *su(w) ‘grandchild’

L. tuukë ‘early morning’: sà [sikut] suk ‘early morning’; PLB *C-sok ~ *V sok ‘morning, morrow’

L. tinë ‘nail, claw’: WT sen-mo ‘finger- or toe-nail’

Reconstructed Lushai final *ʔ shows some correlation with Chepang and OC final *ʔ (MC tone B); Lushai +h correlates with *s- (Ostirapat LTBA 21:1, 1998); ambiguous finals (short vowels ending in *ʔ low tone) are symbolized by *-h (Lushai form first, after the graph is the LHan Chinese form):

aih < aiʔ ‘crab’; PTB *d-kay < xié ‘crab’

tuh < tu:t ‘water’ <> tì: Pii’ei/h ‘tears’

hla: < hlaʔ ‘to fly, to skin, split’, Chep klyh-sa <> chi, chi ʔi:oi /i:oi/, òi: ‘to separate’

bair < bai ‘walk lame’ <> bò: Pii:poÁ ‘walk lame’

inh:hnah <hnai: ‘near’ <> ʔi: híeÁ

pa: < paa ‘father’ <> fu: Pii:buoÁ


hrui: < hrui ‘a creeper, canoe, rope, cord, string’ <> lì: Pii: ‘creepers, liana’

kha:rh < ka:rh ‘to buy in large quantities’ <> gú: Pii: ‘to sell, buy’


peel < perʔ < per ‘flat and wide’, PTB *per <> biǎn penbÁ ‘flat and thin’

be: ‘to cause to or make wear, put on (garment, load, plaster...’ <> bêi bai: /bii’ ‘to cover, incl. putting on clothes’

kalh: < ka:lh ‘to wrench, plait, lock’ <> jîn: giongÁ ‘door bar, bolt’
12.4 - 12.6 TRANSCRIPTIONS

k'el < kheel? 'eat the outside of a thing, gnaw off' <> kên 燴[khôn] ‘gnaw’
sîl < sill? ‘wash’ <> xî 洗洒[seî] ‘wash’

However, in many cognate sets the finals *?- and *-h/s (LHAn -ß and -ê) do not agree:
pîh < pîi ‘grandmother’ <> bî 培[pi] ‘deceased mother, ancestress’ (here a CH addition)
ri? < riH ‘this’ <> ri 伊 ‘this’
hrî < hrii? ‘evil spirit that causes sickness’ <> chi 魚鱉[ti] ‘mountain demon’

Lushai, like Tani and some other languages, has occasionally initial i- for PTB *i-:

KN *rit > Lushai ritb/-ritb/- < rit / riH ‘be heavy’ <> PTB *s-lay ‘heavy’ > WT 侮-ba < hly; Kanauri li-ko ‘heavy’. Lepcha li, lim, PL *cilj2 > WB leB

riq <> PTB *liq ‘field’, but Kanauri also riq

Lushai has borrowed many words from MK languages, e.g., Lushai ghōl-’tusk’; note PVM *ŋa, also in CH > yā, 丫.

12.4 Mikir

Mikir final consonants, including -y (-śl), -ś, can occur with any of the five vowels a, e, i, o, u; there is no -iy; in open syllables, TB final -a has shifted to -o. Before final -m, TB a has shifted to e ~ i (STC70).

Although it appears that any final consonant can follow any vowel, the distribution is uneven: -C and -C are not as common as -C and -C. Words inherited from TB have merged -C with -C and -C with -C, with only few exceptions.

TB initial s shows up as Mikir s- or th- (as in Lushai), perhaps also as cz(h)-.

Mikir has three tones (Grünewäder's tone accents): a high tone, here rendered symbolically as xh; a level, here x; a low, here xh.

12.5 Tai

Tai languages are cited per Li Fang Kuei's publications, Siamese occasionally according to McFarland. Tai tones are marked A1 (voiceless initial), A2 (voiced initial), and so on: B, C, D. Note that in loans Tai tone B corresponds to Chinese tone C and vice versa.

In some words, Tai has initial or medial / for OC initial or medial r; see §7.3. Occasionally, Tai has two forms with different vowels where Chinese has only one form:

S. k¹laí < giL – ‘to untwist, unroll, disentangle’ <> k²li3 < gli ‘to unfold, unfurl’

PTai *g-r.: S. k¹eep2D < gi - ‘narrow’ <> k²aap < gi - ‘narrow’

S. kook < gork ‘pen, enclosure’ <> k°ok < g- ‘prison’

Some Tai (Siamese) syllables are indicative of a foreign origin of a word (Gedney CAAL 6, 1976: 65 ff). Siamese vowels inherited from PTai are CēC, CēC, CēC, CēC from *e, *o and *ee, *oo respectively. Innovative vowels are CēC, CēC, and CēC. Final ʔ found in some Tai words is not historical, thus S. tsh²2 ‘rabbit’ must be a CH loan.

12.6 Tibeto-Burman (TB)

See Matisoff Handbook of Proto-Tibeto-Burman and STC for details. Final consonants are: k, p, t, n, m, n, s, r, l, (y, w).

12.7 Tiddim Chin

Tiddim Chin is a Kuki-Chin language that is close to Lushai. Tones are as follows:

low rising = 1 = R
level = 2 = M
high falling = 3 = F
low (falling) = 3 (4) = L (only in checked short syllables)

12.8 Written Burmese (WB)

WB follows the conventions used in the publications of Benedict and Matisoff. Affricates are rendered as c, cs; however, here tones are marked by letters: A unmarked, B for breathy tone (a = aB), C for creaky tone (a = aC).

The distribution of finals in WB is not symmetrical:

a wa o u ui wai i e we
ak wak ok uik ac
an waj oj uij an
at wat ut it
an wan un in
ap wap up ip
am wam um im

12.9 Written Tibetan (WT)

The transcription is self-explanatory, except the coronals are ts, tsʰ, dz, s, n, and č, čʰ, j, r, š, ž where the diacritics are added to avoid confusion with other transcriptions in which c may stand for ts; *a-čʰap is written with an apostrophe (§4.6; Coblin 2002), ʔa-čʰen (glottal stop) with the IPA symbol ? The vowels are a, e, i, o, u; there are no diphthongs.

Consonants: k, kʰ, g, n, ?, 'x ('a-čhung)
č, čʰ, j, ř, š, ž
t, tʰ, d, n
ts, tsʰ, dz, s, z
P, pʰ, b, m
r, l, y (w rare, secondary?)
12.9 TRANSCRIPTIONS

Some WT peculiarities:
(1) Voiced Pre-Tibetan l and r develop an epenthetic d after 'a-čʰurj, n-lag > Idag, n-ro > 'dro (Li Fang Kuei 1959).

Voiceless TB or Pre-Tibetan l and r develop an epenthetic t: Iturug pf. of Iturug < n-Iturug; Itam 'speech' => Mikir lam.

The medial palatal glide y becomes devoiced when preceded by a voiceless consonant: Icke 'tongue' < Iłce < ıłhče < ıłe < ıłe. The letter / sound combination cfi and cici does not exist in WT; the affricates are instead de-palatalized, thus rtsh 'rhip < rhip < rhip 'ribs'.

(2) Initial y- derives sometimes from vocalic ingress, also after loss of *w-, note the doublets *og < yog 'belove', *og < yog 'to come' < way; Chepang way? - huy 'blood', Magari hyu < hwi, Varu ṿi in WT yi in yi(d)-dam 'oath' yid 'soul, mind' (STC no. 222).

Accordingly, WT yur-ma 'the act of weeding' is cognate to yám 羋 (jwun) [wun] *wom 'to weed' < ST *wur. In light of these equations, it is possible to connect yóu 街 *ins 'have' < WT yod-ya 'be', have' < ST *wsi; yu 不 *wóh 'right' (side) < WT g-yas 'id.' < wós; yóu 友 *wó 'friend, companion' < WT ya 'associate, companion, assistant' < ST *wó; yóu 尤 *wó 'quilt, fault, blame' < WT yas 'blame, charge' < ST *wó; guáng 㱚 *wó 'broad, wide', Lushai vaan < vaan? 'be large, extensive' < WT yan 'wide, broad, large' < ST *C-waan.

(3) Some WT words have the vowel o where all other WT languages consistently have a or its equivalent, from both ST a and o (§11.1.1). STC reconstructs in such words PTB *a, others as an earlier *wa. Here we treat this provisionally as a WT innovation: lo 'year' < *lop (PTB *lap 'leaves, foliage'), tsom 'hair' < PTB *tsam.

(4) TB and ST final -op lose the final consonant, thus resulting in an open syllable in WT, e.g., lo 'year', lo-ma 'leaf' = West Tib. lob-ma < *lop (PTB *lap 'leaves, foliage'); gło-ba 'side' < *glo (cf. TB words of similar shape for 'lungs'), jo-ba 'to milk' < PTB *dzop 'to suck, to milk'. Words which belong to a verbal paradigm keep the final -b: slob-pa, sblas 'to learn'.

(5) WT has a few words with initial dr- (without the usual prefix) where other TB languages have kr- (gr-); it seems that in these words WT dr- itself is historically a prefix: WT dr- in drug 'six', dru-ma 'dirt, filth, excrement', drum 'to long, desire', drel 'mule', dro 'warm', dom 'bear', and perhaps d- in du-ba 'smoke' (*C-wu ?); compare WB kʰro 'six', kʰrup 'five', kʰrup 'five', kʰrup 'pine away', and the widely encountered form ku (k'u, etc.) for 'smoke'.

In addition, WT dr- probably reflects earlier *dr-: WT dren-ba, draṅs(s) 'to draw, draw, pull, draw tight (a rope)', PLB *ran 'draw, pull, drag'; cognates might be JP kren\⁽³⁾ 'to tighten (a rope)', WB kraṅ 'tense, tight'.

(6) WT occasionally has initial r- for other languages' initial l-; see, for example, → zhā 齒 (djwo) 'tooth', → zhā 齒 (djwo) 'tooth', e.g: 'pomegranate' (under ye 葉).

(7) Earlier medial -w- is lost in WT (see also §10.2):

| Dog | WT kʰyi < *kʰi < PTB *kwi = quǎn 犬 |
| To rest | WT gal-ba < ST *nwal → wó 睡 ([gwo]?) *ŋóh or *ŋáh |
| To rest | WT rnal-ba < ST *nwal < turb-sui [su] *sunu |
| Tense | WT nar-mo < ST *nwar ('tensed?') : 'oblong' |

APPENDIX A

LANGUAGES AND LANGUAGE FAMILIES

IN EAST ASIA

Since prehistoric times, Chinese has interacted with the ancestors of TB, MY, KT, and AA languages. There has also been (indirect?) contact with AN, IE, and others. Therefore, languages from several languages will be cited throughout this dictionary. The TB languages are usually the best documented and most extensively researched ones.

(A) Sino-Tibetan (ST)

Together with the Tibet-Burman (TB) branch, Chinese forms the Sino-Tibetan language family, with which it shares its oldest stratum of lexical items and morphology.

(1) Chinese

The Chinese (or Sinic) branch has today evolved into seven major "dialect" groups, actually "Sinic languages," which began to diverge during the Han period (ca. 206 BC and after), but most dialects can be traced back to the more recent Tang Dynasty (ca. 600–900) (Norman 1988: ch. 8–9).

Proto-Chinese (PCH), i.e., pre-literate Chinese >
> Old Chinese (OC) from the beginning of writing during the late Shang dynasty about 1250 BC down to the Han period (206 BC–AD 220); OC is sometimes subdivided into Early Zhou Chinese (EZC), Early Archaic Chinese, Late Archaic Chinese.

OC >
> Old Southern dialect > oldest stratum of modern southern dialects (all south of the Yangtze River), represented especially in Min 萬 (in Fújìan 福建 incl. Amoy = Xiàmén 夏門, Fúzhōu 福州, Cháoxiáo 惠州, Cháoyáng 潮陽, Jiān’ōu 建樅, Jiānyáng 建陽), but has also left traces in Wú (incl. Shānghái 上海, Wénzhōu 温州, Sūzhōu 苏州); Gǎn 晋 (incl. Nánchāng 南昌); Xiāng 湘 (incl. Chángshā 長沙); Kējiā 客家 (= Hakka, incl. Miēxiàn 梅縣); Yùè 粵 (“Cantonese”) in Guǎngdōng 廣東 and Guǎngxī 廣西, incl. Guǎngzhōu 廣州, Táishān 台山, Zhōngshān 中山).

> Middle Chinese (MC, QYS) (“ancient Chinese,” ca. AD 600)
> MC > northern dial. > modern Mandarin dialects;
> southern dialects: Wú, Gǎn, Xiāng, Kējiā (Hakka), Yùè; Min (especially literary layer)

(2) Tibet-Burman (TB)

The classification of some TB languages is still a matter of debate. The following selective list is based on Shafer (IST), Benedict (STC), Matossi, ed. 1995: 183f; Burling 2003: 169ff, as well as various specialized studies. Scholars combine the following branches, subgroups, and isolates in different ways. The languages below are only those frequently mentioned in the dictionary.

> Tibetan: Old Tibetan, Written Tibetan (WT) > Tib. dialects (in Tibet, SE China, Himalayas): Amdo (NE), Kham (E), Central Tibetan (Lhasa, Ngari); Western Tibetan dialects (WTb): Balti, Purik, Ladak (Lh), Zangskar; Dzonkha (Bhutan), Sherpa (Nepal).
APPENDIX A: LANGUAGES IN EAST ASIA

> West Himalayish: Kanauri (Kanauri in NW India), incl. Almora, Bunun, Chitkuli, Lahuli, Thebor, Manchati, Spilo
> Ts(h)angla-Takpa: Cuona Monpa (or Takpa), Motuo Monpa (Tsangla, Cangluo) (NE India, China)
> Tamang-Gurung-Thakali-Manangba (TGTM, in Nepal)
> Bahang-Vayu (= Kiranti, in Nepal): Vayu (Hayu), Bahing, Limbu
> Chepang (Nepal)
> Bodo-Garo (BG, Baric) (NE India)
> Northern Naga = Konyak (NE India)
> Jingpo (JP – Kachin, in SW China, N Burma, Assam)
> Kuki-Chin (KC, in NW India, SE Asia): Lushai (Lush., Mizo), Lai, Lakher, Old Kuki lgs., Khami, Pangkua, Tiddim Chin, Siyin; Thado, Anal, Rankhol (= Mishmi) (NE India, Burma)
> Naga: Ao, Angami, Zeme, Tangkhul (= Mishmi) (NE India)
> Mikir (= Mishmi) (NE India)
> Lepcha (= Rong) (Sikkim)
> Limbu (Nepal)
> Meitei (Manipuri) (= Mishmi) (NE India)
> Tani (Abor-Miri-Dafla) (= Mishmi) (NE India), also Adi
> Idu-Digaru / Tarao-Miju / Kaman (= Mishmi) (NE India)
> Dulong (= Trung), Rawang; Nung
> Lolo-Burmese (LB, in SE China, NW Laos, N Thailand, N Burma), Written Burmese (WB, in Burma), Atsi (Zaiwa), Achang (Yunnan, Burma); Lolo lgs. (= Yi, in SW China, SE Asia), incl. Lahu, Lisu, Akha
> Other: Mru; Tangut; Qiang (SE China); Gyarong (= rGyal-rung, JR) (SE China)
> Karen (in Burma)

(B) Kadai languages
See Edmondson 1988, including proposals for classification (p. 180).

Kadai
> Kam-Tai (KT)
> Kam, Sui, Mak, Saeck (in S and SE China)
> Tai lgs. (in SE China, SE Asia, Assam): Siamese (S., in Thailand) [Li Fangkuei]
> Proto-Kra (Ostapirat): Gelao, Lachi, Laha (Laqua), Paha, Pubiao, Buyang
> Other: Li (Hlai), Be (on Hainan)

(C) Miao-Yao (MY = Hmong-Mien)
> Miao (= Hmong, in S and SE China, SE Asia)
> Yao (= Mien, in S and SE China, SE Asia)

(D) Austroasiatic (AA) languages are today distributed from central India to Vietnam and even SW China. They must have extended all the way to SE China in prehistoric and early historic times because the word ‘Jiâng’ in ‘Yangtze River’ is the AA word for ‘river’. For description and classification, see Diffloth 1974.

Austroasiatic [Pinnow]
> (1) Munõ family: incl. Santhâlî, Khârjâ, Sora (mostly in E India)

> (2) Mon-Khmer (MK) family:
> Khasian branch: Khasi (NE India)
> Palaunic branch, incl. Palaung, Wa (Burma and across the border in China)
> Khmuic branch, incl. Khmu (Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia)
> Pakanic branch (S China)
> Vietic branch, incl. Viet-Muong, Vietnamese, Muong
> Kautic branch (Vietnam, Laos)
> Bahnaric branch (Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia)
> Pearable branch (Thailand, Cambodia)
> Khmeric branch, incl. Khmer (Cambodia), Old Khmer
> Monic branch, incl. Mon, Old Mon, Nyah Kur (Burma, Thailand)
> Aslian branch (Thailand, but mostly the Malay peninsula); incl. Semai, Jah Hut
> Nicobrese branch (Nicobar Islands, India)

Other language families with little contact with Chinese:
Austronesian (AN)
Altaic, incl. Mongolian, Turkic, Manchu
Indo-European (IE), especially Tokharian A and B (in China: Sinkiang Province), Indo-Iranian
APPENDIX B

ALPHABETIC LIST OF FREQUENTLY CITED LANGUAGES

Following a language, the author of publication(s) which served as a source for lexical and other material is indicated. Alternatively, sources are cited under the dictionary entries. Major sources are: STC, HPTB, IST, HST; for Chinese dialects, they are publications by Běijīng Dàxué and professional journals, especially Fāngyǔn.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AA</td>
<td>= Austroasiatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adi (Abor-Miri-Dafla, Tani)</td>
<td>/ TB—J. Sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahom / Tai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-li = Ngari</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almora / Western Himalaya / TB—Sharma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amdo / Tibetan / TB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amoy = Xiàmén</td>
<td>Min / Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN = Austronesian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angami / KN / TB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian / MK / AA = G. Benjamin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austroasiatic (AA) = Pinnow 1959</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austronesian (AN) = Dempwolff 1938; Sagart 1993</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahing / Bāhing-Vayu (BV) / TB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahnak / MK / AA = K. D. Smith</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balti / Tibetan / TB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barish = Bodo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bawn / KN / TB—Löffler 1985</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be / Kadia—Hansell 1988</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BG = Bodo-Garo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bo’ai (Boai, Po’ai) / Tai—Li F.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bodo-Garo (BG), Proto-Bodo, Proto-Koch / TB—Burling 1959</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bumthang / Tibetan / TB—Michailovski</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bunau / Kanauri / TB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burmese, Written Burmese (WB) / TB—Benedict 1940</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BV = Bāhing-Vayu / TB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantonese = Yüé</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chángshā 長沙 / Xiāng 湘 / Chinese</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cháoyáng 潮陽 / Mín / Chinese</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cháozhōu 潮州 / Mín / Chinese</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chepang / BV / TB—Caughley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese / ST</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chitkulii / Kanauri / TB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chrau / MK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fűzhōu 福州 / Mín / Chinese</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gān 當 / Chinese</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garo / Bodo-Garo / TB—Burling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloskad / Tibetan / TB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Guǎngzhōu 廣州 = Cantonese / Yüé / Chinese
Gurung / TGMT / TB—Mazaudon
Gyarung = Jiarong (rGyarung = JR)
Hakk = Kējiá 客家 / Chinese
Hliai / Li / Kadai—Matisoff 1988; Thurgood 1991
Hmong-Mien = Miao-Yao
Indo-European (IE) = Pokorny 1959; Buck 1949
Indonesian / AN
Jah Hut / MK / Asian / AA
Jiarong (rGyarung = JR) / TB
Jingpo (JP) / TB—Xū Xiān jān et al. 1983; Dai
Qīngsia and Xū Xiān jān 1992
JP = Jingpo
Jin = Jiarong
Kāchān = Jingpo
Kadai (KD)
Kam-Sui / KS / Kadia—Edmondson and Yang 1988; Thurgood 1988
Kamarupan / TB languages of Assam
Kanauri / TB—Sharma 1989—1992
Karen / TB—STC, Burling; Solnit
KD = Kadai
Kējiá 客家 = Hakka / Chinese
Khāmi lgs. / KN / TB—Löffler 1960
Kham / Tibetan / TB
Kharia / Munda / AA = Pinnow 1959
Khari / MK / AA
Khmer / MK / AA = Jenner and Pou; Jacob
Khmū / MK / AA
Khum lgs. / KN / TB—Löffler 1960
KN = Kuki-Chin-Naga / TB
KS = Kām-Sui / Kam-Taí / Kadai
KT = Kām-Taí / Kadai
Kūk-Chin / KN / TB—Ono Toru 1965;
Shafer 1952 (see Old Kuki = OKuki)
Ladakh / Tibetan / TB
Lahul / Kanauri / TB

Lakher / KN / TB—R. A. Lorrain 1949
LB = Lolo-Burmese
Leh / Ladakh / Tibetan / TB
Lepcha / TB—Mainwaring 1898
Limbu / Bāhing-Vayu / TB—Michailovski
Lolo-Burmese (LB) / TB—Matisoff 1972;
Bradley 1979
Longzhou / Tai—Li Fang Kuei
Lushai / KN / TB—J. H. Lorrain 1940;
Hillard 1975; Solnit 1978; Weidert
Malay / AN
Mananbha / TGMT / TB—Mazaudon
Manchati / Kanauri / TB
Mandarin (Mand.) / Chinese
Mèxiǎn 彎彎 / Kējiá / Chinese
Miao-Yao (MY = Hmông-Mian)—Purnell
1970; LTBA 10:2 (1987); Wang Fushi (WFS) 1995
Middle Chinese (MC = Qieyun system
QYY) = Karlgren; Li Fang-kuei
Mien = Yao / MY
Mikir / TB—Grüßner 1978
Mín / Mín / Chinese
MK = Mon-Khmer / AA
Mon / KN / TB—Shorto 1971; Diffloth 1984
Mon-Khmer (MK) / AA
Monpa / TB—Sun Hongkai 1980
Mr / Löffler 1966
Munda / AA
Muong / Viet-Muông / MK
Naga / KN / TB—Shafer 1950, 1953
Nâlchăng 柔昌 / Gān 當 / Chinese
Ngari = Mńska-rís, A-li / Tibetan / TB
Nocie / NNaga / TB
Northern Naga / TB—French
Nung / TB
Nyah Kur / MK / Monic / AA—Diffloth 1984
Old Chinese (OC) = Karlgren 1957; Baxter
1992; Schuessler 1987; Unger 1989
Old Kuki (OKkū) / KN / TB—Shafer 1952
Old Tibetan (OTib.) / TB—Li and Coblin
1987
Paang(ka)u / KN / TB—Löffler 1985
Palaung / MK / AA—Diffloth
Pearl, Pearic / MK / AA—Headley 1977, 1978
Proto-Kra / Kada—Ostapirat 2000
Proto-Min / Chinese—Norman
Proto-Monic / MK / AA—Diffloth 1984
Purik / Tibetan / TB
Rawang / Nungish / TB
Rgyarung = Jiarong (rGyarung = JR)
S. = Siamese
Semai / Asian / MK / AA
Sherpa / Tibetan / TB
Siamese / Tai / KT
Sino-Tibetan (ST) = Benedict 1972; Bodman
1980; Colomb 1986; LaPolla 1994; Peiros
and Starostin 1996; R. Shafer 1978
Sino-Vietnamese
Sjyin Chin / KC / TB—Sterne
Spilo Kanauri / Kanauri / TB—Bodman
ST = Sino-Tibetan
Stüng / MK
SV = Sino-Vietnamese
Tai / Kam-Tai—Li Fang-kuei 1967, 1977;
Manomaivibool 1975
Tāīshān 台山 / Yue / Chinese
Tamang-Gurung-Thakali-Mangnagba (TGMT) / TB—Mazaudon
Tani (= Abor-Miri-Dafla) / TB—J. Sun
Tankhul / KN / TB
TB = Tibet-Burman
TGMT = Tamang-Gurung-Thakali-Mangnagba
Thakali / TGMT / TB—Mazaudon
Tibetan, Written Tibetan (WT) / TB—Jaeschke; Beyer 1992
Tibetan-Burman (TB)—STC, HPTB, IST, HST; Huang Fu'an 1992; Anon.,
Zāng-Miaṅ…1991
Tiddim Chin / KN / TB—Ostapirat 1998;
Henderson
Vayu = Haya / Bāhing-Vayu (BV) / TB
Thompson 1976
Wa / MK / AA—Diffloth 1980
WB = Written Burmese / LB / TB
Wēnzhōu (Wenzh) 武義 / Wu / Chinese
WT = Written Tibetan / TB
Wu 興 / Chinese
Wuming / Tai—Li Fang Kuei
Xiāmén 夏門 = Amoy / Mín / Chinese
Xiāng 湘 / Chinese
Yuē 粵 / Chinese
Zangska / Tibetan / TB
Zāngzhùng / Himalayish / TB
Zhōngshān 中山 / Yuē and Kējiá / Chinese
APPENDIX C

TEXT SOURCES FOR Earliest Occurrences

The text source of a word's earliest occurrence is taken from GSR, although on occasion this needed revision, as suggested by Pan Wuyun 1997. This abbreviated reference to a text is found in brackets. The list below indicates the period from which a text comes, but most texts are of a heterogeneous nature and stem from different periods; therefore the periods provided are only a rough approximation. More information on many of the Han and pre-Han texts can be found in Michael Loewe, ed., *Early Chinese Texts, a Bibliographical Guide*, 1993.

Periods:

- **Shang** - 1050 BC
- **Western Zhou** 1050–770 BC
- **Chungqiu** 772–481 BC
- **Zhanqiu** 481 or 403–221 BC
- **Qin** 221–206 BC
- **Han** 206 BC–AD 220
- **Former Han** 206 BC–AD 8
- **Later Han** AD 25–220

**[Bl]** bronze inscriptions (金文) of the Western Zhou period (ca. 1050–770 BC)

**[Chu]** Chuci 楚辞 (Former Han)

**[Chun(qui)]** Chungqiu春秋 (Qunqiu)

**[Duan]** Du an Yucai 段玉裁 (1735–1815), commentator of the SW

**[EY]** Er や 靖雅 (Han) — commentator Guo Pu

**[FY]** Fangyan 方言 by Yang Xiong 揚雄 (Han 53 BC–AD 18) — commentator Guo Pu

**[Gongsbang]** 公羊傳 (Zhangguo)

**[Zhang]** Guanzi 管子 (Zhangguo)

**[Zhan]** Guliang 桓梁傳 (Han)

**[Zhan]** see Zhangguo (ce) (Zhangguo)

**[Zhan]** Guoyu 国語 (Zhangguo)

**[GY]** Guanyun 廣韻 (rime dictionary, ed. Chen Pengnian)

**[Han]** Hanyuji 韓非子 (Han)

**[Zhang]** Hanshu 汉書

**[Zhang]** Hou Hanshu 后汉书

**[Hu]** Huainan 淮南子 (Han)

**[JDSW]** Jingshui 經典釋文 by Lü Démíng 陸德明 (556–627)

**[YJ]** Jiyou 集異 (rime dictionary by Ding Du 900–1053)

**[Lao]** Laozzi 老子, Daojing 道德經 (Zhangguo)

**[Li]** Liji 礼記 (Han) — commentator Zhong Xuan

**[Lie]** Liezi 列子 (Han)

**[Lun(yu)]** Lunyu 讀語 (Zhangguo) — commentator Zhong Xuan

**[Liu]** Lushi chuinqu 呂氏春秋 (Qin–Han)

**[Meng]** Mengzi 孟子 (Zhangguo)

**[Mof]** Mof 碑 (Zhangguo)

**[Mu]** Muta 禹子 (ca. 350 BC)

**[OB]** oracle bone inscriptions (jiagui 矛骨文) of the Shang period (ca. 1250–1050 BC)

**APPENDIX C: TEXT SOURCES**

- **[QY]** Qiyuan 切韻 (AD 601) by Lü Fayan (rime dictionary)
- **[Shanhai]** Shanhaijing 山海經 (Han) — commentator Guo Pu
- **[Shi]** Shi Jing 詩經 (ca. 1050–600 BC) — commentator Zhong Xuan
  Guofeng: the latest section
- **[Shiji]** Xiya: from Western Zhou court
- **[Shiji]** Da ya: early Zhou, Western Zhou
- **[SM]** Zhhou: Western Zhou
- **[SW]** Lü song: rather late, 7th cent. BC
- **[Yi]** Shuang song: rather late, 7th cent. BC
- **[Yi]** Sima Qian 司馬遷, Shi Ji 史記
- **[Shiming]** Shimi 釋名 (Eastern Han, ca. AD 200)
- **[Shu]** Shiji 釋經, Shangshi shu (Western Zhou, Zhangguo, Qin) —
  commentator Zhong Xuan
- **[SW]** Shuwu jiezi 說文解字, completed AD 100, presented AD 121 (Xushen
  許慎, ca. 55–ca. 149) — commentator Duann Yucai
- **[Xun]** Xunzi 荀子 (Zhangguo)
- **[Yi]** Yi Jing 易經 (Western Zhou and later additions and commentaries) —
  commentator Zhong Xuan
- **[YJ]** Yunjing 餞鏡 (Song period rime table)
- **[Yi]** Yi Shi (Zhangguo, Han) — commentator Zhong Xuan
- **[Zhou]** Yi Zhushu 逸周書 (Western Zhou and later)
- **[Yu]** Yu Shi (Han) — commentator Zhong Xuan
- **[Zhuang]** Zhongzi left (Zhangguo, Former Han)
- **[Zhuang]** Zhaoguo (Zhangguo, Former Han)

**COMMENTATORS:**

Duann Yucai 段玉裁 (1735–1815), commentator for SW
Guo Pu 郭璞 (276–342), commentator for FY, EY, Shanhaijing
Lü Démíng 陸德明 (556–627) Jingshui 經典釋文
Zhong Xuan 鄭玄 (Eastern / Later Han 127–200), commentator for Zhouli, Yi, Li, Shi Jing, Shi Jing, Liju
REFERENCES

Note: This bibliographical list does not include items, usually periodical articles, which are mentioned only once or a few times; full references are provided where they are cited, but for the sake of brevity, without the title. They can still be traced with the other information. This list includes only works cited, not those that also have been consulted.


In Jenner et al., 69–123. 


REFERENCES

Buck, Carl Darling. 1949. A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages Chicago.


Dîng Fûbâo 丁福保. Shuòwén jìzǐ gūlín 讀文解字詁林.
REFERENCES


——. 1968. The local cultures of South and East China. Leiden.


Hanson, O. 1906. A Dictionary of the Kachin Language. Rangoon.


Huffman, Franklin E. 1975. “An examination of lexical correspondences between Vietnamese and some Austroasiatic languages.” ICSTLL.


REFERENCES


REFERENCES


Xu Shèn 許慎, ed. 149. *Shuowén jìzì 詩文解字* (SW); see Díng Fubóu. Xú Xījiān 徐世贄 et al., eds. 1983. *Jìnping gāi guī jìnyùn 景漢韻, 素南*. Yúnmín.


ā 阿 (ʔä) ONW ʔa
A vernacular prefix added to kinship terms, personal names and personal pronouns, e.g. Mand. ā-mu 阿母 ‘mother’ [Han texts], ā-nū 阿奴 ‘younger brother’, ā-shui 阿谁 ‘who’, ā-ní 阿你 ‘you’ (Norman 1988: 113); Yuē-Guāngzhōu a33-ma55 (ʔa33-ma4)阿姆 ‘mother, mama’, a33-ma21 (ʔa33-ma4)阿姆 ‘grandmother’.

~ yú (ʔjwo) LH ʔa, OCM *ʔa
Occurs already in Zrubzhur enixed to the Ch dialect word for *hū, *tiger’. Unger (Hao-ku 33, 1986) suggests that certain words with MC initial ʔ- might be the result of a fusion of this prefix with the following stem (§5.11).

[E] ST: PTB *ʔa- is a prefix for kinship terms, body parts or nouns in general, depending on the language (STC: 121–123), e.g., WB o-t‘ay ‘thought’ < t‘ay ‘think’, o-p‘ui ‘grandfather’; WT ʔa-ku ‘uncle, husband’.

ā-nu 阿奴 (ʔa-nuo) ONW ʔa-no

[E] For phonological and semantic reasons, this word is prob. not related to rä 瑣 *no ‘child’ (under → rä, 乳 ‘weak’), nor to → rä, 乳 ‘milk’. It may be connected to PTB *naw (STC no. 271); Lushai nau ʔ < nau ‘child, younger brother or sister, younger cousin’, etc., JP k selects *nau ʔ1 ‘younger brother / sister’, WT nu-łu ‘man’s younger brother’. The putative OC final *-a cannot be reconciled with PTB *-aw, though; perh. the CH word has been re-etymologized, or only committed to writing after *a > MC o.

āi 娃 (ʔäi) LH ʔoi, OCM *ʔi, OCB *ʔaj
‘To pity’ [Shi] is prob. a sound-symbolic word.

ài 艾 → ʔa 遭關

āi艾 (ʔäiC) LH ʔas, OCM *ŋä(t)is
‘White-haired, old’ [Shi], possibly related to TB items under → yuē, 月 ‘moon’, but the vowels do not agree.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ʔaj (ʔ); MGZY ʔay (ʔ) [ŋaj]

āi2 愛 (ʔäiC) LH ʔats, OCM *ʔats, OCB *ʔats — [D] PMin *ʔaiC
‘To love, to grudge’ [Shi] > Mand. ‘to like, be fond of’.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ʔaj (ʔ); MGZY ʔay (ʔ) [ŋaj]; ONW ʔaiC


āi3 優 (ʔäiC) LH ʔats, OCM *ʔats, OCB *ʔats
‘To lose one’s breath’ [Shi] is a sound-symbolic word (§2.9).

āi4 娩 → ʔa 竄

āi4 娩 (ʔäiC) LH ʔaC, OCM *ŋäkh
‘Obstruct, hinder’ [Lie].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ʔaj (ʔ); MGZY ʔay (ʔ) [ŋaj]; ONW ʔaiC

[E] ST: WT *gag(4)-pa, bkaq, dgaq ‘to hinder, prohibit, shut’ ≠ ‘gag’ obstruction, stoppage’ (Bodman 1980: 72); PLB *gak ‘obstruct, block up’. TB voiced stops do
ān

安 (tān) LH ʔən, OCM *tān, OCB *ʔən
'Be calm, peaceful, still, steady, take one's leisure' [BI, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukhru SR ʔən (p); PR ʔən; LR ʔən; MGZY ʔən (p) [ʔən]; ONW ʔən.

èn 暗 (tān) LH ʔən, OCM *tān
'To push down with the hand' [SW], 'to stop, repress' [Shi], 'lay hand on, seize' [Xun]; 'stool, tray' [Zhou].

[<] exoactive of ān (§4.3), lit. 'cause to be settled, calmed'.

[C] Boltz (1994: 95f) includes additional words which are written with this phonetic (GSR 146), such as – ān 鞭. A parallel stem (§2.5) is → yān 宴 (Wáng Li 1982: 543). – yān 餐 is prob. a different etymon.

ān2 安 interrogative particle – wù 独

ān3 鞭 (tān) LH ʔən, OCM *tān
'Saddle' [Guanzj] is cognate to ān 安 acc. to Boltz (1994: 95f), lit. 'seat'. Following the Shiming, Pulleyblank has suggested a connection with 𤦔 鞭 (7at) 'bridge of the nose' [Meng] (Boltz 1994: 98).

ān4 暗 (ʔəm) LH ʔəm, OCM *ʔəm
'Dumb, silent' [Mo].

nān 暗 (ʔəm) LH ʔəm, OCM *ʔəm
'Hold in the mouth, put in the mouth' [GY].
[T] ONW ʔəm.

[<] endoactive of ān 暗 (§4.5).

yín 暗 (ʔəm) LH ʔəm, OCM *ʔəms
'Pent up' [Zhuang].

[<] exo. of ān 暗 (§4.4), lit. 'be held back in the mouth', but the role of MC div. III is not clear (§9.1.2).

[<] ST *ʔum: PTB *ʔum 'hold in the mouth' (STC: 181) > WT ʔəm 'a kiss' (cf. ʔəm ~ ʔə 'a kiss'); Lepcha ʔum 'receive into the mouth without swallowing', Mikir om 'mouthful', Nung im 'mouthful' (HST: 95). Perh. also connected with PTB *(m-)jum (STC: 181 n 479). → cân 嘴 is perh. a derivation.

ān1 正 → ān4 暗

ān2 正 → yān10 燃

ān1 衝 → yū 尹

ān2 岸 (ŋān) LH ʔən, OCM *ŋān, OCB *ŋəns
'River bank' [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukhru SR ʔən (f); PR ʔən; LR ʔən; MGZY ʔən (f) [ʔən]; ONW ʔən

hān 厂 (ʕən) LH ʔən, OCM *ʔən
'Cleft' [BI, SW], 'high river bank' [Lì shù běn yì 六書本義].

hū 罩 (xū) LH ʔən, OCM *ʔən
'River bank' [Shi].

[<] These are all nouns derived from the stem *ŋə 'oppose, resist' (→ yū, 燃), i.e. 'the thing that resists the river's flow, keeps the river in its bed'. The voiceless initial in hān and hū denotes a noun referring to a natural object (§5.2.4), the final *-n in hān and ān marks nouns in general (§6.4.3). The role, if any, of tone C is not clear. For an overview of similar and related words, see under → yān, 衡, 勾.

ān3 黛 (ʔəm) LH ʔəm, OCM *ʔəm? — [T] ONW ʔəm
'A deep black' [SW].

èn 暗 (ʔəm) LH ʔəm, OCM *ʔəms
'Be dark' 暗 [Guoyu]; 閒 (also read QY ʔəm) [Li] > Mand. 'dim, gloomy'.
[T] Sin S. SR ʔəm (f); PR ʔəm; MGZY ʔəm (f) [ʔəm], ONW ʔəm.

[<] perh. exoactive of ān 黛 (§4.3), here noun > verb.

[<] A probable alofaom is → yīn 隱 (so Wáng Li 1982: 602).

āng1 印 昇 'high' → yāng1 仰

āng2 印 1 '→ wù 吾

āng 盤 (ʔəm) LH ʔəm, OCM *ʔəng
'(A small-mouthed, large-bellied) earthen jar (for fetching water)' [Lunheng] > 'obese, swollen' [Zhuang]; later 盤 'basin, tureen' (which is large-mouthed).

[<] AA: Khmer ʔəng 'a type of large, wide-mouthed earthen jar, cistern, tank'.

[<] There are (near) synonyms with different vowels: → wèng 盡, *ʔəng, and yíng 仰 (under → yīng2 燚).

āo1 鼻 → yuán, 元

āo2 喉 (ŋu) LH ʔu, OCM *ŋu
'To cry, clamor' [Shi].

[<] Perh. cognate to PTB *ŋu > WT ʔu-ba 'to weep, roar', WB ʕu 'cry, weep', PL *ŋu 'cry' (HST: 60). This identification is somewhat doubtful as the vowels and the meanings are not very close.

āo3 喉 (ŋu) LH ʔu, OCM *ŋu, OCB *ŋaw
'Firstcry' [Zhuoli], 'roast' [Li].

[<] ST *ŋu: PTB *ŋu (STC no. 270) > WT ʔu-pa, bəŋos 'to parch, roast, fry'; Chepang ʔu; Mikir argu 'roast, fry'; JP gaŋ-iŋaw 'fry' (STC: 193; also Bodman 1980: 78).

āo1 洋 (ʔən) LH ʔən, OCM *ʔənh
'Inside' (of a realm) [Shi], 'bay, cove' was acc. to Guō Pǔ (ca. AD 300), a Jiāngnán (southern) word.
[T] Sin Sukhru SR ʔən (f); MGZY ʔən (f) [ʔən]; ONW ʔən

[<] This word is still used in Mǐn dialects: Fúzhōu ʔəñ, Tǎi ʔən, Xiàmén ʔən.

[<] AA: Viet ao 'pool, pond', WrMon 'o, o'cove, small bay' (Norman 1983: 205).

āo2 抱 (ŋu) LH ʔu, OCM *ŋu
'Proud, arrogant' [Shi]. Etymology not clear.
[T] Sin S. SR ʔu (f); PR ʔu; LR ʔu; MGZY ngaw (f) [ŋaw]
拔 (bá) LH bat, OCM *bât
'To pull up, uproot, be uprooted' [Yi, Shui].
[<] r-caus. of 伐 (fá) *bât ($7.5$), lit. 'cause to be uprooted'.
[E] ST: Lushai pâk < pâk 'to pull, pull up', cf. WT *bog(s)-pa, bog 'be uprooted'.
[C] Alloforms may include → fā 發 and → fēi 廢 'cast aside' (if derived from fā).

拔 (bá) LH bat, OCM *bât

'Roots of grass' [Huangian, SW]. SW considers this word related to → fā 發 'lift up / out' and → fā, 伐 'to plow' as the plow exposes the roots of the grass. An alloform may be → bá 茸 'to camp', and bá 耸 'foot, base'.
[E] Etymology not clear. Comparanda may include TB-JP (n^[b]-mig^[b]) pot^[b] 'root; origin'; or TB-Chepang plæ- 'fall out, come out' (from roots – hair, grass).

跋 (bó) LH bat, OCM *bât
'To trample on (with feet), trudge' [Shi], 'foot, base' (of a torch) [Li]; 'the end of an arrow' [Shi]. The basic meaning is 'foot, base'.

杷 (pá) LH bat, OCM *bât, OCB *bat
'To camp on grassland' [Shi, Zuo]. Commentators to SW derive this word from → bá 茸 'roots of grass' which they gloss simply as 'grass'.

杷 (pá) LH pa, OCM *pá

'Wild pig, pig' [Shi].
[E] ST: WT spar-ba 'the grasping hand, paw, claw, a handful' (Unger Hao-ku 35, 1986: 36). Matisoff (2000: 155f) connects this word with the PTB *r-pa-k 'palm / sole and leaf'. For the r-metathesis, see §7.7.3.

This word may be related to → bá, bá 杷 'rake'. Given its TB cognates, it is prob. not related to → fù 扶 'breath of two fingers'. Wång Li (1982: 173) relates this wî to → bing 聲 'grasp'.

陖 (pā) 'Flat valley'. This word from SW China is a Tai loan: S. paa^[B] < paa^[B] 'meadow' (Li F. 1976: 46; Mei Tsu-lin, AAS 1980).

陖 (bài) LH be or hai? OCM *brâi or *brê??
'To stop, cease' (work etc.) tr. [Lun]. Prob. not related to → bá 茸. Bù, bom, bôm, boim, bûm, ñám 'be, become' (CVST 1: 59).

敗→ bó 伯

باء bá

'Father, dad', Mandarin col. for → fù 父, father.

白 (bái) LH bak, OCM *brâk
'Be white' [OB, BI, Shí] always has been a basic color term (Baxter JCLTA 19, 1983), also applied to silver.
[E] ST: Sin Sukchú SR bâj (l); MGZY pay (l) [baj]; OCB pay (l) [baj]; ONW bék
[N] The graph represents an acorn, note the element 白 in the original graphs for → lè
bái 白


bǎi 百

[GL] 100. ‘Hundred’ [BL, Shi]. The OB graph is similar to 右, but not identical with, → bái 白 ‘white’ (Unger Hsiao-kü 29, 1984).

[ET] *p’ra*-ya: WT bǎi-ya ‘to separate', part * bāl-ba ‘be separated, lose’, WB pra-*b ‘be divided into several parts, various’, JP pai-ran ‘be separate, sort out’ (for WT allophons, see -1 lī). In HST: 65, the WT item is associated with → bān, bān, and with → bān, half by Bodman (1980: 147), while Karlgen (1933: 92) combines all of these into one w (no. 26-37). ↔ AA has an alternative comparator which is semantically closer to OC, even the initial *p- could represent an AA trans. / caus. prefix: Khmer râla /rīs/ intr. ‘to spread, extend, distribute’ ↔ brāla /pīl/ tr. ‘to spread’.

A cognate is prob. *C-ral - lī1 lī ‘rai with the occasional ST *-l > OC *- shift (§8.3). ↔ bān, bān, is perh. the same word. For an overview of similar items, see lī1 lī and Table P.1 under → pī, 白.

bān 班

[GL] White paper (般, ban). The OE graph is 百, but not identical with, → bái 白 ‘white’. The OB graph is similar to 右, but not identical with, → bái 白 ‘white’ (Unger Hsiao-kü 29, 1984).

[ET] *p’ra*-ya: WT bā-ya ‘to separate’, part * bā-ya ‘be separated, lose’, WB pra-*b ‘be divided into several parts, various’, JP pai-ran ‘be separate, sort out’ (for WT allophons, see -1 lī). In HST: 65, the WT item is associated with → bān, bān, and with → bān, half by Bodman (1980: 147), while Karlgen (1933: 92) combines all of these into one w (no. 26-37). ↔ AA has an alternative comparator which is semantically closer to OC, even the initial *p- could represent an AA trans. / caus. prefix: Khmer râla /rīs/ intr. ‘to spread, extend, distribute’ ↔ brāla /pīl/ tr. ‘to spread’.

A cognate is prob. *C-ral - lī1 lī ‘rai with the occasional ST *-l > OC *- shift (§8.3). ↔ bān, bān, is perh. the same word. For an overview of similar items, see lī1 lī and Table P.1 under → pī, 白.
bàn — bàng

半 (påns) LH pón, OCM *påns
‘Half’ [Yi]
[ŋ] Sin Sukhu SR pung (ㄐ), PR pön, LR pön; MGZY bon (ㄑ); ONW pón
bàn 判片洋 (påns) LH pōn, OCM *påns
‘To cleave’ [Zhou], ‘divide’ [Zuo]; ‘one half, one of two parts’ [Zhuang] > semi-circular pool, shore 泛 [Shi], and additional specialized meanings based on ‘half’.

[ŋ] exoactive of bàn (§4.3), perh. caus. aspiration (§5.8.2).
bàn 銀 (buån) LH bōn, OCM *båns — [ŋ] ONW bōn
‘Bank between fields, separate from’ [Zuo], ‘to separate from, rebel’ [Lunyu].
[ŋ] endopass. of bàn (§4.6), lit. ‘be separated from’.

bàn, biàn 舊 (båns, bían 3) [Shiwen] LH bén, bían, OCM *brens
‘Discriminate, distinguish’ [Shu].
[ŋ] exoass. of biàn 辨辨 below (§4.3), lit. ‘(cause to) be divided’.
bàn 蝶 (båns), LH bén
‘Sections of a fruit’ [SW].
[ŋ] exoass. of biàn 辨辨 below (§4.3), lit. ‘what is divided’. → bàn 蝶 ‘petals’ is perh. the s. w.
biàn 辨辨 (biån 3) LH biån, OCM *brens?
‘‘Divide’ [Zhou], ‘distinguish, discriminate’ [Lunyu] (also MC bån), 辨 [Yi], ‘dispute’ [Meng].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR bén (ㄒ); MGZY pen (ㄝ) [ben]; ONW ban
[E] ST: This may belong to TB-Lushai p‘elh < to split, cut in halves’ (medial r does not occur in Lushai after labial initials), and /o/ to /pr/ → bån 班 (§2.5).

bån 辨 (båns) LH bén, OCM *brens
‘To deal with, handle, manage’ [Bi, Zuo].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR bån (ㄘ); MGZY pan (ㄕ) [ban]

bån 蝶 (bån) LH bén
‘Petals of a flower’ is a late word [14th cent. AD]. The MC reading applies to the meaning ‘sections of a fruit’ (under → bàn, biàn 舊). In the QYS, the rimes -an and -ên seem to have been confused on occasion; therefore -ên could also go back to *-rån.
[ŋ] ‘Petals’ is possibly the same word as bàn 蝶 ‘section of fruit’ (under → bàn, biàn 舊). Alternatively, it could be the same etymon as pä 畢 ‘flowers, blossoms’ and prob. related to /burn sums, stote the WT word me-pos ‘flower’, lit. ‘fire-top’.

bàng 邦 (p ån) LH pōn, OCM *pån
‘Country’ [Shi], possibly the same etymon as → fâng, 封 (Wáng Li 1982: 388).
[T] Sin Sukhu SR pún (ㄩ); MGZY‘bång’ (ㄩ) [pań]
bàng 榜 (påns) LH pōn, OCM *påns — [ŋ] ONW pōn
‘Board’ [Jinshu].
[E] ST: WT spung ‘board, plank’ (Unger Hao-ku 36, 1990: 48). Superficially, this word looks like a doublet of → bàn 板版. The graph also writes a word QYS pung, LH pung ‘oor’ [Chuci].

băng 膀 → bôu 腕

băng 棒 (båns) LH bån, OCM *bån
‘Club, stick’ [Post-Han: Weishu].

bàng 膊 → pàng 旁旁

bàng 睑, huâng 睑 → făng 方

bào 包 (påu) LH pōu, OCM *prar
‘To wrap, bundle’ [Shu], ‘contain’ [Zuo].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR pāw (ㄕ); MGZY bāw (ㄢ) [paw]
[E] ST: WT p‘u-ma ~ p‘u-ma- /ba ‘uterus, placenta’ (Bodman 1980: 142; HST: 161); Löffler (ZDMG 116.1, 1966: 152) adds Mru bur ‘menstruation’. Acc. to Karlsgren (1956: 5) this is the s. w. as → båo 包, ‘wrap’, but this is doubtful in light of TB cognates which distinguish these two items. Löffler relates ‘womb’ to → pāo 包 ‘gourd’.

bào 包 (påu, p‘au) LH p‘au, OCM *pår — [ŋ] ONW p‘āu
‘Womb’ [Zhuang].
[E] ST: WT p‘u-ma ~ p‘u-ma- /ba ‘uterus, placenta’ (Bodman 1980: 142; HST: 161); Löffler (ZDMG 116.1, 1966: 152) adds Mru bur ‘menstruation’. Acc. to Karlsgren (1956: 5) this is the s. w. as → båo 包, ‘wrap’, but this is doubtful in light of TB cognates which distinguish these two items. Löffler relates ‘womb’ to → pāo 包 ‘gourd’.

bào 剁 (påk) LH pāk, OCM *prarok.
‘To cut up, peel, pluck’ [Shi].
[D] Guăngzhōu msk ‘to peel’ (Sagart 1999: 80), Zhōngshān msk-s3 ‘to undress’.
[E] ↔ Tai: S. p‘ok/s1 ‘to peel’, but also PTai *dλok: S. dλok ‘to skin, peel’ * p‘ok/s1 ‘an encasement, slipcover, sheath’ (Manomaivibool 1975: 120). This word is considered to be related to → fàu 淪 ‘carve’, but ‘carve’ and ‘peel’ are rather different activities.

bào 保 (påu) LH pōu, OCM *pât
‘To take care of’ (a baby by wrapping it in swaddling cloth) [Meng], (people) [Shu]: ‘preserve, protect, maintain’ [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR pāw (ㄕ); MGZY bāw (ㄢ) [paw]
= båo 保 (påu) LH pōu, OCM *pât
(What protects, shields: ‘secure’, residence, land) [Shu]; ‘fort, stronghold’ [Li]; ‘cover’ for a chariot [Lun Heng].
= båo 褓 (påu) LH pōu, OCM *pât
‘The cloth’ (in which children are carried on the back) [Lüshih], ‘swaddling cloth’ (Liezj), used in the expression qiáng båo 襖 or båo 襖 ‘qiáng, MC kjàŋ, ‘string, cord, here prob. ‘strap’); apparently båo refers to the protective swaddling cloth, not to the notion of carrying a baby on the back.

[E] Etymology not certain. Following Táng Lán, Qiú Xìguì (2000: 212) interprets an OB form of the graph as well as an occurrence in Shùjīng 17.10 as ‘to carry (a baby) on the back’, thence ‘take care of’ etc.; bào would then be the OC cognate of the TB items under → fàu 淪. However, in no textual occurrence, incl. Shùjīng, has båo the unequivocal
bāo 饱 (pau²) LH pâu², OCM *pâu²
To eat to the full, satiated [Shi].

[TL] Sin Sukhu SR paw ( ), MGZY paw ( ), ONW paw

[BE] Prob. area word: TB-Lushai pau₄ < pau 'having eaten enough' (Unger Hao-kou 35, 1986: 36), Chepang bōro² 'eat in plenty, feed generously', perf. connected with AA-Khmer /pōro/ 'to fill, be full, brim full, swollen'. For the r-metathesis, see §7.7.3.

bāo3 寶 (pau⁶) LH pâu⁶, OCM *pâu⁵
‘Precious, treasure’ [BL, Shi].
[TL] Sin S. SR paw ( ), MGZY paw, ba¹o ( ) [paw]; ONW paw

[BE] ST: *pu: PTB *puw (STC no. 41) > WB a-pu₁u⁴ ~ o-bu₁u³ [price], JP pu₁u³ ‘be of value, expensive’ (HST: 155), Lushai pu₁u⁴ < pu₄ ‘be worthy, deserving’, CVST: 1: 63 adds WT spusu ‘goods, merchandise’ – bāo3 jīng could be the same word. Sagart (1999: 58) considers bāo possibly related to 分 (under a-fu¹⁵, frp).

bāo 抱 (bāo³) LH bōu⁶, OCM *bāo⁵
‘Carry in the arms’ [Shi].
[TL] Sin Sukhu SR baw ( ); MGZY paw ( ) [baw]

[BE] This is prob. related to WB puik ‘hold in arms, hug’, and / or to AA-Khmer /poc/ and /pod/ ‘hold or carry in the arm(s)’. Note also a-bāo1 包 ‘wrap’. > PMiao *bōu⁵.

bāo2 報 (pau⁵) LH pâu⁵, OCM *pāo
‘To repay, requite, reward, respond, announce’ [Shi], ‘report’.
= Prob. bāo 抱 ‘to plait, interweave’ (i.e. ‘return the thread’) [Shi] > tie, wrap [Li].
[BE] This is prob. an allophone of → fū₁₂ 復 ‘return, reply, report’ (so Wàng Li 1982: 244; Sagart 1999: 58). => Tai: S. bòk¹⁴ ‘to tell, say, inform’.

bāo3 貿 → bāo 饱

bēi1 碧 (pje⁴) LH pie, OCM *pe⁴
‘Be low, humble’ [Shi], opposite of ‘high’ [Zuo].

bēi2 黑 (pje⁴3) LH pjo³, OCM *pē⁴
‘Slope, bank, dike’ [Shi, Shu], ‘slanting’ [Yi]. Prob. not related to → pō³, Xh.

bēi3 黑 (pje³) LH pjo³, OCM *pēⁿ
‘Be slanting, oblique’ [Shu, Yi]; ‘one-sided words, insincere’ 被 (also MC pje [Meng]).

bō 頻 (pou²) LH pōi, OCM *phōi
‘Oblique, slanting’ [Chuci], ‘partial, perverse’ 頻 [Shu]; ‘slope, bank’ 坡.

bēi 備 (pje³) LH bie³, OCM *bi⁴
‘Ready, complete, perfect’ [Shi], ‘prepare, provide’ [Zuo].
[TL] Sin Sukhu SR bi ( ), MGZY pie ( ) [bi]
běi 伴 伴


di——bí

from a p reassigned initial, note Yao baŋ ( < *nb) 'collapse, fall over' (Norman 1986: 382).

Etyymology not certain, but note TB-Chepang baŋh- 'to slip, slide' (earth, rock) ≠ baŋh- n. 'rock or earth slide, landslide'. Chepang bom- 'fall down' ≠ WT *p'am-pa, *p'am 'be beaten, conquered' (Bodman 1980: 119) is unrelated.

běng3 細 → pēng2 功 'string'

běng 崩 → pēng4 琴

běng3 細 → běng3 屏

běng3 細 (paŋ) LH paŋ, OCM *paŋ. "To put the coif into the ground, bury" [Zou]. The word is not related to → bīn3 定. [E] Prob AA: OHKmer pān/baŋ 'to cover, hide, bury'. → Tai paŋŋ < *p: 'to protect, cover up' (not related to → bīo2 補, as Li F. 1976: 40 suggests).

bī1 叱 (pje) < *pe, *pet "Vulva", a late word which could, however, be old since such items are not mentioned in classical texts.

Mín: Amoy tsi1-tai1-pai2, with final consonant Kējiū: Dongguān 3tsi1-tai2-pet1. The dialects of Yúè have 3tsì1-tai2 (Gungzhōu) which is a Tai loan (Benedict LTBA 5.1, 1979), but apparently still found in some TB languages: Limbu hira 'vagina', Tangkhol Naga haiu.

ST *bet ?*, PTB *biet* (HPTB: 375); PLB *byet* 'vulva', Kanauri pëet; also Tamang and Baro pi-si (Benedict LTBA 5.1, 1979: 30; LTBA 14.1: 143-6; R. Bauer LTBA 14.1: 141-165). Benedict [LTBA 14.2, 1991: 151] derives this onym from a root 'hidden', WT shed-pa, sbas, sba 'to hide, conceal', but a WT root with a as in sba normally does not correspond to one with vowel e/ in Chinese; see also → bī3 薄.

Derived from 'to open' (see → pi 闢, → pi1 披), final *t marks nouns of naturally occurring objects (§6.2.1), hence lit. 'opening'. Syn. → zhū3 間.

bī2 個通 (pijkt) LH pik, OCM *prik ?, OCB *prik — [T] ONW pik 'To crowd together, encroach upon, near to' [Zou, Meng]; 'to urge, press, close' 逼 [Meng, Zou].

Eprob. ST: TB-Lushai pik* 'be thick, dense, impenetrable, overcrowded, overgrown'. Alternatively, Baxter (1992: 473) relates this item to → li1 力.

bì 鼻 (bijie 4) Tang period: col. Sházhōu *bīr, *bīt 'Nose'.

Mín. bīr 鼻子. This form in final *t is found in modern central and northern dialects as well as in the medieval Sházhōu dialects in the NW, e.g. Gān pīt, Línchúan pīt, etc. Acc. to Baxter (1992: 319) this word may reflect an early loss of final *s (in *ts-s, *ks) which seems to have occurred in the northwest area; or it may reflect a dialectal change from earlier *s to *t (Pulleyblank JAOS 118.2, 1992: 204f).

Perh. cognate to WT sbrā-pa 'to sneeze' (HST: 113), but CH has no trace of an r. Given the lack of potential cognates in related languages, one might speculate that this is a CH innovation related to 'to open' (cf. → pi 闢, → pi1 披), hence lit. 'openings'; but the vowels would not agree very closely.

bī1 叱 (pje) < *pe, *pet "Vulva", a late word which could, however, be old since such items are not mentioned in classical texts.

Mín: Amoy tsi1-tai1-pai2, with final consonant Kējiū: Dongguān 3tsi1-tai2-pet1. The dialects of Yúè have 3tsì1-tai2 (Gungzhōu) which is a Tai loan (Benedict LTBA 5.1, 1979), but apparently still found in some TB languages: Limbu hira 'vagina', Tangkhol Naga haiu.

ST *bet ?*, PTB *biet* (HPTB: 375); PLB *byet* 'vulva', Kanauri pëet; also Tamang and Baro pi-si (Benedict LTBA 5.1, 1979: 30; LTBA 14.1: 143-6; R. Bauer LTBA 14.1: 141-165). Benedict [LTBA 14.2, 1991: 151] derives this onym from a root 'hidden', WT shed-pa, sbas, sba 'to hide, conceal', but a WT root with a as in sba normally does not correspond to one with vowel e/ in Chinese; see also → bī3 薄.

Derived from 'to open' (see → pi 闢, → pi1 披), final *t marks nouns of naturally occurring objects (§6.2.1), hence lit. 'opening'. Syn. → zhū3 間.

bī2 個通 (pijkt) LH pik, OCM *prik ?, OCB *prik — [T] ONW pik 'To crowd together, encroach upon, near to' [Zou, Meng]; 'to urge, press, close' 逼 [Meng, Zou].

Eprob. ST: TB-Lushai pik* 'be thick, dense, impenetrable, overcrowded, overgrown'. Alternatively, Baxter (1992: 473) relates this item to → li1 力.

bì 鼻 (bijie 4) Tang period: col. Sházhōu *bīr, *bīt 'Nose'.

Mín. bīr 鼻子. This form in final *t is found in modern central and northern dialects as well as in the medieval Sházhōu dialects in the NW, e.g. Gān pīt, Línchúan pīt, etc. Acc. to Baxter (1992: 319) this word may reflect an early loss of final *s (in *ts-s, *ks) which seems to have occurred in the northwest area; or it may reflect a dialectal change from earlier *s to *t (Pulleyblank JAOS 118.2, 1992: 204f).

Perh. cognate to WT sbrā-pa 'to sneeze' (HST: 113), but CH has no trace of an r. Given the lack of potential cognates in related languages, one might speculate that this is a CH innovation related to 'to open' (cf. → pi 闢, → pi1 披), hence lit. 'openings'; but the vowels would not agree very closely.
bf

[T] Sin Sukchu SR bi (去); MGZY pi (去) [bi]; ONW bii
[D] This tone C variant is found in ONW, Sai-Tang Châng'ân, MC, and in modern southern dialects: Min *biC; Jiān'ōu pʰiC2, Fûzhōu pʰeiC, Xiâmén pʰiC2; Kējiā: Mèixiān pʰiC1 (Norman 1988: 223).

bf₁ 比 (piC 4) LH LH pí, OCM *pi?
‘To be associating’ [Shi], ‘equal, similar’ [Li], ‘compare’ [Zuo]. Possibly → pi₁ 彼 ‘example’ could be related.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR pi (上), PR pāi, LR pi: MGZY bi (上) [pi]; MTang pi, ONW pǐ (ken) endoactive of bi ‘比 (pi)’ §(4.5).

bf₂ 比 (piC 4) LH piC, OCM *pǐ
‘To put together, match, assemble’ [Shi].

< (4.3). The readings of this and the next item are from Jīngdiān shìwen.

bf₃ 比 (biC 4) LH biC, OCM *bǐ, OCB *bǐjs
‘To join’ [Shu], ‘go together with’ [Shi], ‘follow’ [Lun], ‘close together, successive’ [Li].

pi₃ 禮 (biC 4) LH bi, OCM *bīn
‘Several together’ [Guoyu], ‘close to’ [BI] (Geilich 1994: 125).

[E] ST: Lepcha bīn ‘follow closely, be with, be next to’ (ibid.); WT p’yī ‘behind, after’, p’yī-ma ‘later’, subsequently, p’yīd ‘after, following’; p’yīn ‘later, afterward’. WT homophones which are mentioned under → bǐn₁ Qed could possibly belong to this root instead (‘behind’ > ‘outside’).

bf₄ 娶 (piC 4) LH pǐ, OCM *pi?; pǐ, OCB *pjǐj
‘Deceased mother, ancestress’ [OB, Shi].


bf₅ 素 (piC 4) LH pǐ, OCM *pi?
‘Unripe grain, chaff’ [Zuo], ‘petty’ [Zhuang].

[E]? ST: *pǐ: Lushai pǐ < pǐi ‘short and small for one’s age, stunted growth’.

bf₆ 素 (piC 4, piC 3, piC 4) LH pǐ, pʰieC, OCM *pǐ(h)oi?, *pái? ‘Sore on the head’ [Zhouliu].


bf₇ 彼 (piC 4) LH pǐ, OCM *prut, OCB *prjut
‘Writing brush’ [Li].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR pi (入); MGZY bu (入) [pue]; ONW pi

[E] SW (Shuōwēn jìézi gǔlín: 1271) says that bi is a word from the region of Qin 秦 (NW), and that in Chú 楚 the word is yǔ 彝 (jiu) ONW iu (7), in Wǔ 吳: tā-lû 不律 (p’iu-lu) ONU pù-lu, and in Yān 燕 (NE) tâ 异 (pijou) ONW put (discussed by Sagart ICSTLL 1990: 7). The word has been borrowed by Middle Korean (p’uot), Old Japanese (p’ue), and Viet. (bút) (pre-Sino-Viet.) (Miyake 1997: 189, 192). All these data point to an initial cluster *pr- or *pl- and an OC rime *ut. If derived from → bi₃ 理 (liC) ‘lines’ ? WT *biru, biru ‘to draw, write’ as is sometimes proposed, one needs to assume the loss of a PCH medial *w in the latter items. Benedict compares bi with PAN *bulu ‘fiber’ (STC p. 178f). WT bir ‘writing brush’ is a MC loan (MC final t > WT -r).

Baxter’s OC form can be related to TB ones which are mentioned under → shù 刷. Perh. → fâu 拂 ‘to brush off’ may belong here. For an overview of similar etyma, see the Table S-2 under → shù 刷.

bf₇ 俸 (pjiC 3) LH pǐb, OCM *p’o? ‘Border, outskirts’ [Zuo] > ‘rustic, common’ [Lun] > ‘(consider rustic, common) to despise’ [Shu]; ‘district, district town’ [LN, Zhouliu]. Possibly related to TB items under → bǐn₁ 比.

bf₈ 秘 (pjiC 4) LH pǐb, OCM *pe? ‘To make / let someone do something, cause, direct, provide’ [Shi, Shu].

[T] Sin S. SR pi (上), PR pāi; MGZY bi (入) [pi]; ONW *pī ‘Etymology not clear, although it brings to mind the MK causative prefix p-.’

b₁ 比 (biC 4)

b₁₂ 鬆 (biC 4)

b₁₃ 必 (pjet 4) LH pǐt, OCM *pit ‘Be necessary, must’ [BI, SHI]. — [E] Etymology not clear.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR pị (入); MGZY bi (入) [pị]

b₁₄ 螢 (pjiC 3) LH pǐs, OCM *prits ‘Bubble up (as water from a spring)’ [Shi] is a vocalic variant of → fēi₄ 捕 (§11.5.1).

b₁₅ 羣 (piC 3) LH pǐ, pis, OCM *prits(s) (?) ‘Lath tied to bow for keeping it in shape’ [OB, Yili].

[E]? Perh. ST: Chepang pit ‘grip’ (as with pincers, tongs, legs), ‘hold between knees or under the arm’. Perh. related to → fēi₄ 捕.

b₁₆ 罪 ‘beat’ → pǐ₄ 捕

b₁₇ 閲 → b₁₂ 鬆

b₁₈ 羑 (piC 4) LH pis, OCM *pis, OCB *pjits — [T] Sai-Tang pi, ONW pii

[D] (MC p’i) is common in Yue dialects: Guāngzhōu p’il, Táishān b’i < p’i, Téngxiàn b’yí.

[E]? ST *p’i(s): PTB *p’i (STC no. 42) > Chepang b’yì-sa ‘to give’, Lepcha byi * b’yí-n ‘to give’; LB: WB p’ie * p’ie ‘invite, offer to give’, Aṣi pji, Lahu pi, PLB *hek ‘give, bestow’, Mîr bi, Lushai p’e/p’ē < p’i < pes (pes) / p’ie < to ‘give, offer’. A derivation is → fēi₁ 捕 ‘guest’.

b₁₉ 鼻 → b₁₃ 鼻

b₁₀ 鼻 (piC 4) LH bǐ, OCM *bêt ‘Worn out’ [Shi], ‘damage, ruin’ [Zuo]; ‘to fall down, die, destroy’ [Zuo] > caus. ‘kill’ [Li]: ‘fall’ [Guoyu], ‘bring down, stop’ [Zhouliu].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR bi (去); MGZY pi (去) [bi]; ONW bii
[C] Allofam is → pf, 疲累 ‘exhausted’ (Pulleyblank 1962: 215), hence bi: *be(t)s < *bai(t)s. See → fêi_l for additional comments.


bi_11 疲弊 → bi_10 疲弊

bi_12 躯 (pijia4 4) LH pies, OCM *pe(t)s → [T] ONW piec
‘To screen, keep in ignorance, deceive’ [Zuo]. There may be a connection with Lushai pʰəl< < *pəl ‘to miss, not know’; or alternatively with → pɪŋg屏障 ‘screen’. Unger (presentation in Rome Sept. 6, 2001) relates bi to WT sbed-pa, sbas ‘to conceal’ (see also → bi_10 疲弊).

bi_13 疲 → bi_12 bi 巳

bi_14 隊 → bi_13 bi 巳

bi_15 路 (pijia4 4) LH piek, OCM *pek, OCB *pik → [T] ONW piek
‘Sovereign, ruler, governing official, the authorities’ [Bi, Shi].

bi_16 路 ‘inner coffin’ → m17 歪

bi_17 路 (pijia4 4) LH piec, OCM *pek or *pek?
‘Arm’ [Liji].


bi_18 適 → bi_17 bi 巳

bi_19 適 → bi_18 bi 巳

bi_20 適 (pijia4 4) LH pec, OCM *pek or *pek → [T] ONW pei
‘Favorite person’ [Meng]. ‘favorite concubine’ 女 [Mo], → pián-bi 適 ‘male and female servants’ [Meng].


Note 妻 (bijia8) OCM *be? ‘female slave, servant’ [Li] which is a derivation from → bi_17 bi 巳, 妻 ‘low’, perhaps a re-etymologization of bi.

bi_21 妻婦 → bi_17 bi 巳

bi_22 妻 (bijia8, pijia8, pijia8) LH behi, pieh, OCM *be?, *pe?
‘Thighbone’ [Li].


[E] ST: WT dpyi ‘hip, hipbone’ (CVST 1: 2). This etymon could be related to Lushai pʰəl< ‘foot, leg’ [Weider 1987: 204] (so CVST), but see → fêi_1.髀

bi_23 忍 (pijia4, piet) LH pes, pet, OCM *piς(s) → [T] ONW pei
‘To shut, obstruct’ [Shu].

bi_24 忍 (pijia4, piet) LH pes, pet, OCM *piς(s)
‘To close, shut’ [Shi].


bi_26 槿 (pijia4 4) LH pit, OCM *pit
‘Fence, hedge’ [SW], ‘wicker door’ (made with interlaced branches) [Zuo, Li]; 筆路 ‘fuel cart’ (Giles) or ‘wooden cart’ (Legge) [Zuo]. The association with with → bi_25 槿 ‘wooden fork, hand-net’ (which is prob. the s. w.) and with PL *pyik ‘thicket, jungle’ (Bodman 1980: 158; HST: 148), is closer than Karglren’s (1933: 94) association with → fûu弗 ‘screen, cover’.

bi_27 槿 (pijia4 4) LH pit, OCM *pit
‘To shoot at’ [Chuci]. — Etymology not clear.

bi_28 槿 ‘knee cover’ → fû14 長笛

bi_29 槿 ‘knee’ — bi_3 否 ‘obstruct’

biān_1 疑 (pien) LH pen, OCM *pên → [T] ONW pên
‘To weave’ [Li].

biān_2 疑 (pien) LH pen, OCM *pên
‘Braid, plait’ [Hanshù].

[C] Exopass. of biān (§4.4), lit. ‘what has been woven’.


biān_3 疑 (pien) LH pen, OCM *pên → [T] ONW pên
‘Otter’ [Huanian]. CVST 1: 100 relates this word to WB pʰyam ‘otter’ (for the vowel see §11.3.2, for the final see §6.7).

biān_3b 疑 (pien-puk) LH pen-puk
‘Bat’ (animal) [SW].

[E] ST *p/bok (?:) PBT *bback [STC no. 325]; Lushai baak8, Garo do-bak (do ‘bird’) ‘bat’ (HST: 39); Mikir plak-wak ← -plak-bat.

biān_4 槿 (pien) LH pen, OCM *pên
‘Side, periphery’ [Bi, Zuo], ‘lean against’ [Liji]. Probably cognate to → pián-偏 ‘side’.

[E] ST *pe: Lushai beeh1 ‘pot, utensil, vessel’.

biān_5 槿 (pien) LH pen, OCM *pên
‘A vessel of clay or wood for serving food’ [Shi].

[E] ST *pel: Lushai beeh1 ‘pot, utensil, vessel’.

biān_6 槿 (pien) LH pen, OCM *pên
‘Flat and thin’ [Shi].
bian — bião

bian 槓 (piān² 4) LH pian⁸, OCM *pen?
‘Narrow’ [Shi].
[T] MGZY byān (上) [pien]

piān 範 (p'jian⁴ 4) LH p'ian⁵, OCM *phen
‘Writing slip’ [Guoce].
[<] Tone A nominalization (§3.1).

biàn 裏 (pian⁸) LH pen⁸, OCM *pên?
‘A circumscription, population district’ [Heguan].
[<] ST: Lushai bial⁹ < biaí ‘a circle, province, circuit; be round, include’. Prob. not related to → bian, 通 ‘all’.

biān1 裏 → biān1 裏

biān2 裏 (pian⁸) LH pian⁵, OCM *pam?, OCB *prijem?
‘To diminish, weaken’ [Shi]. Mand. ‘demote, reduce, depreciate’.
[<] ST: OTib. p'ham-k, p'am ‘to be diminished, reduced, found wanting, of lesser quality’ (WT ‘be beaten, conquered’) (HST: 63). Note PTai *p'li'-: S. p'omì ‘lean’. A possible alloform may be → fei6 耕 (so Karlgen 1956: 18).

biān3 盃 (piān³, p'en³) LH pian⁵, OCM *pam < *pom?
‘To lower a coffin into the grave, bury’ [Lil]. The word is not related to → bêng 埋.

biān1 弁 (bijian⁴ 3) LH bien⁶, OCM *brans, OCB *brions
‘A cap’ (symbol of manhood?) [Shi]. Wáng Lì (1982: 582) relates this word to → mian1 弁 [mion⁸] ‘ceremonial cap’.

biān2 弁 ‘to fly’ → fān1 弁拋翻

biān3 便 (bijian⁴ 4) LH bien⁶, OCM *bens — [T] ONW bian
‘Convenient’ [Lil], ‘comfortable’ [Chuci].
[<] Etymology not clear.

biān4 略 (piān³) LH peon⁶, OCM *prans, OCB *prions
‘To change’ [BI, Shu].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR pjen (去): MGZY byan (去) [pjen]; ONW pan
[<] ST: Tai: S. plian⁹ < *pl- ‘to change’. Baxter (1992: 365) thinks it likely that this word is cognate to → tuan 転 ‘OCB *C-rons ‘disorder’. It is perh. related to WT sprul-ba m 'prul-ba ‘juggle, appear, change, transform’ (Shi Xiàngdong 2000: 200).

biān3 辨 辨 → biān2, bian 杁

biān4 辨 → biān1 辨

biān7 槓 (pian⁸) LH pen⁸, OCM *pên — [T] ONW pên
‘All together, everywhere, comprehensive’ [Shi].
[<] ST: Lushai p'iai⁵ < p'ear? (< -i) ‘all, entirely, completely, the whole lot’. Prob. not related to → bian2 範 ‘circumscription’.

biāo1 彥 (pjieu 4, pjiau 4) LH piu, piau, OCM *piu or *piau
‘Long hair’ [Han time]. The graph also writes → shǎn2 彥.
[<] PMiao *preu⁶, PTao *p'eil⁶ ‘hair’.

biāo2 彥 (piaju 4) LH piao, OCM *piau
‘Leaping flames’ [Lil].
[C] exoactive / trans. of bó (§4.3.2).

[bó]... Area word: TB-Mru rak, Kukish prak ‘eldest brother’ (Löffler 1966: 140); LB-Lahu phiə ‘god, lord’ < Siam. prāt or Khmer [Matisoff D. Lahu: 883]. Since Kuki-Chin languages have incorporated MK loans, this etymology may ultimately be AA. Among alternative proposals is derivation from → bāi, 白 ‘white’, hence bó ‘the white-haired one’ (so Karlsgren 1956: 10), note the semantics of → pō, 風 ‘white > white-haired’ – but this is prob. a folk etymology.

bó₂ 白 (bó) LH bak, OCM *bráuk...

Silk material” [BL, Shu] is prob. the same word as → bái 白 ‘white’.

bó₃ 白 → fā 發

bó₄ 腕 (pák) LH pok, OCM *páuk — [T] ONW pok

‘Shoulder blade’ [JY]; [ZH]; [GYX: JY, JY, GSR 782m].

[D] Mand. ‘shoulder’ 腕 [GYX: 478; GSR 771]; also Pulleyblank MC). This form QYS pāk survives in Yue dialects: Guǎngzhōu pok[pá:huə2] 腕. The following are variants or dictionary readings.

* pō 腕 (pō:ák) LH pok, OCM *páuk

‘Shoulder blade’; variant of the above: 腕 [Yili; GYSX: 451; JY, GSR 782q]; 腱 [SW, GYSX: 478; JY, GSR 771];

*pō 腱 (pō:ék) LH pok, OCM *práuk

‘Shoulder blade’ [JY acc. to ZWCD 7: 1002].

[EN] Area word: PTB *pə:ak n *pə:ak (Matisoff 1999: 6); WT pə:rag < prak ‘shoulder’, JG pə:rag < prak. Alternatively, MK: PMon ‘pāuk’ ‘shoulder’. Possibly, the uncertainty in MC could be due to multiple sources for this word: MC pō < *prak would match Tbm., MC pāk MK. It is not clear how Tai: S. bā ʔ (PTai *bāaʔ) ‘shoulder’, Be via ʔ and WB pā:quəhə ‘shoulders’ relate to the CH items.

[C] A cognate may be 槱 (bāi) ‘upper arms’, which is a late word.

bó₅ 膊 (bó) LH bak, OCM *bák

‘Thin’ [SHI].

[T] Sin S. S. R. baaw (n), LR baw; MGZY paw (n) [baw]; ONW bok.

[D] PMin *bok


bó₆ 膊 (bó) LH pok, OCM *páuk


bó₇ 腕 (bó) LH pok, OCM *práuk, OCB *pra:ewk

‘Horse with mixed (brown and white) colors, mixed’ [SHI].


bó₈ 邊 (bó) LH pok, OCM *páuk

‘Leopard’ [SHI], lit. ‘the spotted one’; [C] exopass. of bó 駁 *práuk (§4.4).

bó₉ 跡 (bó) LH pok, OCM *bók, *phók

‘To overthrow, lay prostrate’ [Zuo] is prob. cognate to the wˌfəu 伏服.

bó₁₀ 跡 (bó) LH bok, OCM *bók

‘Powdery’ (soil) [ZHOU].

[EN] ST *put: WB pəu ‘dust’, Lushai pəuʔ ‘flowery, powdery’; CVST 1: 8 adds these words to → wəu 伏‘gust of wind’.

bó₁₁ 肥 (bó) LH bok, OCM *bók

‘Sudden’ [ZHANG, LIN, LNU]

[EN] ST: Lushai pəuʔ ‘suddenly, on a sudden’. This word may be related to → wəu 伏‘gust of wind’.

bó₁₂ 肥 (bó) LH bok, OCM *bók

‘Sudden’ [ZHANG, LIN, LNU]

[EN] ST: Lushai pəuʔ ‘suddenly, on a sudden’. This word may be related to → wəu 伏‘gust of wind’.

bó₁₃ 腦 (bó) ‘Navel’ [GY], usually ‘neck’. Benedict (LTBA 5 1, 1979) relates this late word to WT dhus ‘middle, center’. Alternatively, this could be an AA word: PMonic *pə[n]hus ‘navel, center, axis of wheel’.

bó₁₄ 脊 (bó) LH pok, OCM *pék

‘To walk lame’ [YL]...

[D] Some southern dialects preserve the OC rime: Y-Fōshān pəь ‘k; PMin *pəi.

* bi 脖 (piš) 4 LH pick, OCM *pek

‘To walk lame’ [LI]...

[C] either a derivation with an additional final *k (*piə-k) (§6.1), or the result of an OC *-k alternation.


bó₁ 脣 (pó) LH pok, OCM *pái

‘To winnow’ [ZHANG], ‘shake’ [LYU]

[D] In most dialects, the verb ‘to winnow’ and the n. ‘winnowing pan’ are homophones: Y-Guǎngzhōu pəi; K-Dōngguān pəi n., vb. But a few dialects make a distinction where the tone C reading is reserved for the noun: Mand. bó 脣; PMin *pōi.

* bó 脣 (pó) LH pok, OCM *pái

‘To winnow’ [SHI] is in some dialects a reading for the verb: Mand. bó, K-Meix pâ ‘to winnow’. This is prob. also the OC reading for the verb 脣 in Shijīng.


bó₂ 撒諸 (pó) LH pok, OCM *pái

‘To spread, sow, publish’ [SHI]; ‘to promulgate’ [LYU].

bd - bd

PT *rb: S. bce " famed, extend, spread". But S. prai "to sow, scatter" seems to be unrelated. This etymon is prob. distinct from \( \bar{b} \bar{d} \). 聽。

\( \bar{b} \bar{d} \) 拍 (peck) LH peck, OCM *prék
'To cleave, split' [Li]; 'crack, burst' [Zhouli]; 'tear apart, cleave' [Li].
[D] Southern dialects have initial m-: Y-Guizhou māk "to break", G-Nánchāng mie, Kējā māk "to open, break" [Sagart 1999: 80-81]. This etymon is also found in KT: KS māk 'to split, chop'.
[B] Area word: TB-Chēpāng prék 'cleave, divide down center'; \( \rightarrow \) KT (OC loan?) PKS *prék'ti 'break, tear'; PT *pr: S. teek01, Línghōu pēek. Boai teek. \( \rightarrow \) ? AA:
Perh. related to \( \rightarrow \) bǐ1 拍 *bèr 'to open'. For an overview of similar items, see \( \rightarrow \) li1 窗 and Table P-1 under \( \rightarrow \) pǐ1 披.

bd4 窗 (beik) 'net for catching birds' \( \rightarrow \) bì24 窗
bd5 薦 \( \rightarrow \) bd4 拍
bd6 拍 \( \rightarrow \) bd3 拍
bǐ1 斗 (puk) LH pok, OCM *pāk
'To escape, run away, abscond' [Shu]. Benedict (LTBA 14.2, 1991: 152) relates this word to WT sbed-pa, sba, sba 'to hide, conceal' \( \sim \) ba-bo 'hole, cave, cavern', Kiranti bha 'anus', Mikir ìgbò < m-baA 'lose, get lost' (see also \( \rightarrow \) bī1 戰).

bù2 布 (puc) LH po, OCM *pāh 'Cloth' [BI, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR pu (f); MGZY bu (f) [pu]; ONW po
[D] Min *puc (from po via puC) This is the regular form up the coast in Wēnzhōu).
[B] Bù is often thought to be the s. w. as 'spread out' (\( \rightarrow \) bù3 布). More likely, it is an AA word. A Han dyn. variant borrowed from the (AA) Mán and Yi barbarians on the middle Yangtze River is jià-bù 布 with QYS ku-fu 'cotton, cotton cloth' [SW, Hú Hánshǔ]. A later loan (ca. 430 AD) is gū-bù 古布 ONW koB,pèc < -pas (Baxter, 1989: Early China Conference, Chicago).
AA forms: *k-nu-pass, e.g., Khmer krobbah, Bahnar ko-paih (< satis), PVM *k-pas (Ferlus), Chhau pah (< satis), Khasi kpput. \( \rightarrow \) Tai: S. p'aauC < *p:h 'cloth' (Li F. 1976: 46). From AA into \( \rightarrow \) Skt. kārapāsah 'cotton, cotton cloth', \( \rightarrow \) Greek kárpassos.
In turn, bù may have been loaned into Middle Korean pwoy 'hemp cloth' (Miyake 1997: 188).

bù3 布 (puc) LH po, OCM *pāh \( \rightarrow \) ONW po
'To spread out' (a mat) [Li], 'display, announce, disperse' [Zuo]. \( \rightarrow \) bù2 布 'cloth' is often thought to be the same word.
[D] PMin *pyoC 'set out' (rice seedlings).
[S] ST: Lushai p'aaL < (phaH) 'to spread' (as cloth), 'place flat on the ground'. CH \( \rightarrow \) Tai: S. puL 'to spread out, lay or stretch out (carpet)'.

bù 博 (pāk) LH pok, OCM *pāk \( \rightarrow \) ONW pok
'Be wide' [BI, Shi].
[S] k-extension (±1) of a root *PA(?) (4.3).
[T] ST: Lushai p'aaL (phaH) 'to spread' (as cloth), 'place flat on the ground'. CH \( \rightarrow \) Tai: S. puL 'to spread out, lay or stretch out (carpet)'.

bù4 步 (puc) LH po, OCM *bāh 'To walk, step (stride of two legs), course' [OB, Shi].
[T] Sin S. SR bu (ㄓ); MGZY pu (ㄆ) [бу]; MTang bu < bo, ONW bo


bū3 嚼 (buɔ) LH boɔ, OCM *bãh
‘Have food in the mouth’ [Zhuang].

[D] This is the Mín word for ‘to chew’: PMin *boɔ, but Jiàn’öu pis`ã (prob. from *boɔ via boɔ).

[<] endopass. of bū 嚼 po ‘to eat’ (§4.6).

bū3 嚼 (puɔ) LH po, OCM *pã
‘To eat’ [Meng]. ‘meal in the afternoon’ [Lü].

bū3 嚼 (puɔ) LH poɔ, OCM *pãh
‘To give to eat’ [YJ] (Unger Hsiao-kü 35, 1986: 34).

[<] exoactive / caus. of bū 嚼 ‘to eat’.


It is not clear if / how the following may be connected: TB-Lushai baarH ‘to stuff food into one’s own mouth’ = bari ‘to stuff food into the mouth of another’ (tones?) (Unger Hsiao-kü 35, 1986: 34). Note also Tiddim Chin ba`k / ba`l ‘to feed forcibly (from baar?)’; and MK-Khmer pana / poun ‘to feed by introducing pneumatically or other substance into the mouth of (infant, chick, etc.).’.

→ Tai ip`ɔn.

bū6 部 ‘hillock’ → fō7iol 部

cāi1 才材 (dzāi) LH dzə, OCM *dzā
‘Be well endowed’ [Shi]; ‘innate’ ability 人才 [Zuo]; ‘material, talent’ 才 [Shu]; ‘value’ 才 [BL, Shu].

[T] Sin S. SR dzə (ㄓ); MGZY tsay (ㄗ) [dzaj]; ONW dzoi (dziw) ?


Most likely, this word is derived from ST *tsa ‘come forth’ (as child, seeding, ー zıw); for the semantic connection between ‘birth’ and ‘natural characteristic / endowments’, compare ー shıng, 生 ‘give birth, live’ ー xıng, 性 ‘what is inborn: one’s inner nature; one’s name’. Thus a WT cognate of cāi is prot. mtsan ‘name’ ー mtsan( ma) ‘shape and peculiar characteristics of separate parts of the body; genitals; mark, token, symptom’ (with the nominalizing n-suffix §4.3.4).

cāi2 才繩 (dzāi) LH dzə, OCM *dzā ー [T] ONW dzoi (dziw) ?
‘Only when / at (time)’ (German ‘erst’) [Hou Hanshu]. Matisoff (1995: 74f) suggests that this is cogn. to TB-Lahu sə và ー xie ‘inchoative particle’.

cāi1 采 (tsiai) LH tsia, OCM *tsha?
‘To gather, pluck’ [Shi].

[<] cāi 菜 (tsiai) LH tsia, OCM *te`sh
‘Vegetables, edible plants’ 菜 [Shi] ‘appanage’ 采 [Shu].

[T] Sin Sukwu SR tsaj (ㄘ); MGZY tsay (ㄗ) [tsaj]; ONW tsai

[<] exopass. of cāi, lit. ‘what is gathered, plucked’ (§4.4).

[E] Etymology not certain. Perh. from ST *tsa: WT btsa ‘fruit’, btsas ‘harvest, to reap’ (CVST 4: 17); PLB *tsyakH ‘to pluck’. To the same stem may belong ー cāi, 才材 and ー zıw. Alternatively, note WT tsa:ma ‘vegetable’, the vocalic correspondence would be parallel to ー cāi采 ‘color’ (see §12.9[3]).

cāi2 采 (tsiai) LH tsia, OCM *tsha?
‘Color, pigment, be colorful’ [Shi].

[E] ST: WT tsos ‘paint, dye, to color’. The vowel correspondence is prob. ST o > OC *au, > PTB *au > WO o (see §12.9[3]).

cāi 菜 → cā1 采

cān1 参 → sān 三

cān2 餐 → jū1 矣

cān dām (dzām) LH dzəm, OCM *dzām
‘Silkworm’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukwu SR dzam (ㄘ), PR dzan; MGZY tsay (ㄗ) [dzam]


‘Have in mouth’ tr. (have a taste in the mouth) [Huaiinan] is perh. derived from ー án
căn - cáo

喀 ‘hold in the mouth’ (under  ǎn 暗) with the transitivising s-prefix ([§5.9.2).
Karlgren (1956: 18) relates this word to  zà 嘴 ‘bite’.

căn 碎 (ts'ān) LH ts'ān, OCM *tshān
'Shiny, beautiful’ 髪 [Shi], 碎 [Chunqu fenlu].
[Œ] Perh. a ST word, it could either be related to WT mt'sar-ba ‘bright, shining, beautiful’ (so HST: 49); or, acc. to Unger (Hao-k'u 35, 1986: 30) to WT gsal-ba ‘be clear, distinct, bright’. Since MC ts'ā = WT gs- ([§5.9.1), Unger’s suggestion seems on balance preferable.

căng1 躏 ‘granary’ → càng 藏

căng2 趕 (ts'jaŋ, ts'sañ) LH ts'sañ, OCM *tšrang(h)
‘Cold’ [Yi Zhouhu].
<k> prob. intensive aspiration of  liāng 涼 ‘cold’: s + hraa ([§5.9.2)].
[D] LH ts'añ ‘an old Wū dialect word in Shisheiü xiyü; it is still used in Min dialects: Fūzhōu ts'ençaí, Xiämên ts'än[C], Jiānyáng t'ông[C] ‘cold (of weather)’ (Norman 1983: 207). Unrelated to → qing 清 ‘cold’.

căng3 蒞 (ts'añ) LH ts'añ, OCM *tšañ < *k-sañ?
‘Green, azure, blue’ [Shi]. This may be an old dialect variant of → qing 青 (Baxter, JCLTA 19, 1983), note Min ts'añ for qing 青 and its use for ‘sky, heaven’ in the ancient Yuè area (later Min) of the Han period ([Yuè jué shù].
In the form càng-lăng 遲浪 / 猿 / 燃 (ts'áñ-läng) the initial l- is the reduplicative syllable onset ([§2.7].
[E] ST *saq: Garo tag'añ < qag ‘live’ ≠ gat'añ < k-sañ ‘green’. Dimasa gat'añ ‘alive, living, green, unripe’. This stem is parallel to ST *sig, see → qing 青.

cáng 藏 (dz'ān) LH dz'ān, OCM *dz'ān, OBC *dz'tśan
‘To conceal, store’ [Shi].
[T] Sin Suku Kh S dz'ān (平); MGZy ts'ān (半) [dz'ān]; ONW dz'ān

záng 藏 (dz'ān) LH dz'ān, OCM *dz'ān, OBC *dz'tśan
(1) ‘A treasure’ 藏 [Shi] > ‘intestines’ 藏 [Zhouli]. For a semantic parallel see under → fù 付.
<k> *dz'ān + pass. s/h-suffix ([§4.4], lit. ‘what is being stored’).
(2) ‘Storehouse’ [Zuo] (Downer 1959: 275).
[Œ] *dz'ān + general purpose s/h-suffix ([§3.5], lit. ‘what does the storing’).

chāo 草 (ts'āu) LH ts'āu, OCM *ts'āu
‘Grass, small plant’ [Shi].
[E] Etymology not clear. Perh. related to WT rts'aw ‘grass, plant’; Balti, Purik rts'wa, stwa (Jaesci: 437a) confirm the medial w. The WT word could be reconciled with CH if analyzed as *rtsw-a with the a-suffix which is also found in t'a-ga-pa ‘weaver’ < *tag-a. Alternatively, this could be another version of the AA word under → chu 蘼.

ología 造 (ts'āu) LH ts'ou, OCM *tshū — [T] ONW ts'ou
‘To grasp’ [Li], ‘to handle’ [Zuo].

ologia 操 (ts'āu) LH ts'ou, OCM *tshāu
‘Principles, purpose’ [Meng].
<¢> exopass. of acija 操 (ts'āu) ([§4.4], lit. ‘what is grasped’.

cào 造 → zào 造

cē1 侧 (tsjok) LH ts'ik, OCM *ts'ark
‘Be going to the side, be slanting, deviating’ > ‘side’ [Shi].
*zē 采 (tsjok) LH ts'ik, OCM *ts'ark
‘Be slanting, oblique’ [Zhouli] > ‘sun going down, afternoon’ 營 [OB, Shu].
[E] AA: OKhmer je/créé/ ‘to turn down, tilt, slope, decline, (of sun) go down, set’, acc. to Jenner / Pou (1982: 268) a derivative of OKhmer re/re‘ to move, stir, change course’, from this root is also derived the Khmer (and OC) w/ under → li 李, 理. For the CH final -k, see §6.1.1.

cē2 测侧侵 (tsjok) LH tš'ik, OCM *ts'ark
‘To fathom, measure’ depth [Shi]; ‘to pity, be pained’ 侧 [Yijing, Meng]; ‘deep (or sharp?) cutting’ of a plow 夏侵 [Shi] (also QY tsjok).
[T] Sin Suku SR ts'aj ('); MGZY ch'iy  ( [ts'aj]; ONW tš'ik

cē3 序 (ts'si) LH tš'si, OCM *ts'sarkh
‘Lattine’ [Zuo].
[T] Sin Suku SR ts'ī ('); LR ts'î; MGZY ch's ( ) [ts'ī]
[Œ] ST: PB ts't(y) ‘urinate’ > WT g'ēi-d-pa ‘to urinate’ ≠ g'ēin ‘urine’; WB t'shi ‘urine’, NN *tšhi ‘urine’, Cheaping c'iyu ‘urine’ [Weidert 1987: 27]. For the OC medial *r, see §7.4; the vowel correspondence is unusual, see §11.2.2.

cē4 簇笋笋 (ts'ek) LH tš'ek, OCM *ts'ērk – [T] ONW tš'ēk

cē5 簒 (ts'ek) LH tš'ek, OCM *ts'ērk
‘To spear’ (fish) 簛 [Zhouli], ‘a kind of lance’ 稃 [SW].
[Œ] This is prob. a vocalic variant of the synonym → chuó 稃 (ts'ok) [ts'ok] *ts'okh, prompted by AA-OKhmer c'ik/cak/ ‘to pierce, stab, stab...’. Alternatively, the ‘kind of lance’ could represent the AA item Khmer c'ak/cak, and ‘spear fish’ was a semantic extension in analogy to chuó. For the CH reflexive initial, see §5.10.3. Another syn. is → zē 稃.

cēn 曾 → chăn 滬

cēng 慫 → zēng 曾增

chā1 叉 (ts'āi, ts'a) LH ts'ee or ts'āi, OCM *ts'ēr or *ts'ērhī
‘A fork’ [SW].
[T] Sin Suku SR ts'ā ( ); ONW ts'ē

chā 枝 (ts'āi) LH tš'ee, OCM *ts'ērk
‘Forked branch of a tree’ (used for spearing fish) [SW, Zhuang]. Duan Yucai says that yā-chā 機权 is an eastern Yangtze dialect word for ‘branch’ (Wáng Li 1982: 440).
chá – chá

[E]？AA: The reference to the eastern end of the Yangtze River, once inhabited by AA, may support an AA connection: Khmer ក្រៀវ /chaaev/ ‘to be divided, split, cleft, forked, bifurcated...’ This AA etymology may also be represented in → xié, 枝 ‘split’. For the absence of final -k in CH, see §6.9. Alternatively, chá may be the s. w. as → chá 错 ‘divergence’ (< ‘branch off’), but see there.

The SW glosses the graph chá as ‘crossing hands’, thereby implying a basic meaning ‘branches crossing each other’; this suggests a connection with → cuò 错 ‘crossing, mixing’, also TB-JP ga31-tfai55 ‘intersect’.

chá2 错 (tɕaʔ) LH tʂaiʔ, OCM *tɕhrai
‘Divergence, difference, distinction’ [Shu], ‘mistake’ [Xun] (cf. → cuò 错 ‘mistake’).
[T] Sin Sukhu SR tʂa (��); ONW tʂʰai (~ tʂʰi)

chá3 错 (tʂʰaiʔ) LH tʂaiʔ, OCM *tɕhrai
‘Uneven, irregular’ [SW] (Karlgren 1956: 16);

chá-čhi 错池 (tʂʰaiʔ-jjje) LH tʂaiʔطبعی OCM *tɕhrai-drai or *tɕhrai-li
‘Graduated, of different length’ [Shi].

[c] Prob. a reduplicated form where the second syllable has the *l ~ *r onset (§2.7).

[E] The etymology is not clear, perh. the s. w. as → chá 错, ‘fork’, lit. ‘branch off’ > ‘diverge’, but the semantic field of this wf points in a different direction (‘graduated’). Or perh. AA: Khmer ក្រញ /chay/a’ /caaij/ ‘give out, scatter, disperse’ >) OKhmer /kɛaʔj/ ‘be separated, apart, far away, different’. OR ST: WT sre-ba ‘to mix with, mingle’.

chá1 错 (tʂap) LH tʂep, OCM *tʃrep or *tʃrep < *s-ʔrap (§9.1), OCB *tʃhrop
‘To husk (grain) with a mortar and pestle’ [SW], ‘to insert’ [Guoce].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR tʂa (��)

chá2 错 (tʂuij) LH tʂ/yas ~ tʂios, OCB *tʃhio < *-ops
‘Pound away’ (with mortar and pestle) (Duân Yúcâi: 1992: 58).
[<] prob. an s-prefix iterative derivation from → yā压 ‘press down’, hence < PCH *s-ʔrap (§9.1), even though the MC vowels do not agree (á vs. a ～ OC *rə vs. *rə).
[El] Alternatively, it may be related to PLB *k’ap ~ *tšap ‘stick into, insert’, WB k’yap ‘put into and twist about...’, Akha tsaw/sp ‘pierce, stab’; but the initials are difficult to reconcile.

chá1 茶 (da) LH da, OCM *d-lá
‘Tea’ [Han period].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR dza (��); ONW dā

[E] Sagart (1999: 188) suggests that chá is a loan from Loloish (TB) *la ‘leaf, tea’, PLB *-la ‘leaf / tea’ (HPTB: 48), as tea may have originated in Sichuán (Lolo area); this word has wider distribution, also in Zhuang (Tai) la ‘tea’, the ultimate source is PAA *sia ‘leaf’. Alternatively, Qiu Xigu (2000: 326) considers ‘tea’ with its bitter leaves a semantic extension of *tia 茶 ‘name of a bitter plant’ (Sorbus olearacea).

chá2 釵 (dza3) LH dzai, OCM *dzrai
‘Cut trees’ [Guoyu].

*zé 作 (tʂk) LH tʂak, OCM *tʂräk
‘Clear away (trees and bushes)’ [Shi].

*zhuō 聲 (tʂjak) LH tʂok, OCM *tʂak
‘Cut off’ [Gongyang].

Possibly AA in light of *zé ‘clear away trees and bushes’ (to make room for settle-


chá3 潮 (tʂʰat) LH tʂʰat, OCM *tʂʰrat
‘To examine’ [Shu], ‘discern’ [Li] is either derived from → chá 错 ‘distinction’, or from → chá 错 ‘choose, select’; ‘examine, discern’ is the process of sorting out differences, selecting.
[T] Sin Sukhu SR tʂa (��)

chá1 刺 (tʂʰat) LH tʂʰat – [T] ONW tʂʰat
‘A Buddhist temple’, borrowed from Skt. शैतra ‘field, place, seat, sphere of activity’; Middle Korean 伽倻 and Old Japanese 伽耶 ‘temple’ derive perh. from the CH word (Miyake 1997: 189).

chá2 权 → chá, 又

chái 菜 (tɕaiʔ) LH tɕe (or tɕaiʔ?) OCM *tɕhré (or *tɕhrái ?)
‘To pick out, select’ (e.g. pick horses out of a herd) [Shi].
[El] Prob. AA: Khmer /srai/ ‘to take the pick of, select’. Or semantically less likely, this may be the s. w. as → chá 错. Allofam is perh. → chá 潮 ‘examine’.

chái1 柴 (dʒai) LH dʒe, OCM *dʒrē
‘Firewood’ [Li] > ‘burnt offering’ [Bi, Shu].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR dʒai (��); MGÖZ cay (��) [dʒaj]
[DT] The graph 管 writes a Min synonym, see under → jiāo 焦.

chái1 僅 (dʒai) LH dʒe, OCM *dʒrē or *dʒrāi
‘Class, category, equals’ [Zao], occurs also in Tai: S. raa22, set, category, list’ (Manomaivibool 1975: 156). For the initials, see §7.1.5. Perh. connected with → qì24 齊 ‘be equal’ (so Karlgren 1956: 16).

chái2 僅 (dʒai) LH dʒei, OCM *dʒrē or *dʒrāi
‘Class, category, equals’ [Zao], occurs also in Tai: S. raa22, set, category, list’ (Manomaivibool 1975: 156). For the initials, see §7.1.5. Perh. connected with → qì24 齊 ‘be equal’ (so Karlgren 1956: 16).

chái3 僅 (dʒai)
The graph is used to write the Min dial. word for ‘many’: PMin *dʒæci > Yongän tse-ci, Jiàngyâng lai-ci, Fùzhōu sa-ci, Amoy tse-ci. Yue Hashimoto (CAA 6, 1976: 1) relates this word to Tai: Zhuang (Lóngzhōu) lai41 ‘many’ < PTai *hla11. The Tai word is related to → dú 多.

chái 菜 (tɕaiʔ) LH tɕas, OCM *r hesitate
‘Scorpion’ [Shi]. The phonetic wàŋ 卐 which writes words like → màí 嘔鰴 務 *mra(t)s ‘walk’ suggests that the OC initial was *r- rather than a dental stop.

[<] chá is derived from → li11 犬 ‘sharp’ with the nominalizing ST -/ aspiration (§5.2.4); it may also be a connected with zhé 扎 (tɕat) LH tɕat ~ *tɹat ‘to sting’ [Liezii].

chá1 佔聭 → zhǎn2 占聭

chá2 桿 → yán3 延聭

chá1 釵 (jiɑn) LH dzian, OCM *dan
‘Irresolute’ [Chucii] is perh. cognate to the wv → chá2 嘔鰴 勿 ‘slow’.

chá2 潮 (dzam) LH dzam, OCM *dzräm
‘Be craggy’ (of rocks on a mountain) [Shi].
chán - châng

h chán, zhàn 僧 (dząm, dʒam⁶) LH dząm, dʒam⁶, OCM *dʒราม, *dʒräṃ?
‘Uneven, unequal, disorder [Zuo].

h chán, zhàn 僧 (tʂam⁴, dʒäm⁴) LH tʂam⁴, dʒäm⁴, OCM *tʃrâms, *dʒräms
‘Mixed, disparate [Li].

[<] perh. expan. of chán (§4.4).

h cên 参 (tʂam⁴) LH tʂam⁴, OCM *tʂram
‘Uneven, of varying length’ (flowers) [Shi].


chán, zhàn 僧 (djiang⁴) LH dʒam, OCM *dran
‘Farm, farmyard’ [Shi].


châng 章 (djiang⁴) LH dʒam⁴, OCM *dran(s)
‘To bind, wind’ [Lie].

h dân 鏡 (tän⁴, dän⁴) LH tan⁴, dän⁴, OCM *tän⁴, *dän⁴?
‘A belt or wrapping cord’ [Shi].


châng, zhàn 僧 → chán, zhàn 淅

chân, zhán 鏡 → zhán² 斬

châng 釋 (tʂjan⁴) LH tʂam⁴, OCM *than⁴?
‘To open up, make clear, explain’ [Yi] is perh. the s. w. as chán, zhàn 僧鏡.

chêng 擡 (tʂjan⁴) LH tʂam⁴, OCM *than⁴?
‘Slow, drawn-out, easy-going’ [Li]; ‘slow’ [Shi]; ‘indulgent, generous’ 輕 [Lao].

Perh. → chân, zhân 僧 ‘explain’ is the s. w.

h ? shân 眠 (tʃan⁴) LH dʒan⁴, OCM *dans
‘Relinquish, cede, hand over’ [Meng] (< *be generous”).

[C] Allofam is perh. → tän, gén ‘at ease’; → chân 僧 ‘irresolute’.

chân 產 (sän⁴) LH sän⁴, OCM *srän⁴ or *srên⁴ (?), OCB *srånjan⁴?
‘To breed, bear’ [Zuo], ‘produce’ [Li], ‘product, livelihood’ [Meng].

[T] Sin Sukhothai tsən ( ), MGZY shan ( ) [san]; ONW sên

[E] ST: WT srel-ba ‘to bring up, rear’ (Bodman 1980: 143; HST p. 40). The MK-Khmer synonym somraal is phonologically also related to this word (see → mián, 媽).

chán, zhân 僧 → chán, zhân 淅

châng 昌 (tʂjan⁴) LH tʂam⁴, OCM *khλan⁴ or *thän⁴ — [TN] ONW tʂan⁴
‘Splendid, prosperous’ [Shi] is perh. related to → yâng⁹ 背 in which case this word might go back to earlier *khλan⁴. This would be supported by PVM *hλan⁸ ‘bright’.

Note the phonetic parallelism with → châng, 唱.

chân 常 (tʃan⁴) LH dʒan⁴, OCM *dän⁴, actually *djan⁴?
‘Lower garment’ [SW 8: 3410].

châng - châng

= châng裳 (tʃan⁴) LH dʒan⁴, OCM *dän⁴, actually *djan⁴?
‘Lower garment, skirt’ [Shi].

[B] Bodman (1980: 80) compares this word to WT g-yaŋ ‘animal skin clothing’. For the initials see §9.3.

châng² 常 (tʃan⁴) LH dʒan⁴, OCM *dän⁴, actually *djan⁴?
‘To perpetuate, have or be forever’ [BI, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukhothai Sr dzjan ( ), MGZY zhan ( ) [zan]; MTang żan, ONW dzjan

= shâng 尚 (tʃan⁴) LH dʒan⁴, OCM *dän⁴, actually *djan⁴?
‘To continue, still, consider to continue, hope for’ [BI, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukhothai Sr dzjan ( ), MGZY zhan ( ) [zan]; MTang żan, ONW dzjan

[E] ST *jan: Acc. to Bodman (1980: 79) related to WT yang *again, still, once more’. For the initials see §9.3. WT yang may possibly belong to → yû, ò instead, however.

châng³ 常峨 → é 惟

châng 図 (tʃan⁴) LH dʒan⁴, OCM *dän⁴, actually *djan⁴?
‘To taste’ [Shi] > *try’ (doing something) [Zhuang].

[D] PMin *dzjan⁴ points to earlier *m-djan⁴.

[E] ST *m-jaŋ: PTB *m-yaŋ : Chepaŋ yaŋ-sâ ‘to taste’ (sample food). WT myoŋ-ba, myâŋ / myoŋ / ‘to taste, enjoy, experience’ (Bodman 1980: 80), from < PTib. *m-yaŋ. However, WB mraŋ⁴ to taste, try by tasting’ suggests that the ST initial might have been more complex. For the initials see §9.3.

châng⁴ 搖 (tʃan⁴) LH dʒan⁴, OCM *d-laŋ⁴ (or *dран⁴)
‘Vegetable garden, a (pounded) threshing area’ [Shi 154, 7 etc.]; this word also means ‘meadow’ (in the mountains) [BI] (related?).

[E] Etymology not certain, perh. ST: WT ra-ba ‘enclosure, fence, wall, yard, courtyard, pen’, and related to → zhù, 去 [die⁴], for the initials see §7.1.4, for the finals see §6.5.2. The basic meaning would then be an ‘enclosed area or yard’. Ši Xiângdông (2000: 32) relates châng to WT tʰaŋ ‘high plain’, but see → châng 昌.

châng⁵ 僑 (tʃan⁴) LH dʒan⁴, OCM *d-laŋ⁴ ‘Intestines’ [Shi].

[T] MTang dʒan, ONW dän — [D] PMin *dəŋ


châng 長 → zhâng² 張

châng 館 (tʂjan⁴) LH tʂam⁴, OCM *thän⁴?
‘High, level land, spacious’ [Han time].


châng 唱倡 (tʃan⁴) LH tʂam⁴, OCM *khλan⁴ — [TN] ONW tʂan⁴
‘To lead in singing, intone’ [Shi] > ‘to take the lead’ (generally) [Guoyu, Hou Hanshù].

[E] ST: WB a-kraŋ⁸, a-kraŋ⁸ ‘a kind of song’ (< *khλan⁴?); perh. also Proto-Bodo *laŋ⁴ ‘to sing’ (Burling 1959: 443). Parallelism with the phonetic element → châng 昌 strengthens the OC reconstruction and ST etymology.
chàng - chè

chàng 撒 (t'jang⁵) LH ṭjang⁴, OCM *thrayh or *rthayh?
   ‘Wine, spirits’ [Bl, Shi].

cháoh 剌 (tšau⁴) LH tsha⁴, OCM *tsrau⁴
   ‘To snatch’ [Li] is prob. related to Tai: S. cok⁴ ‘id.’ (Manomaivibool 1975: 156).

huán 撼 (tšwan⁴) LH tshuan⁴, OCM *tsrōns (< *tshrau-ns)
   ‘To seize, take by force’ (a throne) [Meng].

[C] An allophone may be → zhua 抓 ‘grasp’, but the OC vowels differ.

cháo1 朝 → zhāo 朝

cháo2 齐 (dzau⁴) LH dzau⁴, OCM *dzuau⁴
   ‘Nest’ [Shi], ‘make a nest’ [Zuo].
   [T] Sin Sukhu SR dzaw (dzaw); MGZY caw (dzaw)
   [E] Related to PMY *rau⁴ ‘nest’ (Downer ICSTLL 1982, Beijin); PIlai *ʔua:k⁴ ‘nest’.
   For the initials, see §7.1.5. This word is prob. cognate to → zhua 抓 ‘grasp’, hence
   cháosh was originally a ‘perch’, but the OC vowels do not agree.

chē 车 (tša⁴) LH tsha⁴, OCM *kha-lla
   ‘Chariot’ [OB, BI, Shi] ‘wheel’ as in făng-chē 紋車 ‘spinning wheel’.
   [T] Sin Sukhu SR tje⁴ (tsje⁴); MGZY chya (tsje⁴); ONW tsha⁴
   [D] PMin *tšia⁴; in some southern dialects ‘to mill’, e.g. Y-Guangzhou tsie⁵, mei⁵ 车米 ‘mill rice’.

[Horse] and chariot were introduced into China around 1200 BC from the West (Shaughnessy HMAS 48, 1989: 189-237). Therefore, this word is a prob. a loan, apparently from an IE language (V. Mair, EC 15, 1990: 45ff; Robert Bauer, Sino-Platonic Papers 47, 1994): Toch. A kūkū, Tocharian B koka, note Greek kysta or kyklōi (‘wheeler’) ‘wagon’ [Pokorny IG etym. Wörterbuch 1: 640]; an older variant survives in Northern Mandarin: gū-lū ‘wheel’ (so Bauer). Alternatively, acc. to Baxter / Sagart (1998: 48): chē is a derivation by k-phrase from → yū, 升 ‘lift up’ (§5.4); note the WT semantic parallel təp-pa ‘vehicle, carriage, riding beast’ < id. ‘to lift, raise, hold, support’.

- jū 車 (kwo) LH kio, OCM *ka → [T] ONW kio ? > ká
   ‘Chariot’ (a piece in a chess game), lit. for ‘carriage’ (as in Tang poetry: Branner T’ang Studies 17, 2000: 44). For a similar phonological doublet, note → chá1, 處 ~ jū, 居. Different readings of 車 are discussed by Baxter (1992: 480; 862 n. 356). Shiming states that the reading in MC jiao is the older one; this is prob. based on a scribal error in a Shijing version (Baxter 1992: 360; 480). On the other hand, Baxter points out that therefore the reading MC kwo may be a lexicographical ghost, while a reading MC kio mentioned in JDSW seems closer to MC tsia with its aspiration. However, MC kio has enjoyed this to day general currency while MC kio is unknown apart from this sound gloss.

[C] Possible allophone → kū, 廟.

chá1 抹 → chʃ1 擦

chá2 撒 (djiat, tʃiät) LH dat, tʃat, OCM *drat, *thrét, OCB *thrjet — [T] ONW that
   ‘To remove, take away, clean away’ [Bl, Shi]; 擦 [Lunyu].
   [C] r-causative of shi 近 (§7.5) (Sagart 1999: 111). This word looks like a derivation from → chá2, 車 [dia] ‘remove’ with a t-suffix (§6.2.2). However, the phonetic of 擦

chēn - chén

chēn 撞 (tʃampion) LH tʃim, OCM *rim?
   ‘A precious object’ [Shi].
   [T] Sin Sukhu SR tʃim (tʃim); PR, LR tʃim; MGZY chim (tʃim)

chén1 時 → shì1 視

chén2 撇 (djaam⁴) LH dim, OCM *d-lam
   ‘To sink’ [Shi], ‘submerge’ [Guo], ‘submerge something as a sacrifice’ [OB] > ‘put power in liquid’ [Zhouli]; ‘deep’ [Zhuang] (Chu：zhān lando) ‘deep’; ‘deep’.
   Acc. to Downer (1959: 228), the ‘to sink’ is read in tone A, while the causative ‘to drown, immerse’ [Zuo] is read in tone C acc. to ancient commentators.
   [T] Sin Sukhu SR dzim (PR), LR dzim; MGZY chim ( dzi)m; ONW dim
   [C] derived from → yin, 深 ‘deep’; the OC initial may have been *l- as Baxter suggests; note the Khmer form below.

zhén 深 (djaam⁴) LH dim, OCM *d-lams
   ‘Poisoned wine’ [Zuo]; ‘to poison’ [Guo] (Karlgren GSR 656f).
   [C] exxpass. of chēn 撇 ‘put power in liquid’ (§4.4).

[Area etymology: PMK *laam (Shorto 1976: 103), Khmer ralām / rłów / ‘be soaked, drenched, drowned’.] Katuc *k[ʃ]ialm, *k[a]lam ‘to sink’. PMonic *l[ʃ]am ‘to immerse something’ > OMon tulum ‘to drown’ (oneself), Mon *kəlam, Nyak Kur *cəlam; Mon tanim ‘be inundated’, Mon tulum ‘to sink’ (Difffloth 1984: 221). CB: Chepang: kylum- ‘submerge, be hidden’ [kylum- ‘bury, submerge, cover’].

[Allophones are prob. → yin, 深, and perh. → chén2 撇, shen, ‘a liquid’ → hán 4, 海, zhan, 湖. Similar looking word in final -m include: → dān 深, → jían 深, → jian 深, → lín 深, → shēn 深, → zhan 深, 艁, → rān 桑.

Languages in the area have similar words, but they are difficult to match with potential OC relations:

   AA: Khmer srâm / to sink slowly into water, drop slowly out of sight’.
   AA: PMonic *hoom ‘to take a bath’ caus. ‘*p-hoom ‘bathe, wash’; PVM *bham ‘bathe’ [Thompson], perh. PSBahn. ‘*ram ‘bathe’.
   KT: Séck ram² ‘be wet’ (ram² ‘black’); PKS *ram₁ ‘sink’.
   Tai cium⁴ ‘wet’, cium⁴ ‘soak, immerse’, Lóngzhou tum² ‘wet’.
chén 辰 (jīn) LH ěrin, OCM *don
The 5th of the Earthly Branches, identified with the dragon [OB]; cf. shén 辰 (jīn) ‘some kind of dragon’ [Hánhshū, Táiwén zhí].
[T] Sin S. SR zǐn (平); LR dzin; MGZy zhin (平) [zijn]; ONW dzin

chén 辰 ‘season’ → chén₂ 辰辰; ‘time’→ zhì₁ 之

chén₂ 辰辰 (jīn) LH dzin, OCM *don 辰辰 (also MC dzien, LH žin, OCM *m-don) Time when life begins to stir: (1) ‘early morning’ 辰辰 [OB, BI, Shu; SW 1149].
(2) ‘Start of the growing / agricultural season in the 3rd month; heavenly bodies that mark that time’ 辰辰 [SW 2991; 6629]; ‘heavenly body’ 辰 [Shu]. 辰 converges with 辰 ‘time’ (under zhī₂ 之).
[Ell] endopass. of zhēn 揚震, lit. ‘stir oneself’ (§4.6). The meaning ‘morning’ may have been influenced by MK: Mon timin, timin ‘morning’ (m can be an inflix).

chén₃ 堤 (jīn) LH ǐn, OCM *dran — [T] ONW din ‘Dust’ [Shi].

chén₄ 堤 (jīn) LH ǐn, OCM *dran ‘Set forth, set out, spread out, arrange, marshal, display’ [Shi], ‘diffuse, give’ [Zuo].

zhēn 陈 (jīn) LH ěrin, OCM *dran ‘Battle array’ [Lunyu].

chān₁ 顇 (tɕ̚jʌŋ², tɕ̚i) LH ěrin², tɕ̚i, OCM *θran², *θrәi ‘To laugh’ [Zhuang].
[Ell] ST *C-rə-C: Lushai ðên ‘smile’; pers. also related to PTB *ry-a ‘laugh’ (STC no. 202): WT zgà-la < q-yà ‘sport, joke, play’, Kanauiri-Bunan sred, WB rai ‘laugh’. For the initial, see §1.1.4.

chān₂ 潮沈 (tɕ̚jʌm³) LH tɕ̚im³, OCM *k-hlam³ ‘A liquid’ [Zuo]; ‘juice’ [Shi; Lı].
[Ell] nominalizing k-prefix derivation from the stem of → yín₃ 濡 ‘soak’; see → chén₂ 沈 for wider connections. Alternative: possibly related to Tai S. nam⁴ < *nl/-rc ‘water, liquid’ (so Unger Ha-ko 47, 1995: 140), but the initials are difficult to reconcile.

chāng 顇 (tɕ̚jʌŋ) LH tɕ̚iŋ, OCM *hraŋ ‘Red’ [Shi], 席 [Yii] as the color of a cream’s tail or that of blushing, also glossed as ‘deep red’ (Gilles), hence chäng referred originally perh. to the intensive red of certain types of exposed (naked) skin color.
[Ell] possibly an intensive derivation of → chäng₃ 程 ‘dren ‘naked’ (§5.8.3) (cf. Karlgren 1933: 69); then the Tai items would be CH loans.

chāng₃ 称 (tɕ̚aŋ) LH tɕ̚iŋ, OCM *θanŋ — [T] ONW tɕ̚iŋ ‘To weigh’ [Li].

chäng₃ 称 (tɕ̚aŋ) LH tɕ̚iŋ, OCM *tharıŋ ‘To stare at’ [Zhuang] also is found in Tai: S. tʰiŋ (WrSiám tʰa-liŋ) ‘a fierce stare, to stare hard at’ (Manomaivibool 1975: 154).

chäng₄ 成盛 (jīn) LH dzien < gięn⁷, OCM *gięŋ⁷ ‘To complete, achieve, build’ [BI, Shi]; ‘put’ (in receptacle), ‘load, pack’ [BI, Shi], ‘a vessel full’ 盛 [Meng]; ‘filled-in earth, stamped earth’ 城 ’city wall’ [Shi] > ‘city’ 城 [Zuo].
[Ell] Sin Sukchu SR dzıŋ (平); MGZY zhıng (平) [zijn]; ONW dzien
[D] Pmin *dzıŋ ‘percent’; Pmin *tıng ‘town’.

shäng 盛 (jīn) LH dzien⁷ < gięn⁷, OCM *gięŋ⁷ ‘Abundant, highest degree’ [Zhuang, Li].
[Ell] Sin Sukchu SR zıŋ (且); MGZY zhıng (去) [zijn]; ONW dzien
[c] exopass. of chäng, ‘be filled’ (§4.4).
[Ell] Prob. not related to → yín₃ 盪盈 ‘full’. More likely, Bodman (1980: 160) relates City to WT gyan, gyan ‘pise, stamped earth, wall’ → rya ‘wall’ + gięng-pa, bkaŋ ‘to fill, to fulfill’ + skoy-ba, bskay ‘to fulfill’. For the verses, see §11.3.2; for the initials §§12.1.1 (3). The initial is confirmed by PWa which borrowed this word as *kỳng ‘town, village’.

chäng₅ 成 (jīn) LH dzien, OCM *don ‘To lift, hold up, present, receive’ [BI, Shi].
[Ell] Sin Sukchu SR dzıŋ (平); MGZY zhıng (平) [zijn]; ONW dzien

[Ell] exopass. of shäng 程 (tɕ̚aŋ), lit. ‘be lifted to (a level)’ (§4.4).

zhäng 蒸 (tɕ̚aŋ) LH tɕ̚iŋ, OCM *tŋaj — [T] ONW tɕ̚iŋ ‘To offer (gift, sacrifice)’ [Shi].
[Ell] zhäng 撷 (tɕ̚aŋ⁷) LH tɕ̚iŋ⁷, OCM *tŋaj ‘Lift’ [Yii], ‘save, help’ [Zuo].
[Ell] This w is prob. related to → dăng, 登. There is a similar w, but with initial *l- → chäng, 乘. HST: 104 relates this w to WT greg-ba ‘rise, stand up’, but the WT medial -r should be expected to have a MC counterpart.

chäng₆ 乘 (džaŋ) LH žıŋ, OCM *mₙaŋ ‘To mount, ascend, ride, drive’ [Shi].
[Ell] shäng 乗 (džaŋ) LH žıŋ, OCM *mₙaŋ ‘Chariot, team of four horses’ [Shi].
[Ell] exopass. of chäng 乘 (džaŋ), lit. ‘what is mounted’ (§4.4).

shäng 升昇 (jīn) LH žıŋ, OCM *θanŋ ‘To mount, rise, raise’ [BI, Shi] > ‘to present’ [Li].
[Ell] Sin Sukchu SR ŝıŋ (平); MGZY shing (平) [zijn]; ONW ŝıŋ
[c] perhaps caus. of chäng 乘 (džaŋ) (§5.2.2). Bodman (1980: 185) considers this word a doublet of → xing² 興.
[Ell] See also → těng₂ 腾; → shäng, 勝 is perh. cognate.
chéng - ㄔˊ

chénɡ 桩 (ㄔㄥˊ) LH ㄉㄞ, OCM *ㄉㄢˊ
‘Door posts’ [Li], ‘serve as a stay or support to’ [Zhouli].
‘upright beam in house’ (Bodman p. c.).

chêng 椐 (ㄔㄥ) LH ㄉㄞ, OCM *ㄉㄢ
‘Naked’ [Meng].
[E] This is prob. related to TB-Mikir -ren-y ‘angse` ‘naked’, WT sgren-mo ‘naked’ (WT
‘be bare’ (as a hillside) (Unger Ha-ku 38, 1992: 82). This word could ultimately belong
to luoy, all based on a ST root *ro; see Table L-1 ‘Naked, red’ for an overview of
related and similar etyma. A derivation is → chêng, 體 ‘red’ (so Karlgren 1933: 69)
as ‘naked’ is associated with ‘red’.

chêng 濰 (ㄔㄥ) LH ㄉㄞ, OCM *ㄉㄢ
‘Limpid, clear’ [Li].

chêng 微 (ㄔㄥ) LH ㄉㄞ, OCM *ㄉㄢ
‘Suppress 微 [Yi]; ‘correct with harsh measures, repress’ [Shu], ‘warn’ 微 [Zuo]. This
word may be connected with → líng, 凌凌 ‘oppress’.

chêng 腹 → tián, 田

chêng 酗 → dīng, 飬

chê1 吃 (ㄑi) LH ㄑi?
‘To stuffer’ [SW, Hanshu]. — [E] Etymology not clear.

chê2 吃 [T] Sin Sukku SR kî (入), LT ts̀it; MGZY kî (入) [kî]
‘To eat’ [Xīnshū 新書, spurious?], since it has been the 18th cent. the ordinary Mand.
word for ‘to eat’ [Kāngfì zīdiàn, Hong Lòu Mèng] (Sino-Platonic Papers 98, Jan.
2000: 75ff). Phonetically the MC form does not agree with Mand., nor does the
calendar older variant graph → chê1, 啃. Etymology therefore unknown, perhaps is it the same
word as ‘stutter’ (‘eat one’s sounds’?) (Norman 1988: 76, n. 6).

chê3 啃 (ㄑi) [T] MTang kîk, ONW kèk
‘To eat’ [ONW, Yupian], said to be a variant graph for chê1, 吃, etymology
unknown; neither 咀 nor 吃 can be connected with Mand. chê phonetically (Norman
1988: 76, n. 6).

chê4 艨 (ㄕie) LH tui, OCM *rhai
‘Mountain demon’ 禿 [SW], 禿 [Zuo], 禿 [Lü] occurs in texts only in the compound
chi-mei 艨魅; chi has been extensively discussed by Carr (LTBA 13.2: 136ff).
[E] ST: WT ‘dre < ndre ‘goblin, demon, evil spirit’ *gre-bo / -mo ‘species of demon’;
KN /ts-rai [JST]: Tangkhi rai ‘unclean spirit’, Bodo ráj ‘devil’. This is distinct from
ST wèi, Lushai hři ‘evil spirit which causes sickness’. Note also KPS *laï ‘
‘devil’, ‘ghost’ which may be a CH loan because of the initial *l-.

chê5 舢 → ś, chê 舢

chê6 舢 → zhôl, 舢

chê7 ‘laugh’ → chên1, chê 舢

chê1 池 (ㄑie) LH ㄉi, OCM *d-lai — [T] Sui-Tang ㄑî < dî, ONW ㄉê
‘Pool, pond’ [Shi] is perh. a ST word, note Lushai diif ‘lake, pond, tank, pool’, or
Lushai li < li ‘deep pool’.

chê2 坻 (ㄑı) LH ㄉi, OCM *dri
‘Islet 坻 [Shi] is the s. w. as ‘raised path from gate to the wall of a palace’ 坻

chê3 城 (ㄑı) LH ㄉi, OCM *dri
‘Ant eggs’ [Li] may possibly be connected with → dì, 城 ‘anthill’.

chê4 體 (ㄑı, jı) LH dzıo, OCM *dzıo
‘Spittle of a dragon’ [Guoyu]. STC (171 n. 457) relates this word to PTB *m-šţrl
‘spittle’, but the rimes do not agree.

chê5-chê6 體 (ㄑı-ㄑı) LH ㄉı, OCM *d-ıo
‘Walk hesitatingly’, or perh. ‘pacing up and down’ [Shi], Mand. ‘hesitate’, waver.
[E] => Tai: S. riu2-ta-zo A2 ‘walk hesitatingly, undecided’ (Manomaivibool 1975: 152f);
for the initials, see §7.1.4.

chê1 拭 (ㄕie) LH ㄕı, OCM *rhai — [T] ONW ㄕê
‘To cleave, separate, take away’ [OB, Zhuang].

[E] ST: WT ral ‘rent, cleft’ ral-ba ‘torn’ (clothes) ral-drä, drä / ral ‘to rip up,
tear to pieces’ ral-hra ‘to rent, tear up’ sgral-ba ‘to cut to pieces’.

zhê 他把 (ㄕie, jı) LH ㄕı, ㄕı, OCM *rhai?, *drai?
‘To cleave wood following fibers’ [Shi].

chê1, yī 舢 (ㄕie, jı) LH ㄕı, jı, OCM *rhai?, *lai? — [T] ONW ㄕê, ie ‘
‘To disembowel’ [OB Bingb. 7.1 Period I; Zhuang].

chê 扯 (ㄕie) LH ㄕı, OCM *thrāk
‘To split, rent’ [Shi], ‘fissure’ [Zhouli] occurs also in Tai: S. hakDS < *thrr ‘to
be broken’ (stick) (Li F. 1976: 44). Prob. not related to → pôl, 破.

[C] final -k form of chê1, 抿 (ㄕie) (§6.1.1).

[C] This word may be connected to → chê1, 舢 舢. For an overview of similar items, see Table
P-1 under → pôl 抹. For similar words and possible allomorphs, see → li6, 靜.

chê1, chê 舢 (ㄕie, jı) LH ㄕı, ㄕı, OCM *k-hlai?, *d-lai — [T] ONW ㄕê, de ‘
‘To separate’ [Guoyu].

The original graph 池 shows two separate pieces of meat, hence ‘separate’, although
the conventional interpretation of the graph is ‘2 pieces of meat’ = ‘many’. Since 池
occurs already in the earliest OB, but only as a loan for → du ‘many, all’, the donor
word ‘cleave, separate’ must already have existed at the beginning of writing.

[E] ST: PL *c-klay/y ‘to separate’, Cheangph klah-sa ‘to break’ (as sticks), Lushai
hlaí ‘to flay, to skin, split’ (as cane).

[A] A cognate is perh. → tà 他 ‘other’. This word may belong to → chê1 抿 (ㄕie) and
to → chê, 舢 舢 ‘be wide, extend’; perh. also connected with Tai S. sa-lai ‘to be
split, cracked’.

For an overview of similar items, see Table P-1 under → pôl 抹. For a listing of similar
words and possible allomorphs, see → li6, 靜.

chê1 舢 (ㄕie) LH ㄕı, OCM *k-hlai? — [T] MTang ㄕı, ONW ㄕê ‘
‘Great’ [Shi], ‘extravagant, overbearing’ 舢 [Zuo]; ‘large’ 哥 [Shi] (also read QY
ㄕı, ㄕı); ‘enlarge’ 舢 [Li]; ‘be wide, extend’ [Guoyu].
chí – chòu

【shì】骑（jié，xué）LH šak or šek or hék，OCM *hlak，*hok? 『Red』[Shi]. — 【D】Amoy tsʰjeʔ?


【T】Sin Sukchu SR tʰj ʔ，ši ʔ，PR ši ʔ，LR tʃ ʔ；MGZY ši ʔ [ši]；MTang ši ʔ，kie ʔ?

【N】Two words for 'wife' have been applied to two graphs 妻 and 妻: (1) chí «heʔ; (2) ji «ke — a semantic extension of zheʔ 支腿 «limb ›› 'wing'; MC tone C is prob. an analogy to chí; unpalatalized MC kjeʔ 4 betrays a southern dialect origin; Min kjeʔ may be related. The graph 妻 must have been intended for *ke (the phonetic is 不, 『妻』for *heʔ. However, by convention, MC kjeʔ is an alternate reading for 妻, while both shei 妻 = chí write original *heʔ.

chí₁ 妻 → 亡力

chí₆ 熟(sjeʔ) LH kjeʔ or tʃjeʔ，OCM *kjeʔ?，OCB 'Kjej[s]' 「Cooked sacrificial millet」[Shi]., 熟[Zhoului]. The phonetic series imply an OC initial *j, hence the word may be related to WY 『slightly roasted corn』 [mostly barley or wheat]. Baxter a. Sagart. (1998: 52): relate chí to ʔj, njeʔ.

chòng 冲 (djun) LH ὄν, OCM *druŋ 『Empty』[Lao] looks similar to WT stong-po 『empty』.

chòng₃ 春 (swoŋ) LH ʂoŋ, OCM *hnoŋ 『To hull grain with a pestle』[Shi],『beating stick for beating time in music』[Zhoului]; 『to beat』[Zo].

【K】: S.*kloong "hull rice" (STC: 178 n. 472), Kam-Sui *tjun, which in turn is perf. ultimately related to AA: Kharia džuŋg ‘to pound’ (rice), Munda rdoŋg ‘to husk grain’ (in a husking machine). TB forms seem phonetically closer to ʔzhung 陳.

chòng 釧 (tswoŋ) LH tʃoŋ, OCM *hon 『To pierce』 (a person to kill him) [Guoçe]. A syn. and cognate is → dǒŋ, 涧.

【D】: ST: Perh. related to WT mduŋ ‘lance, spear, sting of insect」 [CVST 2: 15].

chòng 衝→ chuang₂ 撞

chóng 冲 (djun) LH ὄν, OCM *druŋ 『Insect, worm』[Shi].

【T】Sin Sukchu SR dʒuŋ (ʃi), PR dʒuŋ；MGZY cyuŋ (ʃi) [dʒuŋ]

【B】: ST: Bodo-Garo *dʒuŋ 'insect, reptile' > German Dong klaunɔ, or Garo dʒuŋ? (Joseph / Burling /LTBA 24.2.2001: 45), Dimasa yuŋ < djuŋ (HPTB: 310; HST: 98).

chóng 冲（djun）LH ὄν, OCM *dron 『Insect』, 『虫』[Shi].

【T】Sin Sukchu SR dʒuŋ (ʃi), PR dʒuŋ；MGZY cyuŋ (ʃi) [dʒuŋ]

【B】: ST: Bodo-Garo *dʒuŋ 'insect, reptile' > German Dong klaunɔ, or Garo dʒuŋ? (Joseph / Burling /LTBA 24.2.2001: 45), Dimasa yuŋ < djuŋ (HPTB: 310; HST: 98).

chóng 螺（djun）LH ὄν, OCM *dron 『Insect』, 『虫』[Shi].

【T】Sin Sukchu SR dʒuŋ (ʃi), PR dʒuŋ；MGZY cyuŋ (ʃi) [dʒuŋ]

【B】: ST: Bodo-Garo *dʒuŋ 'insect, reptile' > German Dong klaunɔ, or Garo dʒuŋ? (Joseph / Burling /LTBA 24.2.2001: 45), Dimasa yuŋ < djuŋ (HPTB: 310; HST: 98).
chóu

chóu

chóu

chóu

chóu

chóu

chóu

chóu

chóu

chóu

chóu

chóu
chú

[T] Sin Sukcu SR t’u (平); MGZY chu (平) [ts’u]; MTang t’u, ONW t’u < t’o
[D] M-Xiāmén lit. ts’oA, col. ts’oE

chú

[T] Sin Sukcu SR t’u (平); MGZY chu (平) [ts’u]; MTang t’u, ONW t’u < t’o
[D] M-Xiāmén lit. duA

chú

[tshjwob] LH tʃʰə, OCM *tshraŋ
‘Thorny bush / tree’ [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukcu SR t’u (上); MGZY chu (上) [ts’u]; CDC chuB1, ONW t’u > t’o
[E] AA: PMonic *jraŋ ‘thorn, thorny bamboo’ (added to names of thorny plants), Khmu’ /cba/?, Semai /jrala/ [Diffloth 1984: 80]. The complex AA initial needed of course to be simplified in CH, apparently by elimination of the medial l.

Table C-1 ‘Knock, push, touch’ (→ chú 触)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chú 触</td>
<td>*tak</td>
<td>*tuk</td>
<td>*trak, *trakj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT t’ug</td>
<td>WT t’uk</td>
<td>WT t’uk against</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT p’og-pa against</td>
<td>WT p’ug-pa</td>
<td>WT p’ug-pa</td>
<td>WT p’ug-pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT t’ug-ha, WT t’ug-lj against</td>
<td>WT t’ug-ha, WT t’ug-lj</td>
<td>WT t’ug-ha, WT t’ug-lj</td>
<td>WT t’ug-ha, WT t’ug-lj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT t’ug-ux against</td>
<td>WT t’ug-ux</td>
<td>WT t’ug-ux</td>
<td>WT t’ug-ux</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

chú 触

skah (ts̪hjo) LH tʃʰə, OCM *tshraŋ
‘Thorny bush / tree’ [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukcu SR t’u (上); MGZY chu (上) [ts’u]; CDC chuB1, ONW t’u > t’o
[E] AA: PMonic *jraŋ ‘thorn, thorny bamboo’ (added to names of thorny plants), Khmu’ /cba/?, Semai /jrala/ [Diffloth 1984: 80]. The complex AA initial needed of course to be simplified in CH, apparently by elimination of the medial l.

chú 触

[tshjwob] LH tʃʰə, OCM *tshraŋ
‘Thorny bush / tree’ [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukcu SR t’u (上); MGZY chu (上) [ts’u]; CDC chuB1, ONW t’u > t’o
[E] AA: PMonic *jraŋ ‘thorn, thorny bamboo’ (added to names of thorny plants), Khmu’ /cba/?, Semai /jrala/ [Diffloth 1984: 80]. The complex AA initial needed of course to be simplified in CH, apparently by elimination of the medial l.

Table C-1 ‘Knock, push, touch’ (→ chú 触)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chú 触</td>
<td>*tak</td>
<td>*tuk</td>
<td>*trak, *trakj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT t’ug</td>
<td>WT t’uk</td>
<td>WT t’uk against</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT p’og-pa against</td>
<td>WT p’ug-pa</td>
<td>WT p’ug-pa</td>
<td>WT p’ug-pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT t’ug-ha, WT t’ug-lj against</td>
<td>WT t’ug-ha, WT t’ug-lj</td>
<td>WT t’ug-ha, WT t’ug-lj</td>
<td>WT t’ug-ha, WT t’ug-lj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT t’ug-ux against</td>
<td>WT t’ug-ux</td>
<td>WT t’ug-ux</td>
<td>WT t’ug-ux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT t’ug-lj against</td>
<td>WT t’ug-lj</td>
<td>WT t’ug-lj</td>
<td>WT t’ug-lj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

chú 触

skah (ts̪hjo) LH tʃʰə, OCM *tshraŋ
‘Thorny bush / tree’ [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukcu SR t’u (上); MGZY chu (上) [ts’u]; CDC chuB1, ONW t’u > t’o
[E] AA: PMonic *jraŋ ‘thorn, thorny bamboo’ (added to names of thorny plants), Khmu’ /cba/?, Semai /jrala/ [Diffloth 1984: 80]. The complex AA initial needed of course to be simplified in CH, apparently by elimination of the medial l.

chú 触

[tshjwob] LH tʃʰə, OCM *tshraŋ
‘Thorny bush / tree’ [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukcu SR t’u (上); MGZY chu (上) [ts’u]; CDC chuB1, ONW t’u > t’o
[E] AA: PMonic *jraŋ ‘thorn, thorny bamboo’ (added to names of thorny plants), Khmu’ /cba/?, Semai /jrala/ [Diffloth 1984: 80]. The complex AA initial needed of course to be simplified in CH, apparently by elimination of the medial l.

Table C-1 ‘Knock, push, touch’ (→ chú 触)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chú 触</td>
<td>*tak</td>
<td>*tuk</td>
<td>*trak, *trakj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT t’ug</td>
<td>WT t’uk</td>
<td>WT t’uk against</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT p’og-pa against</td>
<td>WT p’ug-pa</td>
<td>WT p’ug-pa</td>
<td>WT p’ug-pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT t’ug-ha, WT t’ug-lj against</td>
<td>WT t’ug-ha, WT t’ug-lj</td>
<td>WT t’ug-ha, WT t’ug-lj</td>
<td>WT t’ug-ha, WT t’ug-lj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT t’ug-ux against</td>
<td>WT t’ug-ux</td>
<td>WT t’ug-ux</td>
<td>WT t’ug-ux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT t’ug-lj against</td>
<td>WT t’ug-lj</td>
<td>WT t’ug-lj</td>
<td>WT t’ug-lj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

chú 触

skah (ts̪hjo) LH tʃʰə, OCM *tshraŋ
‘Thorny bush / tree’ [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukcu SR t’u (上); MGZY chu (上) [ts’u]; CDC chuB1, ONW t’u > t’o
[E] AA: PMonic *jraŋ ‘thorn, thorny bamboo’ (added to names of thorny plants), Khmu’ /cba/?, Semai /jrala/ [Diffloth 1984: 80]. The complex AA initial needed of course to be simplified in CH, apparently by elimination of the medial l.

chú 触

[tshjwob] LH tʃʰə, OCM *tshraŋ
‘Thorny bush / tree’ [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukcu SR t’u (上); MGZY chu (上) [ts’u]; CDC chuB1, ONW t’u > t’o
[E] AA: PMonic *jraŋ ‘thorn, thorny bamboo’ (added to names of thorny plants), Khmu’ /cba/?, Semai /jrala/ [Diffloth 1984: 80]. The complex AA initial needed of course to be simplified in CH, apparently by elimination of the medial l.

Table C-1 ‘Knock, push, touch’ (→ chú 触)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chú 触</td>
<td>*tak</td>
<td>*tuk</td>
<td>*trak, *trakj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT t’ug</td>
<td>WT t’uk</td>
<td>WT t’uk against</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT p’og-pa against</td>
<td>WT p’ug-pa</td>
<td>WT p’ug-pa</td>
<td>WT p’ug-pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT t’ug-ha, WT t’ug-lj against</td>
<td>WT t’ug-ha, WT t’ug-lj</td>
<td>WT t’ug-ha, WT t’ug-lj</td>
<td>WT t’ug-ha, WT t’ug-lj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT t’ug-ux against</td>
<td>WT t’ug-ux</td>
<td>WT t’ug-ux</td>
<td>WT t’ug-ux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT t’ug-lj against</td>
<td>WT t’ug-lj</td>
<td>WT t’ug-lj</td>
<td>WT t’ug-lj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

chú 触

skah (ts̪hjo) LH tʃʰə, OCM *tshraŋ
‘Thorny bush / tree’ [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukcu SR t’u (上); MGZY chu (上) [ts’u]; CDC chuB1, ONW t’u > t’o
[E] AA: PMonic *jraŋ ‘thorn, thorny bamboo’ (added to names of thorny plants), Khmu’ /cba/?, Semai /jrala/ [Diffloth 1984: 80]. The complex AA initial needed of course to be simplified in CH, apparently by elimination of the medial l.
The TB stems with affricate initial(s) in the last column are genetically separate from the others, although they share their field of meaning. As to the many stems with initial *t-, the semantic leap from 'accidentally knock against' to 'chop to pieces' is considerable, but these meanings still are within this particular semantic range. Given the plethora of stems, it seems that least two originally unrelated roots, one meaning 'knock, push', the other 'cut' have converged, probably already beginning on the ST level, and then later in individual languages resulting in this chaotic distribution. The sound symbolic nature of the stems has contributed to the transfer of meaning from one stem to another. These sound-symbolic items are also found in other language families, eg. AA-Khmer /dok/ 'to beat, pound'.

**chuān 魚** (tʂjwɔŋ) LH tʂɔŋ³, OCM *k-hluŋ
'To stay, keep still, dwell' [BI, Shi].

w chu 魚 (tʂjwɔc) LH tʂɔŋ⁹, OCM *k-hlah
'A place'.

[TA] Sin S. SR ts'y (ts') [ts'y]; MGZY chuŋ (ts') [ts']
ONW tʂəa < tʂ̩o

[BU] ST: TB WT gda-'ba 'to be, be there' (locative vb.) ≠ WT gdan 'seat': 'a bolster, a place of residence, situation, rank', Mikir kedô 'to dwell'; with the original l-initial in TGTG *gl'a/h²/ 'place' (Mazaudon 1996 LTBA 19.1: 107); Lushai tla/h² /latc/ 'to be, exist, live, remain'; Pwo Karen (Kyonyaw) län 'place' (Kato A. 1995 LTBA 18.1: 68).

[C] → jü, 居 which is prob. a variant.

**chuán 魔** (tʂjwɔk) LH tʂɔk⁴, OCM *tɔk - [TA] ONW tʂuok
'To but' [Yil], 'knock against' [Zuo].

[D] Min Xiämên lit. ts'îk⁵di, col. ts'îk⁵di

[BU] ST: *tɔk WT tɔgs-pa 'to strike, stumble, run against', Lushai tɔkʰ 'to knock (against)', Mikir tɔk- 'to strike, beat'.

TB parallel stem with initial affricate are: Mikir chɔk 'beat, hit, strike' (STC: 53), WT ts'ɔgs-pa 'to hew, chop', note also Kuki-Naga *tsjuk 'knock against'. Further cognates and / or parallel stems are suggested to be unconnected. The meaning of 'to strike' is also associated with the Chinese characters 稱 (for 'weigh'), and the names of various kinds of weapons, e.g. 'to strike' with an axe.

**chuǎn 蘭** (ts'îjt) LH tsiu¹, OCM *trut
'Bend' [Xun]. The word belongs to a root *tru from which is also derived → zhǒu, 肘 'wrist, elbow'.

[BU] ST: WB kru¹c 'bow down, stoop'. Bodman (1969: 337) relates this word to WT *dud-pa, duk / bud 'to bend down, incline'.

**chuà 蘸** → chu 出

**chuā, xù 蘸** (tʂjuk, xjuk) LH tʂuk, huk, OCM *rhuk, *huk
'To rear, to nourish, cherish' (animals) (also 蘚 [Shi]> 'support' [Shi].

[TA] Sin Sukchu SR ts'y (tʂ'), PR ts'û⁵; MTs'ung⁵, ONW tʂ'uk⁵

x chu, xù 蘔 (tʂjuc, xjuc) LH tʂ'uc, huc⁴, OCM *rhukh, *hukh

[TA] Sin Sukchu SR xy (tʂ'); MGZY hyû (tʂ'); [xy]

[C] exo.pass. of chu, xù 餔 (§4.4), lit. 'what is being / has been raised'.

**Etymology** Not clear, but prob. ST: PTB *hu 'rear, raise, nourish': PLB hû, Abor-Miri u, Qiang (Mawo) gu [HPTB: 58]. Perh. related to → hào. Alternative affilations: ST: JP kru²³ < kru⁵⁵ 'to sprout', *kru̍n²³ 'be alive', WT *kru̍n-ba 'be born, come up, to sprout' [HPTB: 285]. See Table C-2 for synonyms.

Zhengzhang relates WT lug 'sheep' to this word (Sagdart 1999: 195), it would be parallel to → yāng, 羊 'sheep'? ≠ yang, 羊 'raise'; however, WT lug is prob. related to → dās 饕.
chú - chún


('Drooping = ?' 'far end' (of a place): (of a hall) [Shi], 'border, frontier' [Zuo].

zhú 竹 (duíwéi) LH duíwéi, OCM *droih

'Press down, crush' [Lit].

<r-caus. ([7.5] of chú (Pulleyblank 1962: 215), + exoact. / caus. tone C ([4.3]).

[ST] and area etymology. ST *djoj(?); PTB *dyzwal (STC no. 242) > WT 'jol -ba 'to hang down, dangle' ('cow's udder, tail etc.) = g32-wal 'train, train, retinue' (including: as in robe with a train etc.) (Pulleyblank 1962: 215), g-yol 'curtain'; Lushai faul 'hang, hang low' (e.g. coat). ↔ AA: Khmer yola jólol 'to hang, swing, dangle', yāla /jījol/ 'to hang down', also yāra /jiar/ 'to hang down, dangle...'. MK → Tai: S. yowy3 'to hang down' (McFarland: 668). PTai *hui3 'to hang down, suspend'. Alternative etymology: WT g-yur-ba 'to droop, hang or sink down' (Bodman 1980: 80).

[Ch] Perh. related to → shū, shī, duó, ēēi, wēi, zī, → rui 無栗.

chú 劍 (duíwéi) LH duíwéi, OCM *droih?

'Pot, jar' [Lie]. Perhaps related is the ancient Chángshā dialogic word for 'pot, jar' duó (duówéi) [GY]. → [ST]: WT yol-go, yol-ma 'earthenware, crockery'.

chún 春 (tújùn) LH tūjùn, OCM *tun

'The season when growth begins' 'Spring' [Shi], 'spring—summer' [OB].

[ST] Táng tuśin, ONW tśin — [D] PMin *tśin

≈ Zhūn 竈 (tújùn) LH tuśin, OCM *tron — or:

≈ Tūn 竇 (duón) LH duón, OCM *dūn

'To begin to grow' (of plants in spring) 竇 [Yijing]. 竇 [Fānyān].

[ST] Cf. MK-Khmer /doh/ to grow, sprout'; or → chūn, which. [C] Perh. → chún 竇.

chún 舌 (tújùn) LH tūjùn, OCM *tun

'Lip' [Zuo] > 'banks' (of a river) 溪 [Shi]; the basic meaning was apparently 'edge, rim' (Wáng Lí 1982: 517).

[ST] Sin Sukhú Súr zyn (平), PR dzyn; MGZy cyín (平) [dzyn]

[E] Etymology not clear. The most likely cognate is TB-Lepcha a-dul 'lips, edge of a vessel' (Gellisch 1994: 272). Mikir ințur > ințur 'lips' is perhaps a loan form from Kh-Maksi: jsur 'mouth'. STC (158 n. 428) associates chún with WT méch 'lip, beard of birds' (but see under → zhū, 蜘): HST: 39 connects WT with zhūwō 身 蛛 'beak' (zhū, 蜘).

chún2 紫 (duíwéi) LH duíwéi, OCM *dūn

'To blow' [Zhuang], 'to soak' [Guoyu] > (? 'soaked land') 'salty and poor land' [Zuo].

≈ Zhūn 紫 (tújùn) LH tūjùn, OCM *tun

'To moisten' [Zhouli], 'moist, fat' [Li].

chún3 紫 'a pair' → chūn3 俊

chún4 醉 - dūn 醉

chún 酔 (tújùn) LH tūjùn, OCM *tun

'Be wriggling, moving, swarming' (of insects > people) 醺 [Shi] > 'agitated' 醺 [SW: Zuo]. Boltz (JAOS 99.3, 1979: 436) relates → chún 春 'spring' to this wf.

[ST] Sin Sukhú Súr tsy'n (上), MGZy cyén (上) [tsyn]; ONW tśin

≈ Dūn 醺 (tújùn) LH tūjùn, OCM *tun

'Be agitated, anxious' [Zhuang].

≈ Tūn 醺 (duón) LH duón, OCM *dūn

'Be sorrowful, anxious' [Chuci].

chú - chún

Area etymology of AA origin (Luce acc. to Weidert 1987: 129; Sharto 1972: 15). ST-PTB *m-loq (HPTB: 294) > WB loq 'canoe, long boat', also WB hluq 'excavate, a niche'; Lushai k4l 'boat' î k4l 'to take out the heart' (of a tree), S. Khmiu miuaq, N. Khmiu płuq, Kyaw miuaq. OC agrees closely with the Kuki-Chin forms *mlon; Mikir telon. ↔ PMK *u(n) 'to hollow out' (Sharto 1972: 15) > OMon duq 'boat' î MidMon /kamloq/ 'to hollow out', Khmer /loq/ 'make a hole / pit / cavity, dig, excavate, bore, hollow out', Bahn.-Se (daa) tölr 'to hollow out' (Sharto 1972: 31), PSBahn. *poluq 'canoe', PWA ṭələq 'coffin', Lawa U loq 'boat', Viet. xong [suan]. Related to this root are apparently words for 'inside' (< from 'hollowed out'): PVM *k-loq 'inside' [Ferlus] > SViet. traw, PSBahn. *kaluq 'middle', OKherm yapkun /kəlan/ 'interior space, inside', Katuc *kəlun 'inside', Khmu kluay. These items are prob. not connected with zhōng 中 'middle'.

From Southern Mīn forms like tsuń3 is derived Malay jōng, Java jōng 'junk' (Zhāng Yong-yóng, Twywy 1989: 9; 94).

A semantic parallel (and cognate?) is → yd1́4 俞 OC *tuo 'scoop out, make hollow, canoe', see there for further items. Syn. → fang3 万; → häng3 亀杭; → zhōu, 丹.

chú 音 传 → zhūn 轉

chúng 床 (dāng) LH dzān, OCM *dzən — [T] ONW dzān (?)

'Bed' [Shi]. Perh. cognate to AA-Khmer /teon/ 'to hold upright, support from below', and / or OMon lǒn /jóŋ/ 'couch, bed' (a CH loan?). For the initials, see §7.1.5.

chúng2 簡 (dāng) LH dzō, OCM *dō

'To strike' [Li].

≈ zhōng 中 (dāng) LH dzō, OCM *dō, *drō

'To strike' [Li]. Unger (Ha-kuo 20, 1983, 169) draws attention to the possible morphological parallel with WT where dəduj is the pf. to rdəuj (pres.) above.

[T] Sin S. SR təun (仄), PR. LR tswən; MGZy chaw (仄) [dzswən]

≈ chōng 衝 (tswōm) LH tswōm, OCM *thunj

'Assault engine, knocker' [Shi].

[ST] WT rdəuj-ba, dəduj 'to beat, hammer, break to pieces, thrash, pound'; WB pəuj 'pound' (vb?), JP pəuj 'kick' (HST: 40).

This group is not related to → chōng, 春 *hunj. For ST cognate and / or parallel stems see Table C-1 under → chū, 触.

chuǎng 創 → chū, 初

chǔ 吹 (tswwe) LH tswwe, OCM *thoi or *k-hloï?

'To blow, play a wind instrument' tr. 吹 [Shi]; 'to blow' (into a stove to get the fire going) > 'to heat, cook' 炊 (Gongyangzhuaun), 'to steam (rice) 炊 (Finshū 書).'

[T] Sin Sukhú Súr tsuy (平); MGZy chue (平) [tswe]; ONW tswwe

≈ chuì 吹 (tswwe) LH tswwe, OCM *thoi or *k-hloï?

'Musical concert' [Lijī].

[ST] Perh. shared with AA: Khmer khloy n. 'flute'. CH aspiration is associated with exhaline §5.8.5.

chú 衰 → shuāi 衰

chúfú 吹 (tswwe) LH tswwe, OCM *thoi or *k-hloï?

'To droop' (as wings of a bird; reains) [Bl, Shi], 'sag, hang down' (as clouds from the sky) [Zhuang], 'let hang down' (sashes etc.) [Shi].
chūō 撈 (tsʰjáh) LH tsʰjáh, OCM *tsʰrōk
‘To spear’ (fish) [Zhuang].

chūō1 连 ‘distant’ → zhuō2 案

chūōu 啜吸 (tsʰjwayne) LH tsʰjwayne, OCM *thot?
‘To taste, eat’ [Li].
[D] This is the word for ‘to drink’ in some southern dialects: 嚼 K-Méixiàn tsʰbài, M-Fúzhōu tsʰbài33, Jiān’ěr tsʰbài34, Xiānmén tsʰbài32.
[E] The TB words under → rá 嚼 may possibly belong here.

chēi 雄 (tsʰjwei) LH tsʰiwei, OCM *tšhe
‘Male’ of birds, game [Shi], in modern dialects also of other animals, e.g., Wú-Sūzhōu tsʰjwei44-ni42/21 雄牛 ‘cow’; opposite xiōng 雄 ‘male’. — Etymology not clear.

chēi1 茨 (dzï) LH dzï, OCM *dzï or *dzi
‘To pile up, thatch’ [Shi]. CVST (4: 6) relates this word to Lushai či[l] ‘to thatch, put on a roof’.

chēi2 齧 (dzï, tsʰjwei) LH dzï, tsʰiwei, OCM *dzï, *tšhe
‘Small intestines’ [GY].
[B] <-> PTai *tsai ‘intestines’ (Lu: 2000: 86f). This word is distinct from → zi3 茅.

chēi3 慈 → zi1 子

chēi4 瘋 → zi1 子

chēi5 言 (zi) LH zïo, OCM *s-lo — [T] Sin S. SR zï (平), LR zï; MGZY zï (平) [zï]
‘Word, speech, excuse, pleading’ 言 [BL, SW, Shu], ‘word, expression’ 言 [Hanfei].
[A] ST *s-lo: WT zïa, zïas ‘to say, tell, express’ (CVST 3: 1). The similarity with Mand. (ts[i]), and Karlgen’s OC *s-g, have led to the erroneous identification with WT ts[bi] ‘word’.

chêi 此 (tsʰjwei) LH tsʰiwei, OCM *tšhe?
‘This’ (here) [Shi] is an independent pronoun (§3.3.3) (Pulleyblank 1995: 86). The phonetic series of chêi is incomplete concerning the OC rime, Karlgen assumes *ar (i.e., OCM *ai), but cognition with sêi (next) suggests OC final *e.
[T] Sin Sukhu SR tsʰi (l); MGZY tši (l) [tsʰi]; ONW ts’e

zhí 斯 (sje) LH sïe, OCM *se
‘This’ [Shi], but especially Lánnyǔ and Lîjī: Tângông where sê replaces the usual chêi (Pulleyblank 1995: 88).

cl2 束 (tsʰjweC) LH tsʰjwe, OCM *tshék
‘Thorn’ [SW].
[C] This late (i.e., Han period) word is derived from ci 刺 [tsʰihek] by the general derivation tone C (§3.5).

cl 刺 (tsʰjweC, tsʰjweK) LH tsʰjweC, OCM *tshék
‘To criticize’ [Shi], ‘attack, satirize’ [Zuo]; ‘to kill’ [Zuo].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR tsʰi (l); MGZY tshï (l) [tsʰi]
[S] <exposs. / exroat. derivation of ci 刺 (tsʰjweK) (§4.3.4), lit. ‘cause to be stabbed’. Downer (1959: 284) reserves the tone D form LH tshék for the meaning ‘stab’.

cl1 刺 (tsʰjwe) LH tsʰjweC, tsʰihek, OCM *tshēk
‘Pierce, stab’ [Meng].
[B] ST: WT tsʰer-mar ‘thorn, thorn bush’ / gzer-ba ‘to bore into’ / gzer ‘nail’. MC initial tsʰ- can regularly derive from ST *k-s- / k-z- (§5.9.1); for the loss of final *r in OC, see §7.7.5. Khmer jera /ceer/ ‘to blame, criticize, scold’ which cannot be a CH loan on phonological grounds, suggests that ‘stab’ and ‘criticize’ are separate etyma which have converged in OC. A similar sound symbolic item is also found in MK: OKhmer eük /cak/ ‘to pierce, stab, prick’ (or CH loan?).

cl3 赤 ‘expel’ → yí35 蟹

cl4 賜錫 (sjeC) LH sïekC, OCM *sek< *slekh
‘To give, to present with’ [BL, Shi], ‘bring’ (tribute) 贈; ‘be given, be presented with’ 賜 [Lunyu]. Xi 賜 is simply a loan graph for ci (Qiu Xiqui 2000: 399f).
[T] Sin Sukhu SR sz (t); MGZY sï (t) [sz]
[S] <This word could be a final *k form (§6.1) of → shê 賜 ‘give’. Sagart (1999: 71) relates this word to yi 易 ‘change’ (under → yi7 移), hence lit. ‘exchange’.

cóng 蔥 (tsʰun) LH tsʰon, OCM *ts hông
‘Onion’ [BL, Shi].

cóng1 從 (dzjwe) LH dzjôn, OCM *dzjông
‘Go along with, follow’ [OB, BL, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR dzjông (平), PR, LR dzjông; MGZY tsyông (平) [dzjông]; ONW dzjông

zông 從 (dzjweC) LH dzjông, OCM *dzông
‘Follower’ [Shi 104]; zông mú ‘mother’s sisters’ [Lîjî], zông di ‘cousins’ [Zuo] (Downer 1959: 290).

[B] LOC general derivation (§3.5).
[Etymology not certain. Perh. related to WT rdzông-ba, (b)rdzâng(s) ‘to send, expedite, dismiss’ / rdzông(s) ‘act of accompanying, escorting’. Tib. a usually does not correspond to a Chinese back vowel. An alternative association could be with WT stông-pa ‘to accompany’; or perh. with → sông, 送 (sunC) ‘to escort, follow after, go along’.

cóng 凜 → jû 凜

côu-mâ 趄馬 → zôu 駢

cû 祖祖 → zô 祖

mâ 促 → sô 驅

CU 驅 → châo2 駢
cuī 催 (dzǔi) LH dzúai, OCM *dzǔi, OCB *dzui (< *Sdui?)
‘Be craggy, craggy height’ cuī-cuī 崔崔 [Shi 201, 1], cuī-wéi 崔嵬 [Shi 201, 3]. Acc. to Baxter (1992: 231) cuī is perh. related to:
△ duí 随 (duí) LH duíβ, OCM *duiʔ, OCB *dujǐ
‘High, precipitous’ [SW].
△ cuí 推 (tsʰuái) LH tsʰuáiβ, OCM *tsʰuíʔ?
‘Deep’ (of an abyss) [Shi 197, 4].

CUI 1 催 to cuī 推
CUI 2 推 → cuī 推
CUI 3 推 → cuī 推; → cuī 2 莖
CUI 4 推 → cuī 推

CUI 1 活 (tsʰuái) LH tsʰuái, OCM *tsʰúts
‘To dip into a fluid’ 活 [Guoce], ‘plunge’ (a red-hot sword blade into water to harden it) [Hanshu], ‘to dye’ [Yili], person getting ‘soaked’ by dew [Huainan].

CUI 1 翠 (tsʰuí) LH tsʰuí, OCM *tsʰúts
‘Kingfisher’ [Zuo] praised for its brilliant turquoise feathers. The bird is noted for diving into water to fish.

CUI 2 醉 → zúi 醉
CUI 3 菁 → záui 森
CUI 4 翠 → cuī 活
CUI 5 翠 → zǔi 卒
CUI 6 醉 翠 → chāi 件


CUN 付 → cùn 寸

CUN 寸 (tsʰuán) LH tsʰuán, OCM *tshūns
‘Thum’ [Gongyang], ‘inch’ [Meng].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ts’un (j), MGZY tshun (j) [ts’un]; ONW ts’on

CUN 工 (tsʰuán) LH tsʰuán, OCM *tshūn
‘To measure, consider’ [Shi].

CUO 碪 (tsʰá) LH tsʰuai, OCM *tshái

CUO 撮 (tsʰuā) LH tsʰuā, OCM *tshôt
‘To pinch with the fingers, a pinch full’ [Li].
[E] ST: PLB *tswat *caus. *tswat ‘to pluck’ (as a fowl, stringed instrument); WB cʰwar [Matisoff TSR: 39].

CUO 枝 (tsʰá, dzǔ) ‘uneven teeth’ [SW] is related to → chāi 茬 ‘divergent’.

CUO 腑 (dzǔ) LH dzuai, OCM *dzáz ‘Salt’ [Li]
[E] ST: PTB *tsa (STC no. 214) > WT tsʰwa (i.e. tsʰa) ‘salt’, Kanauri tsa; PL *t(s)sa²; WB cʰaʔ (HST: 128). The OC rime does not agree with TB, perh. when the Liji’s late Zhou / Han passage was written, the word had already lost its final OC *i.

CUO 1 腑 → cuó 5 碪
CUO 2 碣 → cuó 5 碣
CUO 3 錱 → cuó 2 錱
CUO 4 錱 (tsʰúc, tsuá) LH tsʰúc, OCM *tsʰóh
‘Hay’ 錱 [Wú-Yüè chánqí], ‘cut hay’ tr. 墊 [SW, Shiji]; factitive: ‘to feed hay to’ (horses) 錱 [Shijing].
[E] AA: PMon *ksay ‘useless fibre, hay’, Mon *chaug ‘grass, weed, hay’, PWa *soh ‘cut grass’ (for the initials, see §5.9.1). This is the same etymon as → chāi 菘 ‘hay’ which had entered OC very early (Shang dynasty OB), but cuó is a later variant.

CUO 3 錱 (tsʰúc) LH ts’ok, OCM *ts’hák — [T] ONW ts’ok
‘Whetstone, grindstone’ 錱 [Shi], 臬 [SW] is a k-extension (§6.1.1) of → cuó 碣 ‘rub, polish’.

CUO 4 錱 (tsʰúc) LH ts’ok, OCM *ts’hák
‘Crossing, mixed, ornate’ [Shi], ‘alternating’ [Li].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ts’an (j), LR ts’aw; MGZY tshaw (j) [ts’aw]; ONW ts’ok

X zúo 醉 (dzǔ) LH dzok, OCM *dzák
‘To present and drink a cup in response to the pledge cup’ [Shi] (醉 [Yili]), ‘a matching libation’ [Shi], ‘to reward’ [Shi].

X zúo 碣 (dzǔc) LH dzóc, OCM *dzák
‘To reward, sacrificial meat and wine’ [Zuo] > ‘to give prosperity’ > ‘confer a fief’ 蛮 [Guoyu] > ‘blessings’ 禮 [Shi].
[E] ST: Cheqang caʔ- ‘be mixed’ (colors, kinds).
[An] An allofam is → jie, 僻 ‘to borrow, lend’. Since SW glosses → chāi 又 as ‘crossing hands’, these wfs may be related.

CUO 5 錱 (tsʰúc) LH ts’ok
‘Mistake’ [Baopuzi].
[E] Etymology not certain. Perh. the s. w. as → cuó 離, hence lit. ‘a mix-up’. Alternatively, note perh. AA: Khmer kʰoʔ/kcaʔ ‘have a flaw, be defective, be wrong, mistaken, in error...’ OKhmer /kak/ ‘pierce, stab...’.

CUO 6 錱 → zúo 3 作
dāi 套→zhé 乳

dāi 搭 (tā) LH tap, OCM *tāp

dāi 搭 (tā) LH tap, OCM *tāp

dá (dāi) LH dat, OCM *dàt
    ‘To break through, come out, sprout, prosper, reach to, be born’ [OB, BI, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR da (λ); ONW dat

[E] ST: PLB *dat ‘alive’ [Matisoff 1972: 30] (HST: 48); Lushai dzo’b / dzo’l ‘to pierce, stick in, sprout up’. Perh. also connected to MK-Mon das ‘be, become’.

dá 答 (tā) LH tap, OCM *tāp < *tāp
    ‘To respond’ [Shi, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ta (λ); ONW tap

[OC] oxi of dá 答 (tā) (§4.3).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR tuj (λ); MGZY due (λ) [tue]; ONW tuj

[E] ST: Prob. WT tāb-pa ‘get the better of, be able to stand or bear, be a match for’ (so Bodman 1980: 117) ≠ gtb-pa ‘be able’ (HST: 80). Other suggestions: HST: 37 relates this word to WT ‘deg-pa, btap ‘cast, throw, respond’; Matisoff (1995: 44) to dāi 敵 ‘enemy, enemy’; Unger (Hao-ku 21, 1983: 183) with reservations to WT tāb-sa in k’yim-tāb(s) ‘husband, wife’ (however, the QY back vowel in dui does not normally correspond to WT a). CH → Tai: S. tap ‘to reply, answer’.

dá 答 (tā) LH tap, OCM *tāp, OCB *k-lup
    ‘Small bean, pulse’ [SW, Zouhui].


dá 打 (tā) Sin Sukchu SR tin (λ), LR ta
    ‘To beat, hit’ [Weishu, Lianshu; GY] is a post-clausal word. It seems to occur also in PMon: dā ‘hit’ (CH loan?).

dái 搭 (dāi) LH dos, OCM *dās, OCB *lās
    [T] Sin S. SR da (λ), PR, LR da; MGZY tay (λ) [da]; Sui-Tiang da(i)č, ONW doč
    [D] PMin *dač; Y-Guanzhōu tač, Táishān ač, K-Méixiān tāč
    ‘Be big, great’ [OB, Shi]. The diphthong reading dái is traditionally viewed as the correct one, or as the literary one. However, already in Han times we find the reading doč, Sui-Tiang has both doč and dāč which agrees with the modern pronunciations dāi and dái (Coblin TP 1994: 156f).

[T] ONW tōč
    ‘Be too great, very great, excessive, in titles ‘grand’ [Shi]. It is not clear if tāi ‘name of the west wind’ [OB, Shi] is related.


dái 代 (dāi) LH dāi, OCM *lāk
    ‘Substitute, take the place of, supercede’ [Shu] > ‘generation’ [Shi], ‘dynasty’ [Lunyu]. The fundamental notion of this word is perhaps ‘switch things around’, → tè. tāi may also belong to this word.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR daj (λ); MGZY tay (λ) [da]; ONW dāı

[tē 敵 (tē) LH tē, OCM *thāk
    ‘Change, alter, deceive, err’ [BI, Shi].

[T] On Sukchu SR da (λ); ONW dāı

[xī 敵 (xī) LH dāı, OCM *lāš
    ‘Deceive’ [L].

See → dāi 戴 for an AA parallel.

dāi tē 貨→tè 貨

dài 沈 (dāi) LH dos, from earlier *lās?
    ‘Wave’ [Chuchi], a late OC word, apparently from a southern dialect. The older syn. is → bō, 波


dái 追 (dāi) LH dō, OCM *lās?
    ‘Arrive, come to that, at the time that, when’ [Shi].

[E] ST: PTB *la: PLB *la, WB la ‘come, reach in degree’. The ST level had apparently already doubled *la > *la > (lā) ‘arrive’.

dái, 誼→dái 代

dái 待 ‘wait’ → dēng 等

dái 帶 (dāi) LH tōs, OCM *tās
    ‘Belt, sash’ [Shi], ‘string’ [Zou].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR taj (λ); MGZY day (λ) [ta]; ONW toč

[E] ST with the basic meaning ‘circumference, circumscription’: PTB *m/s-tay (HPTB: 210), PLB *m-dā: ‘Lahu de ‘belt of land between the high rain-forest and the plains, expanse of terrain’; WT sde ‘part, portion of (a country); province, district, territory’. Lushai tač ‘waist’ (Matisoff 1995a: 43).

dái 帶 (dāi) LH dos, jīs, OCM *lās, *lāts
    ‘To come to, reach to’ [Shi].


[dái] 戴 (tāı) LH tō, OCM *thā
    ‘To bear, support’ [Zou], ‘carry on the head’ [Meng].

[A] AA: OKhmer *-dái ~ *-dāyə / -daj / -daaj ‘to bear, support’ > OKhmer dnaı / dnnaj ‘retainer, king’s servant’. AA → Tai thanaj ‘attorney, representative’. Khmer /pdaaj ‘to support / base oneself on, rely on’ → Khmer tāna / taaaj ‘to take the place
dàn

of, replace, substitute, represent'. The semantic development of the Khmer etymology is parallel to the CH word → dái, 代 'take with OC initial *t (if our interpretation of OC is correct), rather than *t which is taken to mean ‘to bear’. The word belongs to an AA w.fh which includes → méi, 媒 'marriage go-between' and → pēi, 胎 'pregnant'.

dàn₁ 丹 (tán) LH ton, OCM *tăn (*tlan ?), OCB *tăn — [T] ONW tan

‘Be red, vermillion, cinnabar’ [Shi] has in antiquity been mined from the ancient southern states Bā (Yünán) and Yue (Zhējiāng) [SW].

x gān 興 (kān) in dān-gān 丹 興 LH ton-kon, OCM *tăn-kăn < *tlan-klan?

‘丹砂 vermillion ore’ [Xun], ‘ore’ [YJ] may be a variant of dàn, both could theoretically derive from an original foreign *klan, see below.

x zhān 焰 (tiján) LH tśan, OCM *tān — [T] ONW tān

‘A red flag’ [Shi], Shiming [Wáng Li 1982: 563].

[E] KT: PKS *h-lann ‘red’ (Edmondsa / Yang). The OC initial and *t- ≡ *k- doubles indicate that OC has borrowed this item. Perh. → tān, 祖譜 ‘bare’ is related, as skin color tends to be associated with ‘red’, but see there. Alternatively, HPTB: 177 suggests ST *tja-n (tja-a-n) ‘red’.

dàn₂ 單 (tán) LH ton, OCM *tăn

‘Single, unit’ [Shi], ‘simple’ [Li]; ‘unlined garment’ 裳 [Li].

[T] Sin Sukhu SR tan (平); MGZY dan (平) [ton]; ONW ton — [D] CDC ton₁

x dàn 但 (dān) LH don₁

‘Only’ [Chüci].

[S] Sin Sukhu SR dan (平); MGZY ton (上) [tän]; MGZY ton (下) [tän].


dàn₃ 煽 (tān, tān) LH ton₁, toic OCM *tān, tāh

‘Disease, suffering, distress’ 裳 [Shi], 煽 (dān) [Li].

x dàn 煽 (tān) LH ton, OCM *tān — [T] MGZY dan (平) [tan]

‘Exhaust’ [Zhuang].

x dàn 旦 (tān) LH ton, OCM *tān — [T] MGZY dan (平) [tan]

‘Exhausted, fagged out’ [Shi].

x dū, tū, tōu 移 (tān, tān) LH tān, OCM *tān

‘Exhausted, sick’ [horses] [SW: Shi], ‘toiled, exhausted’ 煽 (QY tān-only) [Shi].

[E] ST *dar: WT lad-bu ‘weary, tired, faint’ (HST: 159); Chepang dyarh- ‘discomfit, sudden pain...’

dàn₄ 奸 → dàn₃ 煽

dàn₅ 煽 (tān) LH ton, OCM *tān — [T] ONW tom

‘Abandon oneself (in pleasure)’ 軍 [Shi]; ‘be sunk in, steeped in (pleasure), rejoice’ 政 [Shi].

[EE] Area word: AA: PVM *tān (to drown, sink) [Thompson]; Wa-Lawa-Bulang *tān (to soak rice). AA → S. dam < *tān ‘to dive’ = dam (to sink down deeply, to a great depth) [Oner Hào-kwu 36, 1990: 58], tua (to be submerged, overwhelmed). Dàn is usually thought to be cognate to → chén, 沈 (Wáng Li 1982: 607).

dàn₆ 擔 (tān) LH tom, OCM *tān < *tlan — [T] ONW tom.

‘To carry on the shoulder’ [Guoce].

[D] PMin *tām ‘to carry’; acc. to Norman (1985: 382) the Northern Min ‘softened initial’ -t- points to OC prenasalization which is supported by Yao daam (tām) < *nd-, PMY *nqam ‘to carry’.

x dàn 擔 (tām) LH ton, OCM *tām < *tams — [D] PMin *tām ‘a load’

‘Burden’ [Zuo].

[c] *tam + pass. suffix (§4.4), lit. ‘what is carried’.

[EE] Area word whose source is prob. AA: Khmuă klam ‘carry on the shoulder’, PA *klam [for the initial correspondence, see §8.2.1].

An alternative form with initial *t, which agrees with later OC, is widespread: Khmer dâm toom ‘to bear’ = drâm toom ‘to support patiently’ [Jenner / Poon 1982: xlii]. ← Yao daam < *nd-, PMY *nqam ‘to carry’. ← BE: WB, *tām (to carry on the shoulder) (Bodman 1980: 112), JP tām ‘carry’, Dulong atom. ← MK: Khmer drâm ‘Kam-Tai: PT *tē: S. haam ‘two or more people carry’ (Li F. 1976: 45), Saek raam < (hr-?) ‘two or more carry’.

dàn₁ 拆 (tān) LH ton, OCM *tān

‘To beat, pierce’ [Lie] is perm. related to Tai: PTTai *t: S. dam ‘to pound’, esp. in a mortar (Li, HCT: 98).

dàn₂ 燕 (tān) LH ton, OCM *tān < *tlan?

‘Gal’ [Xun].

[EE] AA: PNBahn. *klam ‘liver’, PVM *lom, Katuic *loum (for the initial correspondence, see §8.2.1). As in the case of → dàn, 擔, there is an alternative form with initial *t-: PPalauic *koum ‘liver’ (unique to Palauic).

dàn₃ 壺 (tān) LH ton₁, OCM *tān

‘Sincerity, truth’ [Shi].

x dàn-dàn 旦旦 (tān-tān) LH ton₁, OCM *tān

‘Be done in a sincere manner, sincere’ [Shi].

dàn₄ 壺 → dàn₃ 壺

dàn₁ 旦 (tān) LH ton₁, OCM *tān

‘The time of sunrise, dawn, morning, bright’ [OB, BO, Shi]. This word is not related to the TB cognate shows.

[EE] ST: Chepang dar-definition (place) ‘of sunrise, in east’.

dàn₂ 旦 (tān) LH ton, OCM *tān

‘Painful’ → dàn₃ 壺

dàn₃ 壺 → dàn₁ 壺

x dàn但 → dàn₃ 壺

dàn₄ 但 → dàn₁ 壺

dàn₅ 擔 (tān) LH ton, OCM *tān

‘Eat, swallow’ 嘗 (Guoyu); ‘devour’ [Xun]; ‘keep in the mouth’ 嘗 [QY: Zhuang].

[EE] Tai: S. dim < *t-d- ‘to swallow’.

[C] Perh. this is related to hán 頭 (under → hán, 含) (see Bodman 1980: 110), and perh. to → xián 衛.
dān — dāng

dān
淡 (dăn³⁴) LH dom³⁴, OCM *tâm²/s 'Insipid' [Li]. Getlich connects dăn with items under  → tâng, 恬 'calm'.
[D] Y-Guangzhou t'waⁿ². PMin *tsiamⁿ³ 'insipid' is prob. unrelated.

dāng
懶 (dăng³⁴) LH den³⁴, OCM *dâng 'To fear, dislike' [Shi].
[c] exopass. of dăn 弾 (dăn) 弾 (dăng) LT ONW dăn → [D] CDC dăn² 'Shake' [Zhouli].

zhàn
戰 (tiân³⁴) LH tîn³⁴, OCM *tans 'To tremble (with cold) 飲 [GY], 'be trembling, afraid' 戰 [Shi]; this is the s. w. as → zhăn, 戰 'war'.
[EN] ST: WT 'dar-ba' 'tremble, shudder, shiver with fear or cold' ≠ sdar-ma 'trembling' (HST: 152) ≠ dar-bu 'throbbling'. Also PMK g taraf 'shiver, tremble' (Shorto 1976: 1047).

dâng
弾 'bow' → tâng³⁴ 弾

dăng
繫 → chán⁴ 纏

dăng
繫 → châng⁴ 纏

dăng
繫 → yâng⁵ 延綏

dâng
懶 → tiân⁴ 恬

dăng
當 (tâng³⁴) LH ton⁴, OCM *tâng → [T] ONW ton⁴ 'Have the value of, be equal of, rank, to face, vis-à-vis' [Zuo], 'match, capable' [Meng].

xiăng
當 (tâng³⁴) LH ton⁴, OCM *tâng 'Right, ought' [Meng], 'suitable' [Zuo].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR tan (平), MGZY dang (平) [tag] (c) exopass. of dàng 當 'tag' (§4.4), lit. 'what is being matched'.

xiăng
黨 (tâng³⁴) LH ton⁴, OCM *tâng 'Class, category' [Lunyu] > 'party' [Zuo] > 'partisan, partial' [Shu].
[EN] Endoactive of dàng 當 'tag' (§4.5.1), lit. 'that which is equal in rank'.
[EN] ST: Perh. related to WT dây 'together' with, and'.

dâng
繫 → dâng⁴ 繫

dâng
黨 (tâng³⁴) LH ton⁴, OCM *tâng 'To know' [FY 1.1] is a Han period Chu dialect word. Two possible etymologies: (1) This may be compared to PTB *m-tâng > WT dâng 'visible' ≠ a-tâng 'thought', WT mt'ôn-ba 'to see, perceive, know, understand'. Kanauri tag 'to see'. (2) A southern dialect form of dòng 聞 'understand' with the typical shift to a (J. Norman).

dâng
黨 'class, party' → dâng1 當

dâng
邊縫 (dăng⁴, tâng³⁴) LH dôn⁴, t'ông⁴ 'To drop, submerge means 'to fall' (of rain) in Mín and adjacent Wǔ dialects: Fǔzhōu tuou⁴ [in t'ou³³⁵, ny⁴³¹] 'to rain' 摘雨, Shūnchâng tôù painstakingly. (LÎ Rong FY 1992.2: 112–114).

dâng
縫 → tâng⁴縫

dâng
繫 'move' → dâng2 動

206

dào — dōu

dào
刀 (tâu⁵) LH tâu, OCM *tâu → [T] ONW tâu 'Knife' [OB, Shi].
[EN] ? Area word or CH loan: TB-Karen *dâo 'knife', JP dâi-dô¹ 'short knife', Viet. dwò 'sword', Sîng taaw, etc., a common word for 'sword' in MK languages [Huffman 1975: 14].

dâo
倒 (tâng³⁴) LH tâu³⁴, OCM *tâu 'To turn over, invert' [Shi], 'contrary' [Hanfei], also 'to pour' (from a pot) occurs also in TB-JP du²⁵ 'to pour' (from a pot), PVW *tâo 'to pour', prob. a CH loan. <> Tai: S. tokDIS 'to fall down' (Li F. 1976: 41); for the final consonant, see §3.2.2.

dâo
島 (tiâu⁵) LH tâu⁵, OCM *tâu 'Ocean island' [Shu] is reminiscent of Mon tko 'island', but prob. unrelated (we should expect a CH aspirated initial t), see §5.9.4.

dâo
捧 (tâu⁵) LH tâu⁵, OCM *tâu 'To pour' (as rice) [Li], still used in southern dialects, e.g. Yu-Tâishän au²⁵, bêtai⁵ 'clay pot', 'to beat' [Hanshu].
[EN] ST *tu: JP tu²⁵ 'push', WB tâu²⁵ 'push, but, shove against' ≠ tâu²⁵ 'thrust, stab, strike'. A TB parallel stem is Lushai ētui/ètui¹ 'to strike' (with rod), 'pound, stamp, knock, tap'. For ST cognate and / parallel stems, see the table under  → chǔ 章 for an overview.

dâo
抄 → zhâng⁶祝 祝

dâo
到 (tâu⁵) LH tâu⁵, OCM *tâu 'To arrive' [Shi].
[EN] Perh. ST, yet the TB rime is different from OC: WT t'ug-pa 'to reach, to touch' (e.g. putting the forehead against the breast of an image) ≠ t'ug-pa 'to reach, arrive at, come to, meet, touch'; WB t'uí 'to arrive, reach, attain', JP du³¹ 'arrive'. However, these TB items could just as well belong to → châu 長.

dâo
道 (dâu³⁴) LH dou³⁴, OCM *lâu 'Road, way, method' [BI, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR daw (上齿); MGZY tâw (上) [daw]; ONW dou (c) either an endoactive noun 'the thing which is doing the conducting' (§4.5.1) derived from the following word, or the latter is a LOC general tone C derivation from 'way' (§3.5).

xiào
道 (dâu³⁴) LH dou³⁴, OCM *lâu 'To go along, bring along, conduct' 道 [Zuo], 導 [Meng] > 'explain' [Li] > 'talk about' [Lao, Meng]. The Han period dialect of Eastern Qi has the words yô 補 [Jyô] *lôk 和 [ju] + yô 和 [ju] + *lôk (?) 'road' [FY 3.23] which may be related.

[EN] Pulleyblank (1973: 120) believes that dào ‘talk’ is cognate to → tân, 談. Gong Hwang-chêng (1995: 61) presents parallels which suggest a pattern of OC *ôm > *u. 道 is shared with Yao kâu³³⁸ 'road' (Haudricourt 1940: 559; but Downer 1982 *kau²).

dâo
盗 → see under yô 偷

dâo
稻 (dâu³⁴) LH dou³⁴, OCM *lâu 'Unhusked rice' [Shi].
[EN] OCM *tiâu² 釉 (corresponds to QYS dâu² [JY], LH 釉) may possibly be a variant (Norman, p.c.).
[EN] Etymology is not certain. The word could belong to the wf → yóu 湯 'overflow'
dé – děng

(i.e. the notion of a flooded rice field). More likely, it is an area word (rice culture originated in the south): PMY *blauŋ (Bodman 1980: 112). The relationship with similar-looking MK words is ambiguous, we find PVM *tə-lə-kə 'unhusked rice', Viet. lọa 'paddy' [Filipino], but Khmuic *bləŋ 'glutinous rice' (Ferlus 31st ICSTLL, 1998: 90) whose meaning seems to connect the MK etymology with → nuô̤_4 糯.

dé₁ 得 (tak) LH tak, OCM *tək
'To get'; [Bl, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR taj (λ), LR taj; MGZY dīy (λ) [taj]; ONW tak
[D] Dē is Mand. col., Gansu de (Demiéville 1950: 52); dē is sometimes thought to be an allophone of → děì 德 'virtue'.
[E] Based on his theories on OC phonology, Pulleyblank (EC 16, 1991: 50) believes that dē and → děì 德 are cognate to WT 🚘pa 'be able, cope with', but see → dǎì 叫.

dé₂ 德 (tak) LH tak, OCM *tēk — [T] ONW tak
'Moral force, virtue, character' (A. Waley) [Bl, Shi], 'quality, nature' [Zuo].
[B] Based on his theories on OC phonology, Pulleyblank (EC 16, 1991: 50) believes that dē and → děì 德 are cognate to WT 🚘pa 'a mighty one, having power', but see → năng 能.
[C] An allophone is perf. → zhī_i 直 'straight'.

dē₃ 的
'genitive particle' in Mand., appears for the first time in a Song document (Coblin p. c.) and later in an inscription of 1238 (Mei Tsu-Lin BHJP 59.1, 1988). It is thought to be a col. archaism of the classical 'genitive particle' → zhī_i 之.

děng₁ 登 (tōng) LH tōn, OCM *tōŋ — [T] ONW tōn
'To rise, ascend, mount, raise' [Shi, Shu], 'to ripen' [Meng]; 'ritual vessel with high foot' [Yü], 'high foot' 腳 [Li] is perf. the s. w. as → děng₂ 燈 'lamp'. Wăng Li (1982: 253) and Matisos (BSOS 63.3, 2000: 363) add → zhīi_3 至 this w.

x děng 障 (tōng) LH tōn, OCM *tōŋ
'A rising slope' [Mu Tianzi].

x děng 等 (tōng) LH tōn, OCM *tāŋ
'Step of stairs' [Lunyu] > 'degree', [Yü], 'rank' [Zuo], 'classify' [Zhouli].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR taj (λ), PR, LR taj; MGZY dīng (λ) [taj]; ONW tōn
[E] endoactive of děng (§4.5.1).
[C] Additional allophones are perf. → zěng 曾 'past', → chēng 丞 'also', also → tēng₂ 鹰.

děng₂ 燈 (tōng) LH tōn, OCM *tōŋ
'Lamp' 燈 [Chüeh].
[B] Etymology not clear. Perh. the same word as děng 燈 'vessel with high legs', under → dēng, 登 'rise'. The relationship with 'candle' in MK languages, if any, is not clear (CH loan? MK loan?). Viet dēn (North), dēn (South), Khmer tien, Mon nān (Huffman 1975). Khmer ?- > Tai: Saeck tian<4.7.5 → dę - 'candle'.

děng₁ 等 (tōng) LH tōn, OCM *dōŋ
'To wait', a medieval northern dialect word, prob. related to the following (so Wáng Li 1982: 90):

x dài 待 (dōŋ) LH daŋ, OCM *dōŋ (? *dāŋ) ?
'To wait, treat, behave' [Lunyu]. See §3.2.4. Karlgren (1956: 17) adds this word to shì 待 'wait upon' (under → shì_i 變).

děng – dí

děng₂ 等 'steps, category' → děng₁ 登 'rise'

dí₁ 低 (tēi) LH tēi, OCM *ti
'To lower' [Zhuang].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR tēi (ti), PR tēi; MGZY di (ti); ONW tēi
[T] Sin Sukchu SR tēi (ti), OCM *ti — [D] PMin *tiء
'Base, foundation, root' 茎 [Shi]; 'bottom' 底 [Lü]; 'root, base' 底 (also tēi[回]) [Laozi].
[E] endoactive of dí (§4.5.1).
[B] ST: WT m-tikh, OTib. t希尔 < m-tild 'bottom, floor, lower part' (HST: 47), Tamang ȳì: 'below'.

dí₂ 滴 (tīk) LH tēk, OCM *tēk
'To drip, drop' [Wenxuan, GY].
[B] ST: This onomatopoeic root is shared with WT: tgis(g)-pa – tʰig-pa, tʰ içeg 'to drop, drip' tʰig-pa, tʰigis 'cause to fall in drops' tʰigis-pa 'a drop' [STC: 180], JP thegio < tʰegi 'dripping, dripping'.

dí₃ 堆堤 → tī₃ 提堤題

dí₁ 狄 (dīk) LH dik, OCM *dēk
'Low servant' [Shu], could either be derived from the name of a northern tribe; or, more likely, be AA: PMonic *dīk 'slave, temple slave', PNBahn. *đēk 'slave', PSBahn. *đac 'slave, servant'.

x dík 狄 (dīk) LH dik, OCM *dēk
'Translators, interpreters' [Lüshí], later simply D 鞮 'to translate' [Chenshu]. This may possibly contain a foreign loanword, note Turkic til > til 'tongue, language' (Behr 2000). However, Behr prefers to consider D  kè an allophone of shì 釋 'to translate' (under → yì_3). 謠

dí₃ 敵 (dīk) LH dik, OCM *dēk
'Enemy, opponent, enmity' [Bl, Shu].
[B] ST: PTB 'm-tay (tay?) ; JP tayi 'avenge, retaliate', mas3-tai 'vengence', Lushai tayi < tayi 'be at enmity with one another, have a grudge against'. For *k, see §6.1.

dí₄ 踐 → tī₄ 踐

dí₅ 羽 → zhúu_1 羽

x díu 莫 (dīk) LH dik < deuk, OCM *tiæk/ək
'To buy grain' [Zou].
[D] M-Xiàngen tía^0, Y-Guàngzhou tek (Lin et al. YYWZX 1996; 113ff)

x tiao 真 (tʰiaŋ) LH tʰiæ < tʰiæ, OCM *tiæk
'To sell grain' [Mo; SW 2680].

x tiǎ 真 (tʰiaŋ) Y-Guàngzhou tʰiæ, K-Méxiàn tʰiæ
[E] caus. aspiration (§5.8.2) and exoactive (§4.3) of dí 狄 (diek).

This etymology is reminiscent of → yù_23 賣 'sell'. Synonyms are → gū_1 賣; → mài 買; → shou_2 售.

dí₇ 準 (dīk) LH dik < deuk, OCM *tiæk, OCB *liuk
'To clean, clean out, denuded' [Shi], 'wash' [Li], 'to clarify' (spirits) [Zhouli] (Wáng Li 1982: 302). The etymology is not clear. It could be either a derivation from → yóu_1 濯 'flow', or be related to → shū_1 溝 *d-lauk 'be clean' (but the OC rimes do not agree).
dié dòng 蜻蜓 → hóng 虹

dié 的 → zhōu, 灼

dié 燃 (die) LH de, OCM ðeh
'To kick' [Zhuang] is prob. cognate to → ti 踏 ‘hoof’ (so HST: 100).
[EN] ST: WT rdeg, PLB tekh ‘kick’ (HST: 100); Garo ga-tek, Tangkhul Naga kkakubæk.

dí 欠 軒 → zhī 梆

dián 顽顪 (tien) LH ten (≈ tin), OCM *tin — [T] MTang tian < tian, ONW ten
'Top of head' 頭 [Shi]; 'top (of a mountain), forehead' 頭 [Shi].
« diáng 頂 (tien) LH ten, OCM *tên?
'Top of the head' [Yi].
[<] endoactive of dián 顽顪 (tien) (§4.5). The rime *en may be due to paronomastic attraction to AA → díng, 定頭 ‘forehead’.

yián 天 (tien) LH ten (≈ tin), OCM *thên
'To brand' (the forehead) [Yi].
[<] caus. aspiration of dián 顽顪 (tien) (§5.8.2).
[EN] ST: WT steg ‘above’ (Shaffer, IST: 65; Unger Hao-kwu 36, 1990: 48); JP pun-din ‘zenith, top, top of the head’ (STC: 180); Zemi (Naga) tsî ‘sky’, Lushai pa-l~lan ‘god’ (lit. ‘father above’) n tian / tian ‘to pile up, pile on top of another’ [French 1983: 157; 374]. Prob. → tian 天 ‘sky, heaven’ belongs to this wf. In light of the simple T-initial in TB and prob. also OCM, this wf is not related to → dián, 顽顪 (the same graph can be used for a stem *tin as well as *tîn).

dián 顽顪 (tien) LH ten (≈ tin), OCM *tin < *tîn — [T] MTang tian < tian, ONW ten
'To topple, fall down, be overthrown' 顽 [Shi, Gui].
[EN] Area word: TB-WB lañt < lañ ‘fall’, Mao giong ‘to fall’. This etymology is prob. not related to the wf → dián 顽顪 ‘top of the head’ whose initial is a simple dental step in ST. For initial CH t~ = foreign gl, see §8.2.1.

dián 髍 (tien) LH ten (≈ tin), OCM *tin
'Eyebrow' [Yi].
[EN] ST *tîw ‘eyebrow’: PLB dëw (HPTB: 31) > CB cwi, WT më-rɪ晏 (Tib. *sw> Δ > ty > cwe); dián has the nominal n-suffix (§6.4.3); for loss of ST medial *w, see §10.2.1.

dián 典 (tien) LH ten, OCM *tin
'To vouch for, guarantee' [Jinshì] is perf. cognate to WT sten-pa ‘to keep, adhere to, depend on’ (Unger Hao-kwu 36, 1990: 50). This may be the s. w. as → dián 典.

dián 典 (tien) LH ten, OCM *tin
'To direct, rule, norm, constant' [Shi, Shu], ‘document’ [OBJ] has been compared to WT brtan-pa ‘firm, steadfast’ n gtan ‘constant, enduring’ (HST: 79). This may be the s. w. as → dián 典.

dián 田甸 → tian 田

210
diè

Table D-1 To slip, slippery, trip

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>*blai slip(pery)</th>
<th>*ble/it slip</th>
<th>*C-re/it slip</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OC</td>
<td>diè 稟</td>
<td>*liit stumble, slip</td>
<td>zhi 稟tits to slip, trip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>*'byid-pa to slip</td>
<td>*'dred-pa to slip, trip</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Lepcha flut slip</td>
<td>Kanauri *bret</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TGTM</td>
<td>*ple:B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digaro</td>
<td>ble slippery</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JP</td>
<td>gã3-p'rai5 to slip</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lushai</td>
<td>p'et&lt; p'e&lt; to trip, slip/h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mikir</td>
<td>-inlit &lt; *m-lit slippery</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKaren</td>
<td>*ple3 ~ *ble2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

diè₄ 造 → yl₁₃ 流溢

diè₃ 笃 → d₅ 慰

diè₆ (diep) LH tep, OCM *tèp
‘Paralyzed, unable to move’ [Zhuang].

* tié 貼 (tiep)
‘To stick to, glue to’ [GY].

* niè 轻 (giep) LH nèp, OCM *nep or *nrep
‘Legs sticking together, unable to walk’ [Guilin], a Chû dialect word. The Chû
initial *n- which looks like the survival of an AA *n-inf could suggest a
non-ST origin.

ST or area word: TB PLB *tìap ‘adhere, stick to’. Lushai depk / de³p ‘to be close to,close against, adjacent, adjoin, touch’ [ST] or *dep ‘to copulate with’. Perh. connected
with AA-Khamer já³pa / coop / OKhamer jàp / to touch... stick, cling, adhere, be stuck, held fast...

diè₅ 腻 (diep) LH dep, OCM *lep → [T] ONW dep
‘Tablet’ [Zhuo]; in some Han period northern dialects ‘board’ [FY 5,36].

dep ‘flat’ (not filled out like a pod).

CH → Tai: S. *lepDIL ‘classifier for long, flat, narrow objects’.

= dié 孤
‘Double, lined’ [Li] (GY reads this graph also MC zjap and żjap),
‘double, accumulate’ [Shuijinxuzh].

ST: WT lêb-pa ‘to bend round, double down’ [ST] la-pa, bôlts < nlap ‘to fold’,
lâb-pa < nlap ‘to do again, repeat’; Mur klep ‘fold up’, Lushai têlep / têlep ‘to fold (up), bend over’ [Löffler 1966: 122].

[N] These two words have distinctly different meanings and TB cognates, perh. two
different words have converged phonologically in OC. Furthermore, this eymon is a
syn. of → zhè, 孤, but the roots are different (*Clep ~ *Ciap vs. *tâp); perh. some of the WT
items (lâb, la) are a conflation of the two roots.
butterfly → hú-dié 蝴蝶 may belong to this wf, but see there. Allofams are perh. → yě 葉, → xiè 薩, → xi 戽.

dié 習 → dié 澑
dié 膽 → liè 腽
dīng 丁 (tien) LH ten, OCM *tēn
‘To beat, strike’ [Shi].

- ding 打 (tien², ten⁴). LH têŋ³, tâŋ⁴?
‘To beat, strike’ [GY].

- STE: Lushai dei²h⁴ / den ‘to throw, throw, strike, hit’.

dīngjiǔ 酊 (tien⁴) LH têŋ⁴
‘Dead drunk’ [Jin shu, GY].

- chéng 醺 (diân, tâng) LH dêŋ⁴, têŋ⁴. OCM *d-leŋ, *t-hleŋ
‘Dead drunk’ [Shi].

dīngzú 頂 → dián① 矗

- dīngzǔ 鼎 (tien⁴) LH têŋ⁴, OCM *tēŋ?
A three- or four-legged ‘tripod, cauldron’ [BI, Shi]. A large one is called → nàí④ 銅.

- STE: Sin Sukchu SR tēn (ż); MGZY ding (ž) [têŋ]; ONW têŋ

- STE: Old South tâŋ⁴ 錫 [San-guo zhi] (Ho Dah-an, BiH 1993: 869), but PM *tian⁴ with medial -i- is from a later stratum: jîâng⁴ tâŋ⁴, Fûhôu tâŋ⁴, Xiâmên tâŋ⁴ (Norman 1988: 231).

- STE: Probably, this old area word is related to TB-Mru ‘sacrificial tripod’ (Löffler ZDMG 116.1, 1966: 141), AA-Wa-Lawa-Bulang *den, *n-ônq ‘cooking pot’ (or are these CH loans?). Alternatively, Benedict (STC: 178 n. 472, 1976: 98) connects this word with PT and PKS *gliáng⁴ ‘tripod’, perh. related to AA-Wa-Lawa-Bulang *kîng ‘basin’, PPalaung (AA) qeg ‘tripod’; note also PTai *giâng⁴ ‘tripod’. But these last forms present phonological difficulties.

dīngjiǔ 定 → tīng 亭

dīngzú 定積 (tien⁴) LH têŋ⁴, OCM *tēŋ < *tien⁴?
‘Forehead’ 定 [Shi 11, 2]. 頭 [Erya 2, 146]. Ding, 定 is an OC T-series (§12.1.2); however, this type of initial with QYS div. I/IV can also correspond to a ‘from an external feature with medial -I-’ (OCM *tēŋ, see §8.2.1).

- STE: Most likely AA: Mon tjen⁴ ‘forehead’, JNPM *tlâŋ⁴ ‘forehead’ [Thompson], *k-leŋ > klen⁴ > tien⁴ ‘top, upstream’ ≈ leŋ ‘to rise’ (sun) [Er] [Fer]; Bahnacir *klin⁴ ‘forehead’ [Gregerson 1976: 389]; Pecic klip². Wa-Lawa-Bulang *k’stông ‘forehead’; H PAA *klen⁴ ‘top’. Alternatively, a connection with → dián, 頭 ‘top of the head’ could also be possible. The source of Kadi ‘C-don⁴ ‘forehead’ is not clear (CH?).

- Syn. → tî, 提提, tō 額 and yān 顔 (both under → yà, 御近), → sâng⁴, 頭, → yāng⁴ 楊錫。

dīngzú 斛 (tien⁴) LH dêŋ⁴, OCM *dâng⁴
‘Small boundary banks between fields’ [Zuo] is perh. a variant or cognate of → zhên, 聽 (so Lau 1999: 342). Furthermore (or alternatively), dīng could originally have referred to a trampled path, hence cognate to tīng-tān⁴ 町 (tien², tâng⁴) *tēng-tîn⁴ ‘be trampled down (fields)’ [Shi] (so Karlgen GSR 833g). Finally, there may be a connection with → tī, 提提, 頭, ‘raise’.

dīng 湗 → tīng 涌
**dúu**

[dúu](dúu) LH dou^c^ ‘Soybean’.

** transliteration**

[dúu](dúu) *sò¯h* (LaPolla 1994: 171; AA-PSBahn. *tuh*; PNBahn. *tuh* ‘bean’). Unger (Hao-ku 24, 1984) raises the possibility that this is the same word as ‘a round vessel’ → dúu. 豆 and is derived from → tóu ‘head’ (dou) ‘head’. STC: 195 draws attention to similarity with PMY *dop* and → dui jī (tēng) ‘a kind of pulse’.

**figure**

**radical**

**phonetic**

**context**

An old Qī dialect word (acc. to Hē Xiū ca. 180 AD); it is still used in Mǐn dialects: Fúzhōu tòu24kau^2^; Linyāng lo^2^ (Norman 1983: 207).

**grammatical class**

Noun (dou) ‘Neck’ [Zu].

**disambiguation**


**affixation**

**compound**


**radical**

**phonetic**

**context**


**disambiguation**

An old Qī dialect word (acc. to Hē Xiū ca. 180 AD); it is still used in Mǐn dialects: Fúzhōu tòu24kau^2^; Linyāng lo^2^ (Norman 1983: 207).

**affixation**

**compound**


**radical**

**phonetic**

**context**


**disambiguation**

An old Qī dialect word (acc. to Hē Xiū ca. 180 AD); it is still used in Mǐn dialects: Fúzhōu tòu24kau^2^; Linyāng lo^2^ (Norman 1983: 207).

**affixation**

**compound**


**radical**

**phonetic**

**context**

An old Qī dialect word (acc. to Hē Xiū ca. 180 AD); it is still used in Mǐn dialects: Fúzhōu tòu24kau^2^; Linyāng lo^2^ (Norman 1983: 207).

**affixation**

**compound**


**radical**

**phonetic**

**context**

An old Qī dialect word (acc. to Hē Xiū ca. 180 AD); it is still used in Mǐn dialects: Fúzhōu tòu24kau^2^; Linyāng lo^2^ (Norman 1983: 207).

**affixation**

**compound**


**radical**

**phonetic**

**context**

An old Qī dialect word (acc. to Hē Xiū ca. 180 AD); it is still used in Mǐn dialects: Fúzhōu tòu24kau^2^; Linyāng lo^2^ (Norman 1983: 207).

**affixation**

**compound**

dù 短 (tuànB) LH tuonB, S toîB, OCM *tôn? 'Short' [Shu].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR twon (平); MGZY don (平) [ton]; ONW tuon
[D] PMin *toî (Bodman 1980: 77)
[E] Prob. related to → dûn, 斷 'to cut'. TB has several comparanda: (1) Lushai tâ< bai be short', WB tâ 'short'. (2) NNVag *uair 'short'. (3) WB toûB 'short' (as garment). Perh. PMin has preserved an original ST etymon, while elsewhere the word has been reinterpreted as 'cut off'.

dûn1 斷 (tuànB, tuânC) LH duônB,C, OCM *dôn?/s, OCB *tion? 'To cut off, decide, resolute' 斷 [Shi, Shu]; 'slice of dried and spiced meat' (tuânC only) [Zuo]. Karlgren (1956: 9) relates the latter to dûn 段 (duânC) 'torn to pieces' [Guan].

x dûn 斷 (duânB) LH duônB, OCM *dôn?, OCB *tion? 'To cut off, decide, resolute'.

x dûn 割 (tuânB, tjûânB) LH tuon, tsuânB - on, OCM *tôn, *ton? 'To cut' [Guoce].

dûn2 段 → dûn1 斷

dûn3 锹 (tuânC) LH tuonB, OCM *tôns 'Hammer, to hammer' [Shi], 'strike' [Zhuang].

E] ST: PTB *tow (STC no. 317) > WT t'o-ba -mt'o-ba 'hammer' (large), LP t'u 'to pound, husk', WB tu 'hammer'. CH has added the nominal n-suffix (§6.4.3).

dùi 推 (tuài) LH tûi, OCM *tûi 'Mound' [Chuci].

E] The first textual appearance in Chuci suggests a foreign word. It seems to be related to PTB *tûi 'tûi', S. dûi 'mountain', Sâek rûy 'mountain'; or alternatively to MK: MMôon duîw 'hill, hilltop'. A connection with → tûn, [I] 'hill' is also possible, foreign items cited there could apply equally well to dûi.

dul1 個 (tuâtC) LH tuânC, OCM *tuîh 'Pestle' [first attested for the Han period: Wú Yû chüngiû. Hánshû, SW, Pêngyâin].

E] MY: PY *tuî 'pestle'; the initial was not *kl- or *gl- as has been suggested in the past (M. Ratliff, p. c.).

x chûf 撬 (djûi) LH dûi, OCM *drui 'Pestle' [SW].

dul2 兌 'glâd' → yû17 竭

dul3 兌 'opening' → yû19 翠

dul4 奪 'narrow passage' → yû19 翠

dul5 陵 'high' → cû1 崖

dul6 除 → dû2 答

dul7 隊 (duûtC) LH dûas, OCM *dûas 'Troops' [Zuo].

E] Etymology not clear. Sagart (1999: 85) relates dû to yû 'pro tail' (under → sui2 透), hence lit. 'followers'. Alternatively, the word could be related to → tûn, 居宅 and the TB items there. Or if OCM was *dûs < dûps, perh. related to AA: Khmer dâba /toûp/ 'armed forces, troops, army'.
duó - duó

Shuǐduó, duó is rare in the sense 'all', zhū becomes the norm: zhū hòu 諸侯 ‘all the feudal lords’ [Shi 6, 34]. Therefore, it is conceivable that zhū had branched off from duó (多) *tai in the sense ‘all’ as the pre-nominal proclitic with the loss of the final -i in *tai 多 in this position, hence *tai win> 多尹 > *ta win > *ta win> (Baxter acc. to Matsuzoff 1959a: 54). Alternatively, Karlsgren (1956: 17) connects zhū with the wf > *tou 賑舌 ‘collect’. 

duó 都 ‘all’, which is the Mand. col. form of zhū.

shū 庸 (jiwò) LH sāo, OCM *tshak < *thak(ó) ?
‘Be many, abundant’ [Shi], adj, ‘the many, all’ [Bl, Shi], syn. of zhū and duó in Shuǐjīng occurs shū yín 庶尹, for example. Thus ‘all the administrators’ can be duó yín 多尹, zhū yín 諸尹 or shū yín 庶尹. Given the OC phonological similarity of these three words, it is therefore likely that shù is cognate to duó; the initial can be explained as a devoiced *loh- (§5.5) after loss of the *t- which was felt to be some sort of pre-initial.

duó1 度 duó1 度

duó2 傑 duó2 傑

duó3 底 duó3 底

duó4 柵 (tūä) LH tuaib
‘To pick, gather’ [Shi], etymology is not clear, but note → tâu 手.

duó5 萬 (täk) LH dok, OCM *lák
A Wù dialect word for ‘ice’ [YJ] is a loan from PMiaojilok ‘ice’ [Wáng FS].

duó1 耳 (tuaib) LH tuaib
The second syllable in the modern word for → ēr ‘ear’; Mand. ēr-duó 耳朵: Y-Taihsian 3-yi1,5tuaiaib; K-Conghua 2-tuaiaib. This is perhaps related to the word tua 龈 (tuaib) ‘oblong, oval’ [Chuci]. It is also reminiscent of an AA word for ‘ear’: PSBahn. *tua, PMon *túa.

[7] Sin Sin SC tu (ø); LR tó, twó; MGZY dwo (ø) [twó]; ONW tuaib

duó2, chuí 耳 (tuaib, duó, ówé) LH tuaib etc., OCM *tój or *dóí?
‘Hanging tuft of hair’ [Li].

duó duó 耳 (tuaib) LH tuaib, OCM *tój?
‘Hang on a tree’ [SW, GY].

[C] Perh. related to → chuí, 垂 *dóí ‘droop’.

duó3, chuí 耳 → chuí 垂

duó1, chuí 耳 → chuí 垂

duó1, zhi1, 齊, 齊

duó2 懸 ‘exhausted’ → duó3 懸

duó1 舵 (dái) LH dái, OCM *táí
‘Rudder’ 龈 [GY], 舵 [Shiming].

[7] Y-Guangzhóu 2-ti1,5dái, K-Méixián tó1, PMin *dái

duó4 拢 (tuaib) LH tuaib, OCM *tóí
‘To chop, cut’ [GY]. In some dialects, this graph is used for the syn. zhúó 錯 (under → zhú, 錯). Perh. related to WB tía ‘mince with a knife’ (Benedict 1976: 181).
é, 俄 (ná) LH ēi, OCM *nāi — [T] ONW ēi
'Slanting' [Shi].
[D] Y-Guangzhou np* 2[A2]; M-Xiámen ga 2[A2]
[EN] ST has *ŋëaiw → nəi parallel stems (§2.5; §5.12.1) for this etymology:
(1) *ŋai > 俄 OCM *nāi, WB gai C 'to lean, be inclined to one side' (Matisoff 1995a: 85) & igaic 'inclined, set on one side', JP gaai2 < kai 'slanted', perh. WT sê-ba (< 2-nê < s-nê?) 'to lean against, rest on, lie down', but WT can phonologically also be connected with the parallel stem:
(2) 2-nəi > PBL 2-nī 'nīe 'lean over (and fall)' (Matisoff 1970; JAO 90:1: 39), WB hnwai C 'lean sideways, incline'. It is not clear if or how Lushai geri C < perh 'be tilted, leaning' (with final -r) is connected with the TB items.
CH -> Tai: S. giə C 'lean to one side' (Unger Hao-ku 36, 1990: 52).

é, 娥 in héngr-g 敏娥 (yán-ná), LH gô-nái, OCM *nāi
Name of the moon goddess [Huainan, Hou Hanshu], later châng-ê 常娥 because the Han emperor Wéndì’s personal name was Héngr (180-164 BC). For the legends and variant forms, see Maspero 1924: 14ff.
[EN] Prob. area etymology: PTAI *ŋâi 'moonlight', S. dian 2-gai 2 'full moon', P-oai 2 'loong & haiai 2 'moonlight' (acc. to Gedney CALAC 6, 1976: 70, ŋâi 2 originally meant 'to lie face up', perh. connected with AA: Khmer *ŋājījī 'to raise up or hold up the head'). <> Note also TB-Tamang 2 'full moon'. The semantic extension 'to face' > 'moon' is parallel to → wâng 4 望.
[C] The first syllable may be related to → gêng 1 恆 'waxing' (of the moon).

é, 鷄 (ná) LH nêi, OCM *nāi
'Goose' [Meng]. Prob. related to → yân, 雁 'wild goose', may have ended in a PCH final *-l or *-r.
[T] Sin S. SR nê (平), PR 2, LR 2, nê; MGZY ngo (平) [NO]
[D] Y-Guangzhou nê 2[A2]; Ke-Méixian gô 2[A2], PMin *nâo, Xiámen gô 2[A2]

é, 释 (nà) LH ēi, OCM *nāi
'To move, act, change' 释 [Shu], 吥 [Shi]. 合 may be the same word.

hé, 考 (xuá) LH huai, OCM *nâih — [T] ONW huâ
'Property, goods, riches, wares' [Shu].
[<] trans. / caus. devoicing (§5.2.2) + exoactive of é 释 合 [4.3.2], lit. 'what is being exchanged', or 'made to be exchanged'.

huá 化 (xua) LH huai, OCM *hrôi
'To transform, change' [Shu], e.g. from a fish into a bird [Zhuang], people through education [Liji], raw food through cooking (fire) [Liji].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR xua (2); MGZY hwa (2) [xua]; ONW huá
[<] this looks like 释 合 with triple causative markings: devoicing (§5.2.2) + s/h-suffix (§4.3.2) + *r- 'infinitive' (§7.5).
[EN] Bodman (1980: 60) relates this word to TB: Kanauri skwâl 'to change' ≡ Khaling kwa 2 'to shift, move'; but the phonology of the initials is not clear.

é, 释 (nà) LH nêi, OCM *nâi
'Evil, evildoer' [Shi], 'bad, ugly' > 'wrong, fault' [Zuo].
[T] Sin S. SR nâw (入), PR 2, LR 2, nê; MGZY aw (入) [Raw]; ONW ʔek
[<] 陷入 考 (tə) LH ʔa, OCM *ʔâh
'To hate' [Shi], 'dislike, abominate' [Mo — Harbsmeier 1981: 40].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR ʔa (2); MGZY u (2) [ʔa]
[<] exoactive / putative of é 释 (tə) (§4.3).
[EN] ST: WT ʔąg-pô 'bad' (HST: 38). It occurs also in PTài *j: -jaak 2 'difficult, bad, difficult, inferior' to ŋâ, 亚 'second, inferior' to this ws.

é, 父 (nâk) LH ʔok, OCM *ʔâk
'To beat the drum' [Shi].
[<] ST: WT ʔa-ʔa 'drum' (Bodman 1980: 127), Tamang ʔa:.

é, 鱼 (nâk) LH ʔok, OCM *ʔâk
'Aquatic reptile' [SW], 'saltwater crocodile'.
[EN] Etymological possibilities are discussed by Carr (J.T.B.A 13, 1990: 132f); é has been related to words for 'fear' (→ ʔā 鄙), and to ʔâg 合 'beat the drum' because some drums had crocodile / alligator skins. Note also PTài *ʔek (Li F.; but Chamberlain *wak) 'mythological sea monster, dragon'; é is distinct from → ŋâ, 亚 'alligator'.
é₃ 而 'your' — é₅ 則

é₄ 四 (fú) LH ūe, OCM *nu, OCB *nje  'Child, baby' [Shi] as young human being in general (Sagart 1999: 164).

[T] Sin S. SR ri (声), PR, LR ri; MGZY Zhi (者) [ri]; ONW ūe [E] Use as a diminutive suffix developed somewhat later than → zi₁子, was widespread by the Tang dyn. (Norman 1988: 114). In Min and other southern dialects, this suffix has almost disappeared except perf. for traces in nazification and in 'irreg.' tones (Chen Zhongmin 1999, on the diminutives in Min dialects, JCL monograph 14). Acc. to Chao (1968: 46) the Mand. suffix ér has 3 sources: (1) 1f 裏 'therein' (e.g. zài 1zhěr 'here'); (2) ri 日 'day' (e.g. jūn 'today'); (3) ér 兒. Sync. → zi₁子.

é₅ 則  

é₆ 懿黽 (njāk) LH ɨgok, OCM *ŋāk  'Scared' (lit. 'tremble, fear' [Li]; (perh. 'startling:') 'suddenly' [Shi]. 'unexpectedly come across' [Chuci].

[D] M-Xiāmén giāo²², lit. gōk²²

é₇ 而 (nuo) LH ɨŋok, OCM *ŋāk  'Unexpectedly come across' [Zhuang].

é₈ 速 (suō) LH əo, OCM *ŋāk  1To tremble, fear' [Yi]. This looks like a doublet of suō 索.

é₉ 索 (sāk) LH ɤak, OCM *ŋāk  2To tremble, fear' [Yi].

[E] ST: WB ɡuān→ ɡuān 'have a settled dread'; WT ɡuān-ba 'be afraid, out of breath'. Syn. -hê, 赫; → yà 內, 御匠.

é₁₀ 顚 (nāk) LH ɨŋok Mandarin 'jaw, palate' [GY].


é₁₁ 閥 (tâ) LH ˈtət, OCM *ŋiak  'To suppress, repress'  3 '[Shi], 'obstruct, stop' 闖 [Zhuang].

é₁₂ 疋 (tāk) LH əs, OCM *ŋiak  'Be stopped up, accumulated?'; 'be thronged, in a great crowd' [Shi], 'rich' [clouds] [Guanzi].

[c] exopass. of 進 閥 (tâ) (§4.4).

é₁₃ 側→ ni₃鞍   4

é₁₄ 旖 (nāk) LH ɨɡi, OCM *ŋiak  5 'Hungry, starve' [Meng].

[E] ST: Lushai ɡeri "to fast, go without' (food, medicine) (CVST S: 137), WB ɲat 'thirsty, hungry', also LP ɲu 'hungry', although the vowels do not agree. A ST parallel root (§2.5) has initial *n-w (→ *ŋən ~ *ŋən, see → něi 饒, see §5.12.1).

é₁₅ 杳 (ni₄)  'Beard' [Zhou].

É₁₆ 而 (nà) LH ɨŋo, OCM *ŋo  1 'Whiskers' of an animal [Zhou].

[D] This word may be a cognate of → xù 頃 頃 'beard' (Pulleyblank EC 16, 1991: 43).

After labial initials, there has been some dialectal confusion of OCM *-o (母) and *-n (木) in the Shijing, and this looks like a similar case which is strengthened by ér's use as a phonetic element in words with *-o (需) and *-on (命). Alternatively, ér could perhaps be related to PTB *-n-oq (have) or *-noq 'hair (of head) (STC no. 292) Gyarung nni 'head hair', Garo kən, Nung (ton). In either scenario the vowel correspondences are problematic, though.

[C] Alloform: → sāi. (sī, sāi) 'bearded' or 'white-haired' [Zuo] (Pulleyblank).

é₁₇ 而 (nà) LH ɨŋo, OCM *ŋo  2

A common particle which links verbs (Norman 1988: 122), a resumptive emphatic particle [Shi] which originated perh. as an unstressed variant of → rú₁ 如 'be like' (Pulleyblank 1995: 148) with the basic meaning 'like, -ly [§11.2.1].

[T] Sin S. SR ri (声). PR, LR ri; MGZY Zhi (者) [ri]; ONW ūo [E] ST: This particle ér is possibly shared with WT: ni an emphatic marker for nouns and nominal phrases (HST: 71); however, WT has no equivalent of rú from which ní might have been derived.

é₈ 而 (tā) LH ūe, OCM *nu, OCB *nje  1 'Child, baby' [Shi] as young human being in general (Sagart 1999: 164).

[T] Sin S. SR ri (声), PR, LR ri; MGZY Zhi (者) [ri]; ONW ūe [E] Use as a diminutive suffix developed somewhat later than → zi₁子, was widespread by the Tang dyn. (Norman 1988: 114). In Min and other southern dialects, this suffix has almost disappeared except perf. for traces in nazification and in 'irreg.' tones (Chen Zhongmin 1999, on the diminutives in Min dialects, JCL monograph 14). Acc. to Chao (1968: 46) the Mand. suffix ér has 3 sources: (1) 1f 裏 'therein' (e.g. zài 1zhěr 'here'); (2) ri 日 'day' (e.g. jūn 'today'); (3) ér 兒. Sync. → zi₁子.
ér · ēr

[<] prob. LOC general tone C derivation.

〔E〕ST: (1) PTB *n-ma 'ear / hear' (STC p. 113 no. 453) > WT rna-ba 'ear'; Ang. Naga rana < r-na 'listen'; Rengma N. na 'hear'; PL *(C)na 'ear', *(C)-na 'to listen'; WB na* 'ear', na 'listen'; JP na33 'ear', na33 'listen'. (2) PTB *g-na 'ear / hear' > Tangkhul k'ona 'ear', Rengma N. k'ona 'ear', Mikir -n(o), Garo k'ona 'hear'; WT g'mi ~ g'mi 'witness' > fha-ma 'a hearer' > sjan 'ear' resp. A possible alloform is > chi, long 'shame'.

TB has the same root *na for both 'ear' and 'nose'. That we are dealing here with the same etymology is supported by parallelism with > wén, 闻 'to smell' and 'to hear'.

ér2 耳 'female' > ēr2 李耳

ér3 耳 (néér) LH nā, OCM *nō? — [T] ONW nō

'Sine' [Li]. — [E] ST *ni: WT: nā 'tendon, sinew'.

ér4 遠 (yānér) LH yō, OCM *ne?, OCB *njai? — [T] ONW yō

A suffix forming adverbs 'wise' (< 'like') [Shu] (DEZC: 147), derived from > rū, 如 with the suffix -i (Matisoff 1995a: 77); e.g. Shi-ér 遠偶 ('happening-wise') 'by chance'. See > rū, 如 for alloforms.

ér5 遠 (yānér) LH yō, OCM *ne?, OCB *njai?

'You, your' [BI, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ริ (土), PR ริ; MGZY Zhi (土) [ri]; ONW yō

[D] This is an independent pronoun (§3.3.3); it survives in most modern dialects in its col. form > nî, 你.

ér6 爾 'that' > nā 尾

ér7 爾 (héér) LH hō, OCM *nō — [T] ONW hō

'You, your' [Shi]. This is the possessive derivative of ēr, not > rū, 为 'you', because otherwise MC should have tone B, like nāi 乃 'your' (§3.3.3).

〔E〕ST: TB-Chepang mè 'you' > ni 'girl' (plurals), WB mān < 'you' (sing., pl.) [Keping, CAAL 11, 1979: 14]. This is a parallel stem of ST *na 'you' (> rū 汝); Maring (Tangkhul-Kuki) (nan) > nai 'thou' [Benedict 1995: 32] is prob. a derivation from the latter (PTB *na). In spite of the parallelism with wō 我 > nai (under > wū 吾), the OC vowel *e in ēr is not a leveled diphthong *ai.

ér8 耳 'that' > nā 尾

ér9 遠 (néér) LH nē, OCM *ne?, OCB *njai?

'Near' [Shi].

〔E〕ST: PTB *s-ney (STC no. 291 HPTB: 215) > WT n'e-ba 'near' > shen-pa 'come near'; JP ni3, PLB *nay, PL *b-ni55, WB ni8 < neB (Bodman 1980: 130; HST: 111); PTB *s-nay (HPTB: 215) > Lushai in-li-hna' > hna' 'near, close'.

xiē 聽 (sjāt) LH li, OCM *snat or *snat?

'Be close, familiar' [people] [BI, Shi] > 'disrespectful' [Shu], 'ordinary' [Li], 'garment next to body' [Shi]. The last meaning may have been transferred from nī 昔 (under > jī, 即).

〔E〕ST: WT shēd 'about, near' (after round sums).

〔C〕CH has two distinct etyma for 'near', (1) ST *né (ér 遠), (2) PAA *tsit (→ jī, 即) > (ts-n-it) > nít (→ ni3 (の, 乃, → nǐ 汝). Additional syn. > ní, 尼 'near', > ni9 汝.

ér1 二 (héér) LH hō or hī, OCM *nis or *nih

'Two' [OB]. The word rimes with -t in Yánghòng's (Later Han) dialect (Coblin JCL 11.2: 1984: 10), hence OCM *-s (or *-t), but not *-h.

〔T〕 Sin S. SR ริ (去), PR, LR ริ; MGZY Zhi (去) [ri]; ONW nī
fā [pjwɛt] LH puot, OCM *pat, OCB *pjet
'To start out, go out, come forth, sprout, issue, offspring' [Shi], 'to shoot' (an arrow) [Shi]; 'send off, send out, deliver'.

[T] *Sia Sukchu SR fva (广), FR, LR fa; M Tang pfar < pfuar, ONW puot
[D] M-Šámén col. puˈpɔi, lit. huatˈdói
[E] Area word 'go out > eject', in TB lgs. 'vomit', in AA and AN 'to shoot'. TB: PLB *C-pat 'vomit', WB ppat, JP nˈuˌpatg (HST: 130); PVM *fiah 'to vomit' [Ferlus] seems to have a TB origin. 
[*] AA: M poh 'bow' < poh 'to shoot with a pellet-bow'.

A derivation is perhaps. → fė́₁₆ 厭 'cast aside' (Karlgen 1956: 11). Allophones are possibly → fā₁, 伐 'to plow', → fā₄ 伐 'praise', → bā₁ 叉 'expel'.

fā₁ 發 'plow' → fā₂ 伐

fā₂ 伐 (bjwet) LH buot, OCM *bat
'To plow, furrow' [Guoyu]; 'earth thrown up by a plowed furrow' [Zhou].
Perh. the s. w. as → fā₁ 伐 which includes the notions of 'chop, hack', as the earliest form of 'plowing' was hacking with a hoe.

[*] fā 發 (pjwet) LH puot, OCM *pat
'To plow' (fields) tr. [Shi] is cognate or may simply be a graphic loan for LH buot.

[?] Commentators, incl. SW, consider this etymon to be the s. w. as → fā 發 'come out', hence 'lift out / up' (earth). Alternatively, it may possibly be related to fā₁ 伐 'cut off, hew out' (Qiu Xigui 2000: 294); and / or to → bā₂ 叉 'roots of grass' and id. 'to camp'.

fā₁ 伐 (bjwet) LH buot, OCM *bat
'To cut off, chop off, beat, attack' [OB, BI, Shi] > 'to punish, fine' [BI, Shu]; 伐 also means 'to cut' as in: to cut (i.e., make) an axhandle, spokes, etc. [Shi] (Qiu Xigui 2000: 294). → fā₂ 伐 may be the same word.

[T] M Tang bvar < bvar, ONW buot

fā₄ 伐 (bjwet) LH buot, OCM *bat
'Merit, boast' [(Lunyu)]; 'to praise' (a person) tr. [BI]. This word is perhaps cognate to → fā 發 'come out, start out' (i.e. 'make stand out').

fā₅ 伐 (bjwet) LH buot, OCM *bat
'Large bamboo raft' [GY], a Han-period dialect word in the Qin-Jin area [FY], 'ocean-going ship' [SW]. Perh. related to → fā₁₆ 浮 (Unger Hao-ku 39, 1992).

fā₆ 乏 'lack, neglect' → fē₁₆ 厭

fā₁ 法 'law, pattern' → fā₄ 凡 'general'

fā₂ 法 'disregard' → fē₁₆ 厭

fā₃ 髭 (pjwet) LH puot, OCM *pat, OCB *pjet
'Head hair' [Shi, BI].

[*] fā 髭 (puat) LH pat, OCM *pat
'Small hairs on body' [Zhuang] is perhaps cognate, or belongs to → bā₁ 叉.

fān fān 發 fān 發

fān₁ 發 (pjwet) LH puot, OCM *phän
'To fly, fly up' [Shi].

fān₂ 發 (bjwet) LH buot, OCM *bam
'Sail' [Han time].

fān₃ 萬 (pjwet) LH puot, OCM *pan
'Hedge, screen' [Shi].

fān₄ 凡 (bjwet) LH buot, OCM *bam (from earlier *bam or *bom)
'General'(ly) [Zou], 'common' [Meng], 'every, all' [Shi]; 'general rule, pattern' [Xun (Harbsmeier 1981: 153)].

[T] *Sia Sukchu SR van (广) FR van; MGZY Hwam (广) [van]; M Tang buan < buam, ONW *bam

fān₅ 婚 (bjwet) LH buot, OCM *bam, OCB *bian
'To burn, roast' [Shi].

fān₁ 發 (pjwet) LH puot, OCM *phän
'To fly, fly up' [Shi].

fān₂ 發 (bjwet) LH buot, OCM *bam
'Sail' [Han time].

fān₃ 萬 (pjwet) LH puot, OCM *pan
'Hedge, screen' [Shi].

fān₄ 凡 (bjwet) LH buot, OCM *bam (from earlier *bam or *bom)
'General'(ly) [Zou], 'common' [Meng], 'every, all' [Shi]; 'general rule, pattern' [Xun (Harbsmeier 1981: 153)].

[T] *Sia Sukchu SR van (广) FR van; MGZY Hwam (广) [van]; M Tang buan < buam, ONW *bam

fān₅ 婚 (bjwet) LH buot, OCM *bam, OCB *bian
'To burn, roast' [Shi].
Matisoff (1997: 44f; LL 1.2, 2000: 1144f) sets up a large ST of that includes also to hu1 焚 焚 'petals of a flower' and to pà 菸 'flowers, blossoms' are the same etymology, but that to fàn 焚 is unrelated.

fàn 焚 (bijwen) LH buan5, OCM *ban 'Paw' [Zao].
[E] ST: WT sbal 'soft muscles or parts of inner hand or paw'; Jaeschke p. 404 says this word is hom. the same as sbal-pa 'frog' (Unger Hao-ku 35, 1986: 30).

fàn 槙 (bijwen) LH buan5, OCM *ban 'Luxurious' (growth), be numerous, to prosper, rich' 蓐 [Shi]; 'abundant, numerous'繁 [Shi].
[E] ST: ?omp ? For wider relations and parallel stems, see §2.5.1. Unger (Hao-ku 35, 1986: 30) suggests a relationship with WT dpal 'splendid, splendid, magnificence, abundance'. Perh. related also to fàn 焚 'hedge'. => PTai *b-s: s. pùwan2 'increase, flourishing'.

fàn 反 (pjwam) LH puon5, OCM *pan?
'To turn, return, turn around, turn against' [BI, Shi] > 'rebel' [BI] > 'on the contrary, however' [BI, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR fwan (上), PR fän; MGZy h(w)wan (上) [fan]

fàn 胼 (pjwam) LH puon5, OCM *pans 'To trade' [Zhouli].
[c] exoactive of fàn 反 (§4.3).

fàn 畦 (pjwam) LH puon5, OCM *phans 'A turn, a time' 畦 [Lien], 'turn, change' 諧 [Meng].
[c] iterative of fàn 反 (§5.8.3).

fàn 河 (pjwam) LH buan5, OCM *bans 'To be thrown out, float about' [Chuci], 'disperse' [Zuo].
[c] endopass. of fàn 河 (§4.6).

fàn 灭 (pjwam) LH buan5, OCM *bans 'To pass over' [Zhouli] > 'offend against, oppose' [Lunyu]. Formally, fàn 灭, looks like a derivation from this word; however, the root's basic meaning is 'float, overflow'; therefore it may be a different etymology.

fàn2 灭 (bijwen) LH buan5, OCM *bans 'Cooked rice or millet' [Li], a late OC word.
[T] Sin Sukchu SR vwan (去), PR, LR van; MGZy h(w)van (去) [van]; ONW buan
[O] jiMin *bon2 'dry cooked rice'.
[c] exopass. of fàn 飯 (bijwen) (§4.4).

fàn 飯 (bijwen) LH buan5, OCM *ban 'To eat' [Zhouli] (Downer 1959: 273).

[c] exoactive of fàn 飯 (§4.3).

[c] exoactive of fàn 飯 (§4.3).

fáng 方 (pjwam) LH puon5, OCM *pan 'Square, a regular thing, side, region' [BI, Shi], 'country' [OR, Shi].
[T] Sin S. SR fán (平); MGZy Hwang (平) [fan]; MT ang püan, ONW puèn < pà

fáng 1 方 (pjwam) LH puon5, OCM *pan 'Two boats lashed side by side' [SW] > bv. tr. 'to lash (boats chuän 船 / zhòó 舟) together' in order to cross a river [Zhuang], 'to cross (a river) by raft' [Shi].

fáng 2 方 (pjwam) LH puon5, OCM *pan 'Boat' [Lien]; bàng 裖 (pjwam) an old W dialect word for 'boat' [Yupian].

fáng 榮 (pjwam) and huáng 荒 (pjwam) 'Ancient Wú words for boat' [Yupian] are variants acc. to Mahdi 1994: 456.

fáng 3 方 (pjwam) LH puon5, OCM *pan 'Just now' [Shi], 'to begin' [Shi?] is an allomorph of fú, 爽 (Pulleyblank 1962: 233).
[E] The meaning to begin' may belong to a different ST etymology: PTB *pān: Mikir pā'n first, before, *pān 'dawn', JP pū'æn 'begin', NNga *pān 'begin' [French 1983: 222]; Garo pū't, Dimasa pū'or 'morning' (STC no. 332). However, TB words for morning may instead belong to shuàng 翳 'dawn'.


fáng 5 方 (pjwam) LH puon5, OCM *pan 'Method' [Lunyu, Shiji], 'law, norm, standard' [Xun]. This may be the s. w. as fáng 方.

fáng 放 (pjwam) LH puon5, OCM *pan 'To imitate, conform to' [Lien, Zhouli].

fáng 業 (pjwam) LH puon5, OCM *pan 'Economy, not certain, perh. ST: WT byam-pa 'skill, experience' bìng sbyan-pa, sbya 'to train, exercise, study, learn, practice' (HST: 143). Alternatively, the items may belong to AA: Khmer brâta / pîrâng 'to represent the shape of, to sketch, design...' râna / rînâ 'body build, form, shape, figure' (Jenner & Pou 1982: 233); if related, this group seems to belong to an AA w which includes zhâng 榮 'form, shape'. 'Law, norm, standard', etc., is a common semantic extension of 'form, shape, pattern', cf. fā 法 (→ fán 阪).

fáng 7 方 (pjwam) LH puon5, OCM *pan 'Fragrant' [Chuci] is perh. related to xiăng 香 'fragrance' (Pulleyblank 1962: 140).

fáng 着 (bijwen) LH buan5, OCM *ban 'To do' [Lien]; 'embarkment, dine' [Shi] > 'to stop, block up' (river, peoples' talk) [Zuo, Guoyu].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR vân (平); MGZy H(w)ang (平) [van]; ONW buan < ban

fáng 芳 (pjwam) LH puon5, OCM *pan 'To be fragrant' [Chuci] is perh. related to xiăng 香 'fragrance' (Pulleyblank 1962: 140).
fáng 房 (bijian) LH buan, OCM *ban
'Room' (i.e. 'walled in') or related to PKS *pwawⁿ 'bank, shore' (under → pūⁿ 池).

fáng 在 (bijian) LH buan, OCM *ban
'Room' [Shi].

[f] Sin Sukhu SR van (平); MGZY h水量 (平) [fæŋ]; ONW buan < ban

fáng 幼 (piwanʳ) LH p'wan⁴, OCM *pahŋ
'To spin, twist [Zuo], to tie [Guoyu].

[MT] T'ang p'fwan (?), ONW p'wn < p'qan

fáng 顾 (piwan⁴) LH p'wan⁴, OCM *pahŋ
'To inquire, scrutinize, consult' [Shi].

※ ping 聘 (pján⁵), LH p'jeŋ⁵, OCM *phęŋ
'To inquire' [Shi] is identical with fáng in O.C. except for the vowel (§11.1.3).

fáng 放 (pjwan⁴) LH puon⁴, OCM *panj
'To put away, neglect, banish' [Shu].

[13] Sin Sukhu SR fan (去); MGZY Hwang (去) [fan]; MT'ang p'fwan (賜), ONW p'wn < p'qan

fēi 飞 (pjwej) LH pui, OCM *pui (prob. < *pui) - [T] ONW pui — [D] PMin *pire 'To fly' [Shi].

[15] Area word: PTB *p'or ~ *p'ire (STC no. 398) > WT 'p'or-ba 'to fly'; Nung ap'r 'to shake' (cloth), k'oŋ-p'r 'moth'. - AA: PVM *p'ar 'to fly' (Ferlus); PMonic *par, Munda ap'ir 'to fly'; Wa-Lawa-Balang *p'ir, PNBnh. *p'ir.

For ST *r > OC *i, see §7.7.4; fēi is prob. related to → fēn, 趁 'to fly'. However, → fān, 弄翻 'to fly' and → fūn, 不 (pjuaⁿ) 'to soar' are unrelated. Boltz relates this word, which is also written 蜕, to the *w to fēi, 倩 [JAOS 120.2, 2000: 220].

fēi 肥 (bijwej) LH bui, OCM *bei — [D] PMin *byi
'Fat, rich, fertile' [Shi].

[16] Sin Sukhu SR vi (平), LR vi; MGZY H(w)i (平) [vi]; ONW bui
[17] Category related to *bii¹³ 'fat' (CH loan?).

fēi 腊 (bijwej) LH bui, OCM *bei
'Calf of leg, leg; follow on foot' [Shi, Yi].


fēi 匝 (pjwej) LH pui¹, OCM *pui — [T] ONW pui¹
'It is not to be not replaces → fēi, 非 in Shijing (匝) and Shijing (匝)'.

fēi 赤 (bijwej) LH pui¹, OCM *pui
'Wooden frame' to → fēi³ 簾

fēi 誇 (biwej) LH pui¹, OCM *pui
'To brag' to → fēi³ 簾

fēi 腋 (pjwej, p'wo¹) LH p'wai¹, p'at, OCM *pahi¹, *pəhát (*phui², *phat < *phuat ?)
'New light of the moon' [Shu, SW], 'third day of the new moon' [Hanshu].


fēi 料 (bijwej) LH baus, OCM *baus < *bos ?, OCB *biots
'To bark' [Shi]. - [T] ONW bei — [D] PMin *bui⁶
[20] ST: KN-Lushai baci¹ < baus 'to bark' is a direct cognate and shows the CH word to have a sound-symbolic origin (ST *batsu⁷).

fēi 笨 (pjwej) LH pui¹, OCM *p'at (prob. < *pats)
'Thick, stupid' [Shi], CH aspiration is symbolic for breathing §§5.8.

[21] ONW p'ai > p'ui
[22] The OC form is close to items found in various languages in the area, but the exact relationships are elusive due to the uncertainty of the PCH form and the sound-symbolic nature of the word: AA-PVM *p-sox < p-hoc > p'yaq / p'ye < 'lungs', - Tai: S. p'or-di < *poit 'lung' (Li F. 1976: 43) - S. p'or-di 'breathe, inhale' (Manomaiivibool 1975: 124), Matisoff (1978: 113f) sets up, among others, a ST form *p'(r)-wap: PL *p'(r)-ap¹; Chezap p'ap (Bodman 1980: 115), which has the same final as WT gło-pa < glos 'lungs, side', TMTG *g'lap¹ /g'lap¹ 'lung'.

fēi 泡 (pjwej) LH pus, OCM *pots < *phats or *phats from earlier *s-pots/ps
'Branches' [Shi]. CH aspiration is symbolic for breathing §§5.8.

[22] ONW pei > p'uei
[23] The OC form is close to items found in various languages in the area, but the exact relationships are elusive due to the uncertainty of the PCH form and the sound-symbolic nature of the word: AA-PVM *p-sox < p-hoc > p'yaq / p'ye < 'lungs', - Tai: S. p'or-di < *poit 'lung' (Li F. 1976: 43) - S. p'or-di 'breathe, inhale' (Manomaiivibool 1975: 124), Matisoff (1978: 113f) sets up, among others, a ST form *p'(r)-wap: PL *p'(r)-ap¹; Chezap p'ap (Bodman 1980: 115), which has the same final as WT gło-pa < glos 'lungs, side', TMTG *g'lap¹ /g'lap¹ 'lung'.
fēn

分 [piàn] 'to divide', 'to separate' [BL, Shui]. The graph shows a thing cut in two with a knife. Acc. to Downer (1959: 284) commentators to the Zhuozhuan read the word in tone C when meaning 'divide, give relief' (ex eastive §4.3).

[f] Sin Sukhua SR fun (平), PR fan; MGZHY wujiun (平) fun?; ONW bun

fēn (piuân) LH bun, OCM *bons [BL, Lii].

‘A part’ [Zhuo], ‘share’ [Lii].

[<] expost. of fēn 'divide' (§4.4)

[Bed ST] *pun; JP *pun33 'part (unit of weight) *pun33 'part (monetary unit). Lushai *pun into *pun- *pun, ‘break or divide into two or more pieces’; WB *pun33, ‘divide, sever *pun33 ‘division, parts’; there is no final *pun in WB (the counterpart of PTB *un), therefore the final may have shifted in this and a few other etyma to *-uij [KEPTB *-unj], see §6.4.2. The word → běn běn 'tree stump / trunk' may be cognate.

Some TB words in final *-i are sometimes associated with fēn: Lushai *pun 'lot, share, portion'. WT 'bul-ba, p'ul to give' something to someone of higher rank, ‘represent, report, offering, gift’ is semantically somewhat distant but could also belong to this wf. Some foreign items under → běn, are sometimes associated with this etymon.

fēn

霧 (phjuán) LH *phun, OCM *phon, OCB *phon

‘Mist’ [Yupian; YU], ‘hoarfrost’ 霪 [Chuchi] > ‘inauspicious vapors’ (as evil omen) 氛 [YU 112].

fēn

霧 (phjuán) LH bun, OCM *bon

‘Ominous vapors or clouds in the sky’ (inauspicious in the Zhuozhuan passages) [Zhuo, Xiang 27.5; Zhaoy 15; SW 211]; ‘inauspicious vapors’ [YU 110]; the YG assigns different meanings to MC *phuun and *phjuán (above) which may be a later attempt to differentiate the two.

fēn 粉 (piuân) LH pun, OCM *pun

‘To steam food’ [BZhi, Shui] perh. belongs to this wf.

[Bed] Prob. several distinct etyma have coalesced in this wf fēn and in → fēn 粉 ‘flour’, but the various sources are phonologically and semantically ambiguous and difficult to disentangle, as words of the shape LH pun and their possible outside relations have meanings ranging from sky - weather - clouds - mist - snow - hoarfrost to flour - dust. Any foreign syllable pa/un, po/un, pa/ul, as well as pun/lei could correspond to LH pun.

(1) PMY *pun3 (Wang FS; Downer 1982 *pun3) ‘snow’. PY *sbon5 (Purnell) ‘cloud, snow’. MY ‘snow’ occurs in Chuci, while CH ‘mist’ agrees with Yao ‘cloud’. Sagart (ICSTLL 1994: 7) relates this word to → fēn 粉 ‘mixed’ and argues that the MY word is likely to have been borrowed from CH.


(3) TB-Lushai van ‘(v- corresponds to labial stops in other lgs.) sky, heaven’.

(4) TB *pun3 (‘frost, snow’) > WT ba-mo ‘snow’, Amoo woi, Dulung tuw3-wan3 ‘snow’ etc. [Matisoff LL 1.2, 2000: 147].

(5) TB-Lushai vuur ‘hoarfrost, ice, snow’.

(6) TP-Kiranti p'ul ‘flour’, WT buun ‘dust’ (CVST 1: 7), puun3 puun ‘dust’; perh. also WT *pun3 – sbar-ma ‘chaff, husks’, but pun is prob. cognate to budca etc. ‘to blow’, sbar – sbar-ca ‘make fly up’, i.e. PV *bul ‘dust’ may also be related, then also Tai: S. sun4 ‘dusty’, Saek mu1 ‘dust’.

(7) ~ fēn 粉 ‘peeled (rice), flour’, PMY *puun ‘flour’. Haudricourt / Strecker (TP 77, 1991: 339) believe that the CH word is a loan from PMY *puun ‘flour’, Sagart (ICSTLL 1994: 8) argues the opposite. For the close semantic relationship between ‘sky’ (item 2) and ‘cloud, mist’ (item 1) see → wù 雲. The Shimiing (Shi tan) compares fēn 粉 ‘hoarfrost’ to → fēn 粉 ‘flour’, the two MY words (items 1 and item 7) would parallel the CH formations.

fēn

霧 ‘mixed’ to fēn 粉

fēn 粉 (piuân) LH pun, OCM *phon

‘Be mixed’, i.e. patterns on cloth [Shui], ‘manifold’ [Yi], ‘confused’ [Zuo]. Sagart (ICSTLL 1994: 8) relates this word to → fēn 粉 ‘mist’.

> fēn-fēn 粉雾 (p'juan-p') LH etc. same as above

‘Be mixed’ (of rain and snow) [Shui], ‘be disorderly’ 荒莽 [Shu], (Wang Li 1982: 524f who adds → wèn 素 ‘tangled’).

[Bed ST] *pol (?): Lushai *pol3 ‘to associate with, keep company with, have sexual intercourse; group, party, herd’ *pol3 ‘to mix, mingle, together’ (CVST 1: 62).
芬芬（p'juan） LH p'un, OCM *phon, OCB *phjan
‘Be fragrant’ [Shi] is perh. cognate to WT *spod ‘spice’ ≠ spos ‘perfume’.

芬 fén （p'juan） LH pun, OCM *pon
‘To fly, soar’ [Zhuang].

芬芬（p'juan） LH pun, OCM *pons
‘Wing’ [SW], ‘to spread the wings, fly up’ [Duân Yaûaí]. Fên ‘wing’ is a late tone C
derivation from fêng (§3.5).
[ET] ST: PTB *pêr ~ *pur, related is to fêng, fêng ‘fly’ (see there for TB cognates). Prob.
loaned to Tai: S. bûn [ ] < PT *phb.
[C] This etymon is unrelated to → fën, fëng ‘to flô, fôu, not ‘soar’.

芬 fêng
芬芬 fêng

芬芬（p'juán） LH pun, OCM *bun (prob. < *bon)
‘To burn’ intr., tr. (carriages, things) [OB, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukçu SR von ( ), PR von; MGZY h(w)un (平) (vun)
[E] ST: PTB *plôg (STC no. 139) > Kachin plông ‘to burn’ (as a house), Mikir
plô̂ng ‘burn the dead, cremation’; Hlota ’lông ‘burn’, Mishmi lô̂ng (Weidert 1987: 309).
TB indicates that → fän, fëng is distinct from this etymon. For the difference in finals, see
§6.4.2.

芬芬（p'juán） LH pun, OCM *bon — [T] MTang bùn, ONW bun
‘Big (head, drum), big-horned’ > ‘greatness’ [Shi], ‘big drum’ [Shi]; ‘well-set
(fruit)’ [Shi]; ‘ram’ [SW], ‘sheep-shaped demon’ [Guoyu]; tumulus’ [Li]; in
most modern dialects ‘a grave’. ‘Raised bank, bank of a river’ → fêng, fêng may be
the same word, unless it is a vocadic variant of pîn 頭 ‘river bank, edge’ (so Wáng Li
1982: 541) of the bin ~ bun type alternations (see under → bûn, §11.5.1).

芬芬（p'juán） LH pun, OCM *bon
‘Swell up’ [Zuo] > ‘full of annoyance’ [Guoyu], ‘full of dissatisfaction’ (Lan-yû) > ‘ardent’ [Zuo]. Some of the meanings may belong to → bûn, 贅 ‘ardent’.
[T] Sin Sukçu SR von ( ), PR von; MGZY H(w)un (平) (vun)
[ < ] endoactive of fên (§4.5).

芬芬（p'juán） LH pun, OCM *bon
‘Anger, angry’ [Zuo]. This word may belong to → bûn, 貑 ‘ardent’ instead.
[< ] intense of fên ? (§8.5.3). CH aspiration is associated with forceful outward
gesture §8.5.8.

芬芬（p'juán） LH pun, OCM *bon
Area etymon: Lushai til- puun’ ‘to increase’ (as water, wound). < OKHmer vaV(n), Khmer bûn puun/ ‘to amass, accumulate, to heap, stack, pile’. For wider relations see
§2.5.1.

芬芬（p'juán） LH pun, OCM *bon — [T] MTang bûn, ONW bun
‘Raised bank, bank of a river’ 頭 [Shi] may be a vocadic variant of pîn 頭 ‘river
bank, edge’ (so Wáng Li 1982: 541) of the bin ~ bun type (see under → bûn, §11.5.1).
[ET] ST: Lepcha bûn ‘an edging, frame, border’, this etymon is parallel to → bûn, 贑.
féng 鋒 (pú'wong) LH pú'wong, OCM *p'oŋ
‘Sharp point (of weapon, insect)’ 鋒 [Shi] > 'bee, wasp' [Guanzi, SW] > 'wasp-stung' 鋒 [Shi]. Perh. → féng, 鋒 is the s. w.
[T] Sin Sukhu SR fung (平); MGZY Hwang (平) [fυŋ];
[D] M-Xiāmèn lit. hōŋ⁴, col. puŷŋ⁴ 鋒
[E] ST: WT buy-ba 'bee' (HST: 40).

féng 剪 (bijwong) LH buoŋ, OCM *boŋ
‘To sew’ [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR buoŋ (平); MGZY Huwng (平) [vυŋ]; ONW buoŋ
[D] M-Xiāmèn lit. hōŋ⁴, col. por⁴

féng 剪 (bijwong) LH buoŋ⁴, OCM *boŋ
‘A seam’ [Shi].
[D] M-Xiāmèn lit. hōŋ⁴, col. por⁴
[C] exoass. of féng, lit. 'what is sewn’ (§4.4).

féng ㅃ (p'wong) LH p'wong, OCM *p'oŋ
‘Mountain peak’ 峰 [SW] may be the s. w. as → féng 鋒 ‘sharp point’, but AA-Khmer /k'pʊŋ/ ‘summit, peak’ which, if not a CH loan, suggests a separate MK origin.

féng 峯 (p'wong) LH p'wong, OCM *phʊŋ
‘Be abundant’ [Shi]. For wider relations see §2.5.1.

féng 風 (pi'jwong) LH puəm, OCM *pam, OCB *p(i)ja/um
‘Wind, air, tune’ [Shi]. Dèng Xiǎo-huā 鄧曉花 (YWZ 1994: 9) suggests that the word fei-lâu 飛廉, glossed 疣風 ‘ill wind’ in Shìji, is actually a dialect variant of féng.
[T] Sin Sukhu SR fung (平); MGZY hwung (平) [vυŋ]; MTang pfuŋ, ONW puŋ
[D] PMin *pi'ŋ

féng 風 (pi'jwong) LH puəm⁵, OCM *pams
‘To chant, recite’ [Zhouli].
[C] exoactive of féng 風 (§4.3).

féng 風 (bijwong) LH buoŋ, OCM *pam
‘Easy-flowing’ (sound) [Zuo].

féng 風 (pi'jwong) LH puəm, OCM *pam
‘To hold in two hands, hold up, present’ [Shi], ‘receive’ [Shi, Zuol]; ‘grasp with both hands’ (MC p'wong⁵ only) 拽 [Zhuang]. Downer (1959: 284) reads ‘to present’ [Zuo] in tone C which agrees with its exoactive / ditransitive function (§4.3). ‘receive’ tone B agrees with the endoactive function.
[T] Sin Sukhu SR fung (平), LR vυŋ; MGZY Huwng (平) [vυŋ]; ONW buoŋ
[D] M-Xiāmèn lit. hōŋ⁴

féng 剪 (bijwong) LH buoŋ⁴, OCM *boŋ
‘(What is received)’ ‘salary’ [Guoce].

[B] Bodman (1980: 165) compares this to WT броЯ ‘wait upon, serve’; alternatively, note Chepang puŋ n. ‘present’. A possible variant may be féng, 分管 [bijwong] ‘grasp, join hands’ [Guoce].

féng 剪 → féng, 風

féng 剪 (bijwong) LH puəm⁶, OCM *pams — [D] M-Xiāmèn lit. hōŋ⁴
‘Phoenix’ 凤凰 [Shi].

[E] This word has been related to → féng, 風 ‘wind’, and by Wáng Li (1982: 318) to péng 鳥 (boŋ) ‘a fabulous great bird, roc’ [Zhuang].

fǒu 不 (pi'jwong) LH phu⁶, OCM *pə²
‘To soar’ [Li, SW] is a late word (Li ca. 239 BC), but the original OB graph has been interpreted as a soaring bird (so SW; Karl Ken GSR no. 999a) in which case the word would be very old. Fǒu is perhaps cognate to → féng, ereotype ‘to soar’. WT semantics suggest possible cognation with pʰ (pi'ŋ), LH ph'a, *pha ‘grand’ [BL].

[E] ST: WT pʰag-pa ‘to rise, raise, soar up’ (to heaven) > ‘exalted, distinguished’ (for the final consonants, see §3.2.2).

fǒu 另 → 但

(fu) 鉄 → 禹

fu 4 專事鋪 → 33 布

fu 5 機 → 禹 16
fǔ

[fǔ] (bju) LH buo (or pu?), OCM *ba or *pa?

'That' [Shi, Zu]. Pulleyblank (1995: 165) suggests that the earliest item might have been *p- since ǚ is derived from fǔ; the reading fǔ OC *ba 'introduction particle' (Graham BSOAS 35, 1: 85–110) may have been applied to the rare word fǔ 'that'.

[ET] ST: PL *m-ba, WT p-ub 'beyond, onward' (HST: 147).

bì (pju²) 3) LH píqí¹, OCM *pái¹ < *paí¹ (i.e. paí¹) ?

'There, that' [Shi], independent form (§3.3.3).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR pi ( Shane); MGZY bué (Shane); pue; ONW pe

fǔ 4) 扶 (bju) LH buo, OCM *ba — [T] MTang bvu < bvu, ONW buo — [D] PMin *b'io.

'To support, assist' [Lunyu].

fǔ 傳 (pju²) LH puó, OCM *pah

'Assist' [Shi]; 'teacher, instruct' [Zuo].

fǔ 貼 (bju) LH buo, OCM *bah

'Money contribution to the cost of burying' [Zuo] (Wáng Li 1982: 175).

fǔ 辟 (bju) LH buo, OCM *ba?

'To help, support' [Shi] > 'poles on the outside of car wheels for stabilization' [Shi] > 'bones of upper jaw, cheeks' [Yi].


fǔ 5) 服 (bju) LH buk, OCM *bak, OCB *bajak

'To lie down, put down, suppress' [Shi]; 'to submit' [BL, Shi, Shu].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR vu (λ); MGZY huá (λ) [v]; MTang bvu, ONW buk

[ET] ST: LUShan bāk / bāk²⁴ 'to lie down, recline' (as animals, or on stomach like animals or humans).

fǔ 6) 服 (bju) LH buk, OCM *bak, OCB *bajak

'To catch' [LII] is an alloform of fǔ (so Karlgen 1956: 12). It is still current in Min: Fúzhōu pù⁴, Xiàmín pu⁴. This word has several variants: fǔ 平播 (pju²) pū 'to catch' [Dadai Li]; bō 被 (bō⁴) [GY]. The word also occurs Tai: S. vək² 'to catch' (Manamivibool 1975: 129).

[<] transitive of fǔ 服 (bju) (§4.3).

[ET] ST: Chepang bhiq-sa 'to catch'.

Possible alloforms: fǔ₁₄ 鎮 'snake', bō₁₀ 路 'prostrate', perh. also → pá₁ 爬 'crawl'.

fǔ 7) 符 → fǔ₁₄ 鎮符

fǔ 8) 弗 (pjuàn) LH put, OCM *pot < *put

'Ceremonial apron' as knee cover, 'knee cover' [Shi], 'knee' [Li].

- bi 隻 (pjuet) 4 LH pit, OCM *pit

'Ceremonial apron' as knee cover, 'knee cover' [Shi].

[ET] ST: PTB *put > WT pus-mo ~ pis-mo 'knee' (STC: 181; HPTB: 368), Purik puksmo, Amdo qip-mo < PTb *p(um)-mo ~ *pq-mo (from *posts ?), *pi(t)-mo (Beyer 1992: 33); Nung p'ang-p't 'knee', ur-p'ut 'elbow'; JP p'ut 'to kneel', hō-p'ut 'kneel'. Bodman (1980: 116) connects the CH word to WT p'ut 'shield'.

The basic meaning was 'vertical cover' (> 'screen, knee cover, knee'), then the word
would be the same etymon as → fú, 弗 ‘screen, cover’ and perhaps → fú 敷弗 ‘embellishment’.

Partial syn. are → bǐ, 脯 ‘thighbone’; not related to → fǎi 腿 ‘calf of leg’.

fú15 敷弗 (pjuat) LH put, OCM *pot
‘Embellishment’ 敷 [Shi]; ‘head ornament’ 弗 [Yi] is either cognate to WT spud-pa ‘to decorate’ sps ‘goodness, beauty’; or it may be the s. w. as → fú14 敷帛 ‘apron, knee cover’ and → fú1 敷 ‘screen, cover’.

fú16 浮 (bju) LH bu, OCM *bu, OCB *br(r)ju
‘To float’ [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR vaw (平); MGZY Hwaw (平) [vaw]; MTang buv, ONW bu
[D] M-Xiàmén, Fúzhōu pha2

Acc. to Norman (1986: 382) the Northern Min ‘softened initial’ *h- points to OC prenasalization which is supported by Yao bjou2 < *nb.

x fú 浮帛 (p3ju) LH pnuo, OCM *pho
‘Small bamboo raft’ 浮 [Lunyu, GY]; 浮 [Guoyu] (Mand. fú).

~ fú 浮 (pju) LH pnuo, OCM *pho
‘A raft’ 浮 [Guanz, FY].

Note Lepcha säd-pé ‘raft’, perh. also Lushai puum1 (Unger; HST: 80).

x fú 浮 (bju, bau) LH buo, bo3, OCM *bu, bâu
‘Board on which body lies in coffin’ [Zuo]. Languages in the area often associate ‘coffin’ with ‘boat’; both started out in prehistoric times as hollowed trees. A possible alloform is → fá3 筏.

fú17 浮 (bju) LH bu, OCM *bu
‘Large ant, ephemera’ [Shi].

~ fú-yóu 浮듭 (bju-jiu) LH bu,ju, OCM *bu-ju
‘Large (winged) ant, ephemera’ [Shi].

~ pí-fú 落帛 (bi 4-bjau) LH bu, bi, OCM *bi-ju
‘Large ant’ [GY].


fú18 浮 → fú16 浮

fú19 福 (pjuat) LH puk, OCM *pok, OCB *pjk ‘benefit, good fortune’ [OB, BI, SHI].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR fa (入); FR, LR fa; MGZY Hwaw (入) [fa]; MTang pfu, ONW puk
x fú 福 (pjuat) LH pu3, OCM *pok — [T] MTang pfu, ONW pu
‘Be rich, wealthy’ [BI, SHI].


fú20 爬 → biān3-fú 爬爬

fú21 爬 (bjuat) LH pua3, OCM *pa?
‘Ax’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR fa (上); MGZY Hwaw (上) [fa]; MTang pfu < pfiu, ONW puo
[D] Min *puf
x fú 銊 (pju) LH puv
‘Ax’ [Li].
fad 伏 fad 伏服

fad 付 (pjui) LH puo, OCM *poh — [T] MTang pfu < pfuo, ONW puo
'To hand over, give' [BI, Shu].

[fad] exoactive of fud 府 (pjui) 'accumulate' (§4.3).

n fud 府 (pjui) LH puo, OCM *poh
'Storehouse' > 'repository' [Zhoul]; 'treasury' [Lunyu], 'magazine' [Zuo] > 'the bowels' 腹 [Huainanzi]; 'accumulate' 府 [Shu] (Karlgren 1956: 6). GY says 腹 is the s.w. as fud 府, Wáng Li (1982: 200) points to the semantic parallel zàng 藏 (dzâng') 'storehouse' > 臟 'intestines' (under > cáng 藏). However, 腹 may be a separate word, belonging to → fad 腹.

n fud 符 (bjui) LH buo, OCM *bo
'A tally' [Zhoul]; Mand. 'symbol to tally'.

[fed] tone A nominalization derived from fud 付 (bjui) below (§3.1).

n fud 附 (bjui) LH buo, OCM *boh
'To add, join to' [Shi]; 'adjoin a dead person in a ceremony' [Zuo], 'bury two together 附 [Li]; 'additional horse 駄 [Hanfei], 'to add to, increase' 附 [Lü] > 'lean on' [Yi].

[ped] endopass. of fud 付 (pjui) (§4.6).

fad 腹 fad 腹

n fad 腹 (bjui) LH buo, OCM *boh
'Intestines' [Han time].

= Perh. fud 随 (bjui) LH buo, OCM *boh
'Scales under the stomach of a snake' [Zhuang].


On the other hand, this word may belong to → fad 腹 (note 腹 'bowels'). Perh. related to → fad 腹.

fud 附 → fad 腹

fud 附 (bjui)付 → fad 附

fad 付 (bjui) LH buo, OCM *bo, OCB *b(r)jui — [T] MTang bvua, ONW bu
'Big mound, earthen hill' [Shi]; prob. = 'be big and fat, ample' → fud 随 随.

n vuo 培 (bou) LH bo, OCM *bo
'Hillock' 部 [Zuo]; 'mound' 培 (Goyu). In the Han period, vuo was a dialect word for → fad 随 in the Qin-Jin area [FY 13, 154].

[fad] T: PM *baa, Poai poo a1 < *p- 'mountain'.

n vuo 培 (bou) LH bo, OCM *bo
'Small hill' [Zuo]; JP po-so-lo 'small hill' looks like a CH loan.

n vuo 培 (bjui) LH buo-lo

The MC initial b in the binomes above introduces reduplicative syllables and therefore does not necessarily indicate an OC intransitive syllable.


n b ei 随 (bou) LH buo, OCM *boh, OCB *ເ (kh) — [T] MTang bvua, ONW bu
'To carry on the back, support' [BI, Shu].

[ST] The OC and TB words cited in this WF belong to a well-established MK wf (Shorto 1972) and are encountered widely in the area: PM *baa: Bahn. *baa, Katuia ba' (carry on the back); PM *bbo, Khmu boi, P'wa *bo7 'carry child on back' (Shorto 1972). MK > ST *ba, PTB *ba (HPTB 24): WT *ba7 'to bring, carry' / MK > TB-Naga *ba7 > *ba7 'carry on the back', Nung ba 'carry' (on shoulder). MK > PTB *b baa: S. pbaa2.

Even though the OC vowel / i/ was clearly *o (not *u), fad could also, or instead, be connected with a synonymous etymology *bu or *bwo, because after labials earlier *u and *a may have merged on occasion in OC (§11.10.4), unless the above TB items belong to → bān 俸 instead. PTB *bhuw or *bhuw 'carry on back or shoulder' (SCT no. 28; p. 22; HPTB: 199; HST: 52; Weidert 1987: 138) > Chepang *b huw 'carry on back'; Miléi pu: Lepcha bā 'bear, carry, burden, load'; PLB *bhuw [Matisoff D. of Labu: 827] > WB pui*b 'bear on the back', Lushai pua / puak (tone?) 'carry on the back' (as child), prob. also Lushai pu *put 'carry on the shoulder', put* 'carry a load on the back, to bear'; Lepcha bāk 'back, wrong side'.

n b ei 随 (bou) LH buo, OCM *boh (or *bēi7?) — [T] ONW bai
(1) 'To carry on the back' [post-Han] (Baxter 1992: 182).
(2) 'Turn the back to / on' [Shi], 少 [Lü]; 'turn the back on, obstinate' [Li].

[ped] endopass. of b ei 背 [pah] (§4.6).
北方 PMK *tfaʔ-s (Shorto 1972): Palaung bər ‘to carry on tunktine’, Riang-Lang ʦɔ̀ ‘carry on the head’.

* bə̀ 背 (puŋɕi) LH paŋ, OCM *paŋk
‘The back’ [Shi 300.4], ‘back quarters’ [Shi 62. 4].

[T] Sin S. SR puj (ʔ); PR puj; LR pəj; MGZY bue (ʔ); [pur]
[ɕ] exopass. of bə̀ [pok], lit. ‘what is turned back’ (§4.4).

* běi 北 (pok) LH pak, OCM *pək
‘Turn the back to, retreat’ [Zuo] > ‘north’ [BL, Shi] (what the back is turned to when facing south).

[T] Sin S. SR pəj (ʔ), LR pət; MGZY bue (ʔ); [pur]; ONW pak

* bò 柱 (dak) LH bu, OCM *buŋk

fū 復 (bjuk) LH buk, OCM *buk, OCB *b(j)uŋk
‘To come back, return, restore’ [BL, Shi], ‘reply’ [Zuo], ‘report’ [Lunyu].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR vu (ʔ); MGZY huwu (ʔ) [vu]; MTang buk, ONW buŋk

* fū 復 (bjuŋɕ) LH buŋ, OCM *buŋk
‘Repeatedly, again’ [BL, Shi], ‘to repeat’ [Meng], ‘again’ [Lunyu] is an adverbial derivation (Downer 1959: 269) (§3.5).

* fū 復 (pjuŋk) LH puŋk, OCM *phuk
‘Double, lined’ (garment) [Li].

* fū 覆 (pjuŋk) LH puŋk, OCM *phuk
‘To overturn, violate, ruin’ [Shi], ‘repeatedly’ [Meng], ‘overthrow’ [Zuo] > ‘on the contrary’ [Shi].

[ɕ] aspiration causative / iterative form of *phuk ‘double’, hence lit. ‘make something double over’ (§5.8.2-3).

[E] ST: WT spab-pa (pf. spabs) ‘to turn over’ (on the labial final, see §6.7).

* fū 覆 (pjuŋk) LH puŋk, OCM *phuk — [T] MTang pufu, ONW pуча
‘Overspread (as birds do to protect someone) [Shi], ‘protect’ [Shi].

[ɕ] exoactive of fū 覆 (pjuŋk) (§4.3).


For the difference in TB and CH finals, see §6.7. Probable allofom as bào 复.

fú 腹 (pjuŋk) LH puŋk, OCM *pok — [D] PMin *pok.
‘Cave’ 腹 [SW], ‘belly’ 腹 [BL, Shi].


fú 腹 (pjuŋk) LH puŋk, OCM *phuk
‘A kind of snake’ [Shanhaiajing, Chuci], Guó Pú says fú-huí 腹虫 ‘a snake with upturned snout’. This may be cognate to → fú 腹服 ‘to lie down, lie on the stomach
gān 甘

[k] LH kon, OCM *kān

'Pleasure', 'taste' [Shi].

[?] ST: Perh. the cognate of the TB word for 'staircase, ladder' as represented in WB hle-*ka*⁸ ('stairs, ladder'). JP la³³, ka*³³ steps'. WT skras, skas-ka, skot 'ladder' be either direct or indirect, or perh. to jǐ, 隶 because of the medial *r.

[?] ST: Perh. derivation from 甘 'bitter', semantically parallel to xìn, 辛 (STC 158 n. 428), note TB: Garo bi-ka 'liver'; however, a liver is not noted for being unusually bitter. On the other hand, gân may correspond to PTB *m-kaL 'kidneys' (STC no. 12): WT mkal-ma, Lushai kaL 'kid'. Chepang, gê. The TB etymology blends into words for 'lower back' (à hê, 腰, 

[gân]甘 in dân-gân 丹砂 'vermilion ore', see → dân, 丹 'vermilion'.

[gân]甘 (kân) LH kom, OCM *kâm (prob. < *klam < *klom) 'Be sweet' [Shi]. For the possible medial *-!, see §§8.2.2.

[?] ST: 甘 'bitter', 甘 'sweet', 甘 'orange' (Hanshu) may be the same etymology (Wâng Li 1982: 623), but because of its southern origin, 'orange' may instead be connected with kân, note PNT *t̷gəm 'sweet'.

[gân]甘 (yân) LH gom, OCM *gâm < *glam 'To be tipsy, drunk' [Shi]. Mand. 'drink to one's heart's content > fully, heartily'.

[gân]甘 (yân) LH gom, OCM *gâm < *glam 'To be tipsy, drunk' [Shi]. Mand. 'drink to one's heart's content > fully, heartily'.

[gân]甘 (yân) LH gom, OCM *gâm 'Be sweet' [Shi].

[gân]甘 (yân) LH gom, OCM *gâm < *glam 'To be tipsy, drunk' [Shi]. Mand. 'drink to one's heart's content > fully, heartily'.

[gân]甘 (yân) LH gom, OCM *gâm 'Be sweet' [Shi].

[gân]甘 (yân) LH gom, OCM *gâm 'Be sweet' [Shi].

[gân]甘 (yân) LH gom, OCM *gâm 'Be sweet' [Shi].
gān - gāo

*qiāng 强 (gān) LH gān, OC *gān? 'Hard (soil)' [Zhouli].

[EB] ST root *kā (→ gū, 固); WT gān 'ice' (terminative: < 'having become hard' of snow, water). Lushai kā'jā 'congealed, solidifried'. For related and similar items, see → gū, 固 (including Table G-1) and → jiān2 堅 (including Table J-1). Perh. the wf → qiāng 強 彈 'strong' belongs here as well.

gāng5 鋼 (kān) LH kān, OC *kān < *kλ̣om < *kλ̣om < *kλ̣om 'Steel' [Lun].


gān1 柱 (kān) LH kān, OC *kān < *kλ̣om < *kλ̣om 'Purple' [Lun].


gān1 柱 (kān) LH kān, OC *kān < *kλ̣om < *kλ̣om 'Purple' [Lun].


gān2 甘 (kān) LH kān, OC *kāms < *kḷom 'Nourish, calm, rest' [Lun].


gān2 甘 (kān) LH kān, OC *kāms < *kḷom 'Nourish, calm, rest' [Lun].


gān3 冈 (kān) LH kān, OC *kān 'Ridge' [BL, SHi].

[EB] ST: PL *kān 'mountain', WB k'ag̣ 'roof, strip of high ground', WT gān 'hill, spur' [HST: 94], LP lākāj 'ridge connecting two hills' [Matisoff 1974: 167], NNAGA *C-koon 'hill'. This may be an area word, note AA-PSBahn. *tōkaq ← *tōkaq 'roof beams'.

gān3 冈 (kān) LH kān, OC *kān 'Ridge' [BL, SHi].

[EB] ST: PL *kān 'mountain', WB k'ag̣ 'roof, strip of high ground', WT gān 'hill, spur' [HST: 94], LP lākāj 'ridge connecting two hills' [Matisoff 1974: 167], NNAGA *C-koon 'hill'. This may be an area word, note AA-PSBahn. *tōkaq ← *tōkaq 'roof beams'.

gān4 鋼 (kān) LH kān, OC *kān — [T] ONW kān 'Hard, firm' [SHi] > 'steel' 鋼 [LIE].

[EB] terminative (§6.5.1) of → gū, 固 *kah, lit. 'having become solid, hard'.

gān5 鋼 (kān) LH kān, OC *kān < *kλ̣om? 'Bull, stud' [BL, SHi].

[EB] ST root *kā (→ gū, 固); WT gān 'ice' (terminative: < 'having become hard' of snow, water). Lushai kā'jā 'congealed, solidified'. For related and similar items, see → gū, 固 (including Table G-1) and → jiān2 堅 (including Table J-1). Perh. the wf → qiāng 強 彈 'strong' belongs here as well.

gāng5 鋼 (kān) LH kān, OC *kān < *kλ̣om? — [T] ONW kān 'Bull, stud' [BL, SHi].

[EB] ST root *kā (→ gū, 固); WT gān 'ice' (terminative: < 'having become hard' of snow, water). Lushai kā'jā 'congealed, solidified'. For related and similar items, see → gū, 固 (including Table G-1) and → jiān2 堅 (including Table J-1). Perh. the wf → qiāng 強 役 'strong' belongs here as well.

gāng5 鋼 (kān) LH kān, OC *kān < *kλ̣om? — [T] ONW kān 'Bull, stud' [BL, SHi].

[EB] ST root *kā (→ gū, 固); WT gān 'ice' (terminative: < 'having become hard' of snow, water). Lushai kā'jā 'congealed, solidified'. For related and similar items, see → gū, 固 (including Table G-1) and → jiān2 堅 (including Table J-1). Perh. the wf → qiāng 強 役 'strong' belongs here as well.

gān6 船 (kān, kān) 'Lower intestines, anus' [GY, JY] is perf. related to TB-WT gān (→ *gryān? *glyān?) 'anus' [Unger Hao-ku 50, 1995: 157]; see also → chāng6 腹.

gāng 港 → jiāng1 江

gāo1 高 (kāu) LH kou, OC *kāu 'High' [OB, BL, SHi]. See → yuān, 元 for possible TB cognates.

[EB] *kāu (kāu) LH kou, OC *kāu 'High' [OB, BL, SHi]. See → yuān, 元 for possible TB cognates.

[EB] *kāu (kāu) LH kou, OC *kāu 'Height' [Lü Deming: Zuo, Yin] [Unger Hao-ku 20, 1983: 183].

[EB] *kāu (kāu) LH kou, OC *kāu 'Height' [Lü Deming: Zuo, Yin] [Unger Hao-ku 20, 1983: 183].

[EB] *kāu (kāu) LH kou, OC *kāu 'Height' [Lü Deming: Zuo, Yin] [Unger Hao-ku 20, 1983: 183].

[EB] *kāu (kāu) LH kou, OC *kāu 'Height' [Lü Deming: Zuo, Yin] [Unger Hao-ku 20, 1983: 183].

[EB] *kāu (kāu) LH kou, OC *kāu 'Height' [Lü Deming: Zuo, Yin] [Unger Hao-ku 20, 1983: 183].

[EB] *kāu (kāu) LH kou, OC *kāu 'Height' [Lü Deming: Zuo, Yin] [Unger Hao-ku 20, 1983: 183].

[EB] *kāu (kāu) LH kou, OC *kāu 'Height' [Lü Deming: Zuo, Yin] [Unger Hao-ku 20, 1983: 183].

[EB] *kāu (kāu) LH kou, OC *kāu 'Height' [Lü Deming: Zuo, Yin] [Unger Hao-ku 20, 1983: 183].

[EB] *kāu (kāu) LH kou, OC *kāu 'Height' [Lü Deming: Zuo, Yin] [Unger Hao-ku 20, 1983: 183].

[EB] *kāu (kāu) LH kou, OC *kāu 'Height' [Lü Deming: Zuo, Yin] [Unger Hao-ku 20, 1983: 183].
gāo — gé

rather 'glistening' [Shi], because the initials MC x- and k- do not normally occur in the same w. However, → hē, 鶏 'crane, glistening white' may be related.

gǎo2 廐 (kuo, kau; LH kou, kou, OCM *kūk(h) < *kluh(k) — [T] ONW kou
'To tell, report, announce, inform' [BI, Shi]. Downer (1959: 286) reserves the tone D form LH kou for the meaning 'to tell' (superiors).

è gāo 軒 (kui; kau) LH kou, OCM *kūk < *kluhk
'Announcement, make an announcement' (to inferiors) [BI, Shi, Shu].

[<] exoactive of gāo 軒 (kuo, kau) (§4.3.1), i.e. 'announce something to someone'.

[<] KT: S. klaau B1 < kail 'to say, declare' (Li 1976: 46); S. lau B2 'to tell, recount' ≠ lau A2 'concise statement' are unrelated to klaau B1 (Gedney 1976: 72).

gè1 戈 (kuā) LH kui, OCM *kuái
'Dagger-ax' [BI, Shi].

[|] Perh. area word: TB-WB k'wan 'long-handled chisel' (Peiros / StarostinCAAAL22, 1984: 125) < Tai: S. k'wan A1 'an ax, hatchet' (used in a compound meaning long-handled battle-ax) < AT gwal ~ gwal (Egerod CAAAL6, 1976: 56). Possibly related to huà 卐 (ywā) 'trust', and huá 划 (ywā) 'to punt' [Lāi].

gè2 歌 (kā) LH koi, OCM *kāi
'’Song’ [Shi].

[|] Sin Suckhu SR ko (平), LR koi; MGZy go (平) [ko]; ONW ko
[|] D Y-Günghōu ko, Ke-Mexián ko, PMin *kāi
[<] ST: Perh. related to Lushai kai / kai < kai / kaih 'to play' (a fiddle etc.), perh. also TGM *gwaí 'song', Chepeng kēj 'sing well', JP kaij 'tell' (a story). It is not clear if or how PVM *tkal > *tkal > Viet. gày 'to crow' (of a rooster) [Ferlus] may be connected.

gè3 割 (kā) LH kut, OCM *kät
'To cut' [Zuo], 'destroy, injure' [Shu].

[|] Sin Suckhu SR ko (I); MGZy go (I) [ko] — [D] PMin *kät

hài 吊 (yiā) LH gas, OCM *gät, OCB *figat(s) — [T] ONW yāoC
'To harm, injure, harm, injury' [BI, Shi].

jiè 牆 (kāi) LH kas, OCM *kāats
'To castrate' [Zhuang] is added by Karlgren (1956: 12).

[<] perh. r-caus. of gè 割 (kāt) (§7.5).

[<] ST and area word: PTB *s-kat 'cut' (LaPolla 1994: 166), and / or WT 'gas-pa' to split, break. -> PThai kat: Lāngzhōu kaat D1 'to cut' may be CH loans. -> MK; NViet. kår, Khmer karr [Huffman 1975: 16], PSBahn. *kat 'to chop, cut'.

gè4 腸 (kā) LH kok, OCM *kāk < *klak
'Armpit' [Li, Shiwien] > 'armpit seam' [Li].

[<] MK: PMon *knak, LitMon knak, Khmer klak 'armpit'. The syn. to yī 腦亦被 is prob. a different etymon.

gè5 吳 → kē1 杭

gè1 荏 (kek) LH kek, OCM *kē
'To change' [Shi]. Karlgren (GSR 931a) implies that this is the s. w. as ‘a hide’ [Shi].

which is the other meaning of this graph. Wáng Lì (1982: 81) considers gé an allomorph of → gē 改 and gēng, 更 (keng) *kraś ‘change’.

gé2 戤 (kek) LH kek, OCM *kē — [T] ONW kē
'To separate' [Guanzi].

= gé 貳 (kek) LH kek, OCM *kē
'Membrane'. Unger (Hao-ku 51, 1995) suggests that mō 膜 (mōk) ‘membrane’ which he sets up as OC *mrāk is a morphological variant of this w. Alternatively, gé may be a variant of, or the same etymon as → gé, 革 (kek) ‘hide, skin’, although the OC rimes are different (*-ak vs. -ek).

gè3 格 (kek) LH kak, OCM *kē
'(Clothes) rack' [Tang] is perh. a cognate or variant of jià 架 (ka) '(clothes) rack' [Jinshu] (so LaPolla 1994: 141). See also → gè 格.

gè4 格 (kek) LH kak, OCM *kē
'To come, go to, arrive' [OB, BI, Shu], originally written 各.

[|] Sin Suckhu SR kaw (I); MGZy gya (I) [kaj]

~ jià 假 (ka) LH ka, OCM *kē — [T] ONW kā
'To go to' [Shi]. Because jià is not a rime word in Shijing, it is difficult to decide whether this character wrote a variant of gé or simply was borrowed for it.

[<] ST: Perh. cognate to WT 'gro-ba 'to walk, go, travel' (which could derive from either *sga or *vgro) ≠ 'gro-ba-po 'traveler' ≠ 'gron-pa 'to go, travel' ≠ 'gron-k'aj 'inn' ≠ *mgro 'guest' [Geelich 1994: 197]. For the vocalic discrepancy, see §12.9 (3). Acc. to Baxter (1992: 329), → lī, 路 '(g-rak) could be related to the above; also → kē, 客 'guest', → lǐ 旅 'travel, lodge', → xīng, 行 (root *kraś) 'to go'.

gè5 格 (kek) LH kik, OCM *kē
'Bones' [Li 6/10 = Couvr. 1: 338]

= gé 格 (kek, kē, kāk) LH k(ek) kak, OCM *kē < *klak 'Haunch' of victim [Yi] is prob. the same word as 'bones'.


gè6 格 (kek) LH kik, OCM *kē
'Deer’s horn' [Li]. Benedict (1976: 174) compares this w. with PTB *twā ~ *twāk ~ *twāq 'horn' (→ gōng, 角). He mentions Dzorgai (Thochu) rak ‘horn’, but we should expect a MC medial w.

gè7 門 → gè1 各

gè8 閥蛤 → hé5 合

gè1 管 → gān4 筒

gè2 割 → jīā2 嘉

gè1 梗 (kā) LH kik, OCM *kē
'Each' [Shi]. Gè 間 ‘one over the other’ is perh. the s. w.

[|] Sin Suckhu SR kaw (I), LR kaw, kā; MGZy gaw (I) [kaw]; ONW kōk
[<] perh. derived from ū 举 with the distributive suffix *-k (so Pulleyblank 1973: 122); see §6.1.2.

252

253
gěng — gōng

【jú】

LA kien², OCM *ken²
'Be brilliant' (e.g. glory) [BI, Shui], 'wide awake' [Shi].

【E】
ST: WB kraān < kriñ 'clear, bright'.

gēng

格 (kák) LH kok, OCM *kák — [T] ONW kok
'Tree branch' [Nan-Bei chaot], but the word may be much older because the graph, which was apparently originally intended to write 'branch' (‘wood’ radical), occurs already in Zhou texts.

【E】

gēng

箌 (gān) 竿

gēng

根 (köng) LH kon, OCM *kön — [D] PMin *kyn > Amoy kun²¹, Fúzhōu kyng²¹
'Root, trunk' [Zou].

【T】 Sin Sukchu SR kon (平); MGZY gung³ (平); ONW kon

【E】 AA: PVM *kol ‘tree’ (trunk) [Ferlus], PMon *kol ‘stump’ (of tree, mushroom, tooth), Khmer gil ‘tree trunk’ [Maspero 1912: 21]. MK > PTa gi⁴: S. khoon²² ‘base of tree, stump’ (irreg. tones, ‘perch’ in some Tai dialects).

gēng

恨 (hèn) LH kou, OCM *kraŋ
'To change' [Zou]. Perh. this is the s. w. as gēng, 庸. Wáng Li (1982: 81) relates gēng to gòi 改.

【T】 Sin Sukchu SR kou (平); PR kou > kie¹; LR kie¹; MGZY gying³ (平); ONW kou

【E】 adv from gēng 更 (kou) LH kou¹, OCM *kraŋ
'Again, still' [Zou].

gēng

埂 (keng¹) LH keng¹, OCM *keng¹
'natural, OCM *keng'

'Veto, succeed' [Shu], 'take over (duties etc.)' 更 [BI]. This word is perh. as gēng 更 'change'.

gēng

埂 (keng¹) LH keng¹, OCM *keng
'To plow' [Shi].

【T】 Sin Sukchu SR keng¹ (平); PR kou > koe¹; MGZY gying³ (平); Kijin

【E】 CVST 2: 67 connects this word with Lushai hreñ to ‘clear for cultivation’.

gēng

埂 (keng¹) LH keng¹, OCM *keng
'Male of older generation, higher rank to whom respect is due': Father [Lie; Hanshu], 'father's brother, uncle' [Hanshu]; 'clan head' [BI, Shi], a high feudal title ('prince', 'duke') [Meng]; 'male' of animals as in gōng jī 公雞 'rooster'.

【T】 Sin Sukchu SR kou (平); MGZY gung³ (平); ONW kou

【D】 PMin *kou 'male'; Xiànmén kyang²¹ 'grandfather'

【E】 Tai: S. lung⁴ < 'parent's elder brother, uncle'. The difference in the OC and Tai initials may be explained by a MK origin: Khmer /loop 'chief' ≠ /kloŋ/
gōng 公 (kūn) LH koŋ, OCM *kōŋ
'Impartial, fair' [Lunyu], 'public' [Shi].

x hóng 橫 (yuàn) LH goŋ, OCM *gōŋ
'Equal, symmetrical' [Zhouli].

[EN] ST: 'WT (dīguò) 'middle' is prob. cognate considering the semantic association of 'middle' with 'balance' (note zhōng 中 'middle, proper, right').

ghōng ㄍㄥ (kwan) LH koŋ, OCM *kōŋ
'Arm, upper arm' [Shi], gō gōng 股肱 'legs and arms' (metaphor for a ruler's ministers).

gōng ㄍㄥ (kwan, kwan) LH kuŋ, kuŋ, OCM *khōŋ
'Armrest' on a carriage [BI, Shi].

[EN] 'Armrest' implies arms bent at the elbow, the arm is bow-shaped, therefore this etymology which has apparently no outside cognate is prob. derived from → gōng, ㄍㄥ 'bow'.

gōng ㄍㄥ (kun) LH koŋ, OCM *kōŋ — [T] ONW kūn

[EN] HST: 98 relates the CH word to WT k'ōng-pa 'inside', STC (p. 182 n. 479) and Bodman (1980: 124) to PTB *k-yum ~ *k-yum '(house) (STC no. 53; HPTB: 504; for the difference in finals, see §6.6); but see next:

→ gōng ㄍㄥ (kun) LH koŋ, OCM *kōŋ — [T] ONW kūn
'Palace' [Shi 298, 1].


ghōng ㄍㄥ (kwan) LH kuŋ, OCM *kwāŋ — [T] ONW kuon (kweòn)
'Drinking vessel' of buffalo horn [Shi].


ghōng ㄍㄥ (kwan) LH koŋ, OCM *kron
'To respect' [Shi], 'sincerely respectful' (also MC kyun, kuon [BI, Han period] may be related to → gōng, 共 (i.e. < 'respectfully joining hands?'), and or to → kōng, 共 'fear'.

ghōng ㄍㄥ (kun) LH koŋ, OCM *gōng
'All together' [Shu].

→ gōng 共 (kijong) LH koung, OCM *kōŋ
'To join the hands' 共 [Yili], 析 [Lunyu], 'hold round with both hands' 拆 [Zuo]), 'manacles' 裏 [Zhouli] (also MC kjiok). Note also AA: OMon kloŋ 'to join in salutation' (hands) (loan?).

→ gōng 共 (kijong) LH koung, OCM *kōŋ
'To furnish, provide, carry out' [Shi] (< 'hand over with both hands?'

[EN] Sin Sukchoh SR kūn (平), PR kūŋ; MGZY gūn (平) [kunj]
[EN] Etyymology not clear. An OC medial *r should be assumed if related to → gōng, 共 (kun) ㄍㄥ (kweŋ) 恭. CVST 5: 57 relates this word to Western Tibe. k'yaŋ-ba, k'yaŋ 'to bring', WB kuyi 'take hold of, apply hand'. An allofam may perhaps be → gōng 共.

ghōng ㄍㄥ (kun) LH koŋ, OCM *kōŋ — [T] ONW kūn
'Tribute, present' [Shi], 'to present' [Zuo?] may perhaps be related to either → gōng, 共 (kun) or gōng, 共. Unger (Hao-ku 50, 1995) connects the word with Lepcha kloŋ to 'grant'.

ghōu 洪 (kju) LH ko, OCM *ko
'Crooked' 虚 [Li] > 'hook' [Shi], 'to hook' 鉤 [Zuo], 'hook, curved' 叉 [Li] > 'crooked wood' 枝 [Xun].

→ jū 桨 (kju) LH kio, OCM *ko
'Crooked spine' [Zhuang].

→ qū 背 (jju) LH gū, OCM *go
'Fart' part of slice of meat' 背 [Li]; 'curved exterior part of yoke' 背 [Zuo].

[EN] The following is, however, not (directly) related:

→ yū 厚 (jju) LH go, OCM *go
'Bend the body' [Zuo], 'humpback' [Li].

[EN] ST: WT dū-ba 'to bend' ㄍㄥ du 'something bent'; OC *go can be derived from ST *u or *o. Syn. and likely cognate is → qū, 曲, perh. also to → quān, 卷曲 and / or → quān, 卷曲, to → quān, 卷曲 'bend'. This wf is perhaps also related to → lū, 亜, Syn. to → yū, 汝, perh. to → hū, 弓.

ghōu ㄍㄥ (kun) LH ko, OCM *kōŋ
'Drain, irrigation canal' [Lun], 'moat' [Li]. The QYS final -aw has no div. II counterpart; therefore the rime may represent both OC *o and *ro.

[EN] (c) possibly k-prefix noun of → lū, 亜 'to leak' (§5.4).

ghū 濁 (kun) LH ko, OCM *kōŋ
'Gui (kun) LH ko, OCM *kōŋ
'dog' [Meng], 'puppy dog, cub of bear or tiger' [Erya] also written with other radicals.

[D] PFmin *kɔŋ
[EN] Wáng Li (1982: 182f) believes that the following are variants of this word (doubtful):

1. jū, 鴨 (ku) 'young horse'.
2. hōu (xu) 'calf' is a dialectal variant for gōu, acc. to Guō Pū. (3) → gōu 蛇 is an ancient NE dialect word for gōu 'young dog, bear, tiger' which suggest that gōu lamb' is the same etymon.

More likely, gōu is a loan or composite word from PMY *klo [Purnell] 'dog' which in turn is AA: OMon *chun, *klo, Sr Mon kim, Wol Mon kūi, kūi [kwāi] (Haudricourt 1966; Norman / Mei 1976: 279-280; Norman 1988: 17), perh. also Bahar kō 'dog' (K. Smith LTBA 2.1 [n.d.]: 7). For the initials, see §8.2.2. Some Himalayish forms, e.g. TB-
Bathing ้ ‘dog’ (STC no. 159) may derive from the same root of presumably wide prehistoric distribution.

Acc. to W. Eberhard (1968: 43–50), the dog plays a significant role in Yáo mythology. Customs in the ancient state of Zhéng 郑 in Hénán (adjacent to the Shǎng and Zhōu dynasty heartland) suggest to Eberhard that their inhabitants belonged originally to the Yáo culture (ibid., p. 36).

gū 1 倚 (kua) LH ko, OCM *kō — [T] Mtang kou, ONW kou
‘Filth’ [Shi].


* gū 汜 (kuat, yuat) LH kuat, guat, OCM *kāt, *gūt
‘Dirt, to sully’ [Chuci]. For the final *-t, see §6.2.1.

[E] This wf may be related with WB kyu ‘filthy, dirty, foul’, all words from a ST stem -klo-?

gū 2 航 (xua, kúa, kuu8) LH ho, kko, OCM *(k)hō, kō
‘Disgrace, insult, revile’ [Zuo].

[E] ST: WT kap-ba ‘insult, offend’ (HST: 98). Unger (Hao-ku 36, 1990: 50) considers this to be the s. w. as gū1 倚 (kuat) ‘filth’.

*gū 3 棚 (kuat) LH ko, OCM *kō
‘Bamboo cage’ [Chuci].

[E] ST: JK ku-t ‘bed, furniture’ (i.e. wooden frame).

[PC] Possible allofoms (Karlgren GSR 109) are – gū 如, 航 ‘to present’; – gūu, 航 航 ‘come across’. The word – hū3 航 is similar to this w, but its vowel is different; possible TB cognates also indicate that hū is a separate root.

*gū 4 遭 航 (kuat) LH ko, OCM *kō
‘To come across, meet with’ 航 [Shi]; ‘meet with’ 航 [Shi]; ‘to cross, join (weapons)’ 航 [Meng]; ‘to come in conflict with’ 航 [Shi]; ‘second marriage, favor’ 婿 [Yi]. This may be the s. w. as → gū3 棚 (so Karlgren), q.v. for possible allofoms.

[E] ST: PTB gow (STC no. 318) > WB ku ‘cross over, transfer’, JP gau ‘pass over’; possibly also JP ko ‘to ford’, WT kugg-pa ‘to find, get, earn’ (i.e. ‘come across’) (HST: 72). WB kruki ‘meet with’, Chepang krus-sa ‘to meet’, WT kugg-pa ‘fight, disturb’ represent perh. parallel stems. Note that MC is ambiguous as to the presence or absence of OC medial *-r-. Karlgren (GSR 109) believes that all words with this phonetic are cognate, basically meaning ‘intertwine, interface’.

* gū 5 倚 (kuat) LH ko, OCM *kō
‘To present, give’ [Guo] is perh. cognate to WT skura ‘to send, transmit, give’, WB ku8 ‘cross over, transfer’ may belong to → gū3 棚.

*gū 6 神→ gū14 神

*gū 1 媳 (kuo) LH ku, OCM *kā
gū

[kdu] 鷦 (k̯aʊ̯c̯) [k̯aʊ̯c̯, OCM *kʰo̯k]
‘Newborn nestling’ [Zhuang], i.e. a ‘baby bird’.

[k] ST: Jp kro̯55 < krok̯55 to hatch’, prob. a parallel stem, see Table C-2 (under → chu4, xī4) for similar-looking words.

gū₁5 鹛 (kuo8) [k̯aʊ̯c̯] OCM *kᵃ
‘Salt’ [Zhouli], ‘salty marsh’ [Zuo].

[k] PTai *kʰau11 ‘salt’ (Li 1976: 45), Saek tluaw11 > trua11. Acc. to Li F., gū is possibly connected with → lū, 鹛 (luo8) ‘salty’, which is supported by modern forms like Jin dialectal kað22-lou4 (Zhang Xing-yu YWJ 1996: 4. 10). Possible variants or alloforms are → chl1, chl, → xi4 漉.

gū₁6 䳯 (kuo8) [k̯aʊ̯c̯] OCM *kᵃ?
‘A poison which serves as a magic charm’ [OB, Yi, Zuo]. SW and Zhōuli say it is an animal in the stomach. Eberhard (1968: 149–153) says: People south of the Yangtze prepare gū by putting into a pot five poisonous vermin, such as a centipede, a snake, etc., which devour each other; the one left is crushed and made into a medicine which is used as a magic charm (e.g. love charm; evil magic to obtain subservient spirits, and the like). — Etymology not clear.

gū₁7 滥 (kuo8) [k̯aʊ̯c̯] 圻

[k] (kwoc) [k̯aʊ̯c̯] OCM *käh
‘Be solid, secure, sure’ [Shi].

[k] ST: Sin Sukchu SR ku (ku); MGZy gu (ku); ONW ko
gū 鏤 (kuo8) [k̯aʊ̯c̯] OCM *käh
‘To pour metal into cracks, caulk’ [Hanshu] > ‘block, debar, keep in check’ (Boltz OE 35, 1992: 37) [Zuo], a kind of ‘stopper’ used in metal casting [SW].

[k] To shut in, stop up (by freezing) [Zuo], ‘to freeze’ [Zhuang].


[k] Several parallel or synonymous stems have partially converged and are difficult to disentangle, unless they should all be prolic variants and derivations from one ST source (for an overview see Table G-1 (A) below; Table J-1 (b) under → jiǎn2 堅). As often, MK words are also mixed into this wF complex, but the nature and history of their connection with OC and TB is not certain.

KA (1) ‘solid, hard’
gū, 固 (kwoc) [k̯aʊ̯c̯] *käh ‘solid’ and cognates above
WT k'ala'ba’ snow
KA-K or KAK (1a)
Limbu k’ak’ti ‘to harden, freeze, solidify’
MK Khmer /kou/ ‘become hard and solid; harden, solidify, congeal, coagulate’ → /souk̯/ (of grain and the like): ‘have become hard and dry, dry up or out’ > ‘turn out to be futile’.

KA-NG or KANG (1b)
→ gāng, 剛鋼 (k’ang1) [k’o̯] *kän ‘hard, firm’
WT gars ‘ice’ (terminative: < ‘having become hard’ of snow, water)
Lushai k’ar⁵⁴⁴ congealed, solidified
MK: Khmer /kəŋ/ 'hard, stiff', OKhmer gaŋ /goŋ/, OMon goŋ /goŋ/ 'be hard, stiff, firm, durable...
KL/YAK ? 'freeze'
PTB *m/s-glak (HPTB: 325)
LB-Lahu kà 'cold'
WT kʰyag(s)-pa 'freeze, coagulate'

KAR (1) 'solid, hard'
WT gar-bu 'solid' (not hollow) & gar-ba 'strong' (e.g. of beer) & gar-mo 'thick' (soup)
Lushai kʰaːr ʔ 'to congeal, crust over, frozen over'
MK-PWa *kʰar 'strong' (object) < -TB?

KAR-NG (1a)
WT mkʰraŋ-ba 'hard' & kʰraŋ(-tʰəŋ) 'hard'
Lepcha kʰroŋ 'hard'

KAR (2) 'dry'
→ kä ʰ (kʰɑ) [kʰɑ] *kʰà 'withered, dried'
MK: Khmer /kʰaː/ 'to dry up or out, dry until hard, wither'

KA-K (2a)
→ hɛ̂ (yāk) [gok] *gâk 'dry up'

KA-NG (2b)
Lushai kaŋʰ / kaŋL 'to be exposed to the full rays of the sun, be sunny' & kaŋʰ 'to dry up, evaporate, run dry' (water, river, spring)

KA-T (2c)
→ kɛ̂, k̐ (kʰət) [kʰət] *kʰát 'be thirsty'

KAR (2) 'dry'
Chepar gâr 'bask, warm oneself in the sun'

KAR-K (2a)
hɛ̂ ɾ (yək) [gak] *grâk 'water drying off land' (under > hɛ̂, gə̂) 'dry'
PLB *kʰrak 'dry'

KAR-NG (2b)
Lushai tan̂gʰ / tanL 'dry, dried'

KAR-T (2c)
→ jiɛ̂ (gjat 3) [gjat] *grat 'to dry up' (pool, swamp)

KAN 'dry' is prob. the same stem as KAR (2) since KAN is found only in languages with the shift *-r > -ŋ.

→ gânŋ, ʰ (kân) [kon] *kʰan 'dry'
WB kʰan(posts) 'dry up'

JP kanŋ 'solidify, dry up'

KIN 'solid, firm'

→ jiam, jí (kien) [kən] *kʰin 'firm, solid, strong'

WB kyah 'feeling of numbness'

JP kyln 'stiff, aching'

Lushai kʰajʰ < kʰajʰ 'dry out (get hard, of outside of meat etc.)'

(K-) RENG /K 'hard'

→ yinjʰ, injʰ (geŋjʰ) 'hard' (but the hypothetical OC vowel might have been *a)

JP geyjʰ 'hard'; WT reyjʰ-pa 'solid' (not liquid), mkʰreyjʰ-pa 'hard, firm, (snow)
MK-Mon kʰrjʰ (kʰrjʰ) 'stiff, hard', Khm rjw, Mon kʰrjʰ (original vowel?)
MK ? > PTai *kʰlenʰ 'solid, hard'

Table G-1 Hard, congeal, dry (A) for gǔi, 固

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ka</th>
<th>ka-n &gt; kaŋ</th>
<th>ka-r &gt; kaŋ</th>
<th>ka-n/k &gt; kʰan/k</th>
<th>ka-k</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OC</td>
<td>gǔi 固</td>
<td>kʰāŋ</td>
<td>gǎŋ 剛</td>
<td>gān 乾</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>kʰaŋ-ba snow</td>
<td>gǎŋ ice</td>
<td>gǎŋ-ba strong, gǎŋ-ba hard</td>
<td>mkʰrāŋ hard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limbu</td>
<td>gān-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lushai</td>
<td>kʰar ʔ</td>
<td>kʰar ʔ to congeal</td>
<td>ŭ̄nR</td>
<td>ŭ̄nR dried</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JP</td>
<td>gaŋ5 earth, place</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The e/i-vowel variants can be found in Table J-1 under → jiam, jí. gǔ2 固 (kuo) LH koć, OCM *kʰāŋ — [T] ONW koć

'Persistent' (Boltz OE 35, 1992: 37) [Meng]; 'chronic' (disease) 鎖 [Li] is perh. the s.w. as → gǔi, 固 'solid, secure' (so Boltz).

gǔ3 故 (kuo) LH koć, OCM *kʰāŋ

'Reason, cause' [Bi, Shi].

[E] Etymology not certain, gǔ may be the same word as → gǔi, 固 'be solid, secure, sure'; or may be derived from → gǔi, 固 'antiquity', hence lit. 'thing person of former times' (Pulleyblank, Proceedings of the 2nd Int. Conf. on Sinology, Acad. Sin. Taipei 1989: 10).

gǔ4 故 'old' → gǔi 1 古

gǔ5 鎖 → gǔi 1 固

gǔ6 拦 (kuo) LH kouk, OCM *kʰōk

(Perh. 'restrainer') 'Pen, stable' [Yi, Shu], 'manacle, handcuffs' [Yi].


gǔ7 鍼 (kuo) LH koć, OCM *kʰāŋ

'To hire' [Hänshu].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ku (去); MGZY gu (去) [ku]

[E] ST: WB s-kʰuč 'pay for services, wages'. It is prob. an allophone of → jiâm 假 'borrow'.

gǔ8 頭 (kuo) LH koć, OCM *kʰāŋ!

'To turn the head to, look at, regard, look after, take care of' [Shi, Shu]. OC Tone B is indicated by Shíjīng times (Mattos 1971: 309).
guăng² 灬 (kuăn²) LH kuon⁶, OCM *kw̌̚ns or *kôns
'To bubble' [Xun] (HST: 49).
[ET] ST 'koi > WT 'k'ol-ba, k'ol 'to boil' = sk'ol-ba 'to cause to boil' (Bodman 1980: 137; HST: 49). Unger (Hao-ku 36, 1990: 50) relates the WT words to gān (kuan²) 'to bubble, boil'; Y-Guangzhōu kunn³ sze² 'hot water' may be related.

guān³ 賦 (kuăn[ç]) LH kuon⁵, OCM *kôns, OCB *kons
'To pierce' (flesh, hand, foot, ear with a sharp object) [Zuo] > 'go through the center' [Shi], 'to string' [Li] > 'tightly bound together' > 'be intimate with' [Shi].

[* guān 管 (kuan⁹) LH kuon⁸, OCM *kwâns or *kôn?
'To connect, comprise' [Liji].
[<<] endoactive (§4.5).
[ET] Together with → kuān 蓋 'hole', this etymon belongs to a ST root *kwar.

guān⁴ 賦 (kuan⁴) LH kuon⁵, OCM *krôns
'Familiar with, used to 賦 [Meng], 賦 [SW: Zuo] > 'custom, usage' 串 [Shi].
[ET] Although this word is assumed to be related to → guān 賦 'bound together' (hence 'familiar'), it prob. is a different etymon which is derived from the same ST root *rol as WT srol 'usage, custom, habit'. JP a³-ro³ (CVST 2: 91).

guān⁵ 燁 (kuan⁸, kuăn²) LH kuon⁸, kuon⁵, OCM *kwâns or *kôn?is
'To wash the hands' intr. [Shu].

[* xuàn 晚 (yuăn⁴) LH guon⁵, OCM *gwnâns or *gôns
'To wash clothes' [Guan] (Wáng Lií 1982: 553).
[ET] ST: KN-Lai kho?i 'to clean' (with water) [LTBA 20.2: 79]. 'To bathe' [LTBA 21.1: 49]. Possibly the same etymon as → guān 管 'pour libation'.

guān⁶ 濂 (kuan⁶) LH kuon⁵, OCM *kîns or *kôn?
'To pour out; libation' 濂 [Shi], 濂 [Lun]; 'drink' (wine) [Liji]; 'flow into' (rivers) [Zhuang], 'to water, irrigate' [Hou Hanshu].
[ET] ST: Chevang k'ur, Boro kür 'to scrape'; Mikir hör 'to ladle out'. A'o ɔ'kun 'to scoop'; Rongmei n-xûan 'to scratch' (Weidert 1987: 19). <> PTai 'guon 'to ladle' (water) [Luo Yongxian MKS 27, 1997: 273]. Possibly the same etymon as → guān 管 'wash'.

guāng¹ 光 (kwâng) LH kuon⁶, OCM *kwâng
'Be bright, glorious' [BI, Shi, Shu].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR kwâng (平); MGZYY gwâng (平) [kwâng]; ONW kwâng

[* guāng 灬 (kwâng⁵) LH kuon⁶, OCM *kwâng
'‘Bright’ [Zhuang].
[<<] An additional alloform is → huâng² 燹 'brilliant'.

guāng² 光 'extensive' → guāng² 廣

guāng², wàng 方 'fear' → jù, 懼

guāng³ 廣 (kwâng⁵) LH kuon⁶, OCM *kwâng?
'Be extensive, wide, broad, vast' [BI, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR kwâng (平); MGZYY gwâng (平) [kwâng]; ONW kwâng

[* guāng 光 (kwâng) LH kuon⁶, OCM *kwâng
'Be extensive' [Shi, Shu]; the Shijing tone indicates tone A, hence it is perh. not a graphic loan for guāng 廣 (kuan⁵) 'fully, extensively' (so Karlgren GSR 707a).
Karlgren (1956: 14) adds:

guī¹ 房 (kwâg⁵) LH kuon⁶, OCM *kwâng
‘Be vacant, desolate, neglect’ [Shi, Shu].

[* kuī 擲 (kwâk) LH kuâk, OCM *kwâk
'To extend' [Meng].

[* huāng 漢 (yuân) LH guon⁵, OCM *gwâng
‘Great, vast’ [Xun].
[ET] Etymology not certain, CH may be related either to TB or Tai, or both (including some loan relationship): ST: Lushai wâng < wâng? 'be large, extensive' or wâng < wâng? 'breadth, width, broad, wide', WT wâng 'wide, broad, large' (for the WT initial, see §12.9 [2]). <> Tai: S. wâng⁴ is a derivation by k-prefix from S. wâng⁴ 'unimpeded' (Noss 1964: 49). Baxter / Sagart (1998: 60) relate this wâng to → kuâng 宽 'wide'; perh. ultimately related to the root *wa under → kuâng, 宽.

guī¹ 房 (kwâg⁵) LH kuon⁶, OCM *kwe
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ku (平); MGZYY gwâng (平) [kwe]
[<<] perh. derived from *wê with the nominalizing k-prefix (§5.4).

[* xi 略 (yiwe) LH guon⁵, OCM *wê?
‘Length of the circumference of a wheel’ [Li]; ‘vapor round the sun’ 略 [Zhouli]; also MC xiwe. This root prob. underlies → ying⁴ 胜 et al.
[ET] Etymology not certain, but note TB-Cheang gwe? 'circular in shape' or kwe? 'hook, fishhook'; PTB *koy 'bend round, be curved, coil, etc.' (STC no. 307).

guī² 房 (kuî) LH kuï, OCM *kói
‘‘Extraordinary’ 房 [Zhouli]. 房 [Zhuang], rare, marvelous’ 房 (Mandarin) > ‘a kind of precious stone’ 房 [Shi]. It seems that this word actually had the same OC rime as → guái 鬱 'strange, extraordinary'; they may be mere variants.

guī³ 結 (kuî) LH kuï, OCM *kwaï, OCB *k‘aj — [T] ONW kui
‘To return’ (to a place where one belongs) intr. [BI, Shi] > tr. ‘to return’ > ‘bring home’ (a wife), ‘give into marriage’ [Shi]. Although the morphological role of the initial k is not clear (but a k-prefix does occur, see §5.4), guī is prob. derived from → huï 回; see there for an overview of synonyms. Note the semantic parallelism with MK: PV *wei 'return' = k-wei 'village' (i.e. where one belongs) [Ferlus]. Guī is often related to WT ‘kwe turn, return’, but see the comment under → huï 回.

guī⁴ 結 (kuî) LH ku- ~ kuï, OCM *kwô, OCB *kwô
‘Tortoise, turtle’ [OB]. Southern dialects and Han rimes indicate doublets LH ku and kuï (Luo / Zhou 1958).

guī¹ 房 (kwâg⁵) LH kuï, OCM *kwe
‘Spirit, ghost’ [OB, Shi]; originally: the ghost of a deceased who has returned to haunt (terrorize) the living (E. Childe-Johnson EC 20, 1995: 79ff).
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ku (數); MGZYY guê (数) [kuê]; ONW kuï — [D] PMMin *kwe
[EE] Two etymologies have been proposed: (1) Derived from → weig⁴ 'to oversee, terrorize' (Childs-Johnson) with k-nominalization (§5.4; Baxter / Sagart 1998: 48; 59), and endoactive tone B, lit. 'the thing which is doing the overseeing' (§4.5.1). (2) Or related to → guī 回 'return' (SW; Carr CAAL 24, 1985: 61).
guǐ - guó

guǐ 屋 - guǐ 屋 - kū 屋

kū 屋 (kū 屋) LH kū 屋, OCM *kwaʔ, OCB *kʷזיק
Name of a bronze ritual vessel, a ‘tureen’ (Shaughnessy) [OB, BI, Shi], originally prob. some kind of basket or bamboo container.

[EN] Possibly ST: TB-PLB *kʷ'iyi: *receptacle, container’ > Lahu pʰi, in some languages ‘nest’ [Matisoff D. of Lahu: 917]. CH ? > Tai: S. kuay ‘basket’. The name and shape of this vessel is reminiscent of ‘turtle’ - guǐ 龜 LH kū 屋. The homophone guǐ 貓 ‘box, chest’ [Shu] is prob. unrelated (under - kū 屋; however, acc. to SW, 貓 it is also the old graph for 龜).

guī 甕 (guī 甕) LH kuī 甕, OCM *kus, OCB *kjuts
‘Precious’ [Yu], ‘dear, expensive, eminent’ [Zuo].

[EN] ST: Sin Sukchu SR kuj (故); MGZY gue (故) [kue]; ONW kui

[D] PMin *kjic


guǐ2 甕 (guǐ2 甕) LH gyai 甕, kʰ- OCM *goiʔ, *koiʔ
‘To kneel’ [Zuo], ‘foot’ [Xun] is perf. connected with PVM *t-kulʔ ‘knee’.

guǐ3 會 - hui1 会

guī4 樹 ‘lift’ - kōu 樹

gūn1 槑 (kuan1 槑) LH kuan8 槑, OCM *kūn?
‘A cord’ [Shi].

* kūn 槑 (kuan1 槑) LH kuan8 槑, OCM *kūn?
‘To bind, string together’ [Guoyu].

[EN] perh. causative aspiration (§8.5.2).

gūn2 槑 → guān2 槑

ɡūn3 槑 → guān4 槑

ɡǔo1 活 - huó2 活

ɡǔo2 鬒 (kua) LH kua1 活, OCM *kwai or *koi
‘Earthenware cooking pot’ [SW]


guó 國 (kwok) LH kuok, OCM *kwāk, OCB *k-wak
‘State’ [BI, Shi].

[EN] ST: Sin Sukchu SR kuj (故); PR, LR kuj; MGZY gue (故) [kue]; ONW kuak


yǒu 域 (jwak) LH wak, OCM *wak, OCB *wjwak
‘Boundary, territory’ 域 [Shi], ‘threshold’ 閘 [Lun], also (jwakw).

xǔ 閘 (jwak) LH hwik, OCM *hwaʔk
‘Threshold’ 閘 [Lun], ‘city moat’ 滞 [Shi].

yǒu 閘 (jwak) LH wu, OCM *woʔ, OCB *wjwak
‘Park, garden’ [Shi].

[EN] Guó has no obvious cognate cognates. It may be related to WB kwak ‘a circle or round spot..., confined within a local area’ (as rain). The occasionally cited comparandum WT yul ‘country’ seems to be related to → yōu 攸.

guó1 果 (kuā 母) LH kuái 母, OCM *koiʔ
‘Fruit > result’ [Yi]. — [EN] Etymology not clear.

[EN] ST: Sin Sukchu SR kwa (故); MGZY gwo (故) [kwo]; ONW kua

= ? guǒ 果 (kuā 母)

PMin *koi1 果 ‘rice cake’, also ‘dried fruit’, hence perhaps the same word as 果 (J. Norman, p.c.).

guǒ2 果 → yuán2 圓圖

guǒ3-.luó 螞嬴 (kuā- luā 母) LH kuái- luái, OCM *kōi- rōiʔ, OCB *k(r)ōiʔ-(C)rōiʔ
‘Species of small wasp’ [Shi].

[EN] ST, area word: PTB *k(l)wa-y 大 (STC n. 144) > WB kwai8 母 ‘dinner bee’; PNorthern Naga *C-guay, Lushai kwa̤i̤- *kwa̤i̤ ‘bee, wasp’, Tangkhul Naga kwa̤i̤, Thakali koy ‘bee’, Chepang kwa ‘bee’. Matisoff (1995: 64) suggests that the final *i/-y is a ST diminutive suffix. <> Kada: Hlia koi, kuai, kai. <> MK: PVM *kwai‘ bee’ [Ferlus], a Chinese loan? Semai [Aslian branch of MK] Iway [All forms from Matisoff 1995a]. Note that none of the TB forms cited by Matisoff and in STC no. 157 have a medial r or l (HST: 41). Therefore the bisyllabic OC form is not the result of diminiation, but simply a reduplicative compound of the common type CV-CV or *CV-RV (§8.7).

guǒ 過 (kuā) LH kuái 母, OCM *kōi or *kwaih — [EN] ONW kua
‘To pass’ [Shi], ‘transgress’ [Lunyu], derived from guó next (Unger Hao-ku 21, 1983: 175).

* guó 過 (kuā) LH kuái 母, OCM *kōi or *kwaih
‘To pass by’ [Shi].

[EN] Prob. ST although the vowels do not agree (WT rgal could theoretically derive from ST *gwal, but Lushai and WB forms speak against this), perh. guó may involve an unusual OC a > o shift: WT rgal-ba, brgal ‘to step over, pass over, travel through, ford’. Lushai kai ꔽ / kai ꔽ ‘to cross over, go across’ ≠ kai ꔽ ‘walk, travel, proceed, pass by’, WB kai ꔽ ‘exceed, surpass, excel’.
hán - hán

meanings of the OC allofoms are also paralleled in some TB and AA words:
‘Have / keep in the mouth’:
MK: Khmer /kam/ ‘bite’/kham/ ‘clamp or cut with teeth or jaw... bite’, /kum/ ‘be respectful’. <> TB-Chepang kambh- ‘be speechless’.
‘Put / take into the mouth’:
ST: PTB *gam (STC: 166; 183) > WT ‘gam ‘put into the mouth’; gams, bγams > kham-pa ‘put into the mouth’, also WT sgam ‘box’, sgam-po ‘profund’; Mru k’am ‘take in the mouth, suffer’ k’am ‘box’ [Löffler 1966: 140]. Mri gam ‘seize with the teeth’ (as a tiger). P(s)ani *γgam ‘bite’.
‘Jaw’:
It is not clear if the following ‘molar’ belongs to this root (note WB am6, not gam6):
ST: PTB *gam (STC no. 50) > Chepang magam ‘molar’, Thakali kam-so, Lepcha fo-gam (fo ‘tooth’), Limbu hema ‘molar’; Garo wa-gam ‘tooth’ (STC: 183 n. 482; HST: 99), WB am6 ‘molar’.

The notion ‘keep in the mouth’ is a common metaphor for emotions, therefore kàn 嘴 ‘endure’ is prob. cognate; note also the Miu field of meaning.

Similar words are: kàn1 衛 ‘a horse’s bit’ (Bodman) and to qiàn1 衛 ‘bamboo’ ‘wooden gag’. Furthermore, Wang Li (1962: 605) believes it is related to qiàn, 形 ‘dissatisfied’; to dàn 嘴. These items are prob. not all genetically related, but what unites them is the phonesthemic final *-m (§2.9).

hán 潛 (yán) LH gam, OCM *gám — [T] ONW yam • ‘Have in the mouth’ [Zuo] > ‘hold back, bear resentment’ 含 [Shu]; ‘to hold inside, contain’ (as life in grain) [Shi], (as life force qì 氣 in people) 含 [Hanshu] > ‘eirass 不含 [Meng] ‘envelop’.

[D] The Northern Mín softened initial in 含 *gám may indicate OC prenasalized which is confirmed by Yao gjum > *gám ‘hold in the mouth’ (Norman 1986: 383).

hán 潛 (yán) LH gam, OCM *gám • ‘Put in the mouth’ [Zuo] > ‘resent’ [Zuo], ‘dissatisfied’ 憤 [Li].

hán 頜 (yán) LH gam, OCM *gám? • ‘Jaw’ [Gongyang].

hán 潛 (yán) LH gam, OCM *gám? • ‘To scourch’ [Shi].

hán 潛 (yán) LH gam, OCM *gám? • ‘To burn’ [Guan], ‘dry’ [Yi].

The phonology and hence etymology is not certain. Prob. not related to rán 然 ‘*nàn

hán 潛 (yán) LH gam, OCM *gám? • ‘Name of a river’ in the ancient Chú area, can also mean ‘river’ generally as in ‘Milky way’ [Shi]. The right element in the graph was probably not phonetic, hence the initial did not include an *n.

hán 潛 (yán) LH gam, OCM *gám? • ‘To search’ [Shi].

hán 潛 (yán) LH gam, OCM *gám? • ‘To burn’ [Guan], ‘dry’ [Yi].

The metaphor ‘mouth’ is a common metaphor for emotions, therefore kàn 嘴 ‘endure’ is prob. cognate; note also the Miu field of meaning.

Similar words are: kàn 衛 ‘a horse’s bit’ (Bodman) and to qiàn 衛 ‘bamboo’ ‘wooden gag’. Furthermore, Wang Li (1962: 605) believes it is related to qiàn 形 ‘dissatisfied’; to dàn 嘴. These items are prob. not all genetically related, but what unites them is the phonesthemic final *-m (§2.9).
備’ because the phonetic element in 毫 has originally been chosen for its meaning 'distress', not for its sound (so GSR 144). Baxter apparently considers 毫 a graphic loan for a word OCB ‘mian’. The difference in the initial consonants (*h- vs. *k-) makes cognition with the syn. to 滾 unlikely.

hàn
翰 ‘support’ → 滾 幹

hàn
含 滾 滾

hàn
額 滾 滾

hàn
額 滾 滾

hàn
行 'row' → 行 行

hàn
行 'strong' → qiáng 強

hàn
頤 (yǎn) LH gou², OCM *gàn — [T] ONW yō

Occurs in Shi 28 together with jié 頜 (jié...hàng); SW glosses both 'strecth the neck', this word is thus perh., a variant of → xīng 擡, and derived from 滾, 亢 (kànɡ) 'neck'. On the other hand, commentators interpret these words as 'flying up and flying down' (of birds).

hàn
航 (yán) LH gou², OCM *gàn

'Go by boat' [Shi], 'boat' [GY], [SW]. Whereas acc. to Yi 小 a → zhòu, 舟 'boat' was originally a hollowed tree trunk (canoe), 滾 was two boats combined into one, as canoes lashed together (so, although Li Yi-gang YYYJ 1986: 1: 169 thinks a 滾 was probably constructed of boards). Acc. to FY, 滾 is used for zhòu 舟 in central and eastern China.

*huáng 帝 (yáng) and 滾 帝 (wán+c)


Egerod (CAAL 6, 1976: 58) believes that this is the same etymology as in 行, 行 'to go to', but it prob. has an AN origin (via AA?) *qab 開 'two boats lashed together' (Mahdi 1999: 147f). → 滾, 方 is prob. the same etymology. Syn. to chuán 船.

háo
捫 → nǎo 捫

háo
薅 (xuán) LH hou¹, OCM *hū (< *hū?)

'To clear away weeds with a hoe' [Shi], 蒿 [SW: Shi].

[T] ST: Cheang hu² 'to weed (around plants), pull out weeds'. Unrelated to the synonym → nòu 拽, but perh. connected with → yūn, 松 *wan < *wun (?) 'to weed'.

háo
號 (yáo) LH you¹, OCM *fāu — [T] ONW you

'To shout, cry out' [Shi].

háo
號 (yáo) LH you¹, OCM *fāu, OCM *fāuh

'A request' [Shi, YiZhoushu], 'title, appellation' [Zuo]; 'name' [Zhouil].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR yāw (去); MGZY Xaw (去) [yaw]; ONW you

[<] exopass. derivation (§4.4), lit. 'what is called'. The extension of the meaning 'shout, call' to 'ask, request' is parallel to → hù, 呼.

huán
環 (xuán, xwen) LH xuàn, xyan, OCM *huan / *hwān, *hon / *hón

'To shout, joyous' [Li].

[T] ST: PTB *gaw ~ *kaw > Kanauri ku, Nung go, Lushi ko¹ / ko²t, JP gau³, WB k'o 'call' (HST: 51).

hái — hé

hái 好 (xiū) LH hou¹, OCM *hū?, OCB *xū?

'Be good, fine' [Bl, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR xaw (上); MGZY haw (上) [xaw]; ONW hou

hái 好 (xiū) LH hou¹, OCM *hū

'To love' [Shi].

[c] exspective / putative (§4.3.2), lit. 'consider good'

[E] Perh. ST and related to → chà, 向 'rear, raise'; Baxter (acc. to Matisoff HPTB: 58) connects the TB words cited there to 滾.

háo
號 → 滾 號

háo
皓 (yáo) LH gou³, OCM *gū

'Bright, white' [Lūi]. For 滾 顯 [Lū], 滾 [Shi] / yáo³, see under → 滾, 滾.

[E] Related to S. k'aau⁴ 'white', PHLai *k'au¹ 'white' [Matisoff 1988c no. 294].

háo
皓 (kào) LH kou³, OCM *kō

'Be brilliant' 滾 [Shi]; 'pure, bright' 皓 [Shi]. This prob. the s. w. as → gōo, 春 (kōo³).

háo
浩 (yáo) LH gou³, OCM *gū — [T] ONW you

‘Vast’ of rising waters [Shi]. The etymology of the homophone 滾 顯 [Lūi], 滾 [Shi] (yáo) is ambiguous because it can mean 'bright, splendid' (of Heaven) and then be the s. w. as → 滾, 滾.

[E] A TB cognate is perh. WB kō⁴ 'rise up, swell, bulge' kō 'lift out of place, prize up', Lushi kō⁴ 'raised ground, mound, rise suddenly' (waters), 'surge' (waves). 滾 may be an allotment of → gōo, 春 'high', although the vowels do not agree.

háo
顥 (Lūi), 吳 → 滾 滾

hē 喝飲 (xāp) LH houp, OCM *hōp

'To drink' 飲 [Ban Gu, Han dyn.] is cognate to, or a popular variant of, 舖 嗝 LH houp 'to drink' [Hou Hanshu] (Baxter, p. c.) and perh. also to → xiā, 咳. It may be of ST origin: Lushai hup⁴ 'to drink from the hands, suck (water from hand).

hé
禾 (yùa) LH yūi or gui, OCM *(g)wā

'Plant' (of grains), 'foxtail millet' [OB, Shi] (Qi Xigui 2000: 176).

[D] PWMin *wāj, SMīn *g{-: Zhànggāng guej, rice plant


hè
和 (yuá) LH yūi or gui, OCM *(g)wā — [T] ONW yuō

'Being harmonious, concordant' [Shi].

hè 和 (yuá) LH yūi or gui, OCM *(g)wā — [T] ONW yuō

.To harmonize, respond in singing, rime' [Shi, Ziōo].

[c] exspective of hé (yuá) (§4.3.2). An allotment is perh. → kē semanas.

hè
何 (yuá) LH gōi, OCM *gāi

'What, where' [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR yoa (平), LG yoa; MGZY Xo (平) [yoa]; ONW yoa

[D] Y-Guangzhou jyoh⁴

[c] independent pronoun derived from hū, see §3.3.3; Matisoff (1995: 74).

hú 滾 (yuō) LH go, OCM *gāi

'What, where' [Shi] is used adverbially (Polleyblank 1995: 95).

[E] ST: GT ga-na 'where', ga-ru 'whither'. See also → hē, 何荷.
xiá 覆 (ya) LH ga, OCM *gâ (prob. not *grâ)
'How, why' [Shi], perhaps this is simply a variant or graphic loan for hù 'above'.

xi 失 (yi) LH ge, OCM *gê — [T] ONW yè
'To what, whither?' [Zuo], 'how?' [Zuo, Meng]; acc. to Dobson (LAC: 147) a fusion of hê yì 'how'. It occurs in preverbal or pre-nominal constructions (Pulleyblank 1995: 95).

hé (yâi) LH got, OCM *gâ
'Why, how, when?' used mostly adverbially [Shi] (Pulleyblank ibid.).

hé 搭 (yâp) LH gop, OCM *gâp
'Why not?' [Lunyu] is a contraction of hù bù 胡不 (Pulleyblank ibid.).

hé 四 (yâ) LH goi, OCM *gâi
'River, Yellow River' [OB, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR ɣɔ (平), LR ɣɔ; MGZY xo (平) [yɔ]; ONW ya
[EB] Three etymologies have been suggested for this northern word: (1) cognate to TB-WT ɣdl-bal 'to pass or ford a river' (Coblin 1986), for a parallel semantic connection of 'ford' with 'river', see → dū, 渡. (2) An Altaic loan, cf. Mongol yol 'river' (Norman). (3) Derived from hê 耳 (yuo) 'lake' (Matissov 1995a: 71). Note also JP kâ?<â? < kâ 'water, river', but the final does not agree with OC.

hé 合 (yâp) LH gap, OCM *gâp, OCB *gâp
'To be together, joined, harmonious' intr. [Shi, Shu] > caus. 'to put together, match, a companion, a mate' [BI, Shi], 'harmony, concordance' [Shi, Shu]; 'agree with' [Meng], 'to answer' [Zuo]; 'close, shut' [Geoue]; later hé 間 'box with a lid'. The graph shows an inverted open mouth facing down onto an opening.
[T] Sin Sukhu SR ya (λ); PR, LR ɣɔ; MGZY xo (λ) [yɔ]; ONW yop.
[D] M-A moy kâ?â? < kâ 'all'. The final does not agree with OC.

hé 間 (yâp) — [D] M-A moy kâ?â? < kâ 'all'
'All together, all' (as in 'all in town know / the whole town knows...') [post-Han].


gé 間 (kâp) LH kòp, OCM *kâp
'A small gate' 間 [Mo] > ('two open sides fitting together') 'oyster, mussel' 蓋 [Li].

qià 治 (yâp) LH gòp, OCM *grâp
'To accord with, unite, assemble' [Shi]; 'to sacrifice to ancestors collectively' 蓋 [Li] (Karlgren 1956: 15).
[c] r-causative of hé *gâp.
[EB] Alternatively, this could be a different word related to WT 'grub-pa' 'be made ready, be finished' (accomplished) (Gong H. 2002: 202).

hê 四 (yâ) LH goi, OCM *gâi
'To carry' (on the shoulder or back; responsibility), 'sustain' [Shi, Zuo].

kê 可 (kâ?) LH kòu, OCM *kâi? — [D] Y-Guōngzhòu ʃhâ?; K-Meixian kâ? 'To bear, can, be able' [Shi]. The original graph is a drawing (श) without a 'mouth' of an ax handle intended to write the word → kê, 可 (kâ) *kâi; kô kâi has been added to indicate that 'ax handle' is only 'mouthing', i.e. it is only a phonetic loan.

[T] Sin Sukhu SR, PR, LR ʃkâ; MGZY kâ (ʃ); ONW kâ?•
[D] Bedman (1980: 138) compares kê to Chepang kâ 'be able'.
[EB] ST: WT gêl-ba, bkal 'to load, lay on' sgal-ba 'to load a beast of burden' s kâ? 'load, burden'. To hê may belong PT *sâ-gal (STC no. 12); WT sgal-pâ 'small of back', Garo dêng-gal 'back', JP kan 'put on the back' (STC), Meithei nam-gal / gan 'back'. This etymon

hé 四 (yâ) LH goi, OCM *gâi
'Kernel (of fruit)' [Shi] > 'investigate' [Shu] ('go to the kernel'), so GSR no. 937a).

[EB] ST: WT râg 'fruit stone, head', Mikir rak 'fruit stone' (Bedman 1980: 86). Wáng Li (1982: 249) relates this word to → gî 膚 *kâr 'bones' (not likely); related to → hâi 髄 'skeleton'.

hé 四 (yâ) LH goi, OCM *gâi
'To dry up' [Li] (i.e. soil, roads).
[EB] Perh. related to → hê 四 and / or to stems under → gî 固 (incl. Table G-1) and → jîn 塬 (incl. Table J-1).

hé 蓋 etc. (yâp) LH gap, OCM *gâp, OCB *gap
'To put cover / lid on' → 'to cover (person, house), thatch' 蓋 [Zuo]; 'wooden leaf door' 間 [Zuo], 'door leaf' 蓋 [Xun], 'to shut' (mouth, door, and the like) 蓋, 蓋 [Yi]. The meaning 蓋 'join, unite' (actually 'close in on'), as crowds of friends [Yi] is somewhat uncertain; see Shuahenessy 1997: 90f, 301.

gî 固 (kâifi) LH kos, OCM *kâts < *kâps, OCB *kâts < *kâps
'A cover' (of a car) [Zhouli], 'lid' [OB, Zhoushu], 'have one's mouth shut' pass. [Shu]
[T] Sin Sukhu SR kâi (ft); MGZY gai (ft).
[EB] Area etymology. TB-WT 'gsab-pa, bkab... 'to cover', 'sgab-pa 'to cover', k'êbs < k'êps or kâps 'a cover' (Bedman 1980: 49); PKirânti kâap ~ kâap 'to thatch, cover with bedclothes' [van Driem 1995: 252], JP kâjâ? < kâf 'to cover' (house) (see also HPTB: 142). Perh. also WB kapp 'join, unite, adhere', JP kâp 'to stick, adhere to, join a group'.

PAA: kap; PMonic *pl kâp, Nyah Kur pokap, Mon hokap 'to stick thru, face down, to join an obj. face to face, face down' (this gloss reads like a description of the graph → hê 合); Mon gap 'be fit for, fit to, pleasing to'. Khmer gâpa / kouap, OKhmer gap 'meet, strike, fit, suit, match, agree, please, being pleasant...'

The tone C derivative gâi (LH kos, not kuas or kos) makes it clear that the OC rim was not *op. The three unrelated etyma → hê 合 *gâp, hê 固 gî 膚 *gâp, and → hû 合 *gwâts have partially converged in OC.

hê 蓋 'why not' → hê 合 何

hé 四 (yâ) LH goi, OCM *gâi
'Root of a feather' [Zhouli] is perh. related to, or the s. w. as, 總 (yek) 'wing' [SW], 'feather' [Yupian] (so Wáng Li 1982: 251) which, however, apparently goes back to OCM *grak (not *grek).

hé 何 (yâ) LH goi, OCM *gâi?
'To carry' (on the shoulder or back: responsibility), 'sustain' [Shi, Zuo].

kê 可 (kâ?) LH kóu, OCM *khâi? — [D] Y-Guōngzhòu ʃhâ?; K-Meixian kâ? 'To bear, can, be able' [Shi]. The original graph is a drawing (श) without a 'mouth' of an ax handle intended to write the word → kê, 可 (kâ) *kâi; kô kâi has been added to indicate that 'ax handle' is only 'mouthing', i.e. it is only a phonetic loan.

[T] Sin Sukhu SR, PR, LR ʃkâ; MGZY kâ (ʃ); ONW kâ?•
[EB] Bedman (1980: 138) compares kê to Chepang kâ 'be able'.
[EB] ST: WT gêl-ba, bkal 'to load, lay on' sgal-ba 'to load a beast of burden' s kâ? 'load, burden'. To hê may belong PT *sâ-gal (STC no. 12); WT sgal-pâ 'small of back', Garo dêng-gal 'back', JP kan 'put on the back' (STC), Meithei nam-gal / gan 'back'. This etymon

274

275
hè hē 黑 (xī) LH hak, OCM *hmìk
‘Black’ [Shi]. This is a relatively late OC word which replaced → xuán, 玄 ‘black’ during the Zhou period.
[T] Sin Sukhu SR xaj (λ), LR xaj; MGZY hiy (λ) [xii]

[k] Hèi is perh. derived from mò 'ink' (it cannot be the other way around: *hm- is secondary, *m- primary) meaning originally 'to mark with ink' (as a criminal's face), 'having dark markings' (Baxter 1983); thus this word might originally have been the regular caus. of mò 墨 'ink, black' (§5.2.2).

mò 墨 (mak) LH mak, OCM *māk
‘Ink’ [Meng], ‘black’ [Zuo], ‘black-branding’ [Shi]. Perh. the s. w. as → mò, 默 'silent'.
[T] Sin Sukhu SR maj (λ), LR maj; MGZY mue (λ) [imu]

[N] Because the WB voiceless initial in hmaŋ (see below) and also because ‘ink’ appears semantically derived from ‘black’ (but see the preceding paragraph), a lost prefix has been suspected in the OC word (Sagart 1999: 214).

ST: WT smag ‘dark, darkness’, mog-pa ‘dark-colored’; Limbu mak ‘black, dark’ (of color, also the color of blood) māk- ‘to become night’, JP ma ça[ŋ] ‘mak- black’. WB hmaŋ ‘ink’ is not a CH loan but a loan translation, it belongs to → mēi 煤 ‘soot’ (note that WB also has a loan translation for ‘ink’: nāg).

On the basis of Chinese, at least two ST roots need to be distinguished: (1) *mak ‘black, dark’ and *māk (sot, black), and (2) *maṅk ‘dark’ (HPTB: 522); these have converged in PTB maṅk (in some TB languages also ‘color of blood > dark red > red’). Items of the type *maṅk in CH include: mō, 黒 (mō) ‘black’, ‘mō, 黒 (mō) ‘black’ (note that WB also has a loan translation for ‘ink’: nāg).

On the basis of Chinese, at least two ST roots need to be distinguished: (1) *mak ‘black, dark’ and (2) *maṅk ‘dark’ (HPTB: 522); these have converged in PTB maṅk (in some TB languages also ‘color of blood > dark red > red’). Items of the type *maṅk in CH include: mō, 黒 (mō) ‘black’, ‘mō, 黒 (mō) ‘black’ (note that WB also has a loan translation for ‘ink’: nāg).

There are additional words with initial m- and almost any rime which mean ‘cover, dark, blind, confused, obscure’, relations may even extend to etyma meaning ‘covering vegetation: luxuriant, weeds’ (→ wū, 萎薾). An allofam is prob. → mēi 煤 ‘soot’.

hèn 恨 (yঋn) LH gon̄, OCM *gōn̄
‘To hate, quarrelsome’ [Zuo].

[N] 恨 (yঋn) LH gon̄, OCM *gōn̄
‘Disobedient, refractory’ [Guo], ‘hate’ [Zuo].

gèn 聽 (kōn̄) LH kōn̄, OCM *kōn̄
‘Refractions, obstruct, resist’ [Yu]. The graph was probably intended for → yān, 眼 ‘eye’.

[C] Possible allofams: xiàn 限 (yঋn) ‘obstacle, limit’ [Guo]; yín 源 (njou̍n) ‘raised border, dike’ [Chuci].

hèng1 恆 (yঋn) LH go̊n̄, OCM *gōn̄
‘Be constant, go on’ [BL, Shi], ‘earlier, anciently’ [Zhouli]. — Etymology not clear.
[T] Sin Sukhu SR yin̄ (平), PR yin (平); MGZY Xing (平) [yin]; ONW yin

hèng2 嫦娥-恆娥-é2 娥
hèng3 營 切 → kēng2 樑
hèng4 轉 (yঋn) LH go̊n̄, OCM *gōn̄
‘Crosspiece, beam, yoke, steelyard, weights’ [BL, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR yin (平), SR yun (平), PR yun; MGZY Hying (平) [yin]
hóng
[C] See also → hóng, hóng 衫横 with which hóng may be connected (so Karlgren 1956: 16). Possible allofoam → lián 梁 'beam'.

* gēng 哼鳗 (kēn⁴) LH kēn⁴, OCM *gòŋ⁴
‘Fishbone in throat’ [Guoyu]; 'choke' [Zhuang].

hóng⁴ 虹 (yuán) LH gōng⁴, OCM *gōŋ⁴
‘Rainbow’ [Li].
[D] Dialect forms are very irregular: PMin *ghiong⁸, but Jiānyáng leŋ⁴, G-Shănggào dial. has lan⁴-łun⁴ (Sagart 1993: 196).
[En] <> PY *klun⁴ 'rainbow' (Haudricourt 1950: 559). Benedict (1986: 58) and Carr (LTBA 13.2, 1990: 105) suggest that hóng is related to → lóng 龍 'dragon' and → hóng₁ 紅 ‘red’.

* jiàng 良 (kăng⁴) LH kāng⁴, OCM *kēŋ⁴
This variant survives for ex. in G-Wünling dial. kāng⁴ (Sagart 1993: 170).

* dǐ-dōng 螺蛇 (tīe-tun⁴) LH tē-tōŋ, OCM *tē-tōŋ < *tōng⁴
‘Rainbow’ [Shi, Yi].

[En] The wide range of forms, incl. dǐ-dōng (below), speaks for a non-ST source for this etymology. <> Kam-Tai: Zhuang lgs. have tu²-tung⁴ 'rainbow' and the like, where tu² is a prefix added to animals and persons. Li Xu-lian (1997) reconstructs this prefix as PT *ta⁴, among others based on forms like Wuming tsa⁴ and Bama tia⁶. Luò Yōngxiǎn (MKS 27: 1997: 272) reconstructs PT *ta⁴ 'Druj: S. rút⁴ 'rainbow'.

hóng₂ 鴉 (yuán) LH gōng⁴, OCM *gōŋ⁴
‘Pink’ (Baxter 1992: 207) > 'red' [Lunyu].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR yuán (平); MGZY Yung (平) [yuán]
The following tōng could be a variant which is parallel to → hóng₁ 虹 'rainbow'; as in ‘rainbow’, the form with initial MC dental stop is attested earlier than the one with the guttural initial:

* tōng 形 (duōu) LH dou⁴, OCM *lōŋ⁴
‘Red’ (of ceremonial objects) [Shi, 朝 [Guan].

hóng₃ 鴉 (yuán) LH gōng⁴, OCM *gōng⁴
‘Be disorderly, disorder, trouble’ [Shi]. This word may be cognate to → hóng₁ 鴉 and / or be a variant of hún 混 ‘yuan (under) → hún 混’.

hóng₄ 鴉 (yuán) LH gōng⁴, OCM *gōng⁴
‘Be great, greatly’ [Shi, Shu] > ‘great (waters)’ [Shi] is perh. cognate to → róng 溶 (*tōng ‘much water’. Perh. related to → hào 浩.

hóng⁺ jùng 洇 (yuán, guān, gān, kāng⁴) LH gōu⁴, g/kōŋ⁴, OCM *gōŋ⁴

hóng₅ 鴉 衫横 (yuán) LH guān, OCM *grǎŋ⁴ — [T] ONW yuán
‘To plow crosswise, east-west’ 衫 [Shi], 横 [Zuo]; ’transversal, horizontal’ 衫 [Li]. 横 [Chuci].
[C] This word may be connected with → hóng 衫 CROSS (so Karlgren 1956: 16). A tone C derivation is ’be cross-grained, hard to deal with’ [Zuo] (Downer 1959: 287).
[En] AA: Khmer khveïa kwaerañ⁴ ‘to cross, intersect, be diagonal, crisscross’ (> Tai: S. kwaŋ⁴ ‘to lie athwart, transverse, crosswise’, > verañ / vērañ ‘cut across, traverse, intersect’. The derivative grāvēa / krswēæ ‘turn, hurl overhead...’ agrees phonologically with OC.

hóng₆ 鴉 ‘arrow with metal tip’ → hóu₁ 后

hóu₁ 后 (yuán⁵, yán⁵) LH gōng⁴, gōng⁴, OCM *gōŋ⁴
‘Quarrel, fight’ [Meng] is perh. related to → xiāng 橫 and / or → hóng₁ 紅.

hóng₂ 輨 → zhuàng, hóng 蘢


hóu₁ 侯 (yuán) LH go, OCM *gō

hóu 侯 (yuán) LH go, OCM *gō
‘To watch, be on the lookout for’ [Zuo], ‘aspects of dreams’ [Liu].
[En] Acc. to Lau (1999: 44) ‘watch’ is the fundamental meaning from which is derived hóu 侯 ‘feudal lord, border guard, target’, a tone A nominalization (§3.1); alternatively, hóu ‘watch’ may derive from ‘target’, hence lit. ‘to target’.
[En] AA: Khmer koñ / koñh ‘to raise (crossbow) with a view to aiming’ kpoñ ‘be raised up, clearly visible’; or koñ / koñh ‘to hit (squarely)’.
[C] A derivation is → guān, 觀 ‘to watch’. This stem is prob. distinct from → hóu 后 ‘sovereign’.

hóu₂ 侯 (yuán) LH go, OCM *gō
‘There is, to have’, occurs only in old parts of Shífìng, commentators gloss it as → wēi. 唯唯佳維 ‘to be or’ → yóu 毋 ‘there is’ (< ‘to have’).
[En] AA: PVM *kɔɔ́ ‘to be, have, there is’ [Ferlus]; PMonic *gōo ‘to get, possess, obtain’ [Diffloth 1984: 151]. <> TB-JP gu⁴ ‘to have’.

hóu₃ 侯 ‘root of feather’ → hóu₁ 后

hóu₄ 喉 (yuán) LH go, OCM *gō
‘Throat’ [Shi].

hóu₅ 猴 (yuán) LH go, OCM *gō — [D] PMin *gäu < *gō?
‘Monkey’ [Zhuang].
[En] ST: PL *?-kɔɔ́/. The first syllable in mǔ-hóu 母猴 now mǔ-gō, mǔ-hōu 母猴 *mǔ-kō ‘macaque’ may perh. be an old pre-initial (Unger Haoo-ku 31, 1985: 308). This may be supported by the PMin form whose softened initial derives from an earlier prenasalized one acc. to Norman 1986. V. Błażek (in Pinault et al. 1997: 236f) notes LB-Akha mjo kɔɔ́ ‘monkey’ which he derives from PL *mjok and suggests is the source of the CH word, which in turn, citing Lüders, might possibly have been the source of IE-PTchorean *moko. For syn. see → yóu 猴.

hóu₆ 銜 ‘arrow with metal tip’ → hóu₁ 后
like many words which relate to everyday life and which appear first in Han period ritual books.

**hú**

| **hú** | **wū** | 猪 
---|---|---
| Hú | (yue) | LH go, OCM *gâ ‘Dewlap of an animal’ (which hangs down from the chin) [Shi, SW] > ‘beard’ [Han texts] (Wáng Li 1982: 144); Acc. to Boltz (OE 35, 1992: 37); this word is cognate to 久 *jug* ‘desiccated’ and ultimately to → gū, 固 ‘solid’.

**hù**

| **hù** | **hū** | 糗 
---|---|---

**hù**

| **hù** | **hú** | 胡 
---|---|---
| Hù (yue) | LH go, OCM *gâ ‘‘Butterfly’ [Zhuang].
| Hù (yue) | LH go, OCM *gâ ‘Butterfly’ [Yupian] is a variant of hùdié (Bodman). The first syllable is glossed ‘butterfly’ in SW, it survives in Y-Guánzhōu kap by ‘butterfly’, → Jap. kai < *kapi (Bodman 1980: 146).

**hù**

| **hù** | **hú** | 河 
---|---|---
| Hù (yue) | LH go, OCM *gâ ‘‘Bow’ [Yi], ‘bend, curved’ [Zhouli]. Syn. → gū, 句钩.”
| Hù (yue) | LH ku, OCM *kâ ‘Curved bone, big bone’ [Zhuang].

**hù**

| **hù** | **hú** | 糗 
---|---|---
| Hù (yue) | LH go, OCM *gâ ‘‘Butterfly’’ [Zhouli].
| Hù (yue) | LH go, OCM *gâ ‘‘Butterfly’’ [Zhouli].

**hù**

| **hù** | **hú** | 糗 
---|---|---
| Hù (yue) | LH go, OCM *gâ ‘‘Butterfly’’ [Zhouli].

**hù**

| **hù** | **hú** | 河 
---|---|---
| Hù (yue) | LH go, OCM *gâ ‘‘Butterfly’’ [Zhouli].

**hù**

| **hù** | **hú** | 糗 
---|---|---
| Hù (yue) | LH go, OCM *gâ ‘‘Butterfly’’ [Zhouli].
purpose in the OC dialect word, see below and → 阿. The other method is to distort the pronunciation by using a dialect word as in hú whose phonology indicates a possible rural or vulgar origin (voiceless *lh- > MC x-， §6.6). [D] The regular OC equivalent of foreign *kl*- is expected to be a voiceless *lh- > MC jī- or kī-. Such forms are found in old dialects (Pulleyblank 1983: 427): (1) yú-tū in Miao (jiou-tuu²) 'rice-field' OCY *yā-lhák is a Chú dialect word recorded in the 5th cent. BC Zuózhōu. The Hóu Hânsū hú has a variant yú-shī in which (jiou-sḗ à) OCY *yā-lhák. The FY has a further graphic variant yú-tū which to which Guó Pú adds that south of the Yangtze, the pronunciation of tū is like gōu-dōu (kou⁸-daou⁸), i.e. a hypothetical OCY *kṑ̄-lṓ́ which comes close to AA forms.

Some modern interior Min dialects have *kou⁸, but the stop feature is probably secondary.


hú-pō ไป < 虎魄 (xuó⁹-pó) 'Amber, lit. 'tiger's soul' [Tang dyn.: Li Bai], a loan word from a western or southern Asiatice *karapah 'amber' (Boodberg 1937: 359).

hú 丘 < 阿岸 (an³) 丘

hú 戶 (yu³) LH ga³, OCY *gæ? 'Door(leaf) > household' [Shi]; 'opening' [Li].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR yu (u); MGZY Xua (.) (yu): ONW yu

[EE]: ST: PTB 'm-ka' opening, mouth' (HPTB: 173) > PLB *gæ? *gæ³ open, divaricate, spread' [Matisoff D. of Lahu: 230], WB tam-kæ²³ 'door', NAGya *gæ³ 'door', WT sō-go 'door' (HST: 66); WT tō can derive regularly from TB *a). It is tempting to derive 从 from → hú, 互桓 'barrier', yet the latter agree more closely with a different TB etymology (Lushai kuar).

hú 互桓 (yu³) LH ga³, OCY *gæ?

'To rely on' [Shi] is cognate to → gæ, 固 'secure, solid, secure'.

hú 互桓 (yu³) LH ga³, OCY *gæ?

'Intertwining, crossing, barrier, a stand' (of crossing sticks) [Zhouli]; 'each other' 互; 'railings, fence' 桧 [Zhouli].

hú 灰 (yu³) LH ga³, OCY *gæ?

'A grey, grey scale for catching fish' (properly written with radical 竹 instead of 水) [GY]. This could be the same as above 'to stop' prevent [ Zhuo], but is probably unrelated to → hú, 桧 'door'.

hú 灰 (kuo³) LH ka³, OCY *kæ?

'Net' [Yi] is probably unrelated to → gæ, 貳 'net'.

Both tone 2 words hú 灰 and ga³ 灰 above may be nominal derivations from hú 互.

[EE]: ST: Lushai kuar² < kuar² 'a dam or weir, roughly constructed of leafy bows or bamboo lattice-work' (sometimes used for catching fish); WB ka 'make a barrier, cover on the side, put up fence' 互-ka 'side of building, external part'; WT qgar-ba 'to confine, pen up' qgar 'camp, enclosure'. For TB final r, see §7.7.5.

The wf → gæ? agrees with hú in all but the vowel. Putative TB cognates seem to confirm that these are two separate roots.

hú 氷 → gæ? 種


hú 當 (yu³) LH yu³, OCY *wæ³kh — [T] ONW yu

'Guard, protect' [Lushì] is probably cognate to WT 'gogs-pa 'to prevent, avert' (HST: 89).

hú 當 hù < 當 (yu³) LH ga³, OCY *gæ?

'Wide, vast' [Li] is probably a ST word: WB ka³ 'be stretched apart, widen; breadth, width'.

hú 當 → hú³ 互桓

hua 花 (xwa) 'Flower', originally a noun (see Wáng Li 1982: 142 for a discussion of this wf). The graph (whose OC rime should be *æ-ai) has been borrowed for an etymon in OC *æ.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR xwa ( ); MGZY hwa ( ) [xwa]; ONW yūa

hua 華 (yu³) LH yu³, OCY *(g)wæ? — [T] ONW yūa

'To be in flower' intr. > 'blossom, flower' [Shi], originally a vb. (Wáng Li).

hua 華 (kwa³; xwo) LH kwa³, hyo, OCY *(k)hraw, *(k)hwa 'Flower' [Zhuang]; the graph is sometimes thought to write hua 花.

[EE] Etymology not clear. TB languages often alternate initial labial stops *p, *b with *w, also in the root for 'blossom, flower' *bar (→ pă, → băn) (Matisoff LL 1.2, 2000: 144-146). Hua may be an example of the ST *bar > *war variation (for the etymology of the final *r, see §7.7.3). Alternatively, note AA-OKmer /paka/ 'flower'; the complex AA initial might have been the reason for the CH development.

hua 溪 (yuwa) LH guat, OCY *grêt 'Slippery' [Zhouli].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ywa ( ); MGZY Xwa ( ) [ywa]

[EE]: ST: JT gama³ < gu-grêt 'slippery'.

hua 華 (yuwa) LH guat, OCY *grêt

hua 華 'cleave' → kū² 刻

hua 化 化  教

hua 樺 (yuwa) LH yu³, OCY *(g)wæ? 'Birch' [Yupian, XY].

[EE]: ST: WT gro-ga 'bark of birch' (Unger Hao-ko 33, 1986; HPTB: 175).

hua 話 (yuwa) LH guas, OCY *(g)wæ? or *(g)wæ? or *(g)wæ? — [EE] PMin *hwa³ 'Speech, lecture' [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ywa ( ); MGZY Xwa ( ) [ywa]

[EE]: Sagar (1999: 113) derives this word from → yu,  亅 'to say'. It is probably cognate to WT Gros 'speech, talk, advice' (Gong in W. Wang 1995: 47).

hua 畫 (yuwa) LH yue³, OCY *(g)wæk 'Painted, with a design' [BI, Shu] > 'to draw a design, depict' [Meng]

[T] MGZY Xway ( ) [ywa]; ONW yūa

[EE]: exopass. of huo 畫 (wek) (§4.4).
huàn

huàn 换 ‘change’ → huán 桓垣; → pàn-huàn 判换 ‘relax’

huàn2 幻 (ywan2) LH guan2, OCM *(g)wrēns — [T] ONW yuân ‘Deceit’ [Shui], ‘magic, illusion’. Bodman (1980: 86) compares this to WT rol-ba ‘to practice sorcery, playfulness’.

huán1 宸 (yuán) LH guan2, OCM *gwrēns or *grons ‘Servant’ [Guoyu] > ‘officer, official’ [Zuo].

huán2 鵙 (yuán) LH guan2, OCM *gwrēns or *grons ‘Servant’ [Guoyu] > ‘officer, official’ [Zuo].

huáng1 東 (xwán) LH huán, OCM *hmân ‘Blood’ [Zuo, Xi Gong 15, quoting Yi 54, 6]. This rare word’s occurrence in a traditional saying indicates that it is not part of the active vocabulary of OC, but a survival from a substrate language.

huáng2 荒 (yuán) LH huán, OCM *hman ‘Blood’ [Zuo, Xi Gong 15, quoting Yi 54, 6]. This rare word’s occurrence in a traditional saying indicates that it is not part of the active vocabulary of OC, but a survival from a substrate language.

huán1 桓垣 (yuán) LH yuán, OCM *wân — [T] ONW yuán ‘To turn around, turn back, hesitate’ [Yi], [Cui], [Huainan].

huán2 桓 (yuán) LH yuán, OCM *wân ‘To change’ [Lie], ‘exchange’ 换; ‘round’ 轉 [Zhuang], Mand. huán!, QYS also yuán5; the latter graph writes QYS mân, Mand. wán ‘to cut so as to round off corners’ 切 [Chuci], [Zhuang].

huán3 桓 (yuán) LH yuán, OCM *wân ‘To turn around’ (as a wheel) [Li]. Rú Chín (3rd cent. AD), annotator of the Hanhsü, remarks that in eastern dialects, the word was pronounced like hé 鬍 OCM *gwo < *goi (Baxter 1992: 296): therefore huán 桓 is apparently a dialect variant.

huán4 桓 (yuán) LH yuán, OCM *wân ‘Pillar’ [Li] > huán-huán ‘pillar-like’ (trees) [Shi] > ‘valiant’ [Bi, Shi]. Perh. s. w. as → huán, 桓垣 ‘round’.

huán3 桓 (yuán) LH yuán, OCM *wân, OCB *wren ‘To turn around, return’ 還 [Shi]. Prob. the same etymon as huán 璜環 (under → yâng). The AA relates the *r in the OC syllable. See under → huí for synonyms.

huán4 璜環 (yuán) LH yuán, OCM *wân ‘Semicircular jade insignium’ [Zhouli].

huán4 關 (yuán) LH yuán, OCM *wân ‘’Semicircular jade insignium’ [Zhouli].

huán5 閩 (yuán) LH yuán, OCM *wân ‘ ’Semicircular jade insignium’ [Zhouli].

huán2 輕 ‘soft’ → either xuán2 暖, or → yuán8 暖.

huán2 轻 ‘slow’ → yuán8 暖

huán 朕 → huán1 桓垣
hú1 灰 (xuī) LH huíi, OCM *hwō
'ashes' [Zhuang], 'charcoal' [Ll].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR xū (±); MGZY hue (平) [xue].
[N] Prob. OCM *hwō (not *hmō) because the phonetic seems to be yōu 又 *hwēh.
[E] ST *wu: TB-Lushai wu*-a 'ashes, dust'.

hú2 煌煌 (xjwii) LH huì, OCM *hwii
'flame, brightness' 煌 [yi]; 'light, brightness' 昇 [yi]; 'bright' 煌 [Meng].

wei2 煞 (xjwii) LH wu, OCM *wii
'be brilliant, bright' [Shi].
ST w that also includes → fān, 煞.

Perh. yún 煞 (*jyun) LH wun, OCM *wons
'brightness' [Zhoul] (Wáng Lí 1982: 508f); 'halo' [Ll] could either be the same
eyton, or be related to → yūn, 運 'revolve'.

hú3 微 (xjwii) LH huì, OCM *hmii
'rope' [Yi]. The graph writes also a different word, see under → húi 鬼.
This word is shared with Tai: S. mai\(^{1}\) < *hm- 'thread, silk'.

hú4 蝶 (xjwii) LH huí, OCM *hmii
'signal flag' [Zou], 'to signal' [Shi], i.e., something whirled about, waved.

hú5 微 (xjwii) LH huì, OCM *hmii
'to signal, display' [Shi], 'a flag' [Li] is apparently a vocalic variant.

hú6 鬼 (xjwii) LH huí, OCM *hmii
'to destroy' 鬼 [Shu], 鬼 (e.g. city walls) [Lüshi].

hú7 蝶 (xjwii) LH huí, OCM *hmii
'to destroy, ruin' [Shi], 'perish' (people) 蝶 [Hanfei]; 'destroy' (by fire), 'blazing fire'
蝶 [Shi]. This word also occurs in Tai: S. mai\(^{2}\) < *hm- 'to burn'.

hú8 蝶 (xjwii) LH huí, OCM *hmii
'to burn' [SW: Sh], a phonological variant of hú above (Baxter 1992: 417).
This is also a Han-period Qi dialect word for 'fire' [FY 10: 6] (Bodman 1980: 71).
'Destroy' (by fire), 'blazing fire' 蝶 may really go back to → hú1 火 'fire'.

hú 回 (yuāi) LH yuāi, OCM *wūi — [T] ONW yuāi
'to revolve, swerve, deflect' [Shi]; 'go around by [Zou]; 'go up against a stream' 溯
[Shi]. Also written 遷移. Downer (1959: 285) reads 'go around, go by way of' in tone
C which implies an 'effective' meaning.

hū-yū 回溯 (yuāi-jwii) LH yuāi-jwii, OCM *wūi-wit?
'be awry, crooked, perverse' [Shi].

[O] Alloforms are → gū, 鍾 'return'; → wēi, 鬼 'turn against' from which hū is derived.

[O] Many CH and TB words for 'round, turn' look similar. Most have initial *w- and

foreign final -n, -r, -o, or -i, and therefore they are difficult to sort out, so that Bodman,
Karlgren, Wáng Li and other investigators have connected them in different ways.
The merger of earlier final *l- and *r- into either OC *-n or *-i makes it impossible at
the moment to find a rational way of associating foreign with OC items:
(1) OC *-wan > MC rime -wan, -jwan / -ywan < OC *-un, *-wan, *-on can derive from
earlier ST or foreign -wan, -war, -wal, -(w)ol, *(w)ol, *(w)ol; given the latitude of sound
correspondences, the vowels could in some words even have been e or u, beside a and o.
See → yuān, 賢圆, → yuán, 圓,→ huān, 槃, → huān, 還, → huān, 還, → huān, 還, under → yīng, 营.
(2) OC *-wan or *wan or MC rime -wan / -ywan < OC *-un / *-wan can derive from earlier
ST or foreign -un, -war, -wal, -ul, -ul, -ur, -war, -war; given i- u- interchanges when in
contact with labials, the foreign rime could also have been -win, -wil, -wir. See → yún, 雲,
→ yūn, 運.
(3) OC *-wan or *-wai or MC rime -uai / -jwei < OC *-wai or *-wai can derive from earlier
ST or foreign -ui, -wai, -ul, -ul, -ul, -ul, rarely also from -ur, -ur, -war. See → hú 回 (above), → wēi, 懦, → guī, 胞; → wēi, 回, → wēi, 運.
(4) Rarer rimes can be associated with outside cognates somewhat more confidently:
OC *-wēn See → yǐng, 营, → yǒng, 程; and → yíng, 程, → yīng, 程
OC *-win See → jūn, 鈞.

TB languages have additional words of this general shape and meaning, often with initial
k. This k complicates the process of etymological identification even further because it
may or may not have been a removable element. Such items include: (1) Lushai kual\(^{-}\)
koi\(^{-}\) 'bend, pull down', WB kwey\(^{-}\) 'bend around'. (2) Lushai kual\(^{-}\) 'coi', WB kwey\(^{-}\). (3)
Lushai kual\(^{-}\) / koil\(^{-}\) 'be bent'. (4) Lushai k\(\text{kwē}\) 'double up, roll up' (→ quān, 卷). (5)
WT 'k'or circle, turn', Lepcha var, vor, note also AA-Khmer vàr / wiær / go 'circle, revolve'. (6) Lushai in\(^{-}\)k\(\text{keri}\) 'twisted together'. (7) Lushai hvral 'roll up in the hand' ? Lepcha rol 'roll'.

Furthermore, note AA: PVM *vei 'return' ? *k-vei 'village', Bru kəwir 'to stir'
[Huffman 1975: 13].

hú1 虫_meta (xjwii) LH huī, OCM *hmii?
'snake' [Shi], 虫 [OB, SW, Shanhaijng], 'reptile-ambivalent' [Western Han] (Yates
EC 19, 1994: 91 [apparently 'not insect']). Since 虫 is a basic graph, the word must be
very old. (E] ST: PTB *b-rul (STC no. 447) > WT sbrul < s-mulu, PLB *m-rewi (Matisoff D.
L. of Lahu: 1338) > WB mruwe 'snake', KL *mul, Lushai muhl\(^{-}\) < ruel (Shi Xiāngdòng 2000: 196), Chepang ru'snake'. MC xjwii is a regular equivalent for TB / ST
protoprotoforms like *s-mul, *rμrul or *hmurul. As to foreign initial b- for CH m, see
§5.12.2. MK-PW *məy 'cabra' looks like a loan from a LB language. The syn.
and ordinary word → shē, 蛇 'snake', lit. 'the winding thing', is due to taboo (see → hú, 虎 'tiger' for another tabooed animal).
null
like a folk etymology. One may speculate instead that hún 'dark' signifies 'female', like its synonym → yín, 隱 'dark'.

hún₂ 昏 → mén₁ 門

hún₃ 開 → mén₁ 門

hún₄ 混 → xún 湊 (Mendes)

hún₁ 韓 (yuán) LH guan², OCM *gùn?
‘Chaos’ [Lao], 'muddled, confused' 混 [Lao] (some commentators also read LH kuan² 混).

* hún 涌 (yuán) LH guan², OCM *gùns

* hún 混 (yuán) LH guan², OCM *gùn
‘Chotic’ [Zhuang]; also 'sound of running water' [Xun] (related?). A variant is apparently → hóng, 洪 LH gong 'disorderly, trouble'.

* kún 固 (k'ūn) LH k'ūn², OCM *kùns
‘Be distressed’ [Shu], 'distress, exhaust' [Zuo], 'fatigue' [Li].

[1] Sin Sukchu SR k'un (go); MGZY kun (go) [k'un]; ONW k'ūn

[2] Perh. related to Mand. kūn 突 'sleepy'. Alternatively, this word may be derived from → kūn, 固 'obstruct' [Yi], as emotions are often expressed by concrete notions, but this is not likely in light of hún 混 above. HST: 63 related this word to WT k'ūn 'burden, load'. A further cognate may be → jūng, 汲 in which case this and the doublet of hún point to a PCH final *-uŋ.

hún₂ 混 (yuán) LH guan², OCM *gùn?
‘Abundantly flowing’ [Meng].

* hún 混 (yuán) LH guan², OCM *gùn
‘Sound of running water’ [Xun].

[3] This w.f. may belong to → hún, 混 above. Perh. related to → hào, 烏 *gùn?

hún₁ 韓 → hún₁ 混

huò₁ 佸 → kūd₁ 賦

huò₂ 火 (yuán) LH huat², OCM *hmâiʔ, OCB *hmaj?
‘Fire’ [OB, Shi].

[1] Sin Sukchu SR xwo (-upper); MGZY hwo (-upper) [xwo]; ONW huo
jí 几 'stool' → jǐ 几几

jǐ 几 (kǔi 3) LH kí, OCM *kì, OCB *kǐjìp (Baxter 1992: 454)
‘Be hungry, starve, hungry, famine’ [Shi].

x jǐ 餓 (kjei 3) LH kí, OCM *kái — [T] ONW kí — [D] PMin *kwe
‘Famine’ 餓饉 [Shi]. This word is distinct from jǐ above (Wáng Li 1958: 550); for the difference in vowel, see §11.7.1–2.


jǐ 汲 (khp) LH kíp, OCM *kop
‘To draw water’ [Yi].

[ST]: PTB *kap (STC no. 336): PLB *C-kap, WB kāp ‘dig up, draw water’; Garo ko ‘draw water’; Dimasa k’au ‘pluck, gather, draw’ (water) (HST: 66).

jǐ 奇 (kjei 3) LH koi, OCM *kái
‘Odd (number)’ 奇 [Yi], 奇 [Xun]; ‘unique, irregular’ 奇 [Li].

qí 奇 (giej 3) LH giej, OCM *gai, OCB *gaj
‘Strange, extraordinary’ [Zuo].

[ST]: Sin Sukhu SR gi (平), MGZy gi (平) [gi]
[NT] This seems to be a ST etymon: WB kāi—as kāib ‘remarkable’ (obsolete).

[C] An allofam is prob. → jì 棋 ‘pull aside’. Because of the occasional *-ai ← *-e vacillation in wfs (§11.3.3), → qī 企 ‘stand on tiptoe’ may also be related.

jǐ 基 (kji) LH kio, OCM *ko
‘Foundation, base, settlement’ [Shi].

[ST]: Sin Sukhu SR kjej (平), PR, LR kì; MGZy gi (平) [kji];
[N] This can hardly be related to the TB items under → jǐ 几机, nor to Lushai kei ‘foot, leg, wheel’ (→ zhi, 支枝) because the vowels are different.

jǐ 築 (kli) LH kio, OCM *ko
‘Winnowing basket’ [OB, Shi]. Unger (Hao-ku 38, 1972: 79) relates this word to If 棋 (jī) ‘basket’ [Meng] and suggests a possible connection with → qī 竺 ‘willow’.

jì 期 ‘year’ → qì 其

jí 雞 (kiei 3) LH ke, OCM *kē
‘Chicken, fowl’ [Shi].

[ST]: Sin Sukhu SR kjej (平), PR, LR kì; MGZy gi (平) [kji]; ONW kēi,
[D] PMin *kei, K-Méixian káiAT. A Han dialect form of the Chén-Chú-Sông area was zhi 堖 (kiej 4) [kie] *ke [FY 8, 4].

[EA] Area word; since its origin is onomatopoetic, phonological correspondences are not regular: PTai *kai[Bl] ‘chicken’ (Li F. 1976: 42), PKS *kai; Kadai *k[w]. < RP myocard *kai (Downer 1982) <> PVM *r-ka ‘chicken’ (on the vocalism, see §11.1.3).

jí 積 (tsjǐk) LH tseik, OCM *tsek — [T] ONW tśik
‘To collect, accumulate’ [Shi] > ‘to block’ [Zhuang].

x zí 積 (tsiêc) LH tseic, OCM *tsekh
‘To collect, store, wealth’ [Shi] > ‘provisions’ [Zuo].

[c] exopass. derivation (§4.4), perm. also the verbal meanings (‘be heaped’).

[ST]: WT ríse-yu ‘to put on top, pile up, stack’. Sagart (1999: 214) suggests that possibly → cē, 築築 ‘bamboo slips > document’ is related. Perm. related to → zì, 資.

jí10 等 (tseik) LH tseik, OCM *tsek
‘To twist, spin’ (to make thread) [Shi] > ‘achievement, result’ [Shu] is perm. an s-iterative of → xì, 係系 *kha ‘bind, tie up’ (§5.2.3), with final -k (§6.1); yet PCH *s-k is expected to yield MC kʰ.

jí11 濟 (tsiêc) LH tseik, OCM *tsiê, OCB *tsai
‘To ascend, rise, the mist rises’ [Shi].

jí 濟 (tsiêc) LH tseik, OCM *tsiê, OCB *tsai
‘To lift, disappear’ (of clouds), ‘clearing sky’ 霧 [OB, Shi] > ‘to stop’ 濟 (of wind) [Zhuang], (of thoughts) [Shi].

jí 濟 (tsiêc) LH dzeic, OCM *dzieh
‘Carry a vessel to the lips’ [Shi].

[C] A possible allofam could be → jí 濟 ‘angry’.

jí12 几 (kji) LH koi, OCM *koi — [T] ONW kí
‘Be imminent, close to, near, at imminent risk’ [Shi, Shu]; ‘first sign of happenings, details’ 几 [Shi, Shi]; ‘auspicious, omen of good or evil’ 機 [Lie]. Karlkren (1933: 28) relates this word to → jín 近 ‘near’.

jí13 濟 (tsiêc) LH gii, OCM *gai
‘Border’ (on garment) 濟 [Li], ‘threshold, royal domain’ 濊 [Shi]. Prob. not related to → jí 濊 ‘close to’ as Karlkren believed (1956: 10).

jí14 機 (gjiej) LH gii, OCM *gai
‘Border, a field of a certain size (1,000 sq. li) 機 [Zuo]. ↔ qì 折 is cognate or the same word.

jí15 機 (kji) LH koi, OCM *koi — [T] ONW kì
‘Mechanical device’ 機 [Zhuang], 機 [Shu]. Karlkren (1956: 5) considered this the s. w. as → jì 機 which is glossed as ‘small’, but jì actually means ‘be imminent, close to, first sign, detail’. Instead, jì is perm. cognate to → qì, 繼, thus meaning originally a contraption with hinges or joints, i.e. with moveable parts.

jí16 擊 (kieiB) LH kei, OCM *kēi, OCM *këi, OCM *khê — [T] ONW kêi
‘Reach to’ [BL, Zhuang], ‘search, research, examine, comprehend’ [Shu], ‘calculate’ [Li]; ‘divine by tortoise-shell’ 几 [SW, Shu]; zhí 支 (tsiê) ‘kai’ to calculate’ [Da Dai Lij] is prob. a variant if not simply a graph loan.

‘To calculate’ [Zuo]. OCB is based on the assumption that shì 十 *gip is phonetic.

jí 賴 (kieic) LH këi, OCM *këi
‘Examine, inspect’ [Meng] > ‘blame’ [Zuo].

jí16 擊 (kieiB) LH kei, OCM *kēi
‘Beat, strike’ (a musical instrument, object) [Shi].

jí 擊 (kieic) LH këi, OCM *këh
‘Carriages knocking against each other’ [Zhouli].
ji

「ji」(kʰɛ́k) LH kʰɛ́k, OCM *kʰɛ́k
'Beat, rub' [Zhouli].

ji1 及 (gjap) LH gi, OCM *gjap
'To come to, reach to, together with, and' [BI, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR gi (λ); MGZY ki (λ) [gi]; ONW gi.
[D] Y-Guāngzhōu 2ggyaD2
[E] This word could be connected either with WB kʰap 'arrive at', JP kʰap51 to carry, reach' (CVST 5: 50). Or, less likely, with WT 'grob-pa, grub 'to make ready' # sgrub-pa, bsgrubs 'to complete, achieve' # grub-pa 'complete'.
[C] Items under ～jì could be tone C derivations (Yú Mín 1948: 45; Baxter 1992: 351), but see there.

ji2 吉 (kjet) LH kit, OCM *kit — [T] ONW kiit
'Auspicious, lucky, positive' [OB, BI, Shi].

ji3 吉 (kjet) 4
In some southern dialects this is the second syllable in the word for 'ear': Y-Dōngguān nǐ1^{13}kńk14 耳吉, K-Dōngguān 2gi23kit.

ji4 估 (gjjet) LH git, OCM *git
'To run robustly, straight, unwavering' (of horses) [Shi].

xié 額 (yjet) LH get, OCM *git
'To straighten the neck' (of birds) (meaning not certain) [Shi].

ji5 極 (gjik) LH gik, OCM *gak
'Highest point, ridge of a roof, extreme, reach the end, come to, attain' [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR gi (λ); MGZY ki (λ) [gi]; ONW gik

ji6 急 (kjkap) LH kik, OCM *kak
'Be urgent' [Shi]; 'to die' [Li], 'execute, kill' [Shi]. This word is prob. not a variant of ～ji1 急 (kjkap) 'be urgent'.

ji7 疾 (dzjet) LH dzit, OCM *dzit
'Be sick, suffering, defect, evil' [OB, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR dz (λ); MGZY tsi (λ) [dzi]; ONW dzit
～ji7 即 (dzjet) LH dzit, OCM *dzit
'Detest' [Shu] (Karlgren GSR 923c), 'to hate' [Shu].

ji8 疾 (dzjet, dzic) LH dzit, OCM *dzitz(s)
'Be jealous' [Chuci].

ji9 疾 (tzjet) LH tsit, OCM *tsit, OCB *tsjt < *tsjik
'Coated part of burning torch, to burn or scorch earth' [Guanz].

[E] ST *tsik 'to smolder > burn' / 'be ill, illness' / 'anger', PTB *tn(t)sk 'burn, angry' (HPTB), WT *ts¹g-pa 'to burn, destroy by fire, blow; to be in rut, be inflamed, feverish.' (Bodman 1980: 158); perh. Chepan gik 'be sick, injured, hurt'. Prob. not related to ji 疾 'sick' (under ～ji5 疾). Less likely compareda: WT sjag-pa 'sin, wickedness' (Bodman 1980: 158); AA items look somewhat similar: P-Bahn. *yjt, Wa-Lawa-Palaung *stj 'sick'. STC (170 n. 455) relates this word to PTB *tsa 'hot, pain', but the vowels differ (i vs. a), see → zài, 災.
瘠（zhá） LH dziek, OCM *dzeek
‘Emaciated’ [Yi] > ‘meagre, poor’ (soil) [Guocro] > ‘suffering’ \瘠 [Shu]; 腄 [Guan] (Karlgren 1956: 10). Perh. → ziʔ 腄 ‘bones with meat on’ is cognate.

瘠15 腄 (tsjak) LH tsiak, OCM *tskek
‘Walk with small steps’ [Shi]. This may be the same etymon as → jí16 腄, see §11.3.2.  

瘠16 腄 (tsjak) LH tsiak, OCM *tsak, actually prob. *tsjak
‘Walk reverently’ [Lunyu]. This may be the same etymon as → jí15 腄, see §11.3.2.  

瘠17 裏 (dzaik) LH dzak, OCM *dzak, prob. *tsjak

瘠18 磬 (tsiap) LH tsiap, OCM *tsap
‘To row’ [Shi], ‘oar’ occurs also in JP ʂap < ʂap ‘oar’ (Benedict HLAS 5, 1940: 111 no. 59).  

瘠20 赴漉 → jí14 驱集  
瘠21 輝漉 → jí10 撕

瘠1 机 (kii³ 3) LH kii³, OCM *kii³
‘Stool, small table’ [Shi]. [Zuo, Li].  

瘠2 鹷 (kji²) LH kii², OCM *kii²
‘Self’, reflexive personal pronoun [Lun]. — Etymology not clear.

瘠3 袬 (kii³ 3) LH kii³, OCM *kii³
‘Pull by one leg’ [Zuo], ‘pull aside’ [Shi]; ‘stand around close to door’ 袬 [Gongyang].  

瘠4 鬭 (kji³ 3) LH kii³, OCM *kii³
‘Slanting’ [Xun, also MC kje³ 3]; ‘one-footed’ 袬 [Guoyu]; ‘one horn turning up, one down’ 袬 [Yi].

瘠5 然 (kji³ 3) LH kii³, OCM *kii³
‘Muntjac’ 然 [post-Zhou-Han]; acc. to GY, KIB [OB] writes the same word.

瘠6 然 (tsie²b) LH tsei², OCM *tsiʔ or *tsiʔ
‘To push’ [Zuo], ‘urge, press, press out’.  

瘠7 然 (dzi³) LH dzei², OCM *dzil or *dziiʔ(ʔh)
‘Disease’ [Li], ‘suffer’ [Unger] < ‘be pressed’  

瘠8 然 (tsie²b) LH tsei², OCM *tsiʔ or *tsiʔ
‘Large number’ [Shi].

瘠9 然 (kii³) LH kii³, OCM *kii³
‘Louse’ [Hanfei] is also an old dialect word for ‘leech’, still used in Mín (Norman 1983) which is prob. related to the old dialect words ibly-ql 驢 or 驢 ‘leech’. This is prob. derived from a ST etymon ‘to bite’, note KN ms-kei ‘to bite’; for a semantic parallel, see → zhi² 蛞 ‘leech’ and → dié² 蛞 ‘bite’.

瘠10 魚 (kji³ 3, also gje³ 3) Wei-Jin kie, gje³
‘A small and weak woman’ [SW] 蜱 wù ‘thing’ in the SW gloss is thought to be an error for 蜱 rú ‘weak’, perh. a euphemism for the later attested meaning ‘singing girl, prostitute’ [Jinshu, i.e. post-Han]. A hypothetical OCM form may have been *kre.

This appears to be a loan from early Vietnamese (the ancient Ýê in southern
China): MK-PVM *ke‘ woman’ > Viet. cái/gái ‘feminine’ [Felrus]; elsewhere in MK: PWA *khr‘ girl’, PNBahn. *kad‘ female’ [K. Smith 1972: 64]. Alternatively, Wáng Li (1982: 108) following earlier commentaries relates this word to jí 句 (jie4) ‘skill’, but this may be folk etymology. Also other foreign words for ‘girl, woman’ refer to someone of low standing, see → 女, 蛾, → 妓底.

jí 茉 (jie4) ** [jie4]** LH kis, OCM *kats
To complete, have done, mark of completed action [OB, BI, Shi, Shu].

[T] Sin Suketu SR kje (jé) [FE], LR kíi; MGZY gi (jé) [ki]; ONW gi
(<) exopass. (perfective of qi 訂 (kjet) ‘to finish’ (§4.4); the perfect is implied in the passive meaning of tone C. Perh. cognate to → jí4 貼 ‘to reach’, but see there.


* qi 訂 (kjet) LH kíi, OCM *kät → [T] ONW kíi
To finish, cease’ [Shu].

jí4 贼 (jie4 3) LH gis, OCB *grixts < *grjíp — [T] MGZY ki (jé) [gi]
‘To reach to, bring with, concur with, together with, and’ [Shu].

(<) exoactive? of → jí1 句 [jép] (Baxter 1992: 351). Or less likely → qi3 贼 (jxat), → jí1 句 (jxít) (the MC vowels do not agree).

jí3 贼 (jie4 3) LH gioi [T] ONW ge

jí6 寄 (jie4) ** [jie4]** LH kie1, OCM *kaib
‘To commit to one’s charge’ [Lun], ‘entrust to, communicate’ [Li], Mand. ‘send’ (a letter).

[E] ST: perh. cognate to WB khai1c ‘to bring’, Lushai kha1i- ‘to give a present’.

jí7 怜忌 (jie4) ** [jie4]** LH gio2, OCM *gahb, OCB *gabl3a(s)
‘To warn, detest’ [Zuo, Ssw] > (‘be warned’): ‘cautious’ [Shi], ‘show respect for’ [Zuo], ‘taboo’ [Zhouli] > ‘dread, hate’ [Shi]. Wáng Li (1982: 86) relates this word to → jí3 贼 或言 ‘guard against’.

jí8 纪 (jie4) ** [jie4]** LH kieb, OCM *kaii, OCB *kiaji
‘Leading thread, regulate’ [Shi], ‘follow up, continue’ [Shu]. Unger (Hao-ku 38, 1992: ??) relates this word to WT K’hríd-pa, bkrí ‘to conduct acc. to order’ [Das] K’hríd ‘row, order, serial order’ [Das]; and to → lì 理 (li4) ‘regulate’.

jí9 贼 (jie4) ** [jie4]** LH kieb, OCM *kab — [T] ONW kia
‘To record, remember’ [Shu].

jí9 季 (kie4 4) LH kws, OCM *kwis, OCB *kis, OCM *ksi

[D] PMin *kisę > *kısı ‘season’

jí10 贼 (tsiap, tsjap) LH tsip, tsjip, OCM *tsrap
‘To cluster together, to crowd’.

jí11 彼 (tsiap, tsjap) LH tsip, tsjip, OCM *tsrap
‘To gather up’ [Li]; ‘to fold up, gather in’ (wings) [Shi]; ‘be crowded together’ (as horns of sheep) [Shi].

jí12 彼 (tsiap, tsjap) LH tsip, OCM *tsrap
‘Footprint, track’ [BI, Shi].

jí13 貼 (tsiap, tsjap) LH tsip, OCM *tsrap
‘Footprint, track’ [Shu] (also written with radical 162). In Han and Wei-Jin poetry these two words rime in *-ek (Luo / Zhou 1958; Ting 1975), but *tskjak occurs in Shijing. See §11.3.2. The root initial was OCM *j- as the phonetic of 贼 (GSR 800) and TB cognates indicate (§9.2); a ST medial *ja- (*ja-) explains the OC *jak ~ *ek doubles. Possible alloforms are → jí1 贼 and → jí2 贼 ‘walk, step’, prob. as a result of paronomastic attraction.

jiā

[jiā]嫁 (kaC) LH kaC, OCM *kraḥ
‘To give a girl in marriage’ [Shi].
[<] exoatomic of jià (§4.3) > ‘to marry’ (of a woman).
[<] CH > White Tai xiaǎ < *x- ‘id.’ (Li F. 1976: 40).

jià 加 (ka) LH kai, OCM *krâi — [T] ONW kâ
‘To add, attach, hit’ [Shi].

jià 加 (ka) LH kai, OCM *krâi
‘To yoke’ [Shi].

jià 加 (ka) LH kai, OCM *krâi
‘Male pig, boar’ [Zuo, SW]; a Northeastern dialect word for → zhù setbacks [to] ‘tow, pull’ [FY]. Given the homophone jià ‘male deer’ [SW], this may be a more generic etymology for ‘male’ of an animal and may also be cognate to → gî ‘ram’ (so Wáng Li 1982: 126). If SW is correct that jià is an abbreviated phonetic in → jià, OCM *krâi ‘house’, then the word must be much older than Zuòzhōuán, while zhù may be an early dialect word.

jiàn 倦 (kaC) LH keC, OCM *kê
‘Be good, fine, excellent > consider fine, approve’ [Shi], ‘happy’ [Zuo).

jiàn 佳 (kai) LH ke, OCM *kê
‘Be good’ [Lao] appears to be a vocalic variant of the above.

jiàn 家 (ka) LH kâi, OCM *kê
‘Be well, passable, suitable’ [Shi]. Alternatively, ge may belong to kê (under → hê ge).

jiàn 羔 (kâ) LH koi, OCM *kê
‘To congratulate’ [Shi] (Karlsgren 1949: 90) derives this word from ge next).

jiàn 拔 (kâ) LH kep, OCB *kêp — [T] ONW kâp
‘Be on both sides’ [Shi], ‘support’ [Shi], ‘press between’ [Zuo], ‘tweezers’ [Zhou].

jiàn 掛 (kâ) LH kep, OCM *kêp — [T] OMB kâp
‘Grasp, hold’ [Shi]; ‘clasp under the arm, hold on to’ [Meng], ‘embrace, embrace, all round’ [Shi], 约 [Zuo].

jiàn 拨 (tsêp) LH tsep, OCM *tsêp?

jià 槊 (kai) LH kai, OCM *kê
‘House, household, family’ [OB: Sōri p. 272; Shi].

jià 槊 (kai) LH kai, OCM *kê
‘Grain, to sow’ [Shi].

jià 植 (kaC) LH kai, OCM *kê
‘To grow rice plants’ [Shi].

jià 架 (ka) LH kâ, OCM *kê
‘’Price’ 買 [Lunyu]; 價 [Meng].
jiān

-  a k-prefix noun derived from a hypothetical root *ran (§5.4).
-  a s-causative / tr derived from a root *ran (§5.2.1).

jiān 空 (kān) LH ken, OCM *kên, OCM *kên
-  'To be in the middle, be inserted' [Shi], 'crevice, interstice' [Zhuang].

jiān 間 (kān) LH ken, OCM *kên, OCM *kên
-  'To put in between, insert, alternate, supersede' [Shi], 'to separate, differences, meddle between' [Zuo].

jiān 荒 (diān) LH sam, OCM *sam
-  'Sharp' [Mo] has been borrowed by PTai *s-: S. siam^A1 'spade, hoe' = siam^C1 'to sharpen to a point'.

jiān 侵 (sīn) LH sam, OCM *sam
-  'Intrude' [Mo] to STB *sam > WS sam, Gyaruang som 'iron', Nung sam 'iron, sword' (STC: 53).

jiān 坚 (kên) LH ken, OCM *kên
-  'Firm' (e.g. fruit, bows), 'solid, strong' (e.g. ice) [Shi].

jiān 倩 (kên) LH ken, OCM *kên
-  'Firmly believe' [Zhuang]. Aspiration as well as medial *r are unexplained, unless this is a different etymon related to AA-Mon kriq (kreq) 'stiff, hard'.

jié 劫 (kâ) LH kêt, OCM *khrît
-  'Solidly, earnestly' [Shu].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>*kên</th>
<th>*khrît</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OC</td>
<td>ying 硬 (gei) hard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>reg Prem solid (not liquid)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lushai</td>
<td>kiînF &lt; kiîn? dry out (get hard)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JP</td>
<td>greeN hard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td>kaaF numbness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The stems *kên and *khrît are e-vowel variants of *kar (under - gû 固). The stem *kin is unrelated.

jiān, jiān 傢 (kîn) LH ken, OCM *kên
-  'Shoulder' [Shi], 'to shoulder, carry' [Shu] is shared with PKS *k̀xîn 'arm'. PTai *kh- > S. kên^A1 'arm'.

jiān 擼 (kan) LH kan, OCM *krân
-  'Villain, wickedness' [Shu].
jiān

jiān

jiān

jiān

jiān

jiān

jiān

jiān

jiān

jiān

jiān

jiān

jiān

jiān

jiān

jiān

jiān

jiān

jiān

jiān

jiān

jiān
jiàng jiàng

jiàng

jiàng

jiàng

jiàng

jiàng

jiàng

jiàng

jiàng

jiàng

jiàng

jiàng

jiàng

jiàng

jiàng

jiàng

jiàng

jiàng

jiàng

jiàng

jiàng

jiàng
jiāo

jiāo1 娘 (kau²) LH kau², OCM *krâu?
‘Burn on a pyre’ [OB, SW], esp. in a rain ceremony.
[E] SW implies that jiāo is related to → jiao, kau³, ‘cross’, i.e. a pyre of crossed logs, but the semantic connection with ‘crossed’ may be due to the graphic element. TB cognates suggest that jiāo actually means ‘dry off fire, burn’: WB kro ~ kyo ‘to fry’, JP kru² ‘dry up, overdry’ → kau³ ‘dry off fire, burn’. Jiāo may be cognate to → liāo, ‘dry off fire, burn’.

jiāo2 娘 (kau²) LH kau², OCM *krâu? or *krâu?
‘Be beautiful, handsome’ [Shi].

jiāo3 矛 (kau²) LH kau², OCM *riâu? or *riâu?
‘To twist’ [Li], ‘straighten, pressing, intense’ [Zuo], ‘entangle’.

jiāo4 矛 (kau²) LH kau², OCM *riâu? or *riâu?
‘Bind round, wrap’ [Li], ‘entangled’.


jiāo6 角 (kāk) LH kāk, OCM *krök?

jiāo7 角 (kāk) LH kāk, OCM *krök?

jiāo8 角 (kāk) LH kāk, OCM *krök?
‘Travelling’ [Xun] is a common word in Mand. and most dialects: Yùe kāk³⁵, Kējiā kāk³⁵. Mín *kau² ‘foot’ (→ qiāo, 角) is unrelated. Etymology not clear.

jiāo9 角 (kāk) LH kāk, OCM *kau?
‘Martial, vigorous’ 角 [Shi]; ‘energetic’ 角 [Zhuang] is perhaps the same etymon as jiāo 角 ‘high’ (under → qiāo, 角) (so Wáng Li 1982: 204).

jiāo10 角 (kāk) LH kāk, OCM *kau?
‘Lifting the feet high, strong-looking (horses)’ [Shi].

jiāo11 角 (kāk) LH kāk, OCM *gak
‘Lifting the feet high, strong-looking (horses)’ [Shi].

jiāo21 角 (kāk) LH kāk, OCM *gak
‘Lifting the feet high, strong-looking (horses)’ [Shi].

jiāo31 角 (kāk) LH kāk, OCM *gak
‘Lifting the feet high, strong-looking (horses)’ [Shi].

jiāo41 角 (kāk) LH kāk, OCM *gak
‘Lifting the feet high, strong-looking (horses)’ [Shi].

jiāo51 角 (kāk) LH kāk, OCM *gak
‘Lifting the feet high, strong-looking (horses)’ [Shi].
jiào 措 [kau³] LH kou³, OCM *krō?
‘To disturb’ [Shi].
[ST] ST: WT dkrug-pa ‘stir up’ ≠ k’trag-pa ‘be disturbed, quarrel’ ≠ sprug-pa ‘to shake, stir up’.
[C] This word could belong to the wf → xué 學 (so HST: 127); and / or to → lū12 擲.

jiào 嬄 → qiáo1 喬

jiào 叫 [kiu³] LH kou³, OCM *kīō
‘To call out, shout’ [Shi], ‘clamor’ [Zhouli]. Prob. s. w. as → jiào 嬄, but distinct from → zhào 召.
[T] Sin Sukhu SR kjew (去); PR kjaw; MGZY gjaw (去) [kjew]

jiào 嗅 [kiu³, kiek] LH kou³, kẹk, OCM *kiāuk(h)
‘To shout’ [Li], ‘cry, weep’ [Gongyang]. It is difficult to believe that jiào 嗅 *kiāukh ‘shout’ and → jiào, 口 *kīō ‘shout’ are not the same word in spite of their different OC rimes; at least they must have been variants. → zhào 召 ‘call’ is a different etymon.

jiào 攒 → jiào1 交

jiào 教 [kau³] LH kau³, OCM *krōuh
‘To teach, instruct, set an example’ [Shi], ‘allow’ (to grow) [Guoyu – Harbsmeier 1981: 40].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR kjaw (平去); MGZY (gjaw > gyaw (平去) [kjaw]; ONW kāu.

xiào 效 [yau³] LH gau³, OCM *grōuh
‘Imitate, follow’ [Shu], ‘Eff.] [Zuo].
[C] endopass. of jiào (§4.6), lit. ‘be taught’.

xiào 诮 [təjau³] LH tsiau³, OCM *tsahu
‘Exhaust, finish’ [Xun]; ‘thoroughly understand’ [Xun] > ‘discern, understand’ [Xun]; ‘empty a cup’ [Li] > ‘empty a cup at a wedding ceremony’ [Li].

xiào 诮 [dziau³] LH dziau, OCM *dzau
‘Melancholy, harassed, distressed’ [Zuo], ‘haggard’ [Guoyu]; ‘deteriorate, worn out’ [Shi].

Perh. xiào 惜 [tsəjau³]
‘Be grieved’ [Shi] (the OCM initial might have been *C-s-, though, hence this word is prob. not related to the above items).
[C] Acc. to Wang Li (1982: 218), this wf belongs to → jia1 焦 ‘burn’, but in spite of the prob. semantic parallelism with the wf → jia1 焦 ‘exhaust, burn up’) this is not certain.

jiào 嗷 → jiào 嘚

jié 结 → xié1 协

jié 皆 [kai³] LH kei, OCM *krō, OCB *krij → [T] ONW kei
‘Be together with, agree, all’ [Shi]; ‘be or do in unison’ [Shi]. Perh. → jiē1 阶 ‘stairs’ (harmonized steps?) belongs to this wf. CVST (2: 78) relates jiē ‘all’ to WT k‘ría ‘10,000’ as well as to shi1 翔 ‘multitude’.

xié 携 [kai³] LH kei, OCM *krō?
jié

jié₃ 姁 (tsięp) LH tsiap, OCM *tsap
Eyelashes' [Zhuang].
[EN] This word is associated with widely distributed phonemestic etymon 'wink, blink' in East and SE Asia with the rime *-ap and various initials (see R. Bauer LTBA 15:2: 151–184 for an exhaustive collection). TB: WT tsu-ab-ts'ab 'to blink'.

jié₃ 揀 → jie₃ 揀

jié₄ 睞 (kjat 3) LH kiat, OCM *kraet — [T] MNTang kar, ONW kar
'Ram,' perh. 'castrated ram' [SW], is prob. cognate to → gù₃, 㚘 'ram'.
[EN] ST: Kanauri k'as, Chitk. k'as, k'as 'sheep'.

jié₅ 渋 (gjat 3) LH giat, OCM *grat — [T] Sin Sukchu SR gje (入)
'To dry up' (pool, swamp) [Shi, Zhouh]. For related and similar items, see → gù₃, 固 (incl. Table G-1) and → jian₂ 墅 (incl. Table J-1).

jié₆ 結 (kiet) LH ket, OCM *kit — [T] MNTang kiar < kiar, ONW ket
'To tie, knot' [Shi].

jié₇ 解 (kie) LH kes, OCM *kits
'Hair-knot' [no pre-Han ex.].
[EN] ST: PTB *tok (STC no. 484) > WT k'iyig-pa, bkyigs 'to bind', WB kyac 'twist tight', JP gyišt 'to tie, bind'; Kuki d'k'ik. <> The relationship with Tai: S. klatD/S < *kl, Po'ai čet 'button, pin together' (Li 1976: 45) is unclear.

jié₈ 救 → hánɡ₃ 頭

jié₉ 縫 (tsiet) LH tsat, OCM *tsıt — [D] PMin *tsat ('Cut') > 'regular division' [Li], 'knots or joints on bamboo or other plants' [Shi], 'degree, rank' [Shu].
[EN] ST: Sin Sukchu SR tjse (入); MGZY dzja (入) [tsje]; MNTang tsiar < tsiar, ONW tsat

jiè 切 (tsiet) LH tset, OCM *tshit — [T] MNTang tsıər < t'ər, ONW tset
'To cut' [Shi]. This graph also writes a homophone which is cognate to → jie₃, 即.

jiè ST: tsik: PTB *tisik (STC 64): WT t'sigs 'joint, knot, knee'; Garo tšik, Lepcha tšik 'joint'; PLB *dzik > WB c'tac 'a joint' (Bodman 1980: 139).
Perh. not related to jié 截 (dżet) [dżet] 'džet ('To cut, trim') > 'restrain, govern' [Shi] (Unger Hau-ku 39, 1992) because of the different OC vowels. An alloform may be → xì 腳 'sit knee'.

jiè₁₀ 檢 (tsjjet) LH tset, OCM *tsrят
'Comb, to comb' [Shi], 'to scrape' 腳 [Zhouh].
[EN] The several words for 'comb' in CH and TB look somewhat similar, but precise phonological correspondences are elusive. jié appears to be close to PTB *m's(y) 'comb' (STC no. 466) > JP pa₅5ₕ, st₅5 'comb, rake' m'sat 'to comb, rake, brush'; Mikir ig'i in m'si 'comb', Lepcha pür-sïṭ [par-śit] 'brush' [Bodman ICSTLL 1987: 17]. Although an additional final consonant like *t here is not unusual for CH, the initials are rather different. Syn. → shū₃, 梳.

jiè₁₁ 檢 → jié₁₀ 檢

jiè₁₂ 棒 (kiet, yiet) LH ket, get, OCM *kêt, *gêt
'To put around and measure' (e.g. a tree) [Zhuang].
jiè, jìn

jiè3 裂 (kãi) LH kes, OCM *krã(t)s?
 'Itch, scabies' [Li] is prob. derived from, or cognate to, jià 瘀 (ka) *krãi 'scabies' [SW] (so Wang Li 1982: 432), hence < *krãi-ts. Alternatively, it could perh. be the same etymon as → jiè1 简 'scales'.

jiè4 裂 (kãi) LH kes, OCM *krãts or *krãts?
 'Mustard plant' [Li].

jiè5 界 (kãi) LH kes, OCM *krã(t)s
 'Boundary, limit' [Shi] looks like a variant of the LH homophone → jiè6 結 'arrive, limit' (difference in OC vowels *e vs. *i), and may be the same as → jiè1 简, 约 'armour' in the sense of security encirclement, and thus perh. be a derivation from → jiè3 戒 or 裂 'guard against'.

jiè6 結 (kãi) LH kes, OCM *krã(t)s
 'To end up, arrive, end, limit' [Shi] is prob. related to → jiè3 界 'limit'.

jiè7 價 (tsjâk) LH tsiaok OCM *tsâk — [T] ONW tsiak — [D] PMin *tsiak
 'To borrow' [Zuo].

jiè 價 (tsjâk) LH tsiaok OCM *tsâk
 'To lend' [Lunyu] (Herforth 1984, acc. to Takahama 1996 II: 130).

jiè3 戒 (kãi) LH kes, OCM *dzak
 'To guard against, be on guard, take care, admonish' [BL, Shi], 'notify, invite' [Zuo]; 'to warn' [Yi], 'prohibit' 諫 [Xun].

jiè7 戒 (kãi) LH kes, OCM *dzak
 'To guard against, be on guard, take care, admonish' [BL, Shi], 'notify, invite' [Zuo]; 'to warn' [Yi], 'prohibit' 諫 [Xun].

jiè9 戒 (kãi) LH kes, OCM *dzak
 'To guard against, be on guard, take care, admonish' [BL, Shi], 'notify, invite' [Zuo]; 'to warn' [Yi], 'prohibit' 諫 [Xun].

jiè10 戒 → gè3 副

jìn1 吼 (kjan) LH kin, OCM *kon — [T] ONW kin
 ' próximo ' [BL, Zuo].

jìn2 近 (kjan) LH kin, OCM *kon
 'Today, this (day, year)' [OB, BI, Shi].

jìn1 禁 (kjan) LH kin, OCM *kom
 'Metal' [BI, Shu, Shi], 'bronze, gold' [Shi].
 [T] Sin Sukchu SR kin (平), PR. LR kin: MGZY gim (平) [kim]; ONW kin.
 [D] PMin *kim 'gold'; Y-Guangzhou 5kimBi
 [E] Benedict (HJAS 4, 1939: 223) connects jìn with PTAi *yunM 'gold' and S. kamBi 'bright, striking' (used to describe rubies or pure gold), 'blood-red' (looks like a loan from Cantonese). Note the similarity with the wf → tân, 淡.

jìn4 淡 ( tiân ) 简, 穷

jìn5 简 (kjan) LH kin, OCM *kan — [T] ONW kin
 'Sinew' [Meng], <- PTAi *ginA1 = A2 'tendon, sinew' is perh. related.

jiān 筋 (kjan, gjinC) LH kian, kïanC, OCM *kan, gans
 'Sinew' [Chuci].

jìn5 筋 (kjan) LH kin, OCM *kan — [T] ONW kin
 'Sinew' [Meng], <- PTAi *ginA1 = A2 'tendon, sinew' is perh. related.

jiān 筋 (kjan, gjinC) LH kian, kïanC, OCM *kan, gans
 'Sinew' [Chuci].

jìn6 简 (tsjâmC) LH tsimC, OCM *tsâm(s)
 'Halo around sun' [Zuo] appears to be related to WT k'yim 'halo around sun' = k'yims-pa 'be encircled by a halo' = gyim-pa 'circuit (WT)' (Bodman 1980: 58). However the initials are difficult to reconcile.

jìn1 紧 (kjenB) LH kinB, OCM *kin?
 'To bind tight' [Chuci, SW]. Acc. to SSYP 211, this is the only word with a velar initial k- in chângniû div. IV and is prob. a southern (note Chuci) non-palatalizing dialect variant of the regular palatalized form zhên 紮 (tsjâm) 'to twist (someone’s arm)' [Meng] (so Yupian; Schuessler 1996, JCL 24.2).

jìn1 紧 (kjenB) LH kinB, OCM *kin?
 'To bind tight' [Chuci, SW]. Acc. to SSYP 211, this is the only word with a velar initial k- in chângniû div. IV and is prob. a southern (note Chuci) non-palatalizing dialect variant of the regular palatalized form zhên 紮 (tsjâm) 'to twist (someone’s arm)' [Meng] (so Yupian; Schuessler 1996, JCL 24.2).

jìn1 紧 (kjenB) LH kinB, OCM *kin?
 'To bound tight' [Chuci, SW]. Acc. to SSYP 211, this is the only word with a velar initial k- in chângniû div. IV and is prob. a southern (note Chuci) non-palatalizing dialect variant of the regular palatalized form zhên 素 (tsjâm) 'to twist (someone’s arm)' [Meng] (so Yupian; Schuessler 1996, JCL 24.2).

jìn1 紧 (kjenB) LH kinB, OCM *kin?
 'To bind tight' [Chuci, SW]. Acc. to SSYP 211, this is the only word with a velar initial k- in chângniû div. IV and is prob. a southern (note Chuci) non-palatalizing dialect variant of the regular palatalized form zhên 素 (tsjâm) 'to twist (someone’s arm)' [Meng] (so Yupian; Schuessler 1996, JCL 24.2).

jìn1 紧 (kjenB) LH kinB, OCM *kin?
 'To bind tight' [Chuci, SW]. Acc. to SSYP 211, this is the only word with a velar initial k- in chângniû div. IV and is prob. a southern (note Chuci) non-palatalizing dialect variant of the regular palatalized form zhên 素 (tsjâm) 'to twist (someone’s arm)' [Meng] (so Yupian; Schuessler 1996, JCL 24.2).

jìn1 紧 (kjenB) LH kinB, OCM *kin?
 'To bind tight' [Chuci, SW]. Acc. to SSYP 211, this is the only word with a velar initial k- in chângniû div. IV and is prob. a southern (note Chuci) non-palatalizing dialect variant of the regular palatalized form zhên 素 (tsjâm) 'to twist (someone’s arm)' [Meng] (so Yupian; Schuessler 1996, JCL 24.2).

jìn1 紧 (kjenB) LH kinB, OCM *kin?
 'To bind tight' [Chuci, SW]. Acc. to SSYP 211, this is the only word with a velar initial k- in chângniû div. IV and is prob. a southern (note Chuci) non-palatalizing dialect variant of the regular palatalized form zhên 素 (tsjâm) 'to twist (someone’s arm)' [Meng] (so Yupian; Schuessler 1996, JCL 24.2).

jìn1 紧 (kjenB) LH kinB, OCM *kin?
 'To bind tight' [Chuci, SW]. Acc. to SSYP 211, this is the only word with a velar initial k- in chângniû div. IV and is prob. a southern (note Chuci) non-palatalizing dialect variant of the regular palatalized form zhên 素 (tsjâm) 'to twist (someone’s arm)' [Meng] (so Yupian; Schuessler 1996, JCL 24.2).

jìn1 紧 (kjenB) LH kinB, OCM *kin?
 'To bind tight' [Chuci, SW]. Acc. to SSYP 211, this is the only word with a velar initial k- in chângniû div. IV and is prob. a southern (note Chuci) non-palatalizing dialect variant of the regular palatalized form zhên 素 (tsjâm) 'to twist (someone’s arm)' [Meng] (so Yupian; Schuessler 1996, JCL 24.2).

jìn1 紧 (kjenB) LH kinB, OCM *kin?
 'To bind tight' [Chuci, SW]. Acc. to SSYP 211, this is the only word with a velar initial k- in chângniû div. IV and is prob. a southern (note Chuci) non-palatalizing dialect variant of the regular palatalized form zhên 素 (tsjâm) 'to twist (someone’s arm)' [Meng] (so Yupian; Schuessler 1996, JCL 24.2).
[D] Y-Guangzhoub 33km

[jīng] 金 - jīng

[jīng] 金 (kèn) LH kēn, OCM *kēn
'To pass through' [Zuo], 'flow through, communicate' [Zhuang] > 'to take as a norm, practice' [BI, Shi] > 'a warp' (in weaving) ('what is being passed through') [Zuo], see next.

[T] Sin Sukho SR kēn (平); MGZY gīng (平) [kīn]; MTang kēn < kēn, ONW kēn

[jīng] 经 (kèn) LH kēn, OCM *kēn
'To pass through' [Zuo], 'flow through, communicate' [Zhuang] > 'to take as a norm, practice' [BI, Shi] > 'a warp' (in weaving) ('what is being passed through') [Zuo], see next.

[T] Sin Sukho SR kēn (平); MGZY gīng (平) [kīn]; MTang kēn < kēn, ONW kēn

[jīng] 经 (kèn) LH kēn, OCM *kēn
'To pass through' [Zuo], 'flow through, communicate' [Zhuang] > 'to take as a norm, practice' [BI, Shi] > 'a warp' (in weaving) ('what is being passed through') [Zuo], see next.

[jīng] 经 (kèn) LH kēn, OCM *kēn
'To pass through' [Zuo], 'flow through, communicate' [Zhuang] > 'to take as a norm, practice' [BI, Shi] > 'a warp' (in weaving) ('what is being passed through') [Zuo], see next.

[jīng] 经 (kèn) LH kēn, OCM *kēn
'To pass through' [Zuo], 'flow through, communicate' [Zhuang] > 'to take as a norm, practice' [BI, Shi] > 'a warp' (in weaving) ('what is being passed through') [Zuo], see next.

[jīng] 经 (kèn) LH kēn, OCM *kēn
'To pass through' [Zuo], 'flow through, communicate' [Zhuang] > 'to take as a norm, practice' [BI, Shi] > 'a warp' (in weaving) ('what is being passed through') [Zuo], see next.

[jīng] 经 (kèn) LH kēn, OCM *kēn
'To pass through' [Zuo], 'flow through, communicate' [Zhuang] > 'to take as a norm, practice' [BI, Shi] > 'a warp' (in weaving) ('what is being passed through') [Zuo], see next.

[jīng] 经 (kèn) LH kēn, OCM *kēn
'To pass through' [Zuo], 'flow through, communicate' [Zhuang] > 'to take as a norm, practice' [BI, Shi] > 'a warp' (in weaving) ('what is being passed through') [Zuo], see next.

[jīng] 经 (kèn) LH kēn, OCM *kēn
'To pass through' [Zuo], 'flow through, communicate' [Zhuang] > 'to take as a norm, practice' [BI, Shi] > 'a warp' (in weaving) ('what is being passed through') [Zuo], see next.
**jīng** 両 (kēn², gān²) LH kēn², gēn², OCM *kēn², *gēn²

'Neck' [Zou], unlike → lǐng 頸 also figuratively 'neck' of a vessel, jug, etc.

[D] Y-Guangzhou kēn², Táishān kēn², but Mandarin bên² 鳴子 'neck'.

**jiāng** 劍 (kēn²) LH kēn², OCM *kēn²

'Cut the throat, cut off the head' [Zou] (Karlgren 1956: 16).

**jiān** 監 (kēn², kan) LH kēn² ~ kan, OCM *kēn² ~ *kēn

'Long-necked' [Zhouli] is prob. connected with this w. The alternative connection with jīān 角 [ken²] *ken 'shoulder' seems more semantically less likely.

[W] Wang Li (1982: 321) considers this w. cognate to → gān² 亢 'neck' and the alloglosses there. PMY *kēn² 'neck', throat is prob. related to the latter rather than to jiāng. Since there is no trace of an *r in the OC initial, jiāng is prob. not related to → lǐng 頸 'neck', but rather belongs to the ST root *kë to which also belongs → jié² 截.

ST *kë-C 'concave' (of part of the body and the like): WT rēk′ba 'lean' ≠ rzek′waist' (Beyer 1992: 117), see → jié² 截 for more; JP kē⁵⁵ < kek⁵⁵ 'concave' (of the neck, a jug) (STC no. 251); 'indentation, pit'; Chepang kék′ 'neck'; NN *C-geń 'waist', SCH Khami (Awa) ken 'waist', Chepang ken²- and kičh′ 'be constricted, narrow-waisted' ~ kiçh′ 'be constricted, narrow' (waist). See Table J-2 for synopsis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table J-2 for jiāng 頸</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concave / lean</th>
<th>WT rēk′ba lean</th>
<th>JP kē⁵⁵ &lt; kek⁵⁵ lean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neck</td>
<td>WT ske neck</td>
<td>Chepang kék'neck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waist</td>
<td>xiē 削 *kēt′, get belt WT rzek'waist' JP jin³-jin⁵⁵ waist</td>
<td>NN gān²-geń waist KC Khami ken waist Chepang ken²-narrow-waisted</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**jīng** 景 (kēn²) LH kēn², OCM *kēn²? — [T] ONW ken

'Bright' [Zou], 'measure by the shadow' [Shi]. The semantic association between 'light' and 'shadow' is also found in the w. → yīng¹ 英. A derivation is prob. → jīng 鏡 'mirror'. Syn. → liàng 亮, yīng 英.

**jiāng** 汨 (kēn²) LH kēn², OCM *kēn²

'Lightning' [Zou]. [Shi] 'Soaked'. The MCsequelize also has kēn² for _dns_ (kēn²). The w. can also mean 'to rain', "rain down on'.

**jiāng** 傾 (kēn²) LH kēn², OCM *kēn²

'Be quiet, tranquil, peaceful, to rest' [Shi]; 'to stop, keep quiet' 靜 [Lü]. HST: 55 adds jīng 靜 in the sense of 'pure' to this w.

[O] Perh. MK: OKhmer sin′/sing′ 'to stay in at, abide, be still, contemplative...'. Note also TB-JP sim′/quiet, peaceful', but the difference in finals remains unexplained.

**jiāng** 淨 → qīng² 清

**jiāng** 內 → xīng², jīng 羣

**jiāng** 4 動 → qiáng 強彊

**jiāng** 竟 (kēn²) LH kēn², OCM *kēn²

'Boundary, limit, border' [Zou]; 境 [Meng] is an alloform of → jīáng 頭.

**jiāng** 競 (kēn²) LH kēn², OCM *kēn² — [T] ONW ken

'Come to an end, entirely' [Shi].

**jiāng** 鏡 (kēn²) LH kēn², OCM *kēn²

'Mirror' [Dadai Liji].

[T] Sin Sukhia SR kēn² (¡?); MGZY gēn² (¡?); ONW ken

[D] PMIN *kēn² → Amoy kēn², Fúzhōu kiān²

[O] Etymology not certain. Baxter (p. c.) derives jīng from → liàng 亮 'light' with the nominalizing k-prefix (§5.4); alternatively, the word may be cognate to → jīng, jīng 景 'bright'. Perh. the late word jīng is a re-etymologization of the nearly identical word → jiān 監 (kēn²) 'mirror'.

**jiāng** 惡 → jīng², 驚

**jīng** 洞迦 (yiwen²) LH yuèn², OCM *wèn²

'Distant' 洞 [Shi], 燦 [SW] (also read xiàng; GY also has kēn² for 迴).

**jīng** 洞迦 (yiwen²) LH dèn²-yuèn², OCM *dèn²-wèn²

'High, distant' [Chuci].

**jiāng** 堽 (kēn²) LH kēn², OCM *kēn²

'Outlying parts, far from the capital' [Shi].


**kuān** 洞迦 (yiwen²) LH huèn, OCM *kwełą

'Far away' [Shi] is prob. a variant of the stem as final nasals can alternate after front vowels (§6.4.1).

[O] MK: Khmer vënha /wèn/ 'be far, distant, long' ≠ lvena /lowän/ 'be far off, distant, remote' ≠ chvena /lowän/ 'be situated in the off side, be abnormal, queer, eccentric, unorthodox, left (hand)'. For a possible semantic parallel in OC, see → kuāng 狂. The root is perh. also encountered in PTB *wi > WB we² 'far', PL *we² 'be far, dull'; possibly also Kanauri wi' 'high'. The relationship with → jiāng 惡 and → yīng² 永, if any, is not clear.

**jiāng** 惡 (kēn²) LH kēn², OCM *kēn² or *kron²?

'Be far away' [Shi]. The relationship with similar items → jiāng 洞迦 and → yuán 園, is not clear. Sagart (1999: 104) derives jīng from → yīng² 永 'be long, distant'.

A derivation may be → kuāng 狂, although the MC vowels do not agree.

**jiāng** 淪 (yiwen²) LH guīn ?, OCM *grün < PCH *srün, OCB *grún (?)

'Be distressed, bothered' [Shi]. This word looks like a variant of → qiáng 競, di (gjöwōn) LH geön 'be distressed'. Otherwise, this word may belong to → hūn 混渾.

**jiāng** 看 → yīng² 永

**jiāng** 競 (kēn²) LH ku², OCM *kēn², OCB *k(r)jüs — [T] MTang keu < kiu, ONW ku

'To search into, investigate' [Shi].

**jiāng** 救 (kēn²) LH ku², OCM *kēn², OCB *k(r)jüs

'To save, help, relieve' [Shi]; in this w. the consonant C*-h appears to be the common
jiǔ — jiǔ

This wš is perh. ultimately ST: TB-WT geū / kēu-pa, gēs / lēu, gēa / lēu (< *hjlu?) 'to twist, twine, plait, braid' | geš 'screw', WB k'yu 'twist off (fruit) with pole', Lushai kiūl "elbow" [Weidert 1975: 8].

Many variants are found under GSR 1064 and 1069. Baxter (1992: 513) adds → miōs | to 'lie to' this group. Allophones are → qiu, jiū, jiō, jiōng, and perh. → jiāō, 給.

jiú₄ 非 (kjaub) LH kuo, OCM *ku? — [D] PMin *ku? > Xiāmén ku⁴ 'Leek' [Shi]. Unger (Hao-ku 36, 1990: 48) relates jiú to WT sko(-tse) 'wild onion'.

jiú₃ 酒 (tsaub) LH tsuī, OCM *tsiu? — [D] PMin *tsiu? > Xiāmén, Fūzhōu tsuī 'Wine' [OB, BI], 酒 [Shi]. The word also was read in tone A in Shījīng (Mattos 1971: 10).

jiú₂ 嫫 (kjaub) LH ku, OCM *ku, OCB *kruij − [T] MTang keu < kiu, ONW ku 'Pigeon, dove' [Shi] is today's meaning, but what bird it referred to in ancient texts is not certain.

[For taboo considerations, some southern dialects have an aspired initial (A. Yue Hashimoto, p. c.): Y-Guangzhou and Hongkong keu⁴ - k'ae⁴, Foshan, Nanhai et al. k'ë:, also M-Xiāmén kiu⁴ - k'ei².

ES: Because of *ku’s onomatopoeic nature there are variant forms in ST, some with medial -r-, some without: PTB *k'wa (STC no. 495) 'dove' > Mīri pokū, Meithei k'ũ-ra, 'pigeon' (STC: 185; HST p. 118); PTB *m-k'ruw: PLB *N-k'ruw > WB k'ũw-'k'ũw > k'ũu > k'ũu. Kūk *m-k'ruw > Khami iŋ mak'ũu. The Tai word looks like a loan from a Yêu dialect, yet PTai also had a medial *r-: S. khau⁴ *khr- > *hr- 'dove'.

jiù₁ 纈 (kjaub) LH kiu, OCM *ku? (− kwa? ?), OCB *k(r)u? 'Nine' [BI, Shi]. The graph was apparently invented for a word 'to tend' → jiū 黥; in ST it is also homophones (dgu).

[T] Sin Sukhu SR kiu (t); MGZY giw (t) [kiw]; MTang keu < kiu, ONW ku 'Pigeon, dove'

[DE] PMin *ku²; M-Xiāmén, Fūzhōu kau⁵, PWMin *kiu²; Y-Guangzhou k'au²

[ES]: PTB *kwa (HPTB: 24) ~ *kwa (HPTB: 140): Lushai ku⁴ < ku? (< ?), but *k(t)u? (< ko?)... [STC no. 13] (for the mence see §10.2.3). Tangam 'ku: nine, WT dgu; PLB *g'au² [Matisoff], PL *gō² [Bradley]; WB kui⁵, Garo sku. − PTai *kju⁴: S. kau⁴ 'nine' like a Cantonese loan.

jiù₂ 久 (kjaub) LH kuo, OCM *ku? or *k'au? ?, OCB *k(j)u? 'Long time, long time ago' [Shi] > 'wait' [Zuo].

[T] Sin Sukhu SR kiu (t); MGZY giw (t) [kiw].

[DE] M-Xiāmén kōu², Y-Guangzhou k'ōu²

[ES]: MK: Wa-Lawa-Balung *-k'au, it may be a CH loan.

jiù₁ 纈 (kju²) LH kiu, OCM *ku?, OCB *k(r)w? 'To twist, plait' [Shi], unite [Zuo].

jiù₂ 纈 (kju²) LH kiu, OCM *ku?, OCB *k(r)w? 'To twist', 纈 [Lî], 纈 [Yîli], 'down-curving (branch)' [Shi].

[DE] Sagart (1999: 105) connects jiù to a Xīnzhōu 欢州 (Jin) dialect word koʔ-ľa 'awkward of (a person’s behaviour, ...'

[KT]: The outside connections suggest an original *klu: PTai *kliau² (?); S. kliau⁴ 'to wind around, twist a string', Sae kleeu⁴: S. kiau⁴ 'to wind around, twist'.
jiù - jū

jiù 5 救 → jīu 1 究

jiù 6 就 → zāo 2 造 (tsāu'C)

jū 1 車 → chē 車

jū 2 居 (kjwo) LH kio(C), OCM *ka', *ka?, *kah
‘To dwell, settlement, tranquil, comfortable’ [Shi], ‘set down’ [Lun]. Shijing rimes indicate an early form *ka?; later *ka' and *kah are equally common (Mattos 1971: 309). This may be an OC phonological variant of → chū, 居.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ky (音频平) MGZY guu (音频平) [ky]; M: Tang ky < kə, ONW kə < kio (?)

[jū 6 居 (kjwo) LH kio(C), OCM *kah, OCB *k(r)jas

[jū] ‘abode: ex. of jū 居 (kjwo) (§4.4), lit. ‘what is dwelled in’.

jū 3 廻 → gū 1 固

jū 4 据 → jū 据

jū 5 落 (tsjwo) LH ts'ia, OCM *tsha
‘Straw’ [Shi] > ‘straw as bottom in shoe’ [Chuci] (also read MC tsjwo, tsjwo;
‘bedding or packing of straw (for objects present)’ [Zhou].

= zū 着 (tsuo, tsjwo, tsjwo) LH ts'ia, ts'ia, OCM *tsha
‘Bedding or packing of straw (for objects present)’ [Zhou].

[C] An alloform is perh. → jiū 製 ‘mat or bedding’ (so Wáng Li 1982: 167).

jū 6 俱 (kju) LH kio, OCM *ko
‘Both, all, together’ [Zuo].


[T] Sin Sukchu SR ky (音频平) MGZY guu (音频平) [ky]; M: Tang ky < kia, ONW kia

‘Be complete, be together’ [BI, Shi] > ‘to provide, arrange’ [Zao] > ‘an implement, utensil’ [BI, Zuo].

jū 7 禦 (kjwo) LH kio, OCM *ko — ONW kiau
‘Colt, young horse’ [BI, Shi].

[jū 6 俱 (kju) LH kio, OCM *ko — ONW kua
‘Colt, young horse’ [BI, Shi].

[jū] Jū is the same etymon as → gōu 狗 ‘puppy dog’ acc. to Wáng Li (1982: 182); however, gōu which comes from a non-ST language, is not a homophone of jū. It is more likely that jū is cognate to PTB *ku(r) or *kor ‘horse’ (HPTB: 385), in Monpa kur-ta < ku-rta ‘horse’ (rta < WT ‘horse’), Tani *ku, JP kum-ra < ku-ma hysteria’ ‘horse’ (ma ‘horse’); Lushai sa-ph-kə ‘a horse, pony’ (but acc. to Lorrain p. 400 this word is derived from kə ‘coat’), Mnr kə-yaa (Löffler 1966: 123). For the loss of final -r, see §7.7.5. Alternatively, one may consider jū cognate to → qū 高 *kho ‘to drive’ (a horse), ‘gallop’.

jū 8 狗 → gōu 1 句钩构區

jū 9 狗 → jū 據

jū 1 局 → qū 1 曲
The earliest graph 亀 imply an *r in the OC initial, though. For the finals, see §3.2.2.

jū 3 矩 (kjw) LH kye4, OCM *kwa?
‘Carpenter’s square’ [Meng], ‘rule, law’ [Lun]; ‘troops drawn up in a square’ 拦 [Zuo].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR ky (t); MGZY gyu4 (t) [ky]; MTang ky < kuo, ONW kuo
κυό 拦 (kuv) LH kuo, OCM *kvat
‘Carpenter’s square’ [Xun].
[<] nominal t-suffix (§6.2.1).
[<]] Possibly related to TB-WB kyන ‘carpenter’s square’ (for finals, see §3.2.4), or to WT gwra ‘angle, corner’. Alloform → kuangs 畢 ‘square basket’.

jū 4 拦 ‘square’ → jū 3 矩

jū 5 拦 (kjw) LH kye4, OCM *kwa?
‘Gutter’ [Zhouli].

qū 池 (gjwo) LH qi1 or gyo, OCM *gwa?
‘Watering channel, drain, canal’ [Shu]. For the final dental, see §6.2.1.

qū 腦 (k'wet) LH k'yat, OCM *kwat or *khot?
‘A hole’ [Shi] > ‘opening, breach, gate’ [Lti] > ‘lookout tower over the gate’ [Shi].
[<] aspiration for hollow objects (§5.8.6) plus t-suffix (§6.2.1) of the ST stem, therefore prob. unrelated to → jū 3 拦 ‘crossroads’.

jū 6 拦 (kjwo) LH kio6, OCM *ka? — [T] MTang ky < ONW kâ < kio (?)
‘To rise, surge, start; lift, promote’ [Shi].
[<] This may be cognate to WT k'yo-qa, k'yaq ‘to lift, carry’ (HST: 103) > skya-ba, bsykas ‘to carry’. Alternatively, Baxter / Sagart (1998: 48) relate this word to → yū11 聲 ‘to lift’.

If the root should be *ka or *kja, then → jiê, 揚 and → jiân 揚 may represent forms with additional final consonants. However, a root *ka is so common that many a meaning can be associated with it, and ‘lift’ is also a frequent concept.

jū-juu 拢 → gua 亥

jū 1 趨 (dzw) LH dzic6, OCM *dza?
‘To leak, ooze’ [Li].

Perh. jū 趨 (tjswoc) LH tsic6, OCM *tsah
‘Marshy ground’.

[<] ST: ‘džag-pa, (g)−džags ‘to drop, drip, flow out’ = ts'ag-pa, btsags ‘to cause to trickle, strain’; PBL *tsktk ‘to drop, drip’ [Matisoff TSR: 44], WB cak ‘fall in drops’ = a-cak ‘a drop’ (HST: 152); for CH tone B, see §3.2.2). Loaned into PVM: *k-jzh ‘to drip’ [Ferlus].


jū 4 鬃 (gju) LH gyo4, OCM *gwa
‘To dread, feel apprehension’ [Bl, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR gy (t); MGZY kyu4 (t) [gy]; MTang gy < guo, ONW guo
[E] Li F. (1976: 46) relates this word to Tai: S. klua11 < *kl-i ‘to fear’, and refers also to WT ‘gul’-ba ‘to tremble’.

jū 拢 (kju) LH kyo4, OCM *kwah
‘Be anxious, careful’ [Shi], ‘frightened glance’ [Li].

jū 4 鬃 (gjwo) LH wa6, OCM *wa?
‘Be circumspect’ [Liezi].

jū 4 拢 (jxw) LH hyok, OCM *hwak
‘Anxious look’ [Yi] (also MC kjiwak); ‘scared’ 嬮 [Zhuang].

qū 腦 (kjwq) LH kyo4, OCM *kwag
‘To fear’ [Lti], kuang-kung 恹 ‘to fear, dread’ [Hou Hanshu].

qū 腦 (gjwq) or iuan (?) LH gyo4, OCM *gwa?
‘To frighten, scare’ [Zuo].

[<] The root of this wfb is apparently *wa- as indicated by yū-yu, by the QY initial xį in jūw, and by the loan graph wàng 旺. For the final -ŋ in the last two items, see §6.5.2.

jū 6 涤 (kjwo) LH kic6, OCM *kah
‘To grasp, depend on’ [Shi], also later written 捕. Alternatively perh. related to → jie12 捕 OC *kaw, although the rimes do not agree.
[T] Sin Sukhu SR ky (t); MGZY gyu4 (t) [ky]; MTang ky < kuo, ONW kâ < kio (?)

jū 拢 (kjwo) LH kia6, OCM *ka in jiê-jia 拢 (kjwiot-kjwo) *k-it-ka
‘To grasp’ (a plant) [Shi].

Perh. jū 匹 (kjw) LH kio6, OCM *ko — [T] ONW kuo
‘To grasp, seize’ (people, horses) [Bl, Shi]. The vowels differ, though (§11.1.5).

jū 7 捕 (dzic6) LH dzic6, OCM *dzoh, OCB *dzos
‘To collect, store’ [Zuo].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR dz (t); MGZY tsu4 (t) [dz]; MTang dzw, ONW dzuo

zû 捕 (dzuk) LH dzok, OCM *dzôk
‘Clan, clansmen’ [Bl, Shi], a minimal segment of a lineage → zông 祖 (Chang K. C. 1976: 70) (Wáng Li 1982: 197; CFS: 3: 32). Affiliation with jū is likely in light of etymological parallels in WT (see below) and zû 聾 ‘group’ (→ zāo 擁).

[T] MTang tsuan, ONW tsua4

zū 素 (dzun) LH dzon, OCM *dzôq
and Bodman (BLHP 39, 1969: 334), this is an s-prefix derivation of → tông₁ 同 ‘join’, but see §5.7.

※ zǒng 專 (tsun) LH tson, OCM ʻtsōn
‘Sheaf, bundle’ [Gouyu], ‘numerous’ [Zhuang].


juán 銅 → juán 銅

juán₁ 棲 (kwaw² 3) LH kyan⁴, OCM ʻkron⁴, OCB ʻkron?
‘To roll, roll over, turn over’ [Shi]; ‘to scroll’ 擬.

[T] Sin Sukhu SR kyan (++; MGZGY qyon (++) [kyan]
[EN] ST: Lushai hrua⁴ ‘roll up in the hand, twist’. Prob. an allofam of → quán₁ 棲, but see there. The ‘Tai word is prob. a CH loan: Wuming klan⁴ ʻroll, scroll’ (Bodman 1980: 108), Mun gluən⁴ ʻroll up’ (Haudricourt 1950: 563).

juán２ 擬 (giwaw⁴ 3) LH gyan⁴, OCM ʻgwañ or ʻgi(+i)ons
‘Tired’ [Lunyu].

[T] Sin Sukhu SR gyan (++; MGZGY kwyan (++; [guyen]
[EN] Bodman (1980: 150; also HST: 151) compares the CH word to WT kyor-kyor ‘feebly, weak’ ※ kʻyor-ba ~ kʻyor-ba ‘to reel, stagger, walk as if weak’; CYST (5: 17) connects the next word with Lushai kʻowp⁴ ‘troublesome, tiresome, harsh’.

※ guán 營 (kuán) LH kuän⁴, OCM ʻkwän or ʻkən? ?
‘Be exhausted’ [Shi].

jué 汗 (kiet) LH kuet, OCM ʻkwet
‘To cut off’ [Zuo], ‘bite off’ [Meng], ‘decide’ 決 [Guoce] > ‘farewell words’ 訣 [Lie].
This may be the same word as → jué 汗. An allofam is → qué 汝.

[T] Sin Sukhu SR kye (++; MGZGY gwyə (++; [kye]: ONW kuët

jué₂ 汗 (kiet) LH kuet, OCM ʻkwet
‘To open’ [Zhouli] > ‘open a passage’ [Shui]. This may be the same word as → jué 汗.

※ guái 幫 (kwaw¹) LH kuas, OCM ʻkwarat or (rather ʻkwørats ?)
‘To divide, make a breach’ [Yi].

[EN] perh. a double caus. formation of jué (tone C §4.3; and initial ʻt-causative §7.5)

jué-tí 賽 (kiwet-die) LH kuët-dei
‘A superior type of horse of the northern barbarians’ [Xu Guang, Shiji]; misidentified in SW] (Pulleyblank 1962: 245). The word’s source is unknown, yet it shows some similarity with IE-Tocharian B yakwe ‘horse’ (< PIE ʻekuos) (Pokorny 301).

jué 汗 (kyewt [GY], jiyewt [JY]) LH kuët, quet, OCM ʻkwet, ʻgwet
‘To wink with eyes’ [GY, Liùshâqù 六書故].

jué 贛 → mé₁ 貊

jué₆ 贊 (kewt) LH kyat, OCM ʻkot or ʻkot — [T] ONW kuat
‘Stone’ [Xun] acc. to commentaries; prob. related to Tai: S. kʻot² < g- ʻa stone lodged in a tree’ (Manomaivibool 1975: 236).

jué₇ 贊 (kewt) LH kyat, OCM ʻkot?
Third person pronoun ʻhe, she, it, they, his, her...’ [BL, Shí, Shiu], occasionally it also serves as possessive for the first and second persons in classical Chinese (Takashima JASOS 119.3, 1999: 404–431). Bodman (JASOS 68, 1948: 52–60; 1980: 161) relates this word to WT k’yoĎ ‘you’.

jué₈ 贊 (kyewt) LH kyat, OCM ʻkwat or ʻkot — [D] PMIN ʻkiot ‘bracken’ ‘Fern’ (edible, Pteridium aquilinum) [Shi].
[EN] ST: WT skyas-ma, skyes-ma ʻfern’ (Unger Hao-ku 39, 1992). It also occurs in PTai ʻkwat > ʻkwiĎ ‘kind of edible fern’ (Diplazium esculentum).

jué₉ 贊 (giwet) LH gyat, OCM ʻgot
‘To excavate’ 關 [Zuo] > ʻpull up, dig out’ 撈 [Yi Zhouhu].
[EN] ST: ʻk-o-4 (STC no. 420) > WT krod-pa ‘excavate, dig’ ʻk-ro-kə ‘to dig’ (HST: 63); JP got ‘dig’. This item may be related to → kū 城.

jué₁₀ yū 濁 → xuān₁ 愀

jué₁₁ 愀 (kák) LH kék, OCM ʻkrük
‘To wake up’ intr. [Shi], ‘get insight’ [Lunyu], ‘grateful’ [Zuo].
[EN] ONW kák

※ jīāo 憤 (kaw⁵) LH kuaw⁵, OCM ʻkrhk
‘To wake up’ intr. [Zuo: Cheng 10, 5] is supposedly the reading of this graph in the sense of ‘wake up’ intr. in Shijing, Zuòzhūhùn, and elsewhere, but the Shijing rime requires OCM ʻk, not ʻkh (Baxter 1992: 611), which would agree with the intr. use. The tone C reading may therefore be a later innovation.

[EN] ST: PTB ʻgork ~ ʻkork (STC no. 737): WT dkrog-pa = skrog-pa ʻto stir, churn, rouse, scare’; PLB ʻkrok ‘be afraid’ > WB krok ※ PLB ʻkrk > WB krok ‘frightened’. But these TB items may belong to → jial₂ 撁 instead. HST: 127 combines the latter with this wtf.
[CP] Possible additional allofam: → jial₂ 撁.

jué₁₂ 撁 (kįwak) LH kyop, OCM ʻkwak
‘To seize’ [Lij], may be related to → hu₄ 究, or alternatively to → jǔ₆ 據 OC ʻkah although the rimes do not agree.

[EN] ST: WT ʻgog-pa, bkoŋ ‘snatch, seize, take away’ (HST p. 130).

jué₁₃ 撁 (jì) 擤 → jǔ₃ 擤

jué₁₄ 驚 → jǐo₁₇ 撁

jué₁₅ 眼 → jíáo 擤

jué₁₆ 擤 → jǐo₆ 擤

jué₁₇ 擤 → jǐo₅ 角
Jué – Jún

Jué

均鉤 (jiūe 4) LH kwin, OCM *kwin
‘Be well balanced, equal, alike’ [Shi] > ‘weight of 30 jin’ 鈞 [Bl, Meng], ‘soldiers’ uniform’ 鈞 [Lü].

[k] k-prefix noun of → yún, 鈞 ‘even, uniform’ (§5.4) (Baxter / Sagart 1998: 47).


Jún

钧 (jiūn 4) LH kwin, OCM *kwin
‘Potter’s wheel’ [Zhuang].

[k] k-prefix noun of xún 軃 ‘all round, cycle’, lit. ‘the rotating thing’ (§5.4).

Xún 軃 (jiūn 4) LH zuin, OCM *s-win
‘Everywhere, all round’ [Shi] > ‘ten day cycle, ten (days)’ [OB, Shu], e.g. xún yǒu wǔ rì 旬有五日 (ten / and / five / days) ‘...after 15 days...’ [Zuo: Wen 16, 6].

[jun] Sin Sukhu SR zyn (平); MGZY jūn (平) [zyn]

[k] s-iterative of a root *win ‘rotate’ (§5.2.3). ‘Rotate’ as a metaphor for cyclical time like the ‘ten day cycle, week’ has parallels in TB languages, e.g. Lahu qhā ‘return’ > ‘year’ (Matisoff D. of Lahu: 310). For synonyms, see under → huí 回.

Xún 軃 (jiūn 4) LH zuin, OCM *s-wins
‘Go everywhere, publish throughout’ 開 [Zuo]; ‘devote oneself, wholly given up to’ [Zhuang] > ‘accompany in death’ 蘭 [Zuo], 亷 [QY].

[jun] This wf could equally well belong to either ST *win (→ yún, 瑎) or PAA *wil, the two may have converged in China. PAA *wil seems on balance more likely given the field of meaning in OC and AA (incl. ‘go everywhere, roam, patrol’), and the prehistoric Lóng–shān culture origin of the pottery wheel in eastern China (AA?). AA-Khmer /vil/ ‘to turn, revolve, rotate’ Christ/kravīl ‘ring, circle, loop’ kravēla /krawaeel/ ‘to revolve, go around, go to and fro, roam, patrol, explore’ 亷 chvēla /cwaæel/ ‘to turn, spin, go back and forth, come and go’; Santali gurwel ‘ring’. This root *wil is prob. connected with → wēi, 圓 *wel.

Jún may possibly be the same word as → jún, 均鉤 ‘well balanced’. For an overview of synonyms, see under → huí 回.

Jún

君 (jiūn) LH kun, OCM *kun
‘Ruler, lord, lady’ [Bl, Shi] > ‘treat someone like a lord’ tr., ‘function as ruler’ intr. [Shi]: jún-zǐ 君子 ‘son of a ruler, gentleman’ (A. Waley).

[jun] Sin Sukhu SR kyn (平); MGZY jūn (平) [kyn]; ONW kun

[jun] Etymology not certain. Perh. related to MK: Mon km̥n, k̥m̥n/km̥m̥n/ ‘to exercise royal power, be king, reign’. Mei Tsu-Lin suggest an alternative etymology, see → yún, 尹. Baxter / Sagart (1998: 47) suggest that jún is a derivation by k-prefix from → yún, 尹 LH win ‘straight, administer’, but the rimes do not agree.

Jiùn

軍 (jiùn) LH kun, OCM *kun — [T] ONW kun
‘Troops, army’ [Shi] > ‘encampment’ [Zuo].

[jun] Etymology not clear. Perh. ST: WT g-yul ‘army, battle’ (Unger Hao-ku 35, 1986, 30); since jún is in a *w-initial phonetic series, k- may be the nominalizing prefix (§5.4), note also the prefix k- in WT g-yul; regarding WT y- for CH and foreign *w-, see §12.9. Alternatively, jún could be a derivation from → yún, 尹 運挽 ‘be on the move’; or be related to → qún 羣.
kān

kān 坡 (kām²) LH kām, OCM *khām
‘To inspect, investigate’ [Yupian, GY].
[D] M-Amoy kām 'inspect'.
[E] Perh. related to kān 眼 (kām²) 'to watch' [Meng], both could be variants of jiān 監 *krām(s) 'to look at, inspect' (under → jiān 監).

kān 坎 (kām²) LH kām, OCM *khām
‘Pit’ [OB; Yi]: ‘walled-in well’ 坌 [Zhuang]. (pitted:) ‘uneven, bumpy road’ [Hanshu]. For the aspirated initial which marks hollow objects, see §5.8.6.
[D] Mand. ‘a pit, hole, depression; a snap, a danger’. M-Xiamen hūn³³/kām⁵⁵ 坌 ‘chest, breast’.
[E] Prob. connected with P-Tai *kum⁴⁴¹: S. kum⁴⁴¹ ‘ditch, pit, walled-in well’ (Unger Hau-ku 76, 2002: 72), possibly also with Tai sum⁴⁴¹ < k-'?. (Li 1977: 197). Ahom krum⁴⁴¹ ‘well’; which could suggest that 坌 and 坿 wrote two distinct words **khām ‘pit’ and **khrām ‘well’ respectively (the phonetic in 坉 writes words with an OC medial *r; and medial -r - may disappear in Tai, first in ordinary speech, later also in writing).
[C] Similar etyma are → qīn 琦, → tān 畦, → xiān 溪: these are here tentatively grouped according to connections which emerge in Table K-1. Syn. → kēng, 坡.

Table K-1 for kān, 坝 ‘pit’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>khom</th>
<th>gram</th>
<th>krum</th>
<th>khum</th>
<th>lum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qīn 琦 (kīm⁴⁴¹, njām⁴⁴¹)</td>
<td>*khām⁴⁴¹</td>
<td>xīn 陷陷</td>
<td>*grāms</td>
<td>kān 坝</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TB</td>
<td>mā³³/kām⁵⁵</td>
<td>pit</td>
<td>WB gām⁴⁴¹ &lt; gram⁴⁴¹</td>
<td>a trap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ahom krum⁴⁴¹</td>
<td>a well</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

kān 坡 ‘bank of fields’ → kān 坡

kān 经 (kān³²) LH kān, OCM *khām
‘To sound kham-kham’, the sound of cutting wood’ 坤 [Shi]; ‘to chop’ (wood, a tree), ‘decapitate’ GEW [ZWDCC 6; 12795], a late word [e.g. Shuihūzhān].
[D] PMin *kām³² 经 ‘to fell a tree, slash, chop’
 cf. kān 坡 (kān³²) LH kān, OCM *khām
‘To cut down’ (a tree) [Shi].
[E] Words with the meaning ‘chop, hew, cut’ tend to have the sound-symbolic shape kān³²: aspiration is associated with forceful action (§5.8.5).
ST *kum: TB-Chepang kām³² ‘felled tree’. This is possibly an area word, note MK-Khmer khum⁴⁴¹ ‘to split’. Prob. not related to → kān 经 whose ST root is *kum.

kān 经 → kān 阔

kān 坡 → kān 坡

kān 经 → kān 阔
kāo 當 (kѣ±n) LH kѣ±m, OCM *khәm, *hәms 'Emaciated' [Chuci]. For aspiration, see §5.8.1.

= kān 欖 (kѣ±n) LH kѣ±m, OCM *khәm?

'To eat and not be satisfied' [SW], a Han period southern Chû, Jiâng, Xiâng dialect word for ÂN, 'to desire' [FY].

【ST】WT skom 'thirst', skom-pa 'to thirst', skam-po 'dry', skem-po, bskams 'to make
dry', rkam-pa 'to desire, long for' (Bodman 1980: 60; HST). Bodman suggests also a possible connection with bufio, 'drink', but see there. The MC reading xâm belongs perh. to a different etymology: WT ham-pa 'avarice, covetousness, greed'.

kán 看 (kѣn) LH kѣn, OCM *khәns 'To look' [Hansei].

【T】Sin Suckho SR k'әn (f.), PR, LR k'әn; MGZYZ khan (f.) [k'әn]

【ST】WT mkp'әn-pu 'professor, abbot' (< 'one who knows')

kān 壺 (kѣn) LH kѣn, OCM *khәms 'Cliff, bank, step' [GY].

【D】M-Amoy kѦmCl 'cliff, precipice'.

= kān 壺 (kѣn) LH kѣm, OCM *khәms 'Precipitous' [SW] (also other readings).

【D】In Mand. and dialects the word means 'bank along fields' /; in M-Amoy kѦmCl 'step, stairs'.

qǐn 蓄 (kѦm) LH kѦm, qrѦm, OCM *khѦm 'High river bank' 蓄 [Huang] 'precipitous' 蓄 [Gongyang] (also MC tsѦm).

【D】Mand. 'side of mountain, lofty'.

【E】ST: PBT *ta-j [:m] (STC no. 329): WB kѦm (arch.), kamѦm 'bank of river'; Lushai kѦm-l 'creek'; kѦm-Ѧm (ru -) 'a precipice, cliff, be precipitous' = kamѦm 'bank, shore, mouth' (STC: 183 no. 482; HST: 121), IP nѦnѦm 'river bank' nѦnѦm 'precipice', Garo rikam 'bank, rim'. Loss of a ST pre-initial could be aspirated for aspiration (§5.8.1).

kǎn 枸 (kѦn) LH kѦn, kѦn, kѦn 'Look'

kǎng 康 (kѦn) LH kѦn, OCM *khѦg < *khѦn?, OCB *khѦn — [T] ONW kѦn 'Be at ease, have peace of mind, be prosperous, healthy' [Shi].

【E】ST *khѦn?: Lushai tѦnѦn 'tѦnѦn adv. 'peaceably, quietly, calmly', vb. 'be good, kindly, peacefully, mild, calm'.

kǎng 糗 (kѦn) LH kѦn, OCM *khѦg < *khѦn ?

'Husk of grain' [Zhuang].

【E】ST *khѦn?: WT: gѦn-Ѧu, lѦn-Ѧu 'shell, husk', perf. also Lushai kѦnѦm < kѦnѦm 'shesh round the knot of a bamboo'. This may be an area word: AN le(怩)nѦn 'loosening of the outer skin' (Sagart JCL 21.1.1993: 34).

kàng 剎 (kѦn) LH kѦnѦ, OCM *khѦm

【D】PMin *khѦnѦ 'to store'

【E】Tai: S. kѦnѦm 4 6 < *kѦlѦl 'hold water, confine' (Manomaivibool CAAAL 6, 1976: 15).

kǎo 考 (kѦo) LH kѦu, OCM *khѦh 'Examine' — [T] [Zuo].

kǎo 存 (kѦo) LH kѦu, OCM *khѦh 'Preserve' — [T] [Zuo].

kǎo 晃 (kѦo) LH kѦu, OCM *khѦh 'Straw' [Zuo]: 'dry straw' (in mats) 草 [Xun].

【D】PMin *goѦ ‘rice straw’.

kǎo 晃 → kѦo 䡮 晃

kē 柯 (kѦ) LH kѦ, OCM *kѦi — [T] ONW ka 'An handle' [Shi].

= gѦ kѦ 'Mooring post for a boat'.

= kѦ 柯 (kѦi) LH kѦi, OCM *kѦi — [T] ONW kѦ 'A pair of wheels upon an axle tree' [SW].

【E】This stem refers to a strong wooden post or such to secure something, and is therefore perh. related to → gѦn, 幹 'stem, support', but distinct from → gѦn 竹 'pole'.

kē, kѦ, kѦ 柯 → kѦ 柯

kē 積 (kѦ) LH kѦ, OCM *khѦwѦi < *kѦwѦi 'Class, degree' [Lunyu].

【E】Perhaps a k-prefix noun derived from → kѦ 竹 和 ‘harmonious’ (§5.4), hence lit. ‘the things which harmonize’.

kē 柯 ‘cavity’ → wѦ 2 窖

kē 咱 (kѦ) LH kѦk

【D】Mand. 'to cough'; M-Amoy lit. kѦkѦ, 'sound of coughing'.

= kѦ 咱 (kѦi) [GY] LH kѦѦi, OCM *khѦhѦ 'To cough' 咬 [Li], 欲 [Zuo], Mand. asthmas and coughing'.

【E】These sound-symbolic items are derivable from an OC stem *khѦh. CH aspiration is associated with forceful outward motion (§5.8.5).

Area word. Because OC *a and *o both correspond to foreign /a/, it is impossible to sort out which CH form, 咱 or → 咱, is the direct cognate of the foreign words: PTB *ak (STC no. 323) (or rather *khѦh ?) > Mikir tѦn kѦk 'cough up, phlegm', Lushai kѦkѦm 'eject forcibly from the throat’ kѦkѦm 'phlegm', WT kѦѦs ‘cough’, WB hѦk 'to hawk, raise phlegm'; Suow Karen kѦhѦ ‘phlegm’. ❋ Tai: S. kѦѦkѦ ‘to spit out’, Saek kѦѦkѦ ‘cough up phlegm’. In some ids. like Karen and WB, the initial is analyzed as a cluster kѦ+h, as in AA (see under → kѦ, 咳).

kē 殺 (kѦ) LH kѦk, OCM *khѦh ‘Shell’ [Hou Hanshu], 'hollow' [Lie], i.e. 'husk', 'shell' of egg, mussel, turtle.

【D】M-Xiǎmén lit. kѦkѦ, col. kѦkѦ, Y-GuǎngzhѦu kѦhѦkѦ. In some modern dialects kѦ is the second syllable in the word for ‘head’ → tѦhѦu, 頭.

【E】In sound and meaning, this item partially overlaps with → gѦh, zѦuѦ, 糗 ‘horn’ by aspiration which characterizes hollow objects (§5.8.6).

kē 可 → hѦ 1 何何

kē 渫 (kѦ) LH kѦt, OCM *khѦh, OCB *kѦh ‘Be thirsty’ 渫 [Shi]: ‘thirst for’ 渫 [Guoyu]. Acc. to commentators, ‘to long for’ [Zuo] should be read in tone C LH kѦs (Downer 1959: 284).

【E】For related and similar items, see → gѦ, 固 (incl. Table G-1) and → jѦѦ, 堅 (incl. Table J-1). ❋ Shared with PMY *nѦhѦt [Downer].
kè 克 (kè) LH kè-ok, OCM *kè-ок, OCB *kək
‘Capable, predominate, conquer, vanquish, able, can, be willing’ [Bl, Shi]. CH aspiration is associated with forceful motion §5.8.5 as well as auxiliary verbs §5.8.4. [E] There are no compelling etymological connections; it is added here to show its semantic field which is paralleled in the wf → kăn 堪.

kè2 刻 (kè) LH kè-ok, OCM *kè-ok
‘To cut, injure’ [Shu], ‘engrave’ [Zuo] > ‘intense’ [Guo]. CH aspiration is associated with forceful motion §5.8.5. — Etymology not clear. [T] Sin Sukchu SR k{-aj (}) / MGZY kh'i-y (}) [k’aj]; ONW k’ok

kè 客 (kè) LH kè-ok, OCM *khrak, OCB *khrak
‘Guest, visitor, stranger’ [ShI], ‘opponent, enemy’ [Sunzi]. [T] Sin Sukchu SR k’aj (}), LR k’aj’; MGZY khyay (}) [k’ay]

kè 嘀 (kè) LH kè-ok, OCM *khrak
‘To spit out, vomit’ [LIE]. Chinese aspiration is associated with forceful outgoing motion §5.8.5.

[D] Mand. k‘e ‘noise made in coughing or vomiting’ → kà 嘰 ‘cough up phlegm’, M-Amoy k’sak’ and k’od’D ‘clear the throat’ → k’sak’ ‘expectorate, bring up phlegm’. [E] A variant of the onomatopoetic area word for ‘cough’ → kè 嘰 (see there for cognates). The MC form k’sak could have an irregular div. II vowel for an OC *a (not *ra-), but considering PMV *khrak (< *k-hrack with -r-infix) ‘to spit, spitte’ [Flerus], it is prob. derived from OCM *khrak. In this case, kè must be a substrate borrowing from a MK language: PMonic *k’aak ‘to ask, clear the throat’ [Diffloth 1984: 171]; PSBahn. *h’rack ~ *h’rack ‘vomit’. [C] Perh. this word is related to → lôu, 嘀.

kè, 赫 赫 (kè) LH kè-ok, OCM *khrak
‘Be willing’ [ShI]. [T] Sin Sukchu SR k’aj (}), PR: LR k’an; MGZY khyang (}) [k’an]
[D] PMin *k’an which is the analog to MC k’san and k’yên [B]. [E] Etymology not clear. Auxiliary verbs tend to have aspirated initials (§5.8.4).

kên1 認 (kên) LH kên B, OCM *khran?
‘Sincere’ 真 [Lüshì].

kên2 認 (kên) LH kên B, OCM *khran?
‘Sincere’ [Chuci]. The original syllable was prob. OC / PCH *khwan? which would account for the loss of rounding in one word and merger with *m-an in the other.

kên 龐 (kên) LH kên B, OCM *khran?
‘To gnaw, nibble’ [Post-Han].

kêng 偕 (kêng) LH kêng B, OCM *khran?
‘A pit (hole)’ 坑 [Chuang]. 坑 [Chuci]. A syn. is → kán 坑坎. Aspiration is associated with the meaning ‘hollow, empty’ §5.8.6.
[D] Mand. ‘hole, pit; to entrap’, M-Xiamen col. k’ê A1 ‘a ravine’. SW says that gêng is a dialect variant in the state of Qin, acc. to Yûpian gêng means ‘a small kêng’ (Wáng Li 1982: 281).

kêng2 偕 (kêng, yeq) LH kêng B, OCM *khran?
‘Shank bone of ox’ [SW].

kêng, 熊 熊 (yeq) LH gêng B, OCM *gêng
‘Stalk’ [Chuci]. [E] ST: PTB *k’o > WT k’o ‘marrow, bone, stalk’; WB k’raq-chi < skraq ‘marrow’ (chi ‘oil, lymph’) (STC no. 126). These etyma kêng and → xing, jing 腿 as well as → tîng, 棍, dîng 鍾 tend to converge. For the a ~ e variation, see §11.1.3. See Table K-2 for an overview.

Table K-2 for kêng, 熊 ‘leg, stalk, stalk, marrow’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lg.</th>
<th>*kêng</th>
<th>*kraŋ ~ *kêng</th>
<th>*klin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OC</td>
<td>xíng, jìng 腿</td>
<td>kêng 腿</td>
<td>kêng k’êng shank bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>rkan marrow, thighbones</td>
<td>kêng</td>
<td>kêng stank, stem, bamboo rod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LB</td>
<td>*klin marrow, brain</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-PL</td>
<td>*plin ~ *plin’ fluke</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-WB</td>
<td>k’raq-chi marrow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirik</td>
<td>kén foot, leg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lushai</td>
<td>plin &lt; *plin’</td>
<td>marrow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

kêng 空 (kêng) LH kêng B, OCM *khoŋ, OCB *khoŋ
‘Be hollow, empty’ [Shi]. [T] Sin Sukchu SR k’uŋ (平); MGZY khoŋ (平) [k’uŋ]; ONW k’oŋ
[D] M-Amoy k’aq ‘hollow, empty, a hole’.

kông 空 (kông) LH kông B, OCM *khoŋ?
‘To exhaust’ [Shi].
[C] Exoactive / caus. of kêng (§5.8.2).

kông 孔 (kông) LH kông B, OCM *khoŋ?
‘Empty’ 孔 [Lao]; ‘hole’ 空 [Zhou].
[C] Prob. endoactive of kông, ‘hole’, lit. ‘that which is hollow, empty’ (§4.5). [E] ST: WT k’aq ‘hole, pit, cavity; hollow;’ WB k’aq B (HST: 71) ‘be hollow’; WB id. ‘trench, canoe’ either is the same word or has merged with ‘empty’ (– guân, 槽 ‘coffin’. CH aspiration is associated with the meaning ‘hollow, empty’ §5.8.6. [A] A derivation is perh. → qiang 穹 ‘hollow wooden instrument’, see there for possible MK connections. → qióng 穹 ‘vault, hole’ is prob. unrelated.

kông1 孔 → kông 空

kông2 孔 (kông) LH kông B, OCM *khoŋ?
‘Be afraid, fear’ [BL, Shi]. [T] Sin Sukchu SR k’un (平); PR, LR k’uŋ; MGZY khoŋ (平) [k’un]; ONW k’uŋ
[E] ST: WT gôn(s)-pa, b’kong ‘to desound, be in fear’ (HST: 64).
kōu 拾 (k'ou, k'ju) LH k'ou, k'io, OCM *kho
'To pull up' (a dress) [Li].

gul 撿 (kwi'ai) LH kyas, OCM *kots
'To lift' (a dress) [Li].

[Ε] Perh. related to PTB *ku > WB k'u/h 'take out or up and put in dish, gather'; Yakha k'uu 'lift up, raise'; Bahung ku-to 'bring up' (HST: 103). Syn. under → jiě, 揹.

kōu 口 (k'ou) LH k'ou, OCM *kho?\[OCB *khro\]
'Mouth, opening' [OB, Shi]. Aspiration is associated with the meaning 'hollow, empty' §5.8.6.

[T] Sin Sukhu SR k'saw (上); MGZY k'haw (上) [k'aw]; ONW k'ou.

[Ε] ST: JP k'uu 'hole, hollow'; perh. Lushai kua-l (k'uu) < kua-h 'a hollow, cavity' ≠ kua-l/kua-k 'to open up' (a path). The word has been connected with PTB *ka 'mouth, opening' (STC no. 470) whose direct Chinese cognate is → hù, 口 'door', however.

kōu1 扣叩 (k'ou/g/σ) LH k'ou/g/σ, OCM *khoi/h
'To strike, attack'叩 ([Lunyu].

kōu2 扣 (k'ou) LH k'ou, OCM *kho
'To beat' 敲 [Zhouli], 'beat on some metal object, make noise' 鈴 [Guoyu].

kōn 𨽛 (k'oung) LH k'oung, OCM *khoŋ?
'To beat, pound' [Meng].

[Ε] Prob. area word. ST: WB k'uo < k'uk 'knock, rap' (HST: 142). <> MK: Khmer goŋ/khoŋ 'to strike, hit, beat, knock' (also in sense of striking). CH aspiration is associated with forced motion §5.8.5.

[Ε] Perh. cognate to → kou1, 冠 'rob'. Wang Li 1982: 185 adds to this wtf: k'ao 考 (k'ou) 'to beat' (instrument) [Shi], et a

kōu3 簡 (k'uo) LH k'uo, OCM *kha
'To rob, robber' [Zhou], 'invader, bandit' [Zuo]. This is perh. cognate to kōu1 扣叩.


kōu3 簡 'nestling' → gū14 根

kōu1 農 (k'uo) LH k'uo, OCM *kha
'Withered, dried' [Yi, Li].

[Ε] PMK: Khmer /kha?/ 'to dry up or out, dry until hard, wither'.

kōu2 養 (k'uo) LH k'uo, OCM *kwa
'Dried meat of birds' [Li].

[Ε] For related and similar items, see → gū1 固 (incl. Table G-1) and → jiān2 堅 (incl. Table J-1).

kuā 腿 (k'ua) LH k'ua, OCM *khwā
'Cut open, cut to pieces' [Yi]. CH aspiration is associated with forced motion §5.8.5.

kuā1 睡 (yua) LH yua, OCM *wrā? — [T] ONW yūi 'To cleave' [Li].
kuàng 狂 (gjwǎŋ) LH gyǒŋ², OCM *gǎn, OCB *g³jan
'Be foolish, crazy' [Shi]. The graph was apparently designed for 'mad dog disease, rabies'. — The etymology is not clear; possibly connected with → jiǒŋ, 倭.

kuàng1 氅 (xjwǎŋ²) LH hyǒŋ², OCM *hwaŋ
'To increase, increasingly, how much the more, moreover' [Shi].

[kuàng2 喧 (jwǎŋ²) LH lu, OCM *wa — [T] MTang y < uo, ONW uó 'To enlarge, increase' [Shu; Li].

[kuàng3 喧 'desolate' → guǎng2 廣

kuáng 狂 (gjwǎŋ) LH gyǒŋ², OCM *gǎn, OCB *g³jan
'Be foolish, crazy' [Shi]. The graph was apparently designed for 'mad dog disease, rabies'. — The etymology is not clear; possibly connected with → jiǒŋ, 倭.

kuài 吝 (jwǎŋ²) LH lu, OCM *wa — [T] MTang y < uo, ONW uó 'To enlarge, increase' [Shu; Li].

[kuǎ 関 (kǔat³) LH kʰuot, OCM *kʰot, OCB *kʰot
'Be far apart' [Shi].

[kuán 間 (kǔat³) LH kʰuot, OCM *kʰat-kʰot, OCB *kʰat-kʰat
'Be far apart' (of persons in life and death) [Shi].

[kuǎn 窗 (kǔat³) LH kʰuan³, OCM *kʰwan³ or *kʰn³
'Hole' (as an opening in the flesh, between organs of a carcass) [Zhuan], 'to hollow out' (a piece of wood to make a box) [Hanshu]. Aspiration is associated with the meaning 'hollow, empty' §5.8.6.

[kuǎng1 開 'crooked' → yǒu² 迂紆

[kuǎng2 廣 → jǔ5 摈

[kuǎng3 廣 → qù4, jǔ5 摈

[kuǎng4 開 (kʰjwǎŋ) LH kʰyaŋ², OCM *kʰwaŋ, OCB *kʰjan
'Square basket' → vb. 'put into a square basket' [Shi]; 'get boxed in' (in a military maneuver) [B]; kuǎng-chuánɡ 閱床 'bed' (which is rectangular) [Zhuan] (chuánɡ 'bed'). From the Yijing 54 line 女承衣而賢 nü chénɡ kuǎnɡ wú shí 'the woman holds a basket, it has no fruit' (implying she is barren) derives the euphemism chénɡ-kuǎnɡ 'vagina' (Shaughnessy JAS 51.3, 1992: 591); this is perhaps also the connotation in Shijing 161.1.

[kuǎng5 態 (kʰjwǎŋ) LH kʰyaŋ², OCM *kʰwaŋ, OCB *kʰjan
'Square basket' → vb. 'put into a square basket' [Shi]; 'get boxed in' (in a military maneuver) [B]; kuǎng-chuánɡ 閱床 'bed' (which is rectangular) [Zhuan] (chuánɡ 'bed'). From the Yijing 54 line 女承衣而賢 nü chénɡ kuǎnɡ wú shí 'the woman holds a basket, it has no fruit' (implying she is barren) derives the euphemism chénɡ-kuǎnɡ 'vagina' (Shaughnessy JAS 51.3, 1992: 591); this is perhaps also the connotation in Shijing 161.1.

[kuǎng6 腰 (kʰjwǎŋ) LH kʰyaŋ², OCM *kʰwaŋ, OCB *kʰjan
'Square basket' → vb. 'put into a square basket' [Shi]; 'get boxed in' (in a military maneuver) [B]; kuǎng-chuánɡ 閱床 'bed' (which is rectangular) [Zhuan] (chuánɡ 'bed'). From the Yijing 54 line 女承衣而賢 nü chénɡ kuǎnɡ wú shí 'the woman holds a basket, it has no fruit' (implying she is barren) derives the euphemism chénɡ-kuǎnɡ 'vagina' (Shaughnessy JAS 51.3, 1992: 591); this is perhaps also the connotation in Shijing 161.1.

[kuǎng7 間 (kǔat³) LH kʰuan³, OCM *kʰat-kʰot, OCB *kʰat-kʰat
'Be far apart' (of persons in life and death) [Shi].

[kuǎng8 窗 (kǔat³) LH kʰuan³, OCM *kʰwan³ or *kʰn³
'Hole' (as an opening in the flesh, between organs of a carcass) [Zhuan], 'to hollow out' (a piece of wood to make a box) [Hanshu]. Aspiration is associated with the meaning 'hollow, empty' §5.8.6.

[kuǎng9 間 (kǔat³) LH kʰuan³, OCM *kʰwan³ or *kʰn³
'Hole' (as an opening in the flesh, between organs of a carcass) [Zhuan], 'to hollow out' (a piece of wood to make a box) [Hanshu]. Aspiration is associated with the meaning 'hollow, empty' §5.8.6.
kuǐ 佇 (kʰjweǐ) LH kʰjweŋ, OCM *khweŋ
A stride, distance covered by lifting one leg' (as opposed to bù 迈 'stride of two legs') [Li].

kuǐ 倚 (kʰjweĩ) LH kʰjweŋ, OCM *khweŋ
'Crotch of a man’s leg' [Zhuang] (Karlgren 1956: 16).

[k] ST: WB kʰwai² 'be divided, split, parted' | kʰwai² 'divide, split', IP gai²-gai² 'walk with legs spread wide'. There might have been a *-wa ~ *-ai variation already on the ST level (see → kuǎa 腿) because both OC and WB have these doublets.

[C] This etymology may be related to → qǐng 倾 ‘slanting’, both are connected at least in the minds of those writers who borrowed 倾 for kuǐ [Li]. Wáng Lì (1982: 107) relates → kuǎa 腿 (kʰuwa) ‘to step over, pass over’ to this word family.

kuǐ 跨 (gjwic) 3 LH gwis, OCM *gruŋ ?, OCB *grjuts
‘A box, coffer' [Shu]. Perhaps related to

kuǐ 跨 (gjwic) 3 LH kwis, OCM *kwɔ?
‘Box, chest' [Shu].

kuǐ 騰 (gjwic) 3 LH gwis (騰) or gwic (騰) ?, OCM *gruŋ
‘Food’ 腕 [Shi]. 'to eat' [Huaian] > caus. ‘to present food’ 騰 [Meng].

[k] This word looks like a cognate of → yì 下 (jiwi 4) ‘hand down, present’. However, one would expect a MC div. 4 final, not the div. 3 final which is confirmed by Mand. kuǐ (we would expect Mand. ji or qì in div. 4 syllables of this type). Also, the meanings ‘food’ and ‘present’ suggest different etyma, the meaning ‘to present’ for both is an accidental convergence.

kuǐ 蜊 (kuan) LH kuow, OCM *kún, OCB *kun — [T] ONW kon
‘Elder brother’ [Shi].

[k] Etymology is not clear. STC: 158 n. 428 relates kūn to the same PTB root *kow
‘maternal uncle’ to which belongs → jiǔ 舅. Alternatively, note MK-MMon ko² / ko
‘elder brother’, CH could have added the nominal -n (§6.4.3).

kuǐ 蜊 (kuan) LH kuow, OCM *kún
‘Sons and grandsons, descendants’ [EY, Chuci, Shiming].

[k] Perh. from the AA word for ‘child’: Mon kon ‘child’, PSBahn. kxn, PNBahn. *kon
‘child’, Khmer dial. kûn/kôon/. The Southern word → jiān, 図 is prob. a loan from PVM *kxm.

kuǐ 蜊 ‘numerous’ → qún 群

kuǐ 蜊 a variant of → kēn 應狼

kuǐ 擎 → kūn 因

kuǐ 攖 → kòu, 扣叩

kuǐ 攖 → gùn, 服

kuǐ 攖 (kʰuán) LH kʰuán, OCM *khūn — [T] ONW k’ou
‘To obstruct’ [Yi].

[k] 將 (kuan) LH kʰuán, OCM *khūn
‘Threshold’ [Li].

[k] 將 could be an endoactive derivation from 將, lit. ‘the thing that obstructs’ (§4.5.1); or conversely, 將 could be an exoactive derivation from 將, lit. ‘to serve as an obstruction’ (§4.3.2).
來 - lá

Perh. II 咸 (liěc2) LH les, OCM *rě(t)š
'To arrive, reach, settle' [BI, Shi], a Han period Chù dialect word [FY 1.13].

來 (lái) LH la, OCM *ráp[ti]; 'To year-end sacrifice' to the spirits of the dead and the household, performed in the 12th (last) month' [BI, Zuò, year 655 BC] (Bodde 1975: 49).

來 (lái) LH la, OCM *ráp[ti]; 'To come' [OB, Shi].


來 (lái) LH la, OCM *ráp[k]; 'Let come'; 'to present, reward' [Shi] (Baxter 1992: 338); 'stimulate' [SW].

來 (lái) LH la, OCM *ráp[k]; 'Let come'; 'to present, reward' [Shi] (Baxter 1992: 338); 'stimulate' [SW].

來 (lái) LH la, OCM *ráp[k]; 'To arrive' [Shi].

來 (lái) LH la, OCM *ráp[k]; 'To arrive' [Shi].
lán — lăng

363); the same or a similar graph (written with the phonetic 間 or 閣) also writes a variant of → lián 鏡 ‘lotus seed’.

lán₈ 納 (tān) LH lon⁶, OCM *gu-rān
‘Big wave’ [Meng].

[EN] Huáng Jingui, Shēn Xióng (YYWX 1987:45) suggest that → làng 浪 is a colloquial variant. This word is phonetically too distant from T'ai to be related to S. k’häün⁴⁴ (Wtsiam gān).

lán₉ 間 [barrier] → xián₆ 間

lán₁ 間 → jiān₁ 間

lán₁ 潔 (lián⁴) — [T] ONW lon⁶ — [D] PMin *dian⁴.
‘Laz’ [GY] is perf. a late popular variant of → xián 間 ‘leisure’.

lán₂ 潔 → jiān₁ 間

lán₃ 間 → jiān₁ 鎖 督

lán₄ 鎖 → lián₁ 欒

lán purposes.

lán₅ 欒 (lián³) LH lon⁵, OCM *grāms
‘Overflow’ [Meng], also: ‘flood’ ‘to go excess’ [Shi] > ‘err’ [Zuo], ‘put something into water’ [Guoyu], ‘juicy’ [Li]; also 搶 ‘excess, licentious’ [SW: Lanyiu].

x hàn 槓 (yam⁵) LH gam⁵, OCM *grāms
‘Big bowl, basin’ [Zhou].

x hàn 槓 (yam⁵) LH gam⁵, OCM *gāms?
‘Bathub’ [Huang], probably an *r-less variant of hàn 槓 (yam⁵) above. This w is perf. connected with → lin 惠, words under → chèn² 沈.

lán₂ 槓 → tān₁ 賦

lán₁ 靡 (tān) LH lon⁵, OCM *raŋ < *C-raq
‘Veranda or corridor’ (of a palace or mansion) [Hanfei] [later written 廊] > transferred to a person doing duty there, an official’s title [Zhāngguó and esp. Qin-Han] > ‘young man’ (term of respect) > ‘husband’ (Yu Liming ZGW 1999:645).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR lan⁹ (平); MGZY lan⁹ (四声); ONW lon⁹

[EN] The Northern Min initial s- as in Jiānháng soy⁴⁴ may be the trace of a pre-initial; the SW connects words with this phonetic with initial m- (Mei / Norman 1971: 99).

[EN] PLB *lan⁷ > WB lan⁹ ‘husband’ (Matisoff 1995a: 51) may be a CH loan.

lán₂ 廊 → lán₁ 靡

lán₃ 靡 (tān) LH lon⁵, OCM *raŋ < *C-raq
‘Bamboo shoot’ [Yil].

[EN] Tai: Po’ai laang⁴² < *n㎡raŋ ‘bamboo shoot’ (HCT: 132) or < *raŋ (HCT: 142).

lán₄ 靡 (lián⁴) LH lon⁶, OCM *raŋ — [T] ONW lon⁹
‘Bright, brilliance’ [Shi].


làng 浪 (lián⁴) LH lon⁷

[T] Sin Sukchu SR lan (平); MGZY lan (四声); ONW lon⁹
[EN] The basic meaning is perf. ‘let go and disperse’. Through the Han period, làng occurs in combination with other words: 謂浪 ‘ridicule’ [Shi, Karlsgren transl.], 波浪 ‘wave’ [Nan-Bai chao, GY] (Huang Jingui, Shen Xiong YYWX 1987:44); Huáng and Shēn suggest that làng is a colloquial variant of → lán₈ 納. Prob. not related to W (dia-)... klon ‘wave’; see → rong³ 溝.

lào₁ 劳 (lǎo) LH lou, OCM *rū
‘Calk’ (obsolete) [OB only] > ‘domestic animal’ (Lij). ‘pen’ (for animals) [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR law (上); MGZY law (上) [law]

[EN] Bodman (1980: 84) relates this word to Viet. râu ‘enclosure with fence’, an Old Sino-Viet. loan acc. to Pân Wūyān (1987: 28). This etymon may possibly be connected with → châu 周.

lào₂ 劳 (lǎo) LH lou, OCM *rū
‘To toil, tire’ [Shi] > ‘merit’ [Zuo].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR law (上); MGZY law (平) [law]

n lào 勞 (láo²) LH lou, OCM *rū
‘To recompense’ [Shi].

[EN] caus. derivation (§4.3) acc. to Downer (1959: 283).

lào₃ 良 (lǎo) LH lou, OCM *rū
‘Spirits with sediment’ [Liai].

[EN] ST: WT ru-ma ‘curdled milk’, JP ru-ma ‘liquor’ (Bodman 1980: 93). KT items may be Han or post-Han loans: PTai *x-: S. laú² ‘liquor’, PKS khlaú³ ‘rice wine’. The KT forms do not belong to → jiǔ 酒. It is not clear if and how zhū 酋 (djang⁴), LH ū₂ ‘drink’ ‘new spirits’ (Lij) could be related. Viet. ruoi ‘wine’ is not connected with any of the CH items because of the final -i; one could speculate that it goes with tiăi 釀 (lié⁴⁵) LH leí ‘new unclarified wine’ [BI, Shi] (for the lack of medial w in CH, see §10.2.1).

lào 老 (lǎo²) LH lou, OCM *rū — [T] ONW lou⁹
‘Be old, grow old’ [BI, Shi], the Northern Min initial s- as in Jiān ‘ever se²⁵ may be due to loss of a pre-initial which might have been a velar considering the KS contact with kāo ‘old age’ (Mei / Norman 1971: 99). Old Sino-Viet. rau (Pân Wūyān 1987: 28).

[EN] Etymology not certain. The meanings or vowels of the following TB comparanda are not close to OC: PTB *rau (STC no. 268) > WT ro ‘corpse’; Lep hru ‘be dry’ (of leaf); Lushai roh⁴ ‘be dry, dead’ (of leaf); WB ro ‘very old’ ≠ rwat ‘old, tough’, NNaga *raw ‘old’ (of person).

lào₄ 老 (lǎo²) LH lou, OCM *rāk
‘延伸’ (of a kind of acid soy made of rice or millet) [LI] (so QSR 766p); fermented milk, yogurt, sour milk, kumiss [SW]. This is a loanword from a Central Asian language, note Mongol aiyar ‘< ay ‘fermented milk’ (Pullenblunt 1962: 250–253). This area word appears with the meaning ‘milk’ in Greek (tō gāla, gen. gālaktos) and Latin (lac, lactis) (Karlsgren Deutsche Literaturzeitung 1926). The fermented drink ‘arrack’ may be a different etymon, a loan from Arabic ‘araq ‘fermented juice’ (so Pullenblunt 1962: 250 contra Karlsgren 1926).

lào₅ 疳 (lào⁵) LH lou⁹

is a Northeastern (Cháo-xiān 朝鮮) dialect word of the Han period for ‘medicinal poison’, acc. to FY 3 and SW, and in modern Xiang dialects the col. word for ‘to poison’ which may be related to → liào₃ 療 療 ‘to cure’. Sagart (1995: 210) considers this word to be cognate to → dū 薬 ‘poison’, but Starostin (JCL monograph 8, 1995:...
lé1 勒 (lak) LH lak, OCM *rāk
‘Reins’ [Yili]. Perh. originally ‘lines’ and the s. w. as lé 潮勒饰扮 ‘veins’ (under → lí, 理). < 中 Middle Viet mlgc > nhạc (only in certain expressions) [Maspero 1912: 78].

lé2 潮 (lak) LH lak, OCM *rāuk < *C-rāuk
‘Joy’ [BI, Shi] is thought to be cognate to → yuè 樂 ‘music’.
[T] Sin Sukhu SR law (λ), LR law; MGZY law (λ) [law]; ONW lak

lé1 雷 (lúi1) LH lusi, OCM *rū
‘Thunder’ [Shi].
[D] Mand. Jinán luéi32; Y-Guángzhōu lúi2; K-Méixiān lūi11 [Hanyuci], PMin *lu1(ua): Jiān ‘low soč’; The Northern Min initial s may be due to loss of a pre-initial which might have been a velar considering modern Hénán, Hèběi, and Shānxi dialect forms like hù-léi 呼雷, huī-léi 回雷; also, ‘thunder’ has been written as hui 回 in some Han period texts [Mei / Norman 1971: 99].

lé1 累 (li1) LH lüi, OCM *ru4 [T] MTang lüi, ONW lue

lé1 蚓 (li1) LH lüi1, OCM *rū
‘Crawlers, lians’ 燭 [Guan]; ‘a creeping plant’ 燭 [Shi] [Karlgren 1956: 7].
[*] endoactive of lé1 累 (li1), lit. ‘the thing which is winding round’ (§4.5.1).

lé1 椎 (li1) LH lüi1, OCM *ru4
‘Digging stick’ (handled like a spade) [OB, Meng], originally a two-pronged fork-like spade which originated perhaps in Tai cultures (W. Eberhard Lokkulturen II: 224). This word looks similar to → lí, 粒 ‘plow’. Syn. → s, 稜.

lé1 磺 (li1) LH lüi1, OCM *ru4
‘Pile of rocks’ 磺 [SW, JY]; ‘pile of rocks, big rock’ 磺 [SW, Wenxuan].

lé1-üu 磺 (li1) LH lüi, OCM *ru1
‘Appearance of being strong and large’ [JY, Wenxuan]; ‘high’ (of mountain) [Wenxuan].

lé1-üu 磺 (li1) LH lüi1, OCM *ru4
‘Rock-like 石貌’ [JY, Shanhaijji]; ‘piles of small rocks’ [SW]. 何 seems to be a variant of 異, prob. due to graphic confusion.
[ET] This may possibly have a TB connection: WT ri ‘mountain’, Kanauri rwi ‘high’; note also WB ruiB ‘ridge’, all from PTB *rwi or *rui.

lé1 碌 → lé1 瑄
lé1 瑄 → lé1 纹

lé1 纹 → lé1 累
**If**

Guò Pà consider all these to be dialect words for \( \text{-pî} \), 麻 which is, however, a different word. The Northern Min initial \( s \)- in 麻 as in Jiàn'ōu se\(^{A2}\) may be due to loss of a pre-initial labial (Mei / Norman 1971: 99).

**[E]** Perh. ST: Mru pri ‘kind of leopard’ (Löffler 1966: 147). If WT \( \text{zi}-\text{mi} '\text{cat}' \) (also \( \text{zi-mu} \sim \text{zi-mu} \)) should derive from a hypothetical \( \text{r}^{*}-\text{mi} \), it could be cognate to If. WT bi-\( s \) (\( < \text{-zi} ? \)) ‘cat’ may then even be the equivalent of the CH dialectal \( p \)-initial forms. In this case, the original CH word could have been a compound pî-si 麻麻 ‘(large) cat’ + ‘small cat’. But all this is uncertain, also because of possible Indic influence on WT words, see \( \text{-pî} \).

**Hf**

\( \text{li} \) li, OCM *ra*

‘To control, regulate, administer’ [BI, Shi] is a cognate of \( \text{-li} \), 理. Sagart (1999: 127) relates this word to \( \text{zhī} \) 治 ‘regulate’.

**Hf**

\( \text{li} \) li, OCM *ri or rai* — **[D]** PMin *li ~ *rai*

‘Pear tree, pear’ [Li].

**[T]** Sin Sukchu SR leej (平行), \( \text{PR}, \text{LR li; MGZY li (平行)} \); ONW li

**[E]** This word is also found in PMY: *rai* (Downer 1982). Popular belief derives the name from \( \text{-li} \) 利 ‘sharp, dysenteric’ (Williams 1932: 318).

**He**

\( \text{lei} \) lei, li, OCM *rai ? — **[T]** ONW lei — **[D]** PMin *le.*

‘A traction plow, to plow’ [Lunyu, Guan].

**[E]** KT: Ti'ai *t'ai\(^{A1}\) ‘to plow’, Kam ka'aj ‘plow’ (Benedict AT: 38). PMY *rai\(^{A1}\). Perh. related to \( \text{-te} \) 来, Syn. \( \text{li} \) 相.

**Hf**

\( \text{li} \) li, OCM *ra*

‘Yak 狸 [Guoyu], [Zhuang].


**Hf**

\( \text{li} \) li, OCM *ra*

‘To fasten in a net, get tangled, caught in a net’ 獠 [Shi]; ‘drag into, involve, trouble, anxiety, sorrow’ 獠 [Shu]. An alloform is \( \text{-io}\) 獠 ‘bird-net’.

**Hf**

\( \text{li} \) li, OCM *rai* — **[T]** ONW le

‘To leave, depart from, be dispersed’ [Shi], ‘divide, distribute’ [Li]. It has been suggested that \( \text{ph} \) 仳 (ph\(^{A1}\) / hi\(^{B} \) LH p'hi? / hi? which occurs in Shījīng in the combination p'i-\( \text{li} \) ‘be separated’ represents an old pre-initial, note WT *bral-ha ‘be separated’ (under \( \text{-bān} \), 班)’ (so Dōng Wēiqiū et al. CAAAL 22, 1984: 112f). The Old Sino-Viet. form is \( \text{rei} \) (Pān Wānyūn 1987: 28).

**Hf**

\( \text{li} \) li, OCM *ra*

‘To be separated from, differ from’ [Li].

**[E]** exposs. of \( \text{li} \) 獠 (jīe) (3.4).

**[E]** ST *rai: Mru ria \( < \text{ral ‘separated from’} \) (Löffler 1966: 146; 134), IP ran\(^{33}\) ‘be apart, separated, divided’ \( \text{ni} \) mo\(^{31}\)-ran\(^{32}\) ‘to place apart’ \( \text{nu} \) pa\(^{31}\)-ran\(^{32}\) ‘be separate, sort out’ \( \text{nu} \) ga\(^{31}\)-ran\(^{32}\) ‘to divide, distribute’ \( \text{nu} \) ra\(^{31}\) ‘be parted, separated’ (Wolfenden 1937: 646).

Another derivation from the ST stem *C*-ral is \( \text{-bān} \), 班 with the common ST *l > OC *n. shift.

For an overview of similar items, see Table P.1 under \( \text{-pî} \) 披. Some of the many similar ST roots could be related:

---

**If**

1. *pai* ‘break’ \( \rightarrow \text{pô} \) 破
2. *pai* ‘separate, open’ \( \rightarrow \text{pî} \) 披
3. *brai* ‘open’ \( \rightarrow \text{băi} \) 摧, \( \rightarrow \text{bô} \) 破
4. *tsra* ‘open’ \( \rightarrow \text{zhâ} \) 菱, \( \rightarrow \text{zê} \) 破
5. *par* ‘separate’ \( \rightarrow \text{bān} \), 班
6. *ral* ‘separate, leave’ \( \rightarrow \text{li} \) 離 (this entry)
7. *hral’ ‘split’ \( \rightarrow \text{chi} \) 揍
8. *p(t)ok’ ‘split’ \( \rightarrow \text{pî} \) 副
9. *k-hla’i ‘separate’ \( \rightarrow \text{chî} \), \( \rightarrow \text{chî} \) 諸

Perhaps the stems in *rai (1 to 4) form one large wf, as do perh. the forms in *ral (5 to 7).

**Hf**

\( \text{li} \) li, OCM *rai*

‘To be drooping, hanging down’ (fruit on a tree etc.) [Shi], ‘fall over’ (like a full vessel) [Zuo].

**[E]** ST: WT bryya (c b r-y-ya) ‘to sink down (senseless), faint’; the basic ST meaning may be ‘to droop or fall by its own weight’. Pulleyblank (1962: 215) relates the WT word to \( \text{-pî} \), 罹, but the WT b is prob. a pre-initial.

**Hf**

\( \text{li} \) li, OCM *rai*

‘Fence, hedge’ [Chuci].

**Hf**

\( \text{li} \) li, OCM *rai*

‘Fence, hedge’ [Zhouli] is prob. related.

**[E]** ST: TB: Tiddim gool < rxs’ls ‘fence’.

**Hf**

\( \text{li} \) li, OCM *rai*

‘Lig’ [jie] Li, OCM *rai*

‘Lig’ [jie] Li, OCM *rai* — **[T]** ONW lia

‘Plum’ (Prunus salicina) [Shi], a fruit tree which originated in North China; the Northern Min initial *s* as in Jiàn’ōu se\(^{C2}\) may be due to loss of a pre-initial, PMin *lai\(^{A1}\) (Mei / Norman 1971: 101).

**Hf**

\( \text{li} \) li, OCM *rai*

‘Male tiger’ [jie\(^{B}\) Li], OCM *rai* — **[T]** ONW lia

‘Female tiger’ [jie\(^{C}\) Li], OCM *rai* — **[T]** ONW lia

‘Village’ [Shi]

**[E]** Prob. ST *ria: PTB *rwa > WB rwa ‘town, village’; WT ra-ba ‘fence, enclosure, wall, pen’. For the loss of ST medial *w* in OC and WT, see §10.2.1. Note the Germanic semantic parallel Eng. town < German Zaun ‘fence’. The synonym PTB *gwa ‘village’ may belong to CH qû, 丘. \( < \) Tai: S. rua\(^{A2}\) < *r. ‘fence’ (Li F. 1976: 43) may also belong to this etymology.

Alternatively, this word may belong to \( \text{li} \), 理 ‘divide into equal sections’, but pre- and early-historic Chinese villages prob. were not systematically planned and platted.

**Hf**

\( \text{li} \) li, OCM *rai* — **[T]** Mtang li, ONW lia

‘Cut jade according to its veins’ [Guocel], ‘to divide fields into sections, boundaries’ 理
II

[Shi]: 'a mile' 里 [Shi]. The basic meaning is 'cut in a regular way, divide into equal sections'.

* lè 濟勒 (lak) LH lak, OCM *rāk — [T] ONW lāk

'Vein or duct in soil; fraction' 阿 [Zhouli], 'split according to the veins' (stone) 滹 [Zhouli] > 'engrave' 勒 [Li]; 'space between fingers' 扣 [Yi] > 'a tenth' 仩 [Li]. lè, lē, lēi 'reins' may be the s. w.

This item and → li, 理 are usually thought to be the same etymon: 'divide into sections > regulate'. Baxter (1992: 473) relates these to → plī, 理.

ST: This etymon is often considered to be related to PTB *rī 'draw, paint, write, delimit' etc. (STC no. 429; HST: 66) > Lushai ṭī 'boundary, frontier, limit, line of demarcation', N'ágga rāy 'thread, boundary', and WT *ṭi-ba, 里斯 'to draw, write' 里斯 'figure', WBE nā 'write, delineate, paint', Mru pri 'to scratch' [Löffler 1966: 133]. However, OC *rā corresponds normally to PTB *rā, only rarely to *ri ([§11.2.2]).

II.4 理 (iip) LH li3, OCM *rā?

'To regulate, reason' [Yi]; 'administer' [Lūshì] is prob. related to → li, 理 'regulate', and possibly also to → li1, 理 'envoy'. This item and → li1, 理 are usually thought to be the same word, which is possible: 'divide into sections > regulate'. Middle Viet. màn, mnhè 'reason' [Maspero 1912: 78] could perhaps be a CH loan. A possible cognate may be → jī, 紀.

II.6 理 (iip) LH li3, OCM *rā?

'An envoy' [Zuo], 娘 official' [Guanzi], 'marriage go-between' [Chuci]. This is perhaps the s. w. as → li1, 理 'to administer' [Lūshì].

* shī 史 (sp) LH ṣī, OCM *sī? rā?

'To send, employ, cause' 使 [BI, Shi] > 'a secretary, scribe' 史 [BI, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukhu SR ʂǐ (±), PR, LR ʂǐ; MGY ʂǐ' (±) [si]; MTang ʂǐ, ONW ʂǐ [e] s-caus. of li 理 (iip) ([§5.2.1]).

* shè 史 (sp) LH ṣè, OCM *sè?

'Ambassador' [Zuo] (Downer 1959: 285). The verb 'to send on a mission' [Li] has later been derived from 'ambassador' ([§3.5].

[e] ex. pass. of sh 史 (sp), lit. 'one who has been sent' ([§4.4).

ST: A/A: OKhmer (7th cent. AD) ṭē / rā ~ reel 'to move, change position... has the derivative OKhmer pre / prāsō 'to send' (on an errand or commission), 'to order, assign, appoint, delegate, use, make, employ' ṭē Khmer pāprē 'to write, serve; servant, delegate, representative, minister, service, duty'. Initial p- is the Khmer causative prefix, which OC has replaced with the ST / OC causative prefix *s-.

Alternatively, Unger (Hao-ku 36, 1990: 56) and CVST 2: 77 derive shī 史 from → li4 理里 (iip) 'to mark, draw lines', hence lit. 'scribe'. However, though perhaps cognate to WT ṭī-ba 'to write', it never seems to mean 'to write, record' in OC. Matisoff (D. of Lahu: 498) relates shī 史 to PLB *dżiy! > WB ce 'send on business, employ'.

This wi may belong to a larger group which includes → shī1, 闩仕 (dzıp)'. The issue is further complicated by the question of the position of → shī1 (dzıp) in the overall picture.

II.7 梧 (iip) LH li3, OCM *rā?

'Carp' [BI, Shi] is sometimes thought to be related to Tai: S. plaa 'fish' ~ unlikely.

II.8 禮 (iip) LH lei3, OCM *rā? or *rā?

'Trites, rituals, ceremony' [BI, Shi].

[Etymology not certain. Perh. related to TB-WT ṭe-sa < ryē 'respect' vs. ṭe- (bo) 'lord, nobleman' бро̣ 'to honour, reverence'. Mru ri 'ritual' (Löffler 1966: 147) may perh. come from AA: OMon reh [rež] 'do honour to', reh se 'show respect'. Perh. this is an old area etymology.

II.1 力 (iip) LH lk, OCM *rāk, OCB *C-rāk

'Sinew, strength, force, power' [SHI, Shu].

[T] Sin Sukhu SR ʐǐ (±), MGY ʐǐ (±) [li]; ONW lk

[Baxter (1992: 473) relates this word to → bī, 鬥 'urge, press', Matisoff (1995: 52) relates it to → yī, 翰 'wing' because the CH graph is the drawing of a comparable extremity, an arm. However, the graph may have been intended to represent the sense 'sinew'. CH > Viet cù 'force' [Maspero 1912: 80].

* chī 翰 (iak) LH ʂī, OCM *rāk?

'To strengthen, confirm, make ready' [Shi].

[e] caus. devoicing of li 力 *rāk ([§5.2.2).]

ST: ra 'strength' with the addition of a final *k (§6.1) > PLB *k-ra 'strength, power' > PL *ra 'strength'. The word may possibly be related to → li1, 来 'come'.

II.2 栋 'thorns' ~ jī, 来

II.3 立 (iak) LH lip, OCM *rap, OCB *g-rāp

'To stand, stand up' [BI, Shi], survives in a few dialects, but is in Mand. replaced by zhān 站 (MC tăm), in southern dialects by → jī, 来.

[T] Sin Sukhu SR ʐǐ (±), MGY ʐǐ (±) [li]; ONW lip

[E] ST: g-rāp > PTB *g-rāp (STC no. 246) > 'to stand' > Bahan rap, Kanauri rap, Jiarong ka-rāp. Kachin ṭāp < kryap; PLB *rap; PLB *rāp (HPTB: 35) > Burm. rap (IST: 359), WB rap, Mikir arāp < ṭājap 'to stand', perh. also WT ṭāb 'bottom, foot' (HST: 140).

II.4 笠 (iak) LH lip, OCM *rap 'bamboo hat' [Shi], the Northern Mín initial s- may be due to loss of a pre-initial (Mei / Norman 1971: 101) as also suggested by members of the phonetic series and the Tai word: Wuming klopui < *kl- 'bamboo hat' (Li F. 1976: 45).

II.5 笠 → li1, 来

II.6 史 → li6, 理

II.7 力 (iip) LH lei3, OCM *rits

'Sharpen' [Lùn], harvest [OB], 'be advantageous, profitable, benefit, profit' [BI, Shi]. The graph shows grain cut with a knife.

[T] Sin Sukhu SR ʐei (±), PR, LR ʐei; MGY ʐei (±) [li]; ONW li

[E] ST: PTB *rīt 'reck, cut' (STC no. 371) > PLB *rit! > WB rō 'to reap, mow, shave'; ṭūshāi rīt! / rāt! 'cut, dig, or scrape with a hoe'; Mikir rē- 'be sharp'.

II.8 例 'arrive' → li1, 理

II.9 咸 (lei3, lei4) LH le, OCM *reiks, OCB *C-reiks (Baxter 1992: 404)

Cruel, misfortune' [Shi] > 'stem' [Lùn], ugly [Zhuang] > 'evil demon' [Zhuo]. In Shìfēng the graph is also borrowed for → li1, 弱 (Unget Hao-ku 75, 2002: 65).

II.10 咸 → li1, 来
栗 (lek) LH lit, OCM *rik, OCB *C-rjīt — [T] ONW lit

‘Chestnut’ [Shi] is related to KS-Ten ลิกษิ ‘chestnut’.

栗 ‘dense’ — ძმები

栗 (lek) LH lit, OCM *rit

‘Be apprehensive, careful, trembling’ [Shi] is cognate to WT ზედ-პა ‘to fear, be afraid’, ბრად-პა ბ-რეტ ‘be frightened’ (HST: 77), Lushai ძი / ძი ‘timid, fearful’ ≠ ძი ‘to fear, be afraid’.

栗 (lek) LH lia, OCM *rats

‘High’ [Guliang] can perhaps be connected with WT ძაბ ‘superior, excellent’ (HST: 94).

栗 (lek) LH lia, OCM *rats — [T] MGZY ძ (ımı) [li]

‘To sharpen (sharpenner): grindstone’ [Shi], ‘whetstone’ [Shi] > ‘to polish’ [Xun]. ძ ‘a stingy insect’ [Zhuang] is the s. w. acc. to Karlsgren (1956: 4).

[ǐ] This may be the same etymon as → ძი, ძ ‘dram something along’. A derivation is → ძ ‘scorpion’. An alloform is perf. → ძლი, ძლი ‘sharp’.


[ǐ] PMY *raz‘c sharp’. CH → PTai *nɨ‘c sharp’.

[ǐ] Sa (lek-)nɨ‘A2, Bo’ai lɨ‘A2 ‘bee’s sting’.

栗 (lek) LH lia, OCM *rats

‘Dragging something along’: to wet clothes’ (while fording a stream), ‘to drag, train’ (sashes) [Shi] is perhaps the s. w. as → ძი, ძ ‘whetstone’. Sagart (1999: 127) relates this word to yi ძ (lek) ‘drag, trail’ (under ← yi ძ).

栗 (lek) LH lia, OCM *rats


栗 (lek) LH lia, OCM *rats

‘A ford’ [Shi].

[ǐ] ST: WT ძატ ‘ford’; JP ძ ‘ford, cross a river’. Bodman (1980: 91) also relates this word to ძ ძ (lek) ‘to wade, cross a stream’ [Shi], but MC ძ is difficult to reconcile with MC ძ < ძ. Prob. unrelated to → ძ, ძ ‘rapid’.

栗 (lek) LH lia, OCM *rats

‘To exert oneself, energetically’ [Shi] is apparently related to WT ძატ ‘exert oneself, push violently, stem tide’.

栗 (lek) LH lia, OCM *rats

‘Coarse husked grain’ [Lie].

[ǐ] ST: WT ძატ ‘rice’ ≠ ძატ-ბუ ‘fruit’ (Shi Xiàngdōng 2000: 24), Lushai ძ ‘raz‘ or ძ ‘fruit’. <> AN: Malay beras ‘rice’ (Kuiper 1966: 61). This etymology also appears to be close to ძ ‘břeh’ (≠ ძ ‘fruit’) and its possible cognates.


lián 檿 (lián) LH liam\(^7\), OCM *ram

'To dress a corpse, enshroud' [Zuo].

[\[AA\], the basic meaning is 'to wrap around': OKhmer *rum [rum] 'to wind, roll, coil, surround, encircle, wrap (a corpse)', Khmer *kram [kram] 'be surrounded, wrapped, sheltered'; Bahmar lôm, Bit  קק' ‘to wrap'. AA >> TB-Lepcha gryôm ‘to wrap' (Forrest JOAS 82, 1962: 334). OC *a can reflect earlier *a and *o, the MK vowels may perh. have been /o/ or /o/.

lián ieties (lián) LH liam\(^6\), OCM *ram

'To dress a corpse, enshroud' [Zuo].

[\[AA\], the basic meaning is 'to wrap around': OKhmer *rum [rum] 'to wind, roll, coil, surround, encircle, wrap (a corpse)', Khmer *kram [kram] 'be surrounded, wrapped, sheltered'; Bahmar lôm, Bit  קק' ‘to wrap'. AA >> TB-Lepcha gryôm ‘to wrap' (Forrest JOAS 82, 1962: 334). OC *a can reflect earlier *a and *o, the MK vowels may perh. have been /o/ or /o/.

lián 鞮 (lián) LH liam\(^6\), OCM *ram

'To dress a corpse, enshroud' [Zuo].

[\[AA\], the basic meaning is 'to wrap around': OKhmer *rum [rum] 'to wind, roll, coil, surround, encircle, wrap (a corpse)', Khmer *kram [kram] 'be surrounded, wrapped, sheltered'; Bahmar lôm, Bit  קק' ‘to wrap'. AA >> TB-Lepcha gryôm ‘to wrap' (Forrest JOAS 82, 1962: 334). OC *a can reflect earlier *a and *o, the MK vowels may perh. have been /o/ or /o/.

lián 鞮 (lián) LH liam\(^6\), OCM *ram

'To dress a corpse, enshroud' [Zuo].

[\[AA\], the basic meaning is 'to wrap around': OKhmer *rum [rum] 'to wind, roll, coil, surround, encircle, wrap (a corpse)', Khmer *kram [kram] 'be surrounded, wrapped, sheltered'; Bahmar lôm, Bit  קק' ‘to wrap'. AA >> TB-Lepcha gryôm ‘to wrap' (Forrest JOAS 82, 1962: 334). OC *a can reflect earlier *a and *o, the MK vowels may perh. have been /o/ or /o/.
liáng  -  liang

[T] Sin Sukchu SR lian (平); MGZV (lyang >) liyang (平) [lijan]; MTang lian < liang, ONW lian

[D] PMin *liang 'measure' > Fúzhōu liang 42

[E] ST: WT graft 'number' > graft 'to number, count' > (b)graft 'ba, bgrafts 'to count' > sgraft 'ba, bgrafts, sgraft 'to enumerate' (HST: 108), WB k'tran 'measure with measure of capacity'.

» liang 量 (liangc) LH liangc, OCM *rajan 'A measure' [Lunyu].


liàng 樂 (liang) LH liang, OCM *rajan → [T] MTang lian < liang, ONW lian

'Grain, provisions' [Shi].


[E] ST: WT graft 'satisfy with food, satiate' (HPTB: 303f, following Gong Hg).

liäng 樂 (liang) LH liangc, OCM *rajan

'Two, a pair' [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR lian (平); MGZV (lyang >) liyang (平) [lijan]; MTang lian < liang, ONW lian

[D] PMin *tian[b]c 'two', liang 'a tael' > NMin Jiånyang san[y]c 'two', liangB1 'tael' (initial s-in 'two' may be due to loss of a pre-initial (Mei / Norman 1971: 101); Fúzhōu liangc 'two', liangB1 'tael'; Amoy nofc 'two', niub 'tael'.

CH -> Tai also indicates a pre-initial: Diao san2 < *plan2 (Maspero 1912: 87).

» liäng 釁 (liangc) LH liangc, OCM *rajan

'Chariot' [Zhuang].

[<] Exop. of liäng 兩 (liang) *rajan?, lit. 'what is paired', i.e. a set of wheels (§4.4).

[E] Etymology not clear. (1) A loan from KT: PTai *r: S. raa'2 'two' (inclusive)?, Shan ha 'two', Lù hра '1'; PKS *hra 'two'. Li F. (1976: 40) associates the Tai word with CH yá, a form '1' for which he reconstructs OC *rajan (OCM *la). (2) Cognate to PTB *s-rajan > WT srajan 'pair of scales, weight'. (3) Finally, → shuang 構 may be a derivation, but the vowels do not agree.

liang 亮 (lian) LH liang, OCM *rajan, OCB *s-riangs

'Light' n. [Shi, Shi], of moon et al.; liang refers to pale light, while → liang 朗 refers to brilliant light.

[E] Apparently a member of an AA word: PEKatuic *jen; Bru rlang, Katu barang 'moonlight'.

Khemr -rāmna 'be light, bright' > sraṃna 'be pale, colorless'.

[C] An alloform is prob. → shuang, 聚, possibly also → liang, lăng 彈, → liang 朗, → jing 睛 (so Karlgen 1956: 12) and perch. → ying 雲, Eng. Baxter relates this word to m̑ng ⁶ OCMB *mrjan > ying 鏡.

Items of a MK form can be associated with individual CH words, this would explain the different OC initial consonant which seems to have no recognizable OC morphological function; note the following Khmer items:

(a) Khmer râmna 'be light, bright'

liang 亮 (liangc) OCB *s-riangs 'light'

(b) Khmer srâna/sraan (infr., of first light of day) 'to be dim, faint, weak'

→ shuang, 聚 (sian) *rajan 'twilight' (of dawn)

(c) Khmer brâna/briyann intr. 'to grow light' (after dark)

→ bing, 炯 (biong) OCB *brjan 'bright'

(d) Khmer pamprâna/bampriyann 'to shed a pale light'

liáo  -  lie

(T) liáo 佬 'fine' → jiao 赵 'tongue'

liáo 佬 → liáo 齒

liáo 佬 → liáo 烫

liáo 佬 ‘ringing in ears’ → liáo 烫

liáo 燠 (liou) LH leu, OCM *riu - [T] ONW leu

'Fat around intestines' [Shi, Shi], 脂 [SW]; zhiliao 脂膲 'tallow, grease' (Giles).

[E] Etymology unknown because the following comparanda are too far removed from OC: WT rgyu-ma < r-yu 'intestines, entrails'. Alternatively, liá may be connected with AA: note Semi (NW) Ppwa 'animal grease' [Difffloth 1976: 211, Lava lauak, Ur riu 'grease' [Difffloth id.: 218]. PTai lauA2 'pork fat, grease' (only in northern and central Tai) looks like a loan from CH liáo.

» Perh. tu 睌 (jiu) LH jo, OCM *jo

'Fat on belly, intestines' [Li], 'fat' [Guoce].

[C] See also → liu 米 'palm'.

liáo 燠 'chou', liáo 燠

liáo 佬 (liou)

'Finish' [Tangshu], a medieval word, occurs in SE Asian lgs.: Viet rūi 'finished', Lang-lo giọy; Tai: S. leuw (and in many Tai lgs.) [Maspero 1912: 67]. Viet initial r suggests that this word existed perhaps already in OC.

liáo 佬 → jiao 赵, jiau 穀

liáo 料 (liouc) LH leuc, OCM *riüh or *riuw?

'To measure' [Guoyu], 'put hand on, stroke' [Zhuang], later 'material'.

[E] Perh. related to WT rgyu 'matter, substance, material'.

liáo 燠 (liouc) LH leuc, OCM *riuw

'To burn, make a burnt-offering' [OB, BI, Shi], 'sacrifice of burning wood' [SW], 'torch' [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR liou (平), FR liou; MGZV lew (上去) [lew]

» liáo 齒 (liou) LH leu, OCM *riuw

'Hunt at night' (with torches) [Guane]. It appears that this was the basic form from which the verb liou was derived.

[<] Perh. → jiao, 祛 'kraú 'burn on a pyre' is related.

liáo 燠 (liouc) LH leuc, OCM *riauh?

'To cure' 職 [Shi] (also MC lâk from OCM *riuk?), 'treat sickness, heal' 職 [Zou]. Alloforms are → yóo 病 (jak) *iok 'to cure', and prob. also → chóo, liáo 憂 (tchou, lieu) *riu, *riuh 'get cured, recover'. If yóo should be a member of this wfc, the OC initial *r- in liáo is a pre-final initial, hence yóo < *riauh, liáo < *riauh(b). See also → liao, 病.


liè  -  liet

(liet) LH liat, OCM *rat

'To divide, distribute' [Xun], 'arrange' [Zhouli], 'rank, order' [Zou], 'degree' [Shu].

Prob. cogn. to bié 別 (so Sagart 1999: 87), → liu 旅吕, → li 剌. Unger (Hao-ku
liè - lín

liè

39, 1992: 88) relates liè to WT gras ‘class, order, series, rank, tribe’, but see → lǜ, lì).

liè (liē) LH liak, OCM *rat ‘rats’


[<] exopass. of liè 列 (lēi), lit. ‘what is arranged’ (§4.4).

liè

liè 厲 (liē) LH liat, OCM *rat, OCB *C-rat


liè liè 厲 ‘Be blazing’ (of fire, heart), ‘be brilliant’ (person) [BI, Shi], ‘be bitterly cold’ (winter day) [Shi].

liè 里 (liē) LH liat, OCM *rat or *ret

‘Kind of rush for brooms’ [Li].

[T] Sin Sukchu 此 SR 里 [lēi]; MGZY 厲 [lēi]


liè

liè 劣 (liē) LH lyat, OCM *rat — [T] ONW liat ‘Inferior’ [SW]


liè

liè (liē) LH liap, OCM *rap ‘To tread, trample’ [Li].

[BI] ST: PTB *rap (La Polla 1994: 166) > KN-Lushai rap lēp / rōp ‘to tread (upon), trample upon’, WT skrab-pa ‘to stamp (the ground), tread’ → k’rab-pa ‘to strike, stump, thump’. However, the initial k- in the WT cognates skrab, k’rab could theoretically derive from an earlier initial r-, note the initial r̥n in the putative OC cognate → yǎē OC *rap ‘press down, stamp’, as well as the absence of velar initials in the other TB languages; perh. also connected with die 跋 (die) ‘to trample, stamp’ [Lio] (so Sagart 1999: 127), and possibly also to → niē 跍 OC *rap ‘trample’.

liè

liè (liē) LH liap, OCM *rap or *rep

‘A kind of turtle’ [Zhouli].

[BI] ST: PTB *tip / *lep ‘turtle’ > WB lip (Benedict 1976: 190), Kham lip, Rengmitca tanip, Mru lip ‘tortoise’ (Löffler 1966: 122). OC and TB differences in initial and vowel have parallels, see §7.3 and §11.1.3 respectively.

liè

liè (liē) LH liap, OCM *rap

‘Long beard’ [Zuo], ‘beard, hound’ [Lili]. → shà 狗 ‘fan’ may possibly be a derivative of.

lín

lín

lín 林 (līn) LH lim, OCM *ram, OCB ‘C-rjam’

‘Forest, forester’ [BI, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR lim [līn]; PR, LR lim; MGZY lim [līn]; ONW lim

[D] PMin *lam; Y-Guángzhōu 2*līm

lín

sēn 森 (sjam) LH sêm, OCM *sram

‘Forest, dense thickets’ [Han text] (Baxter 1992: 553), prob. an intensive derivative of lín (§5.2.3), possibly influenced by AA parallels; see below.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR sôm [sâm]; MGZY shîm [sâm]; ONW sêm.

[BI] ST or area etymology: PTB *ram (HPTB: 299) > Northern Naga C-ram ‘forest, jungle’, Lushai ram ‘forest, jungle, country, land’, Mikir iqtrām-ē → m-ram ‘be woody, dark’. Perh. also shared with AA: Khmer râm rái ‘to gather, be clustered > gallery forest, inundated forest...’ → OKhmer rmaami (i.e. r-n-aam) ‘dense forest in low-lying areas...’ or sommaam (i.e. s-m-raam) ‘ground under shrub, tract of undergrowth’ (note the close agreement with OC); mod. Mon rām rīm ‘crop, edge of woodland’. In light of this AA etymology, the wāf → lìn, lín ‘numerous’ could possibly be related.


lín

lín 林 (līn) LH lim, OCM *ram

‘Numerous’ [Shi 220, 2].

sān 晒 (tām) LH tām, OCM *hām?

‘Many, numerous’ occurs only once in a Shāhng passage [Shi 290, 3]. SW says ‘noise of many’, prob. inspired by the graph (Giles: ‘the sound of many people eating’).

[BI] Prob. AA, and if so, cognate to → lín, 里: OKhmer rām rái ‘to gather, be clustered’, PBahn. ‘krām ‘crowded’. The initials of TB-Lushai hzm ‘in numbers’ (Sagart 1999: 151), and MK-Omon tom tām ‘be numerous’ are difficult to reconcile with OC.

lín

lín 淋霖 (līn) LH lim, OCM *ram


[T] Sin Sukchu SR lim [līn], PR, LR lim; MGZY lim [līm]

[D] Mand. ‘continuous heavy rain’, Mkn: Amoy lam ‘long rain’ also Amoy lit. lim, col. lam ‘constant drippering’. In Xiāng, Kējiá, and Yû dialects it means ‘to sprinkle, to water’ (plants); Y-Guángzhōu 2*līm.


This may be the same etymology as → lín, 頂 ‘drink’. Wáng Li (1982: 612) and Sagart (1999: 127) consider lín cognate to → yīn, 淋. For possibly related words, see → chén, 沈; → lān, 澜.

lín

lín 雨 (līn) LH lim, OCM *ram

‘To approach, look down, look upon favorably, to favor’ [Shi], ‘be on the brink of’.

lín 雨 (līn) LH lim, OCM *rām?

‘To mourn’ [Zuo], ‘mourning chamber’ [Li] is acc. to Downer (1959: 286) a tone C derivation with an ‘effective’ meaning.

[<] perh. exopass. of lín 雨, lit. ‘be looked upon with favor / affection’? > caus. ‘mourn’ (§4.4.1).

[BI] ST: Lushai rim ‘tīm ‘to court, make love to, inspect / make enquiries about’ (a girl), WT rim ‘(gro) ‘honor, homage, offerings’ (gro ‘to walk’); perh. also JP krem ‘to trust, to look up to (someone).”

lín

358

359
Also derive from a PCH *rin, then it may be related to WT 'dril-bu' 'bell' (Shi Xiángdú 2000), but this is stretching the etymology.

Ifng 江 → bīng 冰

Ifng 陵 (liang) LH lieŋ, OCM *ræŋ [T] ONW lieŋ

Ifng 冷凌 (liang) LH lieŋ, OCM *ræŋ [T] ONW lieŋ
‘(Step on /over?)’. ‘Ascend’ [Guocue], ‘transgress’ [Li], ‘encroach upon, usurp, oppress, insult’ [Zuo]; ‘surmount’ 冷 [Chuci]; ‘maltreat, oppress’ 冷 [Chuci].

[Cl] → Ifng 冷 ‘hill’ may be the s. w. This etymology is prob. cognate to the near homonym → pīng 冷 ‘foc. walk across’, just as there are doubles līng 冷 → bīng 冰 ‘ice’. Furthermore, this stem may be connected with chéng 冷 ‘vegetable’. 

Ifng 冷 冷 (liang) LH lieŋ, OCM *ræŋ [T] ONW lieŋ
‘To fall’ (of rain) 冷 [OB], 冷 [Shi], ‘drop the leaves’ 冷 [Chuci]. The graph originally consisted of 雨 ‘rain’ with ‘drops’ (not ‘mouths’) underneath.

MFTang lieŋ < lieŋ, ONW lieŋ
There is a remote possibility of a connection with → yīn 冷阳 ‘cold, fall, rain’ if one assumes a ST root *we- whose initial cluster is simplified to OC *re- and *we- respectively (§10.13). WB laŋ3 < *laŋ3 ‘fall’ belongs to → diān 冷 (t) fall over’.

Ifng 露冷 (liang) LH lieŋ, OCM *tæŋ ~ tin
‘Divine > felicitous, auspicious > excellent, intelligent’ [BI, Shi]; ‘spirit (of Heaven)’ [Hanshu] > ‘ghost (of a deceased)’ [Hou Hanshu] > ‘female shaman, shaman’ [Chuci]. For semantics, cf. mō 魚 (< Indic Mara) both ‘witch’ and ‘demon’.

Ifng Sin Sukhu SR liŋ (平); MGZY liŋ (平) [liŋ]; ONW lieŋ
[B] MY: PMiao *tšenŋ (Wáng FS) ‘ghost’. ‘Ghost’ and → Ifng 冷 露 冷 ‘rain’ are etymologically distinct, although in the meaning ‘prayer for rain, rainmaster’, the two converge. On the other hand, weather phenomena are divine portents, see → tén 冷, CH > Viet thiếng (via s-, from Cr-) (Maspero 1912: 84).

Ifng 領 (liang) LH lieŋ, OCM *renŋ, OCB *c-ræŋ
‘Neck’ [Shi], ‘collar’ [Li] > ‘(take by the neck)’ [Karlgren]: ‘to lead, direct’ [Li].

Ifng Sin Sukhu SR liŋ (平); MGZY liŋ (平) [liŋ]; ONW lieŋ
[DI] ‘Collar’ in PMin *tian⁶, Fùzhou liän⁶, Xiámén nian⁶ti.

Ifng 令 (liang⁶) LH lie⁶, OCM *ren⁶h ~ rin⁶s
‘To order, command’ [Shi].

Ifng Sin Sukhu SR liŋ (平); MGZY liŋ (平) [liŋ]; ONW liŋ
[N] In the OB and BI, Ifng 令 writes actually → ming 冷 ‘order’ to which it is usually thought to be related (so Wáng Li 1982: 329). Acc. to (Downer 1959: 286), ‘to command’ [Zuo] is read in tone C, ‘to cause [Zuo] in tone A.

Ifng 令 冷 → bīng 冰
liú 留 (liú) LH liú, OCM *râu
'To stay, remain, tarry' [Shi].
[D] M-Xiâmên, Fúzhōu lâuA². The Northern Min initial s- as in Jiàngyáng seuA² may be due to loss of a pre-initial: PMin *lâu (Mei / Norman 1971: 100).

liú2 劉 (liú) LH liú, OCM *râu
'To slaughter, kill' [OB, Shi]; a Han period dialect word for 'to kill' in Qin, Jin, Sòng and Wèi [FY 1, 16].
[N] In the OB, this word was written with the graph for the cyclical sign mào 马 (mao8) < *mrâu which seems to have been intended for writing 'slaughter' as it shows perh. two pieces of meat which have been cut down.
[T] Sin Sukchu SR liú (卩); MGZY liú (卩) [liú]; MTang leu < liú, ONW lu < lu
[D] The Northern Min initial s- as in Jiàngyáng seuA² may be due to loss of a pre-initial (Mei / Norman 1971: 101).
[E] Perh. ST: KC-Tiddim goy3/* goy2 // rouh / rɔʔ/ h 'to kill, slaughter'.

liú 留 (liú) LH liú, OCM *râu
'Punish by death, execute' [Shu]. Perh. this word is not related to liú; it could be the same word as → lù1, 廢 'disgrace'.

liú 流 (liú) LH liú, OCM *(i)u
'To flow, float, flow away; the flow' [Shi]; 'pendants of a banner' 旌 [Shi].
[T] Sin S. SR liú (卩); MGZY liú (卩) [liú]; MTang leu < liú, ONW lu
[D] M-Xiâmên, Fúzhōu lâuA²
[E] This word differs from → yóu, 游 'float, swim' only in the initial, WT shows that they are related: *r̥-ju > OC *ju and OC *riu, see §9.2.1. An allofam is prob. to → lù1, 湖 'riests' 'tears'.

liú 旌 → liú 流

liú 六 (lìu) LH liú, OCM *râu
'Six' [OB].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR lu (卩), PR, LR lu; MGZY lâu (卩) [ly]; ONW luk.
[D] PMin *(ŋ)ok > NMMin Jiàngyáng so2² (Mei / Norman 1971: 99); Y-Guangzhou 22ok³²
[E] ST: PTE *r̥-druk 'six', WT drug, Takpa grok, PLB *cgrok, WB krok, IP kru²²;
Leopha târok; Mikir t'rök < drok²; Lushai pa*-rök. <> Tai: S. hokD³ < *hr- (MC l- = Tai r-) is a CH loan where Li's reconstructed initial may be due either to peculiarities of Tai lgs. (often r > h), or to complexity in the CH donor lg. (note PMin). <> PYM kruk may be a loan from a TB lg.

liú 溜 (liú) LH liú, OCM *(i)u
‘Gush forth’ [Guan], 'a current, a stream' is shared with Tai: S. riau²² 'rapids, vigorous, strong (current)' (Manomavibool 1975: 139).

liú 留 (liú), lêu4, lêu5 LH liú, OCM *riu(k)
'Whistling of the wind' 留 (Zhuang), 留 [GY]; 'wind high up in the air' 留 [Lu].

liá 聲 (liá) LH leu, OCM *riā
'Ringing sound in the ear' [Chuci].

lóng 龍 (lóng) LH liún, OCM *râu, OCB *g-rjung
'Eminent' [Zou], 'high' [Guoce].
[E] AA: Khmer rûj 'be big, tall, mighty, preeminent' *srûj 'be long enough to cover' [Jennifer / Pou 1982: xli] *srûj 'big, full'.

lóng 洞 (lóng) LH liún, OCM *râu
'To fondle, play with' [Shi].
[E] <>? Khmer lûâng 'to caress, pet, stroke, soothe... The Khmer initial consonant does not agree with OC, though; perhaps Khmer is a post-Han or recent CH loan.

chóng 崇 (džùn) LH dzûn, OCM *dzûn
'To pile on, pile high' [Shi]; 'high' (of a mountain) [SW].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzûn (卩); MGZY cûn (卩) [dzûn]
[E] AA: Khmer /croj/ 'to raise up, reestablish... * crûn /krônn/ 'be upright'; Riang tsaqn, Khasi jôq 'high'. AA -> TB-Lepcha kroj 'high' (Forrest JAOS 82, 1962: 334).
An AA substrate wvf would explain the odd initial interchange *r̥- ~ dzûr- which is unusual in a Chinese wvf. A syn. or parallel stem with initial OC *l is to sông, 松 'high (mountain). The meaning chong 'high' (of a mountain) may be due to paronomastic attraction from sông, or from MK: Khmer cuñ /cavr/, OKhmer cûn /cûn/ 'farthest point, end, tip, top, peak...'; perh. TB-Lushai chún6 (Lorrain chung) 'roof, top, summit, high up' is related (Khmer loan?).

lóng 洞 (lóng) LH liún, OCM *râu, OCB *g-rjung
'Thundering' [Shi].

lóng 龍 (lón) LH lióng, OCM *râu, OCB *c-rjung
'Dragon' [OB, Shi] (discussed by Carr LBA 13.2, 1990: 101 etc.).
[E] Etymology not clear. Lóng has been associated with TB comparanda: WT 'brug 'thunder, dragon' may belong here or may be related to → lóng 龍 'thundering', Lolo lo 'dragon'.

Most likely is a connection with SE Asian words: AA: Viet. rõng 'dragon', Muong hông ~ rôn, Khmer rôj ~ rõj, and KT: Siam. màrjòn ~ màrjûn. (CH > ?) Viet thuông (via s- from Cr)- (Maspero 1912: 84).
[C] A cognate may be → hông 鳳 'rainbow' (so Carr), note for example Y-Cônghùa loy⁴² ('rainbow').

lóng4 龍 'motley' → mánɡ 彈 'dragon'

lóng5 龍 (lón⁴) LH lón, OCM *rân (2) — [T] ONW luôn
'Bird cage' [Zhuang], 'basket' [Zhoui].
[E] AA: OKhmer /kruŋ/ 'to cover, shelter, protect, to pen (animals)' * drûta/ ḫruṇ/ 'pen, cage, coop for birds and animals' *r̥-ruŋ 'to shield, screen, protect, cover'; PSBahn. *gwrûŋ 'prison, pig pen'. MK provides an etymology and is the source of loans into area lgs.: TB > WB kruŋ⁴¹ 'cage for birds', Garo grîc (STC no. 389). AA > KT: PTai *kron⁴¹ 'cage'. PAN *kunj 'cage' (Thurgood 1994: 355). Less likely is a connection with PTai *kîl-: S. kîc⁴⁶ 'kind of basket'.

lóng6 侯 (lóng) LH luôn, OCM *rân
'Deaf' [Zuo], the Northern Min initial s- as in Jiàngyáng sogA² may be due to loss of a pre-initial (Mei / Norman 1971: 101). Perh. connected with → sông 鳳 'deaf'.

lóng 懸隆 (lón⁴) LH lióng⁴, OCM *râu
'Mound' 崇 [Li], 崇 [Xun], a Han period dialect variant for → zhông, 宗 'mound' in the Qin-Rn area [FY 13, 154]. It may perh. also be related to → lóu, 窠, lóu 垒.

lóng1 炙 (lón⁴) LH loy⁴, OCM *rûngh
'To fondle, play with' [Shi].
[E] <>? Khmer lûâng 'to caress, pet, stroke, soothe... The Khmer initial consonant does not agree with OC, though; perhaps Khmer is a post-Han or recent CH loan.
loss may account for the initial s- in Northern Min forms (Mei & Norman 1971: 98).

lù

loss may account for the initial s- in Northern Min forms (Mei & Norman 1971: 98).

lù

loss may account for the initial s- in Northern Min forms (Mei & Norman 1971: 98).

lù

loss may account for the initial s- in Northern Min forms (Mei & Norman 1971: 98).

lù

loss may account for the initial s- in Northern Min forms (Mei & Norman 1971: 98).

lù

loss may account for the initial s- in Northern Min forms (Mei & Norman 1971: 98).

lù

loss may account for the initial s- in Northern Min forms (Mei & Norman 1971: 98).

lù

loss may account for the initial s- in Northern Min forms (Mei & Norman 1971: 98).

lù

loss may account for the initial s- in Northern Min forms (Mei & Norman 1971: 98).

lù

loss may account for the initial s- in Northern Min forms (Mei & Norman 1971: 98).

lù

loss may account for the initial s- in Northern Min forms (Mei & Norman 1971: 98).

lù

loss may account for the initial s- in Northern Min forms (Mei & Norman 1971: 98).

lù

loss may account for the initial s- in Northern Min forms (Mei & Norman 1971: 98).

lù

loss may account for the initial s- in Northern Min forms (Mei & Norman 1971: 98).

lù

loss may account for the initial s- in Northern Min forms (Mei & Norman 1971: 98).

lù

loss may account for the initial s- in Northern Min forms (Mei & Norman 1971: 98).
16. Ru (luo) LH lo, OCM *râkh < *g-râkh
   ’A kind of bamboo’ used for making slender arrows [Shu] is listed as pre- or early-historic tribute from the Yangtze / Han River region, i.e. an area inhabited by non-Chinese people.

17. Liuk (liuk) LH liuk, OCM *ruk
   ’Disgrace’ [Lun].

18. Liu (liu) LH liu, OCM *riu < *r-jo
   ’To drag, trail’ [Shi].

19. Jo (jiu) LH jo, OCM *jo
   ’To pull, drag’ [Zhuang].

20. Donkey (livo) LH liuo, OCM *ra
   ’Donkey’ [SW].

21. Anything lined up in a regular fashion: ’one after the other’ [Lii], ’line up in a row > set forth; troop, multitude’ [OB, Shi]; ’spine’ [Shi, Zhuang], ’pitchpipe’ [Lii] (’spine of a roof’ > ’beam supporting rafter of a roof’ [SW].

22. To display, expose, arrange’ [Guoyu].

23. Guest, stranger’ [Zoo], ’traveler’ [Yi], ’road [Lii].

24. Lodge, lodging’ [Shi]. This word has several possible etymologies: (1) cognate to → la, 旅 (lî) [Xun] (2) An endoactive derivation (§4.5) of → la, 旅 (lî) ’hut’. (3) It could possibly belong to the ST stem *-jak ~ *-jak ’24 hour day, spend the night’, see → xî, 夕 for suggestive Lushai cognates.

25. Material from which bronze vessels were cast’ [only in Zhou BI (Qiu Xigui 2000: 305) may be related to WT râ-gan ’brass’, rag- in compounds.

26. ’To follow’ (< ’to follow a model’ [Lii], ’law, rule’ [Yi], ’row’ [Shi] > ’to comb’ [Xun] (Karlgren GSR 502c).

27. ’To follow’ (< ’to follow a model’ [Lii], ’law, rule’ [Yi], ’row’ [Shi] > ’to comb’ [Xun] (Karlgren GSR 502c).
lù – lún

brush, writing pencil’, both deriving from the notion ‘draw a line, ruler’; but see bǐ for an alternative etymology.

※ shuài 率 (süet, swi¹) LH 率, 率is, OCM *sru(s) — [T] ONW 率
‘To go along, follow, lead’ [Shi]; ‘lead an army’ 帅 [Zuo], ‘obey’ [Li].

※ shuài 率 (swi¹) LH 率is, OCM *sru(ts)
‘Leader, officer’ [Zuo].

※ [T] Sin Sukхо SR 率 (su) PR, LR 率 (su) [Zuo]; MGZY (zhway) > shway (su) [swaj]
[E] ST: KN-Lushai hruaj < hruaj ‘to lead, guide, conduct’, Lai hruaj / hruaj ‘to lead’, NNaget *ruay. Although this KN etymon looks suggestively similar to CH, the KN final -uaj is rather different from the OC final, perhaps in OC some vocalic leveling had taken place after the addition of the final -i. For additional possible cognates, see → suil, 琴.

lù1 慮 (lio, liwo²) LH lio(⁴), OCM *ra(h)
‘To think of, consider’ [Shi] > ‘be anxious about’ [Lun].

※ [T] Sin Sukхо SR 率 (su) PR, MGZY liy (su) [ly]; ONW lio
[E] ST ?: WT bgo-, bgos ‘to consider, deliberate’ (Ungeo Hoo-ku 20: 169), Lushai ruaw ‘to think, believe, consider’.
[C] Allofom → lù, 慮.

lù1 助 zhù12 助

lù4-liáo 膺 (liow) LH luit, OCM *rut — [T] ONW luit.

The commentaries on the relevant passages in Lii are ambiguous. One says ‘blood and fat around intestines’, another simply ‘fat ar. i.’ A parallel passage in Shii 210, 5 has blood 膺 ‘blood and fat i.’: therefore the commentary to Li may have omitted or lost the reference to ‘blood’, consequently it appears that lù means ‘blood’ (Ungeo Hoo-ku 39, 1992). If this is the case, lù would be a loan from PTaï *hjetD2l (rather than PKS *hletD1); Kadai *hletB ‘blood’. If, on the other hand, lù should be a homonym of liáo ‘intestines’, either or both could be connected with Viet-Muong: Viet. ruế, Muong roc ‘intestine’ (Pulleyblank JCL 22.1, 1994: 82).

lù4 啟 (liow) LH luit, OCM *rut (or *rut ?)
‘Rope’ made of hemp or bamboo 繩 [SW], ‘leather band’ 率 [Zuo].

[E] ST: WT ryugud < r-yug ‘string, cord’ (of bow, musical instrument), ‘connection’ ≠ ryugud-pa ‘to fasten, file’ (on string) (Ungeo Hoo-ku 39, 1992); if WT kruiB ‘thread, strong string, chain’ should be related, the etyomon needs to be analyzed differently. This is apparently a variant of → yu26 繩, both from PCH **rjut ∼ **rjut (§9.2.1).

luán1 樂 (luán) LH luån, OCM *rôn, OCB *b-ron
‘Emaciated’ [Shi].

[E] ST: WT prunB ‘worn away, exhausted, spent’ (as property) ≠ prunB ‘wear away, exhaust, spend’.

luán2 絲 (luán) LH luån, OCM *rôn, OCB *b-ron
‘Thread’ (from rope) [Shi].

※ [T] Sin Sukхо SR 絲 (su) PR, MGZY liu (su) [lew]; ONW liu
[C] Possible allofoms → lù2 慮, → lù 慮; perhaps also → lián4 量.

luán3 存 (luán) LH luån, OCM *rôn, OCB *b-ron
‘Horns of horse’s trapping’ [Bi; SW 14: 6331] is related to Tai: S. p’ruanB < *br- ‘neck bells’ (for domestic animals); this is a CH loan like other words dealing with horsemanship, as Bodman (1980: 74) points out.

luán, shuàn 存 (suwan⁴, sjwian⁴) LH 聲, OCM *srons
‘Twins’ [Li] is an ancient Zhāo-Wēi (Shanxi) dialect word [FY 3.1], it may be a
doublet of → shuån⁴, 聲 *sron (Baxter 1992: 227), but the putative ST roots would differ which speak against this (ST *zun vs. *ron).


luán 聲 (luánB) LH luånB, OCM *rôn?, OCB *C-ron? — [T] ONW luån
‘Egg’ [Zuo], the Northern Min initial s- may be due to loss of a pre-initial which might have been a velar considering Duỳn Yû-cû’s comment that luån is read like guán (Mei / Norman 1971: 99).


luán 亂 (luánD) LH luånD, OCM *rôn, OCB *C-rons
‘To rebel, disorder’ [Shi].

※ [T] Sin Sukхо SR 眩 (su) PR, MGZY lon (su) [lon]; ONW luån


[C] Baxter (1992: 365) thinks it likely that this word is cognate to → biàn 比 ‘prions’ ‘change’.

lù1 掠略 (jak, lijan⁴) LH liak, lian⁴, OCM *rak, *ranh.
‘To rob, plunder’ 掠 [Zuo], 當 [Guoyu].

[D] M-Amoy lyç‘to beat’

※ [E] ST: Lushai rakB ‘to plunder, loot, raid’.

lù2 略 (jak) LH liak, OCM *rak
‘To trace out, measure (area), plan’ [Shu] > ‘plan, method’ [Zuo]: ‘boundary, frontier’ [Zuo].

※ [T] Sin Sukхо SR liaw (su) PR, MGZY liw (su) [lew]; ONW liu
[C] Possible allofoms → lù 慮, → liù, 略; perhaps also → lián4 量.

lù3 略 (jak) LH liak, OCM *rak
‘To traverse’ [Zuo] > ‘sketch, outline’ [Meng]; ‘road, way’ [Zuo].

[C] This is possibly the same etymology as → lù 慮. Perhaps also → lù2 路 ‘road’.

lù4 略 (jak) LH liak, OCM *rak
‘Be sharp’ (of plows) [Shi].


lùn, 緩 (liuen, luån) LH luün, luån, OCM *run
‘To discuss’ [Lunyu] > ‘examine’ 論 [Meng]; ‘principle, category’ 倫 [Shi]. Acc. to Downey (1959: 277) the noun has tone C.

※ [T] Sin Sukхо SR 緩 (liu) PR, MGZY lun (liu) [liu]; ONW lon


Perh. ST: Lushai ronB ‘to ask advice, consult’ ≠ ronD < ronB < ronD ‘to suggest, advise’.
Table L-1  Naked, red

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST *roj? ?</th>
<th>TB *g-roj-n ?</th>
<th>ST *řen &lt; roj?</th>
<th>TB *křen red</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OC luó 撾 *roj? naked</td>
<td>chéng 撾 *dren naked</td>
<td>chéng 撾 *řen red (intensive)</td>
<td>skyen-č ashamed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT sgren-mo, řen naked</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JP krin3 bare</td>
<td>k3yev ~ t3en red (Kachin)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lushai ruakF &lt; ruak naked</td>
<td>teenR &lt; t3en? bare (hillside)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mikir</td>
<td>-ńe- ř naked</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kyañ red (intensive)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

luó, 撾 (lāk [YJ]), LH luò, OCM *rāk 'To cough up (blood)'.

[Note] Tai: S. rāk22 'to vomit' (Manonaiivibool 1975: 170). Perh. this word is cognate to → kē, 咳. The graph 撾 also writes a word kā 咳 (under → kē, 咳). This sound symbolic item also may be reflected in TB-Lushai luo+ / luF, luoK < luoH / luak 'to vomit, be sick'.

luó2 烙 (lāk) LH luō, OCM *rāk 'To burn' [Zhang] also occurs in PTai *gI: S. k3lok22 'to burn'.

luó3 烙 (lāk) LH luō, OCM *rāk sec → lēi3 烙

luó4 骅 (lāk) LH loî, OCM *rāi — [T] ONW lo  'Bird nest' [Shi], 'gauze' [Guoee].

[Note] Y-Guāngzhōu 4lou42, K-Méixiān lo42

[Note] Perh. the word is related to WT dra 'net' (but the rimes do not agree).

[Note] Allofam → lēi3 骅.

luó5 置 (lāk) LH loî 'Hamper' [YJ]; Han period dialect word for 'winnowing basket' [FY 5].

[Note] Y-Guāngzhōu 4lou42, PMIn *lou42; Jiānglū shai42, Fūzhōu loâ42, Xiàmén lu42, lit. lu42

[Note] ST: TB-Lushai hrâi < hraiʔ 'a basket for measuring rice'.

luó1 骅 → lēi2 骅

luó2 骅 (lūa4) LH luî4 / S loî4, OCM *rói — [T] ONW luô

[Note] Bare, naked [Zuo].

[Note] ST: Lushai ruakF < ruak 'naked'. Matisoff (1995: 64) suggests that the OC final *-i (-i) represents a ST diminutive suffix. PTai *ploâ 'naked' (Luo 2000: 75) seems also to be related.

[Note] Prob. related to → chèng 撾 'naked'.

For an overview of related and similar etyma, see Table L-1.
luò

Alloforms with OC *r₃ː → xiā ‘descend’, → lū® 露 ‘dew’; see also → tuò 輕 *lähk ‘fallen leaves’.

luò₈ 鵲 (lāk) LH lak, OCM *rāk
‘A kind of bird’ [SW], this may possibly be the s. w. as luò 鵲 (lāk) ‘black horse with white mane’ [Shi] and 马 ‘white horse with black mane’ [Shi], so called after the bird’s color.

ma 1 媽 Mandarin ‘mother’, also in other dialects, e.g. G-Wūning ma¹¹, but this particular dialect also has a form maɔ21 ‘mother’ which is parallel to pɔ²¹ ‘father’ (Sagart 1993: 171). In some southern dialects, this etymon also means ‘female’ (of animals): e.g. M-Jiàn oun kai54-ma²2 雞 媽 ‘hen’.

ma 2 嗎 Interrogative final particle in modern dialects, probably the same etymon as → wū 雲 ‘not’ with parallels in other languages, including TB, as in Lhasa ma. Hakha Lai (KC) -maa or -moo.

má 麻 (ma) LH mai, OCM *mrāi — [T] Sin Sukchu SR ma (平); ONW mā ‘Hemp’ (Cannabis sativa), used for making linen [Shi], later also ‘sesame’.

[D] PMin *maA²: Xiàmèn māA², Jiànyáng māA², Jiànn’ōu māC², Fúzhōu māA²

[E] Etymology not clear. A SE Asian word for ‘sesame’ is PKS *ŋraf, MK-PMon *ŋraw, AN-Malay lena.

mā 1 馬 (maB) LH maB, OCM *mrā?
‘Horse’ [OB].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ma (上); ONW mā

~ mā 隻 (maC) LH māC, OCM *mrāh
‘A kind of horse sacrifice performed in the wilds’ [Shi].

[ST: PTB *mrāŋ (STC no. 145) > OTib. rmaŋ, Kan. *r-raq, WB mraŋB, JP gum21-raŋJ ~ -raq, JR (m)ro < mraŋ. For the OC ~ TB difference in finals, see §3.2.4. STC (p. 43 n. 139) relates PTB *mraŋ to a PTB root *raŋ ‘high’ (~ lǐng 離).]

Horse and chariot were introduced into Shang period China around 1200 BC from the west (Shaughnessy HJAS 48, 1988: 189-237). Therefore this word is prob. a loan from a Central Asian language, note Mongolian mōrin ‘horse’. Either the animal has been known to the ST people long before its domesticated version was introduced; or OC and TB languages borrowed the word from the same Central Asian source.

Middle Korean mōl also goes back to the Central Asian word, as does Japanese uma, unless it is a loan from CH (Miyake 1997: 195). Tai māC² and similar SE Asian forms are CH loans.

mā 2 螞螂 Prefix for names of insects [FY, EY] (Mei Tsu-Lin 1985: 339), as in mā-ｙī螞螂 ‘ant’ (→ yī 蠲), see also → huáng 蝋.

mā-huáng 蚂蟥 → huáng 柳

mā 罵 (maB/C) LH maB/C, OCM *mrāʔ/h?
‘To scold’ [Zuo].

[ST: Prob. ST: WT dnom-pa ‘curse’ which, however, is apparently derived from ma ‘below’ (STC: 189 n. 487). Note also → wū 蹴 *moʔ ‘id.’ with a different vowel. Perhaps this is an areal etymon, note MK-Khmer tmāh ‘criticize in front of other, give a public dressing down’.]

mǎi 買 (maiB) LH meB, OCM *mēʔ — [T] ONW mēi
‘To buy’ [Zuo, Zhao 26.3; Zhuang 1]. A graph similar to mǎi is found on OB (Sōruí p. 253; Lī Xiàdōng p. 2157), but it is not certain what word it was intended to write.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR maj (上); MGZY maj (下) [maj]; ONW mēi
mài – măng

※ mài 卖 (ma2) LH me3, OCM *mrêh
‘To sell’ [Zhouli]. The graph was originally distinct from → 童黄, see SW 2679.
[C] exoactive of mài (ma2) (§4.3.1).
[B] ST: PTB *br-ei (STC no. 293 n. 207) > WT rje-at < n-rje ?) ‘to barter’, JP ma11, ri11 ‘to buy’, Garo bre, Dimasa barai. As to foreign initial b- for CH m-, see §5.12.2.
Alternative suggestions: Haudricourt a. Streeker (TP ?7, 1991: 340) propose that mài and măng are loans from MY maï and maï, derived from a MY *mâi to have. Acc. to Benedict, this is a common area word, perh. of Austro-Tai origin (Benedict, AT *m(m)bâj).
This set is more recent than → shé, 除 ‘trade, sell’ which is parallel to PTB *leiy?. Syn. → dí6 童: → gû21 卖: → shòu2 售: → yù23 賣.

mài1 脈 (mek) LH mek, OCM *mrêk — [D] PMin *nâk ~ *mek ‘Vein’ [Zou].
[B] ST: Lushai marâi < mar ‘the pulse’. As often, CH has added a final -k (§6.1). The OC form is derived from *mrêk or perh. rather *mar-k, since OC *s would agree with PTB *a (MC -êk can derive from both OC *rêk and *rêk); mài does not occur in early times which would decide the issue.

mài2 脈 writes Amoy ba21 four ‘flesh’; etymology not clear, though reminiscent of → méi1 腦.

mài3-mò 滅撤 (mek-mok) LH mek-mok, OCM *m(r)êk-m(r)êk, OCB *mok ‘Drizzle, drizzling rain’ n. [Shi 210, 2] may possibly be connected with the ST root under → wû2 雨.

mài4 麦 (mek) LH mek, OCM *mrêk, OCB *mrêk ‘Wheat’ [Shi].
[D] PMin *mem > Amoy be21, Fûnsou ma21
[N] Mài and the alleged lâi 來 (lài) ‘wheat’ [Shi] are not related to → lâi 來 ‘come’ (Qu Xigui 2000: 287f), contrary to the often repeated folk etymology which is already found in SW. According to Pulleyblank (EC 25, 2000: 23), 来 is the original graph for mài, while 麦 (with the element ‘foot’) was originally intended for the more common lâi ‘come’, hence lâi ‘wheat’ is spurious.
[B] ST *mr-ak > WT bra-po ‘buckwheat’; cf. PLB *gr-2 ‘buckwheat’ [Matissow D. Laha: 1116f]. For CH. initial m-, see §3.12.2.

mài5 賭勸 (ma1) LH mas, OCM *mrâts ‘To walk, move on, move along’ (of time) 賭 [Shi] > caus. ‘to encourage’ 勸 [Shu].

mán 眠 → măng4 慶

màn1 慢慢 → wâng2 曼

màn2 曼曼 → wâng2 曼

màn3 慢 ‘deceive’ → wû3 詐

màn4 慢 ‘reckless’ → wâng2 妄

măng1 慶 (mwàng, mwâng) LH m(u), OCM *mâj ‘Beard of grain, sharp point’ [Zhouli].
=măng 錸 (mjàng) LH muông, OCM *mrâk ‘Sharp point of weapon’ [Lie].
[E] Etymology not clear. Possible comparanda: (1) Perh. related to PKS *mpraŋ ‘ear’ (of grain), but we should expect a trace of a medial *r in MC (div. II). (2) TB-WB 3-mâj ‘stiff hair, bristles’.

măng2 慶 (mwàng) LH muông, OCM *mâj ‘Great, extensive’ [Shi].

măng3 慆 (mwâng, xwâng) LH muông, OCM *mâj ‘Be large, too large, excessive’ [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu XR xwâng (平); MGZ Yuâng (平) [xwâng]

măng4 慆 (mwâng, xwâng) LH muông, OCM *mâj, *hmân ‘Obscure, confused’ [Zhuang], perh. related to → măng3 慆 (men). See under → 慆 for possible wider relations.

măng5 始 (mwàng) LH muông, OCM *mâj ‘To soak and color silk’ [Zhouli, SW]. Acc. to SW, the character is read like huâng which may indicate an OC *hmân. The word is perh. related to KT: PKS *hmâš ‘soak, pick’, Tai: S. ma21 < *hm- ‘id.’. For the final -i in CH, see §3.2.4.

măng6 睦 (mwâng) LH muông, OCM *mâj ‘Exert oneself’ [Shu] belongs possibly to *man (under → mân, 助).

măng7 彈 (mwâng) LH muông, OCM *mrâj ‘Parti-colored, motley’ [Zou], ‘shaggy dog’ (Shi); ‘parti-colored animal’ 役 [Zhouli]; ‘variegated’ 役 [Zhouli]; ‘mixed, disorderly’ 役 [Guoyu].
[B] ST: Bodman (1980: 170) compares this word to WT mán ‘white spot on horse’s forehead, eye in peacock’s feather’, but WT is prob. related to WB wû1 ‘peacock’ (STC no. 341). More likely, the OC form could instead be related to WB kroŋ ‘be of various colors, as a tiger’.

măng8 彈 (mwâng) LH muông, OCM *mâj — [T] ONW mân ‘Grass, weeds’ [Meng], ‘jungle’ [Zou]. The original graph is 彈.
[B] ST: Chepaâng mân1 ‘n. ‘grass’.

※ mô 役 (mu1) LH mu1, OCM *mâj ‘Grass, weeds’ [Chu, GCY] is an ancient dialect word for ‘grass’ in Chü and south of the Yangtze [FY 3, 8]. For the difference in finals, see §3.2.4.
[C] Possible alloforms are → wû4 燕糜, → xi1 席.

măng9 燕 (mwâng) LH muông, OCM *mâj < *mlâng ? ‘King snake’ [EY], i.e. ‘python’ (Carr LTB4 13.2, 1990: 120f). It is perh. connected with Loloiş *lan ‘snake’ (Zev Handel, ICSTILL 1997: 26).

mân 猛 (mâng, mjâng) 3 LH muông, OCM *mâu ‘Cat’ [Shi].
méi

未, which later fused with, or was influenced by, → yóu 有 (Norman 1988: 126).
This late word is not derived from → mú, 没 ‘dive’.

méi

 枚 (muǐ) LH mōi, OCM *mōi
‘Branch, tree trunk, board’ [Shi], later ‘chip, counter’ → classifier for every category
of noun in the Nànbéicháo period, now obsolete (Lǚ Xiōngzǐ; Norman 1988: 115).
for elephant tusks’ (Jenner / Pou 1982: 215). After a foreign loan vowel OC often drops
the coda, see §6.9.

méi

 梅 (muǐj) LH mōi, OCM *mrjaj
‘Edge, bank, coast, from the moment of’ [BI, Shih] > ‘eyebrow’ 梅 (‘edge / border
of the eye’) [Shi] (so Karlgren 1956: 5; Wáng Li 1982: 428), ‘lintel of door or window’
梅 [Yili]. For a semantic parallel ‘edge’ > ‘rim’ (of eye), see → yá, 齡 ‘earlifespan’.
[EN] Etymology not clear. Méi ‘eyebrow’ is prob. not related to PTB *-s-mi– *-s-mul
‘body hair’ because it is s. as ‘edge, rim’ – unless the semantic development should
have been ‘eyebrow’ > ‘edge, bank’ (unlikely). TB has somewhat similar
comparanda: WT *mu ‘border, boundary, limit, edge’; or Lushai hwm ‘border, edge,
point, end’ (but see → mú, 未). For more words with initial *m- and the notion ‘edge,
lip’, etc. See → wén, 吻.

méi

 梅 (muǐj) LH mōi, OCM *mrjaj, OCB *mrjaj
‘Japanese apricot’ [Praunus mume], ‘plum’, Mand. méizi 梅子, seems to be related to
Old Japanese ume ‘plum’ (Shibatani 1990: 120; Miyake 1997: 188). There are other
tree names which have a possible Japanese connection: → sōng 松 ‘pine’; → náj 奈
some kind of pear’ and → zèh 柏 ‘some kind of mulberry tree’. The source of these
words is unknown.

méi

 梅 (muǐj) LH mōi, OCM *mrjaj, OCB *mrjaj
‘Meat on sides of spine’ [Yi] may belong to the TB items under → mí 梅 ‘deer’, but
the vowels do not agree.

méi

 梅 (muǐj) LH mōi, OCM *mrjaj, OCB *mrjaj
‘Marriage go-between, matchmaker’ [Shi], ‘god of fecundity’ [Lij]. A semantic
extension is perh. → méi 膠 ‘prolific’.
derived from *[d-aj] ‘bear, support’ (→ dāj 賦) with the infix -m- which forms
agential derivatives (Jenner / Pou 1982: 420ff). The AA infix was treated like the word
initial in OC (§2.6).

méi

 梅 (muǐj) LH mōi, OCM *mrjaj, OCB *mrjaj
‘Quickening of the fetus’ [SW], perf. ‘fruitful, prolific’ [Shi]. This is prob. a semantic
extension of → méi 梅莓.
méi

煤 (muǐ) LH ma, OCM *mā
‘Soot’ [Lü].

[EN] ST, but etymology not certain. (1) TB-Laahu mō < PLB *r-muu ‘soot / scrid’ (HPTB: 112; 180), apparently only attested in some LB languages; if related, a merger of OCM *mā with *mō must have occurred (see comment under → méi1, méi3).
(2) TB-Lushai māŋ / manŋ / maŋŋ ‘be sooty, grimy’ vs. maŋŋ ‘be partially burnt wood’; rather than being a CH loan, WB hmāŋ ‘ink’ appears to be a loan translation of mō ‘ink’ (made of soot) (under → méi1, black).

[C] Possible derivations are → hui, 灰 ‘ashes’, → wēn, 文 ‘black marks’, → hēi ‘black’ (Wáng Li 1982: 409). Wáng Li adds méi 微 (mi) ‘moldy, grimy’ which appears in SHW and Chúéh as the first syllable of binomes (微流, 微黑). Unrelated to → hui, 晦 ‘dark’.

méi

美 (mi) LH mā, OCM *māi, OCB *mrāij ‘Be beautiful, handsome’ [Shi: Guofeng].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR muj (.), PR, LR maj; MGZY mue (.) [mue]; ONW mi

[EN] ST: PTB *moy (STC no. 304) > Lushai miŋ, Kachin moy (HST: 40). Note also PTB *moy ‘good, well’ (STC no. 300), Mikir méi ‘be good’, JP tōs-mai ‘good’.

méi2

每 (muǐ) LH ma, OCM *māi (dialiectal *mō ?)
‘Each, every’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR muj (.), PR, LR maj; MGZY mue (.) [mue]; ONW mā

[EN] This may possibly be the AA word for ‘one’: PMK *muy (Shorto 1976: 1054) > Khmu mōo, OKhmer moy/mooj (→ Tai mui), combination form mō; PMon meu ‘one’ [Diffloth 1984: 141], OMon moy; OKhmer and OMon mīmoy/mīmooj ‘each’ < /moj ‘one’ (Jenner / Pou 1982: 522). For the absence of final -j in CH after a foreign long vowel (note Khmer), see §6.9. We should expect OC *mō instead of *māi which is implied by the phonetic → māū, 母 *mō; OC Shìjīng dialectal merger of *po with *po (Baxter 1992: 466) would explain the later vowel.

Chinese and Khmer associate the notion ‘each, every’, with every one, one, note CH zhi zhi you wēi 隻隻有尾 ‘each one has a tail’ (zhi 隻 ‘single’, one) (Giles p. 233 no. 1869); Mand. yī ēr yī ēr ē 一個一個的 ‘one by one, each’.

méi3

每 ‘cove’ → mē6 冒

méi1

妹 (mi) LH mas, OCM *mās or *mīs – [D] PMin *nyai (or *nuν)
‘Younger sister’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR muj (.), PR, LR maj; MGZY mue (.) [mue]


méi2

沐 (muǐ) LH ma, OCM *māi
‘Finish’ → mō6 末

méi3

妹 (mi) LH mas, OCM *mās or *mīs – [T] ONW mai
‘Twilight, obscure, bewildered’ [BI, Shi] > ‘morning twilight, dawn, earlier; dusk’ [OB, BI, Shi, Shu].

[x] wē 晚 (mjuat, xuat) LH mut, huat, OCM *mat, *hmāt < *hmāt ‘Dawn’ [SW].

[EN] Perh. connected with KS, note PKS *sūt ‘blind’.

méi4

脦 (mi) LH mis, OCM *mtis – [T] MTang mī, ONW mīi
‘To sleep’ [Shi].

[EN] ST: PTB *t-muŋ (STC: 174 n. 463; no. 196) > WT rmi-ba, rmis ‘to dream’, WB mwe ‘to sleep’ (HST: 134), Magar mis-ke; Lushai mū / mūt < mu / mus ‘to lie down, sleep’ is resolved.

méi5

魅 (mi) LH mis, OCM *mrris (t) ?
‘A kind of demon’ [Zuo], 影 [Zhouli] (discussed by Carr LTBA 13.2: 137); méi is often combined with → mē, 妖 魅/魅. Etymology not clear.

méi6

呪 (mi) LH mut, mas, OCM *māt, *māts ‘Farsighted, dim vision’ [SW] may be related to → méi, 咒 (so Wáng Li 1982: 465).

méi7

פע (mi) LH mut, mas, OCM *māt, *māts
‘Be pained, to suffer’ [Shi]. The relationship with → mē, 病 ‘suffering’ is not clear.

méi8

 jue 覺 (mi) LH jue, kuet, OCM *me(s), *kweɪ ‘Sleeve’ jue [Lun], méi [Li]. Acc. to Baxter / Sagart (1998: 49), jue is a k-prefix derivation from méi.

mén

門 (mān) LH mon, OCM *mān, OB ‘mon’
‘Gate’ [BI, Shi]. Perh. mën 毋 LH mon ‘river gorge’ [Shi] is the same word.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR mun (平); PR, LR mon; MGZY mun (平) [mun]; ONW mon < mān

mèn

無 (mēn) LH huan, OCM *hmān
‘Gatekeeper’ [Zuo] > mén (mān) (mu) (mān) with nominalizing devoicing (§5.2.4).


mèn2

無 (mēn) LH mon, OCM *mēn
‘To lay hands on, hold’ [Shi]. Shīn below suggests a PCH rime *un.

mìn

閂 (mēn) LH min, OCM *mān
‘To lay hands on’ [Lūshi].

The following is probably a variant of mēn (Sagart 1999: 79).

shēn

睡 (shēn) LH zhi / zhui, li, zuin, OCM *m-lun, *s-lun
‘To lay hands on’ [SW, Mo].

mèn3

閂 (mēn) LH mon, OCM *mēn
‘Unconsciously’ [Zhuan].

mèn

閂 (mēn) LH mon, OCM *mēn
‘Sad’ [Yī], ‘dull, stupid’ [Lào].

hūn

昏 (hūn) LH huan, OCM *hmān
‘Dusk, evening, darkness, benighteded, darkly’ 昏 [Shi]; ‘blinded, confused’ 昏 [Zhuan] – 昏 is also read [mēn, man] (QYS mian m, muon) which reflects the common *m ~ *m variation and thus converges with mān 明 (under → mān, 明). 

CH > PMY *mwoŋ ‘evening, dusk’.


This wē is possibly associated with → mēn, 洞 ‘blind’, → hūn, 婚, → wēn, 嫁. It tends to blend into → mián, 眠, → mēng 冥. Baxter / Sagart (1998: 60) add hū 忽 (huat) [hut] *hmut ‘careless, confused’ [Shi] to this wē.

mèn

閂 → mèn3
méng

méng₁ 蜻 (men) LH maŋ, OCM *m$m$ŋ
'Gadfly, horsefly' [Zhuang]; also name of the plant Fritillaria [Shi]. Mei Tsu-Lin (1985: 338) relates this word to yinw, 蜻 'a fly' and PTai ma-leen⁴, but see méng₁-líng 蝴蝶.
[E] ST: WT sran $<$ s-mran $<$ 'a fly' (Gong 2002b: 200). For the initial m $<$ b-difference, see §5.12.2.

méng₂ 鳞 (men) LH meŋ, OCM *m$m$ŋ or *m$m$ŋ
'Population, people' 鳞 [Shi]; 竤 [ZHoul]; 'subjects' [Meng] (commentators have suggested that méng refers to 'settlers from the outside', but that cannot be the meaning in Męng 5B, 6) -> Mand. méŋ 'the common people', but luam (f) 流氓 'hooligan' is perhaps a different etymology. QYS meŋ normally goes back to OC *m$m$ŋ (so Li F.) or *m$m$ŋ; the phonetic as well as the graph substitution méng 鳞 (m$m$ŋ) *m$m$ŋ (Karlgren GI. 176) favor OC *m$m$ŋ. This word is not related to min₁ - people' as is sometimes suggested (e.g. Wáng Li 1982: 372).

méng₁ 盟 → méng₂ 明

méng₁ 萌 (men) LH meŋ, OCM *m$m$ŋ
'Sprout' [Li].

méng₂ 夢 (mun) LH moŋ, OCM *m$m$ŋ
'Blind' 醜 [Shi] -> 'be blind to, unenlightened' 夢 [Shi] -> 'stupidity, ignorance' 盪 [Shi].
[E] ST: WT dmyjn $<$ lmoŋ $<$ 'blind'. HST: 61 considers this the same etymology as méng₁, 盪 'darkening'; in fact this word and méng₁, 盪, méng₂, 盪 may be the same, in spite of méng here being also written with the graph 盪 which should be expected to go back to an original vowel *O. It is not clear if and how the WF $<$ méng₁, 盪 should be related.

méng₂ 摘 (mun) LH moŋ, OCM *m$m$ŋ
'To cover' intr. (as fur, vegetation, etc.) 摘 [Shi], 摘 [Yi Zhou] -> 'filled to the brim' (of food vessels) 飹 [Shi]. See note under méng₁, 盪 'darkening'.

méng₁ 妖 (mun) LH moŋ, OCM *m$m$ŋ
'Darkening' (e.g. sky black) 摘 [Shi]. TB cognates suggest that this is not derived from the same ST etymology as méng₁, 盪 'blind'.
[E] ST: PTB *m$n$ŋ (STC no. 362) $<$ WB h médico 'dull, downcast' vs médico 'very dark'; JP moyen 'overcast'. Alternative: WT mbzoŋ $<$ 'be obscured', WB médico 'very dark, darkness'.

méng₂ 摘 (mun) LH moŋ, OCM *m$m$ŋ

Many words could be combined into a large WF 'cover, dark, blind': $<$ méng₂ 妖, méng₁ 摘, méng₂ 摘, méng₁ 闷. However, 'blind' $<$ méng₁ 摘 points to a medial *O, whereas there is no evidence for this in the WB words for 'dull, dark'.

méng₁ 鬼 (men) LH meŋ, OCM *m$m$ŋ
'Toad' [ZHoul]. The character also writes a syllable mën (mjen⁴ 4) OCM *m$m$ŋ.

méng₂ 蜂 → wén₂ 叩
méng₁ 摘 → méng₄ 嫌 'cover'
méng₁ 孟 (men) LH maŋ, OCM *m$m$ŋh $<$ [T] ONW méng
'Eldest' (of siblings) [Shi], 'eldest' [Shi], 'first' (of three months) [Li].

méng₂ 夢 (mun) LH moŋ, OCM *m$m$ŋ (tone A)
'Dream' [Shi]; Shijing times indicate tone A for OC (Mattiós 1971: 309).
[T] Sin Sukhu SR muŋ (pe); MGZY wun (pe) [vun]; MTang moŋ, ONW muŋ

mf₁ 迷 (mii) LH me, OCM *mi $<$ [T] ONW mēi
'To get astray' [Shi].

mf₁ 迷 (mii) LH me, OCM *mi $<$ [T] ONW mēi
'Mysterious words' [GY] (Wáng Li 1982: 430).

mf₁ 迷 (mii) LH me, OCM *mi
'Get something in the eye, troubled sight' [Zhuang] (Wáng Li 1982: 430).
[E] ST: Lushai hmaip $<$ hmai 'to overlook, miss, forget' $<$ PTB *maŋ, WB mec 'forget'; Weidert 1987: 285 sets up 'mēi 'to forget' on the basis of Tangkhul 'ke-me'jai.

mf₂ 瘤 (mii 3) LH me, OCM *m$r$oi
'David's deer' [Zuo].

mf₂ 瘤 (mii 3) LH me, OCM *m$r$oi
'Perh. ST: Chepang mai? 'meat', Bodo mivis 'deer', Liangmei ka-mi 'meat' [Weidert 1987: 35]; NNaga *meŋ 'meat, flesh' $>$ mai and mei in individual languages. A single etymology for both 'meat' and 'deer' is also found in WT: ŝa 'meat' $<$ ŝwa 'deer'.

mf₁ 瘤 (mii 4) LH mie, OCM *me $<$ [T] MTang mī, ONW mie
'('To take time, take its time to completion, run its course to completion' ') 'To complete, fulfill, long-lasting' [BI, Shi] $>$ 'extend, increase' [Zuo] $>$ 'still more'

mf₁ 瘤 (mii 4) LH mie, OCM *me
'To complete, fulfill' 弘 [Shi], 敷 [Shi], 'to finish' 瘤 [ZHoul]; 'to be filling, full' 瘤 (also MC mie, miei⁴), and derived metaphors 彰 [Shi].
[T] MTang mie, ONW me (i.e. QYS div. 3).

mf₃ 瘤 (mii 4) LH mie, OCM *me $<$ [T] MTang mī, ONW mie

mf₃ 瘤 (mii 4) LH mie, OCM *me
'To crush' (people) [Meng] which, acc. to GSR 179 is derived from the meaning 'rice gruel' [Li], the reverse seems more plausible, however.

mf₃ 瘤 (mii 4) LH mie, OCM *me
'Crush' (people) [Meng] which, acc. to GSR 179 is derived from the meaning 'rice gruel' [Li], the reverse seems more plausible, however.

mf₃ 瘤 (mii 4) LH mie, OCM *me
'Crush' (people) [Meng] which, acc. to GSR 179 is derived from the meaning 'rice gruel' [Li], the reverse seems more plausible, however.

mf₃ 瘤 (mii 4) LH mie, OCM *me
'To crush' (people) [Meng] which, acc. to GSR 179 is derived from the meaning 'rice gruel' [Li], the reverse seems more plausible, however.
mí

[D] PMin *miB2 'husked rice'.

[B] Prob. an area word, but a relative with unambiguous phonological agreement is elusive; most likely cognate: PIB *ma-y (STC no. 305) > Garo mí m me, Dimasa m ai 'rice, paddy'. Karen Sgaw me 'boiled rice'; Tangkhul Naga ma 'paddy', Lushai mih beginning to form in the bud' (rice). JP n33-moi33 'blossom' (of grain) (HST: 125). However, this connection presupposes an OCM *má-á. Matisoff (1995: 66) suggests that the final *i-i-y is a ST diminutive suffix. <> Yao mái (Wáng Fúshí). AN imay 'rice' (Benedict A7).

Alternatively, Li Fang Kuei (1976: 45) associates the CH word with S. ma-let2S < *mi- 'seed', S. met / le-t 'seed', 'seed', Saëk mlek/d2, and refers also to WT 'bras < nbras 'rice' (which belongs to h21, 藥, though), and to 'bru' 'grain, seed' (cognate to 胚, however). Egerod 1976 cites Miao mblei. See also > 莜 [12] 實 'fruit'.

mí2 莿 mí1 迷

mí3 卑 (meiB4) 4) LH mie6, OCM *me? The clan name of the rulers of the ancient state of Chō, in CH translation Xiáng 熊. Mi is a KT word for 'bear' (Yao Xueqin CAAAL 21, 1983: 135): PKS *múa1-fí, P'Tai *hm-. S. mii4t, Po-ai mui4t; Hliái mui4 [Matisoff 1988: 310] (a medial w/u is lost after labial and acute initials in CH); further afield we note AN: e.g. Proto-Eastern Formosan 'Cumey bear' [Li Jie-Kuei LL 5.2, 2004: 368]. The graph represents a sheep and writes the sound of its bleating (?).

mí4 靈 (meiB4) 4) LH mie6, OCM *me? 'To wash' (a corpse in preparation for burial) [Zhouli] may be related to -> mí1 迷, but the verbs do not agree.

mí6 懿 (meiB3) 3) LH miao6, OCM *mai? 'Not have, there is no' [Shi] ('cause to get to nothing'); 'squander' [Li], 'exhaust' [Guoyu].

[ST] Sin Sukhu SR mi (平), mej (上), PR maj (平); MGZY mue (平上) [meu]

[N] This PCH and pre-classical word 'not have, there is no' (the more common synonym was wáng, 亡 was replaced by wú4 無 starting only in late WZhou, so that mí survived only as a semantic derivative 'squander, exhaust'.

[e] tone B derivation from wú4 無 *ma (§3.3.2); Matisoff (1995: 76f) suggests that the final *i is a suffix.

[B] Prob. ST via the root *ma, perh. mí corresponds more directly to WT med-pa 'not have, there is no' (from *ma-y – alternatively, med-pa (STC p. 183; HST: 61) is thought to derive from WT ma or mi 'not' + yod-pa 'have'). It is not clear how the following may be related: Tai-Siam. mënCI 'no, not'; AA-Pearce may 'do not'.

Alternatively, the MC form could theoretically derive from a PCH *mai? (not *mai?); in this case, the TB-Dulong word mè NEG + have' [LaPolla, LTB4 24.2: 35 et al.] may be a direct cognate.

[C] A derivation is -> mí2 迷 'not have'. Possibly the s. w. as -> mí1, 迷 'small'.

mí7 麥 (meiB3) 3) LH miao6, OCM *mai? 'Small, tiny' (e.g. grass) [Yi, Li].

mí8 觀 (meiB3 — tone!) LH miao6, OCM *mai? 'Small, tiny' (e.g. insects) [Liec].

[B] Etymology not certain. Given its late Zhou occurrence, it may be a semantic extension of the earlier word -> mí1 迷 'not have' (i.e. > 'become nothing, negligible, small?'). Acc. to HST: 62, it could be cogn. to -> mí1 迷 'crush'. Or it could be a vocalic variant of a synonym. -> wéi8 微 *mai?

mí1 迷 (mjet 4) LH mit, OCM *mit, OCB *Njit 'To wipe a vessel clean' [SW].


mí2 聰 míd15 默働

mí3 密 (mjet 3) LH mit, OCM *mit, OCB *mjit — [T] ONW mit 'Dense' (of clouds, dwellings) [BI, Shi] is acc. to Baxter (1992: 436) possibly cognate to the following (unless it is the s. w. as -> mí1 迷 'near').

mí4 密 (mjet 3) LH mit, OCM *mit?

‘To be near, close’ [Zuo].

[B] AA: Khmer piata / bialot: 'be near, close, come close to, bring near, press upon...', Khm. pampota / bambialot: 'to squeeze or hold tight, pin between...'. For the initials, see §5.12.2. Khmer -ja-corresponds often to an OC high front vowel. Alternatively, this may be the same word as -> mí1 迷 'dense'.

mí5 密 'silent' -> míd15 默黙

mí6 蜜 (mjet 4) LH mit, OCM *mit 'Honey' [Chuci].

[T] MTang mir < mir, ONW mii — [D] PMin *mit

[B] Thought to be borrowed from IE-Tocharian B mit 'honey' < *PTokhari *mjet (Behr Orientis 1999 / 2000: 36).

mí7 幕 (meiBZ) LH mek, OCM *mek

‘To cover’ [Zhouli], [Yi]; 'cover' (consisting of skin or mats) [BI]; 'covering on carriage' [Li], 'floor carpet in carriage' [Zhouli].

mí8 幕 (meiBZ) LH mek, OCM *mek — [T] MTang mik, ONW mēk

‘To search, look for’ [BI, Yúpíán, Sánquózhà, Jìshí] has a stop initial in Mín dialects: Quánhóu bõ42, Amoy br42, bû42, lit. bêk42.

mián1 面 (mien) LH men, mien prob. OCM *men 'Sleep' [Zhuang]. The graph men is encountered only late in Han period texts [Shanhajjing] and since for men it thus does not reflect the OC phonetic parameters of the phonetic series GSR 457 *men (~ *man). Mián is distinct from -> mën1 觀 'close eyes'.

[T] MTang mian < miiān, ONW mēn

mì "speak", 'sleepy', WB myaŋ B 'be sleepy, sleep'; JP mjen31-mjen31 'to sleep soundly' ≠ mjen31 'sleep a while' (HST: 134).

mì マン (mjīn4) LH mian
'Thread' (DZ: [Báu Jū-y], Tang period); 'wool' in mian yáng '绵羊 'sheep' (lit. 'wool goat') [Zhongsh]. This is a late word, unless mian-mān 鈿廉 'tiny, delicate' in Shìfang is derived from 'wool'.

[!] ST: WT bal 'wool'; for the initials, see §5.12.2. However, the WT word could belong to → pán3 鐵 'curl' instead.

mìán 厘 (mjīn4) LH mian8, OCM *mran? — [T] ONW man
'To strive, insist, make effort' [Shi]. Wáng Li (1982: 410) relates this word to items under → mín, 'suffering'.

mìn-mìán 錐勉 (mjīn3 - mīn3) LH min8-mian8, OCM *mran?-mran?
'To make an effort' [Shi]. The first part LH min8 may be a reduplicative syllable.

mì 凌 (līn1) LH lian8, OCM *ran
'To be toilsome, difficult, slow' [Yi].

[!] Perh. AA: OKHmer ryăn[rīnian] 'to exert oneself, apply one's mind to, study...'

[!] Perh. related to → māng 鈐 'exert oneself'.

mìn 呆 (mjīn4) LH min8, OCM *mran? — [T] ONW man
'To give birth' [OB (acc. to Guo Moruo), Guòyú: Yūn-yū; Wénxuān, GY], GY adds some other readings; a qi 齒 (Shandong) dialect word acc. to a commentary to Wénxuān (Wáng Li 1982: 585).

[!] This word appears to form a ST-like *mer/en? ~ *sre/a? pair with → chān, *sre/a? 'produce' (§2.4.3), hence mǐn seems to be a ST etymology. Nevertheless, mìn and chān could equally well belong to MK; Khmer samtraŋ / somraal (s-m-raal) 'to give birth to, deliver' < rāa / rīa / rīoun 'to increase, ... distribute, propagate'. Perhaps AA has been the source of OC *mran? which then changed the ST s- ~ m-pattern.

mì 蒜 (mjīn4) LH min8, OCM *mran?
'Ceremonial cap' [Bl, Shu]; could be related either to → biān 帽 [bonc?] 'a cap' (so Wáng Li 1982: 582), or to mì, 冕冕 'cover'; both proposals present phonological problems.

mì 固 (mjīn4) LH min8, OCM *men?
'To steep (in wine), get drunk' [Shi].

Unger (Hao-ku 36, 1990: 50) suggests cognation with WT smyong-pa 'insane, frantic, mad'.

mìan 副→ mìan 面

mìn 副 (mjīn4) LH min8, OCM *men?
'Face, to face, face to face' [Shi].

[!] Sin Suku SR mjen (颊); MGZY men (颊) [men]; ONW mian

[D] This is still the word for 'face' in southern dialects: M-Xiamén bή, Y. Guängzhōu min8, K-Méixiàn mian8.

mìn 偷 (mjīn4) LH min8, OCM *men?
'To turn from, abandon' [Chuci] is cognate to the above acc. to Wáng Li (1982: 586).

[!] Perhaps endoative of mìan 面 (mjīn4) (? §4.5).

[!] ST: PTB *s-mel (Benedict LTB 1976: 180) > Lushai hmeel /'face' ~ hmai8 < hmai2, JP man31 'face', Lepcha mlem (< mle-m; -m is a common suffix in Lepcha).
mín - mín

mín₁ 乖 (mínjìn 4) LH min, OCM *mín
‘People’ [BI, Shi].
[T] Sín Sukçu SR min (平); MGZY min (平) [min]; MTang min < min, ONW min
[E] ST *mí: PTB *n-mí: > WT mì ‘man, human being’, Gyarung tormi (i.e. to-rmi)
(STC: 158 n. 428). For the CH nominal n-suffix, see §6.4.3.

mín₂ 民 (mínjìn 3) LH min, OCM 第 *mí:ən!, OCB 第 *mí:ın (Baxter 1992: 434)
‘String, (fishing) line’ [Shi].
[T] The MC rime can also derive from *í:ən, *ín, or *í:ım in which case this word may
be a variant of > shéng 程 OCM *mí:ın (so Mei Tsu-Lin 1985). On the basis of the basis
of Shijing rime Baxter (1992: 281) suggests that mín is derived from the same root as the
syllable > lún 眼 OCB *g-rún.

mín₃ 稱 (mínjìn 3) LH min, OCM *mí:ən, OCB 第 *mí:ın (1992: 433)
‘Suffering’ [Shi].

mín 乖 (mínjìn 3) LH min, OCM 第 *mí:ən, OCB 第 *mí:ın (p. 434, tone A!)
‘Be distressed’ [Shi] > ‘grieved, commiserating’ 憾 [Zuo], 慌 [Meng], ‘sorry,

mín 民 (mínjìn 3) LH min, OCM 第 *mí:ən
‘Be confused, disorderly’ [Shu].
[T] This w form is homophonous with > mín 間 ‘exert oneself’; they may be the same etymology
(‘be pained’ > ‘take pains’). The relationship with > měi, hui 檢 ‘pained’ is not clear.

mín₄ 捲 mín 民

mín₅ 慘 (mínjìn 3) LH min, OCM 第 *mí:ən, OCB 第 *mí:ın (p. 434, tone A!)
‘Exert oneself’ [Shi].

mín 民 (mínjìn 3) LH min, OCM 第 *mí:ən
‘Violent’ 慘 [SW: Shu]; ‘austere, stern’ 胡 [Shi].

mín 呑 (mínjìn 3) LH min, OCM 第 *mí:ən
‘Be forceful’ 睦 [Shu]; ‘strong’ 呑 [SW].

mín 河 (mínjìn 3) LH min, OCM 第 *mí:ən
‘Exert oneself, diligent’ [BI, Shi]. A form in final -n begins to emerge only in the
Han period (Luó and Zhóu 1958: 18).

mín 民 (mínjìn 3) LH min, OCM 第 *mí:ən
‘To destroy, ruin’ [Zuo].

[T] AA: Khmer rián 南ian ‘to exert oneself, endeavor...’. < Tai: S. min>n <hmin
‘diligent’ [Monanvaribool 1975: 239] is perhaps a CH loan.

[T] This w form and the homophonous > mín 慘 may be the same etymology
(‘be pained’ > ‘take pains’). Allomorphs may be > wèn, 聞 ‘be vigorous’ (so Wáng Li 1982: 410); Wáng also
adds > mǐn 勉 ‘make an effort’; see there also for mín-mǐn 鼓勉.

mín, mǐn 間 (mínjìn 3 tone [GY]) LH min
Name of today’s Fújìān area, its major river and many people who have lived there [Zhouli]. Mín does not mean ‘snake’ (Zev Handel, p. c.), the ‘snake’ radical [SW]
is sometimes used in the names of barbarians. Acc. to JDSW (and following it, JY),
the graph has other readings: wén, and mán; the composition of the graph 間 indicates that
the Zhōu 和 Han time reading was not mín.

mín - mīng

mín 慘 (mínjìn 4) LH mīng, OCM *mín ~ *mēng
‘Name’ [BI, Shi].
[T] Sín Sukçu SR mīng (平); MGZY mīng (平) [míng]; ONW mīng
[D] PMín 慘
[E] ST: PTB *míng > WT mīn, OTib myin ‘name’, Iaarming termi, Cheping mīnyun
‘name’, PLB *mīning; WB mān ‘be named’ ≠ mīning ‘name’ ≠ hūmīning ‘to name’; JP
myin; Mikir -mēng, Lushai hūmīning ‘name’ (HST: 111); Mru mīng.
[C] Related to > mǐn 呻 ‘to name’.

mīng 慇 (mīngjìn 5) LH mīng, OCM *mín ~ *mēng > *mīng (OCB *mīngjīn)[s]
‘To name, give a name (to a person)’ [Zuo: Min 2, 5], ‘to order, command; order,
decree = fate, lot = life’ 今 [OB, BI], 呻 [Shi]. The word was read in tone A in Shijing
(Matts 1971: 309). In the OB and BI (except late western ZhouBI only the graph 今
‘order’ occurs, while the received texts write 呻, i.e. 今 with kōu 口 ‘mouth’ added to
indicate that 今 is a phonetic or semantic loan. Because mīng is the ordinary word for
‘to order’, and because the break between 今 (early inscriptions) and 呻 (later texts) is
quite abrupt, 呻 must have stood for 呻 in all Shang and Western Zhou inscriptions.
[T] Sín Sukçu SR mīng (平); MGZY mīng (平) [mīng]; ONW mīng
[D] PMīng 慇 ‘life’ > Amey miāng2, Fūzhōu miāng2
[c] Possibly an r-causative / trans. derivation from the noun mīng 名 *mín ~ *mēng
‘name’ (§7.5); later an exocative *s / -h was added (§4.3.2).
[E] If related (so Wáng Li 1982: 329), > lǐng 令 ‘order’ may have preserved a ST or
KCH pre-initial *r-, hence *mīn < *r-mīng which makes it a homophone of PTB *r-mīng
‘name’ (so STC: 155 n. 419; Granet 1948: 292). WB mīng ‘command’ (a CH loan?) is
prob. also related.

mīng 慇 (mīngjìn 4) LH mīng, OCM *mēng — [T] MTang mīng < mīng, ONW mīng
‘Inscription’ [BI, Lījī].

mīng 慇 is commonly thought to be related to > mīng, 名, but the semantic link is
not compelling. Phonologically, this word agrees with WT byāng-ma / bu ’inscription,
direction, label, tablet’ (on which an inscription is written); for OC *mīn = WT b-, see
§5.12.2; for OC *mīn = WT -ya-, see §11.3.2. If related, the WT item must be a very old
CH loan because there was no writing on the ST level.

mīng 慇 (mīngjìn 5) LH mīng, OCM *mēng
‘Be dark’ (not light, no sunlight) [SW, Shi], ‘night’ [Shi] > ‘dark of night, dark night’
[Chuci]. As ‘night’ also written 風 [Yupian].
[T] MTang mīng < mīng, ONW mīng — [D] PMīng 慇 A2 ‘night’
[E] Area word for ‘night’: in Min dialects *mīng; in PMY *mīn [Purnell] or
*mīng [Wáng Fūshí 20/140] ‘evening, night’. MK: PNBhm. māng ‘night’. The nature of
the relationship between ST *mīng ‘dark’ and SE Asian *māng ‘night’ is not clear
(loans from southern CH dialects?). < PTB *mīng > WB mān B = māng B ‘dark, black’. 386
mìng — mìng

WT mdqys ‘last night’ may belong to this etymon, but the WT d remains unexplained.

[C] Allophonic acc. to Karlgrén 1956: 5 are → mì 單 (miek) ‘to cover’ (1956: 18), → mìn, 視 ‘close the eyes’.

mìng3 滬冥 (mien) LH men, OCM ṭməŋ
‘Ocean’ [Zhuang, Liec, as in bēi mìng 北冥 ‘northern ocean’, nán mìng 南冥 ‘southern ocean’.

[E] Commentators explain that mìng ‘ocean’ is the s. w. as → mìn, 冥 ‘dark, black’ (of water) (likely in light of parallelism with the unrelated → hái 沼), There is an outside chance, though, that the etymology is instead connected with PTB *mlgk > OBurm. mlac ‘river’, WB -mrac, Arakanese merek ‘sea’, SC/Chin Daai mlīk (tui) ‘big water, river, sea’ (tui ‘water’).

mìng4 視 (mien) LH men, OCM ṭmēŋ
‘Close the eyes’ [Zou], Karlgrén relates mīng to → mìn, 劾 ‘sleep’ (< ST *mel) and mìng 劾 ‘close eyes’ and treats these as two separate words. This is not an example of an occasional *ŋ ~ *n variation because ST *I is not known to show up as CH -ŋ. Also, WB distinguishes hmin ‘have the eyes shut’ and myan ‘to sleep’ < *mel. Here and in the next two items the etymology mīng ‘dark’, mìng ‘close eyes’ and mīn ‘sleep’ have bled into each other so that they are difficult to separate out.

* mian 視 (mien) LH men, OCM *mēns
‘Dizzy, confused’ [Mien]. For the near homophone hūn 恍, see → mën3 憊.

* mān 眠 (mān) LH mon, OCM *mān
‘Shut the eyes, deluded’ [Xun] is perhaps a vocalic variant of the a ~ e type (§11.1.3).

mìng-lìng 蜜navigator (mien-lien) LH meŋ-leŋ, OCM *mēŋ-rēŋ
‘Insect on mulberry leaves’ [Shi], reduplicated from *mlng acc. to Li Fang Kuei.


mìng4 明 (mien) LH min, OCM *mään, OCB *mōn
‘Become light, bright, enlightened > ‘morning’ before sunrise > ‘morrow’ [OB, BI, Shi], ‘next’ (day, year etc.) [Zou].

[T] Sin Sukhu SR min (平); MGZY mìng (平) [min]; ONW meŋ

[D] PMin *māŋ. This is perh. the same word as

mèng 盪 (mien) LH meŋ, OCM *mēŋ, OCB *mōn
‘Covenant, sworn agreement’ [Shi] which may be derived from a meaning like 明 ‘make clear’ (a command).


mìng2 嘩 (mien) LH mien, OCM *mēŋ, OCB *mēŋ
‘To sound, to call’ (of animals, birds, musical instruments) vb. [Shi].

[ST] WB mān ‘to sound’; Mīk mān ‘make noise, cry’, Lushai rēŋ / rin ‘be loud’, Lepcha r-ŋ ‘voice, sound'. Baxter (1992: 499) suggests that one or both of the following may be related: → lìng 鈴 *C-ŋ ‘small bell’; → shēng 鈴 *šrēŋ ‘reed-organ’.

mìng 命 → mìng3 名

miù — mò

miù1 謂 (mian) LH miū, OCM *mrāw, OCB *mrēs

[T] Sin Sukhu SR miū (去); MGZY miū (去) [miw]

miù2 謂 → zhōu3 周

mō1 摩 → mǐ1, 摺

mō2 摩摩 (mō) LH moi, OCM *mōi
‘Rub, polish’ [Zou], ‘touch’ [Li], ‘rub’ (things rubbing against each other)摩 [Zhuang]; ‘grind, polish, grindstone’摩 [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukhu SR māw (平); MGZY mō (平) [mō]; ONW mo

[D] PMin *muoi

* mō 摩 (mō) LH moi, OCM *mōi
‘Dust’ [Chuci].

[c] exoactive of mo 摩摩 (mō) (§4.4) lit. ‘what has been rubbed off’.

[E] This w appears to be cognate to WB hmwa ‘pulverize’ > hmwa ‘be fine, smooth’, and / or to Lushai hma ‘be sandy and gritty’ (of soil), et al. and hence also to WT bye-ma ‘sand’ (for m-~b- initials, see §5.12.2). OC ? → Tai: S. ma-la-a ‘to damage, destroy’ (for the Tai /l/ see §2.7).

mō3 諱 (muo) LH mo, OCM *mōi (! tone) — [T] ONW mo
‘Plan, counsel’ [Shi]; mō 莫 (māk) ‘to plan’ [Shi] may be a graphic loan for mó.

* wǔ 藐 (muoj) LH muo, OCM *ma
‘Induce, advise’ [Guan].

[E] This could possibly derive from a ST etymology meaning ‘ahead, in front’ which is reflected in Lushai hma ‘the front, space in front of, be early, beforehand’, hma ‘to scheme, plan’ (lit. ‘to think’ + hma ‘ahead’).

mō4 末 (mō) LH mat, OCM *mōi — [T] ONW mat
‘The tip’ [Lijj], ‘end of’ (branch, extremities, legs) [Zou], ‘end, final, last’ [Shu] > ‘to diminish’ [Zou].

* mēi 泡 (mūi) LH mas, OCM *mōts
‘To finish’ [Chuci].

[c] exoactive of mō, i.e. tr. vb. derived from ‘end’ (§4.3.2).

[E] The etymology is not certain. Most likely, mō is derived from → wū 無 [muo] ‘nothing, there is no’, thus meaning something like ‘the thing which comes to nothing’, with the nominalizing suffix + (§6.2.1). Perh. AA; PMonic *mōh, Mon mōh, mah ‘tip, end, edge’ had some phonomorphological influence on the creation of the CH word if mō is not an outright substrate word. Or note TB-Lushai hma ‘edge, border, end, tip’ (but see měi 眉).
mò

[T] Sin Sukchu SR mu (λ); MGZY mu (λ) [mu]; ONW mut

[E] Two etyma have apparently converged: (1) ST > PTB *mit ‘exterminate, destroy by water or fire’. The i ~ u alternation is common in ST phonomena (§11.5.1). (2) An etymon ‘to dive’: WB mripu ‘to dive’, which acc. to Shorto 1972 a loan from PMK *(b)lup ~ *(b)lup ‘immerse oneself’. CH > Tai: S. mut reproduction.

This word is unrelated to the later → mèi, 没 ‘not have, there is no’.

mò3 沒 ‘coveet’ → mò6 冒

mò6 冒 (mok) LH mok, OCM *mɔk

‘Be covetous’ [Shu, Zuo].

mèi 悔 (muqi4) LH məi, OCM *məʔ3 — [T] ONW məi

‘Covetous’ [Zhuang].

mò 没 (muot) LH məot, OCM *məʔ3 — [T] ONW mut

‘To covet’ [Guoyu], Karlsgren GSR 492b deriv the meaning ‘coveet’ from ‘dive, disappear, come to an end, have a final goal’ – somewhat forced.

[ST] WT mod- paused, ‘mos-pa’ ‘be pleased, wish’, smon-pa ‘to wish, desire’ ↔ mos-pa ‘to wish, be pleased’. Perh. also found in MK-Pearic mos ‘want, love’ [Headley 1977].

mò3 沒 → wù4 無

mò8 莫 (māk) LH mok, OCM *māk — [T] ONW mok

‘Obscure’ [Xun], 莫 [Y], ‘eyesight dimmed’ 莫 [Y]; this is not a common word.

Possible derivation → mò, 没 ‘tomb’. See under → hēi 黑 for possible wider relations.

mò3-mò 莫莫 ‘luxuriating’ → wù9 膜膜

mò10 膜 → gō2 隱

mò11 膜豹膜膜 → mò3 牧

mò12 庶 ‘dust’ → mò6 摩摩

mò13 墓 → hēi 黑

mò14 膜 (māk) LH mok, OCM *māk

‘Rope’ (made of three strands) [Yi].


mò15 默嘿 (māk) LH mok, OCM *māk

‘Silent’ [Zuo] is thought to be cognate to ‘black’ → hēi 黑 (Karlsgren GSR 904d), also mo 莫莫莫 ‘tqanuqil’ (below) has a homophone → mò8 莫莫莫 ‘obscur’, as does the TB-Lushai form below. See under → hēi 黑 for possible wider relations.

This sound-symbolic notion includes many synonyms with initial *m-:

• mò 莫莫 (māk) LH mok, OCM *māk

‘Be reverently quiet, settled’ (of a population) [Shi]

• mò 莫莫莫 (māk) LH mok, OCM *māk

‘Tqanuqil’ (population) 莫 [Shi], quiet, still’ 莫莫莫 [Zhuang]. Is this merely a graphic variant of 莫莫 (mek)?

• m̀ 密 (jij3) LH mit, OCM *mrìt

‘Silent, quiet’ [Shi], ‘secret’ [Yi]. ↔ Tai: S. saek mit ‘quiet’.

• m̀ 諜 (jij4) LH mit, OCM *mit

‘Gentle, mild’ [Shu, Hou Han].

[ST] Lushai muuk ‘quiet, reserved, serious; dull’ (of colors), Lepcha myak ‘be silent’ (Geilich 1994: 139; 159; she includes in this wf the TB items under → wán2 曼):

mò1 牟 ‘to love’ → mò6 慕

mò6 慕 (muju4) LH muo, OCM *mu or *mò

‘Be alike, uniform’ [Zhouli]. Etymology not clear. MK may be a possible source: Mon smoh ‘be equal, alike, conform to a norm’; however, smoh could derive from Indic sama ‘same’.

mò13 慕 (muju4) LH muo, OCM *mu

‘Pupil of the eye’ [Meng]. Wáng Li (1982: 312) relates múo to → mò2 目 ‘eye’.

mò4 謀 (muju4) LH muo, OCM *mo

‘To plan, counsel’ [Bi, Shī].

[TE] Sin Sukchu SR maw (平); MGZY (kuo) war (平) [wuo]

[TE] Perh. related to → mo5 謀 (so Wáng Li 1982: 105). Alternatively, this word could be cognate to TB: WT mo ‘lot’, mo- ‘soothesayer’ (i.e. consultant) → Daofo mu-pa, WB hmo ‘magical power’ ↔ WB hmo-sa-ra ‘wizard, sorcerer’ [ZM92 no. 191].

mò5 猫 (muju4) LH muo, OCM *mu

‘Helmet’ [Guoce].

[TE] AA: MidMon /komhok/ ‘wide-brimmed conical hat or helmet’ (→ WB k’a-mok), Spoken Mon homkок ‘Shan hat’, Palaung hmoʔ ‘woman’s cap’, Wa-Lawa-Bulang hmo ‘straw hat’; Khmer mòk ‘hat’ (→ S. muk dih ‘hat, cap’ [for the traditional etymology, see Li F. 1976: 41]), Bahn.-Sieng muk, Biat mok, PEKatic muk ‘hat’ (→ Khmer?). For its loss of -k, see §6.9. The source of WT rnom ‘helmet’ is not clear (also AA?).

[ST] → mào, 冒帽 ‘hat’ may perh. be related, → mào 冒 ‘cover’. The earlier syn. was → zhòu 胄.

mò6 织 → jì3 纠

mù1 牡 → mù1 牡

mù2 某 (mu4) LH mok, OCM *mòʔ

‘Someone, a certain, so and so’ [Shu].

[TE] Sin Sukchu SR maw, mu (手), LR mu; MGZY mu (手) [mu]; ONW mu8

[TE] This may possibly be of AA origin: Mon mu, muʔ /muʔ/ ‘what, why’, in cognate languages the etymology also means ‘who, what’. Note the semantic connection between interrogative and indefinite pronouns in many lgs., incl. Mandarin, e.g. 沒甚 ‘it is nothing’.

mù 牡 (māk, mòʔ) LH mok, mo, OCM *mrōk(h)

‘Troubled eyesight’ [Zhuang].

[ST] WT rnom-pa ‘eyes heavy with sleep, inert, languish’. Mù may be cognate to → wû2 露 (so HST: 82), but TB keeps the two roots distinct.

mù 牝 (māk, mòʔ) LH mok, OCM *mrōʔ, OB *mrj(u)

‘Male’ (of quadrupeds) [OB, Shī], opposite → pin, bi 牝 ‘female’.

[TE] AA: OKhm jmol [cmɔp] ‘male of animals’, Asian lgs. (Malay Penins.) leməl, remol, limo, simo, etc. ‘male’; OMon jmjr, kmur ‘male’ (elephant), MMon jmr / hamu ‘strong, male’, PWā *kamı ‘ox, wild buffalo’, Jarai tanm, tomo ‘male animal’ (Leiwitz 1976: 768); PVM *mrj8 ‘person, people’. For the absence of a codex in CH after a foreign long vowel, see §6.9. The OB graph for this word shows a vertical stick on a horizontal ground (inverted T). The explanation may be that it was intended for
an obsolete homophone, a cognate of PVM *mɑʔ "digging stick." 'Male' and 'digging stick' are derivatives from a stem represented in Okhmer cval/"kuval/ 'to enter, penetrate, (of animals) copulate', Khnum cmxol "planter du riz au plantoir" crmxol "plantoir" [Ferlus MKS 7, 1978: 20-22]; from 'digging stick' to 'plowing to 'acre' are simple steps, hence mǔ 'male' and → mǔ. 故 'field', though not homophones in OC, may well go back to the same AA etymon.

mǔ_2 母 (maub) < from *mɔʔ ≠ LH mɔ, OCM *mɔʔ
'mother' [OB, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukhu SR mu, maw (.), LR mu; MGZY muw (.) [muw]; ONW muo

[BE] This word has two possible TB cognates. (1) Mǔ is either derived from a hypothetical ST *mɔʔ; PTB *ma 'mother' > WG ʔa-ma, Chebang ma (*mɔʔ) (so HST: 110). Or (2) OOC *mɔʔ is cognate to PTB *mo 'woman, bride' (STC no. 297) > W -mo 'female suffix', Chebang mo 'wife', Lushai moo 'bride, daughter-in-law' (so Bodman 1980: 136; Baxter 1992: 469). In languages of the area words for 'mother, woman', female, daughter' have initial *m- followed by almost any vowel: OC *mɔʔ 'mother', WT mo, ma 'female', ma generally 'mother', LB ma 'female, girl, woman', WB ma 'sister', OC *mɔʔs 'younger sister', LB ma 'female' ma 'mother, girl, damad, daughter'; AA-MMON mǔ, OKhmer me 'mother'. See also → hǔ. 猴.

mǔ_3 媳 (maub) LH mǔ, OCM *mɔʔ
'Female teacher in harem' [Zuo] is cognate to → hu, 诲 'to instruct'; we should expect OCM *mɔʔ, but the word has coalesced with → mǔ_2 母 'mother' due to paronomastic paronomastic.

mǔ_4 拇 (maub) LH mǔ, OCM *mɔʔ
'Thumb' [Guoyu], 'big toe' [Yi].

[BE] ST: PL - *cmaʔ 'thumb' (in compounds for 'thumb' and 'big toe'). The vocables do not agree, we should expect OCM *mɔʔ for PTB *ma; *mɔʔ may be due to association with → mǔ_2 母 'mother', just as the PL word may be related to ma 'mother'.

mǔ_5 拇 (maub) LH mǔ ~ mǔ, OCM *mɔʔ ~ *mɔʔ, OCB *mɔʔ
'An acre' [BI, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukhu SR mu, maw (.), LR mu; MGZY muw (.) [muw]

[BE] In many dialects, including some Mandarin ones, 'acre' is not a homophone of mǔ 母 'mother': W-Sūzhou col. mǔ; Wénzhōu me; X-Chängsha mǔ; G-Nánchang mǔ; Y-Guǎngzhōu mǔ; M-Xiàmen bō. However, 'acre' and 'mother' are homophones in most Mandarin. di. and sporadically elsewhere.

[BE] ST: WT rmo-'ba, rmos 'to plow' (Bodman 1980: 136) rmod 'the plowing' rmon-pa 'plow ox', Mikir -mǔ classifier for strips of fields. However, if this word should go back to an AA root (see → mǔ_2 拇), then the nature of the CH-TB relationship is not clear.

mǔ_1 木 (muk) LH mʊk, OCM *mʊk
'Tree, wood' [OB, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukhu SR mu (.), MGZY mu (.) [mu]; ONW mʊk

[BE] Mǔ has no known cognate, unless one wishes to compare it with PLB *mʊk 'stump' (of a tree).

mǔ_2 目 (muk) LH mʊk, OCM *mʊk
'Eye' [OB, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukhu SR mu (.), MGZY mu (.) [mu]; ONW mʊk

[BE] Mǔ has been replaced by yǎn 眼, already in Han times (acc. to SW, GY), in all dialects except Mín: PMin *nokD2, but the NE Min forms go back to *mɪt ~ *mɛt (Norman CLAO 13.2, 1984: 175ff).

[BE] ST: PTB *mɪk ~ *mʊk (STC no. 402) > WT dmq 'eye', and *mʊk in almost every TB language, including JP myi/D2, Mikir mʊk: a variant is PLB *smyʊk > WB myak (HST: 76).

The OC vowel is not certain since mǔ is not a rime word in Shijing. If OC *mʊk, the word would be directly related to the PTB form *mʊk by way of the ST *u ~ *i alternation (§11.5.1). If OC *mʊk, the word would be directly related to the PLB form *myak.

[m] → mǔ, 耳 'pupil of the eye' is sometimes thought to be related to mǔ (so Wáng Li 1982: 312).

mǔ_3 牧 (mjuk) LH mʊk, OCM *mʊk, OCB *mʊk
'Pasture, herdsmen, to tend' (animals) [BI, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukhu SR mu (.), MGZY mu (.) [mu]; ONW mʊk

[BE] ST *mʊbrak ~ WT *brog-pa < xbrak 'summer pasture, solitude, wilderness, nomad'. As to foreign initial b- for CH m-, see §5.12.2.

mǔ_4 莫 (moo) LH mʊ, OCM *mʊk — [T] ONW mo
'Late (in a season, year) '草 [BI, 'evening'.暮 [Meng].

[BE] Two possible etymologies: (1) the original meaning is 'late'. (2) Or this word is related to 'dark, cover' → mʊ 莫暗 'obscure'. See under → 黑 黑 for possible wider relatives. Since TB roots are inconclusive as to their ST source, Limbu makt 'to become night' may either be a direct cognate of mǔ 莫暮 (not very likely given the frequent semantic connection 'dark ~ night' ~ not 'late ~ night'), or Limbu makt 'black, dark' (which may equally well be a cognate of → 黑 黑). Related may also be Lepcha ma 'be secret, concealed, disappear'.

mǔ_5 末 (moo) LH mʊ, OCM *mʊk
'Tomb, graveyard' [BI, Shi]. In most other modern dialects, the word for 'grave' is → fén 份.

[T] Sin Sukhu SR mu (.), MGZY mu (.) [mu]; ONW mʊk — [T] PMin *mʊc


But if 'tomb' should be a Chinese derivative, one source could be → mʊ 莫暗 'obscure'; see there and under → 黑 黑 for possible wider relatives. Alternatively, the root could be → mʊ 匍 'not from which is derived → wáng亡.

mǔ_6 機 (moo) LH mʊ, OCM *mʊk — [T] ONW mo
'Be loving, beloved' [BI], 'think of lovingly' [Meng].

[BE] ST, perh. two parallel stems are involved: (1) *mʊk: TB-KN-Khyan amlak, Khani-Awa hlo 'to love', Schin Daai mʊk 'to like, love' [Hartmann ICSTLL 1999: 2]; ↔ Tai: S. mak, malak 'to love, cherish', Sæk makD2 'to like, be fond of'.

(2) ST *mʊk: Lepcha mák 'long for', WB mák 'covet, wish to enjoy', JP makD1 'desire to eat' (HST: 105; Unger Hau-ku 51, 1995).

mǔ 機 (moo) LH mʊk, OCM *mʊk — [T] ONW mʊk
'To love' is a Han period southern dialect word for 'to pity' [FY 1.7], also in the east [FY 1.17].

[BE] ST *mʊk: Wǐg mákD4 'to like, love' (MC tone B sometimes corresponds to a foreign -q, §3.2.4), also PKS *mʊkD4 'to like'.
mù
mù 摺 (muo8 [GY]) is prob. a variant of the above.
móu 牟 (mjou) LH mu
'To love', a Han period Sông-Lụ dialect word [FY 1.6].

[Wáng Lì (1982: 176) relates this wǔ to fǔ10 糟 'lay hands on, soothe' (unlikely).
Forms like râk 'love' in Tai and AA lgs. derive from Indic râga 'passion'.

WÁ, 稔 → mài3-mù 稔雰

nà1 呃訥 → nuō1, nà 呃訥
nà2 納 → rū1 入

nà3 那 (nâC)
[T] Sin S. SR na (去), PR, LR na; MGZY na (去) [na]; ONW na
nà4 偃 (nâC, i.e. prob. naC)
'Sick' [JY], a medieval word.

[J] Prob. a loan from PTB *na > WT na-ba 'sick'. PL *C-na! 'ill', WB na 'be ill'
(Benedict HIAS 4, 1939: 228). See also → nuô 鵚.
nà1 乃 (nâB) LH na8, OCM *nâ?
'Then, now' [BI, Shï].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR naj (上); MGZY nay (上) [naj]; ONW naiB

nà2 乃 'your' → rū2 汝
nà3 奶 → nà4 嫠

nà4 嫠 (niei8) LH neiB, OCM *nê?
'Mother' [BI, QY, Guanyua], a Chữ dialect word [GY], also nê 嫠; the modern col.
form is nê 嫠 'breasts, milk, suckle' (Unger Hao-ku 5, 1982).

[D] Minh: Xiâmén lit. lê8, col. êB

[E] Etymology is not clear, but PMY *nêa?2D 'mother' could be related. Similar words
in the area are WT a-ne, ne-ne 'paternal aunt' (HST: 164); or MK-Khmer pê: 'female',
see → lê2-ér 李耳 'female tiger'.
nà1 奈崇 (nâC) LH nos
'Some kind of pear' (3rd cent. AD). Japanese (kara)nashi 梨 could be the analogue to
OC *nâs and thus be related (Unger Hao-ku 22, 1983). See comment under → méi4 梅.
nà2 奈 (nâC) LH nos, OCM *nâs
A late classical col. variant of → rū1 如 (or prob. rather MC nājwo9) in the classical
expression rū hé 如何 = nài hé 奈何 (occurrence of nài in Shōjing is spurious, a
nái → nú

náo, 猶優懌懹 (nǎo) LH nou, OCM *nû

'nó' [Shi]; 彼 [Li]; 鬱 [OB, SW]; 懸 [SW] (ZWDCD 2: 1359; 6: 260).

【E】Etymology is elusive, the closest fit is AA: PMon *knuwy ‘macaque, general term’, Mon *khuwy ‘monkey’. This word is unique to Monic and may be a derivation by n-infix (Diffloth 1984: 67). The loss of foreign final -/y- in OC has parallels (§6.9).

However, the Mon word could be a Pali loan instead: khāno (Shorto).

Alternatively, the word may be connected with KD: Be ma-lu 'monkey’, PPhái nák [Matisoff 1988c: 311]; cf. PTB *mruk, PLB *myok (several Lololish dialects have *n- [Matisoff]). Syn. → yu yu-yú, 猴 [Shi].

náo, 撺 (náo) LH nuý, hou, OCM *nárâ, *nââu?

'nââu?; *nââu?

'To trouble, disturb' (e.g. a dragon, stir up people) [Zuo].

náo, 撺 (náo) LH nuý, hou, OCM *nárâ

‘Mud’ [Zuo].

[*] exopass., lit. ‘what has been stirred up’ (§4.4).

náo, 撮 (náo) LH hau, OCM hnrâhu?

‘Get, take, get hold of, get a grip on’ [Shi].

náo, 撮 (náo) LH hau, OCM *nárâ

‘Disorderly, clamouring’ [Shi].

náo, 撮 (náo) LH hau, OCM *nárâ

‘To disturb’ [Zuo].

náo, 撮 (náo) LH hau, OCM *nárâ

‘To anger, irritate’ [SW], a Han and post-Han word, perhaps the same etymon as náo 撮.

nún, 撮 (nún) LH nuý, nárâ

‘To quarrel’ [SW].

【E】ST: WT nq̃o-pa ‘to trouble, rub, trouble, troubadour, turbid’, WB nbok ‘dirty, foul, turbid’ = hnnk ‘to stir up, make turbid, agitate, molest’ (Unger Hau-ku 36, 1990: 51) = hnnk 'annoys, molests, thrwarts'. For the final consonants, see §6.4.4.

ná, 悼 (ná) LH hau, OCM *nárâ

'nââu? or *nââu?

'Brain' [Li].

【T】Sin Sukhu SR naw (上); MGZY naw (玉)

【N】The OC rime of náo is not certain. Among others, the word náo 慣 ‘to anger, irritate’ is written with the same phonetic and is cognate to a w6 in OC *au (→ náo 慣), but náo is late [SW] and cannot help identify the OC and LH vowel of brain.

【E】ST: PTB *nâk > PLB *nok > *hnk ~ *nâk ‘brains’ (Matisoff 1972: 62); WB wâ-hnmk ‘brain’. JP nâk > nôk ‘brain’. For the final consonants, see §3.2.2.

ná, 撤 (ná) LH hau, OCM *nárâ

'nââu?

'Frozen' [Li].

【T】Sin Sukhu SR nâu (商); MGZY nâu (商)

【N】The OC rime of náo is not certain. Among others, the word náo 慣 ‘to anger, irritate’ is written with the same phonetic and is cognate to a w6 in OC *au (→ náo 慣), but náo is late [SW] and cannot help identify the OC and LH vowel of brain.

【E】ST: PTB *nâk > PLB *nok > *hnk ~ *nâk ‘brains’ (Matisoff 1972: 62); WB wâ-hnmk ‘brain’. JP nâk > nôk ‘brain’. For the final consonants, see §3.2.2.

ná, 悼 (ná) LH hau, OCM *nárâ

'nââu?

'Brain' [Li].

【T】Sin Sukhu SR naw (上); MGZY naw (玉)

【N】The OC rime of náo is not certain. Among others, the word náo 慣 ‘to anger, irritate’ is written with the same phonetic and is cognate to a w6 in OC *au (→ náo 慣), but náo is late [SW] and cannot help identify the OC and LH vowel of brain.

【E】ST: PTB *nâk > PLB *nok > *hnk ~ *nâk ‘brains’ (Matisoff 1972: 62); WB wâ-hnmk ‘brain’. JP nâk > nôk ‘brain’. For the final consonants, see §3.2.2.

ná, 悼 (ná) LH hau, OCM *nárâ

'nââu? or *nââu? or *nââu?

'Be angry, irritated [AA]' [Shi].

【T】Sin Sukhu SR nâu (商); MGZY nâu (商)

【N】The OC rime of náo is not certain. Among others, the word náo 慣 ‘to anger, irritate’ is written with the same phonetic and is cognate to a w6 in OC *au (→ náo 慣), but náo is late [SW] and cannot help identify the OC and LH vowel of brain.

【E】ST: PTB *nâk > PLB *nok > *hnk ~ *nâk ‘brains’ (Matisoff 1972: 62); WB wâ-hnmk ‘brain’. JP nâk > nôk ‘brain’. For the final consonants, see §3.2.2.

ná, 悼 (ná) LH hau, OCM *nárâ

'nââu?

'Brain' [Li].

【T】Sin Sukhu SR nâu (商); MGZY nâu (商)

【N】The OC rime of náo is not certain. Among others, the word náo 慣 ‘to anger, irritate’ is written with the same phonetic and is cognate to a w6 in OC *au (→ náo 慣), but náo is late [SW] and cannot help identify the OC and LH vowel of brain.

【E】ST: PTB *nâk > PLB *nok > *hnk ~ *nâk ‘brains’ (Matisoff 1972: 62); WB wâ-hnmk ‘brain’. JP nâk > nôk ‘brain’. For the final consonants, see §3.2.2.

ná, 悼 (ná) LH hau, OCM *nárâ

'nââu?

'Brain' [Li].

【T】Sin Sukhu SR nâu (商); MGZY nâu (商)

【N】The OC rime of náo is not certain. Among others, the word náo 慣 ‘to anger, irritate’ is written with the same phonetic and is cognate to a w6 in OC *au (→ náo 慣), but náo is late [SW] and cannot help identify the OC and LH vowel of brain.

【E】ST: PTB *nâk > PLB *nok > *hnk ~ *nâk ‘brains’ (Matisoff 1972: 62); WB wâ-hnmk ‘brain’. JP nâk > nôk ‘brain’. For the final consonants, see §3.2.2.
nèn, nèn 嫩 (nuăn٥) ONW don (!)
'Tender, delicate', a late word [GY, JY].

[Etymology] Etymology is not clear. Perh. a variant of 
ruăn 衝 (ńźjwiąń٥). Alternatively, it may be ST, related to WB nun٥ 'weak, exhausted from illness', but this meaning barely overlaps with nèn 'soft to touch'. << PMY *on, individual lgs. have forms like lun٥, gun٥, jńg^f (Wäng Fúshi). Finally, nèn is reminiscent of AA items: PMonic
*In 'be flexible, soft to touch' (of body part etc.), and / or PVM *kn-ox: young, tender / Viet. năn (acc. to Ferlus, an infix derivation from *knx 'son').

nénɡ١ 能 (nang٠) LH na(ŋ)٠, OCM *nä!
'A kind of bear' [Guoyu] apparently an area word of AA origin: Kharija bonxi 'bear' (-i is suffix), Santali bana 'Indian black bear' -> TB-Lepcha sâ-na 'bear'.

nénɡ١ 能 (nang٠) LH na(ŋ), OCM *nä., *nä?
'Be capable, have ability, can' [Shi]. Shijing times indicate OCM *nä?. Prob. cognate to 
ñoŋ 'be capable'.

[T Sin Sukhu SR nolj٤ (ph), PR, LR nol; MGZY nöng٤ (ph) [nän]; ONW nol]
[?] ST: WT nös-pa 'be able'; WB núning 'prevail, conquer; verb affix: potential', Mru 
ñoŋ 'be able' (Löffler 1966: 142).

xúile 惜 (tixí) LH xúe٠, OCM *xñhš
'Apparition, bearing, manner' [Guoyue].

[?] ST: WT mĩtu < m-nhu ? 'ability, power'.

[E] The OC ~ WT difference in the vowel is unusual (§11.10.5).

nǐ١ 尼 (ni) LH nĩ٠, OCM *nir or *nĩ?
'Near, close' [Shizhi], a relatively late word.

[T Sin Sukhu SR nolj٤ (ph), PR nĩ; MGZY nĩ (ph) [nĩ]; ONW nĩ]
[Etymology] Etymology not certain. This stem could simply be a variant of 
ñoŋ 'be capable', just as Mand. nĩ 'you' is a col. variant of ēr 'you'. Or it could be a conflation of ēr

nĩ 和 *nir (under ñ, i). Finally, there is a possible TB cognate:
KN-Khimi kā-nĩ. Haka bñi 'petticoat' [IST: 207], the meaning of these items agrees
with nĩ, though. Syn. is also ji, nĩ, ñĩ, jĩ.

nĩ٢ 泥 (nie) LH neĩ٠, OCM *nĩ or *nĩ
'Mud, mire' [Shu], 'muddy' (of water).

[T Sin Sukhu SR nolj٤ (ph), PR nĩ; MGZY nĩ (ph) [nĩ]; ONW nĩ]

[D] In many dialects, the word means 'earth' và ʼů, e.g. K-Méxián nęi٠ 'soil, earth'.

nĩng 恩 (nie) LH nę٠, OCM *něŋ
'Mud' [Zuo].

[Etymology] ST: KN-Lai noj٧ 'muddy' (of water); a ST medial rounded (semi-) vowel regularly
in OC after change initials (§10.2.1). TB shows that to nĩę٠ 聚 'black sediment in muddy water' is unrelated.

nĩ٣ 泥 (ni) LH nĩ٠, OCM *nir 'Ashamed' [Meng].

[E] ST: PTB * (r)ni: IR kwerni < g-mi 'red', törni 'gold', Qiang sôi 'red'; WB ni 'red' (STC: 46; 91), Lahu nĩ ~ ni 'red, bare, naked'. Pulleby (1973: 121) relates nĩ to words with initial *n- 'meaning of shame', see → xĩ٣ 羞.

nĩ٤ 倪 → ēr٤ 兒

nĩ٥ 倪 (nį, mį, mįe) LH nę, m(e), OCM *ně, *me?
'Fawn' QYS nęi, mię, mįe 働 [Lunyu], QYS mię 働 [Li]. Wäng Li (1982: 112) and

nĩ١ 你 (ni)٠ (LH, OC same as → ēr٥ 尤) 'You' [Tang]. Man. colloquialism for → ēr۶ 尤 (Demiéville 1950: 6), acc. to OC a
NW dialect word. For allofams, see → rũ٥ 尤.

[T Sin Sukhu SR nolj٤ (ph, LR nĩ; MGZY nĩ٧ (ph) [nũ]; ST nĩ٢ > nĩ٠, ONW nĩ]

nĩ٢ 女 → nĩ٤ 嫛

nĩ٢ 泥 'obstructed' → nĩ٣ 敷

nĩ٢ 泥 (nį) LH nĩ٠, OCM *nir 'Glue' [Guoyue, Zholi], 'adhere to' 蒜 [SW: Zuo].

[?] Prob. < MK: Khuo kĩpa? 'resin', the prefix kl- derives from kšl 'tree'. The OC
final -â marks natural objects (§6.2.1); for the vocalism, see §11.5.2; a MC reflex
initial does not necessarily reflect an PCH * (§7.4). This word is prob. not related to the
-final -i in light of the above MK etymology.

nĩ٢ 泥 'familiar' → jĩ٠ 即

nĩ٤ 祖 (nį) LH jĩ٠, OCM *nir ' — [T] ONW nĩ
'Lady's clothes closest to the body', i.e. 'underwear' [Zuo].

[E] ST: KN-Khimi kâ-nĩ. Haka bñi 'petticoat' [IST: 207] (or are these CH loans?). The
OC form has prob. adjusted to nĩ 'nĩir 'familiarity' (→ jĩ, 即) to which it may be
related, but the TB cognates suggest a distinct etymology. The meaning has been
transferred to xię 蕭 (under → ēr۶ 蕭).

nĩ٥ 祖 → nĩ٢ 泥 'glue'

nĩ٦ 逆 (nį) LH jĩ٠, OCM *nråk, OCB *prjak
'Go to meet, go against' [Shu], 'rebellious' [Shi], 'receive' [Yíi], 'anticipate' [Lunyu].

[T Sin Sukhu SR i (ph), PR nĩ; MGZY ngi (ph) [nĩ]; ONW nĩ]
[?] This is the final -կ counterpart to the cognate → yiqĩ٤ 坍, or the div. 3 counterpart
to the cognate → yā�� 卦, 御逐詡 (if one assumes an OC medial *r like Baxter; otherwise
it is derived from → yĩ٥ 翁).

nĩ٦ 逆 (nį) LH jĩ٠, OCM *nråk, OCB *prjak
'First day of the new moon' [Shi, SW] 'beginning' [Li]; (dark side > 'North' [Shu, EY]
(opposite of → nán٤ 南).

[T Sin Sukhu SR saw (ph), PR swaw٥; MGZY shaw (ph) [swaw]

[E] The word LH šak is derived from nĩ 'go to meet' (above), i.e. on that day the moon
turns and moves toward the full moon (Matisoff, ICSTTL 1978: 13–14; Boltz, Diss.). This
is an iterative s-prefix form (§5.2.3), hence lit. 'turn again toward to meet'. The puzzling
MC reading šak < *srok is attested already in Lányů where the graph is borrowed for
šuō (ša) 'account' (under → shū٤ 教).

Alternatively, shuō 'north' may be related to TB-Nagna 'saw 'night', Bodo-Garo 'war, Mru
war (with final CH *k with the metathesis of final *r, see §6.1, resulting in OC
*srak < *srok from *tsrauk) and thus be the opposite of → nán٤ 南 'south' > ST 'day, sun'.
Possibly, distinct etyma for 'north' and 'new moon' have merged.

nĩ٧ 無 → nĩ٥ 懶

nĩ٨ 墔 → tĩ٤ 懢
ni 㰷 (niak) LH ṁak, OCM *niak
‘Be near, familiar with’ [Shi].

ni10 溺 (niek) LH nek < neuk, OCM *niəuk
‘To sink, go under’ [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR ni (ŋ); MGZY ni (ŋ) [ni]
[E] Several TB etymological connections may be possible: perh. related to WB naic < *niik ‘sink into, be immersed’ ≠ haic ‘make to sink, immerse’ (STC: 180), but the vowels do not agree. Alternatively, ni could be connected with WB hnaik ‘penetrate, dive into’ (with hand).

nìi1 愣 ‘grieved’ → nìi 腎

nián 年 (niel) LH nen, OCM *nên
‘Harvest, crop, year’ [OB, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR njen (ŋ); MGZY nen (ŋ) [nen]; MTang nian < nian, ONW nèn

nìi1 幹 (niel) LH ṃn, OCM *næn (or *ren ?)
‘To work leather to make it smooth’ [SW], ‘soft’ [GY]; this word occurs in Southern Min as ‘to soften’: Xiāmén nā5 (tone B).

nián2 壽建 (liány) LH lián, OCM *ran?
‘Cart drawn by two men’ 壽 [Shi, 連 [Zhouli].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR len (ŋ); MGZY len (ŋ) [len]; ONW (liian
[E] This word is perh. related to WT ṣhæ ‘cart’ ≠ a-ha ‘a cartful’ (Unger Hao-ku 36, 1990: 52), but MC l- usually corresponds to TB r- (§7.3).

nìi3, rën 澂 (hèjĕn) LH ṃn, OCM *nên
‘To sweat’ [Wenxuan, GY], Unger (Hao-ku 36, 1990: 54) relates this word to WT rgu ‘sweat’. ↔ Note Tai: S. ṭiā ～ ṭiā ‘sweat’.

nìi4 陰陰 → nìi, 摺

niàn1 念 (niem) LH nem, OCM *nèmes or *ňèmes ?, OCB *nèmes
‘To think of, remember, remind’ [BI, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR njem (ŋ); MGZY nem (ŋ) [nem]; ONW nem
[N] In the phrase wū niem 無念 ‘ma-nèmes [in Shi 325] ‘to think of’, wū is thought to represent a syllabified prefix (Sagart 1999: 82), note the Khmer form below.

wèi rën 悶 (hájam) LH ṃn, OCM *nêm?
‘To think’ [Shi].
[E] ST: WT ɹam(s) ‘soul, mind, thought’ ≠ ɹam-pa ‘to think, mind’ (STC: 175 n. 465), Mikir niém ‘faith, religion’. This may be an area word: AA-Khmer comun ‘remember, remembering, habit’; AN nemem ‘to think’ (Sagart JCL 21.1, 1993: 48).

niàn2 晃 (niem) LH nen, OCM *nèmes or *ňèmes
‘Sunlight’ (which melts snow) [Shi]. Karlsgren GSR 1250e considers this word cognate to → rân, 然 ‘burn’ LH ḛian, but the OC vowels do not agree. It may possibly be

niáng 婦 (niàng) LH ten, OCM *tiû?
‘Bird’ [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR tiaw (ŋ); MGZY tiaw (ŋ) [tiaw]
[N] Nião is a late pronunciation (or word?) which came into use because of a taboo. Nevertheless, the word nião does not come out of thin air; it could be connected with the KT word for ‘bird’: Tai: S. nuk’hû < *nlrok; KS *mulûk. For Chinese tone B for foreign final -k, see §3.2.2. The old form survives in some dialects as ‘pens’. e.g. Mand-Jián tis5 = tone B, Y-Guangzhou tiu5/AI.

niào 厩溺 (nieù) LH neu, OCM *niāuk
‘To urinate’ [Zhuang].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR njew (ŋ); PR njaw

niè 捏 (nie̍p) LH nep, OCM *nép or *nêp
‘To pinch, nip with fingers’ [SW Xinhû, JY].

niè1 幸 ‘frightening’ → sheû_g 懼懼

niè2 �rts (njiet) LH ṁt, OCM *nṭar
‘Target’ [Zhouli].

niè3 閥 ‘door post’ → niè12 築

niè4 漉 (niè) LH net, OCM * nét — [T] MTang niar < niar, ONW nét
‘Black sediment in muddy water’ [Lanyu].
[E] ST *ník: WB a-naî ～ a-na ‘in *ńik ‘sediment, dregs’, WT sâŋsi-pa ‘impure sediment’ (Shi Xiàngdong 2000: 38; see §6.4.1 for the final cons.). The TB cognate shows that niè and nét 漉 ‘fill up’ (under → niè, 海 ‘mud’).

niè5 捏 (nie̍p) LH nep, OCM *nép or *nêp
‘To fill up, stop up’ (e.g. pitfall) [Shu].
[E] ST: WT sî̍p = sî̍p-pa, bî̍p ‘make equal with ground, destroy’.

niè 漉 (niè) LH net (net), OCM * nét — [T] MTang niar < niar, ONW nét
‘To block, stop up’ [Yili]. Since final -p tends to be somewhat unstable, this word is prob. a different etymon, while → niè 漉 ‘black sediment’ is prob. a different etymon.
nie – nú

泥 (nie) LH nei, OCM *né(n) or *nê(n) – [T] ONW nê
‘Impeded, obstructed’ [Lunyu].

[<] exopass. of nê 敷 (niep) or nêìì 洞 (nie) (§4.4).

nie₂

甄 → dié₃ 鉴

nie₂ 翩 (niap) LH niap, OCM *nap
‘To trample’ [Guoee].

[E] Chinese has an additional word for ‘trample’ with initial n-: ròu 竈 (niap[ɔ/c]); zhān 竄, niân 踩 (niap). It also may possibly be related to liè₃ 餘 OC *rap ‘trample’. Note a similar item in PLB *(s)-nak ~ *nâŋ ‘step on’.

nie₃ 鉼 → shè₁₀ 艫

nie₄ 粿 (niap) LH niap, OCM *niap or *nip or *nep, OCB *njp — [T] ONW niap
‘Calamity’ (GSR), pers. ‘retribution, punishment’ [OB, Shu], ‘inauspicious, unhappy’ 鼠 [Chuci].


nie₁₀ 餾 (niap) LH niap, OCM *napt
‘Malt’ [Li] (not ‘yeast’, so Unger Hao-ku 39, 1992). Shiming explains: ‘soak wheat and let it sprout’). Acc. to Unger, the basic meaning of this stem is ‘sprout’, hence the items below are the s. w. Unger suggests a derivation from ńa ńa ‘sprout’ which, however, is the s. w. as ńa ńa ‘tooth’. If true, ‘tooth’ would then be the ultimate origin of this Wf.


nie₁ に (niap) 蒐 sprouts, shoots (e.g. from tree trunk, family) [Shi], also MC gât.

nie₂ 蒐 ‘concupine’s son’ [Meng].

nie に (niap) LH niat, OCM *niat
‘Stump of tree, shoots from stump of tree’ [SW].

nie₁₁ 撈 ‘pole’ → nie₁₂ 鉱

nie₁₂ 鉱 (niap) LH niat, OCM *niat
‘To gnaw, crunch in the teeth’ [Li]; ‘vertical post’ (in the middle of a gate) [Li]; > ‘a pole’ 撈 [Zhouli]. This root refers to a situation in which an object is caught or found within jaws, doors, or the like.

nie₃ 增 (niep) LH nêŋ, OCM *nêŋ — [T] ONW nêŋ
‘Be tranquil, at ease, favor’ [BL, Shi] (HST: 92) > ‘rather’ [Zuo]. This is prob. related to WB ńiâŋH ‘soft, gentle, quiet’, although it has been connected with PTB *niŋ ‘heart’, see → rén₃ 方. 

nie₂ 凝 → yíng₃ 硬

nie₃ 侵 (niep) LH nêŋ, OCM *nêŋ
‘Capable’ [Chunqiu], ‘clever, artful, eloquent’ [Shu, Lunyu], bâ-nêŋ 不佞 ‘incapable’, acc. to Carr (ms. ‘Re-examining the hunchback and dwarf enigma’). This word is prob. related to ~ nêŋ₄ ñeng (nëng) ‘be able’.

nie₂ 胍 → nì₄ 泥

niú 牛 (njou) LH yu, OCM *yâo, OCB *jej ’ ‘Bovine, ox, cow’ [OB, Shi].

niú – nông

[T] Sin Sukcho SR niu, iw (平); PR, LR niw; MGZY ngiwp (平) [niw]; ONW ŋu
[D] M-Xiâmên ga, Fúzhōu gâ
[E] ST *niâo > *nâo is shared with eastern TB and southern and western Tai languages (Weidert 1987: 129); PTB *niâo (STC no. 215) > PL *jîa, JP nai, wo33; Nung jâo ~ ga ~ âo ~ wa, Dulong nîn55-gâo53, WB nîwa08 ~ ñâ, cow’, Schin Daai (KIC) mna ‘buffalo’ [Hartmann ICSTLL 1999: 2]; perh. WT ba (ŋba) ‘cow’ ‘cow’ in light of Lepcha sâp-vo (< *sâp-yo) (so Bodman 1980: 153). A parallel stem (§5.2) may be WT: nor ‘wealth, cattle’, Lepcha a-nâ ‘herd, flock, troop, numbers, quantities’ (§12.2). ↔ Tai: S. gâoA < *nyu ‘ox’. Because of the restricted geographic distribution, STC suspects CH niâo to be a Tai loan, also Li Fang Xuei (1976: 42) concludes the Tai item is not a CH loan because it is not found in northern Tai dialects.

niú₁ 狗 (njou) LH yu, OCM *niu
‘Finger, toe’, perh. originally also ‘claw, nail’ (the OB graph shows a hand with prominent nails); rad. 114 QY njou (also njâoH which is perh. spurious, deriving from a paronomastic gloss in SW) ‘finger, claw’ [Erya] (Unger Hao-ku 46, 1995).


niú₂ 拳 (njou) LH yu, OCM *niu, OCB *niuw
‘A knot’ (that can be opened) [SW], ‘knot’ (on a sash) [Li]; > ‘button’ 銭 any type of button or knob by which, for example, a ring can be fastened. The basic meaning could be some kind of fastener that can be easily undone. Conversely, ‘button’ could also have been the original meaning from which the others derived, in which case this word may be the same as → niú, 狗 (njou) ‘fingernail’ > ‘fingernail-shaped’ > button’. 

[T] Sin Sukcho SR niw (上); MGZY fiw (下) [niw]; ONW ŋu

niú₃ 鉤 → niú₂ 狗

niú₄ 灸 → xiù₃ 差

niú 狗 (njou) LH yu, OCM *niu
‘Mixed’ [Yili]; MC readings in other tones are dubious (Unger Hao-ku 35, 1986: 33; 36, 1990: 52).

[E] ST: WT snor-ba ‘to confound, mingle, mix, disturb’, WB hno0 ‘to mix, mingle’ (Unger, op. cit. p. 42, n. 67). For the metathesis of the *r, see §7.7.3.

nông₁ 農 (nuong) LH noun, OCM *nông
‘Agriculture, peasant, to cultivate’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukcho SR noun (平); MGZY ngâng (平) [nun]; MTang noun, ONW noun

[E] Prob. ST and cognate to noun ŋâng ‘to weed’ (TB-Lushai hâng ‘work finished, weeded or harvested area’). The final *n in nông could be the terminative suffix (§5.5.1): ŋâng ‘to weed, hoe’ > nông ‘get a field hoed’, i.e. ‘cultivated’.

[C] → nóng, 僉 ‘person’, 1 (‘peasant’) may be the same word; a possible allofarn may be → nóngês 僉 ‘thick vegetation’.

nông₂ 僉 (nuong) LH noun, OCM *niu
‘Person, I, me’ in southeastern dialects: Coastal Min *num, Fúzhōu niu₄, niu₄. ka₄ 僉家 ‘myself’; Xiâmên laj₄ ‘person’, Wú: â-nong 僉 ‘I’. Xiâmên lanq “we” (inclusive) is lanq₄ + a pronominal suffix -q which in turn is derived from nóm: Fúzhōu laj₄-nîng ‘they’. Acc. to Norman (1983: 208), the semantic development is
Ou 凜 → wān 棒
Ou₁ 嗤 → yuē 嘔
Ou₂ 偶 (npou) LH npo, OCM *ŋo?
   ‘One of a pair, mate, counterpart’ [Shu] > ‘pair, double’ [Li], ‘two plowmen working together’ 偶 [Shi], ‘a statue’ 偶 [Huaiann] > ‘match, vis-à-vis’ 偶 [Zuo].
   X yù 遇 (ŋu) LH ngō, OCM *ŋoh
   ‘To meet with, encounter’ [Bl. Shi] (Karlgren 1956: 13).
   [T] Sin Sukchu SR ny (zi); MGZY xyu (zi) [fly]
   X yóu, yóng 嘅 (nu, npou, ŋiun) LH νo, ŋoŋ, OCM *ŋo(ŋ)
   ‘Respond in singing’ [Zhuang] (the QYS reading npou and / or ŋu may be the result of interference from other words in the phonetic series).
Ou³ 湿 (ʔou) LH ?o, OCM *ʔoh
   ‘To soak’ [Shi].
   [T] Sin S. 照 SR ?aw (平); MGZY 觀, ʔw (平) ?aw; ONW ?ou
   X wō 濡 (ʔō) LH ?ok, OCM *ʔōk
   ‘To moisten, smear’.

Nā 呑 (nuat, ṅōjwāt) LH nuat, fuat, OCM *nūt, *not
   ‘Slow of speech’ 呑 [Lunyu], ‘speak slowly or cautiously’ (Giles); ‘blurt out’ 呑 (Giles). Bodman (1980) links this word with Lepcha a-nōt ‘undecided’ (in speech), njot-tā ‘inecessantly babbling’, but on the other hand there is Tai: S. ʔuq²² ‘slow (of speech)’.
Nū₁ 喬 → rū₁ 若
Nū₂ 喀 → rū₁ 柔
Nū₃ 糯 (nuǎ [jiu])
   ‘Glutinous rice’ (Oryza sativa var. glutinosa) is found in all dialects (except Mīn) as well as SE Asian languages, such as Tai ʔāu nua (Savina, ʔāu ‘rice’); it is perh. connected with AA: Khuvice *ʔis ‘glutinous rice’, Viet. lia ‘paddy’ (Ferlus 31st ICSTALL, 1998: 90), but see → dào 稻.
pā 菊 (p'ã)
'Flowers, blossoms' [post-Han].

[pā] (Sin S. 菊 SR bôn (平), PR, LR bôn; MGZY 萊 pon (平) [bon])

[pā] (ST): ‘To bloom’ (STC no. 1): Lepcha bôr ‘to bloom’, a-bôr ‘blossom’ (Unger Hao-ku 35, 1986: 36); Lushai paâr ‘flower, blossom’; paâr ‘to open’ (as flower) ≠ paâlt ‘to open’ (as hand, flower). KN-Khami paâr ‘flower’ (Löffler 1966: 146); WB paân ‘flower’ [Matisoff 1974: no. 149]; JP nam-pan [Weidert 1987: 132], WT bar-ba ‘to bloom, to blossom, to burn, catch fire, beam, radiate’. This etymology is probably related to ‘to burn’ ≠ fân 椹 ‘burn, WT’ also shows the relationship between ‘burn, fire, and flower’: me-termination ‘flower’ means lit. ‘fire-top’.

[C] This word is perhaps the same etymology as → bân 蕃 ‘petals of a flower’.

pá 爬 (a late word, not in KY, JY, the MC form would be ba)
‘To crawl’ [Xin Fangyan], ‘to climb’, a col. archaicUsage of the ancient item:

= pû-fû 悠static (buô/ bujô/ bugô/ boê) LH bo-bok or buo-bok, OCM *ba-bok
‘To crawl’ [Shi and in subseq. Zhou lit.]

[O] ONW bo-buk

[O] The first syllable is reduplication (Norman 1988: 87). SW separates the two syllables: (1) pû (OCM *ba) ‘手行也’, i.e., ‘to crawl’ [SW], pû = pû-fû [GY]; (2) fû = fûg (bujô) ‘to lie on the ground’ (ZWDCC 2: 89, 91). Thus pû = pû above follows pû-fû as an independent word, while fû, taken for a mere variant graph of fû, becomes obsolete. => This is perhaps a ST item: Cheang bah-sa ‘to crawl’.

pá, bá 把 (ba[F]) LH ba(c), OCM *brâ(c) ← [O] ONW bâ
‘A hand’ (Mand. bâ), ‘a rake’ 把 (Mand. pâ) [Zhuang].

[O] Etymology not certain. This word may be derived from → bâ ‘handle, grasp’, hence a claw-like instrument. Alternatively, pâ could be MK: Khmer pâra ‘baaar’ ‘to scrape, scuff, rake...’ (for the r-metathesis, see §7.7.3). In light of these possibilities, cognition with PTB *pra (STC no. 132) is less likely: Kanauri bra ‘forked’ (road) ≠ pra ‘spread, stretch’, WB pra ‘divided into several parts’, JP bra resulting forked’ (CVST 1: 58).

pá 怕 (pâc) Sin Sukhu SR pâ (去); MGZY pha (去) [p'ã]; SuiTang pâ
‘To be afraid’ [Tang Han Yu]. The graph occurs first in SW, but with a different meaning (Wang Li 1958: 576). Perh. an archaic colloquialism of the next item (so Wâng Li 1982: 176):

[pû] 悩 (pûuc) LH pûc, OCM *phâc ← [O] ONW pûc
‘To fear’ [Zhuang].

[O] Note Lushai pâk ‘(Lorrain pâhûk) ‘to startle, frighten’, perh. also PMon *phîc ‘be afraid’ (for the vowels, see §11.1.3).

pái 笔 and other characters (baâi) LH be, OCM *brê
‘Raf’t’ [EY, Hou Hanshu]. — [E] => PTai *be ‘raft’.

pân 潘 (pûan) LH pûan, OCM *phân ← [D] PEMin *pónɔ/l; CDC phon
‘Water in which rice has been washed’ [Li]. Etymology not clear.
includes méi₄ 媒' matchmaker' and dà₄ 戴 'to bear'. Wang Li (1982: 105) already connected this word with méi₄. Alternative: PTB 'pæːy 'pregnant' [HFTP: 210], but the finals do not agree.

pé₂² 俳 → fū₄ 鳳
péi 坟堆 → bèi₄ 椰
pèi 沛 'uprooted' → bá₁ 根
pèn 喘(pən[?] L) pèn⁴[?], OCM *phæn(s)
‘To blow out, spit out’ 实 [Mun Tzian], ‘to spurt’ 喘 [Zhuang] [E] ST: TB-Lushai pʰu IPL to blow out of the mouth’ (water, smoke), ‘squirt’; WT pʰu-'ba, span-pa ‘puff of breath’. CH aspiration is associated with forcible ejection §5.8.5.

péng 伴 (pən[?] L) pêŋ⁴[?], OCM *phæn
‘To send, cause’ acc. to commentators [Shi, Shu, EY], ‘enjoy’ [Shu]. GY reads pëŋ, aspirated, but also unaspirated forms are cited.
[?] ST: TB-WT sprin-ba, spring ‘to send a message, give information’ ≠ pʰin ‘news, message’ (Gellich 1994: 64). Aspiration could be due either to loss of a ST pre-initial (§5.8.1), or to outward motion (§5.8.5).

péng₁ 伴 (bun₄, bjon) L) bōn₁, bōn, OCM *bōm, *bom
‘Densely growing (trees, plants), thick-furred (fox)’ [Shi].
[?] ST *pum, for cognates and parallel stems, see §2.5.1.

péng₂ 伴 (bun₄, bjon) L) bōn₁, bōn, OCM *bōm — [?] Pre-OWN bjun
‘A pair, set of two’ [Shi] > ‘string of cowries’ (consisting of two strands) [BI, Shi]; ‘friend’ (with whom one forms a set of two) [BI, Shi] (Bodman 1980: 149).

bèng 恵 (pēn[?] L) pêŋ⁴[?], OCM *præŋ
‘To bind round’ [Mo] (Bodman); the OC medial *r could be the causative morpheme (§7.5), but see next.

[Bodman] compares this w/f WT ('pʰəŋ) 'string on which things are filed, string' ≠ pʰəŋ-ba ‘string of beads, rosary’ ≠ bəŋ-ba ‘strap, rope’, also WT 'pʰəŋ 'to love, be fond of, greatly attached to'. However, MC ə usually corresponds to TB a, not e.

péng₃ 依 → fēng₁ 鳳
péng₄ 伴 (bun₄, bjon) L) bōn₁, bōn, OCM *bōm
‘Luxuriant’ (of foliage) [Shi].

bêng 恵 (pən, bjon) L) pən⁴, bōn, OCM *pômy, *bôm
‘Densely growing’ [Shi].

fêng 丰 (pəwɔŋ) L) pəwɔŋ, OCM *phon
‘Flourishing, elegant’ [Shi].

[?] ST *pôŋ, for cognates and parallel stems, see §2.5.1. Additional allofam: → fēng₄ 豊.

péng₅ 禮 (bun₄, bjon) L) bōn₁, bōn-ba > bān₁ (?)
A legendary island of the immortals (xīán 仙) in the eastern sea (Shànghǎi, Shijī), usually identified as the Bohai Sea. Etymology not clear. However, resemblance to a SE Asian word for ‘sea, ocean’ is striking: TB-WB pəŋlai ‘ocean’, JP pəŋ33-lai33 [?] id. This etymology looks like a loan, possibly from MK: Khmer dhlel/tīl ‘expanse of water’ ≠ OKhmer dānle(y) / dānle / ‘lake, sea’ (with nasal infix) (Jenner / Pou 1982: 322); Khmer → Pears thole ‘sea’ → Thai ²lær ‘sea’ id. Occasionally, an AA nasal infix (as in /dānle/) is reinterpreted as the root initial which can lead to a change in the initial consonant such as d > b. For an illustration for such reinterpretation and initial consonant substitution in AA, see §2.6.2.

péng₆ 禄 → fán₂ 帆
péng 捲 (ben₄ [Zhilin] ), bān₃ [Duan Yucai].
Mand. ‘To hit, run into / meet unexpectedly’ is prob. a recent col. form of → féng₁ 捲

pfr₁ 阑 → pfr₁ 阑
pfr₂ 窪 → pfr₃ 鳴
pfr₃ 披 (pəp[?] L) pəp‘hai, OCM *phai
‘Divide, separate, disperse’ [Zuo].
[?] ST *pai: PL *b’ei ‘to separate’; WT dbye-ba ‘parting, division, section, part’ ≠ dbyen-pa ‘difference, discord’ ≠ bye-ba ‘to separate, open’ (intr.) (WT medial y is secondary before o); JP bje(σ) ‘to divide’. Lushai pəp‘hï ‘split, break’ may belong to → bān₂, biàn 来. For an overview of similar items, see Table P-1; for possible allofams, see → li₁ 離.

Table P-1 Separate, open, split, break

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-ai</th>
<th>-ak</th>
<th>-eik</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zhā 紅 *trai open</td>
<td>zhē 紅 *trak rip open</td>
<td>pō 紅 *phāi break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB pai²² broken off</td>
<td>Lushai pənR &lt; pēn to break</td>
<td>JP pən³³¹ break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chi 把 *haiï cleave</td>
<td>WT bai²² open</td>
<td>pfr³³¹ break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT bai²² open</td>
<td>pfr³³¹ open</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lī 離 *rai to separate</td>
<td>WT tāl-ba to tear</td>
<td>pfr²² open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JP ran³³¹ separated</td>
<td>WT bai²² to gape</td>
<td>pfr²² cleave</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes on Table P-1: In the linguistic area, words with meanings ‘split, crack’ tend to end in a sound-symbolic -k and have a labial initial, with almost any vowel and medial (note → bō₄, → bō₄, → bō₄, b, t, → pən₂, pən₂, → pən₂, → pən₂, → pən₂). Therefore exact cognate correspondences are elusive, and where perfect matches occur, they may be accidental. Additional words in the area include: TB-Lepcha bək ‘to split’ (Forrest JAS 82, 1962: 334), Chepang pok ‘break, shatter, crack, split’ ≠ paka² ‘break open’ (fruit). → Tai: S. pliik² ‘divide into small pieces, evade’. For possible allofams, see → li₁ 離.
pfí phrases (pʰiek) LH pʰek, OCM *pʰek
'‘To split’ (wood) [SW]. SW glosses it with pó破*pháh; Duân Yûcáí, Wáng Lí (1982: 102f) associate this word with → pi, 副 ‘split’. 
[EN] ST: JP pʰiai² < pʰiai⁵ ‘split open’. Also, or alternatively, this could be an ‘abrupt end’ final *k derivation (§6.1.2) from either → pi 披 ‘phái or → pó破*pháh. For an overview over similar items, see Table P-1; for possible allomorphs, see → li, 離.

pfí 皮 (bje 3) LH bi, OCM *bai
‘Hide, fur, animal skin (with or without hair)” [Shi, SW], also hide worn as clothing [Shi].
[EN] Sin Sukhu SRI bi (πί); MGZY pue (πυε) [but]; ONW be — [D] PMin *puә⁴²
[Wáng Lí (1982: 446), following Shiming, relates this word to → bi, 被 ‘cover, wear’ which is plausible, see there for the ST etymology. Shafer (1976: 62) relates pi /K/ to Kachin pʰyi ‘skin, bark’ as well as WT pʰyi ‘outside’, but this is doubtful, see → bi, 比. Syn. → fó, 膚.

pfí-fó 皮膚 → fó₁, 膚

pfí 汗 (bici, bi 4) LH be, bi, OCM *bi, *bī — ONW bi
‘Navel, stomach area of an ox’ [Zhuang], perhaps a variant of, or w. sh. as, next:

> pfí 睥 (bici, bi 4) LH bi, OCM *bi
‘Navel’ [SW].


pfí 睥 (bici, bi 4) LH bi, OCM *bi
‘Abundant, large’ [Shi]; ‘to strengthen’ (a ruler) 睥 [Shi].
[EN] ST: WT pʰel-bu, pʰel (OTib pʰeld) ‘to increase, augment, enlarge, improve, develop’.

pfí 貓 (bici, bi 4) LH bi, OCM *bi
‘Pro. ‘leopard, panther’ [Shi, SW]. Acc. to FY 8.2 and Guó Pú, pi had ancient dialect variants which are preserved under → li, 猫. In old texts pfí refers to a large panther-like cat, whereas li 猫 and its dialect variants refer to a small cat-like animal. Apparently these two animals were confused by Han and esp. the commentator Guó Pú’s time (d. 324 AD) due to lack of familiarity with wildlife.
[EN] Prob. ST: WT dbyi ‘lynx’ (IST: 59). WT byi in byi-la ~ bi-la, bi-ši ‘cat’ seems to be cognate, but it may derive from Indo-Aryan: Hindi ‘biliś’ (cat) [Jaeschke: 376], Nepali ‘biliš’ < Skt bīdālaḥ which comes in turn prob. from a non-Aryan source (Buck 1949 no. 362), note Kharā bīlēg, Dravidian bīlēg etc. [Mei / Norman 1971: 100]. On the other hand, bi-ši (ši < ʔi ‘cat’) may suggest that byi is the native morpheme after all.

pfí 術 (bji, bi 4) LH be, OCM *be — [T] ONW be
‘Spleen, bile’ [Li].

pfí 畫 (bji, bi 3) LH bai, OCM *bai — [T] ONW be
‘Weary, exhausted’ 畫 [Zhuang], ‘emaciated’ [Guán]; ‘to wear out, exhaust’ 畫 [Zhuang].

unrelated, see → li, 離. <> The relationship with Tai is not clear: S. pʰia⁴² < *ʔpi ‘weary, exhausted’ n phã⁵⁴ < *p ‘to wear out, exhaust’ (Manomaiwibool 1975: 127f; 206). Allomorph → bi, 被 畫 (Pulleyblank 1962: 215). For additional comments, see → fó, 膚.

pfí 匹 (pʰi, jie 4) LH pʰiit, OCM *phit
‘A pair, a set of male and female’ (as husband and wife; as pʰi-niáo 匹鳥 ‘mandarin ducks’) [Shi] > ‘one of a pair, peer’ [Bl, Shi, EY]; ‘a mate’ [Lij]; ‘a single one’ [Meng]; ‘opponent’ [Zuo] > measure word for horses [Bl, Shi, J]; ‘to match’ [Shi, Shu].
[EN] Etymology not certain. There is a remote possibility that pʰi may be related to an AA word for ‘two’, *bar, but in Khmer which has similarities with OC, it is pʰr(r) ‘two’. The final AA -r would be lost in OC after a long vowel (§6.9), the OC final -t may represent the nominalizing suffix (§6.2.1). Alternatively, the Lushai word cited under → bi, 比 ‘fork’ could belong here instead.

pfí 匹 (pʰi, jie 4) LH pʰiit, OCM *phit
‘A unit for measuring cloth, equal to four zhàng丈’ [SW].
[EN] Etymology not clear, possibly a special application of → pfí. On the other hand, the word is reminiscent of the TB word for ‘four’ *bi (s/t).

pfí 鴨 (pʰi, jie 4) LH pʰit, OCM *phit
‘Duck’ [Lij].

pfí 鴨 (pʰi, jie 4) LH pʰit, OCM *phit
‘Complete, prepare’ [Zuo]. Acc to HST: 97 cognate to → pfí 比, 畫.
[EN] ST: Lushai pʰi ‘to finish, complete, be ready, prepared’.

pfí 羅 (pʰi, jie 4) LH pʰi, OCM *phit
‘To pass gas’ [GY], a word which understandably appears late in the literature.

pfí 羅 (bji, bi 4) LH bi, OCM *be
‘Beast the breast’ [Shi]. Perh. bi 比 (bjet), LH bit ~ ‘beat’ [Lij] is a variant. Perh. related is pi 畫 (pʰiek), Sin Sukhu SR pʰi(ə) (λ); MGZY phi (λ) [pi]; LH pʰek ‘beat silk in water’ (to make it white) [Zhuyang], with iterative aspiration (§5.8.3).

> pfí 纖 (bje 4) LH bi, OCM *be
‘Spleen, bile’ [Li].
piāo 漂 (biān 4) LH biau, OCM *biau
‘Duckweed, algae’ is acc. to Guó Pú a liàngdōng (lower Yangtze) word, it has survived in southern dialects: Mín: Fūzhōu pīliu42, Jiān’ōu pīliu42. Kējiā pīliu42, Guăngzhōu pīliu42. The word is a loan from MK: Viet bờo ‘duckweed’, WM Mon bêo ‘to ride low on the water’ (Norman 1983: 206).
屏（bién） LH biēn, OCM *biēn
'Protect a wall, screen, protection' [Shi], 'to protect' 屏 [Zuo], 'curtain carriage' 車 [SW]. Perh. related to → bǐ, 裏 'screen'; acc. to Karlgren (1956: 16) related to → bǐng, 屏 'remove'.

屏（bìng） LH biēng, OCM *bīng?
('Step on/over'?) 'Ascend' [Zhouli], 'walk across' (a river) [Shi], 'maltreat' [Zuo], 'encroach upon' 風 [Zhouli]; 'lean on, rely on' 風 [Shi], 風 [Shu], 風 [SW: Shu] (also read MC bāng?).

[注] Sukku SR biēng (平); MGZY ping (平) [biēng]
Karlgren (GSR 899d) suggests 'tread' as the basic meaning of this word. This etymon is prob. cognate to → líng, 冷凌凌 'transgress', just as there are doubtless líng 凌 ~ → bǐng 冰 'ice'.

屏 聘 → fāng 2 請

破（pū） LH pū, OCM *phū
'Vegetative or animal soul' of a person [Zuo] which accounts for growth and physiological functions, for 'life'; as opposed to → hún, 灵 'spiritual soul' which makes a human personality.

破（pū） LH pū, OCM *phū
'Soul of a fetus' [Zuo] which accounts for growth and physiological functions, for 'life'; as opposed to → hún, 灵 'spiritual soul' which makes a human personality.

破（pū） LH pū, OCM *phū
'Vegetative or animal soul' of a person [Zuo] which accounts for growth and physiological functions, for 'life'; as opposed to → hún, 灵 'spiritual soul' which makes a human personality.

破（pū） LH pū, OCM *phū
'Soul of a fetus' [Zuo] which accounts for growth and physiological functions, for 'life'; as opposed to → hún, 灵 'spiritual soul' which makes a human personality.

破（pū） LH pū, OCM *phū
'Soul of a fetus' [Zuo] which accounts for growth and physiological functions, for 'life'; as opposed to → hún, 灵 'spiritual soul' which makes a human personality.
仆 (buk, buok) LH bok, OCM *bök, OCB *bok — [T] ONW bok
‘Servant, groom, male slave’ [BI, Shj] is perh. related to WT bu ‘son, boy’ (HST: 164). Alternatively, CVST 1: 57 relates pú to WT p'urug ‘child’.

仆 (pʰùk) LH pʰök, OCM *phrök
‘To trim wood’ [Shu] is perh. an aspirated iterative derivation (§5.8.3) from → bāo, 剃. Alternatively, it could belong to the homophonous etymon with the basic meaning ‘in a natural state, unworked’, as in pú 朴 ‘in a natural state’, 璞 ‘unworked precious stone’. CH aspiration is associated with forceful motion §5.8.5.

仆-táo 葡萄 (bou-dau) LH bo-dou
‘Grape’ is borrowed from Iranian *budāwa or *bādāwa (Laufer 1919: 225; Norman 1988: 19), introduced from Bactria ca. 130 BC.

仆 (bou) LH bo, OCM *bā
‘Cattail’ or some kind of rush [Shi]; see also → lù, 蓖.

仆-fú 蓻 (pʰufou) LH pʰoB, OCM *phá?
(They Huái) ‘river bank’ [Shi]; ‘(bank) on a cove, inlet’ (along the Yangtze River) [Guoee, Yuēqū shā]. In OC, this is only a regional word restricted to the east and south of the Huái River, it is to this day found in place names in the same area, i.e. in the ancient Wú, Yuē, and Chǐ lands. Guō Pǔ (d. 324 AD) confirms that pú ‘bay, cove, inlet’ is a Jiāngnán (i.e. a southern dialect) word (Norman 1983: 206). [E] MK: Viet phá < pʰaʔ ‘inlet, cove’ (Norman). This word is prob. indirectly related to PKS *pwaŋ ‘bank, shore’, Tai: Saek viang ‘bank of a river’ by way of the *ʔ → *ŋ alternation (§3.2.4). Less likely, K faces may belong to → fáng, 坊 ‘dike’. Pú is unrelated to pū 顔坡 (under → bēi, bīfēng).

仆 仆 (bù) → bā 布

仆 (buk) LH bok, OCM *bök
‘To expose to the sun, to dry, exhibit’ [Meng]. [E] ST: TB-Lushai pʰo’h to dry or air in sunshine’. The relationship to Tai: S. taak < *prak ‘to expose to the sun, dry’ (Li F. 1976: 45) is not clear.

仆 (bûk) LH bok, OCM *bök
‘To expose to the sun, to dry’ [Shi]. [E] ST: TB-Lushai pʰo’h ‘to dry or air in sunshine’. The relationship to Tai: S. taak < *prak ‘to expose to the sun, dry’ (Li F. 1976: 45) is not clear.

仆 (bûk) LH bok, OCM *bök
‘To expose to the sun, to dry, exhibit’ [Meng].
qí - qì

qí5 漆 (ts'jet) LH tsì4, OCM *qìshí
‘Laquer tree, lacquer, varnish’ [Shi]. Note also zi 滋 (tsi) ‘(plant-)juice’ [Li] (Unger Hau-ku 39, 1992). The final -t marks nouns for natural objects (§6.2.1). E ST: PTB *tsiy (STC no. 65) > WT tsí-ha ‘tough, sticky matter’; PLB *dziy2 ‘sap, juice’ > WB ce6 ‘sticky, adhesive’ = che6 ‘paint’ (STC: 157). The etymology of the apparent WT cognate rtsi ‘juice, lacquer’ is ambiguous, though, as that word could also derive from rtsi > rtsi (§12.1) (1) and thus be cognate to Lushai rpa-s-’hrity ‘laco, sealing wax’ (mentioned by Unger ibid.) and ultimately derive from PTB *r’i ‘water’ > WB re- ‘water’ (Gong BIHP 51.3, 1980).

qí6 前 (k’i) LH k’ì4, OCM *k’o
‘To deceive, cheat’ [Lanuyu], ‘insult’ 欺 [Zuo], 欺 [SW] > ‘mask’ 前 [Xun], ‘animal mask’ 魚 (of bear skin, used in ceremonies) (Childs-Johnson EC 20, 1995: 89); perm. ‘grimacing dreadfully’ 前 [Shi]. Etymology not clear.
[T] Sin Sukchu SR k’i (平), PK k’ì; MGZY kí (平)[k’ì]; MT Tang k’ì, ONW k’é

qí7 翦 — xì1 溪
qí1 祯 (gji 3) LH gi, OCM *gîi — [T] ONW tsi, dżi?, gi?
‘Great, large, numerous’ [Shi], Bodman (1980: 188) compares qí to WB k’é ‘great, big’, PLB *k’i2 [Matisoff TSR no. 175].

qí2 跳 (gjie) LH gíi, OCM *gøi — [T] ONW gí
‘To pray for’ (rain etc.) [Shi]. Since the qí2 ‘prayer and sacrifiice was performed outside of town qí... qí (gsii) (syn. jia2 祈), Jensen (EC 20, 1995: 422) believes that the words are cognate (see under -jìi 激).

qí3 斧 (gjei) LH gíi, OCM *gøi
‘A banner with dragon design and bells’ [Shi, SW], — qí3 旗 acc. to Wáng Li.

qí4 支岐 — zhì4 支枝肢

qí5 奇 (gji) LH gíi, OCM *gøi
‘Dorsal fin of a fish’ [Li], 奇 [Yi].

qí6 跳 (gji 3) LH ghí, OCM *gii — [T] Sui-Täng gi < ONW go ‘To ride’ (a horse) [Zhuang].

qí7 其 (gji) LH gi, OCM *gøi
Pronoun ‘this’ [Shi, Shu] (Dobson, Songs: 168); third person possessive pron. ‘his, her, its, their, my, our’ [BL, Shu, Shu].

qí8 其 (gji) LH gi, OCM *gøi — [T] ONW gøi
A modal particle, in OB ‘be expected, should, probably, likely’ (Serruys 1982: 342). Acc. to Serruys this is prob. cognate to: = qí1 期 (gji) LH gi, OCM *gøi
‘Stipulated time, time, limit’ [BL, Shi].

qí9 芝 (gji) LH gi, OCM *gøi — [T] ONW gi
‘Year’ [Shu], [Yi].

qí10 期 — qí7 其

qí11 其 — qí2 株

qí12 期 (gji 3) LH gi, OCM *gri — [T] ONW gi
‘Be old, aged’ [Shi 300, 5].

qí13 期 ‘bring about’ — zhí1 底底

qí14 支枝 跳 (gji 3) LH ghí, OCM *gri
‘To put in equal proportions’ [Zuo, Li] (Downer 1959: 282). — qí1 根 ‘wife’ is not related.

qí15 葉 (dzii) LH dzei, OCM *dzøi, OCB *tshæj
‘Be the same, equal, in line’ [Shi], ‘regulate’ [Yi]. As a caus. it is read in tone C [dzii] ‘to put in equal proportions’ [Zuo, Li] (Downer 1959: 282). — qí1 根 ‘wife’ is not related.

qí16 葉 (dzii) LH dzei, OCM *dzøi (< *dzøi1 < *tsøi1) — [D] PMin *dzøi ~ *dzøi2. ‘Navel’ [Zuo].

qí17 其 (gji) LH gi, OCM *gøi

qí18 葉 (tsii4) LH tse1, OCM *tsøi

qí19 葉 (tsii4) LH tse1, OCM *tsøi1, OCB *tsøi1

[EN] The origin of qí is not certain because in the linguistic area pronouns tend to be of the shape KV (K = velar stop). Qí may be ST: Lushai ke4 < kei2 ‘that’, WT genitive suffix -ki,-gyi,-i (-i) (Bodman 1980: 185), but we should expect a TA /a/ in this set. Alternatively, PAA *gi/ke ~ *ku/ko ‘third person pronoun’ whose earliest form is perm. *ki [Pinnov 1965: 38] appears to be phonologically closest to the OC word.

This word looks like an unstressed a-form of > qí2 旗 ‘he’ (§11.2.1), but outside cognates as well as its non-clitic use make this unlikely.

qí9 其 (gji) LH gi, OCM *gøi — [T] ONW gøi
A modal particle, in OB ‘be expected, should, probably, likely’ (Serruys 1982: 342). Acc. to Serruys this is prob. cognate to: = qí1 期 (gji) LH gi, OCM *gøi
‘Stipulated time, time, limit’ [BL, Shi].

qí9 其 (gji) LH gi, OCM *gøi — [T] ONW gøi
‘Year’ [Shu], [Yi].

qí9 其 (gji) LH gi, OCM *gøi — [T] ONW gøi
‘Flag with bear or tiger design’ [Zuo, SW]. Wáng Li (1982: 85) considers qí 旗 and > qí1 旗 ‘banner’ to be cognate.

qí9 期 — qí7 其

qí11 其 — qí2 株

qí12 期 (gji 3) LH gi, OCM *gri — [T] ONW gi
‘Be old, aged’ [Shi 300, 5].

qí13 期 ‘bring about’ — zhí1 底底

qí14 支枝 跳 (gji 3) LH ghí, OCM *gri
‘To put in equal proportions’ [Zuo, Li] (Downer 1959: 282). — qí1 根 ‘wife’ is not related.

qí15 葉 (dzii) LH dzei, OCM *dzøi, OCB *tshæj
‘Be the same, equal, in line’ [Shi], ‘regulate’ [Yi]. As a caus. it is read in tone C [dzii] ‘to put in equal proportions’ [Zuo, Li] (Downer 1959: 282). — qí1 根 ‘wife’ is not related.

qí16 葉 (dzii) LH dzei, OCM *dzøi (< *dzøi1 < *tsøi1) — [D] PMin *dzøi ~ *dzøi2. ‘Navel’ [Zuo].

qí17 其 (gji) LH gi, OCM *gøi
WT ite-ba < nje 'navel' (STC: 65). Mru dai 'navel'. Prob. unrelated to the synonym → pí, 脈.

qi17 猫 (gei) LH gîi, OCM *gai
‘Water leech’. acc. to Guo Pu’s commentary to EY a Jiangdung (lower Yangtze) dialect word; it still is used in southern dialects: PMín *gîi > Fúzhōu mā* -kâi, Xiànmīn gā* -kâi, Y-Guangzhōu kēi* -ma* (Norman 1983: 207).}

qi17 赐 (kéjí) LH kēi, OCM *khet — [T] ONW khît
‘To ask for, beg’ [Lunyu, Hanfei].

[qí qi (kéjí)] LH kîi

[f] exoactive (extrovert, ditrans.) of qi (kéjí) (§4.3.1).

[?] ST: pheur. Limbu két ‘arrive’, këti ‘to convey, deliver’. Kanauri kêt ‘to give’ [IST: 133].

qi2 李 (kîi) LH kîi, OCM *khîo?
‘Willow’ [Shi], Lycium chinense, a kind of creeper [Shi].

[Unger (Hao-ku 38, 1992: 76) relates this word to WT kî-i’siŋ ‘a creeper’, lit. ‘winding wood’ < kî-i ‘to wind around’; he adds qi 上 (gîi) ‘stalks of pulse’ [Huanian], i.e. ‘runner, climber’, and suggests a possible connection with → jî̯ 借 ‘basket’.

qi3 聤 (kîi) LH kîi, OCM *khîo?

qi4 起 (kîi) LH kîi, OCM *khîo?
‘To rise’ [Shi].

[T] Sin S. SR kjei (上). PR kî; MGZY khi (上) [Kî]; ONW kîia

[Unger (Hao-ku 38, 1992: 76) relates this word to Gurung ri ‘to rise; WT kye-re (also kyer) ‘upright’, also PLB *kîi ‘lift up, raise’ > WK kîi ‘lift, raise, begin’.

qi5 企 (kîi) LC kîi, OCM *kheih
‘Stand on tiptoe’ [Shi, 企 [Lao].

[T] Sin Suku SR kjei (上). PR kî; MGZY khi (上) [Kî]; Sui-Tang kî, ONW kîie

[kîi] 葵 (kîi) LC kîi, OCM *kheih
‘Slant’ [SW: Shi].

[?] ST: JP kîa (Matissoff TSR no. 98), ny* -kennj ‘oblique, slanting’. This wF is prob. connected with → jì 伺 ‘odd’ and → jì 伺 ‘pull aside’.

qi6 此 → qi7 皆

qi7 皆 (kîi) LC kîi, OCM *khîoi ~ kîiøi, OCM *khîoi ~ kîiøi, OCM *kheih?
‘Joint’ (in the body) [Zhuang].

[f] 此 (kîi) LC kîi, OCM *khîoi, OB C *kheih? — [T] ONW kîei
‘To open, open up, start, enlighten’ [BI, Shi], ‘clear of the sky’ [OB]; ‘to kneel’ [Shi] (< ‘bend in the joint’); ‘to bow down (the head) to the ground’ [Zhouli]. The fundamental meaning was ‘bend / open’ (something hinged, something with a joint like a door).

The word qi 此 ‘open’ was tabooed after the death of Emperor Jing Di 景帝 in 140 BC and was replaced by = kái 開, acc. to JDWS (Sagart 1999: 76).

[C] A possible allophone is → jì 伺 ‘mechanism’.

[?] Prob. related to MK-Khmer kēa/kaek ‘to bend out at midpoint’ (horns, arms) vs. kēa/khaenj ‘form or present a sharp angle, bent sharply’; Khmer has no syllable of the type kiik; for the absence of final *-k in OC, see §6.9.

qi8 现 → qi7 皆

qi1 初 (kâi) LH kâi, OCM *khet
‘Skillful engraving’ [SW], prob. cognate to → qi7 皆, and / or to gāi 積.

qi2 柔 (kîi) LH kîs, OCM *khets — [T] ONW kîei
‘Script notches’ [Yü] (Karlgren 1956: 11).

[f] exoactive (extrovert, ditrans.) of qi (kîi) (§4.4.4), lit. ‘what has been cut’.

qi3 間 (kîi) LH kîs, OCM *khêt
‘To cut’ [Xun], ‘cut through’ [Zuo].

[C] An allophone is → qí, 初 ‘engraving’; prob. also to → gāi 積.

qi3 咳 (kâi) LH hit, OCM *hat
‘To reach to’ (the four seas), ‘attain’ (wealth), ‘come to the point that’ [Shi, Shu].

[x] 氣繃 (xiou) LH his, OCM *hots
‘To present’ food [SW: Zuo], grain [Gouyu], or live animals [Lun] > ‘animals’ [Zuo].

[f] exoactive (extrovert, ditrans.) of qi (kîi) (§4.3.1), lit. ‘cause someone to attain food’.

[E] Etymology not certain: qi could be related to → jì 伺 (gîi) 侍; but see there for more likely affination, also the MC fricative initial x- usually does not alternate with a velar stop (g) in a wf. Alternatively, prob. related to yi 諏 (niei) ‘come to’ (under → yi11 sì).}

qi4 餐 → jì 伺

qi5 恤 (kîi) LH kîi, OCM *khop — [T] ONW kîip
‘To weep’ [Shi].


qi6 脕 → zì 侍

qi7 脕 (tsîjap) LH tsîp, OCM *tsop or *tsip (< *tsî-p)
‘To thatch a roof, cover, repair’ [Zuo, Zhouli].

[x] *tîp + ST caus. s-prefix (§5.9.1).

[E] ST: WT skybúa (< *tsî-p) ‘a shelter from above’ (from rain etc.); prob. also cognate to NNaga *ciup ‘roof’ . One of the sources of WT sk- has been shown to be *ts-; the etymology is therefore derived from ST *tîp: WT yîb ‘eaves, shed’ ≈ yîb-pa ‘to hide oneself, place of concealment’, Lushai eup ‘be sheltered from wind, free from storms for the *up - *ip alternations, see §11.5.1. Prob. related to → yî2 邑 ‘settlement’.

qi8 氣 (kîi) LH kis, OCM *ko(ri)
‘Air’ [Li], ‘breath, disposition’ [Lunyu], ‘vapor’ [Zuo], ‘vital principle’ [Li].

[T] Sin S. SR kjei (下), PR kîi; MGZY khi (下) [kîi]; ONW kîie

[x] kîi 氣 (kîi) LH kîs, OCM *khits — [T] ONW kîei
‘Be angry’ [Zuo]. This is a semantically narrower, more vernacular j-less variant of the above (§9.1.1).

qiān．治→hé 合

[T] Sin Sukhu SR ts‘jen (平); MGZY tshyān (平) [ts’jen]
[N] Phonetic is → rēn, 人 (njeñ) ‘human being’ (Pulleyblank 1962: 133; Baxter 1992: 223), the initial is parallel to → qif. 七. Alternatively, the ts‘i- initial may anticipate a development which is commonly found in MÌn dialects, see → xù 須 > sn‘ for an example.
[E] Etymology not clear. MK has a similar-looking word, but the initial and final nasals do not agree with OC: Viet nghîn, Mon l-nîm ‘thousand’ [Maspero 1912: 63].

qiān 堅→jiān 堅

qiān 锚 (jiwán) LH jyan, OCM *lon or *jon ‘Lead’ [Shu].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR jen (平); MGZY ywâin (平) [yen]
[D] Most Mand. and Wû dialects derive the word from an aspirated velar initial, e.g. W-Wènzhōu kʰa⁴⁴ since re-etymologization (§2.8) may have connected it with qiān 堅 ‘solid, hard’ (under → jiān, 堅). In southern dialects, the initial agrees with the QY reading: M-Xiàmén ien²⁵, Xiāng-Shuângfêng uï³.

qiān 叛→yān, yàn 衛

qiān 殁 (k’iêm) LH k’ien, OCM *khiin ‘kraid’
‘To pull / lead by a rope’ (cattle) [Bl, Shu], ‘attach’ [Lâi], qiān niû 牽牛 ‘herd-bov’.
[D] Xiāng-Shuângfêng kʰiï³, K-Mêixiàn kʰiï³, Y-Güngzhôu hîn³³ ‘to pull by a rope’; M-Amoy kʰiï³⁴ (lit. k’iêm) ‘to pull by the hand, drag along, stretch out or tighten a rope’.

xuān 弦 (yien) LH gen, OCM *gîn ‘Bowstring’ [Yiîi], ‘string of a musical instrument’ [Lunyu].
[T] ONW yên.
[C] endopass. of qiān 繫 (k’iêm) (§4.6), lit. ‘something pulled tight’.

qiān 繫 (ts’iâm) LH ts’iâm, OCM *ts’iam < *k-sam ‘‘All’ (the people present) [Shu].
[E] MK: Mon com ‘entirely, all, solely’.

qiān 謙 (k’iem) LH k’iem, OCM *kêm ‘Modest’ [Yîî].

qiān 歉 (k’iem²/c) LH k’iem²/c, OCM *khrêm?/s ‘Deficient, modest’ [Xun]; also read (k’iem²) LH k’iem², OCM *kêm?

xiān 膳 (liâm) LH liâm, OCM *rem ‘Modest, integrity’ [Lunyu].

qiăng - qiāng

【 qiăng (kian⁴) LH dzian⁴, OCM *dzan? 'Be shallow, small' [Shi].

qiăng (dzian⁴/s) LH dzian⁴, OCM *dzan? 'Insecure, artful' [Guoyu] (Karlsgren GSR 155m < 'shallow words').

qiăng (dzian⁴) LH dzian⁴, OCM *dzans — [T] ONW dzian 'Cheap' [Zou], 'low, mean' [Lunyu].

qiăng (k'iem⁴) LH k'iem⁴, OCM *khêm? < *khlem? 'Dissatisfied' [Li]. The OCM medial *i is suggested by the phonetic series (GSR 627).

qiê (k'iep) LH k'iep, OCM *khêp? < *kêlep 'Satisfied' [Meng]. 哼 [Guoenc]. Holding something in the mouth may be a metaphor for an emotive stance, therefore these words may be derived from 挠.

qiăng 嘈 (k'iem⁴, yiem⁴) LH k'iem⁴, gem⁴, OCM *khêm?, *ghêm? < *kh/glem? 'To hold in the mouth' [Dadai Liji].

【 There is prob. no connection with 職, 含有 (so Wáng Li 1982: 605). On the other hand, this w.f may belong to → 嘎, 乘 in the sense of 'holding the jaws together'. However, note TB-Lushai k'am⁴ < k'am⁴? (< *e?) 'be satisfied, satiated; be tired of, stiff' (without medial -j-).

qiăn 欠 → qiăng, 請

qiàn 欠 (k'iem⁴) LH k'iem⁴, OCM *khamis 'To yearn' [Li].

【 [T] Sin Sukhu SR k'jem (去), FR, LR k'jien; MGZY khem (去) [k'iem].

【 The Cantonese initial in haam⁴ 'to yearn' is a regular reflex of earlier k¸.

【【 ST *k'-ham: (1) PTB *k'äm: Chepang kamham 'to yearn', JP gã²f k'amis³ 'yearn' [Weidert 1987: 29]. (2) PTB *ham: Lepcha hotam ' (< *k'am) 'to gape, yawn' *i hûm ( < *k'am) 'to gasp' (Bodman 1980: 160); Lushai haam⁴ / ham⁴ ( < haams / haam) 'to gape, yawn, to have a gap'. CH aspiration is associated with the meaning 'hollow, empty' §5.8.6 and with exhalation §5.8.5.

qiàn 侜 → jiàn 侜

qiàn 們 (ts'en⁴) LH ts'en⁴, OCM tsên < *k-sêns ?, OCK ts'ian 'Red' [Shi], 'dark red' [Zou].

xìng 覺 (sêng) LH sêng, OCM *seŋ 'Red' [Zhouli], 'reddish brown: red horse, red sacrificial animal' [Shi].

The reason for the different final nasals is not clear (provided these words are cognates). It is tempting to relate this w.f to Lushai sen⁴ 'red', Tiddim san (so CVST 4: 22); however, the TB etymon derives from PTB *tyan (STC: 15–16 n. 63).

qiáng 美 (k'ian⁴) LH k'iong, OCM *kian or *kian⁴? Name of different western TB tribes from Shang ODB down to the present. The graph implies that these people raise sheep. Pulleyblank (1983: 418f) suggests that the name is derived from → 羊 羊 'sheep' which is also phonetic, although the SW states that the graph is a semantic compound. However, the name Qiang may be a phonetic word which brings to mind WT skyoŋ-ba, bskyar 'to guard, keep, tend' (animals), PTB *kyon (STC no. 161). Qiang means then 'herders'. The Tib. word is cognate to → 羊 養 'nourish, feed, rear'.

The clan name Jiăng 姜 (kian) MTang kian < qian. ONW qian (of Rong / Zhou provenance) is not necessarily connected to Qiăng, SW says that 羊 'sheep' is only phonetic (Pulleyblank EC 25, 2000: 16).

qiāng - qiāo

qiāng 侏 (kian⁴) LH k'iong, OCM *khoŋ 'A hollow wooden beaten instrument of music' [Li].

qiāng 侏 (k'ian⁴) LH k'iong, OCM *khoŋ 'To beat' [Zhoung].

【 Etymology not certain, prob. related to TB-Mru k'oon 'wooden drum' (Löffler 1966: 142). The OC word may be a derivation with caus. *r (^7.5) from → kong 空 'hollow', lit. 'a thing made empty'. Alternatively, note MK-Khamer k'oon 'be sunken, hollow, concave' k'oon 'hollow, hollow, cut' (Jenner / Pou 1982: 379). CH aspiration is associated with the meaning 'hollow, empty' §5.8.6.

qiăng 將 'beg' → jiăng 將

qiăng 強瞪 (qian) LH qiong, OCM *qan 'Be strong' [Shi]; 強 [Meng].

【 Ti Sin Sukhu SR qian (平); MGZY k'yang > kyang (平) [qian]; MTang qian < qan, ONW qan.

【 D M-Xiâmén col. kia², lit. kia².

háng 行 (yan⁴) LH gong⑴, OCM *gâŋ(h) 'Strong, vigorous' [Lunyu] is prob. a variant of qiăng.

qiăng 强 (qian⁴) LH giong, OCM *gân 'Make an effort, compel' [Meng]; 強 [Zou] is a verbal derivative of qiăng; the meaning 'hard (soil)' prob. goes with → gâng 剛鋼.

jiăng-jiăng 強強 (kian) LH kion, OCM *kan 'Fierce' [Shi].


gâng 棍 (kian²) LH kan⁴, OCM *kâŋ 'Strong' [Chuci].

qiăng 力 (qian) LH qiong, OCM *qan 'Strong, powerful' [Zou].

【 ST: Lepcha kraŋ 'be strong on legs', Lushai òan⁴ / òan⁴ < òan⁴ ( < traps) 'put forth all one's strength'.

Wáng Li (1982: 341) includes many additional words. This w.f 'strong' and → gâng 剛鋼 'hard' with its relatives bleed into each other.

qiăng 綱 (k'ian⁴) LH kiong, OCM *kan 'String, cord' [Li], 'band' (by which infants are held back on the back) [Lun], see → bão 保. Possibly related to → gâng 剛鋼 'guiding rope (of a net)'.

qiăng 強 (qian⁴) LH kiong, OCM *kan 'Strong, cord' [Li], 'band' (by which infants are held back on the back) [Lun], see → bão 保. Possibly related to → gâng 剛鋼 'guiding rope (of a net)'.

qiāo 叫 (k'au) LH k'au, OCM *khrâu 'Tibia, spoke of a wheel' [Zhouli]; 'foot' in Mín dialects: PM *k'au¹ > Amoy k'au¹, Superficially, the Southern Mín and Tai forms look identical: PTai *k'au⁴ 'leg, thigh'; Zhuang k'au⁴ 'foot' (Yue-Hashimoto CAAL 6, 1766: 1), PKS *kwa⁴ 'leg', but the rimes do not agree with CH. More likely, the KT item is related to → gâng, 股 'thigh, leg', considering that old loans do not closely agree in the voicing and in tones.

qiāo 騁 → jîo_k½i 蹶

qiāo 疊 (k'au, k'ieu²) LH k'au, k'ieu², OCM *khrâu(?) 'Stony soil' 疊 [Meng], 疊 [Xun]. Perh. related to PMY *trau¹ 'stone' (Downer 1982).
qiè 難 'bleached white' → zhāo 昭

qiáo 喬 (qíu 3) LH giou, OCM *gau
'Be tall' [Shi], 喬 [Zuo]; 'cauldron with high feet' 鍋 [BI].

qiáo (qíu 3) LH kiu, OCM *kau
'High, lift the head' [Zhuang]; 'proud, arrogant, high' [Shi].

qiáo (kīu 3) LH kiu6, OCM *kau6 → [T] ONW kau4
'Height, elevated, high' [Xun]. Perh. → jiao1, 蹺 'martial' is the same etymology (so Wáng LJ 1982: 204).

qiáo (gíu 3) LH giou6, OCM *gau6
'Peak' [Lie]. <> Tai: S. gook 'hill'.

qiáo (gíu 3) LH giou, OCM *gau
'Cross-bar, cross-piece' [Yi1i] > 'bridge' [Zuo].

qiáo (kíu 3) LH kiu6, OCM *kau6
'A well-sweep' [Li] (Karlsgren 1956: 11).

qiáo 喬, 翹 → qiáo, 喬

qiáo 翹 → qiáo, 喬

qiáo 翹 → qiáo, 喬

qiáo 殺 → kē2 殺

qiáo 翹 (kíu 3) LH kiu6, OCM *kíu6
'Hole, opening' [Li] is prob. a ST word: WB kíu6 'chasm, gulf' (HST: 95). Alternatively or in addition, this word may be a k-prefix concrete noun derivation from → tiao 稟 (or *jaou?) 'to bore a hole' (§5.4). CH aspiration is associated with the meaning 'hollow, empty' §5.8.6.

qié 茹 (qíě) Sin Suku SR khe (平).
'Vegetable'. The MC rime is unique.

[Di] Y-Guangzhou kí4, Táishán kí5, K-Mêxián kí5, PMin *gia
[En] <> P-Tai kí4 > S. kí5 'eggplant'

qié 且 → jiàng1 將

qiē 切 → jié9 齒

qiē 姥 → jié2 捷

qiē 蹀 (kíu 3) LH kiu6, OCM *kau
'Go away' [Shi] is cognate to → qū 去 (kíu6'o') 'go away' (so Pulleyblank in Rosemont 1991: 30). CH aspiration is associated with outward motion §5.8.5.

qiē 蹀 'martial' → jié13 節

qiē 蹀 (ts'iem) LH ts'iem, OCM *ts'hem
'To steal' [Shu]. Bodman (ICSTLL 1988) relates this to JR ka-sk6'Ent 'to take'.
qīn – qīn

kàn, 坎 =. <> CH loans are per. Tai: Po’ai kam\(^{CV}\) *<k-‘cave’, PKS *kam\(^{I}\) ‘cave’; but these items could belong to → kàn, 坎 instead.

qīn₁/yīn 蠶蚓 < yīn₄ 蠈蚯
qīn₂-tiān 穴蚕 < yīn₄ 穴蚯 ‘earthworm’

qīn₄ 寥 (tsjan⁴) LH ts’im⁴, OCM *tsham? ?< *k-sam?
‘To sleep’ [Shi], ‘sleeping apartments in a palace’ [Li].

qīng₁ 青 (tsien¹) LH ts’en, OCM *tshen < k-sen?
‘Green, blue’ [Shi].
[DF] PMIN *ts’æŋ⁴ ‘raw’ (Norman identifies the PMIN form with 青, Nakajima with 生).
[BE] ST *siŋ: WT ts’en-ma < k-siŋ ‘pastureland, meadow’, Mikir re-nəŋ < e-siŋ ‘green’, Rawang məsəŋ ‘green’, məs̓iŋ ‘blue’. This root *siŋ is identical to the ST root *siŋ ‘tree, wood’ (< xin⁴ ‘new’ and its CH homophone xin ‘new, renew’, so that these items may also be part of this large group CF- > PMIN: Sách sen, Viet xanh ‘blue-green’. A parallel stem is *sn, see → căng, 茼 *tšang ‘green’. For an overview of the *siŋ ~ *srŋ contrasts (§11.1.3), see Table S-1 after → sheng₂; for an overview of the

Table Q-1 Live, fresh, green (B): *siŋ ~ *srŋ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>*srŋ</th>
<th>live</th>
<th>*siŋ</th>
<th>green</th>
<th>*(k)-siŋ</th>
<th>green</th>
<th>*siŋ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OC</td>
<td>sheng 生</td>
<td>*srŋ</td>
<td>live</td>
<td>qīng 青</td>
<td>*tshen</td>
<td>&lt; k-sen?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WC</td>
<td>~xings 性性 *siŋ</td>
<td>nature,</td>
<td>姓</td>
<td>offspring,</td>
<td>family</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>ts’en-ma</td>
<td>pastureland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kana</td>
<td>siŋ live</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mikir</td>
<td>re-nəŋ</td>
<td>re-nəŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lushai</td>
<td>hwrip⁴</td>
<td>hwrip⁴</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fresh, green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NNaga</td>
<td>*C-sień</td>
<td>*C-v-sień</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>raw, grass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rawang</td>
<td>mašəŋ</td>
<td>mašəŋ</td>
<td>green</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>~məs̓iŋ blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JP</td>
<td>ts’en⁵ &lt; riŋ⁵</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>grass, green</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(? n̄⁵-teŋ⁵ name)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

siŋ ~ siŋ contrasts, see Table Q-1. Most, but not all, ST words meaning ‘live’ belong to a stem with initial *sr-, while ‘fresh, green’ tends to belong to the stem with simple initial *s-.

[C] The graph 青 ‘luxuriant’ [Shi], though pronounced jing (tsien, tsjan), may simply write qing (Baxter 1983). The syn. → căng, 茼 is cognate (Wang Li 1982: 335) and

qīn₂ 赤 (gjen) LH gın, OCM *gran ‘Clay’ [SW].

qīn₁ 擒 (gjan²) LH gın³, OCM *grans ‘To plaster, inter’ [Shi].

qīn₃ 擒 (gjan) LH gın, OCM *găn ‘To toil, labor, be zealous’ [BI, Shu]; ‘sincere, energetic’ [Lie] ‘sad’ 憂 [Gongyang].

qīn₄ 擒 (gjan) LH gın, OCM *găn ‘Game bird, bird, fowl’ (opposite of → shòu 獸 ‘quadruped’) [Zuo, EY], ‘game’ (animal) [Yi].

[BE] Etymology not certain. It appears to be the same word as → qīn₂ 擒 ‘catch’ (animals etc.) and would thus be parallel to shòu 獸 ‘to hunt’ ~ → shòu 獸 ‘wild animal’. However, the similarity with the common AA word for ‘bird’ is striking: AA: PVM -cim ‘bird’ [Ferlus] (the initial of Viet. cám [kam⁴] ‘bird’ could be the result of interference from a prefix or from OC); PMon *kpicam ‘bird’ (general term), Kyanzitha OMon (12th cent. AD) kíkem, Mon *kchem, LitMon gacem, gacem; Nyah Kur *kpečám, some dialects have kpyjam and the like [Dillhoff 1984: 71]; Wa-Lawa *sem; Chong (Pearce) chi’im [Huffman 1985]. Note also AN: PEastern Formosan *qayam ‘bird’ [LJ Jen-kuei LL 5.2, 2004: 369].

These MK items are not very late loans from Mandarin. It is also unlikely that a language family would borrow a marginal AA word (the CH word for ‘bird’ has been (mutatis mutandis) the equivalent of Mand. → niào 貳 throughout the ages). Therefore early PMIN *kcam is the source for OC (there are more OC animal names of AA origin). The voiced velar initial may have worn out in OC because of the semantic association of ‘game bird’ with qīn ‘catch’, so that the two words were parallel. If qīn ‘catch’ should go back to some early MK word, the two items might have been nearly identical: note OMON kcam ‘grasp’ (under → jiàn 聴) vs. a hypothetical *ktem ‘bird’.

qīn₃ 擒 (gjan) LH gın, OCM *găn ? < [T] ONW gım ‘To catch, capture’ (animals, people, booty) [BI, Guoyu].

Etymology not certain. TB-WT sgrim-pa ‘to hold fast, force / twist together, squeeze in’ (Gong in W. Wang 1995: 86) is semantically related to the RS phonetic initial. The word may, however, derive from an AA variant of → jián 聴; *ktem ‘grasp’. See also → qīn₄ 擒 ‘bird’.

qīn₄ □ PMIN *dzim⁴
‘A type of crab’: Fūzhōu siŋ⁴, Amoy tsım⁴, is borrowed from MK ‘king crab’ Bahmar kvtaam, WrMon kvtaam (Norman / Mei 1976: 298).

qīn₁ 坳 (k)jam⁴, gjan⁴ LH kım⁴, OCM *kham?
‘Hole in the earth’ [Yi]. Aspiration is associated with ‘hollow, empty’ §5.8.6.
[BE] ST: TB-IP mə̀³-t-kam⁵⁵ ‘pit’. Similar CH and foreign comparanda are here tentatively sorted out according to connections which emerge in Table K-1 under →
belongs to a parallel a-vowel stem, see under → shèng 生. Additional allofms → jǐng. 

清 (tsʰjæŋ) LH tsʰiæŋ, OCM *tsʰæŋ < *k-seŋ?
 'Be pure, clear' (of water, sound, and also generally) [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsʰiæŋ (平); MGZY tsʰiæŋ (平) [tsʰiæŋ]; ONW tsʰiæŋ

→ jǐng 浚 (dzjæŋ²) LH dzjæŋ², OCM *dzjæŋ — [T] ONW dzjæŋ 'Clean, cleanse' [Guoyu].

→ xīng 醒 (sieŋ, sieŋ³) LH seŋ³, OCM *seŋ³ (?/h)
 'Wake up, become sober' [Zuo] (HST: 55).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR sieŋ (上), LR sieŋ; MGZY sieŋ (上) [sieŋ] — [D] PMin *sʰæŋ³

[Ε] ST *Sen: WT seŋ-po ~ bseŋ-po 'clear, white, airy, pale' ≠ gseŋ-po 'clear and sharp' (sound), JP seŋ³ 'clean'; Lushi tʰæŋ³ / tʰian³ 'be clear, clean'. JP tʃæŋ³ /tʃræŋ³ 'sober' is unrelated. <> This is perh. an area word, note MK-Khmer: cèna /caænæ/ 'be clear, bright... make clear...'

→ ST *san: WT saŋ-ba, sans 'cleanse', bzi-sans-te 'having become sober again after intoxication' (bzi 'intoxication') ≠ tsʰæŋ-ba, tsʰæns 'to remove, make clean' (Unger Hau-ku 39, 1960: 61); WB tsan 'clear, pure', related.

Allofms are perh. → xīng 星 'star' (HST: 55) and jǐng 星 'clear sky'; → jǐng 靜睛 'clear sight' may also be related.

For an overview of the different ST stems, see the following Table Q-2 'Clean'.

### Table Q-2 Clean, clear

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>*sen⁵</th>
<th>*k-seŋ⁵</th>
<th>*sæŋ³</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OC</td>
<td>xīng 醒 *sæŋ³ sober qǐng 清 *tsʰæŋ⁵ or *k-seŋ⁵ pure, clear</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>seŋ-po ~ bseŋ-po clear, white, airy gseŋ-po clear and sharp saŋ-ba, sans cleanse, sober tsʰæŋ-ba, tsʰæns to remove, make clean</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lushi</td>
<td>tʰæŋ³ / tʰian³ be clear, clean</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JP</td>
<td>seŋ³ clean</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td>can clear, pure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**qǐng 清 (ktʃjæŋ) LH kʰiæŋ, OCM *kʰæŋ — [T] ONW kʰæŋ 'Light' (weight) [Shi, Guoce].

[Ε] ST *C-æŋ (*C-ian): PTB *yaŋ ~ *yɡæŋ (STC no. 328; French 1983: 512): WT yɡæŋ 'light', Tamang tʰæŋ tʰaŋ 'kyaŋ' / tʰañ³ / tʰiæŋ⁵ 'be light'; NNaga *ygaŋ, Lepcha kyaŋ 'be light'. For the OC vowel, see §11.3.2.

**qǐng 靜 (ktʃjæŋ²) LH kʰiæŋ², OCM *kʰæŋ 'Be careless' [Zuo] (Downer 1959: 286). [Ε] exoactive / putative of qǐng (§4.3.2), lit. 'consider light, treat lightly'.

**qǐn 鈇 (ktʃjæn⁵) LH kʰiæn⁵, OCM *kʰæn⁵ — [T] ONW kʰæn⁵ 'Be slanting' > caus. 'overturn, overthrow' (wall, mandate) 鈇 [Shi]; 'incline' (the head) 鈇 [Li]. The graph 鈇 is also read MC kʰjæŋ without medial w (§10.2.1).

[Ε] AA-PMon *kʰæŋ / *kʰæn⁵ 'to lean, be slanted > listen', Khmer ᵇɪɨn / tʰiæŋ / tʰian³ / tʰian⁵ 'to slant, slope, tilt, incline...'; this item also occurs in TB-JP n³kJʰiæn⁵ 'slanted' (CVST
qiu1 丘 (k'7ou) LH k\4u, OCM *kho, OCB *k'7ja — [T] MTang k\7eu < k\7iu, ONW k\7u 'Hill, mound' [Shi], 'small hill' [SW], 'waste, ruins' [Chuci]. This is prob. the s. w. as to qiu1 丘 'village'. → qiu, 虛築 (k'7wo) [k\4u] 'hill, mound, ruins, waste' is prob. not cognate (contra general assumptions, e.g. Wang Li 1982: 85).

qiu2 丘 (k'7ou) LH k\4u, OCM *kho, OCB *k'7ja
'Village, district' [Meng]. 丘商 'the city Shang' [OB] (Keightley 2000: 57), 商丘 [Zhushu jianian].
[D] M-Xiamen, Fuzhou k\7u 郭 'plot of land'.
[B] ST: TB-Phon kwa, Lushai k\7ua 'village, town', Lai k\7ua 'cosmos, village' [Van-Bik, LTB A 21.1, 1998: 221]. The TB words are often associated with those under → qu, 術.

The homophone → qiu, 丘 'hill, mound, ruins' is prob. the same word since settlements were often built on elevated ground; a semantic parallel is → jing1 京 'city, hill'.

qiu3 yin1 虛築 → yin4 虚築
qiu4 秋 (ts\7ou) LH ts\7iu, OCM *tsliu, OCB *tshiu < PCH *C-n(i)u.
'Autumn' [OB, Shi], perf. 'fall-winter' in OB; 'crop' [Shu].
[D] M-Xiamen, Fuzhou ts\7iu A1
[B] Etymology not clear. Qiu might be cognate to → shou 收 'to gather, harvest', the QYS initial tsh- can in some instances derive from a complex preliterary initial with a voiceless *ts, as in → qi1 丘 'seven' (§5.9.1.1). Alternatively, qiu might be related to the wā → zu1 卓 'to end' since vegetation dies in the fall (note that zu also refers to dead vegetation in winter).

qiu1 求 → jiu1 完
qiu2 求 (gjou) LH gu, OCM *gu 'Gem-adorned' [Shi]. Bodman (1980: 167) relates this to WT gru 'luster of gems'.

qiu3 球 (gjou) LH gu, OCM *gu, OCB *grju — [D] PMin *giu. 'Ball, earlier some `kind of jade' [Shi, Shu].

qiu4 求仇 (gjou) LH gu, OCM *gu, OCB *grju 'To assemble (e.g. friends) [Bl, Shi] > accumulate' (e.g. merits) 蜕 [Shi] > mate, companion, partner, antagonist 仇 [Shi].
[B] ST: Chepaung gjou, Bodo hgvr 'friend' [Weidert 1987: 18]. ㄑi→Tai: S. k\7u h\7u2 < *g- 'pair' (Li F. 1976: 42). Li suggests a connection with CH y\7u 友 'friend' (but see under → y\7u2 右) and with WT grogs 'friend' (but see under k\3, 客).

qiu5 虚 (gjou) LH gu, OCM *gwo, OCB *g\7o (Shijing rimes) 'Far' [Bl, Shi]. Bodman (1980: 166) compares this to WT gru 'boat' (of inflated hides). Tamang k'uri 'skin' looks similar.

qiu6 游 (jzou) LH ziu, OCM *s-ju or *s-ju — [D] M-Xiamen, Fuzhou s\7ua A2 'to swim'. 'To swim' [Lie].
[B] Since this word is late, it may simply be a dialectal variant of → y\7u 游, as in some dialects original *j- becomes a frieic (note Mln above). Bodman (1980: 179) draws attention to a Lushai word hlew 'swim'.

qi2. jiu 虚築 (gjieu, kjiu) LH gu, kiu, OCM *giu, *kiu, OCB *g(r)tiw (?)
'Horned dragon' [Chuci]; 'horn-shaped, long and curved' [Guliang]. 虚築 [Shi].
HST: 130 compares 'horned dragon' with WT kl\4u 'Nagas, serpent spirits', but see → jiao4 蛇. The most likely etymology is 'twisting, wriggling' (Carr LTBA 13.2: 151ff). note → jiu3 細 (kjiu8) 'to twist, plait'.

qiu4 邊 → zu2 边
qiu5 遭 → zao2 遭

qiu1 曲 (k\7ou) LH k\7ou, OCM *khok, OCB *kh\7ok
'To bend, bent' [Shi], 'crooked, unjust' [Zuo].
[T] Sin Sukho SR k\7y (λ); MGZY k\7yu (λ) [k\7y]; ONW k\7ou
[B] ST: 'Bent, curved' (body) [Shi], 被 'bend the body' [Shiwen].

PMK 'gok' 'to be crooked, bent, lame' (Shorto 1972: 15).
[C] This wā is cognate to items under → gou, 旬钩构格; it may also be connected with → jio6 肮 'bend'.

qiu2 屈 (k\7ou) LH k\7ut, OCM *khut
'To bend' [Zuo], 'subdue' [Shi]; the graph shows a squatting (i.e. bent) person with the phonetic underneath.
[T] Sin Sukho SR k\7y (λ); MGZY k\7yu (λ) [k\7y]
[C] a final + derivation of → jio6 肮 'bend'.
[B] Perh. ST (but the final consonants differ): WT dgu 'crooked, bend down' ValuePair 'park-2 (a heavy load), Lushai k\7u h\7u 'to bend down, droop' ValuePair 'bowed down, burdened'. CH -> PTai *guod2 'bent'.
[C] Cognates are perf. → gou1 旬钩构格, → qiu, 曲.

qiu3 鉸 (k\7u0) LH k\7io, OCM *kho, OCB *kh\7rijo
'Body, person' [Meng].
[T] MTang k\7y < k\7io, ONW k\7uo
[B] ST: PTA *+(s)-k\7u > WT sk\7u, WB k\7i 'body' (of an animal) (HST: 46), Mrù k\7o [Löffler 1966: 130]. Shorto (1972: 18) suggests a connection with PMK *i(k)\7i 'body' > OMon jirku. Loss of a ST pre-initial could be responsible for aspiration §5.8.1.

qiu4 鉸 (k\7u0) LH k\7io (C), OCM *kho(h) ?
'To drive (animals), gallop, drive out / away [Bl, Shi].
[B] ST: WT *k\7yu-pa 'to run, dart, hasten' ValuePair 'k\7yu-2, k\7yu 'to run' ValuePair 'd\7yu-2 'a race' ValuePair 'gu-2, gu 'to move quickly' (HST: 128). CH aspiration is associated with forceful motion §5.8.5. An allophone may be → jio6 肮 'colt'.

qiu5 虚築 (k\7jo) LH k\7io, OCM *kh\7a
'Verinch' [Shi], 'reasons' [Guoyu, Li], 'hills, mound, site' [Zuo], 'a large mound' [SW]. This may be a nominal derivation by k-prefix (§5.4) from → x\7u, 虚 'empty' (Karlgren 1956: 18). Note Lushai k\7o 'a mound, bank, raised ground...' which may be related. Qiu is probably not related to → qiu1 丘.

qiu6 趣 → zuo2 逐
qiu1 清 (canal) → jio5 逐 柱
[C] Allofam → qī(t)3, 擒 (kʰjat) ‘go away’.

quán 捲 → quān 卷


[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzyan (平); MGZy tswyan (平) [dzyan]

x quán 捲 (tsjwān) LH ts’yan, OCM *tsōn ‘Become cured (illness)’ [Zhuang] (Karlsgen 1956: 13).

quán2 捲 (dzjwān) LH dzyan, OCM *dzwan (!), OCB *g’jyan ‘Spring’ (of water) [OB, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzyan (平); MGZy tswyan (平) [dzyan]

[N] This word rimes in Shijing in -an (Pulleyblank 1963: 209) and is therefore to be reconstructed with a labiovelar initial (Baxter 1992: 176; 232). The word could possibly be a CH n-suffix nominalization (§6.4.3) which is cognate to a PTB root *tsō ‘bubble, boil’. WT ‘tsød-ha’, btsos ‘cook in boiling water’; WB tshu ‘to boil, bubble’.

quán3 卷捲 (gjwān 3) LH gyon, OCM *gwan or *gon, OCB *g’jran ‘handsome’


x quán 捲 (k’jwān 3) LH k’yon, OCM *khwan or *khon ‘Crooked wood’ [Guocele] > ‘bowl’ made thereof [Meng].

Baxter reconstructs an OC medial r in all the words of GSR 226.

[E] Since OC final *n can have several sources (ST *-n, *r, *-n, suffix *-n), a TB cognate is difficult to identify: (1) Bodman (1980: 150) relates this wF to WT k’jror ‘a handful’ vs k’jror ‘to warp’, or WT k’ror ‘circle’. (2) Or note Lushai k’xar ‘double up, roll up’. (3) Or Lushai kual ‘to coil’. (4) Or perhaps cognate to Lushai hruat ‘roll up in the hand’. (5) These could be n-suffixed forms of *gjwān, 卷捲形. An allofam is prob. to quān4 捲.

quán4 捲 (gjwān 3) LH gyon, OCM *gon?

‘Walk with bent body’ [SW], this could be cognate to → quān3 卷捲 and / or to → gōu1 卷曲.

quán5 權 → quān3 卷捲

quān1 犨 (k’iwen) LH k’un, OCM *khwän?

‘Dog’ [BI, Shi] > ‘official in charge of dogs’ [OB].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR k’yen (丂); MGZy kwhyan (丂) [k’yEn]

[D] This word survives in Min dialects (Xiānmén k’iān⁴⁴), but has been replaced by → 犅 in most of the others.

[N] A rime MC -wen cannot derive from OC -wën or (so GSR) *-un, only from OC -wën or *-wên, hence OCM *khwän. This is also what we should expect on comparative grounds (so Starostin 1995: 229 *khwän).

[E] ST *kwi with the addition of the nominal suffix -en in Chinese (§6.4.3; STC: 158 n. 428): PTB *kwi > PTib. ki > WT k’yi, Kanuri *kui ‘dog’, Chepang kuy; JP gui; PL *kwe > WB k’we⁴⁴.

quān2 悶喫 → xuān1 汆
rǎn
然 (hâjânj) LH ēn, OCM *nan, OCB *nian
‘To burn’然 [Meng], 然 [Mō].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR rën (平); MGZY Zhen (平) [ren]; ONW ēn
[D] M-Dôngân nầ2A ‘to take fire accidentally’ ﾅ曷 náC/2 ‘to singe or burn
slightly’, hīA2 ‘to burn’.
shân 燃 (shâjn) LH ënC, OCM *nhans
‘Blaze’ > ‘splendid’ [Shi].
Prob. not related to → hân, 暝.

rǎn₁ 然 (hâjânj) LH ēn, OCM *nan — [T] ONW ēn
‘To be like that’ [Shi], ‘affirm, approve’ [Lun]. Rân is a fusion of → rú, 如 with an
element *n which has a demonstrative meaning (§6.4.5), cf. the later → nà, 那 ‘that’

rǎn₂ 染 (hâjâjn̂) LH ēnB/C, OCM *namB/s
‘To dye’ [Zhouli], ‘to dip’ [Zuo]. Acc. to Downer (1959: 277), the tone B form is the
verb, tone C a noun ‘kind of cloth’ [Liji].
[T] Sin S. SR rën (上声); MGZY em [rem] (上声) [rem]; ONW ēn
relates this word to WT ënms-pa ‘be spoiled, stained, tarnished’.

rǎn₃ 染 (hâjâjn̂) LH ēn, OCM *naŋ
‘Rich with dew’ > ‘rich with grain kernels’ 染 [Shi]; ‘rich in grain, rich’ 染 [Shi].
[E] ST: WB hnaŋB ‘dew, fog, mist’ (HST: 62), Lushai hnaŋB / hnaŋA ‘thick’ (fluid),
and / or Lushai hnaŋB / hnaŋA ‘be damp, moist, fat’ (Geilig 1994: 254).

râng 染 (hâjâjn̂) LH ēnB, OCM *naŋ?
‘Mould, cultivated soil’ [Shu], ‘territory’ [Meng].
[E] KT: S. daangB < *rd- (< *rn-) ‘potash, lye’, Li Ngâm tāngB.

râng 染 (hâjâjn̂) LH ēnC, OCM *naŋ
‘To concede, yield’ [Shi].
<c> expass. of râng, lit. ‘remove oneself’ (§4.4).
[râng 染 (hâjâjn̂) LH ēn, OCM *naŋ
‘To remove, steal, thief’ 染 [Shi] > causative ‘to expel, sacrifice to expel evil
influence’ 染 [Zuo].
[xiāng 襲 (sjiang) LH sian, OCM *naŋ
‘To remove, expel’ [Shi].
<c> causative s-prefix with râng (§5.2.2; Baxter / Sagart 1998: 53).
[E] ST: WT gnâŋ, gnâŋ ‘to concede’; WB hnaŋB ‘to give, deliver over’ ﾅ曷 hnaŋ
‘drive away, drive along’ (HST: 86), Lepcha nōŋ ‘to go away, go forth, proceed’.
rāo - rēn

rāo₁ 樵 (dźjū) LH ūau (from earlier *niau or *nau) ‘Oar’ [Chuci].
[En] MK: Khmer thnāol ‘punting pole’ < nominal n-infix derivation from daol ‘to punt’. In CH, the n- often serves as a perceived initial (§2.6). For the loss of the code in CH, see §6.9.

rāo₂ 馌 (dźjū) LH ūau, OCM *niū or *n(i)au ?
‘Herbs for fuel’ [Meng], ‘fuel gatherer’ [Shi].

*shāo 燻 (dźjū) LH ūau, tśau, OCM *niū or *n(h)au?
‘To burn’ [Li].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR sjew (פ), PR sjew; MGZY shew (פ) [sēw];
[D] PMin nśiau, PEMin *siu ‘roast’.
[k] *niu + caus. devoicing (§5.2.2).

rāng 播 → rāo₁ 樵

rē 燻 (dźjū) LH ūat, OCM *pet or *net OCB *jet (i.e. OCM jet)
‘Hot’ [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR rje (ך); MGZY Zhīa (ך) [rje]; ONW ūat
[D] PMin *niat ~ *jiat

[En] The relationship with → rōq 熟, if any, is not clear, because of the difference in vowels, although these words are often considered cognate (so Karlgren 1956: 16). CH grily ǔaDIW ‘to boil (a liquid), be boiling (mad)’ (Li F. 1976: 42). Rē has the same initial in Tai as the loan ri ‘sun’.

rēn₁ 人 (ńjén) LH ūin, OCM *nin
‘Human being, person, man’ [LOB, Shi] > ‘other persons, someone’ [Shi]. Rēn tends to refer to a member of a clan, i.e. upper class (Gassmann JAOS 120.3, 2000: 348ff).
[T] Sin Sukhu SR rín (ך); MGZY Zhīn (ך) [rín]; ONW ūin

[En] Etymology not certain. The TB root *ni ‘human being’ occurs in → min, 民 ‘people’. There are several possible etymologies for rēn:

(1) It may possibly be the same etymon as → rēn₁ 仁 (§ PTB *nin ‘heart, mind’), thus literally ‘having a mind’; for a semantic parallel note Tib. sems-čan ‘having a mind, living creature’ (also Latin animal < animus ‘breath, spirit’). But this is rather speculative.

(2) More likely, rēn is related to PMK *pah, LitMon ūaŋ ‘people’ (of either sex)
[Diffloth 1984: 13f], Mod. Khmer nēh ‘specifier for ordinary persons’, with a fronted vowel in OC (§1.5.2) and the addition of the nominal n-suffix (§6.4.3), just as in mūn 民. The Shan dynasty fought wars against eastern AAA peoples who are called rēn 仁. It is tempting to consider this their auto-ethnonym (‘human beings’) (Sagart 1999: 163 who relates rēn to WT rē-n ‘kinsman’, though).

rēn₂ 仁 (ńjén) LH ūin, OCM *nin
‘Be kind, good’ [Shi, Shu, ‘qin 親 to love’ [SWJZGL 3471], ‘kind, gentle, humane’ (A. Waley) and similar translations [Lunyu, Mengj]; ‘pit’ (i.e. ‘heart’), e.g. of an apricot xing-rēn 杏仁 [Bénçuo; Yānshī jiāuxūn, 6th cent. AD] (Baxter p.c.).
[En] The word’s old graph 忍 (qīn 千 < *shān as phonetic; Booodberg 1937: 338; in the Guódiān texts written with shēn 身 instead of qīn above xīn 心 ‘heart’), and its SW gloss qīn, suggest that its association with → rēn 仁 ‘human being’ is relatively late (Mengzi) (Pulleyblank 1995: 183; Baxter p. c. 2001); later it acquired the usual interpretation as lit. ‘act like a human being’ (Gassmann JAOS 120.3, 2000: 357).

rēn₄ 任 (ńjém) LH ūin, OCM *nam
‘Carry on the shoulder, to load’ [Shi] > ‘sustain, endure’ [Zuo].

* rēn 任 (ńjém) LH ūin, OCM *nams
‘Burden (of office)’ > ‘charge, office’ [Shu]; ‘be burdened, pregnant’ 娠 [SW]; ‘be burdened, entrust’ 任 [Zuo].
[k] exopass. of rēn, lit. ‘being loaded, be burdened’ (Wáng Li 1982: 61) > ‘entrust, pregnant’. Pregnant’ is hardly cogn. to its syn. → yūn 孕 ‘pregnant’; a semantic parallel ‘bear’ > ‘pregnant’ is → pēi 胚, also found in many other languages, including English.
[T] Sin Sukhu SR rim (ך), PR, LR rim; MGZY Zhīm (ך) [irim]

[En] ST: WT snom-pa, bsnams ‘to take, seize, hold, put on’. This etymon may have enjoyed wider distribution, note PKS *nam ‘to hold’, and AA-OKhmer nām [nam] ‘to carry, convey, transport’. See also comment under → rēn₁ 仁.

rēn₅ 任 (ńjém, n’jam) LH ūin, ūīn, OCM *nim, nimi?
‘To weave’ [Zuo].
[En] KT, AN: PKS *tam ‘to weave’, PTai *tam³; AN anem, IN aiam ‘plait’ (Benedict AT 98; Sagart JCL 21.1, 1993: 48). Curiously, the CH word is phonetically closest to AN which is farthest afield (this also is the case with ‘needle’ → zān 蘭).

rēn₁ 忍 (ńjén⁸) LH ūin³, OCM *núi.
‘To endure’ [Guoyu].
[T] ONW ūin — [D] PMin *niu⁸ ~ *nii³
[En] ST: WT *niu³-pa ‘to be able, (not) be able’.

rēn₂ 忍 (ńjén⁸) LH ūin³, OCM *núi.

rēn₃ 忍 (ńjém³) LH ūīn³, OCM *nim, OCM *nam
‘Year’ [Zuo]. Later ‘ripe’ (of cereal etc.) [SW], ‘harvest’ [Hanshu].

The word’s earliest occurrences in Zuózhǎn in stock expressions like ‘not lasting (more than) five years’ give the impression of a relic from a substrate, rather than being part of the active language (similar to AA — hūng, 蠢 ‘blood’). The AA sources do not mean ‘harvest’ or ‘ripe’; therefore it seems that AA year and → rēn 任 *nam (basic notion: ‘burden, carry, bear’) have converged during the Han period (ears of grain ‘bearing’ > ‘ripe, harvest’) [SW, Hanshu], perh. with additional interference from → rēn 任 ‘soft’ > ‘cooked’ and → nián 年 ‘year, harvest’. Rēn has perh.
rén - róng

rén

1. (nįij) LH ūn, OCM *nuń
   'An important person' [Shi].
2. (nįij) LH ūn, OCM *nuń
   'A kind of bean' [Lie].
3. (nįij) LH ūn, OCM *nuń
   'To chew' [Xun] is perh. related (< 'make soft').
5. (nįij) LH ūn, OCM *nuń
   'To do work' [Shi].
6. (nįij) LH ūn, OCM *nuń
   'To go to work' [Shi].
7. ST, area word: PTB *nyam (HPTB: 299) > WB ūm (soft, fine, delicate); Lushai neem / neem 'soft, yielding, weak' < nheem / nheem < nheem (< nheem) / nheem 'to comfort, soothe, soften' (HST: 136; CVST 2: 32); Garo nomi 'soft' [Joseph & Burling, LTBA 24: 2: 47]. The
8. (nįij) LH ūn, OCM *nuń
   'To do work' [Shi].
9. (nįij) LH ūn, OCM *nuń
   'To go to work' [Shi].
10. (nįij) LH ūn, OCM *nuń
    'To do work' [Shi].
11. (nįij) LH ūn, OCM *nuń
    'To do work' [Shi].
rú - rú

*ná̚ʔ* ‘to swallow’. The AA etymology seems to have been absorbed through MY.

A similar-looking word is *xíú*, *jí* ‘nourish’. Related may be the items under *xiàng, 餘飽*. The graph 蘇 writes additional words ṛu.

rú 蘇 (ná̚ʔu) LH ŋu, OCM *nu*
‘Flexible, soft, mild, gentle’ [Shi].

x rú 蘇 (ná̚ʔu) LH ŋu, OCM *nu* — [T] ONW ŋu
‘To make pliable, subdue, tranquilize’ [Shi].

*Ex* exactive / caus. of rú 蘇 (ná̚ʔu) [§4.3.2].

【E】ST: IP ṛu37 relaxed, slack’ (e.g. rope) ṛ ŋu37 ‘relax’ (effort, attention); perh. also WT
thu-g-pa ‘to rub, stroke, caress, besmear’ (HST: 136). Lushai n2k4 ‘rub, against, roll against’. This stem OCM *nu* is prob. A stem variant of the synonymous stem OCM *no* (→ ṛu, 億).

【C】An allofam is → rú, 肉 ‘flesh, meat’.

Pulleyblank (1973: 121) has pointed out that there are many words with initial *n* but different rules which mean ‘soft, weak’, including: → ṛu 億, ṛu 蘇, ṛu ān 肢軟, → ṛu 乳; in addition to Pulleyblank: → rěn 任, in addition to 語. Syn. → xuán, 喬.

rú 蘇 (ná̚ʔu) LH ŋu, OCM *nu(ʔ)h
‘Tread, trample’ [Shi].

【E】Perh. ST: TB-Lushai hnu4 < hnuw4 ‘footprint’ (CVST 2: 43). For a semantic parallel trample ~ footprint, see → jǐ, 跗; → nië, 蕴.

rú 肉 (ná̚ʔu) LH ńu, OCM *nuk
‘Flesh, meat’ [Yi].

【T】Sin Suckhu SMS ńu (λ.), LR rú; MGY Zhýu (λ.) [ry]; ONW ŋuq

x rú 肉 (ná̚ʔu) LH ŋu, OCM *nukh
‘(Fleshy) ‘rich’ (of music) [Li] (Downer 1959: 281).

【E】x a late general purpose tone C derivation (§3.5).

【E】Wáng Li (1982: 236) includes meat in the ṛ to rú, 肉 ‘soft’ which is the most likely etymology. Other languages have an etymology *na*: Tai: S. ná̚ʔa < *n* ‘flesh, meat’ (cogn. acc. to Li F. 1976: 42), also KN-Khami na ‘meat, fleshy’. Possibly rú is the result of convergence and re-etymologization. See → rú, 肉 for possible additional alofams.

rú 蘇 (ná̚ʔu) LH ŋu, OCM *nuk
‘Like, as if’ [Shi]. The alternate MC reading ná̚ʔu is not only reported in MY, but is also required by Shijing times (Unger Hao-ku 22, 1983). Acc. to Downer (1959: 287), the tone C reading belongs to the meaning ‘be as good as’ [Zuo].

【T】Sin Suckhu SMS ńy (P); MGY Zhýu (λ.) [ry]; ONW ho > ŋu

【E】ST: Mru na ‘be so’, KN-Khami na (Awu) ‘be so’, in Lushai in the expression na naa nna ‘it being so, since’. The word has perh. a wider distribution: AA-OMon ná̚ʔa [ná̚ʔa] ‘resembling, be like’ (loan from TB?)

【C】Allofams: → ér, 而, → ér, 齒, → nië, 奈, → nù, 觅, → rán, 然, → rú, 若.

rú 如 (ná̚ʔu) LH ńu, OCM *na*
‘To go to, proceed to’ [Zuo] may belong to the area tone meaning ‘facing, toward’ → xiàng, 向南.

rú 如 (ná̚ʔu) LH ńu, OCM *na*
‘To go to, proceed to’ [Zuo] may belong to the area tone meaning ‘facing, toward’ → xiàng, 向南.

rú 蘇 (ná̚ʔu) LH ńu, OCM *na*
‘To go to, proceed to’ [Zuo] may belong to the area tone meaning ‘facing, toward’ → xiàng, 向南.

rú 如 (ná̚ʔu) LH ńu, OCM *na*
‘To go to, proceed to’ [Zuo] may belong to the area tone meaning ‘facing, toward’ → xiàng, 向南.

rú 如 (ná̚ʔu) LH ńu, OCM *na*
‘To go to, proceed to’ [Zuo] may belong to the area tone meaning ‘facing, toward’ → xiàng, 向南.

rú 如 (ná̚ʔu) LH ńu, OCM *na*
‘To go to, proceed to’ [Zuo] may belong to the area tone meaning ‘facing, toward’ → xiàng, 向南.

rú 如 (ná̚ʔu) LH ńu, OCM *na*
‘To go to, proceed to’ [Zuo] may belong to the area tone meaning ‘facing, toward’ → xiàng, 向南.

rú 如 (ná̚ʔu) LH ńu, OCM *na*
‘To go to, proceed to’ [Zuo] may belong to the area tone meaning ‘facing, toward’ → xiàng, 向南.

rú 如 (ná̚ʔu) LH ńu, OCM *na*
‘To go to, proceed to’ [Zuo] may belong to the area tone meaning ‘facing, toward’ → xiàng, 向南.

rú 如 (ná̚ʔu) LH ńu, OCM *na*
‘To go to, proceed to’ [Zuo] may belong to the area tone meaning ‘facing, toward’ → xiàng, 向南.

rú 如 (ná̚ʔu) LH ńu, OCM *na*
‘To go to, proceed to’ [Zuo] may belong to the area tone meaning ‘facing, toward’ → xiàng, 向南.

rú 如 (ná̚ʔu) LH ńu, OCM *na*
‘To go to, proceed to’ [Zuo] may belong to the area tone meaning ‘facing, toward’ → xiàng, 向南.
Your’ possessive [Bl, Shi] is a prolific (unstressed) form of rō 汝 ‘you’ (see §3.3.3). Allomorph may be → rō2 若; parallel stems or synonyms → ń瞭; 而, → ń瞭 and its col. variant → rō1 你 ‘you’; → rōng2 归.

 fluids 身 (hōu²) LH nō², OCM *nōh. ’Nipple, breast’ [Zhouhui]; ’milk, suckle’ [Zuo] > ’breathe, raise’ [Li] > ’hatch’ [Li]. [T] Sin Sukchu SR ry (;): MGZY Zhēyu (;): rī; ONW nō² [E] The OC vowel *o, as in *nōh, often corresponds to foreign *u in open syllables ([§11.9.1]). On the other hand, *nō also looks like a regular enclitic derivation ([§4.5.1]) from → rō1 汝 ‘no soft,’ lit. ’the thing that is soft,’ a possible re-etymologization of the area word.

 fluids 身 (nōu²) LH nō², OCM *nōh ‘To suckle’ [Zuo] are a Chū dialect. word acc. to Zuozhūan. The reading nōu is either simply a derivation from rō *nō (Pulleyblank 1983: 427); or more directly from an AA source where the syllable means ’drink, suckle’ (see below).

 fluids 身 (nōu²) LH nō², OCM *nōh ‘To suckle’ [Zuo] are a Chū dialect. word acc. to Zuozhūan. The reading nōu is either simply a derivation from rō *nō (Pulleyblank 1983: 427); or more directly from an AA source where the syllable means ’drink, suckle’ (see below).

 fluids 身 (nōu²) LH nō², OCM *nōh ‘To suckle’ [Zuo] are a Chū dialect. word acc. to Zuozhūan. The reading nōu is either simply a derivation from rō *nō (Pulleyblank 1983: 427); or more directly from an AA source where the syllable means ’drink, suckle’ (see below).

 fluids 身 (nōu²) LH nō², OCM *nōh ‘To suckle’ [Zuo] are a Chū dialect. word acc. to Zuozhūan. The reading nōu is either simply a derivation from rō *nō (Pulleyblank 1983: 427); or more directly from an AA source where the syllable means ’drink, suckle’ (see below).

 fluids 身 (nōu²) LH nō², OCM *nōh ‘To suckle’ [Zuo] are a Chū dialect. word acc. to Zuozhūan. The reading nōu is either simply a derivation from rō *nō (Pulleyblank 1983: 427); or more directly from an AA source where the syllable means ’drink, suckle’ (see below).

 fluids 身 (nōu²) LH nō², OCM *nōh ‘To suckle’ [Zuo] are a Chū dialect. word acc. to Zuozhūan. The reading nōu is either simply a derivation from rō *nō (Pulleyblank 1983: 427); or more directly from an AA source where the syllable means ’drink, suckle’ (see below).
ruò

ruò 若 (nižjak) LH ńok, OCM *ńak — ONW ńok
‘To agree, say yes’ [Shi]. For the MC div. I, see §9.1.1.
[C] See → rú, 如 for alloforms.

ruò2 若 (nižjak) LH ńok, OCM *ńak
‘You’ [Yili]. Acc. to GY the reading for this graph with the meaning ‘you’ is with
final *-k, not tone B which is an alternate reading, a homophone of rú 汝 ‘you’. Since
tone B belongs to the root and goes back to ST, the final -k may here be a phonological
variant (§3.2.2), perh. inspired by the distributive k-suffix in the homophone → ru₂, 若.
Alloforms are listed under → rú, 汝.

ruò3 若 ‘that’ → nà 那

ruò4 若 (nižjak) LH ńok, OCM *niak?
A Han period Chǔ dialect word meaning ‘bamboo skin’ [SW], today ruò-li 箇笠 ‘hat
made of bamboo leaves”; the basic meaning seems to have been ‘leaf” which is still
[?] ST: PTB *-nas (HPTB: 432) > Tiddim Chin na?’ ‘leaf’, Lushai hna2h.

ruò5 弱 (nižjak) LH ńok, OCM *niak?
‘Weak > consider weak, despise’ [Shu], ‘young, tender’ [Zuo].
[?] Sin Sukhu SR tjaw (λ), LR rjaw?; MGZY Zhew (λ) [rew]; ONW ńak
[?] ST: WT ḧog-ǭng ‘soft, tender, weak’. For possible alloforms, see → rú, 柔.

ruò6 薪 (nižviw) LH ṣuwart, OCM *niot or *not?
‘To burn’ 薪[Zuo], ‘hot, burn’ 燒 [Li] (also MC nižviw2c).
[?] Most likely, this is a final -t derivation (§6.2.2) from a ST root *nwe: WB nwe%,
hnwe% ‘warm’. Lai nwe ‘be warm’ [Van Bik LTBA 25, 2002: 107]; or, less likely,
from → ráo, 薪 ‘fuel’. There are parallels for the medial-vowel metathesis, see → néi
薪, → shuai 薪. For the n- > q- vacillation in the initial, see §12.51. Since ruò is
apparently related to → nuan 熱 *non-warm”, its relationship to → rē 熱 *get or *net
(?) ‘hot’ if any, is not clear. Wáng Li (1982: 494) relates ruò to → rán, 然 ‘burn’.

sā, sā 撒 → sān, 撒

sā1, shāi 酒 → shāi, shē 翁

sā2 瀚 → shì2 酒

sà 塗 → qì1 倨

sāi 思 (sì, sāi) ‘bearded’ or ‘white-haired’ [Zuo] is an allofam of → ér, 而 ‘whiskers’ acc.
to Pulleyblank. Sāi 耄 ‘jaw’ is perh. the same word.

sài, sāi, sè 赛 (sāi, sāi2) LH sak, sāi, OCM *sāi(h) — ONW sōk, soi
‘To stop up, block; a mountain pass’ [Shi]. Downer (1959: 275) determined that the
verb had the reading MC sak, the noun tone C MC sāi2 in Zuōzhuān.
[?] Etymology not clear; prob. connected with AA-Khmer sūkkha /sok/ ‘to stop up,
block, cram...’ ≠ cūka /kok/ ‘to stop up, plug, block, obstruct...’, but the verbs do
not agree (§11.10.5). Based on his theories on OC phonology, Pulleyblank (EC 16,
1991: 50) believes that sāi is cognate to WT sub-pa ‘to stop up’.

sān 三 (sān) LH som, OCM *sām
‘Three’ [OB, Shi]. The LH, MC vowels are irregular, one should expect MC ŋ.
[?] Sin S. SR sam (ŋ), PR san; MGZY sam (ŋ) [sam]; ONW som.
[?] PMin *sam; Y-Guangzhōu *sam A1
[?] ST: PTB *sam > WT sum ‘three’ (in compositions); JP mā3, sum3t, WB sum c,
Lushai tsumt, <> Tai: S. saam A1 is obviously a CH loan (Tai would have preserved
an original vowel *u).

sān 撒 → sōu, 撒

sān 三 (sān2) LH sum2, OCM *sāms
‘Thrice’ [Lunyu].
[?] *sam + s-suffix, adverbial derivation §3.5.1.

sān 参 達 (ts̍aj) LH tjom, OCM *tşim < *sām
‘Be a unit of three, be threefold’ 參 [B1, Shi]; ‘three horses of a team’ 駛 [Shi]. Perh.
‘to accumulate’ [Shu] is the s. w. (so Sagart 1999: 151; he also connects the word to
shān, 撒).
[?] Sin Sukhu SR ts’am (ŋ), PR ts’an; MGZY tsham (ŋ) [ts’am].
[?] ST *sam + a ST *k-prefix (§5.9.1) > PTB *g-sum > WT gsum ‘three’, PL *c-sum2, WB sum%, Garo git’sam, Digaro kṣaṣy. Bodman (1980: 72) proposes OC *Kṣam.

sān 参 (ts̍aj) LH som, OCM *sram
‘Three stars in the Orion belt’ [Shi] is thought to be related to sān (Baxter 1992: 550).
[?] *sam + other element (pre-initial / prefix *?).

sān 撒 (sān2) LH san2, OCM *sān? — ONW san
‘Come loose, fall apart, scatter’ [Shi].

sān 撒 (sān2) LH son2, OCM *sāns
‘Disperse’ [Shi].
[?] exopass. of sān 撒 *san? (§4.4), lit. ‘to be scattered’.
[?] ST: PLB *san ‘sow, broadcast (as mustard seeds), scatter seeds’ > WB swanB ‘pour
upon, cast out by pouring’ ≠ swan ‘pour out, spill, shed’.
sāo 雉 (sāu) LH sou, OCM *sū
'Sad, worried' [Guoyu: Chuyu], 'grill' [Chuci].
[B] AA: OKhmer sok /sok/ 'sorrow, affliction, pain, grief, be sad...', to grieve, mourn'. Loss of OC coda is due to a long vowel (§6.9).

chóu 愁 (dz∫aw) LH dzu, OCM *dzū?
'Grieved' [Chuci]. Retroflex MC dz- is unexplained, but note Tai śraw2 > Viet xâu 'sad' [Ferlus MKS 7: 1978: 16].

chó 澗 (ts‘āw) LH ts‘āu, OCM *tsâu? < *C-sâu?
'Troubled, griefed' [Shi] (also read sāo) (typically of lāo 劳 'toiling' people etc.).

c do 鼔 (tsjuk) LH tsjuk, OCM *tsuk
'Grieved' [Meng]. Occasionally final -k is optionally retained.
[B] All the variations prob. reflect some AA morphological differences.

'Fat of swine or dog' [Li].
[B] ST: PBT *saw (STC no. 272) > Chepang csw?, Garo tō, Dimasa t‘au ‘oil’; Lushai t‘au < saub (⋆-s) ‘fat, grease; JP sau33 ‘fat, sau35 ‘oil’; WT ts‘oa~ba ‘fat, greasy’. This may be the same word as → sāo 雉. Also → juan, 鳥 ‘fat’ may be related.

sāo 潘 (sōu) LH sou. S ts‘ou, OCM *sū ~ *C-sâu?
'Purit smell' [Yanzi].
[D] PMin *ts‘ou? 'rank, fishy'
Wáng Li (1982: 220) believes that this is the same word as → sāo 雉 ‘fat’ which would be parallel with → xīng 粟 (sien) ‘raw meat, offensive smell’.

sōo 妾 → sōo1 握

sōo1 握 (sōu) LH sou, OCM *sū
'To scratch' [Shi].

sōo 捂帰 (sāuβ) LH souβ, OCM *sūβ/h
'To brush, sweep' / [Shi], 捂 [Li].
[C] It is often assumed that zhou 帶 (tjouβ) [tu?] 'broom' [Li] (M.-Xiāmén ts‘iouβ, Fúzhōu siuβ) is cognate (so Wáng Li 1982: 234), but the similarity is prob. only graphic and semantic. Perh. related to → zōo 萧 (tōo) ‘feet’. An allofom is → xū, 轴 ‘rub’.

sōo2 握 (sōu) LH sou, OCM *sū
'To move, disturb, be shaken' [Shi], ‘hastily’ [Li] is perh. a vocalic variant of → sōo3, sōu 搜 ‘move’.

450
shān 山 (shan, sán) LH shān, shén, OCM *srán, OCB *srjan ‘Mountain' [OB, Shì]. Etymology not clear.

shān 畔 (shàn) LH shàn, shián, OCM *srán, OCB *srjan ‘Mountain' [OB, Shì]. Etymology not clear.

shān 萬 (shàn) LH shàn, shen, OCM *srán, OCB *srjan ‘Mountain' [OB, Shì]. Etymology not clear.

shān 殺 (shā) LH saí, OCM *srát, OCB *srjet < *srjat ‘To kill' [OB, Shù].

shān 杀 (shā) LH saí, OCM *srát, OCB *srjet < *srjat ‘To kill' [OB, Shù].

shān 杀 (shā) LH saí, OCM *srát, OCB *srjet < *srjat ‘To kill' [OB, Shù].

shān 殺 (shā) LH saí, OCM *srát, OCB *srjet < *srjat ‘To kill' [OB, Shù].

shān 長 (cháng) LH zāng, OCM *sǎng ‘long'.

shān 伸 (shēn) LH shēn, OCM *srēn ‘extend'.

shān 伸 (shēn) LH shēn, OCM *srēn ‘extend'.

shān 展 (zhǎn) LH zhǎn, OCM *dän ‘stretch out'.
shāng 赏 → shé, 舍

shāng 上 (じょう)b. LH dżon, OCM *daŋ or *djaŋ?
‘To rise’ [Shi]. Shjing jimes indicate occasional tone A.
[D] Sin Suckhu SR zän (sän, jän); MGZY zhan (sän, jän); MTang zän, ONW dzan
[O] The PMin ‘softened’ initial *dʒonb points to PCH *m-djaŋ or rather *m-daŋ?
[TE] ST *ja ‘above’ + ST terminative -ŋ (§6.5.1).

shàng 上 (じょう)c. LH dżonå, OCM *daŋ or *djaŋ?
‘Upper part, above’ [Bi, Shi].
[D] PMin *dʒonå[c]
[c] exopp. of *djaŋ (§4.4), lit. ‘what has been raised’.
[ST] WT yaŋ ‘as in yaŋ-rise ‘highest point, summit’, and in yaŋ-mes-po ‘great-grandfather’; ya ‘above, up’ (Bodman 1980: 79), Lushai zo16 < jo ‘be high’, za26 < jas ‘to respect, reverence’. TB initial -y-s sometimes corresponds to MC ʥ-< OC djang (§9.3).
In light of the TB cognates, an alloform is prob. → shū, 聧 ‘sunrise’, related to WT n ya ‘above, up’ yar ‘up, upward’ > 2tar-bar, šar < s-yar ‘to rise’ (of sun, moon).

shǎng 尚 → cháng 常

shāo 稀 (sǎo) LH šaw, OCM *sr(i)jau
‘Branch, staff’ [Han: Yang Xiong et al.].

shǎo 稀 (sǎo)c. LH šawå, OCM *sr(i)jau
‘Little, few’ [Zou], ‘to lessen’ (to soldiers) [Zhouli].

shū 穗 (sǎk, sǎu, sieu) LH šåk, šå, seu, OCM *sråjau(k)?
‘Drawn out to a point, pointed’ [Zhouli].
[TE] This wf implies something which is getting smaller or thinner, tapering. It is not obvious if or how this wf may be related to → xiǎo, 小 ‘small’.

shāo 烙 → ráo 烙

shāo 析 (sjào)b. LH šawå, OCM *thau?
‘Be few, little, junior’ [Shi].
[D] M-Amyo tsio.[

shāo 少 (sjào)c. LH šawå, OCM *thau?
‘Young, junior’ [Lanyu], second, sub- [Zou].
[D] Sin Suckhu SR ʃjow (ʃj, ŋjow), MGZY show (ʃjow) [ʃjow]; ONW šaw
[O] This etymology is often thought to be cognate to → xiǎo, 小 (sjào)b. [siau] ‘small’, but the alternation MC s- and š- is exceptional if not impossible in wfs (a parallel ‘set’ of unrelated words is → sì 死 ‘to die’ and sh�̃ ‘corpses’ under → yì 死). (2)

shāo 析 → shāo 析

shé 舍 (sja)b. LH šaw, OCM *thau
‘To bestow, grant’ [Bi, Shi], ‘give, bestow’ [Zou].
[TE] Prob: AA: MMOn salah ‘to give away, disburse’.

shé 舍 (sja)c. LH šawå, OCM *thau — [T] ONW šaw
‘Put down, deposit’ [Zou].
[c] *thau + s/h-suffix, perh. exoactive (§4.3).

shāng 賞 (sjàng)b. LH šawå, OCM *thau — [T] ONW šaw
‘To award, reward, bestow’ [Bi, Shi].
[c] *thau + terminative -ŋ (§6.5.1), i.e. a reward is given for a completed action and is therefore itself a final, concluding act.
[O] A superior person giving something to an inferior is the basic meaning of this wf, whereas the root from which it is prob. derived, → yë, 興, means ‘to give’ in general. The etyma *thau ~ *thau (→ shè, 舍) are prob. variants. A similar triplet of stems is found with the group ‘to give up’ (+ shè, 舍)舍. The latter and this set ‘bestow’ tend to coalesce, may even derive from the same root (give something < let go of something?).

shé 舍 (sja)b. LH šawå, OCM *thau
‘To let off’ [Bi, Shi], ‘set aside, leave’ [Shi]; ‘give up, let go’ [Guoyu], ‘shoot’ [Shi].
[D] Sin Suckhu SR ʃjew (ʃ, ŋjew); MGZY sjaŋ (ʃ) [ʃjew]; ONW šaw
[O] shè 舍 (sja)c. LH šawå, OCM *thau
‘Let go’ [Shi], ‘let off, liberate’ [Zou], ‘pardon’ [Shi].
[c] *thau + s/h-suffix, perh. exoactive. ‘be let go’ (§4.4).
shè

Kur), 'escape, be free from' (Mon) *bl_[lah] > Nyah Kur *phalath 'to release' (Nyah Kur), > Mon *hła( "let go, free from, send for'. OKhmer lå /îlaa/ 'to (de)part, leave, quit (doing), cease' = ghlâ /kliâ/ 'part, leave, quit...' ◿ MK ? > Tai: S. sa-4a¹ 'let go'.

This w is parallel to yi35 蹲 in CH as well as AA, the difference being OC final ? vs. OC final *k. As a result, shè 舍 [sah] and shè 敷 [shā] 'let go, pardon' seem to be the same word written with different graphs. However, the graph 舍 implies OC *lah( (< *lha<) and is derived from shè 舍 [lah], whereas the graph shè 敷 implies OC *lak(.

The roots *lah( ~ *lah( ~ *lah( (+ shè, shè are prob. variants with parallel morphological and semantic developments. A similar triplet of stems is found with the homophonous group 'give, bestow' (+ shè, shè). The latter and this set 'let go' tend to coalesce, may even derive from the same root (give something? = something going?).

shè 社 (zi3) LH dzâ8, OCM *dǽ? = [T] ONW dzä
‘Altar to the spirit of the soil’ [Shi], 'spirit of the soil' [SW], is assumed to be cognate to zua, 'land, soil' [Karlgren GSR 62]; Wang Li 1982: 146).

shè 舍 (ší) LH šh4, OC *lah
‘To rest in, stop’ (overnight on a trip) [Shi], 'to halt, resting place, a day's stage' [Zuo], 'lodging house' [Zhouli]. An R-variant is perh. > zu2 蹲 'resting place'.

* shùl 說 (siao1) LH sùs, OC *ho( (< *luha( ?)
‘To halt, rest overnight’ [Shi].

[ ] Apparently shared with PKS: *s-lwa8 ‘to rest’. The PCH root must have been *s-lwas, identical to the KS one, with the later regular OC initial *s- > *s-; KT tone B is the identical counterpart of MC tone C ( < *s-s). Both CH forms reflect a PCH final *s, shè as suffix, shùl as part of the root. The erstwhile PCH medial *s after acute initials survives perh. in syllables in final -tu and -tis, as in shùl; however, in open syllables like shè, the OC (? at least MC) phonological structure does not allow a medial *w (§10.2.1). The ambivalence in the forms, as in the finals in these two words, is typical for loan words.

shè 舍 ‘put down’ → shè1 舍
shè 舍 ‘let go’ → shè2 舍
shè 敷 → yi35 蹲 also → shè2 舍
shè 涉 (zi3) LH dzap, OCM *dáp = [T] ONW dzap
‘To wade (through a river), cross a river’ [Shi], 'to cross a river' (by boat) [Zuo].

[ ] Perh. related to PTB *lip ‘dive, sink, drown’ (STC no. 375), WT klib-pa ‘seek death (by drowning)’, but the initials do not agree.

shè 射 → shè6 射
shè 说 → yi35 蹲
shè 傳 (tsi3) LH tsep, OCM *tep or *tap?
‘Despondent, to fear’ [Li]; zhè 惇 ‘to fear’ [Zhuang]; 'scared stiff, stupefied' 懦 (Mand. zhi), also MC tsap, niep [Zhuang].

shè 傳 (tsi3) LH tsep, OCM *nep or *mpap?
‘To scare, frightened’ tr. (JDSW) [Zuo, Xiäng 11].

[ ] Perh. directly related to Khmer snap (see below) with an intensive (?) s-prefix, except that OC has reinterpreted the devoiced initial < *s- as a trans. / caus. prefix.

* nié 幼 (zi3) LH nap, OC *nrep
‘That by which you frightened people’ n. [SW] (Karlgren GSR no. 638d; Baxter and Sagart 1998: 52).
shên

shên 深 (simplified) LH ʂim, Đâm, OCM *nham? → [T] ONW ʂim, BTD ʂim
‘Deep’ [Shi].
[D] PMin ʂəm; Y-Guangzhou ʂəm

shèn 深 (traditional) LH ʂım, Đâm, OCM *nham?
‘Depth’ [Zhouli].
[K] shèn + s-suffix to form nouns (§3.5.2).

shèn 深 (simplified) LH ʂım, OCM *nham?
‘Be startled and flee’ (of fish), i.e. ‘go down into the deep’ [Liyun] (Unger).
[K] shèn + tone B endoactive (§4.5).

E The OC initial *n- has been suggested by Unger (Hsiao-ku 47, 1995) because of shên and possible cognation with erner. If the OC initial was indeed *n-, then the following TB items are related: PTB *nem (STC no. 348): WB *nim ‘be low’ n. nim ‘be kept low, below;’ Lushai hnum ‘be low, sink into’ (land) hnum ‘dip into’ tr.; Tankhul Naga kənim ‘be humble’, WT nem ‘sinks a little, give way’ (a floor).

An alternative connection: PKiranti *gələm ‘deep’ (van Driem 1995: 254: Starostin); or Chepang jum-b ‘deep’. See → chêng, shen, for syn. and further comments. → tân, fən may be cognate.

shên 深訥 (simplified) LH ʂin, OCM *sran
‘Numerous’ [Shi].

zhên 蒼深 (traditional) LH ʂin, OCM *tsən
‘Be full of (leaves), lots of (descendants)’ [Shi] (Wáng Li 1982: 538).

shên 参 → sâm 三

shên-mo 甚麼
‘What’ Mand. is derived from shi wú 十物 (ziap mujat) (‘ten things’): ‘vessels, household utensils’ (Zhang Huiying, see Norman 1988: 119f).

shên 神 (simplified) LH ʂin, OCM *m-lien
‘Spirit’ [BL, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR ʂin (平); MGZY ɕin (平) [dzɨn]

shên 神訥 (traditional) LH ʂin, OCM *nən
[E] ST: PTB *s-nil (STC no. 3; p. 177) > WT rnil ~ söl ‘gums’, Kan söl ~ snil, Lepcha fo-niyl ‘fo (teeth), Chepang naél, Dimasa ha-śni (ha ‘teeth’), Lushai hən-hə < həni (we should expect Lushai final f, hence a loan?).

shên 深 → shên 深

shên 審 (simplified) LH ʂim, OCM *səm?
‘To investigate, discriminate’ [Lunyu], ‘minutely, really’ [Shu].
[E] Etymology not clear. This word could belong to → shên 深 ‘deep’. Karlgren GSR 647a considers this to be the same word as cán 參 (under → sâm 三), Ságart (1999: 151) relates it to cán 參 (tsʰəm) [tsʰəm] ‘examine’ [Xun], but reconciliation of the initials presents problems.

shên 蘇 (traditional) LH ʂim, OCM *səm
‘Kidney’ [Shu].

Table S-1 Live, fresh, green (A): *s(r)aŋ ~ *s(r)aŋ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S-1</th>
<th>ST *sriŋ</th>
<th>*sraŋ live</th>
<th>(k)-sriŋ live</th>
<th>green</th>
<th>क *saŋ green</th>
<th>क *saŋ green</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OC</td>
<td>shèng 生 *sraŋ live</td>
<td>qing 正 *shèng &lt; *k-saŋ ? green</td>
<td>cáng 藏 *shèng &lt; *k-saŋ ? green</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>gsin-ma pasture-land</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kana</td>
<td>sriŋ live</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garo</td>
<td>(tən live) (1)</td>
<td>gat’əŋ green</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimasa</td>
<td>gat’əŋ alive, green, unripe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mikir</td>
<td>reŋ ~ re/ɲŋ live</td>
<td>reŋ-şen ~ se/ɲŋ green</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lushai</td>
<td>hriŋ [h] / hriŋR bear, beget</td>
<td>hriŋ [h] / hriŋR fresh, green</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NNaga</td>
<td>*C-sriŋ alive</td>
<td>*C/V-sriŋ raw, grass</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rawang</td>
<td>məŋgre green ~ məŋiŋ blue</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JP</td>
<td>tsɨŋ [h] ~ rjɨŋ [h] ? grass, green</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td>bəŋ live, alive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note on Table S-1: (1) Garo təŋ < saŋ (instead of *sraŋ or *sriŋ) is prob. formed in analogy to gat’əŋ.
shēng — shēng


ST *sriŋ survives prob. as ⾣ in CH (§7.1.2). The initial *s in *sriŋ belongs to the ST stem, but in some languages it has been reinterpreted as the caus. prefix, which explains perhaps the survival of the *- in OC *sriŋ where the alleged caus. function was felt to be transparent, but was lost in l as part of the stem.

ST has several parallel stems, prob. ultimately related, for the notion ‘live, fresh, green’:

- ST *sriŋ → shēng 生 ‘live’
- ST *sraŋ → WB hrïnaŋ ‘live’
- ST *sn ‘existence, nature’, qïng 青 ‘green’
- ST aq ‘case, case’, qïng 色 ‘blue’, Garo t(a)g ‘live’

For an overview of the *s(r)ï ‘~ s(r)aŋ contrasts (§II.I.3), see Table S-1; for an overview of the sriŋ ~ sïŋ contrasts, see Table Q-1 after qïng 青 ‘green’. For synonyms, see → châ, xú 畜.

shēng 甥 (sïŋ) LH shën, OCM *sreŋ
‘Sister’s son’ [Shi], (daughter’s husband:) ‘son-in-law’ [Meng], ‘father’s sister’s son, mother’s brother’s son, wife’s brother, sister’s husband’ (K. C. Chang 1976: 89).

[E] ST: Western TB languages: WT sriŋ ‘brother’ (of a male), Zangskar tïŋmo; Lower Kanauri riqg.

shēng 生 (sïŋ) LH shën, OCM *sreŋ — [T] ONW ñëg
‘Reed-organ’ [Shi] may be related to → mïng, qïng OCB mreŋ ‘to sound’ acc. to Baxter (1992: 499).

shēng 甥 (sïŋ) LH shën, OCM *hïŋ
‘Sister’s son’ (Shi), (daughter’s husband:) ‘son-in-law’ [Meng], ‘father’s sister’s son. mother’s brother’s son, wife’s brother, sister’s husband’ (K. C. Chang 1976: 89).

[E] ST: Western TB languages: WT sriŋ ‘brother’ (of a male), Zangskar tïŋmo; Lower Kanauri riqg.

shēng 甥 (sïŋ) LH shën, OCM *hïŋ
‘Sister’s son’ (Shi), (daughter’s husband:) ‘son-in-law’ [Meng], ‘father’s sister’s son, mother’s brother’s son, wife’s brother, sister’s husband’ (K. C. Chang 1976: 89).

shēng 勝 (sïŋ) LH shën, OCM *hïŋ
‘Sister’s son’ (Shi), (daughter’s husband:) ‘son-in-law’ [Meng], ‘father’s sister’s son, mother’s brother’s son, wife’s brother, sister’s husband’ (K. C. Chang 1976: 89).

shēng 勝 (sïŋ) LH shën, OCM *hïŋ
‘Sister’s son’ (Shi), (daughter’s husband:) ‘son-in-law’ [Meng], ‘father’s sister’s son, mother’s brother’s son, wife’s brother, sister’s husband’ (K. C. Chang 1976: 89).

shēng 勝 (sïŋ) LH shën, OCM *hïŋ
‘Sister’s son’ (Shi), (daughter’s husband:) ‘son-in-law’ [Meng], ‘father’s sister’s son, mother’s brother’s son, wife’s brother, sister’s husband’ (K. C. Chang 1976: 89).

shēng 勝 (sïŋ) LH shën, OCM *hïŋ
‘Sister’s son’ (Shi), (daughter’s husband:) ‘son-in-law’ [Meng], ‘father’s sister’s son, mother’s brother’s son, wife’s brother, sister’s husband’ (K. C. Chang 1976: 89).
shí 脩 [SHI]  'song, ode, poem' [Shi].

[ST] Bodman (1980: 181) compares this to Lushai hIan8 'song, poem, poetry'.

shí 施 [SHI]  'to bestow, apply (color, the place) [Shi, Shu].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR zi (\(\lambda\)); MGZY ci (\(\lambda\)) [dazi]; ONW zi

[D] This is still the word for 'eat' in southern dialects: Y-Guangzhou 22sekD2; K-Méixian ser; PMin *zi/k 'to please'.

[ST] *iak + pre-initial *en- (§8.1.3); PTB *m-iak 'to like' (STC no. 211) > PLB *m-iak 'to like', WB lyak; WT ljas < nlyaks 'tongue', ldaya-pa < nla 'to like'; Limbu lakt - to like'; JP ma\(\lambda\)-ta\(\lambda\); Lepcha lyak 'taste, try'.

Nng la - le, Mira jkar, KN *m-iak > Lushai iak\(\lambda\) / liak\(\lambda\), Tangkhal k\(\lambda\)malek 'to like' [IST: 27]; Jiangmei ma-ljak [Weidert 1987: 257]; STC: 64 considers JP sim'jet 'tongue' to belong to this root, see - shi\(\lambda\) liak, also WB liya 'tongue' appears to have been influenced by it. Matisoff (1995: 71) connects this w/f with - shi\(\lambda\) liak and - tani\(\lambda\) liak. — [SHI]  'to give food to feed' [Shi].

[T] ONW zia.

[BE] *iak + ST causative s-prefix (§8.2.1; Pulleyblank 1973: 117). + OC exoactive / causative s-suffix (§4.3.2). PTB *s-iak > PLB *riak 'to feed an animal'; Garo sarak 'like'.

N tāi (\(\dot{\text{t}}\)) LH i\(\lambda\), OCM *liā

'To nourish' [FY 1.5], a Han period dialect word (incl. in the ancient state Sông which could also have derived from earlier *s-la-k).

shí 脩 - shí 脩

This item has nearly converged with - shāi, shī 食 [SHI] 'to strain off' (wine) [Shi]. The graph also writes the synonym - xūi 清 *sra 'strain off' which has a different etymology, though.

[C] *lai + s-prefix: This etymology is derived from - yī 清 *la 'slant, deflect' ST *lai + iterative s-prefix (§5.2.3). For *hai - *he variation, see §11.3.3. The change from *tai to *tai is due either to Rural influence (§11.3), or to convergence with - shāi, shī 食 [SHI].

[BE] ST *s-lai: Lushai i\(\lambda\) < s\(\lambda\) < s\(\lambda\) 'to sift' (by side to side motion) *s\(\lambda\) < s\(\lambda\) < s\(\lambda\) 'to sway, lean to one side'; see under - yīk 清 *la 'for more Lushai cognates. Bodman (1980: 179) relates this word to Viet. ray 'to strain, sift, sieve'.

shí 视 [SHI]  'to strain off' (wine) [Shi]. The graph also writes the synonym - xūi 清 *sra 'strain off' which has a different etymology, though.

[C] *lai + s-prefix: This etymology is derived from - yīk 清 *la 'slant, deflect' ST *lai + iterative s-prefix (§5.2.3). For *hai - *he variation, see §11.3.3. The change from *hai to *hai is due either to Rural influence (§7.3), or to convergence with - shāi, shī 食 [SHI].

[BE] ST *s-lai: Lushai i\(\lambda\) < s\(\lambda\) < s\(\lambda\) 'to sift' (by side to side motion) *s\(\lambda\) < s\(\lambda\) < s\(\lambda\) 'to sway, lean to one side'; see under - yīk 清 *la 'for more Lushai cognates. Bodman (1980: 179) relates this word to Viet. ray 'to strain, sift, sieve'.

shí 视 - shí 脩

This item has nearly converged with - shāi, shī 食 [SHI] 'to strain off' (wine) [Shi]. The graph also writes the synonym - xūi 清 *sra 'strain off' which has a different etymology, though.

[C] *lai + s-prefix: This etymology is derived from - yīk 清 *la 'slant, deflect' ST *lai + iterative s-prefix (§5.2.3). For *hai - *he variation, see §11.3.3. The change from *hai to *hai is due either to Rural influence (§7.3), or to convergence with - shāi, shī 食 [SHI].

[BE] ST *s-lai: Lushai i\(\lambda\) < s\(\lambda\) < s\(\lambda\) 'to sift' (by side to side motion) *s\(\lambda\) < s\(\lambda\) < s\(\lambda\) 'to sway, lean to one side'; see under - yīk 清 *la 'for more Lushai cognates. Bodman (1980: 179) relates this word to Viet. ray 'to strain, sift, sieve'.

shí 视 - shí 脩

This item has nearly converged with - shāi, shī 食 [SHI] 'to strain off' (wine) [Shi]. The graph also writes the synonym - xūi 清 *sra 'strain off' which has a different etymology, though.

[C] *lai + s-prefix: This etymology is derived from - yīk 清 *la 'slant, deflect' ST *lai + iterative s-prefix (§5.2.3). For *hai - *he variation, see §11.3.3. The change from *hai to *hai is due either to Rural influence (§7.3), or to convergence with - shāi, shī 食 [SHI].

[BE] ST *s-lai: Lushai i\(\lambda\) < s\(\lambda\) < s\(\lambda\) 'to sift' (by side to side motion) *s\(\lambda\) < s\(\lambda\) < s\(\lambda\) 'to sway, lean to one side'; see under - yīk 清 *la 'for more Lushai cognates. Bodman (1980: 179) relates this word to Viet. ray 'to strain, sift, sieve'.

shí 清 - shí 脩

This item has nearly converged with - shāi, shī 食 [SHI] 'to strain off' (wine) [Shi]. The graph also writes the synonym - xūi 清 *sra 'strain off' which has a different etymology, though.

[C] *lai + s-prefix: This etymology is derived from - yīk 清 *la 'slant, deflect' ST *lai + iterative s-prefix (§5.2.3). For *hai - *he variation, see §11.3.3. The change from *hai to *hai is due either to Rural influence (§7.3), or to convergence with - shāi, shī 食 [SHI].

[BE] ST *s-lai: Lushai i\(\lambda\) < s\(\lambda\) < s\(\lambda\) 'to sift' (by side to side motion) *s\(\lambda\) < s\(\lambda\) < s\(\lambda\) 'to sway, lean to one side'; see under - yīk 清 *la 'for more Lushai cognates. Bodman (1980: 179) relates this word to Viet. ray 'to strain, sift, sieve'.

shí 清 - shí 脩

This item has nearly converged with - shāi, shī 食 [SHI] 'to strain off' (wine) [Shi]. The graph also writes the synonym - xūi 清 *sra 'strain off' which has a different etymology, though.

[C] *lai + s-prefix: This etymology is derived from - yīk 清 *la 'slant, deflect' ST *lai + iterative s-prefix (§5.2.3). For *hai - *he variation, see §11.3.3. The change from *hai to *hai is due either to Rural influence (§7.3), or to convergence with - shāi, shī 食 [SHI].

[BE] ST *s-lai: Lushai i\(\lambda\) < s\(\lambda\) < s\(\lambda\) 'to sift' (by side to side motion) *s\(\lambda\) < s\(\lambda\) < s\(\lambda\) 'to sway, lean to one side'; see under - yīk 清 *la 'for more Lushai cognates. Bodman (1980: 179) relates this word to Viet. ray 'to strain, sift, sieve'.

shí 清 - shí 脩

This item has nearly converged with - shāi, shī 食 [SHI] 'to strain off' (wine) [Shi]. The graph also writes the synonym - xūi 清 *sra 'strain off' which has a different etymology, though.

[C] *lai + s-prefix: This etymology is derived from - yīk 清 *la 'slant, deflect' ST *lai + iterative s-prefix (§5.2.3). For *hai - *he variation, see §11.3.3. The change from *hai to *hai is due either to Rural influence (§7.3), or to convergence with - shāi, shī 食 [SHI].

[BE] ST *s-lai: Lushai i\(\lambda\) < s\(\lambda\) < s\(\lambda\) 'to sift' (by side to side motion) *s\(\lambda\) < s\(\lambda\) < s\(\lambda\) 'to sway, lean to one side'; see under - yīk 清 *la 'for more Lushai cognates. Bodman (1980: 179) relates this word to Viet. ray 'to strain, sift, sieve'.
This is a final *i* variant of the synonym → shê, 舍捨 (root *thaʔ). The CH voiceless initial could be the result of a lost *k-, note the PWMiao relation *klai? 'release, forgive'.

**shê** 弛 'extend' | **chê** 侈哆移

**shê** 弛 'destroy' | **zhê** 醘, 饒

**shê** 弗 (šeʔ) LH šiʔ | **shê** 他 | **shê** 他 | **shê** 他

**shê** 使 → **li** 理

**shê** 履 (šiʔ) LH šiʔ, OCM *thiʔ | ← **[T] Sin Sukchu SR ši (tolower); PR ši** 'Excrement, dung' [OB, Zhuang]; in some dialects it means other body excretions such as 'earwax, tear' (e.g. M-Xiāmèn).

**shê** 使 → **li** 理

**shê** 男 (šiʔ) LH dž³b, OCM *dzroʔ?

'Male person' [Shi], 'masculine' [Yi], as in shì-nà 士女 'men and women' [Bi] (syn. of the classical → nán, 男), or shì fù 士夫 'masculine' (for an older wife 老婦 [Yi]; from 'male person' derives 'man' as in liàng shì 士洪 'a good gentleman' [Shi]. The original notion of 'man, male, masculine' is also suggested by the graph which serves as an element in → mūŋ 肌 'male' (of animals).

**shê** 使 → **li** 理

**shê** 男 (šiʔ) LH dž³b, OCM *dzroʔ?

'To give or carry out an assignment'; to take office, give out an office, serve 仕士 [Shi]; 'retainer, knight' (A. Waley), 'retainers' [Bi, Shi] > 'servant, officer' [Bi, Shi] 'officer' 士 [Bi, Shi]; later 'scholar'. It is not natural to assume that shì 士 and shì 士 are the same word with the semantic development 'male > man > servant to serve'. However, the ancient derivation shì 事 (below) and TB counterparts show no association with the notion 'man, maleness', while 'male' hardly derives from 'affair, serve'. Therefore it seems necessary to separate the present shì 士 'serve' from shì 士 'male'. MK relations of shì 士, if valid, would support this distinction.

**shê** 事 (šiʔ) LH dzaʔ, OCM *dzaʔ, rarely *dzroʔ?

'Assignment, affair, thing' > 'carry out an assignment, serve' [Bi, Shi]. Mostly tone B reading in Shijing (Mattos 1971: 309), hence a homophone of, and perh. the s. w. as, shì 士.
These forms derive from the root *SHI 理 and are therefore ultimately AA. The MC initial *dz- normally does not co-occur with MC -l- and * in a ST wf, which could confirm a non-ST provenance. Possibly, MC dz- could have gone back to an OC configuration 's-rt- (≠ MC s-< *sr-). ΚΑ AA or OC -> PTB 't-azay 'send on an errant' (HPTB: 199) > WB ca 'a thing' (Gong Hwang-cherng 1999), WT rdaz 'thing, matter, object'. TB cognates of this etymon and of *suh 所 are difficult to distinguish.

shi 仕 → shi2 士仕

shi4 氏 (zi8) LH ge8, OCM *geʔ? An honorific that is suffixed to place names (fiefs, e.g. 夏氏 'the Lord of Xia), kinship terms (祖氏 'the uncle'), feudal and official titles (仲氏任 'Lady Zhong Ren'): 'lord, lady' [BI, Shi, Shu] > 'clan' [Lun]. — [E] The etymology is not clear.

shi5 市 (zi8) LH dzia8, OCM *daʔ? — [T] MTang zhi < dzii, ONW dzə ‘Market' [BI, Shi] is also found in PTAI *kə2 'to buy', in Ahom 'come to terms, consent'.

shi6 柿 (dzi8) LH dzə8, OCM *aʔ? ‘Persimmon' has an unexpected PMin form *gʰi8.

shi7 世 → yè1 叶

shi8 使 → shè1 削

shi9 式 (zi8) LH sik, OCM *thok — [T] ONW šik ‘To use, make use of, use as model or norm' [BI, Shi].

shi10 試 → shí1 式

shi11 使 → lì6 理

shi12 事 → shì1 士仕

shi13 室 (zi8) LH šit, OCM *hthiʔ?

shi14 是 (zi8) LH dzə8, OCM *deʔ?

shi15 侍 (zi8) LH dzə8, OCM *daʔ? — [T] MTang zhi < dzii, ONW dzə ‘To depend on, rely on’ [Shi]

shi 侍 (zi8) LH dzə8, OCM *daʔ ‘To accompany, wait upon, attend upon’ [Shi].

shi16 異 (dzi8) LH že8, OCM *m-leʔ, OCB *m-laj? — [T] ONW že ‘To pick' [Zhuang].

shi17 言 (dzi8) LH žat, OCM *m-lat l, OCB *mlat ‘Tongue' [Shi].

shi18 爛 (zi8) LH dzə8, OCM *m-leʔ 'to pick' + nominal t-suffix for natural objects (§6.2.1), lit. 'licker'.

Some southern dialects have preserved the OC initial *- in this sound symbolic etymology. The equivalents of shi and shè mean variously 'tongue' or 'to lick':

(1) Sh: Y-Guangzhou 3lai8 'lick', Guangzhou le8 'tongue'; K-Dànshí l³9-la8 'tongue' where ma8-represents perf. the KS morpheme ma8- 'tongue' (R. Bauer, CAAAL 28, 1987: 60).

(2) Sh: The 'softened' initial in PMin 'dziat' 'tongue' may indicate prenasalization, hence OCM *m-l-, which is supported by the MY borrowing *bret (< *mlet? (Norman 1986: 383), SMín Donghándão tsaʔ1 'to lick', Táoku lák4 'to lick' [E] ST, the stem *m's-lei means 'to lick' or ('licker') ‘tongue': PTB *m's-lei (STC no. 281) > Kokoñok (Bodo-Garo) šáy 'Joseph / Burling LTLB 24.2, 2001: 52', WT lée by Kanaari-Manchati hle, Gurunj le', Dimasa salai, WB lhy (STC p. 64); IR temeli; Kuki *m-lei 'Lushai le8', Schin Dai mle 'tongue' [Hartmann ICSTH 1999: 2]; Dulong pła1 'tongue' [LaPolla, LTLB 24.2: 26]. Benedict (LTLB 5.1, 1979: 21) suggests that TB 'penis', e.g. WT mě makes the same etymon ('body-tongue').

Since only few TB languages have forms with final *-t like CH shè, the t-suffix has prob. not been inherited from ST; Magari mliet (or me-le), let, Newari meč 'tongue', JP jin1 'le-t'.

Initial *-t- is a near-universal sound symbolic feature for 'lick / tongue', hence similar words in other languages are not likely to be related, such as MK-PVM *laš 'tongue' [Ferlus]; Kam-Tai: S. li14 < *kl- 'to lick', PKS *liaʔ? [Thurgood].

[CM] Matisoff (1995: 71) connects this wf with → shi2 食c 'eat' (whose TB cognates mean 'lick') and *sii, 甜 'sweet', all of which have the phoneticomic OC initial *t-.

shi17 睹 (zi8, zi6) LH gi8, (giC8), OCM *giʔ? ‘To look at' [Shi], 'to look after, watch' (e.g. the people, of a supervisor) [Shu 26.4].

The tonic variant reading has prob. been transferred from the next item.

[T] Sin Sukcu SR zi (zi), PR qi: MGZY zhi (shii) [zi]: ONW dzii ‘To show' [Shi] (> 'what shows, is shown', i.e. set up to be seen:) 'ancestral tablet' [OB], 'portent, sign' (from heaven) [SW]. Medieval transcriptional materials indicate that this had the same initial as 睚 (Coblin 1991: 20-21), but later material agrees with the QYS.

[T] Sin Sukcu SR zi (zi), PR qi: MGZY ci (zi) [dzi]: ONW dzii ‘To show' [Shi], ‘aim' [Shu] (> 'pointer') 'finger' [Zuo]. Tone B is apparently part of the stem, therefore zhī is not an endoactive derivation.

shi18 指 (zi8) LH ki8, OCM *kiʔ ‘To point to' [Shi], 'aim' [Shu] (> 'pointer') 'finger' [Zuo]. Tone B is apparently part of the stem, therefore zhǐ is not an endoactive derivation.
shī

[T] Sin Sukuṣa SR tsi (上下). PR, LR tsi; MGZY ji (上) [tsi]; ONW tsi

shī

chén, chēn, chén (zhen) LH gin, OCM *gin
‘Epískopos’, one who ‘watches’ and looks after things / people on behalf of higher authority; an echoic of the etymology is a phrase like chén zuò zhēn...ér mó chéng 整合...耳目 ‘the chén function as my (the ruler’s)...ears and eyes’ [Shu 5, 12]. The graph, a drawing of an ‘eye’, also connects the word with the notion ‘to watch’. Hence on the one hand the meanings: ‘a subject, servant’, on the other ‘a minister, person in charge’, ‘be subject to, function as a subject of’ [OB, BI], xīo-chén 小臣 ‘junior minister’ [OB, BI]; with lesser rank ‘retainers’, hū-chén 虎臣 ‘some kind of bodyguard; with low rank ‘servant, subject’ [BI, Shi], chén-qù ‘servants and maids’ [BI, Shu] (Keightley 1969: 191f); ‘servant’ > ‘i’ (when speaking to a superior).

[T] Sin Sukuṣa SR dzin (平); MGZY zhin (平) [zin]; ONW dzin

[O] OC initial *g* is supported by GSR 368 which includes qīn 親 (k′ien), where chén (GSR 377) is phonetic.

[k] nominal *n derivation from → shī2 聲 ‘to watch, look after’ (§6.4.3), lit. ‘a watchman, supervisor’.

[E] Bodman (1980: 158) relates chén to WT gyin-ba ‘look down upon, despire’ (for the difference in finals, see §6.4.1), but see next:


shī18 黃 → chē2 微撤

shī19 訝 (zhjī) LH džas, OCM *dats
‘A formal statement, oath, make an oath’ [BI, Shi, Shu]. Perh. the homophone shī 靡 ‘divine with milfoil oracle’ [BI, Shi] is the same word (< ‘make clear’). This etymology may belong to → zhē3 聲 ‘clear, perspicacious’.

shī20 騙 → zhī4 旨

shī21 爽 → chī3 赤

shī22 亾 → shī19 訝

shī23 叹 (zhjī2) LH džas, OCM *dats
‘To bite’ [Shi, Zuou] may be cognate to WT ldad-pa, blad ‘to chew’ → blad-pa ‘to chew’ (HST: 43), but the initial consonants do not agree. A syn. is → diē2 嘔.

shī24 施 ‘give’ → shī4 施

shī25 勢 → yī28 艺

shī26 綾 (jūk) LH šak, S tśok, OCM *lak → [T] ONW šek → [D] M-Amoy tsʰjo̞2
‘To put into water, moisten’ [Li], ‘wash’ (rice) [Shi], also 綾.

shī27 維 (siok) LH šek, OCM *sek < *šek
‘To wash rice’; for vocalic alternations, see §11.1.3.

[E] PKS *šak (Edm. / Yang) / *tšak (Thurgood) ‘to wash clothes’; perh. connected with PTai *tak ‘wash clothes’. This etymology may possibly be ST instead and be derived from → yè2 波 ‘fluid’.

shī28 綿

shī29 適 ‘go to’ → chē2 微撤

shōu

[T] Sin Sukuṣa SR ɕu (上下). PR, LR ɕu; MGZY ɕ (上下) [ɕu]; ONW ɕik

shōu

shōu1 手 (ɕu3) LH ɕu3, S tśu, OCM *nu? ?, or OCB *ju? ?
‘Hand’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukuṣa SR ɕw (上下). MGZY shiw (上下) [ɕw]; ONW ɕu

shōu2 守 (ɕu4) LH ɕu4, OCM *uʔ
‘To keep, guard’ [BI, Shi], ‘fief’ [Zou].

shōu3 守 (ɕu4) LH ɕu4, OCM *uʔ

[ ] -s/h-suffix expass. (§4.4) ‘what is kept, guarded’ (Lau 1999: 43); then transferred to a person: ‘governor’.

shōu30 悩 ‘scared’ → tl4 悇

shōu31 𤟱 (ɕje) LH ɕe4, OCM *iheh?
‘Only’ [Shu]. 𤟱 (ihe?) [Meng]. The phonetic series has a T-like initial. The phonological differences make a relationship with → zhī4 聲 ‘only’ very doubtful.

shōu32 識 (ɕjak) LH ɕik, OCM *ak
‘To know’ [BI, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukuṣa SR ɕi (上下). MGZY shi (上下) [ɕi]; ONW ɕik

shōu33 還 → chū4 超
shōu 1 shōu 二 (tēju) LH tēpo, OCM *k-hlo?
‘Pivot’ [Yi]; the graph originally wrote a word ‘thorny elm.’ In some Yû and Kéî dialects, ‘pivot’ has a velar initial: Yû HK-NT kʰy̍-ài, Cónghuá kʰy̍-ài, etc.; K-Huilhōu kʰy̍-ài, Dôngquâk kʰy̍-ài.

shōu 2 shōu 三 (sjwo) LH ʂa, this form would correspond to an OCM *srâ
‘Com’ [SW]. Acc. to Shiming, the comb is named shōu because its teeth are ‘spaced apart’ shōu 肩, but this pun may be folk etymology.

shōu 3 shōu 四 (sjwo) LH ʂa, this form would correspond to an OCM *srâ
‘Com’ [SW]. Acc. to Shiming, the comb is named shōu because its teeth are ‘spaced apart’ shōu 肩, but this pun may be folk etymology.

shōu 4 shōu 五 (sjwo) LH ʂa, OCM *hra?
‘Writing > book’ [BI, Shi]. Etymology is not clear.

shōu 5 shōu 六 (sjwo) LH ʂa, OCM *hra?
‘Writing > book’ [BI, Shi]. Etymology is not clear.

shōu 6 shōu 七 (sjwo) LH ʂa, OCM *hra?
‘Writing > book’ [BI, Shi]. Etymology is not clear.

shōu 7 shōu 八 (sjwo) LH ʂa, OCM *hra?
‘Writing > book’ [BI, Shi]. Etymology is not clear.

shōu 8 shōu 九 (sjwo) LH ʂa, OCM *hra?
‘Writing > book’ [BI, Shi]. Etymology is not clear.

shōu 9 shōu 亖 (sjwo) LH ʂa, OCM *hra?
‘Writing > book’ [BI, Shi]. Etymology is not clear.

shōu 10 shōu 十 (sjwo) LH ʂa, OCM *hra?
‘Writing > book’ [BI, Shi]. Etymology is not clear.

shōu 11 shōu 十一 (sjwo) LH ʂa, OCM *hra?
‘Writing > book’ [BI, Shi]. Etymology is not clear.

shōu 12 shōu 十二 (sjwo) LH ʂa, OCM *hra?
‘Writing > book’ [BI, Shi]. Etymology is not clear.
shū  疑 (jiwò)  LH  sòh  OCM *nhaʔ?  
'Painful, suffering' [Shi].

[EE] Perh. related to the common PTB *na > WT na-`ba 'be ill, ache'  吾 nad 'disease, malady, sickness'  錶 snad-pa 'to hurt, harm, injure'; WB na 'be ill, be in pain'  錶 `demon, spirit'; Mikir no 'bad, evil, wrong'; Lushai náo/h / nat, Thado nat 'be ill' (Benedict  HUAS  4, 1939: 227). If this item is indeed OCM *nhaʔ, it is prob. related to 錶 nuó 錶, 錶 nán 錶 'difficult'.

shú  碎 (jiwò)  LH  sòh  OCM *háʔ?  or OCB *háʔ?  錶 [T] ONW  sòh > sáh 'Millet', prob. 'glutinous millet' [OB, BL, Shi] can perh. be compared with WT nas 'barley'. Both millet and barley were the staple cereals grown in ancient Southern China and Tibet respectively.

shù  數 (jīwò)  LH  sòh  OCM *síʔ?  
'To calculate, count' [Shi].

[T]  Sin Suckhu SR  sù ( )  ;  MGZY  zhù > sù ( )  [su]; ONW  suó

h shù  數 (jīwò)  LH  sòh  OCM *síʔ?  
'Number' [Yi] > 'some, several' [Lunyu]; 'method, art' [Meng].

[<]  síʔ?  + pass. s.h-suffix (§4.4), lit. 'what is counted'.

h shù  數 (sák)  LH  sòk  OCM *síʔ?  
'Number of times, frequently' [Lunyu, Li]; [business] 'account' 朝 [Lunyu].


[<]  AA: Mon ruíth [ruíth], hypoth. sruíth 'to count', lros id.

shú  旭 (jīwò)  LH  dào, OCM *daʔ or *dáʔ?  
'Sunrise' [Guanzi, Huainan] > later also 'moon rise'. This word belongs prob. to a larger w/ 'rise', see > shàng, 上.

shù  屬 (jīwò)  LH  dào, OCM *doʔ?  
'To plant, place upright' [Shi], 'establish' [Zuo]; 'to stand' [Hou Hanshu], 'be in attendance' [OB], (someone standing by:) 'attendant' 備 [Zuo].

[T]  Sin Suckhu SR  zy ( )  ;  MGZY  zhù ( )  [zy]

h shù  屬 (jīwò)  LH  dào, OCM *doʔ?  
(1) 'Tree' [Zuo]. See comment below.

[T]  Sin Suckhu SR  zy ( )  ;  MGZY  zhù ( )  [zy]; ONW  dızou

[<]  exopass. of shù 屬 (jīwò) (§4.4), lit. 'what is planted'.

(2) 'To raise, put up' 對 [Han].

[<]  exoact. > caus. of shù 屬 (jīwò) (§4.3), lit. 'cause to stand'.

zhù  壱 (jù)  LH  tō, OCM *tôh
'Post or stand for musical instruments' [OB].

[EE] Area word: TB-Lushai tuʔ < tus 'to plant' (a seed) (for the vowels, see §11.9.1), <|> AA: Khmer ṭuʔ/doh/ 'to grow, sprout...' 诱 /pôh/ 'to plant, grow' (crops).

The development to the CH meaning shù 樹 'tree' may have been encouraged through interference from AA: PSouthern MK *jhuou or *perh. *jhiʔ 'wood' (substance, general) [Diffforth MKS 16-17, 1990: 4] > OKhmer jhe [Jenner / Pou], jhō [Diffforth] 'tree, wood', also 'fuel' in Khamuk [Shorto 1971: 117] (Khmer jhe is perh. more directly reflected in → chái, 柴). Shù is not a loan because PAA *j, *c normally do not correspond to an OC dental stop initial.

It is not clear if / how the following candidates for cognition are connected: WT būja-g-pa (< *b-dujak) 'to sit, dwell' (so HST: 68f), or PTB *dzuk [STC no. 360] > WT dzuk-pa > zvpuk 'prick or stick into, plant, erect'. Syn. → zhuī 竹.

shú  樹 (jiwò)  LH  sòh, tó, OCM *oh — [T] ONW  suó
'Be stationed at a military outpost' [BL, Shi], 'to guard' (the frontier) [Zuo]. Acc. to Norman 1984, this has become the word for 'house' in some Southern dialects: PMin *tsəʔ; Y-Guangzhou  tó, Taishan tó/ʔ ι 'house'.

shú  束 (jiwò)  LH  sòh, OCM *ikห — [T] ONW  suó
'To bind, tie together, a bundle' [Shi].

[EE] Perh. ST: WB ēluin bind into a bundle'.

shú  歲 (sák)  LH  sòk, OCM *srōk?  < *C-sók?
'Suck, inhale' [SW], in southern dialects (written 咀): G-Chângshāi so,33, Y-Guangzhou fık 33 (lower D1 tone), M-Xiànmen su2 [D1].

[EE] WB sok 'drink, smoke'. This is prob. a sound-symbolic area word, note Khmer ja`ka/cuk/ 'to suck'. Perh. OC is a conflation of ST with PMK *srōk (~ *sr̩ul[up] 'absorb, suck up' (Shorto 1972: 13f).

shù  时 /dʒjuet/ LH  žúit, OCM *mlut?
'To follow' [Li], 'proceed, pass on, then' 逝 [BL, Shi] > 'road, path' (in a town) 街 [Li, SW] > 'procedure, device, art' 街 [BL, Zuo]; 'to lead' (as needle) 錯 [Guoyu] > 'needle' [Guanzi].

[T]  Sin Suckhu SR  zy ( )  ;  MGZY  ciu ( )  [dzy]; ONW  žúit

[<]  *tut + ST m-prefix (§6.1.3).

xǔ  訓 (suēt) LH  sùit, OCM *sùʔ < *luit?
'To entice' [Guoce].

[<]  *tut + ST caus. s-prefix (§6.1.2).

yù  誘 (jiau)  LH  juʔ, OCM *luʔ (or *juʔ? — then unrelated)
'To entice, seduce, guide' [Shi].

[EE] ST: WT slu, bal 'to entice, seduce, deceive' (Unger Hao-ku 36, 1990: 66). Note also PTai 1-3. s.lu 'to lure, deceive' which is prob. a CH loan. Shù and xǔ form a ST s-...-set. Bodman (1980: 96) has set up a w/f which combines all the items in final *t here with → lúa 備. For additional possible comparanda, see under → suī 煙.
shuā

刷 (gwät, śwat) LH šuat, OCM *srot
'Scrape clear, brush' [Zhouli].

[T] Sin Sukhu SR šwa (入党; MGZY (zhwa >) shwa (入党) [swa]
[2] ST roots for 'brush' show some variety; some of the following TB items may belong to → fù,拂 or → bǐ,笔 (bold) men: Mru charùt 'comb' (Löffler 1966: 144);
Lushai hru / hruuk 'to rub (off), wipe (off)', JP brut' 'a brush' (shuāzī) i la55-rut55 'a brush' (shuāzī), WT šad-pa, šad < *ryut 'to rub, get scratched'. Perh. also related to Spilo-Kanauri šwartma 'to comb' [Bodman].

[C] A cognate is prob. → guā, 刮 *krot 'scrape'; shuā is not related to → shù, 梳 'comb'. Table S-2 'Brush, comb, scrape' provides an overview over similar etyma.

Table S-2 Brush, comb, scrape

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>*prut brush</th>
<th>*C-rut / brut</th>
<th>*srot</th>
<th>*srjat(t) comb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OC bǐ,笔</td>
<td>*prut / brut</td>
<td>guā 刮</td>
<td>*krot scrape (2) shuā 刷</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>šud-pa, šad &lt; *ryut to rub, get scratched (3) glōd-pa, (g)šad-pa &lt; *ryut to comb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanauri</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>šwartma comb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lushai</td>
<td>hru / hruuk to rub / wipe (off) hriat / hriaʔ to comb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mru</td>
<td>charuʔ comb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JP</td>
<td>brut' a cleaning brush la55-rut55 a cleaning brush</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes on Table S-2: (1) See under fù,拂 for alternate etymology. (2) The OC rime *ot (instead of the expected *ut) in guā is perh. due to analogy with shuā. (3) The palatalization (Proto-Tib. medial *y) in šud is perh. due to influence from gloid.

shuāí

衰 (šwi) LH šui, OCM *sruí
'To diminish, decline, decay' [Lun].

[T] Sin Sukhu SR šui (入党), PR 蜕; MGZY (zhway >) shway (入党) [swaj]

⇒ chư 蜕 (tsʰwē) LH ʂtʰuï, OCM *k-sruí
'To reduce, graduate' [Zuo].

⇒ shuāí 蜕 (šwi) *sruí (or sruí?) with initial *k (§5.9.1).

⇒ shài 蜕 (šaï) LH šei, OCM *srêt
'To diminish, reduce' [Zuo], 'of a smaller degree' [Li].

⇒ shuāí 蜕 (šwi) *sruí (or sruí?) with final -t (§6.2.2). Karlgren (1956: 11) adds this word to → shù 蜕 'kill' (unlikely). For loss of medial w, see §10.2.1.

[?] AA has a similar-looking word: Khmer /rivaw/ 'diminish, decrease, taper (off), slim down... /siawi/ 'be small-boned and slender', but the diphthong is the reverse of CH; perh. a metathesis from *iu to *ui took place in OC (a parallel case may be → nèi 養 'hungry'). An alternative comparandum may be TB-Lushai zuat < juiat 'decline' (in diligence, enthusiasm), but Lushai initial -z- usually derives from PTB *-y-, and the semantic agreement is not as close.

shuí

睡 (zwï) LH dziui, OCM *dōi or *dōiʔ — [?] ONW dziue
'To sleep' [Guo].

[T] Since both CH and WT have a word for 'sleep' which is nearly homophonous with one for 'droop', it is probable that shuí is derived from ā chuí 垂 *dōi 'droop'. The WT cognate seems to be yur-ba 'to slumber' ≈ g-yur 'sleep' (Bodman 1980: 80) ≈ g-yur-ba 'droop, hang or sink down' (of fading flowers etc.), but phonologically, the OC items are closer to a parallel stem in rime *-ol, see → chuí 垂.
shuō — sf

shuō (shúe) [shúe], OCM *hōts, OCM *hōts — [T] ONW sūei

'To present, give, donate' [LJJ] > 'tax' [Chunqu]. Boltz (1994: 101) relates this word to the wū > yú11 無 > 談; then 'tax' means lit. 'something pealed off the top'. Alternatively, shuō may be derived from-shū 輸 'to transport, convey to' (under > yú18 跑).

shuō 吸 — sū 瓶

shú — sū

shuí (shúe) [shúe], OCM *m-lun; — [D] PMin *qiziong < *Ndʒ-

'To suck' [Hanfei].

[6] ST has several stems from a single root (for TB, see also HPTB: 31, 84, 481):

(1) *myú-n; PTB *myl-un > Kanauri *muyu 'to swallow', JAP ma33 run31 'throttle, swallowing'.

(2) *mlyú-k; PTB *mluyu > Lhasai zu31 / zu3 / zu3 / ju4 / sju / zu3 'to drink' (by suck) (as leech), Ao-Naga *mlyú-yuk (*m-yuk) 'to swallow' [Weidert 1987: 457].


The complex proto-initial is prob. responsible for three different reflexes in JP: ma33 run31 'suck', ma33 yú113 'throttle, swallowing', lu31 < lu31 'to drink, suck'. WT ladh-pa, blad < nlu 'give to drink, to water' belongs to the same root.

shūn — dūn, shūn 盾

shūn (shūn) [shūn], OCM *m-luns

'To follow, agree, be agreeable' [BL, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR syn (ζ); MGZY cūn (ζ) [dzyn]; ONW zuin

[<] *run + ST s-prefix (§8.1.3).

xūn 談 (xiún) [shúe], OCM *s-lun

'To follow, inspiration' [Shu], 'observe' [Zuo]; 'docile' [Lie] (Wáng Li Ciyuán zidán 1982: 518).

[<] *run + ST s-prefix (§8.1.2).

[6] ST: WT 'lun-pa 'be tamed, subdued' ≠ 'jun-pa, bûn, gûn 'subdue, punish, soften' (HST: 146). OC *m- > *s- is parallel to the TB root for 'follow' which Matissa (LTBA 15,1,1993: 163) has set up for 'Kamarupan', see > sui3 逐一 for additional possible cognates.

shūn 擴 — měn2 擴

shūn (shūn) [shūn], OCM *hvnins

'To move the eyes, wink' [Zhuang], 'give a signal with the eyes' [Shijii], 'blinking' [Lie].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR syn (ζ); MGZY shūn (ζ) [syn]

xūn 談 (xiún) [shúe], OCM *hvnins

'Flutter the eyes, scared' [Zhuang].

xūn 談 (xiún) [shúe], OCM *hvnins

'Troubled eyesight, deluded' [Zhuang].

[6] The stem of this wú is *win with the meaning 'move the eyes'. The wú overlaps with yíng, 要 whose stem is *wen with the basic meaning 'bright, dazzle, confuse'.

shuō 引 (xiú) [shúe], OCM *hnot

'Explain, excuse' [Lun], 'speak' [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR syn (ζ); MGZY shwê (ζ) [zey]; ONW šuat

shuō — sf

shuō 說 (xiú) [shúe], OCM *hnot

'To exhort' [Meng].

[<] exocative (?) of shūo 說 (xiú) *hnot (§4.3).

[6] This wú is derived from > yú11 談; see there for allogroms.

shuō 逆 — ní3

shuō 反 — shuō, shuō 反

shuō 燈 — xī53 shuō 燈

shuō 樑 — shuō 樑

shuō 逆 — shuō 逆

shuō 暈 (shúe) [shúe], OCM *hiau, OCM *hiau — [T] ONW šak

'To melt, fuse' 燬 [Zhouli]. 燬 [Guoyi].

yù 優 (jiāk) [shúe], OCM *hiau

'To melt, disperse' 燬 [BL, Zhuang]; 'to drain off, clear the course' (of a river) [Meng], 'purify' (the heart) [Zhuang], 'to moisten, soak' 燬 [Yili]. This may be the same etymon as > yáo4 起 'cure'.

[6] Perh. related to TB-Chepaŋ yu- 'dissolve, melt'.

[6] This wú may belong to > yáo4 起 'cure'. The relationship with > xiāo 消 (sjau) 'melt' is not clear, because initial MC sj < *hl- normally does not co-occur with sj-.

shuō 暈 (shúe) [shúe], OCM *hiau

'To shine' [Lái], pers. s. w. as 'beautiful, fine' 燴 [Shi].

yù 優 (jiāk) [shúe], OCM *hiau

'To shine' 燼 [Lái].

yáo 曉 (jiāk) [shúe], OCM *hiau, OCM *ja-ekw

'Be brilliant, shiny' 曉 [Shi], 曉 [Zou].

[6] This group prob. belongs to the wū > zhuo1 轸. CVST and Gong 1995 connect this etymon to WT *glo (flash of light)'

sf — sf

sf (sf) [shúe], OCM *sia — [T] ONW šia

'Be in charge, manage' > 'regulation, supervisor' [BL, Shu].

[T] SF *sia: WT mdzad-pa, mdzod < m-za-t 'to do, act' ≠ hzo 'work, labor', Kuhish ca, Mru ca 'to do, make' (Löffler 1966: 140). For an alternative affiliation of the TB items, see > zuo1 轸. Unger (Hao-ku 30, 1984: 294) sees a possible relationship with WT rdzi-bo 'hersman, shepherd, keeper' instead.

The semantic fields of similar etyma suggest that sf司 'act' and > sf思 'think' are the same word.

sf 私 (sf) [shúe], OCM *sia

'Private' [Shi], 'egoistic' [Li].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR sf3 (s1); MGZY sī (s1); ONW si

[6] This may be related to Lushai teel< tees 'myself, thyself...’ since a Lushai t- could possibly correspond to s- elsewhere (§12.3). Alternatively, STC no. 284 connects the Lushai word with PTB *st-név 'navel'.

sf 思 (sf) [shúe], OCM *sia

'To think, think of, long for' [Shi], originally 'to observe outside things, fix attention' acc. to A. Waley. The graph is also read > sāi 思 'beard'.

476
sl - sǒng

sľ3 爽 (zi²) LH zǐ³, OCM *s-a? or *s-já?
'To imitate, resemble' [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ʂ1 (平); MGZY ʂ³ (平) [ʦ]; ONW sia
[ chicago]
The semantic fields of similar etyma suggest that → sl 口 'act' and sl �� 'think' are the same word, see §6.2.2 for further comment.

sľ3 吐 (sǎ) LH ṣě, OCM *sǎh
'To brood' [Shi], 'thought' n. [Li, Yue-zao] (Unger Hao-ku 21, 1983: 182).

sľ4 絲 (sì) LH sī², OCM *só
'Silk' [BL, Shi] is often said to be the source of European words for 'silk', Gr. sēríkōn. The Western /r/ is then taken as proof that the OC form ended in some kind of consonant. However, it is simpler to derive Western words from → Qin 秦.

sľ5 斯 (sī) LH sī, OCM *sé — [T] MTang si, ONW se
'Vee, nave, nave' [Shi].
[ chicago]
ET ST 'ser': WT ser-kā 'cleft, split', Chepeng ser- 'divide, split cleanly'. TB cognates show that this is prob. not related to → xī 枝 'sēk 'cleave' (however, if so, see §7.7.5 for the loss of *r in OC). This word does not belong to any of the stems listed under → lió 離.

sľ6, chū 胳 (tū) LH sū, OCM *tsà?
'Cold wind' [SW, Chucui], 'wind' [Guányàng].
[ chicago]
ETymology not clear. WT rdzi 'wind' which sī resembles (Unger Hao-ku 30, 1984: 294) belongs to PTB *q-ti-y(i) 'wind' (STC no. 454); WB le 'air, wind', Tani rji 'wind'. WT prob. derives from earlier *ym. More promising may be a link with PWMiao *t.t'ce (tua²tse etc.) 'wind', especially since the CH word's first textual occurrence is in Chucui.

sľ 育 → zǐ 育

sľ 死 (sǐ) LH sǐ², OCM *sǐ?
'To die' [OB, BI, Shi]. Tone B is prob. the result of reinterpretation as an endoactive verb (§4.5).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR sǐ (上); MGZY sǐ (上) [ʦ]; ONW si
[ chicago]
ET ST: PTB *siy 'to die' (STC no. 232) > WT či-ha < nsi, sì �� gśin-po 'dead man' �� gśid 'funeral'; [Kanauri] sì, Chepeng sî-sa, Gāô sì, PL *je; WB se 'die, be extinguished'; JP sii³³ 'to die' (HST: 62); Lushai tśi/i / ti³³ / ti³ 'to die'. Unrelated to shēi �� 'corpse' (under → yi³ 夷).

sľ1 四 (sì) LH sì², OCM *sî?, OCB *splīts
'Four' [OB]. Note the Sui-Tang form in final -t which parallels bī 鼻 'nose' (Pullelinkblanc JAOS 118.2, 1998: 205). An OC *t in the initial is suggested by the variant graph; the initial *t may be interference from sān �� 'three' (Colbin 1986: 83).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR sì (çi); MGZY sǐ (çi) [ʦ]; Sui-Tang sî, sit?, ONW sî
[ chicago]
PMin *sî; Y-Guángzhōu 33sîCI, Yquíngshān sîI.

ET ST: In spite of phonological difficulties, si is prob. a ST word because of the suspected earlier *s- in the initial. For PTB *b-lay 'four' [Matisoff 1995a: 52; STC: 94] > WT bî < *bi, Maqari bâli, PL *b-lei, WB le, Lushai pâ-li < pa-li; PKaren *lis (Benedict LTBa 51, 1979: 13). -> Tai: S. sîI is obviously a CH loan (no *t in the initial).

sľ2 酒 (jiǔ) LH jiǔ³, OCM *sîh or *sis?
'Snivel' [Shi]. The etymology is uncertain; Wáng Li (1982: 418) relates sî to tî 污 'tears, mucus from nose', but see there.

sľ3 醒 (xiǐng) LH zǐ³, OCM *s-la? or *s-já?

sľ - sǒng

sľ3 似 (zi²) LH zǐ³, OCM *s-la? or *s-já?
'To imitate, resemble' [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR zǐ (上); MGZY zǐ (上) [ʦ];
[ chinese]
This is reminiscent of TB-Lushai ziiH < jir 'to learn, copy, imitate', but the cognition requires the assumption of a ST root *ji(r). The TB items under → xiàng 像 could perhaps belong to this etymon instead.

sľ4 兕 (zi²) LH zì³, OCM *s-joi²
'Wild water buffalo' [OB, Shi, EY] (Lefevre MŠ 39, 1990–1991: 131–157). This word was sometimes mistakenly thought to be a variant of → xī xi, �� 'rhinoceros'.

[ chicago]
ET Area word. ST *jai → *s-jal: TB-Lushai siaH < siaI 'domestic buffalo' seH-heH 'wild gayal (buffalo)' seH-leH 'wild gayal (buffalo)' — is the contracted form of siaH, <> NTAi *sjaI (Li 1977) or *jaH (Gedney ICSTLL 1981) 'ox, cow', the OC and PTai initials are the same as in → xiàng 象 'elephant'. <> The ultimate source of this word may be AA; note Munda sahl, saH 'wild buffalo', Guto (Munda) saH 'wild buffalo, deer' [Pinnow 1959: 423]. However, the contact with OC would be so remote that a regular phonological history is elusive.

sľ5 似 (zi²) LH zǐ³, OCM *s-la?
'The usual gloss is 'plowshare, to plow' [Shi]; however this implement consisted of a blade-like spear which was attached to a → tî 污 digging stick which thus became its handle (Bodde 1975: 233ff), hence 'spade, to cultivate with a spade'. It originated perh. in the Yao culture (W. Eberhard Lokalkulturen II: 224). Syn. → lió 紧.

sľ6 肆 'lax' → yi³ 夷

sľ7 肆 'arrange' → yi³ 夷

sľ8 食 → shì² 食

sľ9 賜 → ci³ 賜

sľ10 剌 → yi³ 賜

sǒng1 洋 (ziwōn) LH ziong, OCM *s-lōq — [T] ONW zonj
'Pipe' (the tree) [Shi].

[D] M-Xiànmin lit. siōng4; col. tsìōng4
[ chinese]
ET This word has been associated with Old Japanese sugi² 杉 'cryptomeria' (Miyake 1997: 197). See comment under → mēi 梅. It also has superficial similarity with Tai: S. son² 'a pine'.

sǒng2 洋 (ziwōn) LH siuⁿ, OCM *sún < *sλuŋ?
'High' (of mountains) [Shi], [Li]

[D] M-Xiànmin lit. siōng4; col. siōng4
[N] The phonetic implies an OC medial *t in the initial. Sǒng is the name of several mountains in Henan, Shanxi, Hunan, Jiangxi, Fujian, including the name of the sacred mountain, the axis mundi (D. Pankenier EC 20, 1995: 139); in Henan near Luoyang, which was already venerated during the Xia dynasty.

sǒng 鳥 (ziwōn) LH siōng4, S tsî('tai)ţi, OCM *son², *C-sōng
'To lift up, raise' [Guoyu], 'rise up high, rise sharply (of mountain)' [GY].

[D] M-Xiànmin lit. siōng4; col. tsìōng4
[ chinese]
PMK *sλuŋ (Shorto 1976: 1052) > PMNC *sλoŋ 'be high up, high, tall' (person, mountain), OMon s-lōg 'be high' = *m-lōn 'top' (of something) = *clōŋ 'highest point, apex, spire' = PMK *s-r-luŋ (Shorto) = OMON sirlōn 'height'; Khmer -kōn 'high, lofty';
sōng

Palaung hšenŋ 'long', PWA *lönj 'high' * săm-lönj 'hill'; Kharia Jhalaŋ 'high' * sćiŋ 'deep'.
AA -> TB-SChin Daasi mswŋ 'mountain' [Hartmann ICSTLL 1999: 2], Perh. also -> Tai: S. hšenŋ 'rise high' * a-taŋ 'to rise, climb' (Unger Hao-ku 36, 1990: 53), note also S. sa-a-taŋ 'lofty, straight', (tree). Tai: S. mswŋ < *s-'high' (Li F. 1976: 42) looks like a Chinese loan. A syn. or parallel stem with initial *l' is -> lóng, 龍.

sōng 3 鬆 (suon, ts'jwong)
‘Loose, slack’ [GY].
[D] M-Xiàmén lit. son⁴, col. san⁴.

zōng 縱 (tsjwong) LH tsiong⁴, OCM *tsōngh
‘To release, let off, indulgent; granted that, even though’ [BI, Shi].

sōng 1 鬆 (swong) LH siong⁴, OCM *son⁴
‘To scare, fear’ [Zhuo], 慾 [Hanfei]; ‘be careful about’ [Guoyu], 慏 [GY];
Mand. 慾 ‘to alarm, be sensational’.
[C] This word may possibly be related to -> xiōng 1 兄 ‘fear’.

sōng 2 鬆 (swong) ≈ son⁴ LH siong⁴, OCM *son⁴
‘To incite, encourage’ [Guoyu], 慏 [GY] (QYS only swong) > ‘to shake the bit of a horse to make him run’ 驅 (Gongyang) (also QYS son⁴); Mand. 慾 ‘to instigate, incite’.
[D] M-Xiàmén (lit.) siong³.

zōng 縱 (tsun⁴) LH tson⁴, OCM *tson⁴
‘Quickly’ [Li].
[E] ST: WB cuiŋ⁴ ‘drive or ride fast’.
[C] These items are related to -> sōn 1 隨和 -> zōu 走, and are consistently derived from the root -> sōu 1 搜, 搜搜.

sōng 3 鬆 (swong) LH siong⁴, OCM *son⁴
‘Be born deaf’ [SW], a Han period dialect word from the eastern Huáiyangtze region, in Chu and Chén [FY 6, 2]. This word has the same meaning and OC rime as -> lóng 龍 * rön ‘deaf’. The JY gives a variant reading shuǎng (shn⁴) < *son⁴ which makes this word look like a s-prefix allotom of lóng, but this reading is late and might have been prompted by a gloss ‘deaf on both’ shuǎng 雙 (shn⁴) ears’ [FY 6].

sōng 4 鬆 ‘high’ -> sōng 2 條

sōng 1 鬆 (suon) LH son⁴, OCM *son⁴.
‘To escort, follow after, go along’ [Shi], ‘to send’ [Zuo], ‘to present’ [Li].
[T] Sin Sukuču SR son (⁴); MGZY sung (⁴) [sun]; ONW son⁴
[D] M-Xiàmén lit. son⁴, col. san⁴.
[E] Etymology not certain. Note AA-PSBahn. *səŋ ‘hand over’, and / or OKhmer jor / joom ‘to urge, persuade, invite, drive, accompany, escort, bring to, offer, present’ ( > Thai chuon ‘to urge, persuade...ask, invite...’). Association with WT sōng-pa, bstay ‘to accompany’ (Bodham 1980: 44), or with WT rdzog-ba, (brdzōng /) ‘to send, expedite, dismiss’ are problematic because the WT vowel a does not agree with OC *a.
[C] It is not clear if there is an etymological connection with -> cōng 1 從 ‘follow’.

sōng 2 鬆 (zjwong) LH ziong, OCM *s-lonj
‘Litigate’.

sōu

sōu 訓誨 (zjwong) LH ziong⁴, OCM *s-lonj
‘To quarrel, litigate, sue’ [Shi]: ‘admonish’ [Luoyu].
[T] Sin Sukuču SR zjün (⁴); PR sun; MGZY zyung (⁴) [zjün]; ONW zon⁴
[D] M-Xiàmén (lit.) siong².
[E] This word could be *s-lonj, ‘exhortation, admonition, instruction’ (HST: 36). Alternatively, it may be connected with WT gusn (pf. of gusn) ‘to speak’ (resp.) (Unger Hao-ku), but the initials do not agree.
[C] -> xiōng 3 講 is probably unrelated.

sōu 1 搜 (sju) LH su, OCM *sro /u ?
‘To search’ [Zhuang].

sōu 2 搜 (sju) LH su, OCM *sro or *sru
‘Be many, numerous’ [Shi].

shuài 率 (sjuat, swi⁴) LH sùi, quis, OCM *srut(s)
‘All’ adj. and adv. [OB, BI, Shi].

sōu 3 搜 (sau⁴) LH so⁴, OCM *sō? ‘vigorous’
‘To move’ [YJ], Zhéng Xuán ‘vigor and rapid’ (Karlgren GL 1154).
WT gson-pa ‘be alive, to wake, rouse, urge on’; WB (a-č)ho⁴ ‘be quick’ (a) to rouse, urge on, so⁴ ‘quick, rapid’.
This root ‘to rouse, move, make move, quicken, quick’ has spawned a prolific wf as on other occasions, CH etymological connections become clear by way of the larger ST picture. Note also the parallelism with the wf -> zhen 3 振‘shake / regenerate / morning’.
Related words and stems are:
> sōu 1 隨 ‘quick’ > caus. ‘urge on’
> sōu 蓮 ‘vegetables’ > WT tšo-ba, sos ‘to live, revive, last; feed, graze’ tšo-ba ‘be alive, to wake, rouse, urge on’
> sōu 凧 (‘time when one wakes up’) ‘early morning; pregnant’ > PLB: *C-sok — *V-sok ‘morning, morning’
> zōu 走 ‘run, make move, urge on’ > WB (a-č)ho⁴ ‘be quick’ (a) to rouse, urge on’
> sōng 1 隨 ‘incite, make run’ > WB cuiŋ⁴ ‘drive or ride fast’
> xīn 3 雜 ‘rapid’
> sāo 2 頭 ‘move, be shaken, hastily’

sōu 搜 (sju) LH su, OCM *sù? ~ Leibian sau⁴ < *sō?
‘Dog’; acc. to SW níu-sōu 搜搜 [nau-su] is a Southern Yuè word (Mei / Norman 1976: 279). The role of the presyllable níu ‘monkey’ is not clear.
[E] AA: Khmu, Palaung-Wa *sā?; PSBahn. *sx, but PNBahn. chò, PMV *ţa-cx? > Viet. čhó, Khmer ckae, PEKatu *ţaco. If available MK forms are any guide, the underlying word with its fricative /s/ (NOT affricate /ts/) does, contrary to SW, not seem to belong to the Yuè (Viet) branch of MK. For the initials, see §5.10.2. This word also appears in TB languages: Limbu kotco ‘dog’.
sūu yì (šu, sjeu) LH šu, OCM *su
'Three-year-old bovine' [SW] (Baxter 1977: 287). The additional reading MC sâm is obviously that of the phonetic.

sūu zài (sau²) LH so¹, OCM *sò
'Old man' [Meng, Zuo], 'blind' [Shi]. Wáng Lì (1982: 241) believes that sòu 嫝 (sau²) 'elder brother's wife' [Li] was originally the same etymon. However, old age and blindness are not necessarily defining features of an elder brother's wife.

sūu zhu (sau²) LH so¹, OCM *sò — [T] ONW sou
'Grassy marshland' 草 [Shi]. 殊 [Li] is perh. related to OTib. sog 'grassland' (Zhol inscr.) (HST: 88).
[EN] AA: PSTBm. suh 'wet, humid'. Alternatively, the word may be connected with sūu 渠 (sau²) [sù] 'soak' [Shi].

sūu cū (sau²) LH so¹, OCM *sòh
'To cough' [Zhouli].
[EN] ST: PTB *sau(w) (STC no. 423) > Magari su, Garo, Dimasa gu-su, WT sud-pa 'cough' (HST: 58).

sūu ài (sau²) 種渡
1. Sū (sau²) LH so¹, OCM *sò, OCB *sò (Baxter 1992: 225) — [T] ONW so
'Grass, plant', a Han period Chú, Huái, Jiàng dialect word [FY 3, 8].
[EN] This may be the same etymon as sū 蘇 'revive' and belong to the wf → wù, 懦悟. The concepts 'live' ~ 'fresh, green' ~ 'plant' are often connected. Although the OC graph need not be set up with an *sg-cluster, an alternative association with WT rtsa (prob. orthographic for *r-tsa < *r-sa) 'grass, plants' is also possible. By mid to late Han when this word appeared first in writing, an OC *sò- had simplified to *s- which made the graph then suitable for writing a word *sa. The item is not related to WT tso-ba 'be green' ≈ tso 'plant, vegetable, greens'; see → yù, 月.

sūu 2. sū 蘇 'fear' → گWARNING

sūu 3. sū 蘇 'be white, colorless, plain' [BL, Shi].

sūu 4. sū 蘇 'Foxtail millet' [Shi], etymology is not clear.

sūu 5. sū 蘇 'Rapid, quick' [Lunyu], 'urge on, invite' [Shi].

sūu 6. sū 蘇 'be white, colorless, plain' [BL, Shi].

sù 素 (suò) LH so¹, OCM *sòh, OCB *sòa (Baxter 1992: 225)
'Be white, colorless, plain' (also figuratively) [BL, Shi].

sù 素 (sò) LH so¹, OCM *sòk
'To search, inquire into, demand' [Zuo]. The Khmer forms below show the semantic connection between 'white' and 'search'.
[EN] AA: Khmer /soa/ 'be white, colorless' > 'pure' > 'purify, clarify' > 'inquire into, probe,'

sù 菜 (sò) LH so¹, OCM *sòk — [D] M-Xiâmén lit. siok⁰¹
'Vegetables' [Shi 261,3].

sù 水 (sù) LH siuk, OCM *sùk — [D] M-Xiâmén lit. siok⁰¹
'Early morning, early, soon' [Shi].
[EN] ST: PLB *C-sık = *V-sık 'morning, morn'-row' [Matisoff TSR no. 125], Lushai tuuk⁰¹ 'early morning' < sük², ⁰¹, ⁰¹ is a loan from Mon /sök/ and ultimately from Skt skukā 'bright, Venus' (Shorto 1971: 379).

sù 素 (sù) LH siuk, OCM *sùk
'To quicken' > 'become pregnant' [Shi] (Shaughnessy 1991: 103g) is prob. the same word as 'early morning' which is semantically derived from the notion 'rouse, quicken'. Shaughnessy has concluded that in OB and a BI (early Zhou, Wǔ wáng) sù occasionally means 'to rout' (an enemy). This is supported by the semantic range of this word, but it is not certain if sòu was the actual word intended by the graph, rather than a semantically closer cognate take → sūu 速.

sù 素 (sù) LH siuk, OCM *sùk
'Time of moving' under → sūu, sù 搜, PTB *m-sów to 'stir, waken, move'; sù is 'the time when one wakes up and gets moving'. The OC final *=k in this word has been inherited from ST: *sou + ST *-k of uncertain function (§6.1).
suʻ八

suʻ八 瘍 (swk) LH syuiB, S tsyoiB, OCM *soiʔ (< *swaiʔ?). — [T] ONW sue ‘Marrow’ [Kuoece].

suʻ八 瘍 (swk) LH syuiB, S tsyoiB, OCM *soiʔ (< *swaiʔ?). — [T] ONW sue ‘Marrow’ [Kuoece].

suʻ八 瘍 (swk) LH syuiB, S tsyoiB, OCM *soiʔ (< *swaiʔ?). — [T] ONW sue ‘Marrow’ [Kuoece].
sūn

sūn 1 孫 (suān) LH suān, OCM *sūn — [T] ONW son
'Grandchild' [BI, Shi].

[T] ST: PTB *sū(w) (so STC: 158) > Mikir, Meitei, Dimasa, etc. su, Bodo sou, JP fu3* ‘grandchild’, Lushai tu2* ‘id.’ (for the initial, see §12.3). The MK synonyms may be look-alikes: PMK *cu6 ‘grandchild’ (Shorto 1976: 1062) > OMon cow, Khmer /ca1/, Palaung su ‘grandchild’ < *cu (*c- > s- is a Palaung innovation).

sūn 2 烏 (suān) LH suān, OCM *sūn
'Cooked rice' [Shi]. 'Warm evening meal' [Meng] may perh. be a variant of → xīn 洗 (sān) *-lam (PTB *slum) ‘to heat’ (food) with labial dissimilation of the final nasal -m rather than vocalic dissimilation (§6.7), but this is not likely.

sūn 损 (suān) LH suān, OCM *sūn
'Diminish, subtract' [Yi], 'damage' [Lanyu].

[E] Sagart (1999: 70) derives this word from → yīn 導, 進誤 (sān) *win? ‘fall, drop’. There is no MC syllable like sīwen in div. 4, whereas a front vowel i might have been lost early in OC *sūn? (from *suin?).

x sūn, xūn 循巽 (suān) LH suān, OCM *sūn
'To withdraw, yield, be compliant' 侊 [Shu] (Mand. xùn); 'humble' 畲 [Yi] (Mandarin sūn).

[E] ST: TB cognates are perh. WT sun-pa ‘be tired of, weary, renounce, resign’, WB sun ‘fail, fall behind, turn away’ x sun ‘spent, expended’.

[C] Sagart (1999: 82) suggests that this word family may be related to xūn 循巽 (under → shūn, 順).

sūn, xūn 循巽 → sūn 损

sūo 1 縮 (suō) LH suō, OCM *sūo
'To be straight, upright' [Meng], ‘vertical, longitudinal’ [Li].

[A] AA: OMon: crok / crok/ 'to set / plant upright' (flags, umbrellas, etc.); perh. related to Khmer jara / jorə/ ‘be straight’ vs jhara / jgorə/ ‘to stand, be standing, upright, erect, straight, vertical’, in which case the OC form would be the result of metathesis of the r before a final -k, i.e. < *sur-k (§6.1).

sūo 2 縮 'shrink' → sūa 損

sūo 1 所 (suō) LH suō, OCM *sūo
'Place, position, element' (Dobson, LAC: 157), as in yóu suā guī 有所歸 ‘have a place to return to’, or suā qū 所去 ‘what [the subject] rejects’. is derived from the noun ‘place’ (Pulleyblank 1995: 68) → yóu. 仿 provides an exact semantic parallel.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR su (.), LR suō, MGZY (zhu >) su (.) [su]; ONW su < so

[E] ST *sra > PTB *sra (HPTB: 78); JP jo2-ra1 ‘place’ (< *ra; Makassar in STC: 171 n. 457), WB ra ‘place, situation, thing, subject’, Mru ra ‘place’ [Löffler 1966: 146], Dulong suā ‘thing’ [LaPolla LTBA 24.2, 2001: 2]. TB cognates to this word and to shì 事 ‘affair, thing’ (→ shī1 事) are difficult to distinguish. It is not clear if and how WT st ‘place, earth’ and / or Zai zhs ‘earth’ are related; WT st is also often associated with → shā1 沙 ‘srai ‘sand’ — not likely.

sūo 2 索 (sāo) LH sōk, OCM *sāk
‘Rope’ [BI, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR saw (.), PR, LR saw?; MGZY saw (.) [saw]; ONW sōk

[E] AA: PVM *jāk ‘rope’ [Ferlus], PMonic *jook ‘creeper, vine, rope’ > Mon ‘string,
tā 他 (tā)  
Mand. 'he' 他, 'she' 她, 'it' 它。

[T] Sin Sukcho SR tā (平), PR tā; MGZY tho (平) [t˦].

[D] A col. word derived from → tu01, he 'other', southern dialects: Y-Guāngzhou 5tią41, K- Méi-xiān tā41. Some Mand. dialects have the expected tā54.

tā1 請 （dāp） LH dop, OCM *tāp — [T] ONW dop  
'Babble' 請 [Shi], 'babble, garrulous' 請 [Guoyu].

[E] ST: WT lab-pa 'to tell'  
[X] 'to talk, rumor' < lop (HST: 145); or alternatively related to WT dob-dob-pa ~ čab-čob 'talk nonsense'.

[X] Perh. yé 請 (jiāi) LH jas, OCM *lats < *laps (?)  
'Garrulous' [Xun].

tā2 請 （dāp） LH dop, OCM *tāp — [T] ONW dop  
'To touch, reach to' [BI], 'together with, and' 稲 [BI]; 'join, unite' 稲 [Chuci].

[E] Etymology not certain. MC tā-c can derive from an O T-like or L-like initial, most likely from the latter: Baxter (1992; also CVST 3:18) relates tā to TB-WT sbj-ba, (bs)lebs 'to arrive, reach, extend'; he also relates it to → dāi1 稲.

Alternatively, a T-like initial would connect the word to AA: Khmer tāpa/daapi 'to follow closely, close on close, be close together' → tā.

tā1 台 (tāi) LH tāi, OCM *tāi  
('Globe-fish-like:') 'rounded' person's back in old age [Shi] (so Karlsgren) brings to mind WT lidir- 'be distended, inflated'.

tā2 膠 'nourish' → shǐ1 食

tái1 治 (dāi)  
'To kill' in Min: PMin *dāi2, *dāi.

[X] Area word: Tai: S. tāi111, Zhuang tāi11/2 'to die' (< PTai *trai, *prai); PMY *tāiH < *p- to H 'to kill' ≠ *tāiH < **matajīH 'to die' (M. Ratliff, p. c.).

tái2 茕 (dāi) LH do, OCM *tāi — [D] PMin *dāi1, *dāi.  
'Moss' [GY]. — [E] <> PTai *glai1 'moss' (Li 1977; 200).

tái3 嫒 （tāi） LH tāi, OCM *tāi  
'Servant or slave woman' 嫲 [BI], the lowest kind of servant 姍 [Zuo].

[X] Aa: OKhmer tāi/taj 'woman, wife' ≠ taj/daj 'female human, female slave' ≠ OKhmer kantai 'female, wife'. Khasi kynthi 'girl' (→ TB-Mikir -kintaj); Aslian lgs. on the Malay Peninsula: kanđeh, keneh, kanah 'wife'; kanaj 'females of animals', kanį, kena 'woman', kanį 'girl', kanç, knih, etc. 'wife' [S. Lewitz 1976: 761–771].

Some of these items are reminiscent of → nú1 女, but they are prob. unrelated. MK *kñ-. *kñ- is a female marker (see → qì1 妻).

tái1 鉸軸 → zhī ū 柱

tái2 態 → nèng₂ 能

tàn1 糧 (tām) LH tām, OCM *tām  
'Be covetous, greedy' [Shi].

[t] Sin Sukcho SR t'ām (平), PR t'ām; MGZY t'ām (平) [t’ām]. ONW t’ām  

[X] lán 萌栩 (lām) LH lám, OCM *tām < *g-ram  
'Covetous' [Chuci]; 'covetous, rapacious' 萌 (Zuo).

[X] lán 鏡 (lān) LH lám, OCM *tām < *g-rams  
'To stuff (one's face), be glutonous' [Huaiyan] may belong here.

[E] ST: PTB *d-rum (STC no. 457) > WT drum-pa 'to long, desire', WB krum 'be lean, pine away' ≠ k’rumg 'to pine away', JP ma31- rim33 'to crave to eat'. HST alternatively suggests WT ham-pa 'avarse, covetousness, greed' as a cognate, but see → kān6 長.

tān₂ 货 (tām) LH tām, OCM *tām — [T] ONW t’ām  
'To kill' is a Han-period Chü dialect word [FY 1, 16], cognate to lán 萌栩 (lām) which was a Chén-Chü English word for 'kill' [FY 2, 19]. It is doubtful that this root is connected with → kān6 薪 'kill' (a southern Chú-Xiāng dialect word), or with tān6 惮 (ts’ām) 'to kill' [FY 1, 5], though it could theoretically be possible (so Sagart 1999: 151). The word may be cognate to WB hrum6 'fail, be defeated'.

tān₃ 探 （tām） LH tām, OCM *tām  
'To reach into with the hand, investigate' [Lunyu, Yi, Shu]. The initial of the phonet. series is not certain; the word may be related to → shén₃ 深 'deep' (provided the initial was OCM *nh-; so Unger Hao-ku 47, 1995). Alternatively, the word agrees with TI-Lushai t'am6 'to feel' (especially with the hand).

tān₄ jiān 深 'soak' → jiān₄ 深漚湛

tān₅ 嘰 → dān₃ 珈癬

tān₆ 潭 （tām） LH tām  
'To dry up' (of a river) [SW], later 'beach'. The graph suggests an OIC initial *th-. Yet tān could be compared to PTB *tān > WT tān-pa 'dry weather, heat, drought', WB t’an6C-Pan6 'nearly dry' (STC: 190 n.; HPTB: 301), if we assume that the word was written with this phonetic only during the Han period (note its first attestation in SW) when OIC *nh- and *th- had merged into t-. Syn. → tān₂ 坦.

tān₁ 竄（dān） LH dān, OCM *dām  
'Extend, spread' [Shi].

[X] diān 燕 （diān） LH dem8, OCM *tām  
'Bamboo mat' [Shi] (Karlsgren 1956: 16).

[X] <> MK: PMa *dem 'spread out a mat'.

tān₂ 贏 for yān ‘sharp’ → yān₄ 刻癬

tān₃ 潭 （dān） LH dān, OCM *dām  
'A pond, pool' [Chu].

[X] This late OIC southern word (Chüci) is prob. a foreign loan: PKS *tāl/m (but many KS lgs. have initial d- < Malay kalom 'pond, well, pool'; < Tamil kalom 'pond, tank') (Thurgood 1988: 199). Prob. → tān₂ 坦 is a variant of this word. Alternatively, tān which is glossed as a 'deep pond' could be the same word as tān 潭 'deep water, abyss' [Chuci], and possibly related to → shén₃ 深 'deep'. TB-WB thum6 'pond, lake' differs in initial and vowel.

tān₄ 諧 → tān₃ 諧

tān₅ 彈（dān） LH dān, OCM *dān — [T] ONW dān  
'Shoot pellets at' [Zuo], 'pluck, play a stringed instrument' [Li].

[D] PMin *dän ~ *donC ‘to pluck' (a lute)
 tán – tān

※ dàn 弹 (dàn) LH don⁵, OCM *dān — [T] ONW don
‘Bow for shooting pellets’ [Guoce, SW]; dàn-wàn 弹丸 [Hanse], later dàn also ‘pellet’.

[<] general derivation of tān (§3.5).

[ET] This etymology is probably related to PTB *m-dan (STC: 190) or rather *ta > JPN n²-dan ‘crossbow’, Tiddi t’a³ < t’a³ ‘a bow’, Lushai t’a³ < t’a³ ‘arrow, dart’.

tán 鴇 ‘shake’ → dàn, 鴇

tán 燃 (dàn) LH dom, OCM *lām
‘Brilliant, magnificent’ [Zhuang], ‘lively, burning’ (of sensation) [Shi]. This is an allophone of the Wu under → yín₂ 燃.

táng 談 (dàn) LH dom, OCM *lām
‘To speak’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukehu SR dam (平), PR dan; MGZY tam (平) [dam]

※ Perh. zhān 賢 (tšān) LH tsäm, OCM *tam
‘Talkative’ [Zhuang]; ‘to speak’ 嘭 [Xun]. The initial does not agree with the other items.

※ tán 談 (däm) LH dom, OCM *lām
‘To speak’ [Zhuang] (Pullenbluck 1973: 120; he also includes → dào, 道 ‘to talk about’ in this w).”


Lushai lam₃ > lām ‘speaking, pronouncing’ for [HST] (137).

táng 檳 – zhăn – tán 檳檳

(táng) □ (dám)
A Mín dial. word for ‘wet’: PMin *dom > Fú’an, Amoy tam⁴. Loan from AA: Vien. ȃm, ȃm ‘wet, moist’ (Norman / Mei 1976: 298). This etymology occurs also in Tai lgs.: Lóngmíng tom⁴ ‘wet’, Lóngzhōu tum⁴ < *d- (Yue Hashimoto CAAAL 6, 1976: 1).

tán 裾 (dám) LH dom⁰, OCM *dān? — [T] ONW don
‘To bare (to the waist)’ 裾 [Shi], 猗 [Zuo].

※ zhān 襌 (jān) LH tān⁰, OCM *tran?
‘To bare, leave open, single, simple’ [Li].

※ zhān 襤 (tšān) LH tān⁰, OCM *trān
‘Bare, undecorated’ (robe) [Li].

[ET] Etymology not certain. (1) Pulleyblank (in Rosemont 1991: 31) adds dān only ‘under dān, 納 which also could be related, hence the root means ‘only, bare’. (2) tān could be cognate to → dān, 納 ‘red’ because nakedness is associated with ‘red’ (Lau 1999: 118). (3) ST: WT star-bal ‘to clean, polish’, note also tān ‘bald, bare’ (so CVST 2: 122). An allophone may be → tān, 徒 ‘bare’, but see there.

tān 坦 (tān) LH tān⁰, OCM *thān
‘Level’ [Yi] (same word as ‘easylaying’ → tān 坦坦); in southern dial. ‘beach’ (→ tān, 浅).

※ shān 嶴 (jiān) LH dān⁰, OCM *dān
‘Leveled area’ [Shi].

※ tān 坦 (tān) LH tān⁰, OCM *thān
‘At ease’ 坦 [Lunuy] (s. w. as ‘level’ → tān, 坦); ‘easylaying’ 坦 [Zhuang].

tān 墊 (tān) LH don⁵, OCM *dān
‘Let’s loose, free of care’ [Zhuang].

[C] This w could belong either to → chān 嘭 嘭 ‘slow’ or to → tān 坦 ‘level’.

tān 墊 → lín 林

tān 猇 (tān, dān) LH tān⁰, dom⁰, OCM *thān ~ *dān
‘Dark’ [Zhuang].

[ET] Area word: MK: Khmer 蹋/‘dom/ be dark’, 蹋/‘tum/ ‘be ripe, dark’, PSBahn. dum ‘ripe, red’; <> is unclear whether the following KO items are related, especially since OC could also have had a cluster with *l in the initial: S. dam⁴ < *dl ‘dark’, Saek ram⁴ ‘black’, PKS *nam⁴ ‘black’, Be lam⁴ ‘black’. Acc. to Thurgood (1994: 358), the KT forms are loans from PAN قيل ‘black’, Dempwolf 1938 PAN げi ‘be dark’ )-> lamlam ‘be gloomy’ (‘duster’); note also AA-Khmer ylim ‘be dark, obscure, dim, unclear’, Wa-Lawla-Bulang นิ่ม ‘dark’ (skies). <> TB-Lushai hlīm ‘shadow, shade’.

The final -m is phonetically for ‘keep in the mouth’ > ‘keep hidden’ > ‘dark’, see → shēn 墜, → gān 甘, → qián 真, → yín 隱 and → yín 隱. Therefore it is difficult to match the disparate OC syn. with foreign items cited above and under → yín 隱.

tān 猇 (tān) LH tōn⁰, OCM *thān
‘Charcoal’ [Li], ‘lime’ [Zuo].


tān 猇 (dān) LH dom⁰, OCM *lām?
The earliest occurrence is in the combination kān-tān 坎塿 (kām⁰-dān) LH kām⁰-dān⁰, *khām²-?lām²? ‘trap pit’ (Shaugnnessy 1996) [Yi]. SW says ‘tān is a small pit (kān) in a pit (kān)’.

[D] In some dialects tān means ‘pit, puddle’ as in shū-tān ‘puddle’, e.g. Y-Tâishān sui²-hem²

[N] For the irregular aspiration of tān, see §§8.5. Except for the above SW entry, tān occurs itself only in post-Han texts and makes therefore the impression of an original reduplicative syllable of *khām? with initial (§27); but in light of the Tai connection, tān has prob. been a full word in OC.

[T] Tān is of KO origin or an area word (Tai iul’ precludes borrowing from CH): Tai hīm ‘pit, ditch, cavity’, Saek lām⁴ ‘< ił ‘pit, hole’ (as trap), possibly also TB-Lushai hīm⁴ ‘pitfall’ as trap for elephants etc. Similar CH and foreign comparanda are here tentatively sorted according to connections revealed in Table K-1 → kān 坎塿.

The relationship with PTai thān ‘th.: S. thān⁴ ‘cave’, also MK-Wa tham (Dong Weiguang et al. CAAAL 22, 1984: 110) is not clear.

tān 墂 (tān) LH tōn⁰, OCM *thān
‘Sound of drum’ [Shi].

tān 墂 (tān) LH tōn⁰, OCM *thān
‘Sound of drum’ [Shi some versions].

tān 墂 (tān) LH tōn⁰, OCM *thān
‘Hot water’ for drinking [Meng], for washing oneself [Chucui]; (hot’): ‘reckless’ (of feasting) [Shi].

[D] ‘Warm’ (of a spring) in Mín dialects; later ‘soup’

[E] Bodman (1980: 102) relates this word to WT rhaps ‘vapor, steam’.
tàng 塘 (dán) LH dōn֕, OCM *lān̄-gh
A basin to hold hot water for washing, wash basin’ [SW] (Wáng Li 1982: 355).

yàng 洋 (jiān) LH japon, OCM *lān̄-gh
‘To heat, roast’ [Zhuang] > ‘cruel’ [Yi Zhou shu].

táng1 唐 (dán) LH dōn֕, OCM *lān̄-
‘Path in a temple’ [Shi 142, 2; AE].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR dán (dán); MGZY tang (dán); -ONW dōn.
[E] AA or area word: MK: Aslian gāljọ̄̄g, PMonic *gālọ̄̄g ‘road, track, way, direction’;
‘g-ŋ-lọ̄̄g ‘habitual path’; OKhmer *gọ̄̄l ‘way, path, passage > channel, canal, watercourse’ (Jenner / Pou 1982: 289) (→ Tai: S. kēlọ̄̄g* > g- ‘canal, watercourse’; TB-Lushai kaŋŋ * ‘channel of a river’); Note also Viet. duọ̄̄ng ‘road, way, street’;
Muong tọ̄̄g [Pulleyblanc 1991: 22, 1994: 82] (→ PTai *d-: S. tọ̄̄ng* ‘way, road’).
The PMonic form is also reminiscent of Sgāng 塜 (kāng) [kah] *kān̄-gh ‘road’ [Lijj], as well as of → xīng, 行. Wáng Li (1982: 147) relates this word to → tọ̄̄g 多途塗 ‘path’ (along the bank of a canal; paved path).

táng2 塍 (dán) LH dōn֕, OCM *lān- – [D] PMin *gọ̄̄ng ‘pond’
‘Dam, dike’ [Guoyu]. Later ‘a (round) reservoir, pond’. This could be a variant of → tān, 深; the word looks like a cognate of → zhàng, 障 ‘dike, dam’, but the OC initials do not agree (*t- vs. *n-).

tāo1 蛇 (tāo) LH tọ̄̄o֕, OCM *thù-
‘Envelop’ [Li] prob. does not belong to → zhōu, 章 as we should expect MC tọ̄̄u.

tāo2 蛇 (tāo) -gọ̄̄o, 鬼


tāo3, tāo 汤 → yū-10 油


tāo4 汤 ‘recess’ → tọ̄̄u, 偷


tāo5 恬 ‘pleased’ → yū-17 偷


tāo6 恬 ‘doubtful’ → zhōu, 胸


tāo7 輕 → zhōu, 胸


tāo1 叛 (dān) LH dōn֕, OCM *lū, OCB *b-lū
‘To mold, make a mold’ [Shi] > *klọ̄̄n [SW], 陶 [Zou] > ‘pottery’ [Li]. Possible cognate → yọ̄̄, 容.
[T] Sin S. tọ̄̄n SR daw (p); MGZY tọ̄̄ng taw (p) [daw]; -ONW dōn.

tāo2 桃 (dān) LH dou, OCM *lū, OCB *g-lāw
‘Peach’ [Shi] < PMY *glāuŋ ‘peach’ (Bodman 1980: 112).

tāo3 逃 (dān) LH dou, OCM *lū-
‘To run away’ [Shi].
[E] Etymology not clear, but note MK: PVM *kō do ‘to run (away)’ [Ferlus], Bahn.
kādō (run away), PNBahn. *gādō ‘run’, Mon dō (PMon. *d-). > Tai: Sæk thew*< d- ‘to flee, go away, leave’. However, the initials do not agree.

tāo4 逃 (tāo) LH tọ̄̄u֕, OCM *lān̄-gh — [T] -ONW tọ̄̄u
‘To pour water, wash’ [Shu].
[E] PMiao *šẹ̄u ‘to pour’.

tāo5 陶 ‘nourish’ → yū-22 育毓毓
and Lao kʰanCl-daiA2 ‘stair’, S. kʰanC1 ‘step’ may be related to each other (Manomai-
vibov 1975: 134).

tf2 别鬚 (t'ieik) LH t'iek, OCM *l̥hék
‘To cut (trees)’ [Shi]; ‘cut off, cut to pieces’ [Zhou] (also read MC t'ieif) [Zhou]; ‘cut
hair’. Syn. = t12 削.

tf1 提提題 (diei) LH de, OCM *đê
‘To raise’ [Zhou], ‘to take, take up’ [Shi] > ‘bank, dike’ 提 [Zuo] (the Mand.
reading is that of 間); ‘forehead’ 頭 [Li].

[!] Sin S. SR dej (平), IR, LR di; MGZY ti (平) [di]; ONW đê

* Đđ 頭 (tiei) LH te, OCM *tê
‘Bank, dike’ [Li] (Karlgren 1956: 10).

[!] Possible alloforms are → diên, 頭頸, → dîng, 定頭 ‘forehead’, → dîng, 町 ‘boundary
dike’, → zhên, 頭 ‘id.’

tf2 提 → zhî, 提

tf3 俐 (diei) LH de, OCM *đê
‘To weep, howl, cry’ [Zuo], later also for animal sounds (crows).

[!] ? ST: Perh. related to Lushai ùe < *tr- ‘to cry out’ (in pain, fear), ‘shrike’, but
the OC initial has no trace of an *r-.

tf4 踢 (diei) LH de, OCM *đê
‘Hoof’ [Yi] is prob. cognate to → diê 踢 ‘to kick’ (so HST: 100).

* Đđ 踢 (tiei) LH tek, OCM *tê
‘Hoof’ [Shi].

tf 體 (t'ieir) LH t'eiC, OCM *thi?, OCB hrër? — [!] ONW t'ei
‘Body, form, shape, content’ [Shi].

[!] Endoactive Tone B derivation from the ST stem (the ‘thing that exists’) (§4.5.1).

[!] ST *sri ‘to exist’ (Benedict 1976: 190) > PTB *sri-t; WT gis < g-rhys (?)
‘person, body, natural disposition’ > WT srī-pa ‘existence, things existing, the world,
life, a single being’, also ‘procreate’ (Stein BSOAS 36.2, 1973: 412ff); WB hrêC ‘to be
(in some place).

From the ST root is also derived → shêng 生 ‘give birth, live’. It is not certain why
a hypothetical ST *sr- shows up as a voiceless *r in tf/regular development from ST?
because of a *sr- configuration? Note WT), but as a sr-cluster in shêng (?)
*reanalyzed as a causative prefix? §2.8.1.

tl1 湯 (t'ierC) LH t'ieir, t'ieig, OCM *thiC, OCB *thiC?
‘Tears’ 淚 [Shi]; ‘mucus from nose’ 淚 [Li], the latter may derive from the original
meaning ‘tears’ (so Wâng Li 1958: 551), or both may derive directly from ST ‘water’.
The graph 湯 belongs to an OC initial L-phonetic series, but the graph appears late and
is prob. only a loan for 湯 (in a T-series).

[!] ST: PTB *ti (STC no. 55) and PTB *tui ‘water’ (STC: 168) > Chepang t'ii ‘water’,
WT m̥t̥-ma ‘a tear’ (HST: 146), Chepang ma-ti ‘river’, Kanauri *ti ‘water’, Dhimal
hna-thi’snot’; or Lushai tuK ‘water’; both roots, *ti and *tui occur in JP and Dhimal
(STC no. 55; 168).

Wâng Li (1982: 418) connects t to → sl. 湯 ‘snivel’ and → lê, 淚 ‘tears’ (unlikely). Perh. → zhî, 淚 ‘vagina’ is a cognate.

tl2 刷 (t'ieir) ONW t'eï. — [!] PMin *tʰiC
‘To cut hair’ [Huainan, Yupian, JY]. This is perh. a post-Han variant of → tf2 別鬚
(t'ieir), in OC the two forms would have been quite different, *l̥hék vs. *thê or *thî. It
is not clear how this next item relates to these words.

* Đđ 拆 (tiei) LH te, OCM *tê?
‘To cut off’ [Li].

tl3 擔 (t'ieir) LH t'iek, OCM *thêk?
‘Be distant, far away’ [Shi], ‘remove’ [Zuo].

[!] ? PKS *klâi1 ‘far’, PTai: S. klâi1 ‘far’, but the OC initial was apparently T-like,
not L-like. Prob. not related to → zhuô, 卓 ‘distant’ (as proposed by Wâng Li 1982: 211).

tl4 捂 (t'ieir) LH t'iek, OCM *thêk
‘Be anxious, to respect, to grieve’ [Shi, Shu].

* Đđ shi 捂 (sák) LH šék, OCM *thêk? — [!] ONW šek
‘Scared’ [Zhuang]. Acc. to the phonetic series, shi has a T-like initial, though.

tl5-tl6 捂 → tiân, 跳

tiân1 天 (tiên) LH t'en, OCM *thhin
‘Sky, heaven, heavenly deity’ [BL, Shi]. The graph shows a person (god) with a head in
the shape of a disk like the BI character for dîng丁 ‘a cyclical sign’ which seems to
be phonetic. The anthroponymic graph may or may not indicate that the original
meaning was ‘deity’, rather than ‘sky’. For the -en- and -in- variation, see §6.4.1.

[!] Sin Sukchû SR t'ien (平); MGZY then (平) [t'en]; MTang t'ien < t'ian, ONW t'ên
[!] Y-Guângzhûu sînAi1 ‘sky’; Tâishân sînAi2; PMin t'iên, Xiâmén tâiA1
An old NW dialect variant QY xien, ONW hên, is also found in Tang-period
Guângzhûu, written 秦 ‘Heaven’ (Coblin 1994: 341). An old southern dialect form
*tiên survives in Min-Jiangê tâîA1 ‘sky’ (Norman 1979: 271), which is prob. the same
eyronym as 堉 PanB which the Shiming records for dialects to the east of the central
area (Coblin TP 1994: 155).

[!] Because the deity Tiân came to prominence with the Zhou dynasty (a western state),
a Central Asian origin has been suggested, note Mongolian tengir ‘sky, heaven,
heavenly deity’ (Shaughnessy Sino-Platonic Papers, July 1989, others, like
Shirakawa Shizuka before him). Alternatively, Bodman (ICSTLL 1987) connects tiân
with TB-Aïi tâlep, Lepcha tâ-iyan’sky’. One could add JP ma'ss-en’s’ky’, yet these
items could belong to → lâng, 隆 instead.

Most likely, this word is connected with → diên, 顛顚 ‘top’ (so SW) and its TB
 cognate: WT, OTib. stêp ‘above, upper part, that which is above’ (Unger Haoo 36,
1990: 48), stêp-ha ‘the upper gods, gods in heaven’ [Hoffmann 1979: 94]; Kachin
pûndî ‘zenith, top’ (STC: 180); Zemi (Naga) tiî ‘sky’, Lushai pâl-tî ‘sky’ ‘god’ (lit.
‘father above’) (French 1983: 157f; 374), perh. also Chepang dî ‘helpful’ spirits’. For
a similar semantic development ‘top, high’ > ‘sky’, see → lâng, 隆, also note the
semantic parallel shangâdî 上帝 ‘god on high’ (i.e. in heaven). If MC aspiration
should be a reflex of an earlier *s in the initial (§8.1), then tiân would agree closely with
WT stêp. A common TB syn. for ‘sky’ belongs to the root → mào, 頭 ‘cover’.

tiân2 天 ‘brand the forehead’ → diên, 顛顚

tiân3 添 (tiêm) LH têm
‘Full’ [Tangshu; JY], but PMin *diêm ‘full’.
tian - tiang

天 (dien) LH den, OCM *lin — [T] MTang dian < dien. ONW dian
Field', a general term [BT; Shi].
[D] Y-Guangzhou lianB3 ‘wet field’. PMin *dz’on ‘wet field’ is unlikely to be related
(Norman 1988: 231), but see ~ zeng 聲增增稽。

* dien 田甸 (dienC) LH denC, OCM *lins
(1) To cultivate, till; hunt 田 [Shi 260, 1].
(2) *ex. exact of *tian 田 *lins (§4.3.2).
(2) *ex. passp. of *tian (§4.4), lit. ‘what is being / has been cultivated.’
[B1; Shir].

ST: WT li – ‘hunting or chase’ (HST: 96).
‘Demesne, royal domain, a type of fief, a feudal title’ [BT; Shi].

ST: WT *tien ‘field’ < *tyin or *ryin, Bumthang Zha *jen, Lep. *lyain ‘field, land’ (Forrest JASOS 82, 1962: 332); Cuona Monpa len9; NNaga *lijin ‘grow(th),’ JP ma3-lien3 ‘forest;
Dimasa ha-bhij ‘jhum field in 2nd year of cultivation’ (ha ‘earth’) [STC no. 378; French
1983: 254].
Some TB lbs. have forms with initial r- (related?): Muomo M. *ryn, Tsangla a-ryin.
Kanaari *ryin ‘field’; Lushai ri3, *ryum ‘field, current in use’.
Loan from CH or TB into other lbs.: PMY *rinA (Wang Fushi), PYaor *rin = ‘Therapian’ ‘wet field’; Len4 (Haudricourt / Sticker TPE 77, 1991: 337).

tian2 田 (dien) LH dem, OCM *lim or *lém
‘Be calm, tranquil’ [Shi].
ST: Lepcha gylam ‘be calm, to calm’, Lushai thleem ‘to comfort, pacify’ (Geilich

* dan 漫 (danB/C) LH domB/C, OCM *dām/b/h or *lém/h
‘Be calm’ [Lao], 倦 [Chuci]. The phonetic series implies an OC T-like initial.

tian3 田 (dien) LH dem, OCM *lin or *lém, OCB *lim
‘Sweet’ [SW].
ST: PTB *lim > WT *tim-pa < liam ‘sweet scented or tasting’, Kanaari *im (< yim <
lyim; see Schuessler TPE 101.1B, 1993: 73 for the initials), Manang *lim ‘sweet;
delicious’, Thulung len ‘sweet’, Limbu limma < lim ‘be sweet’; Lepcha a-lyam; note also WB tsimC.

[Ch] Matisoff (1995: 71) connects this w/ to shi4 食 and to shi4 餐. Words
meaning ‘sweet’, ‘lick’, ‘tongue’, ‘flame’ often share the same roots, see allophones —
tian,=P, tian2 螃蟹, yan2 燕.

tiang1 填 (dien) LH den, OCM *dn
‘Full, to fill, block’ [Guoce]. 填 [Li].

* diang 填 (dienC) LH denC, OCM *dins
‘To stop up’ [Chuci].

* diang (dienC) LH denC, OCM *dins
‘Earplug or pendant of jade’ [Shi] (Wang Li 1982: 531).

[Ch] Perh. cognate to ying2 意, *ying ‘full’. Syn. to tian3 添加. The graphs imply a T-like initial in
OC.

tiang1 填 (dien) LH den, OCM *dn
‘Full, to fill, block’ [Guoce]. 填 [Li].

* diang 填 (dienC) LH denC, OCM *dins
‘To stop up’ [Chuci].

* diang (dienC) LH denC, OCM *dins
‘Earplug or pendant of jade’ [Shi] (Wang Li 1982: 531).

[Ch] Perh. cognate to ying2 意, *ying ‘full’. Syn. to tian3 添加. The graphs imply a T-like initial in
OC.

tiang1 填 (dien) LH den, OCM *dn
‘Full, to fill, block’ [Guoce]. 填 [Li].

* diang 填 (dienC) LH denC, OCM *dins
‘To stop up’ [Chuci].

* diang (dienC) LH denC, OCM *dins
‘Earplug or pendant of jade’ [Shi] (Wang Li 1982: 531).

[Ch] Perh. cognate to ying2 意, *ying ‘full’. Syn. to tian3 添加. The graphs imply a T-like initial in
OC.

* ting 听 (tien) LH tien, OCM *thien
‘To listen, listen to’ [OB, Shu].

[T] Sin Sukhu SR tien (平); MGZY tien (平); Min tien, *tiang, ONW *tian
[BT; Shir]. ‘Listen to’ (person, advice, order) [Shi, Zuo], ‘obey’ [Zuo] (Downer 1959: 284).
tǐng

1. (diēn) LH déŋ
   ‘Settle, regulate’ [Lao].

2. (diēn) LH déŋ, OCM *dēŋ
   ‘To stop’ [Guanyin].

3. (diēn) LH déŋ, OCM *dēŋ
   ‘Sit down, settle, establish, determine’ [Bl, Shi].

4. ST: PTB *dǐn < Lushai dîn/ dîn/ ‘to stand, stop, halt, stand up, go straight up’ (as smoke) ≠ ? din/ ‘to erect, build, set up’ (house, image); JP din/ ‘be perfectly straight, PLB *dîn/ ≠ *b-dîn/ (HPTB: 123) ‘put, place on, set up, establish’ (Lahu gloss) ≠ *dîn ‘come to rest, alight’ [Matisoff 1988: 642], WB ta/h ‘place in position, build’, Lepcha din/ ‘be erect, to stand’ (Bodman ICSTLL 1987).

5. This wf could be related to tīng1 正政 ‘correct, govern’ (Karlgren 1956: 16).

tǐng

1. (diēn) LH déŋ, OCM *lēŋ
   ‘Courtyard, court of a palace, mansion, temple’ [OB, Bl, Shi].

2. MTang diēng < diên, ONW déŋ

3. M-Xiâmén tîng2

4. ST: Perh. PTB ‘gLîng ‘ground, land, country, region’; NNaga *C/v-khîln ‘place’ (e.g. place to sit, abode) [French 1983: 532], WT gîln ‘island, continent’. In a roundabout way, this etymon may have been the foreign word of ancient state of Chî during the Han period when we find tîng tîng LH *tîng ‘island’ [Chucci]; if true, the word must have been written down at a time (Han or later) when OC *hîl- and *th- had merged into *t-

5. This is perhaps related to the wf to tîng2 汀 in the sense of ‘straight’ > ‘level’.

tīng

1. (diēn) LH tîng, OCM *lîn
   ‘Straight’ [Zuoj]

2. M-Xiâmén tîng2

3. ST: Perh. related to Lushai in-h-tîng/ in-h-tâng ‘to meet together, meet, tally, agree, occur at the same time’, WT sdîn-pa ‘to unite, join’. Unrelated to công 庸 (under → jā, 靖).

4. ST: Perh. related to Lushai in-h-tîng/ in-h-tâng ‘to meet together, meet, tally, agree, occur at the same time’, WT sdîn-pa ‘to unite, join’. Unrelated to công 庸 (under → jā, 靖).

5. ST: Perh. related to Lushai in-h-tîng/ in-h-tâng ‘to meet together, meet, tally, agree, occur at the same time’, WT sdîn-pa ‘to unite, join’. Unrelated to công 庸 (under → jā, 靖).
tóng, tóu

tóng hóng

tóng 童 (dun) LH dōn, OCM *dôn — [T] MGZY tông (平) [dun]
'young person, servant' [Zou] > 'ignorant' 傻 [Guoyu].

tóng 睐 (t'un) LH t'ôn, OCM *tôŋ
'Be inexperienced, ignorant' 智 [Zhuang], 侗 [Shi] (also MC dui). The last graph belongs to an OC L-initial series, the other clearly had initial dental stops; it is not clear how to reconcile these forms.


tóng 童 (dun) LH dōn
'Sorcerer, medium, to dance' in Min dialects: PMin *don pleas Amoy col. dong (lit. dông 'boy')

[EA] VIet: dsông 'to shamanize', WrMon don 'to dance' (Norman / Mei 1976: 296).

tóng 桶 (t'ún) LH t'ôn, OCM *thôŋ or *thōŋ?
'Bashel, measure of capacity' [Lūshi, Shiji], later 'bucket'.

[E] Eymology not clear, note PTai *tsuan (C) bucket (Luo Yongxian MGS KS 27, 1997: 274), a CH loan. Or perh. ST: Chepmg d'ôn 'container, pot-shaped storage basket.'

tóng 痛 (tông) 氓

tōu 傳 (t'ōu) LH t'ōu, OCM *lō
'Reckless, careless' [Li] > 'rude' [Zou] > tr. 'to slight, despise' [Zou].

This word's meaning is rather different from the homophone 'to steal' (→ tōu 偷) so that it is prob. directly derived from → yǔ 喻 'to pleasant' (< relaxed).

~ tǎo 油 (t'ǎo) LH t'ōu, OCM *lō
'Reckless' [Shi]. This variant might have been influenced by the homophone tǎo 油 'overflowing' (under → yǒu, 油).

[?] ONW t'ū, dou

[C] This group belongs to the root → yǔ, 喻 'to pleasant' (< relaxed), q.v.

tōu tōu (t'ōu, dou) LH t'ōu, OCM *lō
'To steal' [Guian]. CVST (3: 42) relates this word to WB lu Gong 'take by force'.

[?] ONW t'ū, dou

[C] This group belongs to the root → yǔ, 喻 'to pleasant' (< relaxed), see there for alloforms.

tōu 投 (dou) LH do, OCM *dō — [T] ONW dou
'To throw' [Shu], 'throw out, ejection, deposit, present' [Shi], 'reject' [Li].

[?] ST: WT dor-ba 'to throw or cast away, throw out, eject, decline, reject' ǁ gtor-ba 'to strew, scatter, throw, waste' (Unger Hau-ku 35, 1986: 33). For loss of ST final *-t, see §7.7.5.
tú

[D] Y-Guângzhōu t′ou⁶⁴, Táishān hu²⁴. Some modern dialects have replaced this word with → nǐ. 泥.

[E] There is no obvious cognate and etymology, unless it may be related to AA-PMon *tiпущ 'soil, ground consisting of earth, earth', Aslian túʔ (~ t’o); however, this would require the assumption of a shift from front vowel to OC *a (§11.1.3). Prob. related to 腹, 社.

tú₃ 2. 吐 (tʰua⁶, tʰo⁶) LH tʰuo⁶, OCM *thâʔ?
’To spit out’ [Shi].


= tû 2. tʰua⁶, tʰo⁶) LH tʰu⁶, OCM *thâʔ
’To vomit’ Mand. Not all dialects have both these words.

[EF] ST *twa > PTB *(m/-s-)twa > Kachin maw⁴⁴, Garo stu, Kanauri t’u ’spit’. Although tû looks like a variant of the syn. → tû, 吐, the ST sources are quite distinct. For the lack of a Chinese medial w, see §10.2.1; Chinese aspiration is associated with forceful outward motion §5.8.5.

tú 兔 (tʰu⁶) LH tʰu⁶, OCM *thâʔ
’Hare, rabbit’ [OBC, Shi]. The OC initial *th- is revealed by the graph’s use as phonetic in a word for ‘tiger’ in Zúzhòu (→ hū, 虎).

[EF] ST: TB words for ‘rabbit’ include Jiâorâng ko-la, Lolo lgs.: Hani tʰo³¹-ja³³, Lahu tʰo⁵⁴-ja³³ and the like [ZM 1992, nos. 292; 758]. Middle Korean t万平方米 ‘hare’ might have been borrowed from CH in connection with the animal cycle (Myake 1997: 1988).

tuân 豬 → tuân 豬

tuân 1. 圓 (tʰuaⁿ) LH dwaⁿ, OCM *dôn
’Round, everywhere, plenty’ 圓 [Shiwen: Shi]; ’make round’ [Li], ’collect’ [Guan], ’bundle’ 購 [Zhouli]; ’rich, plentiful’ (dew) 買 [Shi]; ’plentiful’ 數 [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukhu SR dwon (平); MGZY thon (平) (dôn)

= zuăn 納 (tʰwâⁿ) LH dwaⁿ, OCM *drôn?
’Roll and wrap up’ [Zuo], ’bundle’ [Zhouli].

[CA] Alloform is perf. → zuăn, 轉 ’turn around’ (so Karlgren 1956: 13).

= tuân 3. 剩 (duán, tʃwâⁿ) LH duän, tsuän, OCM *dôn, ’ton
’To cut’ [Li].

zuăn 腦 (tʃwâⁿ, tʃwâⁿ) LH dž/tsuän, OCM *dôn?, ’ton?
’Cut meat, slice’ [Huaiyuan].

tuân 捻 (tʰu⁶) LH tʰu⁶, OCM *thôns
’A kind of pig’ [Yi, SW], variant tuân 矢 (tʰuⁿ) [EY, SW, Chu]; → tûn, 脇 is prob. variant of the same etymology.

[EF] ↔ PY *duŋ⁴³ ‘pig’ (M. Ratliff, p. c.); their first textual occurrence in Chüci and Han texts suggests that these words are of MY origin.

tuť 推 (tʰu⁶) LH tʰu⁶, OCM *thôi, OCB *thuŋ
’To push away’ [Shi], ’push’ [Zuo], ’extend’ [Meng]. CH aspiration is associated with forceful outward motion §5.8.5. Acc. to Baxter (1992: 231) perh. related to the next.

= cuf 推 (tsu⁶) LH tʰu⁶, OCM *thôi, OCB *tsu⁶ (< *Shuŋ ?)
’To urge, press’ [SW; Shi].

= cuf 推 (tsu⁶) LH tʰu⁶, OCM *dzôi
’To repress, oppress’ [Shi 258, 3].

tôn

[E] Possibly ST: Chepang dus ‘to push away, shove’ ∴ dhús- id.

tôń 腿 (tʰou⁶) (a hypothetical PCH form corresponding to MC might have been *thul)
’Tigh’, also ‘lower leg’ [Tang: Han Yu; GY].

[EF] MK: PMon *dul ‘thigh’.

tôn 仰 (tʰou⁶) LH tʰou⁶, OCM *thâ(t)s, OCB *hnats < *hnups (Baxter 1992: 557)
’Withdraw, retire’ [Shi].

[TF] ONW tʰou⁶

[ET] Etymology not clear. This may be connected with tûl 仰 (tʰou⁶) ‘withdraw’ (under → tö, 脫). Perh. related to MK-Mon dâu ‘to stop, keep quiet, stay put’.

tôń 脫 → tôń 脫

tôn 仰 (tʰou⁶) LH tʰou⁶, OCM *thân?
’To swallow’ [Guo].

[T] Sin Sukhu SR t’un (平), PR t’un; MGZY thû (平) (t’un) — [D] PMin *tûn

[EF] ↔ KT: PT *kl-: S. khêl ‘to swallow’, Ahom kl(ə)n, Wuming khan, Saek tâuun⁴³, PKS tân; cf. IN tâun, luntun, Be lan (Benedict AT: 19, but withdrawn in Benedict 1976: 68). Alternatively, CVST 2: 10 relates this word to WT ‘tûn ’drink’.

tôn 墩 (tʰou⁶) LH tʰou⁶, OCM *thûn
’The rising sun’ [Chuci].

[EF] This word has two possible sources, although the first appearance in Chüci favors an AA connection; perh. it is a blend of the two: (1) TB: WT *t’un-pa, t’un ‘to come out, go out’, WB po-t’un ‘come out’ (e. g. the sun), Monpa Cuona ʰiːtʰuŋ, Motuo t’oh ‘to come out’ (sun) (ZM 92 no. 1207). In ST lgs. the notion of sunrise is often associated with ‘to come out, rise’ (cf. WT sar ‘to rise, east’, CH rí châ 日出 ‘the sun comes out’), while ‘west’ → xī 西西 is associated with ‘to go down, rest, next’.
(2) AA: PMon *t’un ‘go up’ (sun, water level, etc.) which is phonologically close to the OC word. In both TB and AA the word is apparently native (for PMonic, see: Diffloth 1984: 206), although their basic meanings differ (TB ‘come out’, vs. AA ‘go up’). An alloform may be → dông, 東 ‘east’.

tôn 1. 屋 (duân) LH duän, OCM *dôn
’Hill’ [Zhuang].

~ dôn 嶺 (tuan⁴) LH tuän⁴, OCM *tâns
’Hill’ [Shi].


tôn 2. 屋 (duän) LH duän, OCM *dôn — [T] Sin Sukhu SR duan (平)
’Accumulate’ [Yi] > ‘to mass troops, put pressure on’ [BI, Shi], ’garrison, station soldiers’ [Zuo].

[EF] ST: WT *du˘ba ‘to assemble’ ≠ gdu˘ba ‘to gather’ ≠ *dun-sa ‘meeting place’ ≠ t’un-pa ‘to gather’ ≠ sdu˘pa ‘to collect, gather’ ≠ sdu˘l ‘fold of garment’ ≠ *du˘ba ‘to come together’ ≠ dus˘pa ‘to unite’ ≠ gdu˘ba ‘to gather’ ≠ t’un-pa ‘to gather, collect’ ≠ (m-sdu˘pa ‘knot’). Bodman (1969: 340) associates many of these WT items with zû 足 (under → zàn, 遲). Unger (Hao-ku 35, 1986: 31) relates the CH word to Lepcha tsul ‘to conglomerate, a flock’.

[C] Tôn could possibly be related to → tûn, 屋; and / or to → dôn, 汀.
蛙 (w4w2) LH ?ue, OCM .Flat or .Flat
‘Frog’ [Zhoului].

咽 (w4) LH 3ue, OCM .Flat
‘Hole, hollow, concave’ 腦 [Liu]. 窒 [Lao].

蛙 洼 (w4w1) LH 3ue, OCM .Flat
‘Concave, puddle’ [Zhuang].

科 科 (k4-ku4) LH k4ii4, OCM .Flat
‘A hollow, cavity’ [Meng]. ‘Hollow of a tree trunk’ [Yi] is perh. a nominalizing k-prefix derivation (§5.4).

瓦 瓦 (w4) 4 言

歪 外 (guai4) LH 4ou, OCM .Flat, OCB .Flat
‘Outside, external’ [OB, BI, Shi].
[T] Sin S. SR รายการ (w4). serrat. surname, waj; LR waj; MGZY xue (w4) [fiue]; ONW וביל [N] In the OB, the graph is a vertical line with a stroke on one side ㄒ, i.e. ‘outside’; the graph is identical to ㄒ, ㄒ. ‘Moon’ 月 4 漢 NH y6at has been added later as phonetic. Bodman (1980: 136) connects this word with WT 4gou ‘side, direction’, see → y4, 當.

灣 灣 (w4w1) LH 4uan, OCM .Flat
‘To bend’ (a bow) 關 [Meng] > later ‘bent coastline, a bay’ 灣. This word may be connected with → y4, 桨, → we1, 船, 彼, → we1, 委.

頭 頭 (y6w2) 懐

宛 宛 (yao2) 娃

宛 宛 yuan2 宛

宛 碗 (yuan2) LH 4uan, OCM .Flat
‘A bowl’ [Guan] (written with radical 木).
[c] 原 (yuan) with nominalizing n-suffix (§6.4.3).

瓜 瓜 (w4) LH 7, OCM 48
‘A bowl’ [Xun].

[EN] ST: WB 6b ‘pot, jar, chicken’; → 瓦 瓦 may also be connected.

碗 脩 (yuan1) 進

碗 碗 (wuan2) LH muan, OCM .Flat
‘Be extending, long, wide’ 媽 [Shi] > ‘creeping plant’ 媽 [Shi].

碗 碗 (maan2) LH man, OCM .Flat, OCB .Flat
‘Be king, rule’ [Shi 241, 4].
[c] *waj + s/h-suffix (§3.5).

[EN] Etymology not certain. Prob. ST: WT 6b ‘might, power’ 6b-po ‘ruler’. WB 6b ‘strength, power’, NNaga 6b ‘chief’ [French 1983: 389]. The initials present difficulties, though (WT eb- vs. OC *waj-), unless one assumes that occasionally WT b- can derive from a *w (db- < *waj-); the WB form seems to support this. Alternatively, 晉 may possibly be connected with an AA homophone: OKhmay 6vnh ~ 6vnh ‘royal palace’ (>– Tai: S.}

wán – wáng

[T] Sin Sukchu SR man (m) [man]; MGZY man (m) [man]
[EN] ST: Lushai muan 6b / muan 6b ‘be slow and leisurely, to linger’, Lepcha mon, mon ‘be quiet, silent’. (Geilich 1994: 139; 159 includes these entries in the waj → m9, 默 ~ silent).

萬 萬 (m7uan) LH muan, OCM .Flat, OCB .Flat
‘Ten thousand’ [BI, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR 8wan (w). LR 8wan; MGZY ㄒhan 8wan (w) [van]; ONW muan
[EN] ST: WT bum 9b ‘100,000 thousand’; JP lai3-mon ‘100 thousand’ (CH loan?). As to foreign initial b- for CH m-, see §5.12.2.
CH → Tai: S. 8 竜 ‘ten thousand’ (Unger Hao-ku 36, 1990: 54).

往 向 → w41 汗

 wang1 惟 → q4, j4 腫

wang2 惟 → q4, j4 腫

 wang1 仁 (m7uan) LH muan, OCM .Flat, OCB .Flat
‘To lose, disappear, flee’ [BI, Shi]; ‘to have none, there is none’ is intr. [Lunyu] (Pulleyblank 1995: 109).
[T] Sin Sukchu SR, LR 8van (w); MGZY 8 wang (w) [van]; MTang mvuan, ONW muan
[EN] ST: ma ‘not’ (→ waj) + ST terminative suffix -ŋ (§6.5.1).
BI: TB: Lushai man 惟 ‘to die, die out, exterminate’, JP man33, Chepang hman ‘corps’.}

wang1 仁 (m7uan) LH muan, OCM .Flat
‘To forget’ [BI, Shi], i.e. ‘to lose’ (from memory) is the s. w. as wäng 仁 in early OC as revealed by Shijing times, tone C emerged later (‘it has disappeared from mind, has escaped me’, a perfective form in *s+/-h of wäng 仁 (§3.5), acc. to Unger Hao-ku 20, 1983).

wang2 8 (m7uan) LH muan, OCM .Flat
‘There is no, not have’ occurs in Shijing and the old parts of Shijing, but is then replaced by its stem 8, 萬 in that meaning. The graph 萬 in the OB, BI may perh. write this word rather than wäng 仁 above.
[c] wäng 仁 *man with the aux. vb. tone B (§3.3.2).

huang 荒 (xuan) LH huon, OCM .rad
‘To waste’ (of land, time) [BI, Shi] > ‘neglect, reject’ [Shi].
[c] caus. devoicing of wäng 仁 (m7uan) (§5.2.1).

yang 猴 (san) LH son, OCM *s8g < *sm8ŋ
‘To lose’ (e.g. a country) [OB, Shi], ‘destroy’ [Shi], ‘to die’ [Shi, Lijj (Pulleyblank 1962: 136; Baxter 1992: 187) → 病, 患 ‘burial’ is prob. unrelated.
[c] s-caus. of wäng 仁 *man (§5.2.1) + exoactive tone C (§4.3.2).

wang2 王 (iwan) LH wan, OCM .Flat, OCB 6wan
‘King’ [BI, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR wan (w); MGZY xiang (w) [fiwan]; ONW wan

wang 王 (iwan) LH wan, OCM .Flat
‘Be king, rule’ [Shi 241, 4].
[c] *wan + s/h-suffix (§3.5).

[EN] Etymology not certain. Prob. ST: WT 6b ‘might, power’ 6b-po ‘ruler’. WB 6b ‘strength, power’, NNaga 6b ‘chief’ [French 1983: 389]. The initials present difficulties, though (WT eb- vs. OC *waj-), unless one assumes that occasionally WT b- can derive from a *w (db- < *waj-); the WB form seems to support this. Alternatively, 晉 may possibly be connected with an AA homophone: OKhmay 6vnh ~ 6vnh ‘royal palace’ (>– Tai: S.
wàng – wǎng

wàng ‘palace’; cognate to luang ‘king’ (=> Tai luang ‘royal’); the identification of ‘king’ with his palace is perh. supported by a Bl where wàng refers not to the Zhou king but to a place (Shaughnessy 1991: 197). Thus wàng would belong to the complex of stems under → yìng, 養; connection with → huáng, 皇 ‘august’ is not clear. Otherwise, some related wàng to wǎng (wǎn) ‘emaciated’ [Zuo] (under → qiú, 筍) and → kuáng 狂 (gjwǎng) ‘mad’, based on certain theories on ancient CH kingship and shamanism (see D. Reighley JAS 54.1, 1995: 132).

wǎng1 往 [jian³] LH wan⁴², OCM *wan⁴⁰
→ ‘to go, gone, past’ [OB, BI, Shij, 延 [Zuo].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR wan (t); MGZY xwāng (t) [fiwan]; ONW uan
[c] ㄑ̀ → *wa + ST terminative + *ŋ (§6.5.1) + endoactive (?) tone B (§4.5). Since the terminative implies an end point of the action, the meaning in some cases is → ‘arrive’ > ‘come’.

wǎng2 往 [jian³] LH wan⁴², OCM *wan⁴⁰
→ ‘to go’ [Zuo].
[c] *wan⁴⁰ + general purpose suffix s/h (§3.5).
[E] ST: PTB *wan⁴⁰ (STC no. 218) > Chepang wany ‘to come’ (Bodman 1980: 81); Barish-Nocte 2wan⁴²(?) (Chepang and Barish (≡ Bodo) disagree in phonation, Weidert 1987: 30), WT og-ba ‘to come’ < perhaps also WT soq < s-waŋ ‘went’, Tamang ‘wan’ ‘enter, go in, come in’; WB wan ’to enter, go or come in’; wswǎng⁰ ‘to put into’, PL *wan⁴⁰ ‘enter, Miki wą ‘to come’ (HST: 86), NN *wao⁴ ‘come’. It is not clear how Tai luang⁸² ‘to pass to time beyond’ (Bodman 1980: 107?) may relate to this ST stem.

wǎng3 往 [mián⁹] LH muo⁴², OCM "man⁴³
→ ‘net’ [Yi, Yi, Shij]; ‘to catch, snare, entangle’ [Meng]; ‘to tie, interface’ [Chuci].
[T] MTąng muo⁴⁰, ONW muo⁴³ < man⁴³
[E] Perh. KT: PTai *muoa⁴² ‘a type of fishnet’ (Luo Yongxian MKS 27, 1997: 274), Saek mgoa⁴² ‘long net across the river’. This may be the s. w. as wǎng 門 ‘deceive’ (under wù⁴³ 務).

wǎng⁴ 門 ‘deceive’ → wǔ⁴ 诬

wǎng⁵ 門 ‘not’ → wǎng⁴ 亡

wǎng⁶ liǎng 閂 [mián⁹-liang⁴²] LH muo⁴²-liang⁴², OCM "man⁴³-rang⁴⁰
→ ‘water spirit’ [Zuo]. A variant is prob.

wǎng⁷ xiǎng 閤 [mián⁹-xiaŋ⁴²] LH muo⁴²-xiaŋ⁴², late OCM "man⁴³-zian⁴³ (?)
→ ‘A water dragon which eats people’ [Zhuang, Guoyu, Shij].

wǎng⁸ guāng 閿 ‘fear’ → jù⁴ 俱

wǎng⁹ 蓼 [mián⁹] LH muo⁴², OCM "man⁴³
→ ‘lawless, rude’ [Zuo], ‘reckless’ [Li].

wǎng₁₀ màn 閤 [muán⁹] LH man⁴³, OCM "mán
→ ‘Excessive, reckless’ [Zhuang]. For the difference in finals, see §6.4.2.
[E] This wf converges and overlaps with → wù⁴ 诬 ‘deceive, false’.

wǎng₁¹ 萬 → wǎng⁴ 閤

wǎng₁² 閤 [mián⁹] LH muo⁴², OCM "man⁴³
‘Look toward’ [Shi]; ‘look into the distance’ [Xun], > ‘hope’ [Meng]. Perh. the s. w. as

wǎng – wēi

wēi → wǎng, 望. Tone A in older parts of Shijing (Matsoss 1971: 309).
[T] Sin Sukchu SR, LR van (t); MGZY wāng (t) [van]; MTąng muo⁴², ONW muo⁴³ < man⁴³
[E] ST: PTB *man⁴³ (STC no. 146) > Gorung (Himal.), Thakali man⁴³ ‘to see’, PL *man⁴³ > WB man⁴³ ‘see’ (HST: 129) κ caus. PLB *-man⁴³ or *-man⁴³ ‘to show, teach’ [Matisoff D. of Lohu: 1027], Mikir làng ‘to see’, Nung yaj (j = palatal glide).

wēi3 諭 [mián⁹] LH wan⁴², OCM "man⁴³ (tone not clear)
→ ‘full moon’ [BI, Shij] is considered to be the s. w. as wǎng, 望. If the OC word had the equivalent of late tone C (and the double readings in GY may be a trace of this), ‘full moon’ may be a regular passive derivation from the above, lit. ‘the thing that is gazed at afar’ (§4.4). Alternatively, Van Aukjen (JAOS 122.3, 2002: 528) suggests that ‘full moon’ is cognate to → liàng 亮 ‘light’.

wēi-tuò 诿佗 [jiwe³ 3-dá] LH yəi-dai, OCM "wài-lái or *wəi-?
→ ‘Graceful, competent’ [Shi].

wēi-yì 诿忌 [jiwe³ 3-jie] LH yəi-jai, OCM "wài-lai or *wəi-?
→ ‘Be graceful, competent, be ‘winding’ (as road) [Shi].

wēi-chī 诿辺 [jiwe³ 3-dži] LH yəi-dzi, OCM "wài-d-(ci) i?
→ ‘Be ‘winding’ (as road) [Shi].

wēi-chí 诿寄 [jiwe³ 3-či] LH yəi-chi, OCM "wài-ch-(-ci)?
→ ‘Be ‘winding’ (as road) [Shi].

wēi-tuò 诿佗 [jiwe³ 3-dá] LH yəi-dai, OCM "wài-lái or *wəi-?
→ ‘Be graceful, competent, be ‘winding’ (as road) [Shi].

wēi-chī 诿辺 [jiwe³ 3-dži] LH yəi-dzi, OCM "wài-d-(ci) i?
→ ‘Be ‘winding’ (as road) [Shi].

wēi-chí 诿寄 [jiwe³ 3-či] LH yəi-chi, OCM "wài-ch-(-ci)?
→ ‘Be ‘winding’ (as road) [Shi].

wēi-tuò 诿佗 [jiwe³ 3-dá] LH yəi-dai, OCM "wài-lái or *wəi-?
→ ‘Be graceful, competent, be ‘winding’ (as road) [Shi].

wēi-chī 诿辺 [jiwe³ 3-dži] LH yəi-dzi, OCM "wài-d-(ci) i?
→ ‘Be ‘winding’ (as road) [Shi].

wēi-chí 诿寄 [jiwe³ 3-či] LH yəi-chi, OCM "wài-ch-(-ci)?
→ ‘Be ‘winding’ (as road) [Shi].
wèi

wéi

wèi

wéi

wèi

wèi

wèi

wèi

wèi
wěi

wěi 孜（(?jw8) LH yleft, OCM *toi? — [T] ONW urye
'To fall' [Zhuang], 'to hang down' [Li]. Perh. the same word as → wěi1, 背?

[?] Etymology not clear. Gong H. (in W. Wang 1995: 48) relates it to WB iway 'suspend from the shoulder'. The OC form is similar to words with nearly identical meaning ('hang down'): → chu1 垂, → ruì 紫缒.

wěi1 坤（(?jw8) LH yleft, OCM *toi? 背?
'To bend' [Li]. 背 [Liem] may be the same word as → wěi1, 背. WB kwe8 'bend, curve' = kwe8 'bend around, curved' are perh. MK loans (Shorto 1972): Sre kue 'bent, crooked', Biat kwe: (kwac) 'winding'. Perh. cognate to → yào, 夭死, → ying3 彝.

wěi4 纔 (jwi8) LH wuu, OCM *wah, OCB *wjo? — [T] ONW ui
'Woof' [Zuo], 'to weave' [Zhuang].

wěi5 紀 (ju4) LH wun, OCM *waun, OCB 'wjan
'Woof' [SW] (Karlgren 1933: 28).

[?] n-nominatalion of wěi (jwi8) (§6.4.3).

wěi6 塯 (mjw3) LH mui8, OCM *mai?
'Ve be vigorous' (of persons) [BI, Shi, EY] is cognate to items under → mǐn4 滥 'suffering' (so Wang Li 1982: 410). There may perh. be a connection with → wū1 應 'apply oneself, work'.

wēi9 汝 (mjw3) LH mut, OCM *mat
'Eagerly' [Li].

wēi1 末 (mjw3) LH mus, OCM *mats (?)
'Not yet' [OB, Shi, Mand.], in contrast to → bù, 不, wēi focuses on whether an action occurred or not, without reference to the subject's intention (Norman 1998: 98).

Pulleyblank (1995: 109) considers this word a fusion of the negative root 'm- with the perfective particle → jì, 既, 'already'.

[?] Sin Sukchu SR vi (?:) MOGY wî (?:) [vi]; ONW mui3

[?] W-Wânhôu, Y-Güangzhôu mui3, M-Fûhôu mui3, Xiâmén bêc

wēi1 末 (mjw3) LH mus, OCM *mats
The 8th of the Earthly Branches identifies this month with the sheep / goat [OB]. Acc. to Norman (1985: 88), possibly a loan from AA: note MK: OKhmer-Lao *namme 'goat' = Khmer babâ = Mon bañé [Ferlus MKS 18–19, 1992: 56], also Atayal (AN) mits 'goat'.

[wēi3 味 (mjw3) LH mus, OCM *mats — [T] ONW mui
'Taste' [Yili].

[?] This word is perh. of MK origin: PMonic *p[map 'good tasting, have a pleasant flavor, be pleasant' (the QY rime can derive from Proto-Chinese *s-. *s-, and *ps). Unger (Hao-ku 39, 1992: 89) connects wēi with WT brod 'taste'. The meaning of KN-Lushai hmuH 'savory smelling', Lai hmuj / hmuñj 'be fragrant' is somewhat removed from 'taste'; however, these items are phonologically close to Chinese.

Boltz (JAGS 99, 1979: 432) draws attention to binomes for 'taste': zê-wêi 暗味 LH tsis-mus [Shijii, Li] and cên-wêi 嘈味 LH tsis'imus [Huainan], apparently with two different ways to write the first syllable.

wēi4 位 (jwi8) LH wii, OCM *wra(t)s ?, OCB *(w)japs
'Position, place, seat' in the center of a court or group of persons [BI, Shi].
"To feed" (an animal) [Lijj, Chuči, Manj. 喂餉 (Wáng Li 1982: 430).

Area word: PTB *wul (HPTB: 416) > Lushai vul usa 'to keep or rear' (domestic animals), 'to domesticate' vs vul' to look after, tend'; Mikir vul 'tend animals' [STC: 83], perhaps also WB ively 'give a meal, feed'. PMK *wiir > OMon wiir 'keep, rear' (domestic animals) (Shorto 1972: 14); Khmer /kwîl/ 'to pasture animals, watch, tend'. The TB items are MK loans acc. to Shorto.

魏 -> wên

溫 (wún) LH ?uñ, OCM *?un.

‘Warm’ [Li], ‘mild, gentle’ [Sh].

[T] Sin Sukhu SR ?un (平); MGYZ 'un (平); ONW ?on

(1) Prob. a nominal n-derivation from *mêng 燒 ‘soot’, hence lit. ‘black marks, dark patterns’ (as tattoos on body etc.), ‘writing’ (with ink). At least some of the black paints were, like ink, made from soot.

蚊 (mju̯an) LH mun, OCM *mun.

‘Mosquito’ [Zhuang].

[T] MTang mun, ONW mun

[O] PMin *mun

(A) The identification with → wên, as the insect with ‘marked patterns’ on its wings (Williams 1941 / 1974: 281) is prob. folk etymology. It is not clear if méng 燒 (mun[?]P) LH moh ‘midge, mosquito’ [Li] is related to PMin *mon.

(B) AA ‘mosquito’; PSBahn., PVm *msk [Ferlus], Khmer muuh, Sieng moxh, Baharanic *msk [Difftoth 1976: 223]. CH added the nominal n-suffix (§6.4.3).

問 (mju̯an) LH mun, OCM *mon, OC8 *mjua.

‘To hear about, hear’ [Bi, Shi], ‘to smell’ [Shu]. Baxter’s (1992: 352) reconstruction *mjua ‘to hear’ is based on Shijing rimes and an earlier form of the graph.

[T] Sin Sukhu SR wún (平), PR wún; MGYZ wún (平); ONW mun; MTang mun < mun, ONW mun

溫 (wén) LH ?un, OCM *?un.

‘Corner of the lips, shut the lips’ [Zhou].

[O] Etymology not clear. It could either be related to wên 閨 (HST: 111) or to TB-Lushai hmuu ’the lips, upper lip’ [Weidert 1987: 204], also in PMK-PVM hmu oy ‘lip’ [Thompson]; or to TB-WB mbt ‘mouth’ (in ‘beard’) vs hmu blow with the mouth’, but see → fû 舌 (§7.18); also in Khmer mbet ‘mouth, edge’ (of water).

問 -> wên

溫 (wën) LH ?on, OCM *?on.

‘Old man’ [FY], ‘father’ [SW].

[T] Sin Sukhu SR ?on (平); MGYZ ‘on (平); ONW ?on


溫 (wën) LH ?on, OCM *?on, OC8 *?on.

‘Old man’ [FY], ‘father’ [SW].

[T] Sin Sukhu SR ?on (平); MGYZ ‘on (平); ONW ?on


諶 (wên) LH ?un, OCM *?un.

‘Old man’ [FY], ‘father’ [SW].

[O] Etymology not clear. It could either be related to wên 閨 (HST: 111) or to TB-Lushai hmuu ’the lips, upper lip’ [Weidert 1987: 204], also in PMK-PVM hmu oy ‘lip’ [Thompson]; or to TB-WB mbt ‘mouth’ (in ‘beard’) vs hmu blow with the mouth’, but see → fû 舌 (§7.18); also in Khmer mbet ‘mouth, edge’ (of water).

問 -> wên

溫 (wên) LH ?on, OCM *?on.

‘Old man’ [FY], ‘father’ [SW].

[T] Sin Sukhu SR ?on (平); MGYZ ‘on (平); ONW ?on


溫 (wên) LH ?on, OCM *?on, OC8 *?on.

‘Old man’ [FY], ‘father’ [SW].

[T] Sin Sukhu SR ?on (平); MGYZ ‘on (平); ONW ?on


溼 (wên) LH ?on, OCM *?on.

‘Old man’ [FY], ‘father’ [SW].

[T] Sin Sukhu SR ?on (平); MGYZ ‘on (平); ONW ?on

wǔ — wù

= wù 妓... 'silvery' [Shi].

[注] This word is perh. cognate to WB ʯ 'to polish, make bright', with the CH final -k (§6.1.1).

wŏ₂ 鬱 (quă) LH ꢀ GHC *gōih or *g waǐ  
'To lie down, sleep' [Meng].

[T] Sin Sukche SR ʯ̀ (tu); PR, LR x; MGZY o (tu) [s]; ONW ʯ̀

[注] ST has *j(w)al ~ *nwal parallel stems (§5.12.1) for this etymon:

(1) *nwal > *nwaį: WT gai-ha 'to rest' ꢀ mir 'womb' (lit. resting place with body part -m); Lushai gii/i/iš < gii 'to be quiet, silent, stop, pause'; MhUa *ç-nqia 'easy, gentle, quiet'; Kachin qwi 'gentle, mild' > JP quh 'slow, satisfied'; WB nwe 'gentle, moderate' (STC no. 315) agree phonetically with Chinese.

(2) A ST parallel stem *nwal (§5.12.1) is represented by ˢ ur 祜.

Non-ST lgs. in the area have words which look similar: AA-PVM t-gaį 'to lie' on the back, PTai gai-Al 'lie on the back looking up'.

wŏ₃ 擊 → wŭ₄ 屋

wŏ₄ 湖 → ᵈu 湖

wŏ₁ 池 (tü) LH ʯ (tu), OCM *wā  
'Pool, stagnant water' [Zuo], 湖 [Meng].

[T] Sin Sukche SR ʯ (tu); MGZY ú (tu) [tu]; ONW ʯ̀

wāng 汪 (twang) LH ʯ (tu), OCM *wāng  

wŭ₂ 巫儀 (mu) LH mju, OCM *ma — [T] ONW mju  
'Spirit medium, shaman' [OB, Yi, Shu, Lunyu] of either sex, but eventually female [SW] when contrasted with xf 祜 (yiek) 'male shaman' [Guoyu]. Wū communicated with spirits, searched for the souls of the dead, rode on drums in spiritual flights, performed oracles, and were ritually killed in order to eliminate natural disasters. They hardly played a role in religion and ritual (Boileau BSOAS 65.2, 2002: 350ff).

[注] ST: WT 'ba-pu-mo < xia 'spirit medium, shaman/ess' (HST): 107). As to foreign initial b- for CH m-, see §5.12.2. Another WT word for 'shaman' is gien (→ xiān, 仙). -< Taî: S. mzo/m < PTai *mə 'doctor, sorcerer' is usually considered a CH loan (Li 1976: 40) and has been cited as evidence for an OC voiceless initial. MK-PW *saman 'shaman' may also be connected.

Several alternative etymologies have been proposed: (1) Pers./wă 欹 'to deceive' is the same word. Note a WT semantic parallel 'deceive' ~ 'magical power': sprul-bal 'to juggle, make phantoms, miraculous power' ꢀ ’p’rul' 'magical deception'. (2) Wū could be cognate to wŭ 舞 'to dance' [Shi] (Lau 1999: 87). (3) Wū could in addition to 'dance' be cognate to → mǔ 母 'mother' as wū were female acc. to late Zhou and Han texts (E. Schafer, see Jensen EC 1955: 422). (4) V. Mair (EC 15, 1990: 27-47) has proposed that wū is a loan from Iranian *maghu or *maguš 'magician', i.e. an 'able one' (specialist in ritual).

wŭ₃ 欻 (mu) LH mju, OCM *ma  
'To deceive' [Lunyu], 'slander, accuse falsely' [Zuo].

[注] ST: Cheong maį? 'to lie, deceive, pretend, secretly do'.

wāng 冏 (mu ונ) LH muon, OCM *man?  
'To deceive, confusion, to outwit, wits' [Shi].

[T] Tai: S. p’raan² < br 'to deceive, cheat'. For foreign initial b- for CH m-, see §5.12.2. The Tai form throws doubt on the possibility that wāng is the s. w. as → wăn, 吳 'net, to snare'.

măn 㖧 (muăn C, man C, mjan) 3 LH ma/an, OCM *mran(s), *mian(s)  
'To deceive' [Xun]. For the difference in final nasals, see §6.4.2.

[注] This wō converges and overlaps with wăng 欻 'reckless, false'. Perh. related to wă 欻 'spirit medium'.

wŏ₄ 屋 (tuk) LH ʯ (tu), OCM *tōk  
'Roof' [Shi, Zuo], 'house, room' [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukche SR ʯ (tu); MGZY ú (tu) [tu]; ONW ʯ̀

[E] Etymology not clear. The basic meaning of this word is apparently 'roof', yet compared with many mean 'house'. It is sometimes associated with Taî: Po’ai luk < *dl- 'room' whose initial ˫ is difficult to reconcile with OC, see §5.11. Alternatively, note PTai *jef-. S. jau 'home, house'. But wū may be closer to AA forms: PV'M *∂-nη 'house' (with infixes and separated initial omitted in CH), and l or Khara φ, Munda ƣ? (ʔ). Wang Li (1982: 293) believes that wū was originally the same etymon as wō 房 (?k) 'tent'.

wū₅ 愛 (ｔu) LH ʯ (tu), OCM *ʔā — [T] ONW ʔō  
'How' [Lun], 'to what place, where' [Meng], also wū hu 恶乎. This and the following interrogatives occur before the vb, basically asking 'at / to which place' (Dobson LAC I: 146).

wū₂ 當 (tu) LH ?an, OCM *tān — [T] ONW ?an  
'To / at what place, in what respect?' [Shi, Zuo] (Dobson). The final - in this and the next item is probably the same demonstrative morpheme encountered in → răn₂  謁 and other grammatical words (§6.4.5).

wū₃ 當 (ʔān) LH ?an, OCM *ʔān  
'To what place, at which place?' [Shi] (Dobson). Probably a (sandhi?) variant of ān above.

[T] Sin Sukche SR ʔen, jen (tu); ONW ?an

wū₆ 當 (ʔō) LH ʯ (tu), OCM ʔā  
'Crow, raven' [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukche SR ʯ (tu); MGZY ú (tu) [tu]; ONW ʔō

[E] This onomatopoeetic word could persh. be cognate to PL ∗ak/ ʔ monk.  

wū₁ 母 (mu) LH muon ≠ OCM *ma?  
'Should not, don’t!' Injunctive and imperative negative [OB], already in Zhou time phonetically confused with, and read like, wū 無 (DEZC: 46, 647).

wū₂ 吾 (mju) LH mut, OCM *mat — [T] ONW mut  
(1) 'Should not, don’t!' Injunctive negative [OB, Shi] (DEZC: 48, 650; §6.2.2).

(2) ‘Don’t vb. him / her / it!’, fusion of wū with zhi 許 [Meng et al.] (Pulleyblank 1995: 108). The OB graph is distinct from that for → wū₂ 吾 'thing' which was therefore not a graphic loan.

měi 没 (must)  
'not have, there is no, not yet' Mand.; MC must may be a col. (j-less) variant of wū 吾 or wēi 未, which later fused with, or was contaminated by, yōu 有 (Norman

516

517
wu

1988: 126). An alternative etymology derives the meaning ‘not have’ from ‘submerge’ (e.g. Norman: Ohta). The following belong to a different stem *ma: → mî 魔, → mo2 末, → wâng, 亡 (incl. sâ 蒐), → wû 無 (incl. mô 莫). Pulleyblank (1973: 121) combines all these words in one large wf.

wû 吾 (guo) LH ɣo, OCM *ŋa
‘I, me’ [BI, Zuo] is a dependent pronoun and therefore functions as a subject or possessive, not the sentence-final object (§3.3.3). The BI graph is yû 序 *ŋa, or with yû 然 *ŋa under the ‘tiger’. During the Nanbeichao and Tang periods, there is no distinction between wô and wû, and wû disappears from the col.-lg. (Norman 1988: 118). Wû is directly cognate to the TB forms below, even though it is missing in the earliest texts.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR yû (平); MGZY yû (平) [u]; ONW ɣo

wô 我 (ŋa8) LH ɣo8, OCM *ŋa? Independent pronoun ‘I, we’ [OB, BI, Shil], in classical texts ‘I (stressed), we’ (§3.3.3). Originally, the graph for wô seems to have been created to write the name of a Shang period people country, ‘sheep’ 亡 was later added (prob. signifying pastoralists) in order to distinguish the name from the pronoun (Sagar Tp 81, 4–5, 1995: 328–342).

[T] Sin S. SR ɣo (上), PR, LR × MGZY ɣo (上) [ŋa]; ONW ɣo
[D] Mand, wô is a col. archaism, some northern dialects have the expected ð (Demieville 1950: 5; Stimson 1972: 177); some southern dialects have preserved the OC rime Y-Fô-siân ʰŋaB2, K-Mêxiân ɣa, PMin ʰŋiB (Norman 1988: 223).

*[ŋa in independent marker *i, this final is also a suffix in TB, see below. The OC glottal element may have resulted from *ŋa > *ŋi > *ŋi > *ŋi? In OC, wô occurs in all sentence positions, unlike the dependent wû 吾, see §3.3.3 for more details.


x áng 印 (ŋaŋ) LH ɣo, OCM *ŋa? ‘I, we’ is perhaps a stressed form [Shi] (Sagar 1999: 135).

[C] For possible wider occurrence, see → yâ 庶 足, Syn. → yû 予余.

wû 吾 (guo) LH ɣo, OCM *ŋwâ ‘To shout’ [Shi].

[E] Perh. related to WT qar-skad ‘roaring of a tiger’ wu-ro ‘be loud’. WT does not preserve earlier medial wu (§912.9).

wû 無 (mu) LH mû, OCM *ma ‘There is no, not have’ [later Western Zhou texts and since].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR, LR wu (平); MGZY wu (平) [œ]; MTag mû < mûo, ONW mûo
[N] The classical meaning ‘there is no, not have’ emerged only later during the Western Zhou period and eventually replaced earlier forms with this meaning and grammatical function; the OB have only wâng, 亡 for ‘not have, there is no’, the Shijing has both wâng (under → wâng, 亡) and wû 無, the Shijing both wû 無 and → mû 莫. In the OB, negatives with initial *m- negate actions which are controllable by living persons (Takashima 1996: 370ff).

[D] Wû is the common ST negative ‘not’ which has survived as such in southern dialects: W-Shanghai mûA2, Y-Guangzhou, Këlî mûA2, M-Xiâmên mûB2 (Norman 1988: 199), also sporadically in Zhou texts as some investigators claim, but the instances are ambiguous.

In many dialects, this etymology fused with → yû 有 ‘to have, there is’ for ‘not have, there is no’; G-Nâchâng, Fengxin mûA2, Linchuan mûA2; X-Changsâ mûC2, Shuangfêng mûC2; Y-Guangzhou mûB2 (Mand. mûo), Tâishân mûA1; K-Mêxiân mûB2 (Norman 1988: 213 etc.).

[E] ST *ma: PTB *ma ‘not’, widely represented in TB languages, e.g. WT ma ‘not’, WB ma, PL *ma ‘not’.

mû 莫 (mu8) LH mû, OCM *mû ‘None, nothing’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR mû (平), LR mû; MGZY mû (平) [mûo] ONW mûo
*[ma + distributive suffix *k (§6.1.2).

[C] Derivatives from the stem *ma arc: → mî 魔, → mûo 末, → wâng, 亡 (incl. sâ 蒐), as well as prob. the wf under → wû, 予余; ma 嘘 interrogative particle. Pulleyblank (1973: 121) used this large wf to show that allomorphs can have different rimes.

wû 無 (mu) LH mû, OCM *ma ‘Luxuriant’ [Shi]; ‘overgrown with weeds’ 莫 [Meng] > Mand. also ‘mixed and disorderly’.

huân 蒼 (xwâŋ) LH huân, OCM *hû ‘Weed-covered’ [Meng].

[Perh. → wû 蒼, → mû 莫; are cognate; possibly also → mî 魔 莫, 莫 莫; ‘obscure’.

wû 蘇 (mu8) 蘇 *mù 霸 ‘To return’.

wû 午 (muo8) LH mûo8, OCM *nû ‘The 4th of the Earthly Branches which is associated with the horse [OB], acc. to Norman (1985: 68) a loan from MK; note Viet. ngûa ‘horse’, VPM-Pakatan magao [Ferlus MKS 18–19, 1992: 57].

wû 未 (mu8) ‘go against’ → yû1 福

wû 五 (mu8) LH mûo8, OCM *nû ‘Be five’ [Shi]. — [T] Sin Sukchu SR yû (上); MGZY yû (平) [u]; ONW ɣo.

[D] PMin ɣoB2; Y-Guangzhou ʰŋaB2

[E] ST: PTB *ŋa > WT lpa, WB gb; PL *ŋa, Lushai pa-gi-ga < nha. CH > KT: Tai: S. haaC2 (h-he?); Sui giC2; these forms are CH loans.


[E] ST: WT damg ‘army’, PLB *mak ‘war, soldier’ > WB mк (HST: 107). For the finals, see §3.2.2.

wû 武 (mu8) LH mûo8, OCM *ma ‘Footprint’ [Shi].

[Etymology not clear. Cognition with TB-WT mû ‘situation, vestige, trace’ is not likely, we should also expect a trace of a foreign final *-i in CH.]

wû 武 (mu8) LH mûo8, OCM *ma ‘To offend, insult, maltreat’ [BI, Shil] may be compared to WT dmon-pa ‘to curse, accuse, execute’, which can, however, just as well be linked to → mû 莫 ‘scold’, especially since the WT word is prob. a derivaton from ma ‘below’.

wû 慮 (mu8) 慮 慮
wǔ 舞
‘To dance’ [Shi]. — [E] ? WT bro ‘dance’ (initials, see §5.12.2). Or → wú 2 女?

wù 9 膨脹 (muj9) LH mua9, OCM *ma?
‘Big, important, numerous’ 膨 [Shi]; ‘big house’ 膨 [Guan], Mand. ‘hallway’. This may be the s. w. as → wù 9 膨脹 and perh. be related to PTB *mra ‘much, many’.

≡ hú 惡 (xuo) LH huo, OCM *hmā
‘Great’ [Shi], but this graph 惡 might have been intended to write wù, hú could be spurious.

wù 10 膨脹 (muj9) LH mua9, OCM *ma?
‘Rich, beautiful’ 膨 [Shi]; ‘luxuriant’ 膨 [Shu].


≡ mò- mó 莫莫 (mák-mák) LH mok, OCM *mák
‘Luxuriant’ [Shi].

[C] This may be cognate to → múng, 莫, → wù 9 膨脹 ‘luxuriant’. See → mó 9 莫嘔嘔 ‘obscure’ for possible additional cognates.

wù 11 疑 (muj9) LH mua9, OCM *ma?
‘Jar’ [Li] is perf. connected to Tai: S. mxo2 CI < *hm- ‘cooking pot’ (Unger Hao-ku 36, 1990: 55).

wù 1 己 (quat) LH guat, OCM *gūt
‘To cut the feet’ [Zhuang] is perf. AA: Pmonic *kuat ‘to cut off, amputate’ ≠ ㄹ-ŋ-ŋ ‘cut, a segment, piece’ [Diffloth 1984: 197].

≡ yuè 切 (giwet, nyat) LH nyat, OCM *pot, ㄹ-ŋ트?
‘Cut off feet’ [Shu] (so Wáng Li 1982: 486).

[EN] Mahdi (1994: 177) suggests that this word is derived from → yuè 9 戒, ‘ax’, perh. an AN loan, with the AN prefix ㄹ-.

wù 2 搞 (quat) LH guat, OCM *gūt
‘To shake, move, endanger’ [Shi] may be related to WT ‘gul-ba ‘to move, shake’; in some words, Tib. has a voiced stop initial for a foreign nasal after the prefix a-chuŋ (cf. §6.7; §12.9).

wù 3 勿 ‘not’ → wù 1 己
wù 4 勿 ‘eagerly’ → wéi 6 警眉

wù 5 物 (muj9) LH mut, OCM *mat
‘Variety’ (of color, objects) > ‘to sort, classify, class, sort’ [Zuo] > ‘things’ [OB, Shi] (Bolitz 1994: 60). The OB graph for wù was distinct from wù, 勿 ‘don’t’.

[T] Sin S. SR vu ( ), PR, LR vu; MGZY vu ( ); Mītang mwar, ONW mut

wù 6 悟悟 (quō 5) LH nət, OCM *nāh
‘To wake, awake’ 警 [Shi]: ‘to awake, realize’ 悟 [Shu].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR nə ( ), LR mū; MGZY u ( ) [u]; Mītang mwar, ONW nə
wù 7 俗 (lou) LH so, OCM *spə — [T] ONW so
和的AA etymon have coalesced. The AA word may also underlie -châ, 又 ‘fork’.

**xf** 旧 (zjâk) LH siâk, OCM *sak or *szak?
(Past time separated by at least one night): ‘Earlier, formerly, former times’ [BI, Shi], ‘yesterday’ [Zuo]; ‘night’ [Zuo, Zhuang] is rare, perh. a later development, possibly derived from the implied notion ‘intervening night’. Since in Zuzhûn [Ai 4] 旧 means clearly ‘night’, it cannot be a graphic substitution for → xi, 夕 ‘evening’. Xi 腦 [Yi] ‘dried meat’ (i.e. ancient meat) is the same word according to Karlgren GSR 798a.

**[T] Sin Sukhu SR si (λ); MGZY si (λ) [si]**

[E] This word *s(aj)ak is prob cognate to → xi, 夕 *s-zak ‘evening’ (Wâng Li 1982: 286). They look like variants of the same PCH or ST form *szak (*sz- *jak ‘24 hr period’; in 昔 the *sz- was treated like the root initial, in 旧 it treated like a prefixed; this bifurcation with doublets occurs also in roots which have initial *s- and pre-initial *r-, see §9.2.1. The development night → yesterday has parallels in TB: ‘ya *sak’ → Chebang yoh ‘yesterday’.

[C] This word has been connected with 昔, 夜 ‘night’ (Wâng Li), but see there. Sagart (1999: 67, 160) relates xi to → zuô 昨 ‘yesterday’, among others.

**xf** 腦 → *xf** 暮

***xf** 暮 (sjak) LH siâk, OCM *sak ‘To breathe’ [Lunyu], ‘rest’ [Shi].

**[T] Sin Sukhu SR si (λ); MGZY si (λ) [si]; ONW si**

[E] This word is prob cognate to WT ner-ba ‘to sink, go down’; or (2) it is related instead to Chebang nel-ba ‘go down, set’ (same etymology as WT). (3) A MN nominal n-infix derivative from the root ‘go down’ as in OmOn cis ‘to sink’ ‘go down’ (to the river), and generally, with PAA *tsn- PCH *tsn-, see §2.6.1. Therefore this etymon meant lit. ‘the place where one goes down to’ ‘go’ ‘that’ ‘over’ ‘nest’, west’. The base form is → hê 汝 ‘to ford’ via AA. (4) CVST 4: 24 relates this word to WT gze-ba ‘home, habitation, nest’, which would be the simplest explanation if it were not for the possible MN medicinal *n.

**xf** 吸 (zjâk) LH hip, OCM *hipp or *hipp [MD] Min: Xiâmén khip[Di]
‘To inhale’ [Zhuan].

**[E] ST: the MN context is not clear, therefore xi could be cognate either to WT rpud-pa, brubis ‘to draw in (air), breathe’, or, more likely, to Lushai in-hip-hip ‘draw in’ (as air). An alloform may be → hê 嘴欲 ‘drink’ (Lushai hup[hp]; for the *u ~ *i alternations, see §11.5.1.

**xf** 树 (sie) LH sek, OCM *sek
‘To cleave, split’ [Shi, ‘disperse’ [Shu].

**[E] ST *sek: Mimik išek < m-sek ‘to split’ (Mimik -ek can also derive from -ik), JP seik < sek ‘cut’. TB cognates show that → sêk 树 ‘is’ prob. not (directly) related. This word does not belong to any of the stems listed under → li, 離. Less likely: the meaning ‘disperse’ may point to a connection with MN: OKhmer /cerk/ ‘to divide, distribute’ ne chêka /chaeek/ ‘be divided, split, cleft, forked’. Possibly the ST
alek ← Chinese. Some Tai forms for 'tin' listed in HCT: 124 are closer to CH forms for 'iron' (→ tīg 鐵). Both OCM *slēk 'tin' and *hīt 'iron' prob. derive from the same foreign etymon which would have entered CH at different times. Mahdi (1994: 186) draws attention to the similarity with the AA word for 'leaf': Khasi slak, Khmer slék, Mon slāṭ; leaves of silver have been used as money in Java acc. to the Sōngshí (History of the Song Dynasty) but this is much later.

xī₅ 錫 'give' → cl₄ 賜錫
xī₆ 成 → wō₂ 巫
xī₇ 穢 → xī₃ 習
xī₈ 穢 'circumference' → guī₁ 簡
xī₉ 穢 → shēng 滅

(xī₁）□ (yie?) LH ge？
A Mín dialect word for '(small) salted fish'; PMin *gie > Fúzhōu kie⁴², Amoy kue⁴², Jīnyǎng ai⁴¹; it is from an AA substrate. Viet. kē 'type of small fish' (Norman / Mei 1976: 299).

xī₁ 洗酒 (sien⁶, siei⁶) LH se⁶, OCM *siʔ? or *sf(n)?, *sǎn? — [T] ONW sē 'To wash' (Shi [246], 'wash clean' 華 [43].

[xī₁] 方 (jāi) LH zip, OCM *slōp 'To flap' (the wings) [Lǔshí], 'flutter'. Xī₁ and xī are usually considered the same word. However, the present xī may instead be cognate to → yē₂ 蝁 'flashing'.

xī₁ 逆 (jāi) LH zip, OCM *slōp 'To do repeatedly' [Shi], 'to repeat' [Shu]; 'to practice' [Lun, Li]; 'habit, custom' [Meng], 'know, be familiar with' [Gouyú]; 'addional robe over another, to cover' [Lǐ, Zhuo]. Xī₁ and xī are usually considered the same word.

[T] Sin Suohon SR xì (lǐ); MGZY zi (lǐ) [zi]; ONW zip

[EE] Area word: TB-WT sloβ-pa, slobs 'to learn, teach' ≈ slobs 'exercise, practice'. Lushai has a different vowel (MK source?): tli? < sli? 'to repeat, do over again, to perfect'. -> MK: Khmer dhīta pā /tlop/ 'to do frequently, be used to doing, to accustom, habituate'; PMonic *l̥̬h̥̬i: Nyah Kur 'skillfully', Mon *l̥h̥i: 'to know how to be skilled at' (Diffloth 1984: 213).

[EC] Formative *-prefixed derivation ([5.2.3] of the following):

xī₁ 蝦 (shī) LH jīs, OCM *lōts < *lōps 'To exercise, practice' [Zou]; the word may have acquired the meaning 'toil' [Shi] through convergence with → yī₁ 蟄 'has the toil'.

[CC] This etymon partially overlaps with → dié 較.

xī₆ 錫 (siek) LH sek, OCM *sék < *sleκ — [T] MTang sik, ONW sék 'Tin' [Shi].

[EE] Area word: MK: Late OMon slāk /slaik/ 'bronze'. -> Tai: Longzh hik⁴⁴, Po'ai liik < *tʰr- 'tin' (reconstruction of this initial as *tʰr- is uncertain, HCT: 124); Nung
twist, plait, braid' (Bodman 1980: 71; HST: 47). OC *t* for foreign *t* has parallels (§7.3). Prob. no connection to liè, 列.

**xiă** 紮 (yie[c]) LH ge[c], OC *gêh, OB
c N-neks — [T] ONW yêi
'To be attached, connected' [Yi] (Baxter and Sagart 1998: 46).

- [k] endopass. of xì 紮 (kie[f]) (§4.6).
- [D] Norman (1988: 223) suggests that this word is the source of the Kējja and Yuè copula 'to be': K-Mēixin hê', Huayâng xie[c]. The OC initial consonants in this and the following xì 紮 and xì 係 is not certain (*q-* or *g-?).

**xì** 係 (kie[f]) LH ke[c], OC *kêh, OB
c *keks — [T] ONW kēi
'To bind, tie up, attach' tr. 係 [OB], 繫 [Yi]; 'continue, perpetuate' 繼 [Shi] (read Mand. ji).

**xi** 宛 (yie[c]) LH ge, OC *gê
'Slave, captive, prisoner' (i.e. 'someone bound') [OB, Zhouli].

- [k] tone A nominalization of xì 紮 (yie[c]) (§1.1).
- [E] Other lg. families have words which may be connected: PMY *kr-: Anc. Miao *t’eiA 'to tie up' (Strecker 1989: 30); AA: Kharia ke’j ‘to fasten’ *keke j’rope’.

**xiă** 细 (siec) LH se[c] (or se[c]), OC *sêh or *sîn — [T] ONW sei[c]
'Thin, small' [Zuo].

- [E] ST: PTB *sîh > West Tib. zi ‘very small’: Limbu ci ‘little, few’; WB se[b] ‘small, fine’; Kachin zi ‘small’ (HST: 135); Lushai teC / teC ‘to be small’.

**xiă** 戲 (xe[c]) LH hie[c], OC *hâih
'Joke, play' [Shi].

- [T] Sin Sukchu SR xi (zh); MGZY hi (zh) [xi]
- [E] ST: WT *k’iyal-ka ‘joke, jest’ vs *t’iyal-ka ‘to play with’ *inf-keC ‘gamble, play’.

**xiăn** 喚 (xiăn 3) LH hûn ‘laugh’ [Chuci] is cogn. acc. to HST: 99.

**xiă** 師 (sâj) LH siak, OC *sak
'Salty soil' [Zhouli] is perh. connected with → chi 仇 (t’iâj) LH t’siîak ‘salty soil’ (dialectal simplification), and may belong to → gûi 鹽 and → lú卤.

**xiă** 贊 (haip) LH hap, OC *hap
'To drink with a sucking movement' [SW], in some southern dialects it is the word for 'to drink': Y-Guangzhōu hap3, W-Sūzhōu ha244. The QY vocalism may be due to sound symbolism or archaic colloquialism and not go back to OCM *-r-. This word is also related to hâi 喝 'drink'.


**xiă** 拆 → hê 合
**xiă** 狭 → jiă 狜
**xiă** 竭→ jiă 竭

**xiă** 源 (ya) LH ga, OC *grâ
'Red' [SW], 'the color of dawn' [Yupian] > 'rosy dawn' 瑞 [SW xinfu]; 'jade with some red' [SW] > 'be flawed, blemished' (of a person's reputation, greatness) 瑇 [Shi]; 'horse of mixed red and white color' 瑇 [Shi] (Wáng Li 1982: 145). This word may be cognate to → hê 赫 'red'.

**xiă** 惑 'how, why' → hê 何

**xiă** 下 (ya) LH ga, OC *grâ?
'To descend, down, below' [OB, Shi].

- [T] Sin Sukchu SR yâa (zh); MGZY Hya > Hya (zh) [yâa]; ONS yâB
- **xiă** 下 (ya) LH ga, OC *grâ — [T] ONS yâC
(1) 'To be put down' [Shi, old part].
(2) exopass. of xiă 下 (ya) *grâ? (§4.4).
(2) 'To descend, fall' [Shi, late part].

- [C] general tone C derivation of xiă 下 (ya) *grâ? (§3.5).

**xiă** 假 (ya) LH ga, OC *grâ
'Be at leisure, lazy' [Bi, Shi] is cogn. to → xiăn 假 (read acc. to Pulleyblank (1973: 121).

**xiă** 下 (ya) LH ga, OC *grâ
'Somebody' [Shi] > 'house, building, mansion'. This word is prob. not related to jiă 贳 'house'; Wáng Li (1982: 144) relates it to jiă 假 'great'.

**xiăn** 先 (sien) LH sen, OC *sân
'To go in front, ahead, before, former' [OB, BI, Sh, Shu].
- [T] Sin Sukchu SR sen (zh); MGZY sian (zh) [sien]; MTSiang sian < sian, ONS sen
- **xiăn** 先 (sien) LH sen, OC *sân
'‘To walk before’ (in order to protect) > ‘take care of, attend’ [Shi, Shu] is perh. a putative form, 'to put first' [Zuo] is a caus. derivation (§4.3.2) (Downer 1959: 280).

- [E] ST: WT hsîl- ‘guardian, guide’ (as escorting a convoy); Chepang sâyl ‘lead position, former ways’ sâyl ‘to lead, go, first, open way’.

**xiăn** 仙倫 (sien) LH sian, OC *san or *sen
'An immortal' [Lie], a relatively late word. Xiăn are men and women who attain supernatural abilities; after death they become immortals and deities who can fly through the air. For example, Lâozi, the founder of Taoism, is called a xiăn. Xiăn can also refer to living persons who have unusual skills in their profession (Eberhard 1983: 287).

- [N] The original graph was 娉, the simplified form 仙 has been partially inspired by the notion that xiăn live as recluses in the mountains shân 山.

- [E] Perh. ST: WT gên < sien (zh?) 'shaman', one who has supernatural abilities, incl. travel through the air; Gênsin-râb(s) was the founder of the ancient Tibetan Bon religion, sometimes thought to be identical with Lâozi. – Or is WT gên a CH loan?
xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián

xián
xiàn, hàn 𨑩（xān⁶, xān³, xām⁴） LH ham⁴, OCM *h(r)ān⁴ or *hrān⁴?
'Roaring, enraged (of a tiger) [Shi].
[E] Area word: MK-PMonic *grom > Nyah Kur ‘to growl’ (of tiger or dog), Khmer gaanmā / kumrāan / ‘to roar, shout, to cow, awe, intimidate’; Viet sâm (or kr-r) ‘thunder’ m râm ‘noise of thunder’, Bahn. grâm ‘thunder’, Cham grām ‘id’ [Maspero 1912: 83]. Note also Mon krâm ‘to cheer’. <> TB-Lai hram ‘to growl, groan’ [LTHB 21.1: 160]. Though onomatopoetic, these forms are probably cognates because the roaring of an animal could be expressed in many different ways, note for example TB-Limbu ukt- ‘to roar’ (of tiger), ‘thunder’, or ‘English roar’, for that matter.

xiān, xiān 찐（sjān⁴） LH sian⁴, OCM *sien⁴?, OCB *sje⁴n [Baxter 1992: 385]
‘Be rare, few’ [Shi; Jīn, Yijing]. Etymology not clear.

xiān 찐（sjān⁴） LH sian⁴, S tsān⁴, OCM *saen⁴?, OCB *sje⁴n
‘Scab’ [Guoyul]. The OC vowel *c is suggested by the Shandong pronunciation xi sje⁴ (Baxter 1992: 296).
[D] PMin tsān⁴, tsān⁴

xiān 顯（xian⁴） LH xian⁴, OCM *hian⁴?
— [T] MTang hian < hian, ONW hän ‘Be bright, illustrious, clear, manifest’ [Shi; Zuo] is sometimes thought to belong to → jiān, 見 (so Wáng Li 1982: 559), but the initials are difficult to reconcile.

xiān 见 → jiān 见

xiān 呈 → niàn 呈

xiān 陷 (yām⁵) LH gém⁵, OCM *grāms
‘Small pit (as a trap),’get trapped’ [OB, BI, SW]; ‘fall into (a pitfall)’ [Zuo] > ‘throw down’ [Meng]. 鎖 [Zhuang].
[T] Sin S. SR yâm (♀), PR yâm, LR yên; MGZY Hyâm (♀) [yên]; ONW yām.
[D] M-Amoy ham²² ‘fall into great calamity’; Y-Guángzhōu ham²²
[ST] *grom; WB yam²³ > grām⁴ ‘a trap’, perh. also JP yam ‘lie in wait for, hunt’ [Matissoff 1974 no. 189]. Similar CH and foreign comparanda are listed in Table K-1 under 陷，坎. Since OC *am can reflect any foreign rime other than *am, it is difficult to relate the various CH and foreign OCs to each other.

xiǎn 限 → hén 恆

xiǎn 現 (sien⁴) LH sian⁴, OCM *sêns
‘Slept’ [Shi]. SW records an alternate character with jiān 見, OCM *kênh as phonetic so that Baxter (1992: 354) reconstructs OCB *skêns.
[ST] WT ser-ba ‘hail’, JP sin³³ ‘hail’ (Bodman 1980: 173; HST: 135), prob. also Chepang wer ~ yor ‘hail’, therefore ST *sver; ST medial w is often lost in WT and CH (§10.2.1), in Chepang the initial cluster *sw- is apparently simplified to *w-, note PTB *swi ‘blood’ > Chepang wi.

xiǎn 現（sian⁴） LH sian⁴, OCM *sans — [D] PMin *sian⁴
‘Thread’ [Zhouli].

[ST] The ambiguities of monosyllables is quite apparent in this etymon which can be compared to several TB items: (1) Unger (Hao-ku 35, 1986: 29) relates this word to WT sn̂a-ma ‘thread’, but (2) WT sran-bu is a possible alternative; (3) note also Lushai d̂i⁵⁴ < sîl ‘thread’. In addition, there is AA-Khmer -sai-saj ‘line, thread’.

xiān, xiāng 紫 (zān⁴, dzān⁴) LH zian⁴, OCM *sains?

xiān 側 → liàn 侖

xiāng 總 (xian⁴) LH hion⁴, OCM *hions
The basic meaning seems to be ‘elevate, elevated’: ‘to display; present’ 總 [BI, Shi] > ‘eminent men’ 總 [Shu], ‘illustrious’ 憲 [Li] > ‘exemplary, model, law’ [Shi, BI].

xiān-xiāng 憲恊 LH hion⁴, ‘be elated’ [Shi].

xiān, yán, yàn 眼 (yān³⁴) LH yon⁴, OCM *yan⁴/n
‘A boiler’ (‘elevated on three legs’) [BI, Zuo, Zhouli, SW].
[D] A possible cognate may be WT sār-ma ‘intelligent’ (Gong H. LL 1.2, 2000: 43).

xiān, yīn, yín 恩 (yin³⁴) LH yin⁴, OCM *yan⁴/n
‘District, county’ [Zhouli]. The graph was originally intended for → xiān, 總 總 ‘to suspend’ which supports an OC *w in the initial for ‘county’ (for the occasional loss of *w, see §10.2.1).
[T] Sin Sukchu SR yën (♀); MGZY Xw-yën (♀) [yên].
[ET] Etymology not clear. Perh. AA and related to → yín 總 because in the expression huán nēi 審內 ‘imperial domain’, huán 總 can be read xiān 總; this graphic substitution also indicates that there once was a *w in the OC initial. Alternatively, xiān can derive from similar looking ST words and roots, for example note TB-Lushai veef‰ ‘surroundings, neighborhood, environs, suburbs’ (→ wēi). Many of these words and wfs are difficult to disentangle.

xiāng 相 (sian⁴) LH sian⁴, OCM *sain
‘Each other, mutually’ [Shi] is classical for the preclassical alloform → xú, 吾 (Pulleyblank 1962: 233; 1996: 137). It is not only used when the action ‘is strictly reciprocal, but there is a mutual bond of some kind between subject and object’ as in xiān, 感相 相→ (‘you) follow me’ [Shu], later xiāng functions as object pronoun (Pulleyblank 1996: 137).
[T] Sin Sukchu SR sjān (♀); MGZY (sjān > syang) (♀) [sjān]; MTang sjān < sa, ONW sa

xiāng 相 (sian⁴) LH sian⁴, OCM *sahn
[<] extrovert of xiāng 相 [sian⁴] (§4.3).

xiāng 相 (sian⁴) LH sian⁴, OCM *sain — [T] MTang sian < sa, ONW sa
‘To think, imagine’ [Zhouli].
[<] endoactive of xiāng 相 ‘observe’ (§4.5), Boltz: ‘to draw up a mental image, vision’ > ‘to think’. This word is prob. also related to → xú, 吾 ‘discriminate, knowledge’.
[C] A further alloform is → xú, 吾 ‘each other’ (Pulleyblank 1962: 233) which also supports the semantic connection between ‘mutual’ and ‘help’.

xiāng 香 (sian⁴) LH hion⁴, OCM *hān
‘Fragrance, smell’ [Shi] reflects the ST vocalic *hān counterpart to ST *hin > xiāng, 香 ‘be fragrant’ (Wáng Li 1982: 323). For a ~ i variation, see §11.1.3. For an overview of related ST etyma, see Table X-1.
Table X-1: Strong smell, odor, fragrance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lg.</th>
<th>*siŋ</th>
<th>~</th>
<th>*saŋ</th>
<th>~</th>
<th>*haŋ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OC</td>
<td>xǐng</td>
<td>*sêŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td>xǐng</td>
<td>*sêŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>offensive smell</td>
<td></td>
<td>fragrance</td>
<td>xǐng</td>
<td>*sêŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fragrance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lushai</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*paŋR / *paŋl</td>
<td></td>
<td>have smell or odor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>like raw flesh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NNaga</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sin3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(smell of raw food)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sanp = emit pleasant odor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note for Table X-1: NNaga *siŋ 'smell', Lushai *teŋ / *teŋ < *teeq 'ill-smelling' seem to represent a separate root. Note also MK-Pearic sraŋ 'to scent'.

xiàng, 香 (jian) LH siŋG, OCM *saŋ
"Belt" [BI]; "sash" [Chuci]; "horse's belly-band" [Guoyu].

E: AA: *campaña /cammaŋ /'a tie, band, strap, bond' < nominal n-infix derivative of cata /coonaŋ /'to tie, knot, secure, attach by tying or knotting' (> Tai /coonaŋ /'to tie' [Jenner / Pou 1982: 52]). For the initial, see §2.6.1. It is not clear how PY *loŋ /~* PM *[n]3 'rope, sash' [Wáng F.J.] is connected.

xiàng, 香 → ràng 譲

xiàng, 香 → jiànG 向卿卿

xiàng, 香 (jian) LH zionG, OCM *saŋ or *saŋ
"Fortune" (good or bad) [Zuo] > 'happy omen, auspicious, lucky day' [Shi] (Wáng Li 1958: 549). Many different etymologies are theoretically possible: xiang may belong to → yú, 逸 'aromatic', "and/ or be related to WT g-yang 'happiness, blessing' (so Bodman 1980: 95), but see → qing2 情; or note Tai-Saek laang4 'luck'.

xiàng, 香 (jian) LH zionG, OCM *saŋ or *saŋ
"School" [Meng] is perh. the same word as xiang 'manage the support for the elderly' (under → yâng2, 養; -prefix cause of → yâng, 業 'rise', both imply 'make rise, raise' (then 'educate' / 'take care of'). Alternatively, this word could also be the same etymon as → xiang4 詳 'explain in detail'.

E: An allofam is perh. → xì, 序 'school' (Pulleyblank 1962: 233).

xiàng, 香 (jian) LH zionG, OCM *saŋ or *saŋ
"To take care of the elderly" → yâng2 養

xiàng4 詳 (jian) LH zionG, OCM *saŋ or *saŋ
"Explain in detail" [Shi, Meng], 'attention to detail, diligence' [Zuo]. This is perh. the same etymon as → xiang2 序 'school', and may be related to → xiang6 象 'interpret'.

xiàng, 香 → jiànG 向卿卿

xiàng, 香 (jian) LH zionG, OCM *saŋ
"To face, approach" xiang [Shi], 'turn towards' 向 [Zhuang] > 'direction' 向 [Hanfei], 'facing side'; 'south side, north side' 向 = 向 [Shi], 'before, previously' 向 [Meng].

E: AA: *saŋ /'g-yang > hyang (s) [xian]; *saŋ /'g-yang > hyang (s) [xian]; *saŋ /'g-yang > hyang (s) [xian]; *saŋ /'g-yang > hyang (s) [xian]; *saŋ /'g-yang > hyang (s) [xian]; *saŋ /'g-yang > hyang (s) [xian].


E: See also → xiang2 香卿; it may be related to → rú, 如.

xiàng, 香 (jian) LH zionG, OCM *saŋ
"To eat' [BI]; 'enjoy the use of something' [Bl, Shi], 'feast, enjoy' 享 [Zuo]. Tone A in Shìfēng (Mattos 1971: 309); acc. to Downer (1959: 283) commentators read 'to feast, to present' [Zuo] in tone C.

E: Etymology not certain. SW glosses this word as 'fragrance of grain'; the basic meaning may therefore have been to enjoy the fragrance of food; consequently, this word is perh. a tone B entoative / introductive derivation from → xiang2 香 'fragrance' (§4.5). The semantics are supported by the TB cognates; Lushai haâŋ4 / haâŋ / (haâŋ) 'be tasty, nice, cooked' (vegetables), PLB *haâŋ2 which variously means 'cooked rice, a meal, curry' in LB languages > WB haâŋ8 'curry' [Matisoff D. Of Lahu: 220]. Popular perception may have connected this word with 'to face' → xiang 向卿卿.

Semantically more plausible would be a basic meaning 'to eat' for this word, hence it may be a variant of → xiang2 香; 香; in some non-ST etyma an initial voiceless continuant shows up as a simple OC initial *h- (Mc x- §5.6; §1.3.1). The ultimate source would be MY.

xiàng, 香 (jian) LH zionG, OCM *haŋ
"To face, approach" 業 [Shi], 'turn towards' 向 [Zhuang] > 'direction' < 業 [Hanfei], 'facing side'; 'south side, north side' 業 = 業 [Shi], 'before, previously' 業 [Meng].
xiàng 脚 (xiāng) LH houŋ, OCM *háng
Region [Shi] > 'village' [Lunyu], 'old home village' [Hanshu].

【 nominalizing tone A back formation of xiàng (§3.1). For the semantic connection 'facing side, side' > 'region', note the parallel > fàng/方 'side' > 'area, region'.

xiàng 營 (xiāng) LH biou̯, OCM *háng!
'Echo' [Zhuang, Lie].

【 endoactive / reflexive of → xiàng, 向街 'to face, turn toward', i.e. something that turns in (toward) itself (§4.5).

【 Bodman (1980: 155) relates this word to Chepgang mranːh 'echo' ~ mrayh 'to echo', Pulleyblank (1962: 140) to WT brag 'echo', but the TB initials are difficult to reconcile with Chinese.

【 An allophone may also be → rù 如 'go to'.

xiàng 相 ～ xiàng, 相

xiàng 3 乔 (yàng) LH gōng, OCM *gōng
'Lane, street' [Shi].

【 D → láng, 弄 'alley, lane' is a Wú dialectal variant which supports the OC initial cluster, as do forms like Jìn-Táiyuán xǎo2L-C 黑浪 (Zhāng Xīng-yà YYJ 1996.4: 12). Cf. also Beijing hùāng 胡同.

【 Eymouton not monotypic, perh. ST: WT groŋ 'houses, village, town', Bumthang kroŋ 'village' (Bodman 1980: 143; HST: 156); LaPolla (1994: 171) sets up PTB *qrə-the (then perh. related to → i1 L, 里). « PPiaio *roN, PYao *raŋ 'village' could either belong here, or it could be related to Tai ~ chán 聞. < AA is prob. unrelated: Khmer kruːha /kroŋ/; OKHmer kuruː /kruː/ 'to cover, shelter, protect...manage, administer, rule, kingdom, royal seat, capital' (> Tai: S. kruː 'capital city').

xiàng 4 項 (yàng) LH gáng, OCM *gōng — [T] ONW yān
'Neck' [Zuo], 'stretch the neck' [Shi 191], occurs in a few Mand. dialects: Chéngdū sǎo-tǐ xìan 頸項, Yāngzhōu 4tɕiŋ-5kau (col.).

【 B: Chepgang groŋ-kə 'stretch the neck' (downward to eat, of cattle); OBurm. k'loŋ, WB k'loŋ supplemented with a kroŋ 'throat'. Similar looking words are → häng3 頭 'stretch the neck', → gáng1 元 'neck'.

xiàng 5 象 (xiāng) LH ziong, OCM *s-jàn or *zión, OCB *zán
'Elephant, ivory' [OB, Shi].

【 T] MTaŋg ziaŋ < ONW zan — [D] M-Xiānmen lit. tsëi̯o2L, col. siou2G


Since it is hard to believe that people all over SE Asia and as far away as the Himalayan foothills would borrow a word for an indigenous animal from Northern China, the Chinese must have been the ones who borrowed this general area word like → hū 虎 'tiger' and → sì 兒 'wild buffaloes'; the latter has the same rare OC initial as xiàng. Under these circumstances, xiàng prob. did not have an OC L-like initial. Furthermore, Bodberg (1937: 365) cites variants which may confirm a siab / affricate: an alternative word for ‘elephant’ zäng-yá 藏牙 [tsiong-ja] (lit. 'burey tooth'), and a place name associated with elephants qiāng-wú 菜吾 [tsiong-ja] (lit. 'pointed tooth'). Xiang is not cognate to → yǔ3 腳 'elephant', nor is WT glah 'ox' related which is cognate to → gáng1 狀.

xiàng 6 象 (xiāng) LH ziong, OCM *s-jän, OC *z-jän?
'To interpret, translate' (a foreign language) [Liji, Huainan], xiàng-xó 象臂 'interpreter' [Zhouli] (Behr 2000). This word may be cognate to → xiàng 習 'explain in detail', in which case xiàng may be an endoactive derivation of xiàng. Behr considers this the s. w. as → xiàng 象 'outline, represent'.

xiàng 像 (xiāng) LH ziong, OCM *s-jän?
'To be / look like' 象 [Zuo], 'resemble' 像 [Xun] > 'image' [Huainan], 'to delineate, outline, appearance, symbols' 象 [Shu].

【 T] Sin Sukchu SR ziaŋ ( Uncle): MGZY (ziąŋ > zyāng (Uncle): [Jen]: ONW zan
【 E: This word is usually considered the same as → xiàng 象 'elephant, ivory' > 'ivory image, resemble' (so Karlgren GSR 728), but ivory was not the only sculpture material. Although the OC initial in 'elephant' was probably not L-like, OCB *-s-jān / *s-jān might have merged in the Zuochūan; if so, xiàng 'image' may possibly derive from a ST root *laː: WT lad-mo 'imitation, to imitate, mimetic', WT lha 'goods, image of a deity'; Lepcha klan 'similar', klan-lā 'imitation' (Geilich 1994: 55, 123; JP sum34-jān35 'picture, image', num34-jān35 'ghost' (for correspondence of finals, see §6.2.5). Geilich adds WT ldam 'statue, idol', but connects the TB items with a → sl3 似.

xiàng 3 伴 (jiān) LH jōn, OCM *jān or *Jaŋ
'To pretend, deceive' [Hanfei] (Geilich 1994: 283).

【 E: -> Tai: S. kleen7 'to pretend' (Gōng Qūnhū MGYW 5: 403; Behr 2000).

xiàng 3 樂 (jiān)
'Appearance, looks, kind' [Tang], a late word; Chinese commentators imply cognition with xiàng 象 (ZWDCD 5: 403; Behr 2000).

【 T] Sin Sukchu SR jąn (Uncie): MGZY yang (Uncle)

xiāo 1 削 ～ xuè, xuē, xiāo 削

xiāo 2 消滅 (sījiāo) LH siau, OCM *sιaw — [T] ONW siau
'To melt, dissolve' 消 [Shi], 'annihilate, disappear' [Yi]: 'melt, reduce, diminish' 銼 [Li]; 'disperse' 肖 [Zhuang]; 'sleet' (melting snow) 霏 [SW].

【 xiāo 消 (sījiāo) LH seu, OCM *siau
'To eliminate' [Zhouli].

【 Eymouton is uncertain. Perh. (1) WT *diu-va~-žuá-va 'to melt' (STC p. 52); and WT and OC can perh. be reconciled if we assume a ST *sjaʊ ~ *tsjau. (2) Alternatively, this word may belong to the mf → xiāo1 小 'small'. (3) Or related to PTai *jaukt2L 'to melt, dissolve' [Luo Yongxian MKS 27, 1997: 285]; for loss of final -k in CH, see §6.9; the initial correspondence has parallels; see → su3 索.

【 C: → shuo, 搉蜴 (siqu) LH sjaʊ < sιaw 'melt' may belong to this mf (so Wáng Lí 1982: 222), but the initials are difficult to reconcile (MC sje ~ *hēr- or *hs-ej- vs. sj-ej-).

xiāo 3 島 (kieu) LH keu, OCM *kiū
'An owl-like bird' [Shi] is perh. related to → jiù3 舊 'owl'.

xiāo 4 小 (sjiāo) LH siau, OCM prob. *siau rather than *sau?
'Be small, little, young' [OB, BL, Shi], 'be little' [Zuo].

【 T] Sin Sukchu SR sju (Uncle): PR siau; MGZY sjiāo (Uncle): ONW siau

【 xiāo 肖 (sjiāo) LH siau, OCM *siau
'To resemble' (as son his father) [Lunyu].
xié — xiè

[c] exoactive of xiào 小 (sjān̂g) (§4.3).

※ qiàoh 俏 (tståju) LH ts’tiaw, OCM *C-siauh?
‘Similar’ [Li], derived from xiào 肖 (sjiān̂g) (for the initial, see §5.9.1).

[C] Similar items are → shào 俏, → shāo 少, → suō 肆, → xiào 消销.

xiào 小 (xieu) LH heu, OCM *hiǎu?
‘Clarity’ [Zhuang], ‘clear, understand’ [Xun], ‘to know’ is a Han period Chü dialect word [FY 1, 1]; it is the word for ‘to know’ (in some places ‘to understand’) in all modern dialects from Hefēi south, except in Min whose word corresponds to northern zhī 知 (e.g. Xiāmēn ți).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR xjw (super), PR xjaw; MGZY hyaw (super) [xjaw]
[B] Area word: MY: PYaow hiwu ‘to know’; MK-Viet. hiu ‘to know’. Kadai lgs. have a word which looks similar: Be: hû ‘to know, see’, PHai yewu ‘to know, recognize’ [Matisoff 1988c: 306]. A KT etymon with initial r- could possibly be related: PTai *ruo2 ‘to know’ (in many Tai dialects. r- or h-, but not in the north within China), PKS *hr- ‘to know (how)’ [Edmundson / Yang 1988]. If all these words should be related, the ultimate source might have been a known voiceless r- (rh-) initial h-. For another word where Tai has *hr-, but OC *s-, see → xué, hū 萬 ‘vomit’.

xiào 笑 (sjān̂g) LH siau, S tståu, OCM *siau — [D] PMin *ts’aiaw
‘To laugh, smile’ [Shi]. The composition of the graph shows that the word was understood as something like *s + ?au. Cikoski derives xiào from → xiào 小 ‘small’, hence lit. ‘belittle’.

xiào 校 (yaou, yau) LH gau, OCM *grāu
‘An enclosure: ‘enclosure for animals’ [Zhouli], ‘school’ [Meng]; probably not related to → jiāo 教.

xiào 效 ‘verification’ → jiāo 交; ‘imitate’ → jiāo 教.

xiào 肖 → xiào 小

xiào 嘱 (sieu) LH seu, OCM *siū
‘To whistle’ [Li], ‘to croon’ [Shi].


xíao 箭 (siu) LH seu, OCM *siau

xiào 教 ‘teach’ → xué 学

xié 他 (xje) LH hiau, OCM *hāp? (from *hārap?) — [T] ONW hāp
‘Sides of the body’ [Shi], ‘ribs’ [Zou].

[B] ST: JP ga3-re3 ‘rib’, Kanaai *hrip, Chepang rip, WT rtsib ~ rhip. This word belongs to a complex of stems which include → jiā 尖 and items under → xié 挟, Voiceless aspiration in xié suggests perh. a Rural variant (§1.3.1).

※ xié 模 (siet) LH set, OCM *set (< *net?), OCK *siat
‘A wedge’ (inserted for fastening something) [Huaiian] (put between the teeth of a corpse) [Li].

[B] AA: Khmer sniata / snotat ‘peg, pin, … wedge, …’ < derivation with nominalizing n-infix from siata / snotat ‘… to stick into, insert, stop or block up, plug.’ The choice of the phonetic is not clear (because of → niè, gaw ‘gnaw’).

xié 挟 (jieh) LH gep, OCM *gēp?
‘Grasp, hold’ [Shi]; ‘clasp under the arm, hold onto’ 挟 [Meng] (also read QY tsjeip; ‘in harmony, together, conform’ 挟 [Shi].

※ jiā 挟 (jieh) LH kep, OCM *kēp?

[C] Allefam → jieh, jiā 挟 ‘chopsticks’.

[B] Four etyma have blended together:

(1) → jiā 教 ‘keep ‘press between’.
(2) ST *kēp ~ *kiap, reflected in OCM forms *gēp, *kēp (< *tsjeip?) above, PTB *ygap (HPTB: 338) > WT k’yap-pa ‘be filled with, embrace, comprise’ ny skoy-ba, sbya-k by ‘protect, defend, preserve’, skya ‘protection, help’ [HST: 71; Bodman 1980: 64], PLB *ygap > WB kyap ‘tight, close, crowded’, Lahu cè ‘be narrow’ (of an opening).

(3) ST *karp, as reflected in OC *krap above, possibly also → xié 肖 ‘ribs’. TB-Tidimm gaap < kaap ‘trod’.

(4) → jiā 挟 *tsep.

xié 頜 → jf4 估

xié3, qiè 頜 → jié12 稽

xié4 輝 → jiè2 皆

xié1 寫 (sjān̂g) LH sia, OCM *sa? — [T] ONW sia
‘To pour off’ (a liquid’) 写 [Li] > ‘cast 金属’ 写 [Guoyu] > ‘disburden, relief’ (heart, grief) [Shi].

※ xié 寫 (sjān̂g) LH sia, OCM *sa
‘To drain off’ [Zhouli].

[c] exoactive of xié 寫 (§4.3.2), lit. ‘make / let pour off’. This wF is not related to → shè 割 ‘sack’ → let off’.

※ xié2 寫 (sjān̂g) LH sia, OCM *sa? (* *sia? or *sja?)
‘To depict’ [Guoyu], ‘to write’ [Shiming, Houn Hanzhu].

[B] Etymology not clear. Similar-looking words in other lgs. are unrelated; Lushai zia/k / zia/n < jak / jaks ‘to write, draw, inscribe, engrave’; Lushai lehk’a (cited from Geleic 1994: 184) is a Pali loan; WB ca ‘writing, document’ (< CH zl ‘字’), JP tsa ‘paint, daub, dye’ [Matisoff 1974: 161]. Alternatively, one may compare the word with AA-Khmara saak / ‘to mark, brand, duplicate, copy’ ml sa/k ‘to tattoo’; the semantics would be parallel to → wēn1 文.

xié1 洩 (sjāt, jiai) LH siet, OCM *sia(t)? or (t) instead of (t)?
‘To leak, reduce’ 洩 [Zou], 溉 [Guanzi] > ‘spread, distribute’ [Lijj], ‘be dispersed, relieved’ (suffering) 洩 [Shi].

※ y1 洩 (jiai) LH siet, OCM *sia(t)? or (t) instead of (t)?
‘To be dispersed’ 洩 [Zou].

[B] ST: Mrut yat ‘to leak, ooze’. The phonetic implies an OC L- or J-like initial, Mrut’s initial y- seems sometimes to correspond to PTB *uy- (beside *j-; it certainly corresponds to PTB *uy- ‘in ya’ ‘easy’), therefore the root initial in this group is not certain.

xié2 捏 (sjāt) LH siet, OCM *sat or *set?
‘To bind’ 捏 [Zhouli] > ‘bride strap’ 捏 [Yili], ‘leading-string’ (GSR 339m) [Li];
'rope, fetters' [Lunyu], 'reins' 绶 [Zuo]. Sagart (1999: 73) relates 'leading-string' to yī 亅 'to pull'.

xiè3 蟹 (yiāb) LH ge8, OCM *gré?- PMin *he8.

'Crab' [Li].

【注】PTB *d-kray (STC no. 51) / or Benedict acc. to French (1983: 473) *d-gray < \nN'ang 'græm, JP tʃik-\n\nMikir čêhê 'crab', Lushai cha-t-kai < \nKaih 'crab', Tangkhul khai 'fish'; Adi take.

xiè4 達 (sięp) LH sep, OCM *sıp < *slip

'Bottom inlay in shoe, shoe' [Lü]. Perh. related to the wf → yè4 叶 'leaf'.

xiè5 楔 (xié) LH xie3, OCM *síp < *slip

xìe6 歧 正 → xié2 楔

xìe7 歧 解 → jiě3 解 : hú3 會

xìe8 歧 解 → jiě3 解

xìe9 陝 → jiè3 戒誡

xìe10 榜 → shè 巳

xìe11 摘 → xié3 歪

xìe12 歪 正 → er1 遊

xin1 心 (sje)n LH sim, OCM *som, OCB *sjeən

'Heart > mind' [Shi, Shu], 'emotions (between people)' [Shi]; > 'center' [Lüj].

【注】Sin Sukchu SR sim (se), PR, LR sim; MGZY sim (se) [sim]; ONW sim.

【注】PTB *saim (STC: 51) or *sam (STC: 126) > Baching sam 'breath, life'; Limbu sam 'soul'; Thakali sam 'heart', WT sem(s) 'soul, spirit, mind' > sem(s)-pa, bams 'to think' > bams 'thought', Lepcha a-som 'spirit, breath', WB a-sam 'sound, voice' (STC: 183 n. 482; HST: 93). A ST synonym is → renı, 仁.

MK has a similar word: PMK *-isam 'heart' [Felerus MKS 7, 1978: 18], PPha lung sem 'breath, heart, mind', Khmer pram, Semai isam, Wa-Lawa-Balang *rhom 'heart, mind'. However, the s- may be secondary.

xin2 辛 (sje)n LH sin, OCM *sin

'Bitter, pungent > painful' [Shu].

【注】Sin Sukchu SR sim (se), MGZY sin (se) [sim]; ONW sin.

【注】PTB *sin (STC no. 234) > WT mèhsin 'liver', Kanauri sin, Chepang sinh, Mīrī ośin, Lushai ṭa-in 'liver, heart', WB ə-san 'liver, pleasant', PL *(-)sin, JP ma-si̯-sin (min) 'mind' (i.e. seat of thought and emotions), 'courage' (Benedict Hjas 4, 1939: 225; HST: 44), Duulong pōsin 'heart, liver' [Lapolla, LTBA 24.2: 19].

xin3 新 (sje)n LH sin, OCM *sin

'New, renew' [Shi].

【注】Sin Sukchu SR sim (se), MGZY sin (se) [sim]; ONW sin.

【注】PTB *sɨn or *yɨn: WB sac 'new'. This word may belong to the ST stem *sɨn 'alive, fresh, green' and may hence be related to → qínɡ1 青 'green' as well as to xīn4 新 'wood'.

xin4 新 (sje)n LH sin, OCM *sin

'Firewood' [Shi].

【注】ST: PTB *sɨn (STC no. 233) > WT sɨn 'tree, wood', Lepcha šan 'firewood', Chepang sɨn2 'wood, timber, tree', PLB *sk to *sɨn 'tree, wood' > WB sac (STC no. 233; HST: 161), Lushai tịhí 'tree, wood, firewood, fuel', Mru chīp 'tree' [Löffler 1966: 123]. This word may belong to the ST stem *sɨn 'alive, fresh, green' and may hence be related to → qínɡ1 青 'green' as well as to xīn4 新 'new, renew'.

xin3 欣 (xje)n LH hin, OCM *han

'To rejoice, make merry' [Shi] is prob. cognate to → xié2 楔.

xin 尋喲 (zjom) LH zim, OCM *s-lam — [T] ONW zim

'To warm up' 尋 [Guoyu] > 'sacrifice of boiled meat' 燒 [Li], perh. also 'large boiler' 飯 [Shi] which is also read qián (QYS dzjām).

【注】ST: PTB *lum 5 'warm' (STC no. 381) > WT gtm-pu < gtm 'heat' (in meditation), gtm-pa 'ferocity, rage'; WB lum 'warm' > hlum 'warm oneself by fire' > hlum 'heat again, warm over'; PL *lum; JP lum 'warm' > ma-si̯-lum (min) 'to simmer, heat' > fa-lum-lum 'to heat, warm' (food); Dimasa lim 'be hot, have fever'.

Labial dissimilation of the final nasal rather than the vowel perh. took place in → sún, 珍 'cooked rice'; this could also be the case in → rōng4 饒 'to heat'. Perh. → xīn4 新 may be related, yet TB distinguishes *lam from *-lum.

xin1 信 (sje)n LH sin, OCM *sin! (OCB *smins)

'To believe, trust, faithfulness, truth' [Shi] > ('something written entrusted to an envoy' 書信) 'letter' [Six Dyn.] (Wăng Li 1958: 547). Shìjìng times indicate OC tone A (Mattos 1971: 309). This is perh. the s. w. as next.

【注】Sin Sukchu SR sin (se); MGZY sin (se) [sim]; ONW sin

xin 訛 (xje)n LH sin, OCM *sin! 'to interrogate, question, inquire' [Shi] > ('find the truth').

xin 悔悔 (sje)n LH sin, OCM *sin? 'Sincere, certainly' 悔悔 [Shi] > 'to believe' 悔 [Lie].

【注】These words are prob. derived from → yùn1 允 'trust, be true, sincere'. For the loss of medial *w in xin, see §10.2.1.

xin2 信 'staying one more night' → xǐn2 止

xīng1 星 (sje)n LH sich, OCM *sej

'Vessel' [Zhuang].

【注】ST: PTB *sej (HPTB: 77), WT *s(e)n > sre-mom, sre-mo 'vessel', Lepcha sə-myəŋ 'marmot', Mikir ipen < m-ren 'mongoose', WB hrad 'squirrel'. Mikir karle 'id.'.

We should expect a trace of the ST *r in the MC syllable.

xīng2 星 (sje)n LH sej, TS sej, OCM *sej — [T] MTang sej < sej, ONW sej 'Star' [OB, Shi].

【注】Y-Guangzhou 55sej, Táishān 33sej, Enping 33sjej, PMin *tsəjn ~ *sej; Xiǎměn col. tsəj ~ tsəjn, lit. siŋ

【注】Perh. cognate to → qínɡ1 青 'clear'. TB-PKiri anti san 'star, ray' (CVST 4: 99) is a derivation from a parallel ST root (see → qínɡ1 清).

xīng 星 (džjān) LH dzijen, OCM *džen, OCB *fishej

'Weather clearing during the night' [Shi] is prob. a derivation from *star: 'become starry' (so SW); this word is written [night + phonetic] as late as SW, but takes on the meaning of 'clearing with the sun coming out' only in post-classical literature, since then written 明 [Yuplan]. Alternatively, this word may be directly derived from → qínɡ1 清 'clear' (so Baker 1992: 219).
xiōng ～ xiū

[C] Perh. related to → hóng, 鴻; prob. unrelated to → sòng, 誠.

xiōng₄ 胸 → róng₃ 瘦

xiōng₃ 熊 (jun 3) LH wuŋ, OCM *wəŋ
‘Male’ of birds and small animals [Shi], later also larger animals; opposite → ㄆ 雛 ‘female’. Etymology not clear.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR yuŋ (平); MGZY Hajo-ŋ (平) [yung]; ONW yuŋ?? > yʊŋ (?) > hʊŋ
[D] The OC final *m in preserved in Mín dialects: Ayom hm*AI, Fú'án hm*AI, Yong*ŋ hmn*AI ‘bear’.

[E] ST; PTB *d-wam > WT dom ‘bear’, Tebor hom, liaron gwom; PL *k-d-wam, WB (wak) wam; Bahang wam; Digaro tzham ‘tzhum’ (HST: 40); Kuki-Naga *d-wam, Lushai s¢-vam⁶, Mrum tom. Other lgs. in East Asia have words which look similar: Middle Korean kmwom, Old Japanese kuma (Miyake 1997: 197), Aini kamuy ‘bear’; on Taiwan AN languages include cumai / cumay. Note also AA: PMonic *kmum ‘Himalayan black bear’.

xiōng 熊 → xu₄ 旭

xiōng 熊 → jiǒng₃ 洞聾

xiū₁ 休 (xiou) LH xu, OCM *hui
‘To rest’ [Shi].

= xiū ‘Shade of a tree’ [Y], 茅 [Huaian], 休 [Hanshu] > ‘protection’ (e.g. ‘Heaven’s protection’) 休 [Shi].

[E] The original meaning may have been ‘shade’ > ‘to shade oneself’, i.e. ‘rest in the shade’ > ‘rest’ (Wáng Li 1982: 230; Qiu Xiguí 2000: 210).

xiū₃ 休宅 休

xiū₃ 煞 (xiou) LH siu, OCM *snu
‘Shame’ [Shi], ‘diffidence’ [Zuo], Mand. ‘shy, bashful’.

= niú 侊 (niu) LH guk, OCM *nuk < *nuq
‘Disgrace, ashamed’ [Meng], Mand. ‘blushing, bashful’.

= ru₄, rò 饒 (rojwok) LH fonk, OCM *nok
‘Disgrace’ [Shi], ‘condescend’ [Zuo].

[T] The vacillation between pre-initial *u- and *r- is also observed in TB wfs (§5.3). The role of the final *k in niú is not clear; alternatively, niú may be a tone A derivation from a root in final *k to form a noun (§3.1). Pulleyblank (1973: 121) relates this wf to other words meaning ‘shame’ with initial *n- but different tenses: → chìï, 聽; → ni₃, 侊 (which, however, is prob. unrelated). Eberhard (1967: 12) derives the notion ‘shame’ from ‘dirty’.

xiū₄ 熊 (xiou) LH siu, OCM *snu
‘To nourish’ [Shi], ‘viands’ [Zuo].


xiū₅ 修 (xiou) LH siu, OCM *su or *siu < *sλu < → [T] ONW su
‘To repair, cultivate, put in order’ [Shi], ‘adorn’ [Li].

[C] s-caus. of *tju (§5.2.1).

xiū₂ 粟 (xiow) LH hio, OCM *ha
‘Empty, modest’ [Li]. In Wú dialects: Wénling lit. 5¹xì¹ ~ col. 3²he¹ [LI Rōng FY 1972: 568].

= tiáo 修 (dieu) LH deu, OCM *tju — [T] MTang diau, ONW deu ‘Orderly’ [Shu], ‘paragraph’ [Guo] (Sagar 1999: 70).

xiū₄ 検 ‘long’ → yù² 悠

xiū₅ 検 ‘dried’ → sù 食飯

xiū₃ 湵 → xu₂ 湖

xiū₁ 朽 → chù₂ 酔

= xiū 湵 (xiou) LH siu, OCM *snu?
‘To wash’ [Li]; ‘moisten, wash, soak’ [Li].

= xiū 湵 (xiou) LH siu, OCM *snu
‘To urinate’ [Guoyu] is perh. a euphemism.

= sdu 淋 (sau², jiau²) LH shù, OCM *srhukh?
‘To wash’ 濱 [Li].


= xiù 湻 → xu₂ 湻

xiū₁ 秀 (xiou) LH siu, OCM *suh (prob. < *swuh), OCB *sljas
‘To flower and set ears’ (grain) [Shi], ‘to flower’ [Lunyu], ‘flourishing, beautiful’
[Zuozhuan], Sagar (1999: 72) considers this the caus. of → yù, 侊 (jiau³) (§5.2.1).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR siw (去); MGZY siw (去) [siw]

[E] ST: TB-Chapeng syu- ‘to prosper, flourish’, Lushai vuah¹ ‘be in full bloom’ (as flowers); the MC lack of a trace of a ST final *-i is unexplained. cf. §7.7.5. An alternative connection with MK: Khmer lâh ‘to blossom’, PVM *m-loh ‘to blossom’ may also be possible, but a plausible ST etymology is preferable.

xiù₂ 袖 → zhòu₃ 背

xiù₃ 嗅 → chù₃ 酔

xiù₄ 嗅 ‘sleeve’ → zhòu₃ 背

xiú₁ 胸 (sxio) LH sio, OCM *sa

[EC] Acc. to FY 6, xú is a Wú-Yüé dial. word for ‘assist’, which is prob. derived from ‘mutual’ as in the parallel and cognate wf → xiàng (Pulleyblank 1962: 233). The Han period (FY) association with the language of Wú and Yüè (Viet) seems to strengthen the possibility that this is originally a MK etymon: Peirc sa ‘each other’. However, xú is well attested as a CH word already in Shijing.

[C] A derivation is perh. → xù₄ 訓.

xiú₂ 虚 (xiow) LH hio, OCM *ha
‘Empty, modest’ [Li]. In Wú dialects: Wénling lit. 5¹xì¹ ~ col. 3²he¹ [LI Rōng FY 1972: 568].
null
xuăn — xuê

[<] terminative -ŋ of xuăn (xuân) (§6.5.1), 'become' warm thanks to the rising sun.

xuăn 煙 (xuân) LH hyon⁶, OCM *hwan? or *hun??

'To sun, dry in the sun' [Yi], 'sunlight' [Zhouli]. The QY reading xjwie⁵ 'sunlight'

prob. belongs to the syn. -hu, 映輝輝.

xuăn 煙 (xuân) LH hyon, OCM *hwan

'Warm' [Lü]. This word is not related to xuàn 煙.

[x] All the above items prob. belong to the same root *ho or pher. *ho 'warm in the sun'; the latter would logically result in the OC / MC forms above; *hwon often have to dissipilate to OC *hwan. This wñ coalesces partially with → yũ₂, yũ 娇, perf. together they belong to a single wñ.

xu₃ 煞 (xjwok) LH biok, OCM *hagok — [T] ONW huok

'Disconcerted' [Zhuang].

[E] ST: WT spog-pa, bspogs 'to vex, annoy' (HST: 37).

xu₆ 營 → chû₄, xu 營

xu₇ 習 (—) LH siai⁴, OCM *sah

'Son-in-law' [Zuo]. Mand. xu [cy⁴], G-Nánchăng cy⁴.

~ (siai⁴) Col. Shâzhōu sai (si⁷), LH sei(⁵)

[D] Southern dialects typically have this latter form: PSMN *saï (Bodman 1980: 178); M-Xiâmén col. sai⁴, lit. se⁴, Châzhû sai⁴, Fûhû saï⁴; W-Wénzhôu sei⁴, K Mèixiân se⁴, Guângzhôu fai⁴. The word is reminiscent of AA: PSBahn. *saj 'marry; spouse'.

xu₈ 酉 → yǔ₂₁ 酉

xu₉ 煙 → xu₄ 速

xu₁₀ 詳 → shû₄ 速

xu₁₁ 紹 → xu₂ 序敘

xu₁₂ 開誠 → guó 國

xuăn₁ 宜 (xjwan) LH syan, OCM *swan, OCB *swjan

'To spread, diffuse, proclaim, display' [Shi].

[E] ST: PLB *swân 'to spread' [Matisoff TSR: 54]. Downer (1959: 275) reserves the reading PC swân 'to spread' for the noun 'dagger' [Lüjī].

xuăn₂ 暖 (xjwem) LH hyon⁵, OCM *hwan?

'Soft, mild' [Zhuang] is perf. related to WT hol-hol 'soft, loose, light' (HST: 136).

xuⁿ 煽 (yuⁿ) LH yun⁶, OCM *gwâm?

'Slack, indulgent' [Zuo], 'soft' [Lü] is perf. related (HST: 136); but this word could instead belong to → yuán 愛 'slow'. Syn. → róu₁. 柔

xuăn₃ 煽 → xu₄ 旭

xuăn₁ 煽 (xjwem) LH yuën, OCM *wân, OCB *gwin

'Black, dark' [BI, Shi] is the oldest basic color term for 'black' which is later replaced by → hí 黑 (Baxter 1983).

xuàn₂ 輕 → jiâng² 洞戀

xuàn₃ 還旋 → yuâ₃ 貝原圓

xuàn₄ 絲 (xjwem) LH yuën, OCM *gwin — [T] MTang yuâien(⁴), ONW yuën

'To suspend, hang up' 絲 [Shi], 橋 [Meng] is today the word for 'high' in Mín: PMIn

'guen > Fûhû keïng² 'high' neïng² 'hanging down' (Norman 1979: 271). Tai has borrowed the word 'suspend'; S. kweïn¹ < *eu: (Manomaïvibol CAAL 6, 1976: 16). Prob. related to → quâ 挂 'suspend' (for final -n, see §6.4.4), perf. also to → qing, 熟 'id'.

xuăn 煙 → xu₄ 旭

xuăn₁ 法 (xjwem) LH yuën, OCM *wâm?

'To flow' [Lun] may derive from the same ST root *lwi 'to flow' as → shuí 水 'water'; earlier *l- and *l- often leave no trace in MC before initial -j- and -w-.

xuăn 煽 (kiwen) LH kuen⁶, OCM *kwâm?

'Watering channels in fields' 煽 [Zhouli], 煽 [Shi].

[c] nominalizing k-prefix derivation from xuăn (§5.4). The aspirated Mand. reading is probably an analogy to 大 'dog'. JY gives additional readings: xuán (MC jzâu and zhûn, tîuane⁵). Min: Gùtián kweï1 (Brammer 1995: 268) is similar to the MC form kwen⁶, Xiâmén tsau¹ < MC tîuane⁵ (?).

xuân 淚 (jwán) LH wân or wen, OCM *wan or *wen?

'To flow' [Chuc] may be a Chû dialect variant of xuăn.

huê, yû 橫 (kïwêt, jüet) LH kuet, jüet, OCM *kwêit ~ *wit

'To flow' 淚 [Chucj, 汀 [Chuc] (yû only). The graph 汀 indicates that the rime was *wit or *wêt, but Old Sino-Viet. lut 'flow' could also point to OC *lut.

xuăn₂ 炫炫 → yîng₃ 荧

xuăn₃, shûn 鏧 → shû₃ 瞬

xuê, xuê, xiăo 削 (sjak, sjâu) LH sick, siaù, OCM *siau(h)?

'To scrape, pare, cut, destroy' [Shi].

[E] ST: PLB *sîk 'to scrape' [Matisoff TSR: 54]. Downer (1959: 275) reserves the reading PC sjâu 'to scrape' for the noun 'dagger' [Lüjī].

xuê 學 (yiak) LH giok, OCM *grûk

'To learn' [Shi].

[T] Sin S. SR yjâw (h), LR yjâw; MGZY (Hyaw >) Hyaw (h) [yjaw]; ONW yâk

[c] This word may be endophasic of → juê₁, 覺 'to awake, get insight', see §4.6.

xîâo 戰 (yuê) LH guâ, OCM *grûk

'To teach' [Shi].

[c] exoactive of xuê 學 (yiak) (§4.3.2). Perh. this wñ belongs to → juê₁, 覺.

xuê 雪 (sjwät) LH syat, OCM *sot < *sot?, OCB *sjot — ONW suát 'Snow' [OB, Shi].

[D] In some dialects it also can mean 'ice': Y-Guângzhou jyê³.

[E] => KT: Tai-Po'ai nuiâi¹ < nuiâi² 'snow'; PKS *nui¹ (Thurgood) / *k-nui₄ (Edmondson / Yang 1988) 'snow'.

xuê 血 (xiwet) LH huet, OCM *hwêt, OCB *wit — ONW huet 'Blood' [Shi].

[D] PMIn *huet: Xiâmén hui², K Mèixiân sîet⁶, Yuê-Guângzhou hui⁵; Gân-Nánchăng gyet.

[E] ST *swi? ~ *swi?: PTB *shyûw (STC no. 222), or rather *s(·)wi7 > Kanaši sui, PL *swi⁴, WB swê⁸ 'blood, disposition, spirit' [Matisoff Var. Sem.; STC no. 222]; Bodo-Garo *sî [Joseph / Burling LTBÁ 24.2, 2001: 42], Lushai 'thiî, Tiddim siî; Chemgal way? ~ hû 'blood', Magari hyu < hwi (< Chepang huy-sa 'to bleed'), Vâyu
xún
尋 'warm up' → xín 尋

xún 尋
循 → shùn 順

xún 訓 (xùn5) LH hun5, OCM *huns
'Instruct, comply' [Shi, Shu]. Perh. ST: WT 'k'ul-ba 'to subdue, subject' ≠ skul-ba, bskul 'to exhort, admonish' (so HST: 143).

xún 循 → jūn 釣

xún 訊 → xún1 信

xún 遞 → sūn 援

xún 送 (sjūn5) LH suin5, OCM *suns?
'Rapid’ [Li] is related to sū, 速 and belongs to the wf → sōu3, sōu 搜.

xuè, xiāo 削 → xuè, xuè, xiāo 削

xuè, hū 殼 (xāk, xuk) LH hok, hok, OCM *hrok
‘Vomit’ [Zuo].

xuè 尬 (miè1) LM 

xuè, nuè 毋 → nuè, 毋

xūn 黑煿 (xuān) LH hun, OCM *huan < *C-un? — [T] ONW hun
‘To make smoke, befumed’ 黑 [Shi]. 燹 [Hanfei]; 'vapor, odor' 煙 [Li], 'be pungent' [Yi]; 'fragrant smelling vegetables' 黑 [Li] (Mand. hūn), 'a fragrant herb' 煙 [Zuo].

This word is prob. ST, but its TB counterpart is difficult to pinpoint. Perh. *C-wu 'smoke’ (STC: 159 n. 429: *kau; HPTB: 451), in CH with the addition of the nominal final -n (84.4.3): Dulong m̥wI-wu55 < *hun (‘smoke’ (m̥wI 'sky'), WT du-ba ≠ dud-pa 'smoke') (a few other words have WT d- for a velar initial elsewhere, note → līu, — Matissoff 1974: 195 n. 119), WB k'ui6, Bahnig kuni, Sunwar kun. Alternatively, or in addition, xūn may belong with Kanaui wān 'steam'. CVST 5: 180 relates xūn to Lushai huiI < hui (hui) 'vapor, gas' and by implication to WT 'moshu moisture, humidity'.

xún 薰 (juan5) LH wun
‘Fragrant plant’ [Li] > 'ample, numerous' (flowers > people) [Shi] (also MC juan5).

xún 句 → jūn 釣

xún 汴 ‘drip’ → yūn2 陌殤霞

xún 恂恂 'sincerely' → xín1 信

xún 蹐 → shùn, 瞬

xún 勝 (zjom) LH zim, OCM *s-lam
‘A measure’ (8 chi) [Shi].

[Sin Sukchu SR zim (平), PR, LR zin; MGZY zim (平) [zim]; ONW zim

xún 句 → jūn 釣

xún 虛 'drip' → yūn2 陌殤霞

xún 恂恂 'sincerely' → xín1 信

xún 蹐 → shùn, 瞬

xún 勝 (zjom) LH zim, OCM *s-lam
‘A measure’ (8 chi) [Shi].
や

や₁ 拭 → や₂ 壊

や₃ や (タイプ) LH ɿap, OCM *ɿap or ɿūp?
‘To press down, press upon’ 壊 [Zao]; ‘stamp, seal’ 拭 [Hanfei].
[T] Sin Sukcu SR ɿja (λ) — [D] M-Xiāmén col. ɿa², ɿa²lit. ɿa²
[E] A derivation is prob. → ɿa, 稀 ‘to stamp’, with the iterative s-prefix (§5.2.3).

や₁ 牙 (や) LH ɲa, OCM *ɲra, OCB *ɲra.
‘Tusk, tooth’ [Shi] > ‘sprout’ 牙 [Li.].
[T] Sin Sukcu SR ɲja (対) PR, LR ja; ONW ɲa
[D] M-Xiāmén col. ɲa², ɲa²lit. ɲa²
‘tusk, ivory’, Mon ɲek. <> PTai *ɲa²; PWMiao *ɲa³. <> TB: Lushai ɲho³ ‘tusk’.
Pulleyblank (1983: 439) believes that OC is the donor.

や₂ 牙 → や₁ 牙 → にゃ, 華

や₃, 亀 屋巖 (hay) LH ɲai, OCM *ɲri
‘Riverbank’ 屋 [Shu], ‘cliff’ 屋 [Zao], ‘limit’ [Zhuang], ‘rim’ (of the eye) 瞰 [Guoce],
later also ‘margin, edge’ (of the world).
[T] Sin Sukcu SR ɲja (対) PR, LR ja; MGZY yai (対) [ja]
[E] This word looks similar to the ST stem ɲra ~ ɲra, but is unrelated (the basic
meaning of ɲa is ‘edge, limit’); for an overview of similar words, see under → や₂ 御延詣.

や₁ 亀 (hay) LH ɲa, OCM *ɲai?
— [D] M-Xiāmén col. ɲai, lit. ɲai
‘Mute’ [Guoce]. This onomatopoetic root represents throaty sounds. The MC diver.
II vocalism is unlikely to be due to an OC medial *r (Pulleyblank JQAOS 118.2, 1998: 212),
but is probably due to sound symbolism.

や₂ 耳 (hay) LH ɲa, OCM *ɲai?
— [T] Sin Sukcu SR ɲja (対), PR ja; ONW ɲa
‘Proper, refined, a kind of song’ [Shi].
[E] Etymology is unknown; it has been suggested that ɲa is connected with Xià 夏 [ga] ‘Xia dynasty, Chinese’.

や₁ 亀 (hay) LH ɲa, OCM *ɲai or ɲra?
‘Next in line, second, inferior’ [BI, Shi].
Karlgren relates ɲa to → 亀, 恶 ‘evil’, but this seems semantically forced. Bodman

Notes for Table Y-1:
Two parallel stems comprise this w, one with, one without ST / OC medial *r (§2.5).
Open vowel and final ɲ stems are inherited from ST.
The nouns in final -n are CH innovations (§6.4.3). The form yang ɲai *ɲra ‘face’ is ambiguous because it could either be *ɲra + n, or be directly related to WT ɲar as TB final *r can on occasion correspond to
a MC div. II syllable with final a (§7.7.2). The forms in final -k are CH innovations (§6.1).
‘Outside’ → にゃ does not belong to these stems.
讓

於

yán

=ête, NH にak, OCM *tīg

'Forehead' is only attested during Han and later [SW, Shiming, FY, Hou Hanshu]; it is a semantic extension of the homophone 誼 'to face' (lit. ‘confront’).

[D] PMin *tīg: Xiàměn giaoPD2, hiaoPD2, lit. gikPD2

[E] ST, indirectly related to TB items: Tamang-gurung, Thakali gōh 'forehead'. The connection with AA-Khmer ṭhāk 'forehead' is not clear. Wáng Li (1982: 280) and LaPolla (1994: 141) have pointed to cognition with yán 眉 (above). Syn. → dīng2 定 類, → sāng 麦, → yáng. 楊

[C] For a synopsis of related words, see Table Y-1 and notes. Cognates are → ã nã 店 'riverbank', → nií, 理 'go against', → yáng, 同 'go to meet', → yú, 仍 'defend'. Prob. unrelated is → yá, ăi 侖涯涯 'riverbank'. Benedict (1995: 33) includes in this wf wó 我 '1 via 'self' (under → wú, 吾), as well as WT dpos 'reality'; see however → yí10 儀 'proper'.

yán 1

喫 (Tien) LH ʔen (Tien), OCM *ʔen

'Gullet' [Guoce]. Wáng Li (1982: 268) relates this wf to → ji11 肋 (jiák) 'throat'.

yán 2

喫 (Tien) LH ʔen (Tien), OCM *ʔen

To 'swallow' [Meng], 吱 [Hanfei]. The second graph 嘅 should go back to OCM *ʔen, but since Hánfei is a relatively late text, the two forms may already have merged.

yán 3

喫 (jiǎn)4 LH ʔiam, OCM *ʔiam—[T] O NWiam

'Be content, satisfied, tranquil' [Bl, Shi], 'to satiate, satisfy' 殉 [Guoyu], 歲 [Zuo].

yán 4

喫 (jiǎn4)4 LH ʔiam, OCM *ʔiam

Be 'full of, satiated > abundant' [Shu, Shi]; 'fed up, tired' [Shi].

yán 5

沿 (jiwān) LH juan, OCM *lon? or *jon?

'Go along a river' [Shu], 'follow, imitate' [Li].

yán 6

沿 (jiwān) LH juan, OCM *lon?

'Go along, follow' [Zhuang].

yán 7

沿 (jiwān)5 LH juan, OCM *lon?

'A hem, border on garment' [Liji].

yán 8

沿 (jiwān)5 LH juan, OCM *lon?

'To elongate,' [Liji]

[yán] 9

Sin Sukhu SR, LR yén (平); MGZ Y ywán (平) [yên]

[<] exopass. of yán 沿 [jem] 'have been filled / contented' ([§4.4].

[+] This wf may belong to → yán2. 剩. Note that PAi *tiam* 'full, satiated'.

yán 10

沿 (jiwān) LH juan, OCM *lon? or *jon?

'To blaze, burn' [Shi]. The graph 無 had two different ancient readings, LH jam and wam → yán3 灼. Both forms are supported by outside connections; yán3 灼 transcribes

Indic yama. The same doublet .Allow = *w- (Tai *w-, PTB *sl-) is found in → yē 烏 which could perch. be related.

[E] ST and area word: PTB *(s)-lyam > Tamang me-lahm 'flame' (me 'fire'), Lepcha lim 'to flame up' ị- lim 'flame'; LP ham to flash, as bright as steel* gōp3-3am3 'flutter' *ps3-3am3-3a3 'butterfly' *pram3 'flashing'; WT léam-me-ba  < yiam 'shining, dazzling' p'yam-p'yam-p'a 'glittering'; WT b'aham-courase of flame* p's3-3am 'moth'. The first syllable in the WT p's3-3am 'leb < pyam-apel 'butterfly' may be related, hence lit. the 'glittering flat thing'.<  Also AA: Khmer lāma /lim/ 'to flare, flame' ṭblāma /plīm/ 'move like a flash, immediately, next moment' < babbhīma /plīm/ 'to gleam, glisten'.

yán 銘刻 (jiān6) LH jam3, OCM *lam?

'Be flaming up, blazing up (of fire) 銘 [Shu] (also MC jamč); 'rising' [Li], 'brilliant' 刻 [Chuci].

<yán> endoactive of yán3 灼 (jiān 4) *lam (§4.5).

shān 錶 (jiān6) LH ʔam, OCM *iam?

'To twinkle' 灼 [SW]; 'time of a short glance, moment' 灼閃 [SW: Gongyang], in modern dialects 'lightning': Mand. shān diáán 閃電. The basic meaning is apparently to 'flicker'.

[T] Sin Sukhu SR jjem (上); MGZY shen (上) [jen]; ONW ʔam

[<] iterative of yán 灼 (jiān6) §5.2.3.

[+] ST *tiam (§5.2.3): WT tham 'now, at present'; note also 'tham at once'.

[C] Alloforms are → tān, 灼, 灼, dān, 灼, xān2, 灼, 于 yē, 灼. Words meaning 'flame', 'tongue, lick' (→ tān, 灼) and 'sharp' (→ yān4 剥刺) are near homophones and may derive from the same root.

yán3 灼 (jiān 3 [GY]) LH wam, OCM *wam — [N] Early MC wiam (Pulleyblank 1991)

'To blaze, burn' [Shi]. The graph 灼 had two different ancient readings, LH wam and LH jam → yān3 灼. The same doublet *w- - w- is found in the cognate → yē 烏. Acc. to SW, yān 灼 < OC wam is phonetic in xiáng 熊 *wom 'the bear'; if true, yān would confirm the final *-m in xiáng, and xiáng the initial *w- in yān.

[+] ST: LP g'3-3am3-wiam3 'sway up and down' (e.g., bridge) g'3-3am3 'a flash', Lushai vaal3 / vam 'red-hot glowering of fire, iron, etc. → Tá sh. weməmA2 in weməmA2, weməmA2 'brilliant, glowing of fire' (Manomalybivool 1975: 180). Tá / OC / Sino-Viet. viēm [Maspero 1912: 68, n. 1].

yán4 言 → yū 語

yán5 延延 (jiān) LH jian, OCM *lan — [T] O NW lan

'To extend, prolong' [Shu], 'continue' [Zuo], 'stretch' (neck) [Lunyu]; 'bamboo mat' 延 [Shi]. The OC initial is uncertain; Viet. and Tai relations suggest *tl, TB comparanda *tl.


x chǎn 鐳 (jiān) LH ʔam, OCM *h-lan?

'Long' (of beams) [Shi].

x dān 鐳 (dān) LH don3, OCM *lam?

'Far-reaching' (of creepers), 'extending' [Shi] > 'great, vastly' [Shu] > 'boast' [Guoyu].

[+] ST: TB-WB thānB3 'spread out, lay in the sun'.

Unrelated are prob. TB items with initial *y- (Short 1972: 17), they may have converged in OC: PTB *yar 'to spread out, extend, sail' (STC: 138) > WT g-yo-mo 'sail',

552

553
yán — yān

Lushai zaar" 'spread' (wings, a sail), JP yan" 'to unroll, spread'. ‘Sail’ may ultimately be connected with an AN word (Shorto), e.g. Proto-Eastern Formosan *layaR 'sail' [Li Jeng-kuen LL 5.2, 2004: 370].

yán 言 (qian) LH ernen, OCM *tjen, OCB *tjen
‘To grind' [SW] > 'examine' [Yi]. Perh. there is a connection with WT gfer 'take pains'.

yán 研 (qian) LH ernen, OCM *tjen, OCB *tjen
‘Inkstone' [SW, Shiming].

[C] *tjen + general purpose s-suffix (§3.5).

yán, 顔 → 亞, 御近詩

yán 觀 (qian) LH paman, OCM *pram – [T] ONW pjan
‘Steep, high, lofty' (of mountains) [Shi], 'precipitous, dangerous' [Zuo].

yán 觀 (qian) LH jian, OCM *gaman, OCB *ng(j)am
‘Majestic, stern, grave' [Shi], 'severely, strict' [Shu].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR jem (pam), PR, LR jen; MGZY ngem (pam) [jem]

yán 徙 (qian) LH jian, OCM *gaman, OCB *ng(j)am (?)
‘Dignified' [Shi].

[ST] WT paman-pa 'height' p paman-pa 'splendor, majesty', perh. also WB graam 'scaffold, gallows'.

[C] An alloform with a stop final is → yáng 業. Bodman (1980: 176) adds → xiàn 險 to this word. Note jián 建 (qian) 3 *pram (?) 'hill-top' [Shi] which may be a variant.

yán 建 (qian) LH jian, OCM *jam < *r-jam
‘Salt' [Shu]. The phonetic implies an initial *r- which is supported by the WT form.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR jem (pam), PR, LR jen; MGZY yem (pam) [jem]; ONW jam

[ST] Proto-Min *ziem 'a white encrustation formed from saltwater or brine' (Norman 1983: 203).

yán 建 (qian) LH jian, OCM *jaman 'To salt, pickle' [Lijil] (Downer 1959: 281).

[C] *jam + exaotive / caus. s-suffix (§4.3), lit. 'make salty'; the word survives in Min dialects: PMin *ziem2.

[ST] ?-yam: PTB *hyam (HTPB: 299) > Karenic-Sqaw hlo, Pwo ya 'salty'; WB yam2 'saltpoet' (HST: 128): WB yam2-wa < r-yam 'a kind of salt' (Li F. 1976: 46); this ancient WT medicinal word has been considered a loan from CH (Benedict STC: 57 n. 186). Yán is sometimes thought to be related to → xiàn 險 (so Li F.) – unlikely. CH > Tai *zem. For the phonesthesmic final -m, see §2.9.

yán, 亚 (jian) LH jian, OCM *jam?/s, OCB *ran?/s
‘Be overflowing > abundant, extensive’ [Shi], ('floodplain') 'lowland' [Zuo].

[ST] WT yar-ba 'to disperse, ramble, stray'.

yán 演 (jian) LH jian, OCM *jan? – [T] ONW ian
‘To flow out, extend’ [Guoyu]. Karlgren (1956: 15) adds

qián 貫 (k'ian 3) LH k'ian, OCM *chrian?
‘To exceed, err, fail, lack' [Shi] > 'be defective, injured’ [Shi].

[ST] WT k'yar-ba 'to err, go astray, deviate'. QYS div. III points to an earlier *r in the syllable, it may reflect an original final *r (§7.7.2).

qián 鋪 (k'ian 3, k'ian 5) LH k'ian, OCM *krian, *kan? ?
('Defective') 'lame' [Zhuang], 'speak with difficulty' [Chuci].

yán yáng

yán 觀 (qian) LH yam, OCM *tan? – [T] ONW yam
‘Be spreading over, covering, extensively’ [Shi]. Also QY kam2 'cover' [Mutsian], 'narrow pass' [Zuo]; 'to cover, shut' [nose, ears] [Li].

= yán 拦 (jian 3, jian 5) LH yam, OCM *tan?
‘To cover' [Meng] > 'thickening, gathering (clouds)' [Shi].

= yán 觀 (qian) LH yam, OCM *tan?
‘Cover' [Li].

= yán 觀 (jian 3) LH yam, OCM *tan?
‘Submerge, soak’ [Li].

[E] => KT: S. homam (PTai *hom), Po'ai homam ‘to cover up’ Po'ai homam ‘to bury'; PHlai *kom ‘bury, cover'; MY: Mun (Yao) hom 27 ‘to cover' (Spreckler 1989: 21). It is not clear if and how PVM *tanC ‘moist, humid, mist' [Thomas] is related.

[C] The wf under → yán 觀 may belong here, also → yē 觀 ‘kerchief'.

yán 觀 (jian 3) LH yam, OCM *tan?

yán 剁 (jian 5) LH jam, OCM *jam?
‘Pointed, sharp' (of plowshare) [Shi]; ‘sharp, pierce' [Li], 'cut' [Xun]: ‘jade tablet with pointed top' [Shi].

[ST] *r-jam 'sharp'. The word yán has lost the ST initial *r- (§9.2.1) which has been preserved in → lián 建 ‘see' (there see for cognates) in yán the ST *r- was treated as a pre-initial, in lián as the word initial.

yán 眼 (jian) LH yam, OCM *tan?
‘To lie down (on bed, trees toppled by storm) [Shi, Shu] > 'low-lying land' [Zuo].

yán 眼 (jian) LH yam, OCM *tan?
‘Gutter, latrine' (< lowered place, depression') [Zhouli].

[ST] Lushai zaalH < jial ‘to lie down, recline’ < zalH < jial 'lay on the back'. The TB initial *s- is expected to correspond to MC div. IV (jian 2), not III. This casts doubt on the genetic relationship. On the other hand there are no syllables corresponding to the following. IV type in MC, hence they might have merged with div. III, perh. under the influence of the similar etymology → kān, ‘press down'.

yán 眼 (jian) LH yam, OCM *tan?
‘Eyeballs, eyes' [Yi] > 'eyes' [Han period].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR jian (.), PR jian, LR jen; MGZY yam (.) [jan]; ONW jian

[ST] This word replaces mù 目 in all modern dialects except Min. Acc. to Sagart (1999: 154) derived from

yén 眼 (jian) LH yam, OCM *tan?
‘Knob, bulge' [Zhouli].

yán 眼 (jian 4) LH yam, OCM *tan?
‘Bitter wine' [SW].

[PMY] *piam 'bitter' [Wáng F.].

yán 建 (jian 4) LH yam, OCM *tan?
‘Black mark on face' [面有黑字] [GY]; 建 ‘wild mulberry tree' [GY, ‘mountain mulberry'] [Shi].
yán – yáng

=án 晦 (詹姆² 3, 詹姆²) LH ?ámⁿ², ?ámⁿ, OCM *ám? ?'Dark' [Xun].

yàn 夜 (腫²) LH ?én³, OCM *éns, OCB *éns — [T] ONW ién 'To be at ease, rest, feast' [BI, Shi]; 'be pleasant' (e.g. with a lamb skin; laughing) [Shi].

yán 眼 (腫², 腫²) LH ?én³, ?án³, OCM *éns, *èns? 'Be peaceful, mild' [Shi]; 'peace, at rest' [Li].

yàn 雲 (腫³) LH ?án³, OCM *éns? — [T] ONW ién 'Wild goose' [Shi].

Yán appears to derive from → 云, 靈 'goose' with the suffix *-n (§6.4.3), but the TB connections make that doubtful: WT 胃 - 胃 'goose', WB 胃 (STC p. 99 n. 284; HST: 87) where the difference in final nasals, i.e. CH / WB -n for WT -n, is odd, but not unique (§6.4.1-2). CH -> PTai *han⁴n < *enery 'goose' (Li F. 1976: 46). Alternatively, 藍 and 眼 may both reflect an earlier final *-n (or *-n).

yán 鶴 (腫³) LH ?án³, OCM *éns 'A quail-like game bird' 菖 [Gueyu], 菖 [Liji].

【E】KT: Lushai ʔaː̆r² 'fowl', Tiddim ʔaːr² 'fowl' < *ʔaar. AA-Baharinic lgs. have words for 'chicken' which look similar: ʔar, ʔar, iar, ial, etc. The MC div. II vocalism (thought to derive from OC medial *e) occurs occasionally in words whose TB cognates have a final *e, refer to §7.1.2.

yàn 藍 (腫³) LH ?án³ (~ ?án²), OCM *éns 'The swallow' [Shi].

Some dialects have tone B: X-Chángshā ʔien², W-Wénzhōu ʔie². (E) CE Tai: Saek ʔien² ~ ʔien² 'swallow', S. ʔien². This word is thought to be connected with → yán, 咬 'to swallow', but this is doubtful (note that the two English homophones are etymologically unrelated as well).

yán 咬 → yán₁ 咬

yán 爛刺 → yán₂ 炎

yán 咬 → yán₁ 咬

yán 咬 → yán₁ 咬

yán 咬 → yún₆ 語

yán 滃 → xián₂ 献懇

yán 蝇 (詹姆³) LH jam⁵, OCM *jams < *r-jams (?) 'Beautiful' [Shi].

【E】Tai: S. riam⁵² 'beautiful' (Manomaivibool 1975: 221).

yáng₁ 央 → yú₁ 於

yáng₂ 秋 (詹姆) LH ?ióng³, OCM *ían — [D] PMin *ian⁴ 'Sprout, rice seedling' [SW].

This word is closely related to PMiao *zon³ [Wang Fushi - but most Miao lgs. have the final nasal -ŋ] 'young rice plant' (Haudricourt / Streeker, TP 77, 1991: 338). It is not clear if and how the following TB words are related because of the differing initials (see §5.11): WT jian⁴n < *lj - 'shoots, sprouts' 藍 bu 'rice seedlings'.

yáng 行 (詹姆) LH ?ióng³, OCM *ían or *ián, OCB *(i)jang 'Goat, sheep' [OB].

【T】Sin Sukhu SR ʔiong (平); MGZY yang (平) [jan]; ONW ian 'Sheep' [E] Perh. ST: Lushai sai lá-sa < jaː̆r² 'a wild goat', JP jaːa 'blue sheep', Matioso adds WT g-yak yak² (HPTB 304). It is not clear if / how PTai *j - S. jian⁴n - pʰam⁴ - goat, antelope is related, see → yáng, 獵. Sagart (1999: 194) raise's the possibility that this is related to → yáng, 糅 'nourish, feed, rear', meaning lit. 'livestock', which would be semantically parallel to → chu, xū 畜 'nourish, rear, domestic animal'.

yáng 羊 (詹姆) LH ian³, OCM *ian or *ián 'A fly', an eastern Qi (i.e. Shandong) Han period dialect variant for → yáng, 彈 [FY 11, 12] (Mei Tsu-Lin 1983: 318); it survives in Min dialects: PMin *iáŋ⁴ [Normal 1983: 203], and occurs in Old Sino-Viet. as láŋ (Pán Wûyûn 1987: 29).

yáng 弱 → xíng₄ 像象

yáng 弱 弱 (詹姆) LH ian³, OCM *ian or *ián 'Be sick, suffering' 疼 [Shi] (also LH ziong); 'sore, ulcer' 捲 [Zuo] (also LH ian³ [Zhouli] — a late text, hence the incongruous phonetic).

yáng 弱 (詹姆³) LH ian³, OCM *ian or *ián 'Sickness' (Chucui), 'defect, shortcoming' (Guoce).

【<】yáng + s/-h-suffix (§3.5).

shāng 傷 (詹姆³) LH uán³, OCM *jian³ or *ián 'Be paid, injured, hurt' [Shi], 'to mourn' [Guanzi]. Acc. to Downer (1959: 288) 'to mourn' [Liji] is a tone C derivation (Unger Hau-ku 33, 1986: 34).

【<】causative of yáng 弱 (§5.2.2). This kind the next items may possibly represent a different root *ián, not *ián.

qiáng 强 (詹姆) LH iáŋ⁴, OCM *s-hian or *s-ián 'To hurt' [SW], also = shāng 傷.

【<】s-caus. reification of shāng 傷 (§5.2.2).

【E】Note Tai: S. ián⁴² 'destroy', sa-leq 'harmful, unhealthy'. Unger (Hau-ku 33, 1986: 34) adds some other items to form a w which includes → bing, 病, → yáng, 病.

yáng 强 → xiáng, 强

yáng 洋 (詹姆) LH ián³, OCM *ian or *ián, OCB *iáng 'Much' [EY, Hanshu].

yàng-yáng 洋洋 'Vast, wide, large' (expansion of water, land), 'ample' (flowing), 'grand' (dance) [Shi]; 'much' [EY, Hanshu].

【E】ST: *ian; WT yuán² 'wide, broad, large', Lepcha yuán 'id.' (Gerlich 1994: 254). Alternatively, this etymology may be related to new yáng, 洋.

yáng 揚 (詹姆) LH ián³, OCM *ian, OCB *iáng 'To rise, raise, extol, make known' [BI, Shi]; 'tossed up by the wind' 風 [Chuci]; Bodman (1980: 102) believes that yáng 揚 'be elated' [Shi] is the same word.
yáng

º shāng-shāng 湯湯（shān） LH 爲 LH, OCM *lhand
‘Voluminous’ (flow of water, e.g. rising river) [Shi].
[<] iterative / intensive derivation from yáng (§5.2.3).
[ǐ] ST: WT lhand- ‘to rise, arise’ = lhand- ‘to rise, get up’ = slan- ‘slant’ = s- ‘to float, go up’. Note also Tai: S lhand⁵⁵, slan⁵⁵ (Gòng Qíndí MZYW 2, 2000).
[ǐ] Further derivations may be → yáng, 蓋 ‘to raise’ and items mentioned there. Allomorphs are → yáng, 揚‘to raise, hoist’ also has WT cognates.

yáng₂ 揚陽 (jiān) LH, jān, OCM *ljan
‘Forehead’ 揚 [Shi 47]; (horse’s) ‘metal frontal’ 銅 [BI, Shi 261, 2].
This word could be the same as → yáng, 揚 ‘lift’, hence ‘rising part’ > ‘forehead’.

yáng₃ 揚陽 (jiān) LH jān, OCM *ljan, OCB *ljag, ‘OCB *ljag’ — [ǐ] ONW ian
‘Sunshine’ 揚 [Shi], 揚 [Shi], ‘be shining, shiny’ 揚 [Shi] > ‘sunny side, south side, north slope’ (of a valley) 揚 [Shi] > ‘outside (fake) appearance (of a person)’ [Guo] (in contrast to → yīn, 隱 ‘the inside reality’ [Hou Hanshui]) > ‘bright, clear, male, etc. principle’ (as opposed to yīn 隱).

yáng₁0 揚 (jiān) LH jān, OCM *ljan, OCB *ljag
‘Poplar’ [Shi].
[ǐ] ST: WT ljan-ma < hlan¹-yang⁴ ‘willow’ (Salix viminalis), in the Golok dialect ytan-ma  ‘willow’, but rtan-ma ‘poplar’. The uncommon WT glan-ma ‘a large kind of alpine willow’ (Gong 2002b: 206) may be a variant or a loan from Cuona Monpa klanⁱ⁵, ma⁵⁵ or klan⁵⁵-ceein⁵⁵ ‘willow’ (ceen ‘tree’).

yáng₁ 仰 (njan¹) LH njan¹, OCM *njan⁴, OCB *njang⁴
‘To lift the face, look up’ [Shi].
[ǐ] Sin Sukcu SR njan (.), PR jian, jian, LR jian; MGZY (njiang) → nyang (.) [njan]: ONW njan.
[D] In southern dialects: ‘to tend livestock’: PMin *nian⁴ > Amoy gō⁴, Fuzhou aug⁴; G-Rúijin niou⁴ niu⁴. 仰牛.

yàng 嶺 (nian¹) LH nian¹, OCM *nian⁴
‘Be high’ [Shi], ‘lifting up’ [Chuci].
[ǐ] Perh. related to MK: PMonic *ljan-pak ‘to look upward’, Viet. ngúa, Muong plan ‘face up’ (Pulleyblank JCL 22.1, 1994: 82). Note also Tai: S hjan⁵⁵ ‘to turn the face upward, look up’.

yàng₂ 揚 (jiān) LH jān, OCM *ljan or *ljan⁴; ?, OCB *(l)jan⁴; — [ǐ] ONW ian
‘To nourish, feed, rear’ [Shi].
[ǐ] perh. *lan² + endoactive tone B derivation from → yáng, 揚 ‘raise’ (§4.5).

yàng₃ 揚 (jiān) LH jān, OCM *ljan or *ljag, OCB *ljag
‘To keep, support’ [Shu].
[ǐ] perh. *lan² + the generic tone C derivation from yáng (§3.5).
[ǐ] In earlier times, ‘to manage the support for the elderly’ was called xiáng 序 (ziān)
(during the Yin dyn, acc. to SW, the Zhou dyn. acc. to Mengzi) – a PCH caus. s-prefix derivation from *lan (→ yáng, 揚).
[ǐ] Two genetic connections are possible: (1) OC *lan⁴, PTB *s-yan (HPTB: 294); WB kyōn⁴ ‘feed, tend cattle’; the vowel *o does not agree with OC, but WC skya-yon ‘to guard, keep, tend’ (cattle) has the vowel *a. The TB etymon is also reflected in the ethnic name > Qiàng, 章 and the clan name Jiàng 章. This is the preferred affiliation because it is with a genetically related TB language, and the phonetic series implies OC *j- rather than *l-. (2) Or OC *ljan⁴ > Tai: S lian⁵⁵ ‘feed, nourish’, Ahom lin⁵⁵ (Boedman 1980: 106), see also → yáng, 章. WT and Tai could be reconciled by assuming an earlier *lj-* > yáng, 章 ‘goat, sheep’ is perh. also related.

yàng₃ 章 (jiān) LH jān, OCM *ljan⁴; — [ǐ] PMin *dian⁹
‘To itch’ [Li].

yàng₁ 忿 → yáng₄ 佯囉

yàng₂ 章 → tàng₂ 湯

yàng₃ 淋 → xiàng₃ 像像

yāo₁ 么 ‘small’ → yōu₄ 幼

yāo₂ 娘 (?jū³) LH séu, OCM *sau⁴ — [ǐ] ONW sau

wàn 宛 (jūn⁴) LH yun⁴, OCM *ton⁴; (< ?sau-?)
‘Be lovely’ (Shi), ‘obliging, polite’ 宛 [Shi], ‘accommodating’ 宛 [Zhuang], ‘gentle, docile’ 宛 [Zuo]. ‘Small’ (bird) 宛 [Shi] is prob. the same word.

yāo₃ 稳 → yāo₂ 娘

yāo₄ McC 咬 (sau) LH sau, OCM *sau⁴
‘To shout’ [Zhuang]. Div. H asociality is perh. due to sound symbolism, not to OC medial *r.
[ǐ] ST: PTB *sa ‘cry out’ (STC no. 273, p. 63). See also → jīāo, 營 咬.

yāo₅ 腰要 (?jūu⁴) LH sau, OCM *sau, OCB *sjew (i.e. *sjeu⁴?) — [ǐ] ONW ?sau ‘Waist’ 腰 [Guoyu], 要 [Li]; ‘waistband’ 要 [Shi].
[ǐ] US jīu⁴-tsi (Luo Yongxian MKS 27, 1997: 275), S sa-  ‘waist’ where sa is a Tai addition (Unger Hao-ku 36, 1990: 66), PThai *hnäau⁴ or *hj-; Boaing hjäa- hjäa- [Matisoff 1988c no. 319], PMiao *glau⁵ ‘waist, lower back’ [Wäng F.]. Note also PLCB *gjok ~ *džok ‘waist’ [Matisoff 1972 no. 6]. About /j/ in the initial, see §5.11.

yāo₁ 窗 (jīu, jīau [QY]) LH, jū, OCM *jau ‘Kiln’ 窗 [Mao] > ‘pottery’ [SW].
This is usually thought to be cognate to → táo, 陶瓷 (so Wáng Li 1982: 231).

yāo₂ 搖搖 (jiū) LH sau, OCM *sau, OCB *sjew
‘To shake, be agitated’ 搖 [Shi]; ‘to caper, be merry’ 搖 [Chuci].
[ǐ] Sin Sukcu SR jiu (.) ; MGZY yew (.) ; jiu; ONW iau
够 – yē

yē 也 (jiāb’é) LH ja16, OCM *jia? 也
A phrase or sentence final particle which occurs first late in Shijing (Gaoefeng), 'a particle of noun predication' (Pulleyblank 1995: 16), i.e. yē is used like the copula 'to be'; it replaces the early copula → wéi.

yē 也 (jiāb’é) LH ja16, OCM *jia? 也
'To smelt, fuse, cast' [Meng] occurs also in Tai: s. huo12 'cast' (metal) (Unger Hao-ku 36, 1990: 55).

yē 野 (jiāb’é) LH ja16, OCM *jia? 也, OCB *ja17 也
'Uncultivated land, grassland' [Shi], [Lü] 'rustic, wild' [Lunyu], 'open country' [Chuci]. GY has an additional reading: QYS jiāo16, LH dzâi3 'fields, open country'. 華 'field hut, detached residence, villa' [GY], 'field' [GY ms. (Coblin AO 1986: 107). It is not clear if this is cognate to yē.

yē 夜 (jiāc’é) LH ja16, OCM *jah > jakh OCB *(l)jAks

'yōu' 夜 (jiāc’é) LH ja16, OCM *jah > jakh OCB *(l)jAks

'yē' 夜 (jiāc’é) LH ja16, OCM *jah > jakh OCB *(l)jAks

'yōu’ 夜 (jiāc’é) LH ja16, OCM *jah > jakh OCB *(l)jAks

'yēh’ 夜 (jiāc’é) LH ja16, OCM *jah > jakh OCB *(l)jAks

'yē' 夜 (jiāc’é) LH ja16, OCM *jah > jakh OCB *(l)jAks

'yōu’ 夜 (jiāc’é) LH ja16, OCM *jah > jakh OCB *(l)jAks

'yēh’ 夜 (jiāc’é) LH ja16, OCM *jah > jakh OCB *(l)jAks

'yōu’ 夜 (jiāc’é) LH ja16, OCM *jah > jakh OCB *(l)jAks

'yēh’m” 夜 (jiāc’é) LH ja16, OCM *jah > jakh OCB *(l)jAks

'yōu’ 夜 (jiāc’é) LH ja16, OCM *jah > jakh OCB *(l)jAks

'yēh’m” 夜 (jiāc’é) LH ja16, OCM *jah > jakh OCB *(l)jAks

'yōu’ 夜 (jiāc’é) LH ja16, OCM *jah > jakh OCB *(l)jAks
yè 液 (jiāk) LH jak, OCM *jak < *r-jak
‘Fluid, moisture’ [Zhuang], ‘to moisten’ [Zhou].
[EN] ST: PTB *ryak (STC no. 204) > WT 𠲆 < ryak ‘grease’ (in liquid state); WB
pan-rak ‘juice of flowers’ ≠ 𠲆-rak ‘liquor’; NNgà *jak ‘oil’, Lush sa–hraika ‘grease, oil’ (HST: 81);

yè, 瞡 (jiā3) LH jıp (or wıp ?), OCM *wap (or *jıp ?)
‘To carry food to’ (workers in the field) [Shi] survives in PMin *jıp (or *jiat ?) ‘to eat’ (J. Norman’s Min reconstruction).

yè 葉 (jiāp) LH jıp, OCM *lap, OCB *jip - [T] ONW îap
‘Leaf, foliage, generation’ [Shi]. LH jıp rather than jıp is suggested by Min forms.

[D] In some southern dialects yè also seems to be the word for ‘wing’; W–Wénzhōu
ieD2 ‘leaf’, ieD1 ‘wing’, (written 翼[翼]) ‘wing’; PMin *ziap > Yònggān sB, Tún siepD2,
Zhiyáng siat ‘wing’; Northern Min *ziapD2 ‘fin’ (J. Norman, p. c.). Perh. a substratum
had some influence on this semantic development, note Tai: S. saBl. jaapD1L < Khmer
/slap/ ‘wing, feathers, hair’ (sa- is a pre-syllable).

packing food’; WB lyap ‘very thin’; Limbu lap ‘wing’, JP lyapD1 ‘leaf’, LTM lao < lop,
West Tib. lo-ma ‘leaf’ ≠ lo < lop ‘year’ ≠ dab-ma < nlap ‘leaf, wing’ [J. Sun acc. to
Matisoff 1995a: 67].

hsi 世 (jiāci) LH sas, OCM *lats < *ps
[EN] [T] Sin Sukchu SR ši (T); MCZ ŝi (T); ONS şî;

[EN] [C] iterative devoicing of *lap (§5.2.3), + s/h-suffix (§4.2), meaning successive foliages
of a tree > generations.

[EN] The relationship with WT rabs ‘lineage, succession of families, generation’ is not
clear because the initial correspondence is OC *l in WT r.

yí 伊 (jiāci) LH jäs, OCM *lats < *laps?
‘Postterity, descendants’ [Zuo].

[EN] [C] perh. this word is a back formation (voicing) from shi.

[EN] ST: Perh. WT rabs ‘lineage, successions of families’. For the initials, see §12.9
Written Tibetan (6). However, see → là 麽.

[EN] Alloforms are perh. → dié 聞, → xiē 聞.

yè 蕾 (jiā3) LH jıp, OCM *lap
‘Kerchief’ is acc. to FY (4) a Han period dialect word current north of the Yellow
River. This word belongs perh. to → yán 頭 and has TB cognates:


yè, 熟 (jiā cultivate) LH either jıp or wıp, or both, OCM *lap, *wap
‘Gleaming’ [Shi].

[EN] A widely distributed phonoaesthetic etymology in East and SE Asia, incl. AN, with the
rime *ap and initial *r-, *r-*, *r-*, *r-*, etc., often with pre-syllables (see R. Bauer LTB4
15.2: 151–184). The L-init. variant is widely encountered in the area: PTB *x-lyap
(HPTB: 338), WT lhab-lhab-pa, lhab-se-lhabs ‘to flutter to and fro, to glisten,
glisten’, Lepcha lyap [l]x>lap ‘flare’, Adi lip-lap ‘to flash’ [Bodman ICSTLL: 10];

WB lyap-lyap ‘wavingly (as flag) ≠ hlyap ‘lightening’; Lushai in–hlapH ‘to flick, flap’
(someone with cloth etc.), JP prap–t ‘a flash’. ⇆: KT: Siam. leepD2L ~ ma-leep ‘to flash’
(as lightning); PHai jíp ‘lightening’.

The W-init. variant also occurs in Tai: S. weepD2–wpD2 ‘glittering, flashing’
(Monomaivibool 1975: 180). The Tai form looks like the equivalent of a hypothetical
CH compound yè-yè 嘲嘯 wap-wap.

A Y-init. variant is common in TB: *yap ‘wave, fan, paddle’ (HPTB: 339) >
Lushai zaap, Garo tso, Tangkhul Nagà k’b yap ‘fan’, WB yap; WT (g-yab-pa ‘to move
about, swing, brandish’.

A variant is → yǎi 爲 ‘be flashing’; perh. related to butterfly ‘→ hú-dì 蝴蝶.
This etymology is perh. cognate to → yán 兩, → yán 焚 where we also find the *w- ~ l-
doubles.

yè, 業 (jiāp) LH jıp, OCM *lap, OCB *ng(r)jıp - [T] ONW îap
‘Work, deed, achievement’ [BI, Shí]. — Etymology not clear.

[EN] [T] Sin Sukchu SR ši (T); ONW îap

yè 業 (jiāp) LH jıp, OCM *jıp
‘Be awe-inspiring, terrifying, terrific’ [Shi] belongs to the w → yán 哈.

yf1 — (jet) LH ʐit, OCM *zit
‘Be one, single, whole’ [OB, Shí].

[EN] [T] Sin S. SR ʐi (T); MGZY Yi (T) [Zj]; MTang ʐit, ONW ʐit

[EN] [D] M–Xiǎmén lit. rC4; Fúzhōu eC2D1; K–Mèixiàn jC4; Y–Guāngzhōu jC4

[EN] ST: PTB *zit (STC: 94): Chepang yat ‘one’, Kanauri ʐit ‘one’, and WB ac ‘unit,
one’ (HST: 114), Lushai zet ‘first, previous’. This word is found only on the periphery
of the ST area and must therefore be old. ⇆ Tai ʐet occurs only in compounds and is
clearly a CH loan, the native Tai word for ‘one’ is mìjǐA2/B1.

yf2 亅 (zi) LH ʐi, OCM *zì
‘This’ [Shi], starting in the 4th ~ 5th cent. AD ‘he, she, it’, survives as a 3rd person
pron. in Wù dialects (Norman 1988: 118).

[EN] [T] Sin Sukchu SR ʐi (T); MGZY Yi (T) [Zj]; STCA ʐi, ONW ʐi

[EN] ST: Lushai ʐi ‘this, that’. Chepang ʐi? ‘he’, WB ʐi ‘this’. Perh. this is a widespread
sound-symbolic area word, note the AA demonstrative *i / e [Pinnow 1965: 32].

yf3 衣 (jei) LH ʐi, OCM *ʔai (?), OCB *ʔaj
‘Garment, clothes’ [Shi].

[EN] [T] Sin Sukchu SR ʐi (T); MGZY Yi (T) [Zj]; ONW ʐi

[EN] [D] PMin *ʔai ‘afterbirth’ is the analog to a MC div. 1 ?ʔi

yf 衣 (jei) LH ʐi, OCM *ʔai (?), OCB *ʔaj
‘To wear’ [Shi].

[EN] [C] exoactive of yi 衣 (§4.3.2).

[EN] This character writes on occasion the dynastic name Yín 殷 LH ʐin (OCB *ʔjpn)
which points therefore to denasalization of a final consonant that seems to have
originated in an early dialect such as Shandong (Baxter 1992: 295). Consequently,
the family name Yi 叶 may be derived from an original Yín.

[EN] Yi 衣 ‘clothes’ may belong to a w̆ whose basic meaning is ‘to envelop, conceal’
and hence is cognate to → yì 衣, yi 衣 (Karlgren 1933: 28; Lau 1999: 69).

Prob. ST: PTB *wɨ *w(y)at ‘wear clothes’ [HPTB: 333, 508] > PLB *wɨ *wɨt ‘wear
clothes, cause to wear’ [Matisoff 2002 no. 181]: open vowel forms of etyma alternate often
with closed syllables in ST lgs. (§6.1); ST medial w often disappears in CH (§10.2.1), thus the ST proto-form might have been *ʔowi(ki).}

**yf** 
依 (ʔei) LH ʔi, OCM *ʔei
‘To lean on, rely on, depend on’ [Shi] is thought to be cognate to → yǐ3 倚 (Wăng Lí).

**yf** 
隱 (ʔiŋ³) [GY], LH ʔin³, OCM *ʔiʌns
‘To lean on’ [Meng].

[C] Perh. → yǐn 因 is an allophone (Pulleyblank in Rosemont 1991: 32), but the vowels do not agree. This is perh. a ST word: WB in³ ‘roll over and over obliquely, to lean’.

**yf** 
隴 (ʔi⁴) LH ʔi⁴, OCM *ʔi³n(h) or *ʔi⁴h(h)
‘Screen, shade, cover’ [Guoyu] is prob. cognate to → yǐ3 衣 (Karlgren 1933: 28).

**yf** 
罹 (ʔi⁴b) LH ʔi³b, OCM *ʔi⁴b
‘A screen’ (with ax patterns) [Shu].

**yf** 
隱 (ʔi³) LH ʔi³, OCM *ʔi³
‘To conceal’ [Lunyu], ‘low wall’ [Zuo] (Karlgren 1933: 28).

**yf** 
恆 (ʔi⁴) LH ʔi⁴, OCM *ʔi⁴

**yi**
醫 (ʔi⁴) LH ʔi⁴, OCM *ʔi⁴₁
‘Potion’ [Zhouli], ‘physician’ [Zuo].

[EN] <- KT: PHLai ja¹ ‘medicine’, PKS *gja² ‘medicine, to cure’, PTai *ʔi¹ ‘medicine’.

**yi**
台 (ʔi³) → → yú⁴ 余 ‘I, we’

**yi**
醫 (ʔi³b) LH ʔi³b, OCM *ʔi³b — [T] ONW i³
‘To transmit, bequeath, hand down, give’ [Shi]. This word appears to form an introvert / extravert pair with → yǐ1 以 ‘take’, like ‘buy / sell’, ‘borrow / lend’; however, the extravert form ought to have tone C. Here, yi³ ‘give’ appears to be primary while yǐ would be a tone B derivation. The two are prob. not cognate after all, because of what would be an unusual morphology.

**sí**
嗣 (ʔi⁴) LH zı⁴, OCM *ʔi³-loh
‘Continue, succeed, inherit’ [Shi].

[EN] Iterative / caus. of yi³ 起³ (§5.3.2.3). Pulleyblank (1973: 120) relates this word to → xú2 息 终 终.


**yi**
胤 (ji⁴n) LH jin³, OCM *ʔi⁴n
‘Be a follower, successor, heir, posterity’ [Shi, Shu].

[EN] Noun from yi³ 起³ (§6.4.3) + general purpose tone C (§3.5).

**yi**
應 (ji⁴) LH ʔe³n, OCM *ʔi⁴n
‘To make a present, exchange presents, to present (someone) to serve, concubine’ [BI]; ‘concubine’ 阿 (Zuo).

[EN] Terminative of yi³ 起³ (§6.5.1) + exocative (§4.3). A gloss for this word includes ‘a girl who follows the principal wife to her husband and becomes his concubine’ (GSR 893k); this implies a goal with finality, hence perhaps the terminative morpheme.

**yǐ**
夷 (ji) LH ji, OCM *ʔi³n, OCB liaj — [T] ONW i < ji
The name of non-Chinese tribes, prob. Austroasiatic, to the east and southeast of the central plain (Shandong, Huái River basin), since the Spring and Autumn period also a general word for ‘barbarian’ (Pulleyblank 1983: 440). Since the ancient Yù (＝Viet) word for ‘sea’ is said to have been yǐ (Yû jué shí 3.8), the people’s name might have originated as referring to people living by the sea (as can be observed elsewhere, e.g. the ‘Morini’ in Caesar’s Gaul, or ‘Pomerania’ along the Baltic coast in Poland, cf. Lat. mare, Russian morie ‘sea’). The Yû word yǐ *(ʔi) ‘sea’ can be connected with AA-Khmer dhle (ʔi) ‘expanses of water’ (OKhmer danle(y) / danlee/ ‘lake, sea’).

<-> Miao lgs. have forms like tî, tê ‘river’ which, however, can instead (or also) be associated with → xī10 河溪.

**yǐ**
夷 (ji) LH ji, OCM *ʔi³n, OCB liaj
‘Be level’ (road), (make level): ‘pacify, at ease’ [Shi]; ‘rule, norm’ [BI, Shi] > ‘normally’ 聞 [BI]. This word ‘level’ is unrelated to → yì2 易 ‘easy’.

**sí**
肆 (si³) LH si³, OCM *si³ < *si³b
‘To be lax’ [Shi], ‘unrestrained’ [Lun] > caus. ‘to relax, pardon’ [Shu].

[EN] Caus. of yi³ 夷 (ja³) ‘ili ‘easy’ (§5.2.2; §4.3). The meaning may have evolved under the influence of shè 舍 (under → shè3 舍‘shè3舍’); at any rate shè demonstrates semantic parallelism between ‘easy, relax’ and ‘let go’.

[EN] This is prob. the same etymon as → yì2 易夷 ‘set out, spread, open’.

**yì**
夷 (ji) LH ji, OCM *ʔi³n
‘Extend, expose, display’ 显 [Li]; ‘set out, spread out’ 显 [Yili].

**shí**
尸 (ji³) LH sī, OCM *ʔi³n — [T] ONW sī
‘To spread out, lie down flat’ (in order to sleep) [Lun] (Geilich 1994: 277); ‘motionless, to set forth’ (sacrificial dishes) [Shi] > ‘personator of a dead ancestor’ [Shi] > ‘corpses’ (Carr, CAAAL 24, 1985: 1f).

[N] In Old Korean ㅅ is used to transcribe what is prob. a lateral like ㄴ (Vovin 1999).

[EN] The common assumption that sī is cognate to → sǐ² 死² is questionable (*si³ LH *si³, *si³ ‘to die’ must be rejected because MC initial ㅆ (*lı⁴, *lı⁴, *lı⁵) never derives from an *s-, except when they share an initial ㅆ or ㅆ (such a case is ㅆ below). Perh. cognate to → shén, shén 身 ‘body’ (Geilich 1994: 277).

[EN] Shí 矢 (si³b) LH si³b, OCM *ʔi³b — [T] ONW sī
‘To line up, marshal, display, arrange’ [Shi]. Perh. → shí3 矢 ‘swear’ is the same word.

**sí**
肆 (si³) LH si³, OCM *si³ < *si³b
‘To spread, set forth, arrange’ [Shi] > ‘a set, row’ (of ancestral vessels) [BI], (of bells) [Zhouli] > shop, market [Lun, Zuo].

[EN] Caus. s-prefix (§5.2.2) + s-suffix (§4.3).

[EN] This is prob. the same etymon as → yì4 夷 ‘level’, also related to items under → yǐn₂ 引 (Geilich 1994: 277).

**yì**
夷 (ji) LH joi, OCM *ʔi³ai
‘To slant, deflect’ 出 [Zhouli]; ‘turn aside’ (of a river’s course) 出 [OB, Shu].

[EN] ST: Lushai leí³ to be on one side, be awry, leaning to one side, rock and roll’ (as a boat) ‘leí³ < leis ‘to pour out, upon, water plants’. For more CH and Lushai cognates, see → shè3 舍.

**shí**
实 (ji³) LH sì, OCM *ʔi³ai
‘Doddingly’ (of walking) [Meng].

[EN] *ai + iterative (?) devoicing (§5.2.3).

**zhí**
豉 (ji³b) LH di³, OCM *ʔi³ai
‘Slope’ [Zhouli].
yī

yī 移 (jiej) LH jai, OCM *jai, OCB *jaj — [T] Sui-Tang 1, ONW ie, 'To change, alter' (one's character) [Meng].
[B] ST *jaj; PTB *laaj 'change, exchange' (Matisoff 1995a: 42) > Chephang hles 'change condition' (for better); WB laj 'change, exchange; empty' (contents of one vessel into another, also hla) > hla-p 'exchange'; JP laj 'to change' > goj-laj 'change, exchange, substitute'; Tiddim Chin lati (< lati = s) 'change'. Dimasa salai 'alter, change, exh.', Garo sre 'change, exchange' (STC p. 64). This etymon is distinct from → yī 移 as Tiddim Chin shows.

yī 易 (jiā) LH jek, OCM *lek 'To change' [OB, Shi]. The original OB graph shows the content of one vessel being changed over into another (K. Takashima, p. c.).

yī 移 (jiej) LH joi, OCM *lai, OCB *laj 'To transfer, move' (population) [Shu].

yī 改 (nei 3) LH pioi, OCM *ploi 'Be proper, correct, suitable' [Shi], [BI]; 'proper conduct, demeanor, manner, dignity' [BI, Shi].

yī 獨 (nei 3) LH nioi, OCM *ploi — [T] ONW nge 'To come' ['Shu acc. to GSR'.

yī 獨 (nei 3) LH nioi, OCM *ploi — [T] ONW nge 'To come' ['Shu acc. to GSR'.

yī 書 (nei 3) LH pioi, OCM *ploi — [T] ONW nge 'To come' ['Shu acc. to GSR'.

yī 獨 (nei 3) LH nioi, OCM *ploi 'To come, end, finish, already' [Shi]. — Etymology is not clear.

yī 獨 (nei 3) LH pioi, OCM *ploi 'To take' (e.g. prisoners) [OB], 'use, employ, in order to' [BI, Shi].

yī 獨 (nei 3) LH pioi, OCM *ploi 'To take' (e.g. prisoners) [OB], 'use, employ, in order to' [BI, Shi].

yī 獨 (nei 3) LH pioi, OCM *ploi 'To take' (e.g. prisoners) [OB], 'use, employ, in order to' [BI, Shi].

yī 獨 (nei 3) LH pioi, OCM *ploi 'To take' (e.g. prisoners) [OB], 'use, employ, in order to' [BI, Shi].

yī 獨 (nei 3) LH pioi, OCM *ploi 'To take' (e.g. prisoners) [OB], 'use, employ, in order to' [BI, Shi].

yī 獨 (nei 3) LH pioi, OCM *ploi 'To take' (e.g. prisoners) [OB], 'use, employ, in order to' [BI, Shi].

yī 獨 (nei 3) LH pioi, OCM *ploi 'To take' (e.g. prisoners) [OB], 'use, employ, in order to' [BI, Shi].

yī 獨 (nei 3) LH pioi, OCM *ploi 'To take' (e.g. prisoners) [OB], 'use, employ, in order to' [BI, Shi].
birds etc.: 'bird of prey' [Dadai Liji]. The word is supposed to mean 'take' in a Shāojīng passage which would be the obvious semantic communality with 'arrow' and 'eagle'. It may then be a derivation from → yi→ 以 'take'.

[1] If this etymology holds, yi would not be related to WT nda' etc. (mentioned under → shī 食 'shoot'). However, it could still be related to WT glag 'eagle, vulture' (CVST 3: 8).

yi₂ 艾莉 (qiān) LH njlos, OCM *pā(t)s
'To move, cut, reap' 艾莉 [Shi]; 'regulate, govern, orderly' 艾 [Shi].
[2] ST: WT rja-ca, horn 'to move, cut, reap', West Tib. col. rjab-pa (HST: 111). The origin of the meanings 'regulate' is ambiguous; it could be derived from 'to cut' (> 'trim' etc.), or it could be derived from → yi2 眾.

yi₃ 亦 (jiā) LH jak, OCM *jak — [T] ONW iek
'Also, furthermore, then' [OB, Shi].

yi₄ 艀 (jiā) LH jak, OCM *jak
'Arm pit' 亦 [OB], 胚 [Zhuang], 撈 [Li], 'lift under the arms' [Zuo].
[4] ST and area word: TB-Mru yak 'arm pit' (Löffler 1966: 119). Lushai zak < yak 'arm pit'; Newari yak-wa 'arm pit'. Lepcha yak 'tickle' (L. Hayes LTBA 15.2, 1992: 186); IR tsāk 'hand'; *g(y)-jak > BB gyak-kali 'arm pit' (STC: 167; 170). PLB *gjak 'tickle', and *gjak 'cubit' (i.e. 'arm'). STC: 34 interprets the WB form as 'arm pit' (PTB g(y)-jak); Shi Xiāngdōng (2000: 127) related this word to PTB *jak 'hand, arm'. => PKS *gjak 'arm pit' (Thurgood), *hjak (Edmonson / Yang 1988). Taś: rjak 'the arm pits' is perh. connected (Manomaviibool 1975: 252). The syn. → gä̃ 裸 may represent a different root.

yi₅ 衣 (yī) LH wek, OCM *wek < *wai-k
'To do service, to labor, corvee' [Shi, Shu] > 'to serve' [Meng], 'to till' [Zhuang], 'affair, matter' [Guoyu]; > 'to function as, to be' [Guoyu]. Often words meaning 'do, make' also carry the meaning 'function as, act as, to be', see → weǐ 為, → zuǐ 作.
[5] Sin Sukchu SR nyi (yi); MGZY ywi (yi) [yi]
The word could be derived from weǐ 為 'wai to do' + k-extension (§6.1) and have spread to neighboring SE Asian lngs. because Chinese and other populations were required by CH governments to perform military or other service yi 役: MK and Tāi lngs.: Viet. viếch, Muong [wak] 'work, job' (Pulleyblank JCL 22.1, 1994: 83). => Taś: Saek viak [202] 'work', S. wiek [Maspero 1912: 73]. Perh. LB forms like Lahu wék < s-wat 'work, toil, a job' (archaic) may also be connected (Benedict LTBA 14.2, 1991: 149).

yi₆ 妻 (jiā) LH wek, OCM *wek < *wai-k
'To pull' [Xun], 'ooar' [Chuci, also Tsh].
[6] Sagart (1999: 73) relates this word to 'leading string' → xiē 泽 织 绞. Another possible allofam is yi (jiā) 'drag, trail' [Shi], 'dragging, slow moving' 行 [Shi].

yi₇ 夜 (jiā) LH jās, OCM *lās
'Toil, fatigue' [Shi].
[7] ST: WT las, OTib. and dial. blas 'work, toil', GTGM tjat < *g-l- (HST: 162). The ancient Wū dialect word li 倫 (jiā) 'to do' [FY 6; EY] could be related. Alternatively, li 倫 may be connected with li 倫 'energetically'. Yī 妻 'toll' (under → xi 巿) may possibly be a vocalic variant.

yi₈ 逝 (jī) LH jās, OCM *lās
'To pull' [Xun], 'ooar' [Chuci, also Tsh].

yi₉ 炙 (jiā) LH jās, jāt, OCM *lat(s)
'To add, increase, profit' [Shi], 'more, advantage' [Lunyu]. Acc. to Bodman (1980: 66) this word is related to WT skey(dé) > 'growth, increase, profit, benefit' ≠ skey-be 'be born' ≠ skey-pa, bskyed 'to generate, procreate, produce'; the WT forms should then derive from an earlier *s-1e. For the CH final -k, see §6.1.

yi₁₀ 炙 (jiā) LH jās, OCM *lās
'To add, increase, profit' [Shi], 'more, advantage' [Lunyu]. Acc. to Bodman (1980: 66) this word is related to WT skey(dé) > 'growth, increase, profit, benefit' ≠ skey-be 'be born' ≠ skey-pa, bskyed 'to generate, procreate, produce'; the WT forms should then derive from an earlier *s-1e. For the CH final -k, see §6.1.
[E] ST: PTB *yik (STC no. 112) > Nung i < ik 'strangle'; WB ac 'squeeze, throttle' (HST: 142). WT *ke 'neck, throat' could either derive from *s-ke or belong to this set [w]; or it could belong to *jjaŋ, etc: 'neck'.

[C] This w is prob. related to *kē, etc: 'narrow passage', and / or to *jjaŋ, etc: 'gullet' (so Wáng Li 1982: 268); or to *je 'whip 'choke' (Wáng Li).

y19 讘 → y18 嘖

y20 腺 → y18 嘖

y21 溢 → y13 汲溢

y22 擔 (jiak) LH jiek, OCM *jak, OBC *jak — [T] ONW *jak 'Wing' [Shi].

[D] PMin *zit 'wing': Xiàmén siz' (D).

[E] This is perf. related to PTB *g-lak 'hand' (Matisoff 1995a: 51f) > WT lag-pa 'hand, arm'; PLB *lak > WB *lak 'hand' (STC: 171: HST: 37). Matisoff suggests that the stress on li 'life' (jok) OBC *c-rák 'strength' may be cognate to the TB items instead (the CH graphic pictures an arm). Syn. CMin *ziap 'wing' see → y2 胸.

y23 悸 → y24 恨懽

y24 悴懹 (?jik) LH *jok, OCM *zak, OBC *z(i)ok — [T] ONW *zik 'One's breast, thoughts' (Lien) > 'keep in one's breast / thoughts' 'to remember' [Lien] (feeling in one's breast!? 'satisfied, tranquil' 悪 [Zuo].

y25 悔懹 (rjik) LH *zak, OCM *zak, OBC *z(i)ak 'To think' [Shi], 'thought, intention, will' [Lien].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR i (z); MGZY yi (z); MTang ?i, ONW ?ia

[c] EX. In contrast to → yǐng3 胚, which signifies the outside aspect of the 'breast, chest', yi refers to the internal aspect. Wáng Li (1982: 312) relates this word to → yín3 胸. Prob. not related to WT yd 'mind', see → xuè1 血.

y26 懵 → y24 恨懽

y27 祫 (jiap, jap) LH jap, wop, OCM *wap 'Be flashing' [Shi]. Variant of to → yē3 赭.

y28 菽 (qii kích 4) LH nias, OCM *jets, OBC *jets 'To establish': 'to plant, cultivate' (a crop, land) 觀[Shi], 藝 [Shu] > 'accomplished, skill' 藝 [Shu], art, method, rule, regular' 藝 [Zuo], etc: [Zhuang].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR i (z); MGZY yi (z); [ji]; ONW njei,

[E] CH -> Tai: S. kra'net 'tactics, methods, strategy'.

y29 而 (jiak) LH sat, OCM *het < *het, OBC *h(i)et — [T] ONW sat 'To set up, establish' [Shi]. The TC initial is assumed on the basis of its relationship with yi 艮. MC sj: from *hni-e- via *hni-is a regular development.

[c] valence increase devoicing of yi 艮 (§5.2.2).

y30 而 (sjiak) LH sat, OCM *het < *het, OBC *h(i)et — [T] ONW sat 'To set up, establish' [Shi]. The TC initial is assumed on the basis of its relationship with yi 艬. MC sj: from *hni-e- via *hni-is a regular development.

[c] valence increase devoicing of yi 艬 (§5.2.2).

y31 竈 (tsiak) LH ts'jak, OCM *s-lak 'To expel' [Zhou], lit. 'cause to let go, make go away'.

[c] caus. of she 救 *lak (§5.2.2).

Three different valence-increasing morphemes are added to the root *lak: (1) causative devoicing *lak, (2) final s: *lahk, (3) s-prefix *s-lahk. A similar profusion of forms is seen in the w → yū5 該.

[y29] Apparently this w has expanded as a result of convergence with several paronyms, i.e.
nearly homophonous synonyms which feel somehow related: → shì 舍捨 ‘the also’; *hā ‘let go > pardon’; (2) *la ‘→ yā 告告 ‘happy’; (3) *la ‘to xū 薦 起’ a line, succession’. A further derivation from the same AA root may be → yē 畢, Yag (in Ancestry of the CH Lg. 1995: 369) considers → shì 射 ‘shoot’ to belong to this group.

This root is shared with AA: OKMer là [lāa] ‘to open, unfold, extend... ‘*dālā [dāla] ‘to be open, extensive, broad’ (of space); PMONic *lāh > OMon ‘to extend’. CH has added a final *-k (§6.1).

yīnyīn

yī 音 → yīlin

yī 音 → yīlì

yī 音 → yīli

yī 音 → yīlì

yī 音 → yīlì

yī 音 → yīlì

拉am / laǐm ‘to trample, dance’; PT ‘*laam-pa < *-lhaam ‘to dance’; *laam ‘path, road’. The latter ‘path, road’ is derivable from the meaning ‘to trample’.

yīn

yīn

yīn

yīn

yīn

yīn

yīn

yīn

yīn

yīn

yīn

yīn

yīn

yīn

yīn

yīn

yīn

yīn

yīn

yīn

yīn

yīn

yīn

yīn

yīn

yīn

yīn
yín — yíng

141) (Lushai has on occasion final -n for TB -m). Alternative connection: PTB *am (STC no. 481) > Nung am 'eat', Dhimal am 'drink' (STC p. 143). Bodman (1980: 60) suggests also a possible link with kān, 咀 and WT skyem-pa 'be thirsty' (resp.) = skyems 'thirst, a drink' (respect expression). Note also → líŋ4, △ 'to drink', and the Hlai form ʔjom2 'to swallow' (Mattheson in Edmundson 1988: 298). A final -m in words with these meanings is natural sound symbolism.

yín4 蜂 (jiàn5) LH jìn4, OCM *lān7, or *la̱n7 — [D] Mín *un8

‘Earthworm’ 龜 [Xun], 蜸 [Meng]. The Mín form develops from an earlier rime ~an (鍾); the following bisyllabic variants point to an OC rime ~in (鍾): gù-yín 蝮蝨 (gu2j1p-4) [Liji, Yué-lǐ̃ĝng] = qìn-yín 蜿蝨 (qi4j1en5 4-) [EY] = qìn-tān 蟾蜍 (qi4j1en5, bi4j1en5) [EY] (Bodman 1980: 77).

[D] Tai and TB words look similar and are sometimes considered related, but the initials are difficult to reconcile: Tai: S: dian4 < *dĭn ~ *dĭn 'earworm' (Li 1976: 45).

STC (p. 37 n. 121; p. 171 n. 457; also HPTB: 78) relates yīn to PTB *ziril ~ *zrin > WT siron 'worm', Kuki-Chin *til (CVST 2: 160). Theoretically, the MC form could derive from a PCH *r-jil > *jil (§9.2.1).

yín5 隱 — yǐn5
eyn5 隱 — yǐn5
eyn2 侖 — yún4
eyn1 侶 — an4 帀
eyn2 侶 — yún4
eyn1 侶 — an4 帀

yǐng1 英 (jiān) LH yān7, OCM *ŋaŋ7, OCB *ŋaŋ7

‘Brilliant’ > ‘ornament; flower, blossom’ [Shi].

[ST] Sin Suku chu SR yin7 (平); MGZY ying7 (平) [Yin]; ONW yin7 (yin7).

[ST] Etymology not certain. Most likely is a ST connection: TB-Lushai aangH / aangN ‘to open (mouth), gap with open mouth’ = aangN ‘to open (mouth), gap with open mouth’ > aangN ‘to open (mouth), gap with open mouth’ > aangN ‘to open (mouth), gap with open mouth’ to (flowers to the sun, dew, etc.); hence yǐng may derive from the notion of an open flower. Alternatively, note an AA word: PSBahn. *ŋaŋ ‘bright light’, Bahn. *ŋaŋ ‘shine’. Or Lushai eef ‘light’ n. eef / een ‘to shine, give light, bright, brilliant’. These last items may perhaps belong to → yīng1 影 ‘shadow’ instead, which could also be related.

yǐng2 鵲 (jiān) LH yān7, OCM *ŋaŋ7 — [T] ONW yin7

‘Eagle, falcon’ [Shi].

[ST] This etymology agrees phonologically with WT skyin-ser ‘eagle, vulture’ (Benedict MKS 18–19, 1992: 8), if one assumes derivation from *s-ŋaŋ7. Alternatively, in spite of the difference in the initials, yīng is widely held to be related to a ubiquitous area word: PMK *knaŋ ‘hawk’ or *knaŋ ‘bird of prey, hawk, eagle’ [Difffloth 1980] > Khm klejg [Haudricourt 1950: 566]; PMonic *liŋ ‘hawk’ (in Nyah Kuri), Mon konjig ‘kite’ [Difffloth 1984: 69]; PTB *g-ŋaŋ (STC no. 333) > WB laŋH-ta ‘vulture’, Kachin laŋ ‘bird of the falcon family’, Garo do-ŋaŋ ‘kite, falcon’, Bodo dau-ŋaŋ ‘eagle’, Dimasa dau-ŋaŋ ‘kite’ (HST: 76) (do – dau ‘bird’). PMMY *klŋ7 (Downer 1982). The initial l- in these lgs. is difficult to reconcile with OC, see §5.11.

yǐng4 隱 — yīng4
eyn4 隱 — yīng4

‘Breast, chest, breastplate, belt across breast of a horse’ [Bl, Shi]; ‘to resist’ [Shi]. In contrast to the root yi 影 ‘one’s breast, thoughts’ (i.e. the inside of the chest; under – yǐng4 懐 隱, yǐng and its cognates represent the exterior aspect of the chest breast. Wáng Li (1982: 312) relates this word yi 懐 (~ yīng4 懐).

[ST] ST: Prob. related to Lushai ʔep4 ‘the breast’.

yǐng 懐 (jiān) LH yīng4, OCM *ŋaŋ7 — [T] ONW yīng4

(‘To turn one’s chest to’ > ‘to face, respond’ [Shi], ‘correspond, agree’ [Yi, Guoyu].

[ST] Sexcative of yīng 隱 (§4.3).

yǐng 懐 (jiān) LH yīng4, OCM *ŋaŋ7

‘Ought, of right’ [Zuo] is perh. a back formation of yīng 懐 (jiān) ‘respond’. yīng4 優 (jiān4) LH yīng4, OCM *ŋaŋ7

‘Necklace’ [Xun], ‘surround’ [Guo] is prob. related to, or the same word as, → yǐng5 懐 (jiān4) ‘entwine’. For the absence of MC mediwal w, see §10.2.1.

yǐng5 懐 → bǐng2 懶

yǐng1 亜 (jiān) LH ŋaŋ7, OCM *ŋaŋ7 — [T] ONW ŋaŋ7

‘To meet’ [Zuo], Mand. ‘go to meet, greet, welcome, receive’.

[ST] PMin *ŋain > Jilňāŋ ŋaŋH¹; Xiámén col. ŋaŋH² / ŋai7, lit. ŋai7 / ŋai7 ‘to receive ceremoniously’.

yǐng 懐 (jiān) LH ŋaŋ7, OCM *ŋaŋ7

‘Go to meet, receive’ [Shi].

[ST] *ŋain > PTB *ŋain (STC no. 155) > WB ʔarin ‘contract, deny’, Nung ŋain ‘deny’. Cognate is ST *ŋain8; see under → ŋaŋ8, 遇訝 for an overview over this large wf; the alternation between open syllable and final -ĝn is common in Sino-Tibetan lgs. (§6.5.2).

yǐng2 益赢 (jiān) LH jen7, OCM *jeŋ7, OCB *jen7

‘To fill, satisfy’ [Shi]; ‘surplus’ [Shi], ‘profit’ 贏 [Zuo].


yǐng3 質 (yiwenH1/2/3) LH yuen7, OCM *wēn7


xuán 螢 (yiwenH1/2/3) LH yuen7, OCM *wēn7

‘Troubled sight, delude, deceive’ [Meng].

xuán 螢 (yiwenH1/2/3) LH yuen7, OCM *wēn7

‘Bright’ [Guo], ‘dazzle, show off’ [Zhan guo]. For loss of medial w, see §10.2.1.

jiǔng 領 (kiwenH1) LH kweŋ7, OCM *kwēn7

‘The light’ [Shi].

[ST] yǐng 螢 *wēn + nominal k-prefix (§5.4).

yǐng 螢 (jiān) LH waŋ7, OCM *wēn7, OCB *wëng7

‘Bright, color of jade’ [SW] > ‘kind of beautiful stone’ [Shi].

rōng 螢 (jiān) LH waŋ7, OCM *wēn7 — [T] ONW wēn7

‘Flower’ [Li] > ‘flowering, prosperity’ [Shi] > ‘glory’ [Zuo].

[ST] This wf’s stem is *wēn ‘bright, dazzle’, it converges with → ŋaŋ4, 聞 *win ‘move the eyes’. For the difference in finals, see §6.4.1. Perh. this wf could be related to Lushai ʔenH / ʔen4 ‘be open, unobstructed by trees, clouds, be clear, be bright (weather)’. 574

575
yíng – yíng

yíng 4 姿 (jiǎn 4) LH wèn, OCM *wèn
‘To lay out, plan, build’ [BI, Shi], ’to encamp’ [Zuo], ’to surround’ [Gongyang].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR juř (平), PR jun, in, LR i in; MGZY yǐng (平) [jun]; ONW iuen
= yíng 姿 (jiǎn 4) LH wèn, OCM *wèn
‘Grave area’ [Li], i.e. a special area set aside.

- nóng–guàn 熟観 (jwgnw) OCB *wren-k’anz [Laozi ch. 26].

- huán–guàn 環觀 (jwgnw) OCB *wren-k’anz [Mawangdui version]
’Imperial palace’ (Zhóu Zhānmó acc. to Baxter 1992: 383), the term is the equivalent of MK ’enclosure (環 or rather 蘭) around official building’ (官) > ’royal palace’, see below. The received version seems to be a reinterpretation of the original words which are preserved in the Mawangdui ms.

- huán 環観 (jwgnw) LH yuán, OCM *wren, OCB *wren
’Ring’ [Shi], ’encircle’ 環 [Meng]; ’metal ring’ 鐲 [Guoçe]; ’royal domain’ [Guliang]; ’encircling wall around the imperial palace’ 環 [Giles]. For the ～-～ alternation, see §6.4.1.
[T] Sin Sukhu SR juñ (平); MGZY Xwán (平) [yuán]; ONW yuán

[B] This is a prolific AA or area etymon with vocalic variants (Shorto 1971: 345; 1973):
(1) *wèn: OM oun [wàŋ] ’surrounding, round about’, thòwñ/womwñ ’enclosure, enclosing hedge’, Lit. Mon wùŋ > WB wǔŋb’ ’surround, circle of people, do by joint effort’ = wźwuŋb’ ’circle, anything round’. The source of Chepang wźwuŋ ’around’ (Bodman 1990: 60) is not clear, but may also be AA, note Khasi rzvñ ’to go and return the same day’.
(2) *wèn: Khmer viâñ /viãŋ / (OKhmer vyã) ’be enclosed, encircled, walled town, enceinte’. MK > Tai: Shan věŋ (wën), S. wāŋ ’town’. AA > TB-Limbu wèñ ’to enlarge in a circle, to amass land’; Lushai veįñ [vâm] ’hedge, hamlet’.

[C] Possible allofom → yíng, 姿, → xiāng1 縫, → yuán, 元, 縫, 規, → huáng, 皇, → wáng2 王
Many of these words and wf ‘round, turn’ are difficult to disentangle.

yíng, 姿 (jiǎn 4) LH yèn, OCM *wèn
‘To entwine’ (as creeping plants) [Shi] may be the terminative form (§6.5.1) of → wèi3 姿 ’bend’.
[B] ST: TB: Lushai věŋ / věŋ / věŋ / veŋ / veŋ ’to gird / wear round the waist’ which prob. is related to this word rather than to yíng 姿. Allofom → yíng 姿 ’necklace’.

yíng, 師 (jiǎn 4) LH jín, OCM *jìn or *jîn?
’A fly’ [Shi].

yíng, 影 (jiǎn 4) LH ʒanb, OCM *ʒan(?)
’Shadow’ [Zhouli].

[5] Coastal Mín əʔŋb > Fúzhōu ʒanb, Amoy ŋb; Jiān’ōu, Jiànyáŋ ʒanb (< əʔŋb), Southern Mín ʒanb
[6] This word may be a cognate of → yíng 姿, 英 ’bright’, or rather the AA items mentioned there; the semantic association of ’shadow’ with ’light’ is paralleled in the wf → yíng 姿. Alternatively, yíng may be connected with → yuán3 元 ’shady’.

yíng2 姿 (jiǎn 4) LH ʒanb, OCM *ʒan?
’Tumor, swelling’ [Zhuang], Mand. ’goiter’ is related to → yíng2 姿. LH ʒan ’ulcer’ by the ～-～ ablaut relationship (§11.3.5). An allofom is prob. yíng 姿 (ʒan) and other MC readings, ’bellied jar with small opening and one handle’ [SW; Mu Tianzizhuan].

yíng1 徕 → yíng2 姿

yíng2 應 ’respond’ → yíng3 姿 ’breast, chest’.

yíng3 姿 (jiǎn 4) → [T] Sin Sukhu SR ʒan (去); MGZY ʒan (去) [jǐn]
’Hard’ [Tang: Han Yu].

- níng 凝 (jīn) LH ʒàn, OCM *ʒan?
(’To become hard’) > ’to freeze, consolidate’ [Shi, Shu].
[B] This etymon is reminiscent of items cited under → jiān1 堅 and → gāng4 鋼.

yíng4 徕 ’full’ → yín3, 孕

yíng5 臨 → yíl1 脅治

yíng6 姿 (jiǎn 4) LH ʒàŋ, OCM *ʒàŋ < PCH *t̚əŋ
’City moat’ [Shi].

- yíng, yíng 懐(mp) ʒàŋ (ŋwàŋ) LH ʒàn, OCM *ʒàŋ(ŋh)? < PCH t̚əŋ
’’Obstruct, dam up’ [Zhouli]. ’stop up’ 裏 [Zuo].

yíng2 姿 (jiǎn 4) LH ʒàŋ, OCM *ʒàŋ
’Ulcer’ [Meng] (’swelling’) is cognate to → wèng 𕝨 ’jar, swollen’. → yíng 姿 LH ʒàŋ ’tumor’ is related to yíng by the OC ～-～ ablaut relationship (§11.3.5).
[B] ST: WB uí ’bulge of anything’ = uí ’collection of humors’ (boil). Perh. the PTH form *tum is a variant (for the final, see §6.7): WB ʒîn ’protuberance, bulge’. Mrn um ’female breast, protuberance’. Lushai um3 < um ’swell, become prominent’ (fem. breast). Another etymon ’swollen’ has the same rime: → zhòng3 瑞雕.

yíng3 鎮 → yī21 儀

yíng4 師 (jiǎn 4) LH jàŋ, OCM *jàŋ
’To use, employ, need’ [Shi, BI].

- yíng 用 (jwng) LH jùŋ, OCM *jùŋ
’To use; obey’ (a decree) [Shi], ’use’ for a sacrificial ceremony: ’to sacrifice’ tr. [OB, Yi Zhouhu].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR jun (去); MGZY yùŋ (去) [jun]; ONW iuŋ
[B] ST: WT logs ’the use or enjoyment of something’ (e.g. wealth).

yíng2 啾 → oō 偶

yíng6 𕝨 (jwng) LH wàŋ, OCM *wàŋ?, OCB *wàŋ?
’Long time, eternal’ [BI, Shi]. This is the original graph for → yíng2 瑭 ’swim’.
[T] Sin Sukhu SR juñ (上), PR, LR jun; MGZY yùŋ (上) [jun]; ONW iuŋ
yōng 詠 (jiwn7) LH waŋ8, OCM *waŋ8h
‘To chant’ [Shi] (Karlgren 1956: 8).

[<] exoactive of yōng 永, lit. ‘make long’ (§4.3).

rgyag-ba ‘extend, stretch’ ≠ gyaŋ-ma ‘distance’, Lepcha bryān ‘length, distance’, all
from a hypothetical ST *wraj = (with WT metathesis of the r and regular loss of medial w).
The connection with WT rjig ‘long, tall’ (of space, time), Tamanq ‘rəŋ-pa’ ‘long’, WB hre =
hrān ‘be long’, hre8 ‘former time’, PL *s/m-rjig ‘be long, length’, *s/m-rjig2 ‘long’ adv. [TB:
STC no. 433], or with jiŋ3 洞 ‘distant’, if any, is not clear. Bodman associates the last
TB items with Kanaari rwi ‘high’. However, phonetically less complicated and semantically
similar to OC is MK-Khmer vep/ (< -ŋ) ‘long’ ≠ bøŋvaen ‘to prolong’.

yōng3 詠 (jiwn7) LH waŋ8, OCM *waŋ8h?
‘To wade, swim’ [Shi].

[En] This word may be connected with Tai: PT *hwaiC > S. waŋR2 ‘to swim’ (tone B2 is
spurious, Li 1977: 82), occasionally words with open finals in a tone which is
suspected to go back to a final glottal stop (tone C in Tai lgs.) alternate with final -ŋ
(§3.2.4).

yōng3 喯 (jiwn7) LH joŋ8, OCM *joŋ?
‘Suspension ring at the top of a bell’ [Zhouli] is prob. related to WT ?a-log ~ ?a-luj ‘a
ring’ (HST: 125) and may belong to rōng2 容 ‘hold’, hence yōng ‘a holder’.

yōng4 喯 (jiwn7) LH joŋ8, OCM *joŋ?
‘To jump’ [Shi] (as in ‘jump and bounce’).

[?] AA: Khmer plôta (ploaŋ) ‘to leap over’ (high barrier, a height). Perh. related.
to the wf ~ yuŋ1 蹦 and possibly also to rōng3 洞.

yōng5 澗 < rōng3 洞
yōng6 yōng 雍雍 = yōng1 喯
yōng9 猪 (jiwn7) LH waŋ8, OCM *weŋ8h?
‘Sacrifice to heavenly bodies and spirits of rivers and mountains to avert a natural
calamity’ [Zuo].

[Prob. PMK *wiŋ (Shorto 1973: 375ff; 1976: 1050) > Khmer vāda / wiŋ ‘to turn,
twist’ also means ‘to turn aside from > to dodge, evasion, avoidance’, OMon weŋ / weŋ/
‘go elsewhere, avoid’; the derivatıve rāvāda / wiŋ ‘(space, interval) looks formally
like the OC word. <> TB-Lushai veŋ ‘to watch, look after, protect, guard
from, ward off’. Lepcha vaŋ ‘to twist’ (Forrest JAOS 82, 1962: 334).

yōng 用 = yōng1 雍
yōu1 遠 (jiwu) LH ju, OCM *ju
‘Place’ [Shi]. The function as an indefinite substitute for the post-verbal element
(Dobson’s term, LAC: 157), as in fēi tiān yōu rúō 非天真若 ‘this is not what Heaven
approves of’, is derived from the meaning ‘place’ (Pulleyblank 1995: 68); suō1 所 is a
semantic parallel.

[Prob. ST: WT yu1 ‘place’, but the loss of ST *-l in CH is unexplained (dissimilation
from *ju?)

yōu2 淹 (jiwu) LH ju, OCM *liu, OCB *ljw
‘Long-trailing, longoping, depressing, persistent, far away, distant’ [Shi].

yōu3 由 (jiwu) LH ju, OCM *liu
‘To prolong; a shoot from a tree’ [Shu].

yōu4 梳 (jiwu) LH du, OCM *liu, OCB *liw — [T] ONW du
‘Branch, to be extending branches, extend, long’ [Shi] > measure for long, slender
objects [starting in Han]; since documents were written on slender wooden or bamboo

yōu5 来 (jiwu) LH dëu, OCM *liu
‘Pull leaves off branches’ [Shi].

[?] perhaps causative (tr.) of tiāo 梳 (§5.8.2).

yōu6 梳 (jiwu) LH siu, OCM *siu or *siu, OCB *sliw
‘Long’ (of an animal) [Shi].

yōu8 呵 (jiwu) LH ju, OCM *riu
‘Cry of deer’ [Shi]. Though sound symbolic, this word has apparently a TB parallel:
Lushai eru² (i.e. ‘eru’ to ‘bird or call’ (as sambar deer).

yōu6 梳 (jiwu) LH ju, OCM *riu — [T] ONW ru
‘Dark’ [Shi] > solitary, secluded, obscure, difficult to understand’ [Yi], ‘to confine’
[Zouhu]an.

yōu6 梳 (jiwu) LH ju, OCM *riu?
‘Black’ [Li].

yōu6 梳 (jiwu) LH ju, OCM *riu
‘Dark’ [Guan] > ‘retired, despondent’ [Zhuang].

yōu6 梳 (jiwu) LH ju, OCM *riu
‘Obscure, secluded’ [Yi]; ‘obscure, deep hidden’ [Zhou]an (also OC rieu8).

[ST: Mru ju (i.e. ‘ju’) ‘dark’ (Löffler 1966: 151), perh. also related to WT g-yag-pa ‘to
cover’ in g-yag ‘cover, cover’, lid’. Allofam is prob. → yāo tiūo 窮究.

yōu3 搭搭 (jiwu) LH ju, OCM *ju
‘To cover seeds with earth’ [Lan, Meng].

[?] ST: Lushai vuur ‘to fill’ (as grave, hole), ‘fill up’ (with earth), ‘cover’. For
absence of final consonant in CH, see §7.7.5.

yōu1 优 (jiwu) LH wu, OCM *wu — [T] ONW wu
‘Guilt, fault, blame’ [Bl, Shi].

[ST: WT yu ‘blame, charge, accusation’ (for the WT initial, see §12.9 (2)).

yōu2 由 (jiwu) LH ju, OCM *liu or *ju (from *wu?)
‘Proceed from’ [Shi], ‘go along’ [Li], ‘follow’ [Shi].

[ST: Sin Sakehu SR iw (平); MGZY yi w (平) [jiw]; ONW wu

yōu4 由 (jiwu) LH ju, OCM *liu
‘To advance, promote’ [Shi], ‘go along, follow, lead, walk, conduct’ [Shu].

yōu3 由 (jiwu) LH ju, OCM *liu
‘Overflowing, abundant’ [Meng], prob. unrelated to yōu1 淹 and yōu6 游遊.
[T] Sin Sukchu SR iw (平); MGZY yiw (平) [jiw]

【tāo 涼 (t'âu) LH t'ou, OCM *tâu
’Be swelling up’ (river) [Shi] > ‘to assemble, to crowd’ [Zhuang]. ‘Reckless’ may be a semantic extension, but see → tōu, 淚.

【tāo 涼 (dào) LH dou, OCM *tâu
‘To assemble, to crowd’ [Zhuang].

yǒu, yòu 游, 游遊

yǒu 游 (jiou) LH ju, OCM *isיו, OCB *iu.
‘Float, swim, wander’ 游 [Shi]; ‘to wander about’ 游 [Shi], ‘leisure’ [Li], ‘freely, unrestrained’ 聲 [Lien]; ‘pendants of a banner’ 柵 [Zhouli].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR iw (平); MGZY yiw (平) [jiw]; ONW ju — [D] PMin *sizhu

【ST】WT ryu-abu < r-yu ‘to go, walk, move, wander, range’ (of men, animals, etc.).
Lepcha yi, Warang yi ‘to flow’ [Bodman ICSTLL 1987: 13]. For the pre-initial *-s, see §2.1. Cognates are → liù, 流 (so Sagart 1999: 127) → qiū, 流; prob. unrelated to → yǒu, 游 and → yóu, 濁油.

yóu, yóu 叫, 叫 呼 → yóu 游

yóu 猴 (jiou) LH ju, OCM *isיו, OCB *iu or *ji
‘Kind of monkey’ [Shizhi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR iw (平); MGZY yiw (平) [jiw]; ONW ju

【ST】Several other Chinese and TB words for other or another kind of monkey look similar, but direct phonological equivalence is elusive. These items include:

• PTB *miuk or *murk (STC 112, n. 314): WB mıyok (miyuk), Mru yuk ‘monkey’ could possibly be reconciled with yóu 猴 which may represent the bare root of this etymology, but see → hōu, 猴.

• Yuè dialects have a form which is reminiscent of TB: Guângzhîou ma22 lei11 馬騾 ‘monkey’.

• PL *ci-lwaj ‘monkey, gibbon’ > WB hlvwaj (Matisoff LL. 1:2, 2000: 169).


• Additional words for ‘monkey’ are → yuăn, 猴, → wēi, 豹, → yǒu, 猴, → náo, 猴, → hōu, 猴.

yóu 猴 (jiou) LH ju, OCM *isיו, OCB *iu
‘To laugh’ [Zhuang]. STC: 172 n. 458 compares this to TB items under → chênh, 決.

yóu 濁油 (jiou) LH ju, OCM *isיו, OCB *jjiw
‘To be flowing’ 濁油 [Shi], 油油 [Chuici].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR iw (平); MGZY yiw (平) [jiw]

【N】This word seems to be distinct from → yóu, 游遊 *i ‘to float’ (not ‘flow’) which is suspected to have had OC initial *i. It is also distinct from → yóu, 濁油 *iu ‘overflowing’ which had apparently no medial *-iu. By the time of the Chûci, OCM *liu and *iu had probably merged. → di, 濁 could possibly be related.

yóu 友 → yóu 右

yóu 右 (jiou) LH wu, OCM *wa, 右 → [D] M-Xiâmén u’c2
‘Have, there is, some’ (‘definite existential quantifier’ – Harbsmeier 1981: 88) [OB, Shi] > ‘to possess, take possession’ [BI, Shi] > ‘rich’ [Shi] (Karlgren GSR 9950).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR iw (t’u); MGZY ngiów (t’u) [jiw]; MTang eu < t, ONW u

【N】The element ‘meat’ in the graph has occasioned much speculation; perhaps the graph was originally intended for the word hâi 醉 (ŝiāi) LH ha’ ‘dried meat’ [Shi] which also has the 又 element as phonetic.

【E】ST: Possibly cognate to WT yod-pa ‘to be, to have’ (for the WT initial, see §12.9 [2]); WT o can derive from ST a, o, or even i, as well as wa and wa, WT final -d has its counterpart in CH tone B in a few grammatical words: WT yod l’m wê wê 你 ‘Alice’, WT med ‘not have’ m i mi 非 *mai, hence WT yod ‘be, have’ could be the equivalent of *wa ‘have’.

yóu 侮 (jiou) LH wu, OCM *wō
‘To offer, sacrifice’, ‘offend’ [OB] > ‘offer a drink, encourage to drink’ [BI, Shi].

【E】exotive of yóu, 又, lit. ‘cause to have’ (Takashima 1996: 316) (§4.3). The homophone yóu 侮 侮辱 [under → yóu, 右] is prob. a different word.

【ST】yōn ‘gift’ (to priests etc.), ‘offering’. For the WT initial, see §12.9 (2); for the WT (ST) nominalizing final -n, see §6.4.3.

yōu (or *ywok) LH yuak, OCM *wōk
‘Someone, some’ (‘indefinite existential quantifier’ – Harbsmeier 1981: 88) [Shi].

【T】Sin Sukchu SR yu (亮), LR yuó; MGZY Xue (亮) [yui]; ONW yuak

【C】distictive suffix *k added to yóu 有 ‘there is’ (§6.1.2).

【C】Possible alloform → yóu, 有.

yóu 猴 (jiou) LH ju, OCM *jui?

The 10th of the Earth Branches, identified with the chicken [OB].

【E】MT: Acc. to Norman (1985: 88) this is possibly a loan from MT: Ruc raka, Arem lak, however PVM *raka ‘chicken’ > Viet. gà. In Tai, the initial is r, e.g.
Ahom ra0 (Li Fang Kuei HIAS 8, 1945: 336), also the Shming associates the initial with a lateral (tāo 逃). The graph was apparently originally intended to write ‘wine’ [OB, BI], presumably → jiū, 酒, but see there.

yóu 腥 (jiou) LH ju, OCM *jui?
‘To rot, decay’ [Lī].

【E】Prob. a ST word (*ju?): Kuki-Naga *m-hew ‘spoiled, wasted’ > Lushai hêfu ‘be decreased’, Lakhë pahua ‘waste away’. Alternatively, STC (p. 169) compares the Chinese word with PTB *muyw ~ *yuw ‘to rot, decay, digest’ > Kuki-Naga *su ‘to rot, decay’ > Lush. fû, Dimasa sau, perh. also WT *ju-ab, bêās, bêó ‘to digest, melt’.

yóu, yóu 請 → yóu 俗

yóu 蜃 → yóu 俗

yóu 右 → yóu 俗

yóu 俗 (jiou) LH wu, OCM *wō, 蜃 → [E] adverbial derivation (§3.5.1) of → yóu, 有 acc. to Downer (1959: 289); in fact, in a phrase like shí ‘you êr yuè +有 +二月 (ten /have /two /month) ‘in the 12th month’ (lit. ten having two) yóu is synonymous with yóu. Alternatively, the word may derive from ST *-wọ: WT yw ‘again, also, once more’ , but see → châng, 常. For the WT initial, see §12.9 (2); for the finals, see §6.5.2.

yóu 右 (jiou, jau) LH wu, wu, OCM *wọ, wō
‘Right (side), be to the right’ [OB]. The OB graph is a drawing of the right hand of
oneself, from one's own perspective to which 'mouth' was later added to distinguish it from 你 which was commonly used to write 'repeat, again'.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR iw ( whatsoever); MGZY jiu 'right' (side) (for the WT initial, see §12.9 (2); HPTB: 46). <-> Pta1 *kwaA1 'right side', Ptna1 *gwaA2; PKS *h-awA right'.

The semantics in this sense are parallel to zuō 左. 'Right' and 'left' are metaphors for two different concepts in OC: (1) 'to be on the right and left side of a person' > 'aid, help, support'; (2) 'left' > 'unfavorable', 'right' > 'favorable'; note the similar notion implied by Mín-Xiānmén 正手 ts'1nA85-ts'iuA 'right hand', lit. 'correct hand' vs. 倒手 toA225-ts'ia5 'left hand', lit. 'upside down / wrong hand'. This second metaphor explains the OB meaning of 'left' ('consider or treat as left = unfavorable') > 'not approve, oppose'. If this interpretation of 'left' is valid, then 'right' should also have meanings which are derivable from 'consider or treat favorably' (Takahashi 1996: 314ff), like the following word:

你友 (jou1) LH wuB, OCM *waI, OC *waI?

'Be friendly' > 'friend, companion' [BI, Shi] (< 'consider right' = 'favorably').

[c] endoactive of you 右 (jou1, jou1) (§4.5). Li Fang Kuei relates you to qiú4 悩仇.

[E] ST *wa: WT yuA 'associate, companion, assistant' (for the WT initial, see §12.9 (2)).

你右佐祐佑佑 (jou1) LH wuC, OCM *waI?

'To aid, support, assist, wait, honor, appreciate' 右佑 (< 'be to one's right') [OB, BI, Shi]; 'help, blessing' 佑 [Yi]; ('to consider or treat favorably') > 'to forgive' 佑 [Guan],

'to pardon, mitigate, magnanimous' 佑 [Shi, Shu].

[c] exoactive of yu 右 (§4.3).

yú... yú

yú... yú

'yastray, far away from' [Luyu]. HST (41f) considers this word cog. to the WT words which are found under → 島 夭.

你腕 腕 (puan1) LH ?uanC, OCM *wuA

'Wrist' [Zuo, Guoce].

[c] *wa + the nominalizing n-suffix (§6.4.3), lit. 'the thing that bends'; for a semantic parallel, see → zhū, 时'wrist, elbow'. It is not clear if Naga-Khoirao wan 'hand', Lotha ewon 'arm' are related (so Matisoff 1985a: 434).

There are words with similar meaning and initial, but different final consonants which may perh. be related:

你枉 枉 (jiwan1) LH ?yanB, OCM *twan?

'Bent, crooked' [Li], 'unjust' [Luyu].

你枉 kiang (kly) LH k1yan, OCM *khuA

'Crooked' [Zhouli].

[E] ST: WB kwang6 'bend into a ring, go round' k1 'be bent, curved'.

你冤 冤 (jiwen) LH ?yan, OCM *wan (or *tun ?)

'Injustice' [Chuci].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR iyan (平); MGZY yian (平) [jiyan]

[C] Allofam is → hú4 弧; perh. also → wēi3 委 'bend', → yào1 夭 'bend'. Syn. → gōu1, 例鉤鉤.

yú... yú

yú... yú

'yù' (jiwo) LH ?io, OCM ?1

'Withered' [Chuci] is said to be an ancient Guānxì (NW) dialect word.

你焉 焉 (jiān3) LH ien, OCM *tān

'Withered' ['SW] is said to be an ancient Shandong (eastern) dialect word (Unger Haok Various, 1986) which Pulleyblank (JCL 22:1, 95) relates to Viet. ian 'languid, listless'. These ety whole could be ancient dialect variants of → wēi3 覘 'wither'.

你于 (ju) LH wo, OCM *wa

'Go to (a place / do something), in, at, on, to', general locative link vb. or 'preposition' [OB, BI, Shi], indicating motion to, or action action (go flying) (Pulleyblank 1995: 53). This etymon is distinct from 你 友.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ien (平); MTang y < uo, ONU um

[E] ST: PBT *wa, *wa: Newari wa 'to come', JP wa3 'to go back'; Chepang wah-7o 'moving', wah-sa 'walk'; WB swa 'to go', Magari, Chepang hwa 'to walk' (HST: 86).

你冤 眼 (jwen) LH won, OCM *wan

'There' [Shi] stands for the ungrammatical 于之 and is a fusion of ya 于 *wa plus an n* with a demonstrative meaning, see §6.4.5 (Norman 1988: 86).

[C] Additional cognates: → wān1 于, → qū3 髀.

yú... yú

yú... yú

'yú' (jiwo) LH ju, OCM *wa

'Bowl' [BI, Hanfei]. Prob. ST *wa: WB k1wak 'a cup'. Perh. the s. w. as 'concave', see under → qū3, 于 腹.

yú... yú

'yú' (jiwo) LH ju, OCM *la (or *ja?)

'I, we' [OB, BI]. Chúc has both 子 and 于 where the former is used mostly in a post-verbal position (Pulleyblank 1995: 76), this suggests that 子 was perh. read LH jut, see §3.3.3.
yú

子 jiwo Lh ja³, OCM *la? (or *jia?)
‘I, we’ [Shi], which is usually considered a graphic variant of 余 (Qu Xiguì 2000: 392), but Shijing records indicate that this graph was read in tone B (Mattos 1971: 309).

yú 台 jiwo Lh ja³, OCM *la
‘I, my’ [Shi].

[?] Unstressed derivation from 余 余 ‘I, we’ (Pulleyblank 1995: 76), see §3.3.3.

The etymology of 余 is obscure. Li F. (1976: 40) who reconstructs OC *ta⁴, relates 余 to PTai -t-. S. raas²⁴ ‘we two’ (inclusive?), Han ha ‘we two’, Lh ha ‘I’. However, the Tai etymology prob. belongs to CH → lång two ‘two’. Syn. → wú, 于.

yú 餄 (jiwo) Lh jo, OCM *la
‘Remains, leftover, surplus, superfluous’ [Shi].

[?] M tant⁴ iy < i < ONW io

[?] KT: Tai: S. laa⁴¹ e *hl- ‘to be left over’ (Li F. 1976: 43); PKS *kla¹ ‘leftover’. In CH, a possible earlier initial consonant was treated as a pre-initial and lost. Hence, related to xú, sequence ‘continue, remain’, possibly also related to xīan, 稱.

yú 売 (jiwo) Lh jo, OCM *la (or *ja?)
‘Field in 2nd or 3rd yr. of cultivation’ [Shi 276; SW 6188], i.e. a swidden (dry field) after the slash-and-burn clearing in the first year which is called → zì 直.

[?] Perh. ST: if OC was *ja, yú would be related to shé and its TB cognates. Because of the different vowel, TB *low cannot be cognate.

cf. shé 唾 (*ja) < OCM *hoja?
‘Slash-and-burn field, swidden’ [Tang Dynasty writers, GY], a late word.


yú 專 (jiwo) Lh ½o, OCM *ta
‘Be in, at, on, to...’, general locative link vb. or ‘preposition’ [Shi]. 專 begins to appear occasionally in Shijing, but over time gradually replaces, the older 余. The irreg. Mand. tone 2 has been transferred from → yú, 向 (QY predict tone 1).

[?] Sin Sukhu SR ́li (平); MGZY ‘yú (平) [Py]; M Táng ́li (平)

[?] ST: PTB ‘pay to go, directional particle’ [HPTB: 209; y may be a suffix].

Lushai locative, ablative, etc. suffix a / a̡ in, into, on, to... Alternatively, note the similarity with MK: PMonic *ta(a) ‘to go’, post-verb after verbs of motion and vbs. with ingressive force [Diffoh 1984: 227], PVM *te⁴ ‘at, located’.

hú 胡 ( jiwo) Lh yo, OCM *fiä
‘In, at, on, to...’, general locative particle [Shi], an attrited or unstressed form of 余 (Pulleyblank 1995: 56).

[?] Sin Sukhu SR ́li (平); MGZY Xu (平) [yu]; ONW yo.

[?] The irreg. Mand. tone 1 instead of the expected tone 2 comes from another reading for this graph, as common in many words. Because hú is always placed between the vb. and the n. which it modifies (N hú V, V hú N), it can function as a postposition.

yán 營 (jim 3-irregular) Lh ́an, an, OCM *taan > an → [?] ONW ́an, an
‘In it, on it, there’ [Shi] stands for *ta which is a fusion of 余 with an element *a with a demonstrative meaning; see §6.4.5 (Norman 1988: 86; Pulleyblank 1995: 80). The Mand. tone 1 derives from CH ́an. This word’s initial div. III j- is exceptional. The word is parallel to yuán 爺 (under → yú, 于).

yáng 夕 (jiwo) Lh ́oog, OCM *taa
‘To hit the center’ (of a target), get into the middle (of a stream, of the night) vb. > middle, center’ [Shi] (Pulleyblank 1995: 171).
yu

 тыо (тыо) LH *tou, OCM *thò
‘To please’ [Zou]. Vocalic variants *o ~ *u occur elsewhere, see → yù16, 喻.

yù 祝 (yù) LH jyat, OCM *lot — [T] *ONW iuat
‘Be delighted, pleased, glad’ [Shi]; ‘be liked’ [Shi], ‘satisfied’ 閾 [Shu).

yù16 祝 (jiù) LH jo, OCM *lo (or *jo ?)
‘To leap or pass over, transgress’ 逾 [Shu], 諸 [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR y (平); MGZY yù (平) [Jy]

yù 愈 (jiù) LH jo, OCM *lo (or *jo ?)
‘Be increasing’ (grief), ‘be pressing’ (burden) 愈 [Shi]; ‘be suffering’ 愈 [Shi]; ‘surpass’ [Lun], ‘convalesce’ 愈 [Meng].
[X] *lo + tone B: endoactive (§5.2.5).

shù 糧 (jiù) LH jo, OCM *lo (or *hjo ?) — [T] MTag sù < šuo, ONW šuo
‘To transport, convey’ [Zou], ‘transmit’ [Shu] (Huáng Jín-gui, Shéén Shéén-yóo YFWZ 1987; 460).

yù19 願 (jiu, dou) LH jo, o, OCM *lo, *lò
‘Opening, small gate’ [Lunyu].

yù 齊 (jiù) LH jyot, OCM *lot
‘Hole’ [Shi].

duí 擬 (duĩ, tduĩ) LH duĩ, OCM *lô(h) — [T] MGZY t’w (去) [daw]
‘Hole’ [Li], ‘drau’ [Zou] (Wáng Lì 1982: 293; 潛 = 賓 = 份).


yù 取 → dū, 擬

yù 擬 (jiù, dou) LH jo, OCM *na
‘Fish’ n. 魚 [OIF, ‘to fish’ 魚 [Zou].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR ny (平); MGZY xyu (平) [Jy]; ONW njo (> ηο

ST: PTB *yna > WT nà; PLB *na2 > WB nà, JP な, wo- ‘Fish’, Lushuai gha, Tiddim nà > nà, KN-Khami n(y)aa (Löffler 1966: 146), Chepang nà ‘Fish’

yù 陰 (jyù) LH jio, OCM *pò
‘Angle, corner’ 隅 [Shi], ‘corner or bend of a hill’ 隅 [Meng].

ETymology not clear. WT nò ‘side, margin, edge’ m dò ‘shore, bank, edge’ (of knife) is more likely to be related to → nò, 涼. Theoretically possible could be cognation with WT gò ‘corner, angle’ (for the initials, §5.12.2; for the vowells, see §11.8), but see → zhòu, 脈.

yù 右 (jyù) OCM → ēi 偶

yù 愚 (jiù) LH jio, OCM *pò — [T] MTag nyo < nyò, ONU nyò

wàn 捌 (nyán, nwán) LH quan, OCM *pòn
‘Be stupid, foolish’ [Shi].

yù 與 (jyù) LH ja, OCM *la, OCB *ła
‘Interrogative particle’ [Lü], fusion of 也 (Pulleyblank 1995: 9).
[T] Sin Sukhu SR y (平); MGZY yù (平) [Jy]; MTag ny < n < ONW yo

yù 雅 (jiù) LH ja, OCM *la ? — [T] ONW ia
‘Id.’, a later col. variant of the above (Unger Hao-ku 22, 1983; Pulleyblank 1995: 9).

Because these items are fusions and hence secondary in OC, there is probably no connection with PLB la ‘interrogative particle’ (Matisoff 1995a: 73f) > WB lb.

yù 贼 (jyù) LH ja, OCM *la — [T] MTag i < i < ONW io
‘Carriage box, carriage’ [Yiq], ‘carrier, carry on the shoulders’ [Zou].

ETai: S. izɔ (“car, carriage” (Unger Hao-ku 36, 1990: 67), but Góng Quén (MZYW 2, 2000) compares this to Tai raɔ (“car” instead of + misprint for 好?). This is prob. the same etymon as → yù11, 捌 ‘lift’. Baxter and Sagart (1998: 48) suggest that yù is also related to -> chè 車 and -> jǐ 車.

yù1 羽 (jiù) LH wa, OCM *wa
‘Feather, wing’ [Shi].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR y (去); MGZY xyu (上) [Jy]

ET Possibly a ST item, note PTB *wa = *w(b)wa ‘bird’ (Matisoff LL 1.2, 2000: 142f). It also appears to be connected with PKS *pwa²/C1 ‘wing’. (Matisoff 1985a: 445: Benedict).

yù2 字 (jiù) LH wa, OCM *wa
‘Eaves or abode, estate, territory’ [BL, Shi].

ETymology not clear. Perh. the s. w. as → yù1, 羽 ‘wings’ (i.e. ‘wings’ of a house?); or related to the stem *wa ‘enlarge’ under → kuang, 悶?

yù3 雨 (jiù) LH wa, OCM *wa
‘Precipitation, rain’ [OBF, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukhu SR y (去); MGZY xyu (上) [Jy]; MTag y < ou, ONW yo

yù 雲 (jiù) LH wa, OCM *wa
‘Sacrifice with prayer for rain’ [Lun] (Wáng Lì 1982: 146).
以‘take, use’; but note WT gla ‘pay, wages, fee’ (HPTB:173f), Lakker hla ‘to present, offer (sacrifice), give’, or alternatively JP ja ‘to give’.

yù 健 → gǒu1 句鉤植
yù1 芋 (ju4) LH wa5, OCM *waḥ
‘Taro’ [Yiil].

【】Area word: PMY *wa5 (Wâng FS 12/623), WB wa5 ‘kind of potato’.

yù2 浸 → xuàn1 泫
yù3 谷 ‘nourish’ → yù22 育稚鶚
yù4 浴 (jiwok) LH jok, OCM *lok
‘To bathe, wash’ [Lunyu].

【】Area word. Chinese and WT share a final *k, the other TB lgs. have open syllables: WT lidugu-sa, lidugu < nǐluku ‘to pour’ (water into vessel, on hands) > ‘cast, found’ (STC: 110). Also AA-Pearic kluku ‘to pour’. < PT *k-r-ilu-w ~ *m-ilu-w > Angami Naqa ralu ‘bathe’, NNagha *CV-ru [French 1983: 334]. Mikir ilnu < m-lu, Dimasa lu ‘to pour’, Karen lu ‘to pour’. Also Mru lu, WB kũyai8 ‘wash, bathe’ [Löffler 1966: 130]. There is a similar but unrelated item zhō 鍋 ‘to cast, pour’ (under zhō, 聞) whose initial is a dental stop. The relationship with yù22 誉 ‘smelt, cast’, if any, is not clear.

yù5 欲 (jiwok) LH jok, OCM *lok ← [T] ONW iuok
‘To want, wish’ [Shi]; ‘desire, passion’ 慾 [Lun]. The colloquial Mand. form is thought to be → yào, 要．

yù6 資 (jiu4) LH juo5, OCM *loh
‘To look for, desire’ [Zuo].

【】Perh. yán 善諭 (nían1) LH nian5, OCM *nian5
‘To console’ 昏[Shi]; ‘saying, proverb’ 諭 [Zuo] are cognates of yán acc. to Wáng Li (1982: 138). Although the two words look identical in most dialects except for the tone, including LH, the QYS makes a fine vocalic distinction.

yù7 圍囿 (jiwok) LH jio5, OCM *jia
‘Prison 囚 [Li], 囚 [YiZhoushu]; ‘to imprison, keep horses, groom’ [Zuo], ‘border, contain’ [BI, Shi], ‘restrain, embarrass’ 囚 [Meng].

【】An alloform is → yù16 資 ‘manage’ (i.e. ‘control’). PMY *pol ‘prison’ is prob. a Chinese loan.

yù8 與 (jiwok) LH juo5, OCM *la
‘To be with, join company, associate with, with, and’ [Shi, SW] > ‘help’ [Meng]. The meanings make it unlikely that this is the same word as → yù11 异譽 ‘to lift’. SW makes a graphic distinction between this yù8 and yù9.

【】Area word: Chinese and WT differ in the final *a, the other TB lgs. have open syllables: WT lidugu-sa, lidugu < nǐluku ‘to pour’ (water into vessel, on hands) > ‘cast, found’ (STC: 110). Also AA-Pearic kluku ‘to pour’. < PT *k-r-ilu-w ~ *m-ilu-w > Angami Naqa ralu ‘bathe’, NNagha *CV-ru [French 1983: 334]. Mikir ilnu < m-lu, Dimasa lu ‘to pour’, Karen lu ‘to pour’. Also Mru lu, WB kũyai8 ‘wash, bathe’ [Löffler 1966: 130]. There is a similar but unrelated item zhō 鍋 ‘to cast, pour’ (under zhō, 聞) whose initial is a dental stop. The relationship with yù2 認 ‘smelt, cast’, if any, is not clear.

yù9 資 (jiu4) LH jio5, OCM *loh
‘Monkey’ [Li, N. Pr.]

588
[x] a late general purpose tone C derivation of yû, yû 嫩 (§3.5), lit. 'the one who is breeding, mother'.

 nuevas.

 yû 中 (ju)c, k'ju) LH 美, lüo, OCM *70h, k'wo, OCM *?oh, kho (?)

 'To be satiated, full' (of food, wine) [Shi].

 [y] ST: Perh. WT myo-ba, myos ~ smyo-ba, smyes 'insane, mad, drunk', if Tib. m- is a prefix.

 yû 酳 (juo)c LH 美, OCM *?ah

 'To be satisfied, nourished' [Shu], 餐 [Shi] seems to be a vocalic variant of the preceding.

 xû 酳 (juo)c LH 美, OCM *?oh

 'Drunk, mad' (with wine) [Bl, Shi].

 [x] *?oh + initial MC x- which may represent 'intensive' 'devoicing' (§5.2.3).

 yûng 餐 (tjw)c LH 美, OCM *?on

 'Cooked meal' (for sacrifice to the dead) [Shi], (for banquet) [Meng].

 [c] *?oh + terminative -q (§6.5.1), lit. 'something for' getting to be full'.

 yûn 应餐 (jiu)c LH 美, OCM *luk

 'To give birth, to rear, breed, nourish' [Shi, Shu]; 'produce' 誢 [OB, Bl, Zhouli]; 'nourish' [Zhouli], 'young' 誢 [Shi], Baxter and Sagart (1998: 52) derive  

 zhou, 稀 'rice gruel' from this word.


 dd 毒 (dou)c LH dou, OCM *d口味 (?). 

 To 'nourish' [Lao], The graph 毒 was used in this late Zhou text when *C-l- and *d- had apparently already merged. Or was this graph simply borrowed for yû?

 tâo 陶 (dâo) LH dou, OCM *lù

 To 'nourish' [FY 1.5] a Han period Qin dialect word.

 yû 谷 (jiu)c LH jok, OCM *lok

 'To nourish' [Lao] a vocalic variant.

 [C] Table C-2 (under  

 zhou, 稀) shows the phonological and semantic connections among similar looking words. This etymology is not related to any of the other stems in that table, nor to  

 xiu. Perhaps connected with chu 抽 (under  

 yû, yû 嫩 (§3.5), lit. 'the one who is breeding, mother'.

 yû 嫩 (juo)c LH 美, OCM *?oh

 'To brood, hatch (eggs)' is acc. to Guo Pi’s commentary to FY 8, 4 a Jiangdong (lower Yangtze) dialect word; it survives today in Min dialects: Jian’ou iu, Chongnan iu (Norman 1983: 206).

 yû 嫩 (juo)c LH 美

 'Warm' (of season, house, clothing) [Shi].

 [E] ST: WB iu (i.e.  

 iu) 'feel warm, close'.

 This wfo coalesces partially with  

 xiè,  

 xie, perhaps they together form a single wfo.  

 wên 溫 'warm' could be an allofam, but it probably belongs to a root *?ur, while the above items belong to ST *?o.

 yû 中 (juo)c LH 美, OCM *?ah

 'To be satiated, full' (of food, wine) [Shi].

 [E] ST: Perh. WT myo-ba, myos ~ smyo-ba, smyes 'insane, mad, drunk', if Tib. m- is a prefix.

 yû 酳 (juo)c LH 美, OCM *?oh, kho (?)

 'To be satiated, full' (of food, wine) [Shi].

 [E] ST: Perh. WT myo-ba, myos ~ smyo-ba, smyes 'insane, mad, drunk', if Tib. m- is a prefix.

 yû 嫩 (juo)c LH 美, OCM *?ah

 'To brood, hatch (eggs)' is acc. to Guo Pi’s commentary to FY 8, 4 a Jiangdong (lower Yangtze) dialect word; it survives today in Min dialects: Jian’ou iu, Chongnan iu (Norman 1983: 206).

 yû 嫩 (juo)c LH 美

 'Warm' (of season, house, clothing) [Shi].

 [E] ST: WB iu (i.e.  

 iu) 'feel warm, close'.

 This wfo coalesces partially with  

 xiè,  

 xie, perhaps they together form a single wfo.  

 wên 溫 'warm' could be an allofam, but it probably belongs to a root *?ur, while the above items belong to ST *?o.

 yû 中 (juo)c LH 美, OCM *?ah

 'To be satiated, full' (of food, wine) [Shi].

 [E] ST: Perh. WT myo-ba, myos ~ smyo-ba, smyes 'insane, mad, drunk', if Tib. m- is a prefix.

 yû 酳 (juo)c LH 美, OCM *?oh, kho (?)

 'To be satiated, full' (of food, wine) [Shi].

 [E] ST: Perh. WT myo-ba, myos ~ smyo-ba, smyes 'insane, mad, drunk', if Tib. m- is a prefix.

 yû 嫩 (juo)c LH 美, OCM *?ah

 'To brood, hatch (eggs)' is acc. to Guo Pi’s commentary to FY 8, 4 a Jiangdong (lower Yangtze) dialect word; it survives today in Min dialects: Jian’ou iu, Chongnan iu (Norman 1983: 206).

 yû 嫩 (juo)c LH 美

 'Warm' (of season, house, clothing) [Shi].

 [E] ST: WB iu (i.e.  

 iu) 'feel warm, close'.

 This wfo coalesces partially with  

 xiè,  

 xie, perhaps they together form a single wfo.  

 wên 溫 'warm' could be an allofam, but it probably belongs to a root *?ur, while the above items belong to ST *?o.
yù - yuán

both TB-WT (→ shū 諸) as well as MK are difficult to explain, therefore these words may not be related. Syn. → dī 叭; → gū 古; → māi 買; → shòu 售.

yù_24

Su=posedly 'large elephant' [SWJZGL 4277] (Karlgren GSR 83e). There is prob. no such word. (1) There is no early text in which this word means 'elephant'; (2) the ancient graph (gūwen 古文) did not have xiang 象 'elephant' as a graphic element. SW was guessing at the original meaning of the graph (cf. shū 諸 'to shoot', §1.4.2).

yù_25

This is jin (jìwǔ) LH jiù, OCM *lah — [T] M'Tang yi < ie < ONW io 'Slow and deliberate' [Lao], 'think beforehand' [Lili], 'anticipate' [Zuo].

Karlgren GSR 83e derives this word from the homophone 'elephant' → yù_24 象 [SW] (c 'elephant-like') which is unlikely. This is prob. the s.w. as → yù_4 睽 (both from 'relaxed') (so Wáng Li 1982: 162). A semantic parallel is → yù_7 儀.

shū 舒 (jìwǔ) LH sō, OCM *la
‘Relax, slowly, leisurely, easy’ [Shi], ‘lazy’ [Shu].

*k* *la + devoicing (meaning)? (§5.1)

[T] WT sla-la 'easy' (CVST 3: 1).

= shū 舒 (jìwǔ, dūjìwǔ) LH sō, sō?, OCM *la~mla?
‘Be remiss’ [Shi], ‘relax, alleviate, delay’ [Zuo]. If the reading MC dūjìwō could be initialed, the initial *m- is prob. inherited from ST.

xú 徐 (jìwǔ) LH zūn, OCM *s-la
‘Walk slowly, gently’ [Meng], ‘slow, by and by’ [Zuo], ‘quiet’ [Zhuang].

*k* *la + s-prefix (meaning)? (§5.2).

Three different valence-increasing morphemes are added to the root *la: (1) final s h: *la-h, (2) causative devoicing *la, (3) s-prefix: *s-la. A similar profusion of forms is seen in the w f yīlZhuyì.}

yù_26

jiù (kjuet, juet) LH kiut (kuit), juit, late OCM (k-)jui(t) it?
‘Well rope’ [Li] occurs also in WT: ryu < r-yu' 'string, cord'. This could possibly be a variant of → lā 绊, both from PCH *jut ~ r-jut (§9.2.1), provided the late OCM form (Lijii) was already -uit and had merged with the reflex of -uit.

yù_27

sul→ sul_2 逐

xu→ xu_1

yu→ yu_1

yu_29

yu_30

yu_31

yu_32

yu_33

yu_34

yu_35

yu_36

yu_37

yu_38

yu_39

yu_40

yu_41

yu_42

yuān_3 蜉蝣 (jiwén, jiwán) LH juan(8), OCM *wén, *wén(7)
‘Small worm’ [SW] > ‘be bending, crawling’ (as a caterpillar) 蜉 {Shi} [k] *n nominalization (§6.4.3) of a ST etymology: → wéi, *tuó 委佗, TB-Lushai vial ‘write’.}

yuán_1 元 (niwén) LH yuán, OCM *on or *wán
‘Head’ [Zuo, Xi 31] (Unger Hao-ku 28, 1984: 251; Mei 1985: 335), ‘to be at the head, first, eldest, principal, great’ [Bl. Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR yuán (平), MGZY xwán (平) [fiyén], ONW yuán

Yuán is perf. related to PTB *m-gaw ~s-gaw (STC no. 490) > WT go 'headman, beginning, source' > mgo 'head, summit, beginning' > mgon-po 'protector, master, lord'. WT mg- mb = CH g-, m- does occur elsewhere, but is rare. Alternatively, the WT etymology could also be related to gān (高), (kān) (so HST: 93), yet yuán's semantic agreement with WT is significant. Mei Tsu-Lin (in Thurgood etc. 1983: 355) considers both yuán and → jùn, if (kou) 'lord, prince' variants which he relates to WT mgon.

[*] yuán_1 蝶 may be the same word. Alloforms are perf. → hōu, hòu, → yuán_3 原.

yuán_2 甘 (jiwán) LH juan(8), OCM *lon
‘Marsh between mountains’ [SW] has perf. a Tai connection: S. leem⁴² ‘marsh, mire’ (Manomaivibool 1975: 235).

yuán_3 原 (jiwén) LH yuán, OCM *wán, OCB *pwian
‘A plain, highland’ [Shi], ‘spring, source’ [Meng] is perf. the s.w. as → yuán, 元 'head' (Qu Xigu 2000: 275).

yuán_4 館 (niwén) LH yuán, OCM *on or *wán
‘Quiet talk’ [SW: Meng] is perhaps related to PTB *nói 'mild, quiet'.

yuán_5 員園圍 (jiwán) LH wen, OCM *wen, OCB *wian
‘Circle’ [Shi]; ‘round’ [Yi], 員 [Meng], 园 [Hanfei]; ‘return’ [Shu]; yuán ‘circle’ is symbolic for ‘sky, heaven’, făng 仏 ‘square’ for ‘earth’ [Huainan].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR yuén (平); MGZY xwán (平) [fiyén]; ONW yuán

yuán_6 院 (jiwán) LH wen(8), OCM *wens(7)
‘Wall around a courtyard’ [Mo]; ‘ring-shaped jade insignium’ 璽 (Xun), also MC jwian(8); Downer (1959: 280) adds caus. ‘encircle oneself > put on’ (a buffalo coat) 撟 [Zhouhuān].

[ ] xúan 旋 (jiwán) LH yuán, OCM *wen, OCB *wen
‘To turn around, to wheel’ [Zuo], ‘to turn around, return’ 還旋 [Shi], ‘turn away, all round’ 還 [Shi, Yi] > (turning this way and that): ‘agile’ 還 [Shi]; ‘ring’ 旋 [Zhou].

[k] caus. of yuán 員園圍 (jiwán) (§5.2.2), lit. ‘make go around’.

[ ] yuán_7 旋駕 (jiwán) LH yuán, OCM *wen, OCB *wen
‘To turn around, to wheel’ [Zuo], ‘to turn around, return’ 還旋 [Shi], ‘turn away, all round’ 還 [Shi, Yi] > (turning this way and that): ‘agile’ 還 [Shi]; ‘ring’ 旋 [Zhou].

[k] caus. of yuán 員園圍 (jiwán) (§5.2.2), lit. ‘make go around’.

An area word: PMK *wial ‘turn around’ (Sharto 1972: 4; 1973: 380) *wal ‘bend, return, halo’. >> ST *wu(s): PTB wul (STC no. 91) > WB wăn ‘circular’, Kachin wan, Lushai val ‘be in the form of a ring or circle’ (HST: 55) waul ‘to surround, encircle’. CH → Tai: S. wian⁴² ‘revolve, encircle, circle’ (Manomaivibool 1975: 179). MC-jki suggests that the OC vocalism was not /a/ but frontish (e, i), therefore prob. not (directly) related to → huán, 桓. Or this CH waf, or some of its members, belong to → yīng, 燕. Most likely, the area roots *wen ~ *wén ~ *wial ~ *wel have converged in OC. For synonyms, see → hui 回.

yuán_6 猴 (jwen) LH won, OCM *wan
‘Monkey’ [Zhuang, Guoce].

592

593
【T】Sin Sukchu SR eryl (上); MGZy wryan (上) [yên]

yuán 原 (jwvn) LH lyón, OCM *lyón, OCB *lyon — [T] ONW uan

‘Hollow’, ‘empty’ [Shi].

【E】This item has an apparent TB cognate, but may be an unexplained rime *-an variant of the root *-an. alloph. is related to *-an, which represents a transitional rime. Baxter and Sagart (1998: 60) relate this etymology to *-yan, ‘pass over’.

yuán3 碗 (?jwvn) LH lyón, OCM *lyon or *lyon?

‘Sleeve’ is an ancient Jängdung (lower Yangzte) dialect word acc. to Guo Pu’s commentary to FY 29.32. It still survives in Mín dialects: PMín *lyon B Fú’An un?84, Fúzhōu un5184, Xiānméng n5184, Jiānyáng y5184 (Norman 1983: 206). ‘Sleeve’ is pers. connected with wàn 腕 ‘wrist’ (under *-y, 中古).

yuán4 苑 (?jwvn) LH lyón, OCM *yon, OCB *jon

‘Trees with rich foliage, unbranched’ [Guoyou]; ‘penn up’ (feelings) [Shi]. For a semantic parallel, see → wèi13, 上蔚.

yuán2 苑 ‘wither’ → wèi13, 萎

yuán3 等 → yuán1 苑

yuán4 院瑗 → yuán5 員圓

yuán6 縁 (jwvn) LH lyón, OCM *lyon, OCB *lyon — [T] ONW uan

‘To wish’ [Shi]. Prob. not related to Lushai tiaf ‘to demand, wish for’.

yuè1 月 (jwet) LH wat, OCM *wat

‘To say’ (usually introducing direct discourse), ‘to be called’ [OB, BI, Shi].

【E】Etymology not clear. This word is cognate to hua3, 貼 acc. to Sagart (1999: 113). Syn. → yuán1.

【T】Sin Sukchu SR ıyẽ (入); MGZy xwyá (入) [fiye]; MTang uan, ONW ut < wat

yuè2 约 (jīak) LH rēck, OCM *riak

‘To bind’ [Shi], ‘cord’ [Zuo] ‘restrict, restrain’ [Lunyu] ‘abbreviate, condense, essential’ [Li, Meng].

yuè3 暄 (jīwet, jīwāt) LH yát, OCM *yat or *rot

‘Sound of vomiting’ [Li].

yuè4 聚 *iti, OCM *tió

‘To vomit’ [Zuo].

【E】This is an onomatopoetic expression, other lgs. in the area have similar words: PTB *raw ‘vomit’ (HPTB: 227), PLB *ut ‘to belch’, Lushai uak; PMonic *l?o?; Mon ha?o? ‘to vomit, regurgitate’ [Diffloth 1984: 151]; also WB an ‘vomit’, WT kyung-pan (s-?yuk?) ‘vomit, eject’.

yué1 月 (jīetw) LH nyút, S niêt, OCM *nyat, OCB *n?at ‘Moone > montl’ [OB, Shi].

【T】Sin Sukchu SR ıyẽ (入); MGZy xwyá (入) [fiye]; MTang uar, ONW quat.


【E】ST: Unger (Hao-ku 39, 1992) proposes as cognate WTF go() ‘waxing and waning moon, half moon’, Lepcha òtóm. These belong to PTB *plw (STC no. 296) > WTF go ‘blue-green’, Lushai go ‘white, fair’, Thado go ‘clean’. Lepcha to-got ‘white hair, old’ → go ‘old’ (Bodman 1980: 136). The widespread semantic association of ‘moon’ with ‘white’ would support this etymology; see → bái1, 白 ‘white-haired’, → pò3, 霸 ‘domineering. For a moon connection, see → lài1, 艾 ‘white-haired’; but that is phonologically problematic. Matisoff sets up PTB *s-n(y)at ‘moon, star’ (HPTB: 85).
yuè

or PTB *-ŋ²-t 'star / moon' (HPTB (24; 26). <> Tai guatD2 ‘recurring period’ (Manomaivibool 1975: 330) would be a CH loan if the ST etymology is correct.

yuè2 別 → wū₁ 元

yuè3 戰 (jwet) LH wat, OCM *wat
‘Battle-axe’ [BI, Shu, Shi]. Mahdi (1994: 177) points out that the yuè type ax has been found in archeological sites south of the Yangtze and in the Austronesian speaking areas (Chang K-wang-chih 1963; Chén Zhōngmín LTBA 22.2: 42) where the word for ‘iron’, in places ‘ax’, is reconstructed PAN *bara > *basi, in some lgs. wasi and the like. Yuè < *wat could therefore perh. be an AN loan. The etymon also occurs in AA: PAw *wac ‘knife, scythe, sword’, MOm rwas/rowsi ‘weapon’, perh. → TB-JP n3-watn5 > n3-wak5 noted knife.

Curiously, some Taiwanese tribes have the tradition that they originally came from ‘VASA’i across the Taiwan straits on the mainland, i.e. the area which has been known as Yuè 越 since mid-Zhou times.

yuè4 越 (jwet) LH wat, OCM *wat — [T] ONW wat
‘To go on, go beyond, transgress’ [Shi, Shu] > ‘furthermore, and now, later on’ [Bl, Shi, Shu], ‘far away’ [Guoyu].
[C] yuè may be derived from → yû1, 于 ‘to go’ with a t-suffix of unknown function.
[C] A derivation is prob. → su1, 歲 ‘year’. Baxter and Sagart (1998: 60) relate yuè to → yuán, 越 ‘far away’; Matisoff (ICSTLL 1978: 16) relates kuò 開 ‘far apart’ (under → kuän 南) to this word.

yuè5 越 (jwet) LH wat, OCM *wat
The ancient state of Yuè, earlier Yú-yuè before the yuè-wan region; see → yuè3 戰.

yuè6 岳 (gak) LH nág, OCM *ŋók — [T] ONW nág
‘Mountain, peak’ [Shi, Jay].
[E] AA: PN Bahn. *ŋók ‘mountain’. Note also PHain *hngw3 ‘mountain’. Perh. also connected with WB gök, gək-gək < PLB *ŋók after PLB *ŋók- ‘project, stick up or out’ and WB rgo-p ‘any sharp thing sticking out, sharp stump or thorn’, WT rgo-p ‘hump’ (of an animal); for a semantic parallel, note Khmer kôk ‘knoll, hillock’ > Lao ‘hump, bump’ (of ox).

yuè7 悦閑 → yu₁₁ 悅
yuè8 閏 ‘gate’ → yu₁₉ 睿
yuè9 樂 (gak) LH nág, OCM *ŋráuk — [T] ONW nág
‘Music’ [Shi].
[B] The etymological relationship with → l, 樂 ‘joy’ has been much debated, extensively by K. Wulf (Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, historisk-filosofiske meddelelser XXI, 2, 1935, Kobenhavn), more recently by Unger (Hao-ku 19, 1983) who suggests something like OCM *ŋráuk ‘joy’ from which is derived *ŋráuk ‘music’. For the semantics Unger draws attention to WT rol-ba ‘to enjoy’ vs. rol-mo ‘music’. On the other hand, there is no other example of QY initial y- in a w. In the popular mind, the concept ‘music’ can easily be connected with ‘joy’, hence perh. the same graph for these near homophones. The graph 樂 originally wrote ‘oak’ li 棵 (liek), OCM *riáuk which is therefore the actual phonetic.

yuè₁₀ 留 (jiak) LH jok, OCM *liáuk, OCB *jiwak
‘Bamboo flute’ [Shi]. Baxter (1992: 535) suggests that the following item is from the same root:

*Śi 笛 (diek) LH dék < deuk, OCM *liók, OCB *liwik
‘Flute’ [SW, Fengsu tong].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR dí (入); MGZY ti (入) [di]

yuè₁₁ 愉愉 ‘melt’ → shuò₁ 槃鎑
yuè₁₂ 應 ‘shine’ → shuò₁ 槃

yuàng₁ 起 (juan) LH win, OCM *win
‘Even, uniform’ [FY] is cognate to → yün1, 均. 鈞.

yuàng₂ 眭 (jwam) LH wun, OCM *wán — [T] ONW un
‘To say it’ [Lunyu], ‘is called’, ‘to speak’ intr. [Pulleyblank 1995: 81f; see §6.4.5].

Syn. → yuè₁, 日.

yuàng₃ 純 (jwam) LH wun, OCM *wán (≠ *wun ?)
‘To weed’ [Shi].
[E] ST: WT yar-ma ‘the act of weeding’, for the initial correspondence, see §12.9 WT. Note also yóu 育 (jiwub) LH ju OCM *ju (≠ *wun ?) ‘weeds’ [Shi] which may be connected.

yuàng₄ 雲 (jwam) LH wun, OCM *wán
‘Cloud’ [OB, Shi].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR yun (平); MGZY xwin (平) [fwin]
[D] PMin *juán, W-Wénzhōu fyingA², Guāngzhōu wánA²

[E] This word has no obvious outside connection, except possibly TB-Mikir inحن < mhun ‘clouds’; or alternatively KN vaañ > Lushai vaanL < vahv ‘sky’ (in some lgs., ‘sky’ and ‘cloud’ are the same word).

However, ‘cloud’ is possibly cognate to → yün2, 雲. 燕 ‘revolve’, thus yün was lit. a ‘whorl’ or ‘swirl’ in the sky (the OB graph for yün shows a whorl). Therefore one or other of the numerous synonyms and similar-looking roots in the area (under → hui 回) is probably represented here. Closest is perh. AA-Khemer wul/ ‘to turn (around), revolve, rotate, spin, eddy, swirl’. From *wùl to *wun is only one phonological step; an equally appropriate root PTB *wir would instead require two steps, in addition to *t- > *t- also the change > t (§11.5.1): TB-Lushai virB < vir ‘to rotate, revolve, spin’ virL < virh (≠ *s) ‘a whorl’, Mru vir ‘rotate, spin’, WT k’vir-ba ‘to turn around in a circular course’, JP-Hkauri ka-win ‘rotate’ [Matisoff 1974: 166]; WB k’win ‘a time period, season’ (for semantics, note xün 亦 under → jün2, 鈞).

yuàng₅ 導 (jiwub) LH juinB, OCM *jün? or *wun?
‘To trust, be true, sincere’ [Shi] seems to be related to → xün, 信 ‘believe, trust’; if so, OC should be expected to be *wun? (not *jün?). On the other hand, the word may be related to TB-WB yun ‘believe, trust’ (for the final nasal, see §6.7).
[T] Sin Sukchu SR yün (上); MGZY yūn (上) [jyun]
yún - yún

yún_2 陽脆露 (jiwan⁵) LH win⁶, OCM *w(r)an(t)? or *win(t)?, OCB *wrjin(t)?
‘To drop, fall’ [Shi]; ‘fall to the ground’ [Zuo]; ‘to rain, fall down like rain’ 禽 [Gongyang]; ‘to drop, lose’ (one’s life) 死 [Guoyu]; ‘lose’ 死 [Zuo] > cause; ‘to overthrow’ 死 [Zuo]; ‘destroy’ 死 [Xun].

xìan 頤 (sjuen) LH sün⁵, OCM *swin
‘To drip, tears falling’ [Guoyu].

[c] Iterative derivation of yún (§5.2.3).

[E] ST *t(r)we is a rare parallel stem of ST *t(r)wa ‘rain’ (= yú̆ 雨, 雨): TB-Mikir arwê – ruwê ‘raining’; TB-Siwar arwê – ruwê ‘raining’, also in Lolo lgs. *we (*t) (but HPTB: 128 derives these forms from *rwa).
For Ch final -n, see §6.4.4. Syn. include -> yú̆ 雨, 雨, ← ling⁴ 霏霏 ‘rain, fall’.

yún_1 孕 (jia⁶) LH jing⁴, OCM *lan⁴ — [T] ONW in
‘Pregnant’ [Zuo, GY] is prob. the s. w. as yìng 頤 ‘full’ (of ears of grain) [Zhouli].

[D] Medieval dictionaries and non-Mandarin modern dialects reflect a reading which is the equivalent of QY jia⁶: W-Wénzhōu hia⁴jia⁶; M-Xiāmān lit. jia⁶jia⁶; Fūdōu iai⁴jia⁶; Chāozhōu eia⁴jia⁶. Occasional forms with the equivalent of QYS rime -jen prob. represent secondary developments: Guāngzhōu jan⁴jia⁶ (but northern Yuè dialects point to -jia⁶). M-Xiāmān col. jia⁶jia⁶. Mand. dialects have forms rime -un which may possibly reflect the ancient (LH and OC) form jun⁴. Many modern dialects have replaced this word with other expressions.

shèng 懦 (dižia⁶) LH zhi⁶, OCM *m-ia⁴
‘Pregnant’ [Guanzi; GY] (GY 432; GYSX: 884).

[C] This etymon is perh. related to → yíng 頤 ‘full’ because the two words differ only in the vowels (as can occasionally be observed within wfs), and because the phrase 孕育 ‘to conceive and give birth’ is rendered as 萌育 (*-en in Guānzhī). More tenuous would be identification with the WT dictionary word litta-pa ‘quite round or globular’.

yún_2 適 (jiāwà) LH wun⁶, OCM *waŋ
‘Revolve, turn around’ [Yi]. ‘move’ [Zhuang], ‘longitudinal’ 適 [Guoyu]; ‘bring supply of food to’ [Zuo]; ‘vapor, halo’ 適 [Li].

[T] Sin Sūkuo SR yan (±); MGZY xwin (±) [xiwin]; ONW un

→ yú̆ 雨, 雨 ‘cloud’ is prob. related. Karlgen (1933: 28) relates this etymon to → wēi⁴ 灰, Wáng Li (1982: 398) to → huí⁴ 回, but see there.

yún_3 绵 → wēi⁴ 灰

yún_4 良 (jiūn²⁵) LH oun⁴, OCM *oun⁴/s — [T] ONW un
‘To block, accumulate’ (pent-up feelings) 程 [Shi] > ‘to hoard, accumulate’ 程 [Zuo].

xìan 島 (jiāwà) LH un⁴, OCM *iun⁴
‘To pack, store up’ [Lanyu].

xìan 懦 (jiāwà) LH un⁴, OCM *iun⁴
‘To hide’ [Shi] (note: 蒼 ‘pent-up feelings’), ‘grieved’ [Li].

[E] This w.f. may perh. be related to → yíng, 哀; for the difference in final nasal, see §6.4.2. The w.f. → yùn 育 ‘to obstruct’ is probably not related. We have prob. these developments:

PCH *iun⁴ > LH oun⁴ (→ yong³ 哀)
> LH oun⁴ (yun 藤)

zái, zá 贮 (tsAP) LH tsap, OCM *tsAP
‘To bite, sting and suck’ (as a mosquito) [Zhuang].

[E] Sound symbolic area word: PTB *dzap (STC no. 69) > PLB *cup > *jap ~ *cup ~ *cup ‘suck, milk’; Thado tsap, Siyin tuap, Dimasa dzap; Lushai xap (Lorrain fawp) / f3pl. ‘to kiss, suck’; WT *jo-ba, bzos ‘to milk’ derives from a form with medial *j (PTib. *jop > WT *o, see §12.9); JP ma3⁴, sup3 ‘to suck’, *jup3 ‘suck’. HPTB: 382 lists many TB variants. Note also AA: Kharia jo ‘to suck’, Munda cepo’d, Khmer -japa / -cjaip / -to take in, suck’. Foreign words with the rime -op, -up usually become MC -op (via earlier -wap, with the medial w lost due to dissimilation); occasionally, such words appear in OC as *ot, *ut, thus → chuö, 啥 ‘drink’ may be related. Karlgen (1956: 18) relates this word to → cān 吃 ‘hold in the mouth’.

zá_2 贮 - jia³ , 集輯
zái_1 災 (tsAP) LH isá, OCM *tsAP — [T] ONW tsai
‘Natural disaster’ (fire, drought, flood, locusts, eclipse, pestilence, etc.), ‘accident, injury’ [OB, Shi, 菽 [Li], ‘confagration’ [Zuo, SW, Hanshu].

[E] ? *tsa > TB: JP tsaa ‘be damaged’ / f3pl. tsaa ‘to destroy’. This root bleeds into a homophonic meaning ‘warm, heat, fever, pain’: PTB *tsa ‘be hot’ (STC no. 62) > WT ts’a ‘hot, heat, sharp (spices), illness’ / tsaa-pa ‘heat, fever’ / tsaa-n ‘hot, warm’; TGTM *tsiwa ‘fever’, *tsia ‘be in pain’; Chechug ca ‘sore, wound’ / ca ‘have sores’, Mikir s– ‘hot, excessive, be ill, sore’; NNaga dzat ‘suffer’ [Fench 1983: 223], Garo sa ‘ache, pain’; WB a-chha ‘hunger, something faulty or hurtful’, Lahu cha ‘to shine, be bright’ (of the sun). STC (170 n. 455) relates PTB *tsa ‘hot, pain’ to → ji³ jiù, but see there.

[C] Prob. cognate to → zì 贽 ‘shame and burn’, and possibly to → zái 死 贽.

zái_2 贽栽 (tsAP) LH tsai, OCM *tsAP
‘To plant’ 贽 [Li]; ‘to begin’ 贽 [Shu].

[T] Sin Sūkuo SR tsaj (±); MGZY dzay (±) [tsaj]; ONW tsai

zái_1 贽 (tsAP) LH tsap, OCM *tsAP — [T] ONW tsap
‘To initiate, start work, undertaking, achievement; at first’ [Shi, Shu].

[T] Sin Sūkuo SR dzaj (±); MGZY tsay (±) [dzaj]; ONW dzai

zái_1 贽 (tsAP) LH dzaj³, OCM *dzAP
‘Be in, at, to exist’ [OB, BI, Sh]. Appears to be the endoactive form of the under → zái 贽 (§4.5). On the other hand, Matsloff (ICSTLL, Bangko 2000: 8) compares zái to Lahu chë ‘jé ‘stop, cease, come to rest’ *N-dzay² (JAM) or *cy’a² *jía² (Bradley 1979). Allofam → cún 存.

[T] Sin S. SR dzaj (±); MGZY tsay (±) [dzaj]; ONW dzai

598

599
zzì 载 (tsjadi) LH tsa2, OCM *tsôh
'To load, carry, pour, fill, conveyance’ [Shi].

zzì 载 (dzjadi) LH dzs2, OCM *dzôh
'To load, a load’ [Shi].

zzì 子 (tsi2) LH tsia2, OCM *tsa(?)
'A burden’ [Shi].

[E] This wf could possibly be part of → zì 载, here in the sense of ‘to put into place > put on, place onto, load’.

zzì 载 ‘start’ → zì 载哉

zzì 再 (tsi2) LH tsa2, OCM *tsôh
'Twice, again and again’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsai (tsai); MGZY dzay (tsai); ONW tsai2

zzì 载 (tsi2) LH tso8, OCM *tsô
'A turn’ (as in: ‘it is his turn to...’), ‘a year’ [Shu].

[C] endoactive / tr. of zì.

zzì 载 (tsi2) LH tsi, OCM *tsô
'Year’ [Guoq], as in jīn zì 今兹 ‘this year’, lăi zì 来兹 ‘next year’.

[zhì] 载 (dzien) LH dzien, OCM *dzôns
'Repeat, repeatedly’ 蔘 [Shi], ‘repeat, a second time’ 洸 [Yi], ‘repeat, increase’ 蔘 [Zuozhou].

zzì 载 (tshm, tsjam) LH tsom, tšam, OCM *tšam
'Hairpin’ [Xun].

[D] PMin *tšam (＞Jiânglè tson4, Fûhîu tson4) – *tšam (＞Amoy tsiâm4);
Y-Günghôu 5tsam4

zzì 载 (tshm) LH tšam2, OCM *tšams
'To slander’ tr. [Shi]. For semantics, see → zhên 篤鈤, → ci2 束.

[E] Area word ‘*c-rump – *c-rim ‘needle’; the OC word is phonetically closest to lgs. which are farthest afield (this is also the case with ‘weave’ → rên, 結): AN-PCham *jûrum, IN dayum ‘needle’ (Benedict AT: 113); AA-PNBahn. jurum, PSBahn. jurnum, Sre jurum → TB-Lepcha rûum, Mirik ipirim ‘needle’; IST: 237 lists prum – prim > tîm for Kuki-Chinese lgs. OC can be derived from a form *jûrum or *crum. Cf. also PKS *ts’omâ ‘needle’.

zzì 载 (tsâ) LH tsou, OCM *tsâ
'Be good’ (of quality of persons, horses, state) [Shi].

[ET] WT biaq-po ‘good’ (HST: 87).

zzì 载 (tsâ) LH tsan2, OCM *tsâh
'To bury’ (a corpse) [Luny]. Old texts seem to confirm what the graph suggests, that the dead were once wrapped in straw or grass, i.e. literally ‘concealed’; therefore zàng may possibly be related to → cäng 藏.

[C] An allofamis is prob. → sào 撲 ‘burial’.

zzì 载 (tsâ) LH tsou, OCM *tsâ – [T] ONW tsou
'Meet, encounter’ [Shi].

zzì tshou 藏→ zì 子

zzì 载 (tsâ) LH tsou, OCM *tšou
‘Meet, encounter’ [Shi].

[T] MGZY tsaw (平) [daw]; Sin Sukchu SR dzaw (平)

[<] endopass. / intr. of zào 趨 (tsâu) (§4.6).

zzì 载 (dzâu) LH dzou2, OCM *dzôh
'To collect, bring together’ (blessings, states) [Shi].

zzì 载 (dzu) LH dzu1, OCM *dzôh
'Bring together, collect, sum up’ [Yi].


zzì 载 (tsaut) LH tsaut, OCM *tsât, OCB *Stut
'Group’ (of men, families, states) [Li], ‘soldier, army’ [Zuo].

[T] MTang tsur < tsuir, ONW tsuit
[<] derived from zào 趨 above with the nominal t-suffix (§6.2.1).

[C] Karlgen (1956: 13) considers this word a cognate of → zù 卒 ‘to die’ (unlikely).

zzì 载 (dzaw) LH dzus, OCM *dzuts, OCB *dzus
'To collect, assemble’ [Shi], ‘assemblage, crowd’ [Meng]. Bodman links this word to → zù 卒; Baxter (1992: 350) considers this word a tone C derivation from → jî13 集 (dzjap) ‘collect’.

[E] Bodman (1969) combines zù 卒, cui 菊 with → tûn2 屯, zui 最 (under → jù, 聚) and other items into a large ST w ‘to collect, accumulate’.

zzì 载 (tsâu) LH tsou2, OCM *tsû
'Early’ [Shu]. Acc. to Norman (1986: 382) the Northern Mân ‘softened initial’ *ts- indicates OC prenasalization which is supported by Yao dzou3 < *nts- ‘early’.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsaw (tsaw); MGZY dzaw (tsaw); ONW tsou

[E] Zào is prob. derived from → zào 趨 ‘do, make, begin’ and thus semantically similar to other words for ‘morning’ (→ chên 昨, → sûu 晚). WB co8 early, premature’ *cô-cô ‘be early’ (as rains), JP tsâ3 are prob. Tai loans (Matisoff 1974: 178): PTai tsaub8 ‘time of cock crowing’ (Luo Yongxian MKS 27, 1997: 293) or *taub2 [Li Fâng Kuei].

zzì 载 (tsâu) LH tsou2, OCM *tsû

zzì 载 (tsâu) LH tsau2, OCM *tsâu
'To wash’ [Li].

[EM] PMY *nts’awu3 / b/c’ to wash (bathe). Note also TB-Lushai sau / suuk < tsau/h ‘to wash’, but the vocalism does not agree with OC.

zzì 载 (dzu) LH dzau2, OCM *dzôh
‘An acorn, black-dying fruit’ [Zhouli]. CVST (4: 13) relates this word to WT tsuos ‘paint, dye’ which, however, could phonologically also agree with → chê 菈 *tsâu ‘full of color, color’ [Shi].

zzì 载 (tsaù) LH tsou, OCM *tsûh
‘To proceed’ [Shi, Meng], ‘reach to’ (mountains the sky) [Hou Hanshu].

zzì 载 (dzâu) LH dzou2, OCM *dzôh

[T] Sin Sukchu SR dziu (dziu); MGZY tsiw (dziu); MTang dzue < dzui, ONW dzou

[N] This wf is perh. related to → zào 趨, → zù 卒.

zzì 载 (dzâu) LH dzou2, OCM *dzôh — [T] ONW dzou
'To do, make, build’ (boats, bridges), ‘be active, begin’ [Shi]; ‘to achieve’ [Shi].
zè - zēng

[N] The element → gāo 告 ‘report’ with initial k- is not phonetic, it was part of the original word 造 *ts'uhū ‘to go and offer’ (a sacrifice), ‘go and appear in court’ which usually would involve some announcement or report. Therefore, there is no need to postulate an *sk-like initial.

[ST] PB: *tsuk > WT: *t'sugs-pa ‘go into, commence, take root’ ≠ *d'zugs-pa - zug-pa ‘to stick into, set, erect, put down, begin’ ≠ *t'sud-pa ‘be put into, enter’, PLB *tsukʰ ‘build’ (a house). An allofam is prob. → zāo 早 ‘early’. This w is related. perh. related. → zāo 造, → zá 卒.

zé₁ 贬 (tsok) LH: tsok, OCM: *tsék
‘Consequently, thereupon, otherwise’ [BI, Shi].

[T] Sin S. SR: tsaj (平), LR: tsəj; MGZY dzʰi (平) [tsaj]; ONW: tsok

[E] Etymology not certain. Unger (see Geilich 1994: 259) suggests that this is ž[+]. LH: tshia, *tsa ‘this’ [Shi] with the distributive k-suffix (§6.1.2). If true, the meaning ‘a norm’ [BI, Shi] would prob. represent a different word.

zé₂ 責 (tsék) LH: tsek, OCM: *tsérk, OCB: *tsrjek (*< *Strek?)
‘Request, reprove, hold responsible’ [Shu].

zhài 傢 (tsai) LH: tsaï, OCM: *tsérk

zé₃ 撇 (dék) LH: dak, OCM: *d-lak
‘To choose’ [Shi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR: dzaj (入); MGZY cay (入) [dzaj]; MTang: dék, ONW: děk

[ET] KT: PKS: *lakʰ ‘to pick, select’, Tai: S. hakkʰ ‘to choose’. QY div. II: dék results from the same OC L-like initial which with all other times has yielded QY div. III initial ġ. Final -k added to *ai yields *ak in a few other words as well.

zé₄ 柱 (chá) 柱

zé₅ 竿 (tsök) LH: tšak, OCM: *tsrák
‘A quiver’ [Yili].

[AA] Khmer /cmokː/ ‘insert, introduce, shove into...’

zé₆ 搖 (dék) LH: dək, OCM: *dərk
‘To spear’ (fish) [Guoyu].

[ET] This word is a variant of → chuò 掙 and → cè seed whose OC vowel may be due to interference from either → chá, 又 *ts'hrái ‘fork’ (incl. ‘tree fork for spearing fish’) or ci ‘st (ts'jak) [ts'iek] ‘tshek ‘stab’ (under ci 杖, semantically parallel to → cè seed).

zé 仄 → cè 侧

zé₁ 贱 (dzak) LH: dzak, OCM: *dzák — [T] ONW: dzak
‘To injure, damage; robber’ [BI, Shi] may possibly be related to → zāi 災 ‘disaster, injury’.

[ET] WT: Jāk < ‘robbery’ (HST: 127) looks like a cognate, but a WT palatalized initial usually does not correspond to an unpalatalized one in Chinese. On the other hand, a MK palatal initial may; note Khmer /chak/ ‘to snatch’ ≠ /cmak/ ‘thief’ [Jenner / Pou 1982: lxvii].

zèn 聲 → zān 响

zéng 曾增增增 (tsaj) LH: tsəj, OCM: *tsáng
‘To add’ [Meng] > ‘to double, to rise high’ [Chuci]; ‘increase, numerous’ [Shi];

‘bundles of branches’ 概 [Li] > ‘to hate’ 憎 [BI, Shi] may be the same word (i.e. emotional increase, accumulation).

[T] Sin Sukchu SR: tsaj (平), PR: tsəj; MGZY dzʰi (平) [tsaj]; ONW: tsəj

zhéng 鍾 (dzaj, tsəj) LH: dzaj, OCM: *dzán
‘In two stories, double’ [Chuci].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR: dzaj (平), PR: dzəj, MGZY dzʰi (平) [dzaj]

[D] Perh. this (i.e. MC dzaj) is the s. w. as PMin: *tsənʰ ‘wet rice field’ (J. Norman, p. c.), note also zēng 栋 [tsənʰ] ‘wet field’ [JY], but initial and tone don’t agree with PMin. Chen and Li (1991: 24) identify the Min word with chéng 帝 (dzaj) ‘raised road path between fields’ [SW].

[<] endopass. of zēng (tsaj) (§4.6), lit. ‘what is increased, raised’.

[ET] Prob. ST: WT ‘ts'en-ba ‘increase, improve’ (CVST 4: 4), WB: chaŋ ‘to place one uoq another, step, grade’. Alternatively, this group may be an iterative s-prefix derivation (§5.7) from → deng, 登 (HST: 126), but ts- from *st- is doubtful.

zhēng 總 → zhéng₄ 总

zhā 夥 (ta) LH: tai, OCM: *trái
‘To open’ (a door) [Zhang], the graph shows a person with the legs opened.

This word’s final k variant is → zē 齊. OC rimes *e and *ai do occasionally mix in wfs, the initial OC *tr- could derive from some consonant + medial r as is also found in the allomorph → bō, 撮 and its Tai cognates. Therefore this word may be cognate to → bō, 撮 OC *bre ‘to open’. For an overview of similar items, see Table P-1 under → pi 披. For a listing of similar words and possible allomorphs, see → li₁, 披.

zhā 札 (tsṭā) LH: tṣć, OCM: *tsṛt
‘To die prematurely’ [Zuo], *persistence [Zhou].

zhài 懐 (tsái) LH: tṣć, OCM: *tsṛt, OCB: *tsrjėts
‘To suffer, hurt’ [Shi].

[AA] Zhān Xuan (commentary to Zhuo) says that zhāi means ‘to die’ in the ancient Yuè (Viet) Ig. (Palleyblank 1983: 438), which however does not necessarily mean that zhāi is a loan from PVM; it could have come from other AA branches: PVM: *k-cet ‘Viet. chêt ‘to die’ (Norman / Mei 1976: 277); PSBahn. *kāṣṭ ‘*kāṣṭ ‘to die, dead’, Katuc i *cet ‘dead’ ≠ *k-goc ‘to kill’; PMonic kca ‘to die’ ≠ k-r-cet ‘to kill’; Khmer /sät/ ‘to die’ ≠ /bniats/ ‘to kill’ (ban- is caus. prefix). For the initials, see §10.5.2.

zhái 簿 → chuò 掙

zhái 宅 (dék) LH: dak, OCM: *drák
‘To inhabit, reside, dwell, settle, residence’ [Shi, Shul], ‘homestead, farmstead’ [Meng]; Mand. ‘residence, house’.

[T] Sin Sukchu SR: dzaj (入), LR: dzəj; MGZY cay (入) [dzaj]; MTang: dék, ONW: děk

[ET] MK: Khmer dak ‘put down, settle, lodge...’ ≠ d'mak(n) (i.e. d-m-n-ak) ‘residence’. As in many words, OC has assumed *r in the initial which is absent in other lgs. (§7.6.2). Alternatively, it has been suggested that zhái may be connected with Tai: S: riak² (perh. ‘field’?) (Manomaiviboob 1975: 150–153).
zhān — zhān

zhān1 湛 (dàn bǔ) LH ɗem b, OCM *drǎm b? ‘Be soaking’ (as dew) [Shi]; ‘deep’ [Chuci].

zhān2 戰 (tșián c) LH t săn c, OCM *tans ‘War, battle’ [Lunyu].
[T] Sin Sukchu SR tšián (tši); MGZY jía n (tši); ONW t săn
[EE] This word is commonly thought to be cognate to WT ral ‘fight, war’ (so STC: n. 419: p. 173 n. 461). Lushai ral ‘enemy’, or to rgal ‘victory, victorious’. However, TB initial *r for OC *st- is unlikely. As in many lgs., the word for ‘war, battle’ zhān 戰 ‘tremble, fear’ (under → dàn, 擊) [Geilich 1994: 238]. The semantics are identical to Greek pōlemos ‘war’ which is derived from a root tremble, fear (Buck 1949: 20.10). The TB word *ral belongs to the root ‘separate’ which is cognate to CH CH10 荷 ‘depart from, divide’ which has a semantic parallel in Skt. vigraha- ‘strip, war’ (Buck ibid.).

zhān3 戰 ‘tremble, fear’ → dàn7 擊

zhān4 擊 (dzän bυ c, dzän bυ) LH dzän bυ (or dzcv bυ c?), OCM *drān bυ? ‘A shed made of intertwined branches’ [Zhuang], ‘carriage box made of lath or bamboo’ [Shi].
[EE] Manonaviibool (1975: 157) relates zhān to Tai: S. raan c2 ‘machan, booth, stall, shop’. For the initials, see §7.1.5.

zhān5 站 → dān1 丹

zhān6 站 → tān8 談

zhān1 展 (tșián b) LH tön b, OCM *tran b? ‘Roll over’ [Shi]; ‘unfold, open’ [Yili] > ‘develop, set forth’ [Zuo zhuan] > ‘examine’ [Liji].

zhān2 展 (tșián b) LH tʂem b, OCM *trēm b?, OCB *tṣəm b? ‘To cut off, cut down’ [Shi].

zhān3 剛 (dzäm c2), LH dzäm c2, OCM *dzräm s ‘Sharp’ [Mo].
[<] endocative of zhān (§4.6), lit. ‘be cutting’ intr.

zhān4 剛 (dzäm c2) LH dzäm c2, OCM *dzräm s ‘To slander’ [Zuo]. For semantics, compare items under → zān 談, from which zān 談 (tșián c) ‘slander’ is derived.
[EE] AA: PVM *cem b ‘to chop’ [Thompson]; Khmer cram ‘to hack’ (a learned r-infix from a col. form without, Khmer cām ‘cop up, cut’, a CH loan acc. to Pou / Jenner J. of "Oriental Studies 11, 1973: 1-90; however, OC already had this medial-r-). ↔ PTai *thr: S. hâm c ‘chop, hack’ (Luo Yongxiang ICSTLL 2002).

zhān5 畔 → niê1 饕

zhān6 畔 → zhān2 斬

zhāng — zhān

zhāng1 張 (tʃjan) LH tʃuŋ, OCM *_likes ‘Make long, to string a bow’ [Shijing], ‘string an instrument’ [Guoce], ‘stretch, extend’ [Laozi].

zhāng2 張帳 (tʃjan c) LH tʃuŋ c, OCM *_likes ‘Be swollen, conceived; wanting to go to stool’ 張 [Zuo]; ‘a tent’ (< ‘something stretched’) 帳 [Shi]; ‘a curtain’ [Chuci].
[<] exocative of *trāŋ (§4.4), lit. ‘be stretched’.

zhāng3 長 (tʃjan b) LH tʃuŋ b, OCM *_likes, OCB *tʃrāŋ b ‘To grow tall’ [Meng], ‘increase, elder’ [Shi].
[<] endocative of *trāŋ 張 (§4.5).

zhāng4 長 (tʃjan c) LH tʃuŋ c, OCM *_likes, OCB *tʃrāŋ c ‘To be long, long-lasting’ [Bi, Shi].
[<] endocative of *trāŋ 張 (§4.6).}

zhāng5 長 (tʃjan c) LH tʃuŋ c, OCM *_likes ‘Length, measurement of length’ [Lij].
[<] LOC general derivation *dān (§3.5.2) (Baxter and Sagart 1998: 55: a noun derived from a ‘gradable adjective’).

[EE] ST: WT ‘dre-ba, drās b’ ‘to draw, drag, pull, draw tight’ (a rope), PLB *trān ‘draw, pull, drag’; Lushai tʃuŋ b / tʃan b ‘be distended’ (as breasts w. milk), tʃuŋ b / tʃan b ‘to grow’,
zhăng – zhăng

perh. also WB kran[^c]‘tense, tight’ (see §12.9 WT (5) for the TB initial correspondences). Several lgs. have a syn. with simple initial r-, perh. of AA orig.: Khmer /-daan/ ['/todaan/ ‘stretch out, extend’ /-traan/ ‘draw out, prolong, lengthen’]; Mon dăng, Bahnar tâg ‘stretch out’. AA -> TB-Lepcha dan[Forest JAS 82, 1962; 334]; WB tan[^b]‘tighten, become tense, stiff’ (from *r<-?); WT tân-po ‘hardy, strong, tense’ (HST: 150). Table Z-1 provides an overview of the ST items.

Table Z-1  Tight, tense for zhăng

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>*kran</th>
<th>*trang</th>
<th>*tan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OC</td>
<td>zhang</td>
<td>*trang</td>
<td>pull tight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WT</td>
<td>‘dren-ba, drangs pull tight’</td>
<td>*tan-po</td>
<td>tight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KC</td>
<td>*kran</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Lushai</td>
<td>kr-&gt;tr-&gt;</td>
<td>tan[^h]/tan[^l]&lt;trang/tran ‘be distended (as breasts w/ milk)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Tiddim</td>
<td>kan[^h]/ kan[^h]&lt;trang/kanh</td>
<td>stretch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mikor</td>
<td>ikan[^l]/kan[^l]&lt;tang</td>
<td>tense</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JP</td>
<td>kran[^h]/ pull tight</td>
<td>kan[^h]/ pulled tight</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td>kran[^c]‘tense, tight’</td>
<td>tan[^h] ‘tighten’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

zhăng_2 緊 → liáng_5 檜

zhăng_3 章 (tjian) LH tsoŋ, OCM *tan
‘Be distinguishing, distinction’ [Shi, Shu], ‘to display’ [Shu] > ‘emblem, insignium, jade tablet’ [Shi, Shu].


zhăng_4 楧 (tjian) LH tšon, OCM *tan (or *kian ?)
‘River deer’ [Lü].

[D] In Mín the word has initial k-: Xiāmín kia[^h], hence perh. OCM *kian?

zhăng 長 → zhăng_1 張

zhăng_1 丈 (tjian) LH dian[^b], OCM *tran?
‘Old man’ [Lunyu].杖 [Yi].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzian (±, Müng); MGZY cang (±) [dzian]; MTang dan, ONW dan

[E] ST: PTB *trang (STC no. 205) (or rather *trang ?) > WT  akan an honorific: akan ‘chief uncle’, WB a-trang ‘master, lord’. Kuki *tjian ‘*trang father’s sister’s husband’, Mr. taraan ‘uncle’ (Löffler 1966: 140). This may be an old area word: PAN guDan ‘adult, grown up’ (Sagart JCL 21.1, 1993: 32 associates AN with the items under zhăng_1 張). This word is sometimes thought to be the same as → zhàng_3 枝 ‘staff’, i.e. someone who walks with, or leans on, a staff (unlikely).

zhăng_2 丈 (tjian) LH dian[^b], OCM *tran? — [T] MTang dan, ONW dan
‘A length measure of ten chi’ [Zuo].

[D] PMin *dian
zhāo 1 爪 (ʦuǐ b) LH tςuɐ, OCM *tsɻʊ ʔ — [D] M-Xiámmén col. lǐ₃b (ʔ < ʔ).
‘Claw’ [Sh].  又 [SW]. This is the s. w. as, or cognate to,  → zhǔ 抓 ‘grasp’; it may
perh. also be related to  → sǎo 搔 ‘scratch’.

zhāo 2 招 ‘To search for’. The word first appears in the Ming dynasty, etymology unknown
(Norman 1988: 76).

zhāo 3 昭  →  zhāo 3 昭

zhāo 1 召 (djàu c) LH tǎu, OCM *d lua  → [T] ONW tšau
‘To beckon, summon’ [Sh]. (Manomaiviboob 1975: 152), for the
initials see §7.1.4, for the finals §6.9.

zhāo 2 招 (tjāu c) LH tʂau, OCM *tau  → [T] ONW tšau
‘To call, summon’ [Shi] > ‘signalize’ [Guoyu].

zhāo 3 招 (tjāu c) LH tʂau, OCM *tau
‘To tell, declare’ [Shi] is perh. related.

zhāo 4 召 (djàu b) LH təu, OCM *d-lua  → [T] ONW tʃau
‘To prognosticate omen, symptom’ [Zuo].
[Perh. ST: Chepaŋ hrawʔ ‘forebode, portend ill fortune, be ill’.

zhē 著 (tik, diak)

[T] Sin Suckh SR tʃaw, dzjw (ʔ), LR tʃaw; MGZY jw, cew (ʔ) [tʃəw ~ dzəw]
A Mand. progressive suffix, first appears in the 9th cent. AD; in Wú dia.: tʃei (ʔ)
Southern MC (tʃi), it has now also assumed the function of the perfective aspect marker
(Mei Tsu-Lin CAAAL 9, 1978: 39ff).

zhē 1 利 (tjaŋ) LH tʃap, OCM *trap
‘Hanging ears’ [Zuo, N. Pr.], also dă 割 (tʃap) LH tʃap ‘ears long and hanging down’
[GY] is acc. to JY the common graph for zhē.

zhē 2 拆 (tjaj) LH tsha, OCM *tet, OCB *tjet (1998) → [T] ONW tʃat
‘To break off’ tr. [Shi], ‘destroy’ [Yi], ‘decide’ [Shu].

zhē 3 拆 (tjaj) LH džat, OCM *det, OCB *N-tjet (1998) → [T] ONW dʒat
‘To bend’ intr. [Li], ‘be cut off, broken off > to die prematurely’ [Shu].
[Perh. also connected with Tai *tʃap ‘hanging ears’ (of dog) (STC: 181 n. 479).
For a semantic parallel, see → yán 天爷.

zhē 4 拆 (tjaj) (§4.6) (Baxter and Sagart 1998: 43). For a semantic parallel,
see → yào, 天爷.

zhē 5 拆 (tjet) (for the vowels, see §11.3.2): Chepaŋ tet- ‘break or snap a rope, tear cloth’.
PTB *tʃat (STC no. 185), or rather *tʃat (Baxter and Sagart 1998: 43f); PLB *tʃat
‘C-redirect, break two in, cut through, conclude’; WT čəd-pa, čəd ‘to cut, explain’ μ
gəd-pa, bəd ‘to cut’. Lushai čaɪ’t / čaɪʔ ‘(Lorr. chat) to break or snap’ (as rope, string),
‘asunder, apart’ μ čət / čəʔ ‘to fetch or cut’ (long pieces of cane etc.).

[ST] *tet  → *tjet (for the vowels, see §11.3.2): Chepaŋ tet- ‘break or snap a rope, tear cloth’.
PTB *tʃat (STC no. 185), or rather *tʃat (Baxter and Sagart 1998: 43f); PLB *tʃat
‘C-redirect, break two in, cut through, conclude’; WT čəd-pa, čəd ‘to cut, explain’ μ
gəd-pa, bəd ‘to cut’. Lushai čaɪ’t / čaɪʔ ‘(Lorr. chat) to break or snap’ (as rope, string),
‘asunder, apart’ μ čət / čəʔ ‘to fetch or cut’ (long pieces of cane etc.).

[C] Karlgren 1956: 16 relates  → zhē 3 拆 ‘wise’ (< ‘penetrating’) to this wf.
zhè - zhēn

zhè [tɕæ̰ n] LH tsaⁿ, OCM *takʰ — [T] ONW tsa
A kind of thorny tree whose leaves can be used in place of mulberry leaves in feeding silkworms [Shi].
[?] This word has been compared to Middle Korean tak 'mulberry tree' (Miyake 1997: 197, 203). See comment under → méi 梅.

zhè zā ŭ zhái 宅
zhè zǐ 灼→zhī 只

zhèn [tʃən] LH tin, OCM *tron
'Precious' [Zuo].
[?] ST: WT tin 'price, value' (Geilich 1994: 249).

zhèn [tʃæ̰ n] LH tɕim, OCM *tom — [T] ONW tɕim
'To pour in, ladle out, serve' (< 'to fill up'? [Chuci].
Perh. shèn 甚 (tʃæ̰ n/C) LH dʑim/C, OCM *dœm/s
'Excessive, much' [Li].
[?] Sin Sukhu SR zim (上去), LR zim (上): MGZY zhit (上去): ONW dʑim/C
[?] ST: PTB *tjám ~ *dyam 'full', KN-Tiddim dim 'be full' (STC no. 226).

zhèn [tʃæ̰ n] 椴 (tʃæ̰ n) LH tɕim, OCM *tron
'blocking' [Zhouli]. Baxter (1992: 551) relates this word to → zhèn 枝, 枝.

zhèn [tʃæ̰ n] 真 (tʃæ̰ n) LH tɕen, OCM *tren — [T] MTAγ tɕen, ONW tɕen
'To test, try out, correct, verify' [OB].

zhèn, zhèn [tʃæ̰ n, tʃæ̰ n] 惟 (tʃæ̰ n, tʃæ̰ n/C) LH tɕen, tɕen, OCM *tʰreg
'To test, verify' [Li].
[?] Tai: S. t'leen/C 'id.' (Manonmaiivbøol 1975: 149). Perh. related to → zhèn 職.

zhèn [tʃæ̰ n] 職 (tʃæ̰ n) LH tɕin, OCM *tìn
'To be true, real' [Zhuang].
[?] Sin Sukhu SR tɕin (平); MGZY jin (平) [tɕin]
[?] ST: WT bden-pa 'true'. Perh. connected with → zhèn 職.

zhèn 振 → zhèn 振

zhèn [tʃæ̰ n] 枝 (tʃæ̰ n) LH tɕin, OCM *tən
'Numerous, in a flock' (birds, sons) [Shi].

zhèn [tʃæ̰ n] 银 (tʃæ̰ n) LH tɕin, OCM *tən
'Be many, numerous' (people, animals) [Shi] is apparently a variant of the above.

zhèn 筆鋸 (tʃæ̰ n) LH kim, OCM *kim — [T] ONW tɕim — [D] PMin *tʃim ~ *tʂem 'Needle’ 筆 [Zouhuan], 筆 [Lij] > 'to criticize' 筆 [Zouhuan]. For a semantic parallel, see → zān 竿, → cū, 觚.

zhèn 枕 → zhèn 枕

'Headrest, pillow' [Shi]. A tone C verb 'to pillow oneself on' [Zuo] (Downer 1959: 280) is an exoactive / caus. derivation (§4.3).

zhèn, zhèng 振 → zhèn 振; → zhèn 振
zhèng [tʃæ̰ ng] LH tɕng, OCM *tʂən
'To fight, quarrel' [Shi].
zhéng ㄓㄥ<br>

[T] Sin Sukcho SR tʂáŋ (平), PR, LR tʂáŋ; MGZY tʂáŋ (平) [tʂáŋ]; ONW tʂáŋ

[ST] 'To steam' (food) [Shi]. Sagart (1999: 73) derived the following from this word:

[x] zhéng ㄓㄥ tʂáŋ LH tʂáŋ, OCM *tʂáŋ

'Boiler, earthenware pot for steaming rice' [Meng].

zhéng ㄓㄥ tʂáŋ → zhēn, 惇

zhéng ㄓㄥ tʂáŋ LH tʂáŋ, OCM *tʂáŋ — [T] ONW tʂáŋ

'Brushwood' (as firewood) [Shi].


zhèn ㄓㄣ tʂáŋ → chéng, 姍承

zhèng ㄓㄥ 微 → zhēng, 職

zhéng ㄓㄥ □

'Elbow, heel' occurs in southern dialects: PMin *tʂáŋ ~ *tʂìi: Yóuŋ-tân tʂáŋ11, Jiàn’òu tʂáŋ11, Fǔzhōu tʂáŋ11, Fǔn νáŋ11, Amoy tʂáŋ11, Jiéyíng tʂáŋ11; Y–Guángzhōu sau11. tʂáŋ11 'elbow', kāk11-m tʂáŋ11 'heel'. Etymology not clear.

zhēng ㄓㄥ 拚 → chéng, 姍承

zhěng ㄓㄥ 整 → zhēn, 正政

zhèng ㄓㄥ 正政 (tiān-shirts) LH tʂéŋ, OCM *teŋ

'Be straight, correct > govern, determine' 正 [Shi, Shu]; ‘to govern, government’ 政 [Bl, Shi, Shu], 'remonstrate' 証 [Guoce].

[T] Sin Sukcho SR tsjì̂ (平); MGZY jì̂̂̂̂̂̂ (平) [tsjì]; ONW tʂì̂

[c] exact. / tr. derivation of zhèng (§4.3.2).

zhěng ㄓㄥ 正征 (tijáŋ) LH tʂéŋ, OCM *teŋ

'Center of target; first quarter (month)' [Bl, Shi] >> ‘to target, make straight for’ > ‘to march on / against, campaign’ 征 [Bl, Shi]. Contrary to traditional belief (GSR 8330), the basic meaning is not ‘to correct’ > ‘punish by military expedition’, although the (royal, imperial) attacker likes to see his action thus morally justified.

zhēng ㄓㄥ 拼 (tijáŋ) LH tʂéŋ, OCM *teŋ

'Be orderly' [Zou], caus. 'arrange, dispose' (troops) [Shi] (Unger Hsiao-kue 1990: 50)

[c] endoactive of zhèng 正征 (tijáŋ) (§4.5).

[ST] or area word: TB-Lushai diáuŋ ‘to go straight or direct, go straight through without breaking the journey’, etc.; Chepang dær ‘be straight’; JP tetˈiŋ ‘right, correct’, Lepcha atˈiŋ ‘right, correct’, WB tæː ‘straightforward, direct’. <> AA: Khmer diáuŋ/tián/ ‘be true, accurate, correct, right’.

This wv could be related to → tǐng1 亭 (so Karlsgren 1956: 16), but prob. not to → tǐng2 'pontoon' because the initials are different (*t- vs. *t-). Matsloff (1988) combines this wv with → yíng2 盈 'full', → pīng2 平 'level', → tǐng2 'straight'.

zhěng ㄓㄥ 征 (tijáŋ) LH tʂéŋ, OCM *teŋ

'Testify, prove' [Lunyu]. Perh. related to → zhên, 真, and / or → zhēn, 真.

[T] Sin Sukcho SR tsjì̂ (平); MGZY jì̂̂̂̂̂̂ (平) [tsjì]; ONW tʂì̂

zhī ㄓ ㄇ tʂì, OCM *tʂì

[T] Sin S. SR tʂì (平). PR, LR tʂì; MGZY jî (平) [tsi]; ONW tʂì

(1) Demonstrative pronoun ‘this, he, she, it’. As a subject it is common in OB, sporadic in Shijing and subsequent classical texts, but it is everywhere the normal object pronoun ‘him, her, it’. The following nouns are the reduced to its initial t- and fused with the preceding negatives yielding fū (pjuat) ‘not it’ and wù 忽 (muatj) ‘don’t it’, see under → bù, not → wù, wú.

(2) Derived from the pronoun is the use as the common genitive marker. A medieval colloquial genitive marker was written → di, 低; subsequently → de, 的 appears for the first time in a Song document (Coblin p. c.) and later in a Yuan inscription of 1238 (Mei Tsu-Lin BiHP 59.1, 1988). However, these forms may be unrelated to zhī because they imply a final -k.

zhī ㄓ tʂì LH dʒà, OCM *dʒà

Demonstrative pronoun ‘this, now, then’ [Shi]. Pulleyblank (1995: 89) considers zhí a relatively unemphatic form of → shí1. See also §3.3.3.

[T] Sin S. SR zì (平), PR, LR tʂì; MGZY zhí zhí (平) [zì]; ONW dʒà

[ST] WT dà ‘there’.

zhī ㄓ tʂì LH tʂì, OCM *tʂì (= *tɕi?)

‘To go, proceed’ [Shi].

[T] Sin S. SR tʂì (平), PR, LR tʂì; MGZY ji (平) [tʂì]; ONW tʂì

[c] ST tɕì: WT čhà-ba ‘to go, become, be going to’; WB ca ‘beginning’, at first → a-ca ‘beginning’. These TB items do not belong to → chū, 初 as has been suggested.

zhí ㄓ tʂí, OCM *tʂí


[c] *t + endopassive devoicing (*§4.6) + endoactive tone B (§4.5) forming an introvert noun, ‘what is proceeding’.}

zhī ㄓ tʂì, OCM *tʂì

‘Goal, purpose, will, wish’ [Shi] > ‘spirit, mind, record, treatise’ [Zou]. Note the semantic proximity with the root in the -shù- prefix 不如我所之 [My thoughts are not equal to (where I am going:) my purpose] [Shi 54, 5].

[c] *t + exopass. s/ħ-suffix (*§4.4), lit. ‘what is being proceeded to’. This word is unrelated to → shí1, 聴 (suggested by Wáng Li 1982: 95).

zhī ㄓ tʂí, OCM *tʂí

‘Foot > heel’ [Bl, Shi]; > ‘to settle, stop’ [Shi].

[c] *t + endoactive tone B noun derivation (*§4.5). This word is not related to the TB items under → jǐ, 几机.

zhèn ㄓㄣ LH dzǐn, OCM *dzn — [T] ONW dzǐn

‘Date, time, season’ [Bl, Shi].

[c] *dzn ‘time + the nominal n-suffix (*§6.3), lit. ‘what is proceeding’. Chén partially converges with → chén 晨. It replaces its simplex shí in southern dialects as the word for ‘time’; M–Fúzhōu seǐ́ng1-gauC2 晨候, Y–Guángzhōu siA2-senC2 時辰 (for Mand. shí-hóu 時候).
zhf

zhf₃汁 (tjong) LH kip, OCM *kip — [T] ONW tšip
‘Juice, sap, melting snow’ [Li].

[D] PMin *ščep

qi 清 (k jap) LH k'ip
‘Juice’ [Yili] is perhaps a cognate of zhi (Unger Hao-ku 47, 1995: 141); the dialect word from East of the Passes xié 十 貝 (yiep) [gap] [FY 3, 7] is probably related.

[Etymology] Not certain. Perh. related is PLB *qrip 'lacr., pine resin'; WB k'rip, k'ip [STC 38] (CVST 5: 65); or to Kachin mogyp 'liquor' (STC 38); or HST: 99 relates zhi to WT č’ab ‘water’, but initial velars do not palatalize in WT. Not prob. related to → chen2 漫沈 ‘a liquid’.

zhf₄ 支枝肢 (tjë) LH tše < kie, OCM *ke — [T] ONW tšie (kie?) — [D] PMin *ki
‘Limb, branch’ 支枝 [Shi, Yi], ‘body limb’ 腳 [Meng]; ‘to separate’ 支 ‘go astray’ 支 [Xun] (OC) → T'ai. S. keeAl ‘go astray’.

= ch 翅 (sjε)c / LH kie, OCM *ke
‘Wing’ [Guoce] (< *limb’). The reading chi (sjε)c has been transferred from an unrelated synonym, see → chיו 翅.

qi 峭峻 (gie 4) LH gie, OCM *gie — [T] ONW gie
‘Bifurcating, forked (road)’ 崖 [Lae]; ‘to stride’ 崎 [HST p. 65].


zhf₅ 知 (tje) LH te, OCM *tre
‘To know, understand’ [Shi].

[?] Sin Sukhru SR tsi (pif) MGZY ji (pif) [tsi]; ONW te

= zhi 智 (sjεc) LH sjεc, OCM *trch

[<] exopass. of zhi 知 (tje) tre, lit. ‘what is known’ (§4.4).

[Etymology] Prob. ST: Lushai hriā’2 / hre’h2 / hriaw ‘to know’ (CVST 2: 73), JP tje’s3 < tje’s3 ‘to know’, perh. WT rig-pa ‘to know’.

zhf₆ 隻 (sij) LH tšek, OCM *tck — [T] ONW tšek — [D] PMin *dziak *dzit
‘Single’ [Gongyang], measure word for individual birds, animals, and things that occur naturally in pairs, eventually extended to include other objects (Norman 1988: 116).


zhf₇ 提 (die, tjë, jje) LH tše, OCM *te, *de
‘Peace, happiness’ [SW: Yi].

[Etymology] ST: WT bde-ba ‘happy’ (HST 91).

zhf₈ 给 (tjej) LH tšit, OCM *tit — [T] ONW tšit
‘Foot fetters’ [Zhouli]. The final *t is prob. a nominal suffix (§6.2.1).

[Etymology] ST: WB t’it ‘stocks for confinement’.

= tā, dí 銜 (diec, dài) LH des, dos, OCM *dēs, *dās
‘Foot shackle for criminals’ 銜 [Guan]; ‘shackle for axle:’ ‘wheel-axle cap’ 銜

[Chuci] (Unger Hao-ku 39, 1992). The vowel correspondence is unusual, perh. these two CH words are unrelated.

zhf₉a 立 (tjè) LH tše < kie, OCM *ke
‘Only’ [Shi].

zhf₃ 只 (tje) LH tše < kie, OCM *ke — [T] ONW kie – tše?
‘Only’ [Post-Han]. The LHan and earlier readings belong to an OC particle [Shi]. This seems to be the s. w. as zhi 立 above, but the difference in tone is unexplained (has tone B been transferred from the particle?). This w/ is prob. not related to → shi3 立 ‘only’, nor to zhia 驒 ‘single’.

[Etymology] Prob. ST: TB *kya(-) ‘one’ as in Kamarupan lgs. ke, k’e, perh. these are cognate to WT kyay-pa, WB k’ay-p ‘single’ [Matisoff 1997a: 18]. For the connections ‘one’ - ‘single’ - ‘only’, note Engl. ‘only’ (< one-ly) and the items under zhia 驒. For the vowels, see §11.3.3.

zhf₉b 立 (tši) LH tši, OCM *ti
‘Be reverent, reverent, respect’ [Blu, Shu]. CVST (2: 126) relates this word to WT sti-ba ‘honor, respect, reverence’.

zhf₁₀ 脂 (tši) LH tši, OCM *ti — [T] ONW tši
‘Grease’ (for lubrication) [Shi]. SW says that zhi belongs to animals with horns, → giao4 賅 ‘grease, fat’ to animals without horns (e.g. pigs). The OC initial is not certain, the phonetic implies an OC *k-, but palatalization of intValue has occurred so early in the Zhou period that it could also be used for words with original dental initials.

[Etymology] The TB area has words for ‘grease, fat’ with the final -i, but with initial consonants which are difficult to reconcile with the CH word: PTB *tsi (STC: 168c) > WT ts‘i ‘fat’ n.; Kanauri tsi ‘marrow’; PL *tsi ‘fat’, WB ch ‘oil’, k’ra-j~ch ‘marrow’ [Matisoff 1978: 183f] (STC: 169 n. 452). Also note AA: Santali iti ‘be fat’, Kmher kon-tul.

zhf₁₁ 迟 (di) LH di, OCM *dri — [T] ONW di
‘To tarry, slow’ [Shi].


zhf₁₂ 肥 (di) LH di, OCM *dri
‘To wait’ 迟 [Xun]; ‘to sow late, unripe’ 椚 [Shi].

zhf₁₃ 織 (tʃej) LH tšik, OCM *tsik — [T] ONW tšik
‘To weave’ vb. [Shi].

[Etymology] ST: PTB *tak (STC no. 17) > WT t‘ag-pa ‘to weave’ → t‘ags ‘textured, web; PLB *tak / *dak ‘weave, spin’.

zhf₁₃ 織 (tʃεc) LH tšik, OCM *tsik — [T] ONW tšik
‘Woven cloth, be woven’ [Shi].

[<] exopass. of zhi 織 (tʃej) (§4.4), lit. ‘what is woven’.


[Some TB lgs. have a variant, or different etymology, with initial *r: PLB *rak, *r-rak, also Mutwang (Rawang - Nung) ra? ‘weave’ [Matisoff TSR 70]; Lushai tah < tra? or tra? ‘to weave, woven’. There is another word with *t ~ *r- variants: PTB *tì ‘ri ‘water’ (PTB *tap ‘fireplace’ and *rap ‘shelf over fireplace’ (STC 19) are apparently different words). Tibetan and Chinese (where applicable) have the T-variant, Burmese the R-variant.
zhī1 直 (djīk) LH ŋik, OCM *dīk
'simply, only' [Meng]. Karlgren GSR 919a believes that the homophone 'straight, right'
[Shi] is the same word (see under  ̀zhī2 直).
[T] Sin Sukchu SR dissatisfaction; (M) 'MGZY ci (l) [dzij];' ONW dīk
zhī2 直 (tŏk) LH tōk, OCM *tak
'simply, only' [Shi].
zhī3 直 (djak) LH dīk, OCM *dak
'Single, right' [Shi] could either belong to  ̀zhī2 直 'set up', or to  ̀zhī1 直 'single'
(so Karlgren GSR 919a). Probable allofam to dez德.
[EN] ST: PLB *N-d(yak)k 'truly, very', WB tyak-tyak 'very'; Lushai tak-k 'real, true,
genuine, very'. It is not clear if / how the following may be related: Lushai dik-k 'right, accurate, true, proper, correct'; JP tik55 'always, directly'.
zhī4 直 (djak) LH dīk, OCM *dak
'Nephew, niece' [Zuo].
[EN] ST: PTB 'b-by 'nephew, grandchild' (STC no. 448; Matisoff 1995a: 52), OBurm. mliy, WB mreb 'grandchild' [IST: 337]. For the initials, see 8.1.1; 8.1.5; for the final *
*-t, see 6.2.
zhī5 直 (tējak) LH tōk, OCM *top — [T] ONW tōp
'To hold, seize, take' [BI, Shi].  ̀zhī4 直 'bind' etc. is perhaps cognate.
zhī6 直 (djīk) LH ŋik, OCM *dīk
'To catch, seize' 紮 [Shujing]; 'bird of prey' 鷹 [Chuci], 'seize a prey' [Li] (Baxter and Sagart 1998: 57); 'ceremonial gift' 賞 [Shujing] is thought to be cognate (Wang Li 1982: 591).
[EN] ST: Perh. WT *ta 'power, authority' (HST: 120). AA: Khmer and Okhmer /kap/ 'hold, grasp' is thought to be related, but the initials and vowels do not match very closely, see  jē2 捷.
zhī7 直 (jep) LH tiŋ, OCM *trap — [T] ONW tip
'Rope, tether' [Shi], 'to bind' 紮 [Zuo]; 'to hobble, bind the front feet of a horse' 緊 [Zhuang].
[EN] Note Lushai cēp/ lorrain cēp, cēh 'to nip, clip, clamp, fasten, bind, pinch' to which the CH word may be related. Perh. cognate to  ̀zhī5 直, 'hold'.
zhī8 直 (djak) LH āp, OCM *drop
'Being hibernating, clustering' (of insects, snakes) [Shi, Yi] may belong to  ̀ji10 蝀.
zhī9 直 (tējak) LH tōk, OCM *tak
'Duty, attend to, manage' [Zuo], 'duties of office' [Shi]. This word could belong to the
wf  ̀zhī2 直.
zhī10 直 (tīk) LH ǹg, OCM *tak
'night', 'simple'  ̀zhī1 直
zhī11 直 (tīk) LH ǹg, OCM *tak
'To come, to get, to arrive, at reach to' [BI, Shi]. See §8.1.5 on GSR 413.
[T] Sin S. SR tsi (t), PR, LR tsi; MGZY ji (t) [tsi]; ONW tī
[EN] ST: WT mīchis-pa (to have arrived): 'to be, be there, exist'.
zhī12 直 (tējak) LH tōk, OCM *tak
'To come, to get, to arrive, at reach to' [BI, Shi].
[EN] caus. of  ̀zhī1 直 by *r in the initial (Pulleyblank 1973: 118; §7.5).
[T] Sin S. SR tsi (t), PR, LR tsi; MGZY ji (t) [tsi]; ONW tī
zhī13 直 (tīk) LH ǹg, OCM *tak
'To come, to get, to arrive, at reach to' [BI, Shi].
zhī14 直 (tīk) LH ǹg, OCM *tak
'To bring, bring about, effect' [BI, Shi].
zhī15 直 (tīk) LH ǹg, OCM *tak
'To come to, bring about, accomplish, achieve' [Shi]; 'come to' [Chuci]; 'to
bring about, establish, settle 證 [Shi]. The root initial is a dental, the graph 證 which had an OC velar initial was perh. borrowed after palatalization.

[zhi]

[EF] ST: WT měi²-ha 'come, go, say'.

[zu] ST: WT měi²-ba 不 měi²-pa, see above; Tiddim ci 'to say'; Bodo miti², Garo mā³-si-a (Weidert 1987: 25). Lushai tit / tit² / tit³ / tit³ / tit⁴ 'to do, perform, treat, think, say' in tit³ 'cause to be, cause, make', WB te 'make something and do something with it', Lahu te.

zhī₂ 伯 (tājə, tēt, tien, tāiç) LH tet / tāt / tāt / tāt / tāt / tāt / PCH *m-hit / *Water leech' [SW, GY].

[BF] ST: PTB *s-lit 'water leech' (STC no. 396; HPTB: 350), but K N *m-hit (JST: 27) Lushai hlit / C-lit; Lepcha hlit-ba, Karen Pho *s-lit, Chepang lit. TB cognates in words in GSR 413 have pre-initial *m- (§1.5.1). The unreduced Mand word for 'leech' also has the *m-prefix: mā-hūng 螞蟻, so do old dialect words mā-qǐ 马蜞, mā-qǐ 马蜞. Alternatively, CVST 2: 129 connects zhī with WT sdig 'scorpion'.

[C] The word may possibly be related to → diè 脂 'to bite'.

zhī₁ 亀 (tīj) LH tī, OCM *trīt, OCB *trīt — [T] ONW tī 'Be weighed down' [Shi].

[EF] ST: PTB *s-lay-t ~ *s-ray-t 'heavy' (HPTB: 49) > WT léi²-ba < lhyi, lī-ba < līy; Kanauri li-kō 'heavy', Lepcha lī, lim, PL *t-lī > WB le⁶, JP li²; KN *rit > Lushai rit / rit² / rit / rit / rit > be 'heavy'. 'Leech' → zhī. 亀 with the same phonetic points to an initial *t (= §1.5.1); Qiang-Queyu qā₅₅-tla₅₅ 'heavy' may or not support an original initial *t- for OC and KN; a prefix OC *r- for PTB *s- would not be unusual; see §5.3.

zhī₄ 聰 (tjet) LH tīt, OCM *trīt 'Sickle, cut with a sickle' [Shi]; > 'ears of grain' [Shu].

[EF] Perh. ST: WT gri 'knife', WB kre⁶ 'copper', JP mā₁-giri the 'brass', Lushai hreï < hreï < hreï 'ax, hatchet'; for the initial correspondence see §7.1; §1.5; for final *t see §6.2.1. Alternatively, Luo Yongxian (ICSTLL 2002) suggests that zhī is related to Tai: Po-ai lī-jīt, but *t-* 'small knife used to cut or reap glutinous rice', Wu-ning rep, Yay (Dio) rep, and the Tai and CH final consonants do not agree. Alternatively, the TB items may belong to → qīlqīn 銅 'fin' (semantically less likely).

zhǐ₅ 亻 (tjet, tiet) LH tīt, OCM *trīt — [T] ONW tīt 'To stop up' [Shi], 'blockheaded [Lunyu].

[EF] ST: WT dig-pa 'to stop up' ~ *dig 'a stopper' (HST: 142).

zhǐ₆ 亻 (tjet, tiet) [Yupian, 6th cent. AD] (the reading may simply be that of the phonetic) 'Vagina' (ZWDCCD, vulva' (Sino-Japanese acc. to Benedict); the meaning is only later attested (Benedict LTBA 14.1, 1991: 143).

[EF] ST Tey Benedict): PTB *tey⁸, PKaren *tey⁸ (Benedict LTBA 5.1, 1979: 22). The CH form comes back to a hypothetical OC *tī which brings it close to the TB / ST etymology *tī 'water as in *tī, 聰 *tīh 'tears'; JP ma²¹-dī²¹ 'be moist, be wet' in ma²¹-dī²¹ 'to moisten, be wet'; PLoIosh *Nīt 'soak in water' in *Nīt 'to immerse' (or *Nīk *Nīk) Lahu di / *Nīd '央视' (of a man), moisture due to sexual excitement' (of a woman) (Matossi 1978: 33; 2002: 53 no. 109). Apparently zhǐ has the nominal _-suffix for natural objects, lit. 'the moist thing' (§6.2.1). The etymology is also reminiscent of MK-FVM *k-çe? 'vagina'. Syn. → bī 腹.

zhī₁ 亼 (tō) (Mand. tuō), 亼 (Mand. tuō) (jīq) LH dōi, OCM *d-lai?

-'To fall down' [SW]; 'fall down, collapse' [Gy].

zhī₂ 弘 (jīq) LH dōi, OCM *lahi?

-'To destroy' (e.g. a house) [Gy].

[EF] ST: WB lai² 'fall down from an erect posture' < lai² > hlaï² 'throw down from an erect posture' < hlaï². Note also PKS *laï² 'to fall'.

zhī₃ 亼 'slope' → yī 亼 亼

zhī₄ 樃, 樃 → chī₁ 樃

zhī₅ 私 (tējç) LH kie², OCM *keh 'Wicked, malignant' [Shi].


zhī₆ 治 (θïç) LH dā, OCM *d-lah 'To work, make, regulate, govern' [Shi] > 'well-governed, in good order' [Yi], 'punish' [Zuo]. Downer (1959: 287) reads 'well-governed' [Lijī] in tone C, the other meanings in tone A. Sagart (1999: 127) relates this word to → lii 展 'regulate'. If related, zhī may possibly belong to an AA ws; see → lii 展, 理.

[T] Sin S. SR dzī / ci / ci / dzī; MGZY ci (ci) / dzī; MTlang di. ONW dia

zhī₇ 志 → zhī₄ 之

zhī₈ 履 (tsəï) LH tōç or kīc² 'Black mole' [Shiji 訳, GY].

[D] A commentary to Shiji says that zhī 訳 is the ordinary word for 'black mole' in the southern Wǎ and Chú dialects. PMin *kič.

zhī₉ 亼 (t̢jäk) LH tāk, OCM *tak? 'To roast' [Shi].

zhī₁₀ 亼 (təç̃) LH tāk, OCM *tak? 'Be roasted' [Shi], 'a roast meat' [Zuo] (Downer 1959: 274).

[<] *tak + pass. (§4.4) ~ 'what has been roasted'.

[EF] ST: PLB *kyiŋ > Lahu chi? 'be hot (enough to burn)', WB k'yaç 'be burnt' (as food); if related the OC form was probably *kiŋ or *kiak.

zhī₁₁ 亼 (tjak) LH tīk, OCM *tōk — [T] ONW tīk 'To ascend, die' [Shi], 'promote' [Shu].

zhī₁₂ 亼 (tjaŋ) LH tāk, OCM *tak～ [T] ONW tāk 'To ascend' [Shi], 'to ascend, advance, increase', ~ *tak 'lift, carry', ~ *tak 'upper part, top surface': WB a₄-tak 'upper part, prior time' [Matossi TSR: 48]; WT itaŋ-pa 'the upper part / place', and or təŋ-pa 'lift, raise' (so HST: 110), JP (təjə) とtən² 'above'. HST: 154 associates WT itaŋ-pa with → tuō, 拓 (tənak) 'to take up, lift' [Liej] may which perh. be a loan from a TB lqg, Wang Li (1982: 253) and Matossi (BOSAS 63.3, 2000: 363) relate this word to → dēng, 登 'ascend'.

zhī₁₆ 亷 (tīj) LH tī, OCM *trīt 'To slip, trip' [Shi]. This etymology is apparently parallel to, but distinct from, the syn. → diè 脂, see there for more.

zhī₁₇ 亷 (tīj) LH tī (tīj), OCM *trīt 'To stumble' [Zuo] which writes prob. the s. w. as 亷 above (so Đuàn Yứcái).

[EF] ST: WT drep-pa 'to slip, slide, glide'; Kanauri *bet (HST: 135). This etymology occurs also in AA-PMon *t[r]-luit -> Tai: Sack thiêc² ~ < d.
zhī

zhī17 懷(tǐ-c, tǐ-c) LH tǐs, tǐs, OCM *tīs, *thīs

'Be angry' [Shi]. 傷 [Shu]. As in → zhī16 豊, the two graphs for this word are MC homophones but placed in different OC rime categories.

zhī18 質(tṣjet) LH tṣṣ, OCM *tatsu → [T] ONW tṣṣ

'Natural qualities' [Li], 'substance' [Yi], 'essential' [Lunyu].

[Etymology not clear. Unger (Hao-ku 39, 1992: 88) relates this word to WT gṣis 'nature, temper, natural disposition' (the correspondence of the initials is unusual), while Baxter and Sagart (1998: 52) derive this word by t-prefix from → shī12 質 'fruit, solid, really'. Karlgren (1956: 16) connects this word with zhī 質 (tṣjet) LH tṣṣ, *trots 'pledge, security give, hostage' [Zuozhuan].]

zhī19 踏 → zhī16 豊

zhī20 值 → zhī22 置

zhī21 植(zjok, ds) LH dzik or ds, OCM *dok or *drókh → [T] ONW dzik

'Aim, will' [Chuci] could belong either to → zhī22 置, or to → zhī2 之.

zhī22 置(tṣjet) LH tsṣ, OCM *ttrakh → [T] MTang tsī, ONW tṣī

'To set, place, arrange' [Shi].

[ST: WT 'jog-pa, bzhag 'to put, place, arrange'.]

zhī 稹(jtkok) LH tk, OCM *trak → [T] ONW tik

'To sow or plant early' [Shi].

zhī2 稹(vt) LH dzv, OCM *drókh

'Hold upright' [Shi], 植 [Shu], 'a pole' 植 [Li] (植 has also the MC reading žjak).

zhī21 植(jjak) LH dzik, OCM *dok → [T] ONW dzik

'To plant, cultivate' 植 [Shu], 植 [Zhouli], 'raise, establish' 禪 [Guoyu], 植 [Zhouli]; 'to place' 植 [Lun]; 'grow, flourish' 植 [Huainan] (has also the MC reading žzc).

zhī, dê 植(tjok) LH tsōk, OCM *tok

'A pole' [Zhouli].

[Conf. Possible allofoms: → zhī14 植 'duty', → zhī21 植 'aim, will'. Syn. → shū2 棺.]

zhī23 植 → zhī9 嘲

zhī24 植(djijc) LH dzas, OCM *d-lats

'Wild boar, pig' [OB, Li].

[KT: PKS *dlasa 'wild pig', PHlai *lat 'wild boar'.]

zhī25 植(hj, hj) LH dzē, OCM *dreč

'Some kind of small deer' [OB, SW]. When hunting, Shang dynasty kings would often keep this animal by the hundreds [OB], but later its identity was mostly forgotten. SW has the variant xīe-zhī 解 or 解 xīe or dzē or dzē?. This rimes bimione makes it likely that the LH reading was dzē rather than dzē. Curiously, in a passage in Zuozhuan (Xuan 17) 趁 is supposedly a graphic loan for 解 'understand' which raises the suspicion that the latter ended up as a pre-syllable in the animal name due to a misunderstood gloss. Be that as it may, the element xīe 解 'distinguish, understand' may be responsible for the belief that this animal could tell straight from crooked, right from wrong.

[PMK *draay (Shorto 1976: 1048) > OMon *draz 'hag deer' (< WB darai 'hag deer'), Biat draai 'swamp deer', PVM *k-de: 'deer' [Ferlus], Khm. tirey 'stag'. < PYaio *dzai 'deer' [Purnell].]

zhōng

zhōng1 中(túnj) LH tūn, OCM *trūn, OCB *k-lūn

'Be in the middle, middle, inside' [Bi, Shi]; 'inner garment, middle, medium' 術 [Zuo]. Baxter (1992: 233) reconstructs *k-l- on the basis of a Han sound gloss (Coblin 1983: 156) and WT. This may be the same word as → zhōng3 仲, 'sincere'.

[ST: Sin S. SR tūn (冷), PR, LR tūn; MGZY 'jūn (冷) [tūn]; MTang tūn, ONW tūn]

zhōng3 中(tūn) LH tūn, OCM *trūn

'Hit the center, hit, attain' [Zuo].

[<] exoactive of zhōng 中 *trūn (§4.3).


zhōng3 匹(jūn) LH duŋ, OCM *druŋ

'The 2nd (middle) of three or more brothers' [Shi], 'second of the month' [Shu].

[The etymology is not certain. PMai *mtraŋ 'middle' is close to the OC form. Perh. related to TB-WT gǒu < gǒu or gǒu? 'middle' (< HST: 53). But other etyma may be related instead: STC: (182 n. 479) relates zhōng to PTB *tún 'inside' (STC no. 390) > Manchati tūn (冷) 'inside', Chepang dun (冷) 'inside' (esp. of a dwelling) > duŋ 'push to the center'; WB *tuan (冷) 'inside, inner part of a thing', Lushai duŋ (冷) 'inside of anything' (< CVST 2: 3); Rawang ɗūn 'middle' (HST: 55). The basic meaning of both these TB etyma is 'inside', not 'middle', however. Finally, there is yet another root meaning 'inside' < 'excavate' in AA, under → chuán, 船 'boat'.]

zhōng3 仲(jūn) LH tūn, OCM *trūn

'Sincere, loyal, integrity' [Lunyu]. Perh. this is the s. w. as → zhōng1 中.


zhōng3 姓(jūn) LH tūn, OCM *tūn (= C-jūn?)

'Father-in-law' [Lūshī].

[ST: Lepcha (a-jūn) 'uncle', Stod ajān 'maternal uncle, father-in-law' (Unger Hao-ku 63, 1999: 246). The root initial was probably *j-, see §9.3.]
zhōng

终 (téng) LH tūn, OCM *tun²
‘To end, terminate, complete, completely’ [Shi]. Wáng Lí (1982: 608) derives → dòng, 冬 ‘winter’ from this word.

[T] Sin Sukche SR tsiun (平); PR, LR  tün; MGZY jung (平) [tsun]; ONW tšun

[ST] Chepang diplomacy ‘to end, cease’ (period of time, spell of weather, speech), KN-Lai 遠 / 遠 ‘to end’ [LTBA 21.1: 210]. The connection with the following is not clear for the difference in final consonants, see §6.7): WB tum⁰ ‘be ended’ (season) (CVST 2: 4), JP tōmu³ ‘be ended, terminated,’ Lushai  tōmu < tōmu³ ‘finish reaping’, also Lai  tōm ‘be ended’ ≠ dxó-tōm ‘end something’ [Van Biki LTBA 25.2, 2002: 106].

zhōng

鐘 (tjwng) LH tšun, OCM *tun² (=C-juŋ ?), OCB *jwng ‘Locust, grasshopper’ [Shi].

[ST] WB kjwng⁰ = gjuŋ⁰ ‘locust’ (HST: 104). The root initial was prob. *j-, see §9.3.

zhōng

冢 (tjwng) LH tøŋ⁰, OCM *tron⁰ ‘mound, peak; be great’ [Shi]; ‘a mound, tomb, tomb’ [Shi]. This is still the word for ‘tomb’ in some dialects, e.g. Mín-Jiān’du tøyŋ²; in most modern dialects, the word for ‘tomb’ is → fén. A possible Han period dialect variant is → lóng 塹.

[ST] PTB *mtr-dun (HPTB: 310) > WT rdun ‘a small mound, hillock’, WB tøŋ ‘hill, mountain’. Note also PMY *trɔŋ⁰ ‘mountain’ [Purnell]

zhōng

種 (tjwng⁰) LH tøŋ⁰, OCM *tron⁰ ‘To sow’ [Shi], later also ‘to plant’ (a tree).

[ST] exoact of zhōng (tjwng⁰) (§4.3).

[ST] This may possibly be the same word as → zhōng, 种 ‘to swell’, a seed then being something that first swells before growing sprouts.

[ST] Chepang tţin-g ‘to plant’ ≠ dũŋ ‘shoot, sprout’ (growing) ≠ dũŋ ‘to sprout, grow’ (esp. plant), Tangsa (Barish) tɔŋ⁰ (Weidert 1987: 22).

zhōng

種 (tjwng⁰) LH tøŋ⁰, OCM *tron⁰ ‘to swell, swollen’ [Zou] > ‘tumor’ [Zhouli] > ‘heal’ [Li] > ‘follow in the footsteps of’ 腰 [Zou]. For the semantic link between ‘swollen’ and ‘heal’ (< *swelling), see Matissone (LTBA 17.2, 1994: 144). There are of course etyma for ‘swollen’ with the same rime: → yŏng, 硬 and → wèng 盥 ‘jar, swollen’.

[T] Sin Sukche SR tsɪun (上); MGZY jung (上) [tsun]

zhōng

種 (tjwng⁰) LH dʒʊŋ⁰, OCM *dun⁰ ‘Be swollen, inflated’ [Shi].

[ST] Endoass. of zhōng 种 (tjwng⁰) (§4.6).

[ST] Limbu thŋŋ- ‘to swell’.

zhōng

種 (tjwng⁰) LH dʒʊŋ⁰, OCM *dun⁰ ‘to surround, encircle, circle, everywhere, curve (in the road)’ [Shi].

zhōu

洲 (tjw) LH tšu, OCM *tu ‘Island in a river’ [Bl, Shi].

[T] Sin Sukche SR tsiw (平); MGZY jiw (平) [tsiw]

Several synonyms with different vowels may be related:

zhōu

周 (tjw) LH tšu, OCM *ta ‘Islet’ [Shi], smaller than zhōu [EY 12.2].

zhī

池 (tjw) LH tšu, OCM *ta ‘Islet’ [Shi], smaller than zhōu [EY 12.2].

zhī

池 (tjw) LH dʒu, OCM *di ‘Islet’ [Shi], smaller than zhī [EY 12.2].

zhōu

周 (tjw) LH tšu, OCM *tiu ‘To surround, encircle, circle, everywhere, curve (in the road)’ [Shi].

zhōu

州 (tjw) LH tšu, OCM *tiu ‘To surround, encircle, circle, everywhere, curve (in the road)’ [Shi].

zhōu

州 (tjw) LH tšu, OCM *tiu ‘To surround, encircle, circle, everywhere, curve (in the road)’ [Shi].
aid' are often derived from the notion 'next to, or around a person' (see under - zuō and - yóu, 右). Alternatively, note AA: Khmer jwya [ju:]; čuvači 'to aid, help, succor, rescue, save'; the final j would be lost in OC after the long vowel (§6.9). For the initials, see the comment under - zhōu 周.

zhōu₅ 粥粥 (tsouk) LH tsuk, OCM *tsuk — [T] ONW tsuok — [D] PMin *tsyek 'Rice gruel' [Zuo, Li].


zhōu₇ 衅 (tsjou) LH tsu⁵, OCM *tsru 'To crinkle, crepe' [Shi].

zhōu₈ 衅 (tsjou) LH tsu⁵, OCM *tsru 'To crinkle, crepe' [Shi].

zhōu₉ 衅 (tsjou) LH tsu, OCM *tsru 'To crinkle, crepe'; [prob. related to - sǔ 亀 / 亀 'shivel, contract'.

zhōu₁ 軟 (tsjou) LH tu⁵, OCM *tru 'Wrist, elbow' [OB, Zuo].

zhōu₂ 跪 (tsjou) LH tu⁵, OCM *tru 'Wrist, elbow' [OB, Zuo].

zhōu₃ 跪 (tsjou) LH tu⁵, OCM *tru 'Wrist, elbow' [OB, Zuo].

zhōu₄ 竹 (tsjou) LH tu, OCM *tsru 'To pursue' (animals, not men) [OB, Shu] (Schuessler 1987: 851; Qiu Xigui 2000: 213).

zhōu₅ 竹 (tsjou) LH tu, OCM *tsru 'To pursue' (animals, not men) [OB, Shu] (Schuessler 1987: 851; Qiu Xigui 2000: 213).

zhōu₆ 竹 (tsjou) LH tu, OCM *tsru 'To pursue' (animals, not men) [OB, Shu] (Schuessler 1987: 851; Qiu Xigui 2000: 213).

zhōu₇ 竹 (tsjou) LH tu, OCM *tsru 'To pursue' (animals, not men) [OB, Shu] (Schuessler 1987: 851; Qiu Xigui 2000: 213).

zhōu₈ 竹 (tsjou) LH tu, OCM *tsru 'To pursue' (animals, not men) [OB, Shu] (Schuessler 1987: 851; Qiu Xigui 2000: 213).

zhōu₉ 竹 (tsjou) LH tu, OCM *tsru 'To pursue' (animals, not men) [OB, Shu] (Schuessler 1987: 851; Qiu Xigui 2000: 213).
engage in combat’. For more ST cognates and / or parallel stems, see under → chū, 触.

zhū 1 植 (tī) BH tō, OCM *tō?
‘Master’ [Shi].

zhū 2 植 (tī) BH tō, OCM *tō?
‘To boil, cook’ [Li].

zhū 3 直 (tī) BH tō, OCM *tō?
‘A large dear living in the mountains’ [Yi Zhouhsu]; its tail was used as a duster.

zhū 4 植 (tī) BH tō, OCM *tō?
‘To store away, bag for clothes’ [Zuo] (Mand. chū); ‘to store, stores, storehouse, ownership’ [Bi]; ‘to heap’ [Guiliang].

zhū 5 鯈 (jiu) BH tō, OCM *bra?
‘To collect, store up’ [Guishu]. Karlsgren (1956: 17) connects this word with zhū 諸 ‘all’ (under → duō 多).

zhū 6 植 (jiu) BH tō, OCM *tā?
‘To store away, bag for clothes’ [Zuo] (Mand. chū); ‘to store, stores, storehouse, ownership’ [Bi]; ‘to heap’ [Guilang].

zhū 7 輱 (tā) BH tō, OCM *tō?
‘To cut’ [Guoyu], ‘cut out, eradicate’ [zhuō] [Xun].

zhū 8 輱 (tā) BH tō, OCM *tō?
‘To hew, chop, carve’ (trees, wood) [Shi], ‘to carve, chisel’ [Shi], ‘break open’ [Zuo]; ‘to castrate’ [SW: Shi]; ‘to beat, strike’ [Shi].

zhū 9 輱 (tā) BH tō, OCM *tō?
‘To peel up’ [Shi].

zhū 10 植 (tā) BH tō, OCM *tō?
‘To peel up’ [Shi].

zhū 11 輱 (tā) BH tō, OCM *tō?
‘To peel up’ [Shi].

zhū 12 纯 (tō) BH tō, OCM *tō?
‘To peel up’ [Shi].
zhù 持 (tān²h) LH tšo², OCM *tô
‘Ladle’ [Zhouli] is a tone B noun derived from zhù, lit. ‘the thing which does the pouring’.

zhū 斗 (tou³) LH to³, OCM *tô
‘Bushel, ladle, name of a constellation’ [Shi].

E Bodman (1980: 172) compares WT òwu ‘water’ vs. òwu-ba, bōus ‘to ladle or scoop water, irrigate’ and also includes dōu in this WB. TB *lu ‘to pour, cast’ has initial *l and belongs to → yu-'s ‘to pour, bathe’.

zhū 注 (tān³u, tçu³) LH tšo², to³, OCM *tô, *tôh
‘To flow into, join, meet’ intr. (as a river flows into another / the ocean) [Meng 3A, 4; Shanhaijing 5]. ‘To conduct water’ [Shi] may be this word or belong to → zhù 注 ‘to pour’.

E Etymology not certain. On the one hand, this word seems to be the cognate of WT mao ‘point where two valleys / rivers meet’, i.e. ‘confluence, lower part of valley’; it could be the s. w. as → zhù 注 ‘be touched’. On the other hand, this may be the same word as → zhū 注 ‘to pour’ which, however, has a different WT cognate.

zhū 注 (tān³u, tçu³) LH tšo², to³, OCM *tô, *tôh
‘To apply’ [Zuo], ‘be touched’ [Zhuang], ‘bring together’ [Zhouli].

zhū 注 (tān³u, tçu³) LH tšo², to³, OCM *tô, *tôh
‘To come in contact with, meet, next following day’ [OB].

E ST: WB twu³ ‘touch lightly’, Lushai twuk⁵ ‘to touch’ (as in a game). This stem may be related to → zhū 注 ‘attach, connect’.

zhū 住 → zhù 注

zhū 柱 (dju³w) LH dž³, OCM *dîó
‘Pillar’ [Yi2].

E Sin Sukchu SR dzy (冬); MGZ cû⁴ (冬) [dzy]

zhū 注 (tān³u, tçu³) LH tšo², OCM *tô
‘To prop up, support’ [Guoce] (Karlgren 1956: 9).

E ST: TB-WB twu³ ‘post, column’; Schin Daai kwâ³ ‘post’ [Hartmann ICSTLL 1999: 6]; JP to³¹ < tok³ < f₁s35 to³¹ ‘pillar’. For the TB final -ŋ, see §3.2.4. Perh. related to → zhū 注 ‘to stand in attendance’ [Shi]; ‘to stand’ [Chuchi].

zhū 祯 (tān³u, tçu³) LH tšo², OCM *tuk
‘Prayer, invocation’ [BI, Shi], ‘to pray’ [Zuo]. This word may perch. be the same as ‘to bind, attach’ (i.e. ‘a binder’), see → zhū 注 ‘to bind’.

E Sin Sukchu SR tsy (冬); MGZ jû³ (冬) [tsy]

zhū 緒 (tān³u, tçu³) LH tšo², OCM *tuk
‘To curse’ [Shi] (Karlgren 1956: 12).

E perh. extrovert (§4.3).

zhū 總 (tān³u, tçu³) LH tšo², to³, OCM *tô/h
‘To pray’ [Shi]; ‘a horse sacrifice consisting of a prayer 緒 promising a sacrificial animal offering’ [SW; Zhōuïu] (Sterekx EC 21, 1996: 64).

E There is no outside etymological connection, similarity with AA-Pearic trok ‘to pray’ is prob. coincidence.

zhū 總 (tān³u) LH tšu², OCM *tuk
‘Cut off’ [Gongyang].
zhūn — zhūn

[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzən (平); MGZY cǝən (平) [dzən]; MTang ɬuən, ONW ɬuən
≈ zhūn 闩 (diəw��) LH ɬuənC, OCM *drons
‘A record’ [Zuo].

[<] exopass. of chūn 闩 (diəw) (§4.4), lit. ‘what has been transmitted’.
≈ zhūn 闩 (tiəwC) LH ɬuənC, OCM *trons
‘Relay’ (of post, etc.) [Zuo].


zhūn水产 闩 ‘cut meat’ → tuən, 團隅簿敦
zhūn 闩 → zhūn, 轉

zhūn水产 闩 → tuən, 團隅簿敦

zhūang水产 狀 (dzənC) LH dzənC, OCM *dzranɡ
‘Form, shape’ [Guoyu], ‘depict, describe’ [Zhuang], ‘appearance, record of merits’ [Zouzhouan].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzən (去); DR dzən; MGZY cən (去) [dzən]; ONW dzən (?)

[EA] AA: Khmer rana /ranŋ ‘body build, form, figure, shape, cut, seize, dimension, height, stature, bearing’. Khmer -> Tai: S. raang82 ‘form, shape’ (Manomasivieth 1975: 157), and perh. also to WB cang ‘frame, stage’, consequently 狀 is prob. also cognate to → chuən水产 床 ‘bed’. Perh. connected with → fcloseE 方. For the initials, see §7.1.5.

zhūang水产, bōng 俸 (xuəC, taŋC) LH hóc, taŋC, OCM *hông ~ trông ‘Stupid’ [Xun].

[EA] AA: PMonic *troɔ ‘foolish, insane’ (for finals, see §6.5.2).

zhū水产 闩 (tiəwC) LH tuən, OCM *tiui
‘Bird with a short tail’ [SW]; ‘a kind of bird’ (‘turtle dove’?) 鵝 [Shi]; (horse of that bird’s color?) → ‘horse of mixed gray and white color’ 鵝 [Shi].

[ES] Perh. ST *twiL (?): WT méqi-lə ‘a little bird’.

zhū水产 追 (tiwC) LH tuən, OCM *trui
‘To pursue’ (men, enemy troops, not animals) [OB, Shi] > ‘to escort, recollect, be mindful’ (Schuessler 1987: 855; Qiu Xigu 2000: 213).

[ES] Perh. related to TB-Lushai čuìLH (Lorr. chhiu) < čhi ‘to track, trace, follow up, follow a trail’, Chepang dyul ‘follow a trail...’. However, if related to Chepang we should expect a Lushai final -i; the role of the * in the OC initial is not clear. See → zhù水产, 逐 for a near synonym which may be related in spite of the difference in finals.

zhū水产 墜 (tiwC) LH ɬus, OCM *drus
‘To fall’ [Lun], ‘fall down’ [Zhouli], ‘throw down’ [Shu].

[EA] AA: Khmer OKhmer ruŋ /ruŋ/ ‘to fall, drop’ ≠ jruŋ /cruŋ/ ‘to fall, drop, come off...’ (unary); jrum /cumruŋ/ ‘to let fall, knock down...’ (text); PNBhn. *ruŋ ‘water-fall’, PVM *ruŋ ‘to fall’ intr. AA final -i can derive from -a, but that seems not to be the case here. For the initials, see §7.1.4. Alternatively, the word may instead belong to AA-Khmer tol, Khmer ɬwa /diuəl/ ‘to fall down, drop’.

zhū水产 倒 → chuəi 垂
zhū水产 资 → zhū9 10, zhul 裨
zhū水产 淤→ chūn水产 淤

zhū水产 悼 → dūn水产 悼
zhū水产 诪‘sincere’ → dūn水产 悼
zhū水产 禚 → gū12水产 禚

zhū水产 放 (tiŋ) LH ɬək, OCM *thrəuk
‘Distant’ [Chucii], ‘high’ [Lunyu].

[T] Sin Sukchu SR təwaw, LR təwaw; MGZY jwaw (入) [təwaw]; ONW tək
≈ chuəi 放 (tiŋ) LH ɬək, OCM *thrəuk
‘Far, distant’ [Chucii].

[C] → u, 诪 is prob. unrelated.

zhū水产 釅酌 → zhū水产 洼

zhū水产 章 (tiŋjək, ɬiŋjək) LH ɬək, jk, OCM *kiauk ?, *jauk
‘Ladle’ [Zhuang], ‘laddle, out pour, pour out’ [Guliang].

≈ zhū水产 釅酌 (tiŋjək) LH ɬək, OCM *kiauk?
‘To pour into a cup, draw water’ 酌 [Shi], ‘to ladle, serve wine’ 釅 [Li], ‘laddle, out pour, pour out’ [Guliang].

[ES] CH > Tai: S. tak85 < *t- ‘to dip up water’ (Li F. 1976: 41) has been borrowed after palatalization of the initial velar.

≈ sháo 釅 (tiŋjək) LH dzək, OCM *diuak or *C-jauk
‘Ladle’ 酌 [Li], 银 [Zhuang], ‘ladle, cup’ 银 [Zhouli]. If we follow the first possible etymology below, the QY initial could be explained as a palatalized earlier *kiok.

[ES] ST: Two TB etyma ‘ladle’ could be related to CH:
(2): Lepcha lāk ‘to pour out’ (liquid, not metal) (Unger Hao-ku 33, 1986), Chepang hjahy ‘ladle’ (Bodman 1980: 128), PL *-jok ‘ladle’. These items may possibly belong to → yū水产 ‘scoup out’ instead.

zhū水产 釅 (tiŋjək) LH ɬək, OCM *tiauk?
‘To burn, illuminate, brightly, clearly’ [Shu], ‘brilliant’ [Shi].

≈ dl 的 (tiek) LH tek, OCM *tiak
‘Bright, brilliant’ [Li], ‘mark in target’.


zhū水产 釅 (tiŋjək) LH ɬək, OCM *tiauk ? — [T] ONW tək
‘To cut, hack’ [Mo].

[ES] ST: PTB *tək (STC no. 387) > PLB *tək ~ *tək ‘to cut by a blow, hack away at’ [Matisoff TSR: 49], WB tok ‘fillip, cut by a single light blow, gnaw’, JP tok55 ‘cut into pieces’; Garo dok ~ dək ‘knock, pound’. For alternative comparanda and / or parallel stems, see under → chuəi 垂 for an overview.

zhū水产 釅 → chū2 楡
zhū水产 楡 → zhū7 楳
zhū水产 楳 → zhū7 楳
zhū水产 楳 → zhū8 楡
zhū水产 楡 (tiŋwət) LH təuat or təyat, OCM *tot
‘Short pillars supporting rafters’ [Lunyu].

zhú

(and three other paragraphs in Chinese)

zhú

(and three other paragraphs in Chinese)
direct is the connection with PTB *dzar (STC no. 68) from a hypothetical ST *dzar ~ *tsar (STC: 170 n. 455).

\[ zI^4 \] 稀 \( \rightarrow jI^4 \) 濟

\[ zI^5 \] 稀 (tsje\(^b\)) LH tse\(^b\), OCM *tse\(^a\)
- ‘Defame, slander’ [Shi].

\[ cI \] 稀 (dzje) LH dzje, OCM *dje
- ‘Flaw’ [Shi], ‘defect’ [Zuo].

\[ sI \] 稀 (zje) LH zie, OCM *\(?)
- ‘Fault’ [Li]. However, the MC initial z- derives from OCM *s-\(\) or *s-\(j\) and hence does not agree with the other words.

\[ zI_1 \] 自 (dzje\(^c\)) LH dzje\(^c\), OCM *dzí\(j\) ?

- ‘Self’ [OB, Shi] is used adverbially, the near syn. ji\(\) is a personal pronoun (Pulleyblank 1995: 83). The original graph is identical with -> bi 比 ‘nose’ (SW?), the drawing of a nose. This has occasioned much speculation about a possible phonetic and etymological relationship of zi with bi (e.g. MC dzje\(^c\) < OC *sjb\(\)?, note also WT shbrid-pa ‘sneeze’), but phonologically these two syllables are difficult to reconcile; in fact, Xu Shên (SW) says nothing about the sounds, he prob. only pointed out that the graphs are the same. Perh. there was originally a mental association between graph and meaning as one customarily points to one’s nose when pointing to oneself.

\[ T \] Sin Sukhu SR dzj (去); MGZY t\(s\)i\(^2\) (去) [dzj]; ONW dz\(j\)

- The homophone zi 自 ‘from’ [OB, Shi] is written with the same graph; perh. ‘from’ and the adverbial ‘self’ are the same word, ‘self’ is the source location from where the action originates. (Note German ‘er hat das von sich aus gemacht’ [lit. ‘he did this out from itself’] = ‘er hat das selbst gemacht’ [‘he did it himself’].)

\[ zI_2 \] 字（字）子

\[ zI_3 \] 衛 (dzje\(^c\)) LH dzie\(^c\), OCM *dzie\(h\)

- ‘Bones with meat on’ 披 [Zhouli], 怪 [Li], ‘carcass, bones of an animal’ 背 [Li] is perh. cognate to -> ji\(\) 肖 ‘spine’. This word is distinct from -> cI\(\) 舞.

\[ zI_4 \] 割 (tsc\(\)j) LH tsa\(^2\), OCM *tso\(h\)
- ‘Pick, hoe’ [Guanzi].

\[ cI \] 割 (cI\(\)) 自 (tsi\(^b\)) LH tsi\(^b\), OCM *tsi\(^a\) ?
- ‘To hoe up earth around a plant’ [Shi].

\[ T \] Sin Sukhu SR ts'\(\)y (去); MGZY ts'\(\)u (去) [ts'\(\)w]; ONW ts'\(\)o

- The words are derived from - chú 豬 ‘hay, fodder > feed / raise’ (horses, cattle), but cûo-mâ may have been influenced by items under zôo 走 ‘to run’.

\[ zôo \] 走 (tsu\(^b\)) LH tso\(^b\), OCM *tsô\(h\)

- ‘To walk’ [BL, Shi, classical CH] > ‘to go’ [Yi].

\[ T \] Sin Sukhu SR ts'\(\)y (去); MGZY dz'\(\)w (上) [ts'\(\)w]; ONW tsu\(^b\)

- The word is replaced by pâo 跑; southern dialects use xîng 行 ‘for walk’ (Norman 1988: 197). M-Xiâmên lit. ts'\(\)b\(\), col. tsu'\(\)b\(\) ‘to run’.

\[ xôu \] 契 (tsu\(^c\)) LH tso\(^c\), OCM *tsô\(h\)

- ‘To hasten forward, bring forward, offer, make a report, play music’ [BL, Shi].

\[ cI \] exoactive of zôo 走 (tsu\(^b\)) (§4.3).

\[ qu \] 趣 (tsu'\(\)c\) LH ts'\(\)o, OCM *tshoh
- ‘Hasten to’ [Shi].

\[ T \] Sin Sukhu SR ts'\(\)y (去); MGZY ts'\(\)u (去) [ts'\(\)y]; MTang ts'\(\)y, ONW tsu'\(\)o

\[ qu \] 趣 (tsu'\(\)c\) LH ts'\(\)o, OCM *tsoro
- ‘To hasten, run to’ [Shi], ‘strive for, aim’ [Meng].

\[ T \] Sin Sukhu SR ts'\(\)y (去); MGZY ts'\(\)u (去) [ts'\(\)y]

\[ zôu \] 駦駒 (dzj\(\)u\(\)) LH dz\(\)u\(\), OCM *dzôu, OCB *dzj\(\)jos
- ‘Fast-running’ (horse) [Shi], ‘quickly, suddenly’ [Zuo], 駒 [Li].

- This group belongs to a large STwf whose root and core meaning is represented by zôu, zôu 時 ‘to rouse’. It is more immediately related to sôu, sôu 時 ‘quick’.

\[ zôu \] 駀 (tsu\(^c\)) LH tsui, OCM *tsut, OCB *Stjut
- ‘To finish, end, die’ [Shi, Zuo] (esp. of a ruler, of vegetation in winter [Zuo]; ‘finally, in the end’ [Zuo]; ‘exhaust > entirely, utterly’ [Shi]. Caus. ‘bring to an end, accomplish’ [Shi]. For the final *-t, see §6.2.2.

\[ E \] ST: Limbu cutma (cutm) ‘be finished, be completed’. Bodman (1969: 327) relates this word to WT sad-pa ‘to close, conclude, terminate’.

\[ cI \] 着 (dzj\(\)i\(\)) LH dzui, OCM *dzuts
- ‘To be exhausted, suffering’ 病 [Shi], ‘distressed’ 悖 [Meng].
zú

【qiú】酋 (dzjou) LH dzu, OCM *dzu
‘To end’ (one’s life naturally) [Shi].

【zāo】僬 (tsau) LH tsou, OCM *tsû
‘Complete, end’ [Xun].

【zuò】坐 (tsvo) LH tsio, OCM *tsok
‘Lower leg with foot, leg, foot’ (of person, bed, vessel) [OB, Shi], also of hills (foothills).

【zú】卒 (tsvo) LH tsio, OCM *tsok
‘Enough, sufficient’ [OB, Shi]; caus. in tone C LH tsio ‘to complete, form’ [Zuo] (Downer 1959: 282).

【T】Sin Sukchu SR tso (λ), PR, LR tsou; MGZY dzû (λ) [tsyl]; ONW tsouk
【E】Prob. ST: WT č poignant ‘be sufficient’ (HST: 144).

zuó 疾—jū, 疾

【zuò】罪 (tsuo) LH tsou, OCM *tsiō — [T] ONW tso
‘Deceased grandfather, ancestor’ [BI, Shu], ‘sacrifice to the spirits of the road’ [Shi].
Both meanings are derived from the basic notion ‘move on’.

【K】Endoenv. noun of a root *tsa (§4.5.1), lit. ‘the one who is gone’.

【zú】祖 (tsuo) LH tso, OCM *tsiō
‘To go, go away, march’ [Shi] > ‘to pass away, die’ 祖 [BI, Shu]; a Han period dialect word for ‘to marry’ (of a woman) in QF [FY 1, 14].

【K】Endoenv. of a root *tsa (§4.6), perh. lit. ‘to get to be gone’.

zuō 鍾 (tsuan) LH tsouan, OCM *tsoān
‘To bore, perforate’ [Zhuang] > ‘penetrate’ [Lunyu].

【juān】錘 (tsjwōn) LH tsyān, OCM *tsion
‘Chisel, sharp point’ [Mo].

【E】ST: PTB *tsow ‘thorn’ (STC no. 276: HST: 46) > Chepaq cu, Bodo cu (Weidert 1987: 26); Mikir aruo < r-sō ‘sharpen’ < r-suō ‘cutting edge’, WB chu-thorn < cu-thorn ‘prick, pierce’ < PLB tsu ‘WT mtsun’ ‘any pointed or cutting instrument’.

【C】The word → zuō 鞭 (dzk) ‘to bore, chisel out’ may be related.

zuī 嗪 (tsiaw) ‘Mouth, beak, snout’ [JY], a late word (Wáng Li 1982: 116) which is prob. the s. w. as
zuī, zī 咋 (tsiaw, tsie) LH tsew, OCM *tsiō, *tsiā, *tsō "Beak’ [Li].

【E】This word is perh. related to WT mtsun ‘lower part of face, muzzle, beak’.

zuju 醉 (tsjwī) LH tsu, OCM *tsuts — [T] ONW tsui
‘Drunk’ [Shi].

【zuī】啐 (tsuī) LH tsuas, OCM *tsûhō
‘To taste, drink’ [Ljj].

【E】ST: WB cut ‘suck, imbibe, absorb’.

【C】This wj belongs perh. to the same root as → cuī 淌 ‘dip into’ because of the common

notion that one ‘soaks’ in vices, note → yīn 淌; cuī 淌 and 淌 may be the same word.
Alternatively perh. connected with WT bzi ‘intoxication’ (Unger Hao-ku 36, 1990: 62).

zuò 最—jū, 疾

【zuó】罪 (dzjū) LH dzjū, OCM *dzjū — [T] ONW dzjū
‘Crime, offense, guilt’ [BI, Shi].
The original graph for zuó looks similar to huáng 皇 so that Qin Shi Hūangdi 秦始皇帝 replaced it with 罪 which was the original graph for ‘fish trap’ [SW] (Wáng Li 1982: 406); the element 亻 Vì is therefore not phonetic.
The etymology is not clear, unless it is a ST word cognate to Lushai suā ‘bad, wicked, evil, wrong, to misbehave, sin’ = suā ‘to rape’ (a woman).

【zūn】尊 (tsuan) LH tsou, OCM *tsūn
“To honor, perform (a sacrifice) > ‘ritual vessel’ [OB, BI, Shi].

【T】Sin Sukchu SR tsun (平); MGZY dzûn (平) [tsun]; ONW tson
【E】ST: WT tsum-pa ‘noble, honorable’ = mtsun ~ tsum ‘household gods, soul of ancestors’ (HST: 95).

【zūn】尊 (tsuan) LH tsou, OCM *tsūn
‘Regulated, to regulate’ [Li, Guoce].

【E】ST: WT ts’ul ‘way of acting, conduct, right way, orderly’ (HST: 123).

zuō 昨 (dzk) LH dzgok, OCM *dzk

【T】Sin Sukchu SR dzaw (λ), LR dzaw; MGZY tsaw (λ) [dzaw]

zuō 左 (tså) LH tså, OCM *tsiāi.
‘Left (side)’ [BI, Shi] > ‘(consider or treat as left) = ‘unfavorable’ > ‘not approved, to oppose’ [OB] (Takahisha EC 5, 1979–1980: 54), ‘disagree’ xīang-zuō 相左 [Zuo]; ‘crooked’ (road) [Hanshu].

【T】Sin Sukchu SR tså (λ), LR tså; MGZY dzå (tö); ONW tsa
【D】Y-Guangzhōu tsiå, K-Mèixiān tså
【N】For the meanings, see comments under à yōu 右. The OB graph is a drawing of the left hand of oneself, from one’s own perspective, just as yōu 右 ‘right’ (side) shows the right hand in this fashion, to which ‘mouth’ (= phonetic loan) was later added to distinguish it from yōu 右 which was commonly used to write ‘and, furthermore’. Since ‘mouth’ was already used for ‘left’, another mark had to be found for the graphic differentiation of ‘left’, but the choice of gōng 工 ‘work’ has occasioned much speculation.

【E】This word also occurs in PTai *saic2 ‘left’.

zuō 左佐 (tså) LH tså, OCM *tsiāi
‘To help, assist, aid’ (< be to one’s (left) side) [BI, Shi]. The semantics are the mirror image of → yōu 右.

zuò1 佐 (dzå) LH dzjū, OCM *dzjū — [T] ONW dzjū
‘To sit’ [Shi].

【T】Sin Sukchu SR dzaw (tö); MGZY tswō (tö) [dzaw]; ONW dzaw
【D】PMin *dzoiū

zuō 坐 (dzō) LH dzjū, OCM *dzjū
zuò

作 (tsák) LH tsok, OCM *tsák
‘To get up’ [in the morning] [Lunyu] > ‘to start, start work’ [Shu], ‘to sprout’ [Shi] > ‘to do, perform, work, set up, build’ [OB, BI, Shi] > ‘act as, be’ [Shi]; intr. ‘to be active’ [Shi]. Some OB forms of the graph suggest a hand, palm facing up, holding a small plant or stick. Also other words meaning ‘do, make’ develop the meaning ‘function as, act as, to be’, see → wéi, 為, → yì, 役.

[T] Sin Sukshu SR tsaw (入), tsu (左), tsu (去), PR tsu, LR tsaw?; MGZY dzaw (入) [tsaw], dzu (去) [tsu].

zuò 搝 (tsuō) LH tsuō, OCM *tsăhk
‘To establish’ [Yi], ‘to place’ [Lunyu], ‘lay aside, cease’ [Li].

[EN] This etymology may perh. be related to WT ndad-pa ‘to do, act’, Kukish ca, Mru caq ‘to do, make’ (Löfller 1966: 140), yet there are phonological and semantic difficulties, therefore the TB items are more likely related to → st, 司.

zuò 酪 → jūn 咝

zuò 酪 (dzák) LH dzok, OCM *dzăuk
‘To bore, chisel out’ [Shi]; ‘a borer’ [Lunheng].

[EN] → TB-WB chok ‘chisel’.

zuò 搝 (dzău) LH dzuō

[EN] exposs. of zuò, 搝 *dzăuk (§4.4), lit. ‘what has been bored’.

[EN] An allomorph is prob. → zuán 錾 ‘to bore’. Note also AA-OHK mer coh /coh/ ‘to bore, pierce’ (+ Tai: S./cāq/ ‘to make a hole’ [Jenner / Pou 1982: 67]); this may possibly be an area etymology.

abandon..........................384
ability................................175
able...............................202, 334, 398
about to...........................306
above..............................330, 454
abridge............................304
abundant........185, 230, 238, 589
accept.............................436
accompany........................328, 467
accumulate...............159, 236, 292, 325, 354, 434, 503, 598
achieve..........................185, 617
achievement......................255, 293
acorn..............................601
acre................................392
active..............................355, 404
add..................................300, 602
adhere............................165
adjourn............................244
administrator.....................573
admonish..............314, 481, 485
advance............................579
advantage.........................569
affair..............................465
aflame............................490
afraid.........................327, 335, 408
after...............................280
afternoon.........................177
again..............................246, 254, 581, 600
again.........................511, 590
agitated..........................197, 369
agree..............................310, 448, 476, 585
agriculture.......................403
ahead..............................527
aid.................................624, 629
aim.................................620
air.................................423
alarm..............................611
alike...............................391, 202, 290
all.................220, 229, 254, 310, 316, 322, 424, 438, 523, 528
all together..................256
alley...............................364
alligator.........................308, 505
alms bowl.....................169
alone.................217, 264, 339, 433, 629
already.........................567
also...............................568
altar.........................237, 356
amber..............................282
ample..............................245
ancestor.........................210, 636
ancestral.........................634
anger..............................236, 294, 397
angle..............................212, 354
angry............................299, 405, 423, 620
annihilate......................535
announce.........................252
annoy.............................546
answer.............................202
ant.................................242, 567
ant eggs...........................187
antihill...........................212
antiquty..........................259
apology.........................325, 495
appraise..........................175
appear..............................304, 366
appearance.......................630
appellation......................272
apply...............................462
appreciate......................185
approach.................295, 359
apricot.........................377
apron..............................241
archer............................279
archery...........................463
ardent............................160
aro.................................236
arm.................................164, 256
armorer.........................301, 313
armpit............................252, 568
army...............................461
arrange.................155, 184, 357, 367, 565
arrive ..........203, 207, 314, 342, 617
arrogant.........................151
arrow..............................280, 464
arsenal...........................337
artisan............................255
ascend..............185, 208, 293, 361, 416, 619
ashamed..........................276, 398
ashes..............................286, 491
ask.................................306, 422, 433, 514
assemble.........................159, 162, 274, 326
assemble.........................434, 499, 503, 580, 601
assign............................288
assignment......................465
assist.........................232, 240, 409, 531, 582, 637
associating.....................162
astray.............................381
astrangent.......................451
astronomer.......................353
attachment......................202, 300, 627
attached.........................346, 526
attack..............................228, 255, 551
attend.........................616
attend upon......................467
attentive..........................316-317
audience.........................607
august.............................285
aunt...............................258
auspicious.......................294, 532
autumn............................434
avoid..............................159, 511
awake.............................255
away...............................286
ax.................................242, 314, 618
ax handle.......................332
babble.............................488
baby.........................225, 260
back...............................246
bad.................................223
bait.................................287
bait.................................328
ball.................................434
bamboo..............152, 248, 366, 625
bamboo hat....................351
bamboo shoot.................344
bamboo skin.....................448
band.................................525
banish.............................232
bank.................156, 158, 167, 214, 494, 550
banner.............................420
bar.................................265
bare.................................490
EGYPTIAC INDEX

egyptiag...477
egyptiag...366
eight...152
eject...228
eb..612, 624
elb..319, 381
elephant...251, 534, 592
elavat...531
eliminat..169, 192, 241, 436, 535
emaciat..296, 332, 368, 436
embroider..300
embr..617
eminent..362, 531
employ..255, 350
emtpy..189, 335, 543
encircle..511, 576
enclosure..536
encourage..480
encroach..429
end...195, 314, 389, 567, 622
enure..330, 441
enemy..209, 595
energet..309, 430, 352
engrave..212, 334, 350
enravat..423
enjoy..585, 617
enlarge..233, 399
enough..636
enrag..530
enshroud..355
entangl..309, 508
enter..316, 446
entice..473
entirelly..319, 635
entrap..334
entrust..298
entwine..247, 305, 576
envelop..270, 492, 504
envoy..350
epathia..352
equal..162, 190, 206, 421
erec..498, 599
err..344, 554
error..389
escape..172, 220, 461, 504
establish..305, 472, 498, 570
estate..587
eternal..577
even..597

EGYPTIAC INDEX

egyptiag...478
fowl...292
fox..281, 347
fragnments..487
frag...531
fragrant..231, 236, 540, 548
free...504
freeze..261, 577
fresh..459, 528
friend..410, 582
frighten..314
frog..270, 506
fro..308
fruit..269, 464
fuel..440
fulfill..381
full..205, 495, 579
furn..376, 412, 434
furrow..228
furrows..624
furtherm..596
gap..380, 513
gag..425
gall..205
gallop..435
gamble..218
gard..181, 268, 594
garlic..484
gate..248, 274, 379, 586
gather..175, 221, 354, 370,
462
gem-adorned..434
generation..203, 562
germ..180, 220, 280, 338,
443
genitive..208
gast..208
ghost..267
gift..167, 581
ginger..307
girl..405
give..163, 167, 199, 244-245,
258, 422, 455, 462, 470,
476, 564, 588
glad..586
gleaming..562
glorious..266
glozy..445, 515, 529
glue..213, 399
glutinous rice..406
gran..334, 403
goad..613
go against..590
go around..286
go away..183, 428, 436, 636

do..299

down..228
go to..253, 444, 508, 525,
583
goal..613

goat..557

god..210

gold..215

good..273, 300, 453, 600

goods..222

goose..222, 556

gorgeous..404

gourd..409

govern..619

graceful..509

gradually..303

grain..260, 301, 356, 520
grains..273
granny..176

grandchild..486
grandmother..162

grandsons..340
grant..455

grape..418

grasp..168, 177, 237, 300,
325, 537, 629

grass..176, 192, 305, 358,
375, 482

grassland..561

grease..251, 541, 615

great..155, 187, 202, 238,
278, 301, 399, 520

green..176, 437

grief..169

grieved..310, 451

grind..359, 584

grindstone..252

groom..418, 635

ground..210, 498

group..438, 601

grow..233, 605

gruel..450, 624

guarantee..211

guard..248, 283, 314, 469,
473, 513
ENGLISH INDEX

whisper..........................419
whistle..........................536
whistling.........................362
white..............................149, 153, 251, 273, 276, 416, 482
who.................................457
why.................................273-274
wicked.............................619
wickedness.......................302
wide.................................173, 187, 266, 283
widower............................264
wife.................................167, 245, 405, 419
will.................................620
willing.............................334
willow..............................422, 558
wilt.................................505
wind.................................180, 238, 240, 341, 355, 478
wind around..........................346
winding............................509
wring...189, 236, 275, 570, 587
wink.................................327, 476, 548

wrap...............................157, 247, 309, 355, 504
wrapped..............................623
wriggling.........................197
wrinkles............................624
wrist...............................583, 624
write...............................350, 365, 537
writhe..............................509
writing tablet.....................283, 296
wrong...............................232, 493
yak.................................237, 348
yawn................................426
yeast...............................400, 421, 441, 485, 600
year.................................428
yellow..............................285
yesterday.........................637
yield...............................439
yoke.................................223, 254, 300
you................................226, 399, 443, 445, 448
young...............................189, 225, 448, 454, 500, 535, 582
worse...............................358

CORRIGENDA

p. 6 4th line from bottom, change “we find the interrogative xǐ...”
to “we find occasionally the interrogative xǐ...”

p. 19 ‘Fire’ huō ... *hmāi (not *hmāi)
‘Lose’ sāng ... *smān (not *smān)
‘Neglect’ huāng ... *hmān (not *hmān)

p. 68 middle: ‘You’ should be “wǔ yǔ”, not “wǔ yǔ ēr”

p. 154 bài change “(bì) LH be, OCM bêy” to “(pái) LH pe, OCM prê”

p. 168 bǐng change “(bìng) LH bian, OCM *brâŋ” to “(pìng) LH pîn, OCM *prâŋ”

p. 177 change “cāo (tsàu) LH tsâou, OCM *tsâu” to “cāo (tsàu) LH tsâou, OCM *tsâu”
Change: “cāo (tsàu)” to “cāo (tsàu)”

p. 256 gōng last line of entry: change “MK → Tai” to “Khmer → Tai.”

p. 347 5th line from top under lèi 淋 ‘tear’: change “lì *khrap” to “lì *khrap”.

p. 361 Second to last line: change “Acc. to (Downer 1959)” to “Acc. to Downer (1959)”

p. 415 pīng should be MC “(bien)” not “(bien)”

p. 423 qì should read “LH kīs, OCM *kha(t)s”, not “LH kis, OCM *kha(t)s”

p. 462 sà under shì: OCM should be *sreʔ/h, not *sreʔ/h

p. 488 tài 嘎喜 should be “(dài), LH da, OCM *dî”, not “(tài) LH to, OCM *tâ”

p. 518 middle (line 23 from top): should read “Méixiàn qài”, not “Méixiàn qâ”
ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Axel Schuessler studied Classical Chinese, Tibetan, and other Asian languages, as well as Indo-European linguistics and Sanskrit at the Universität München, where he received his Ph.D. in Chinese philology in 1966. He is now professor emeritus of Wartburg College in Iowa, where he taught until 1996. He has written articles mostly on Old Chinese phonology and has compiled an inventory of the Early Zhou Chinese lexicon (Dictionary of Early Zhou Chinese, University of Hawai‘i Press, 1987).